



THE ESSENTIAL GUIDE TO

THE U.S.-ISRAEL PARTNERSHIP

THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION

Professor Gil Troy

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Timeline of U.S.-Israel Relations



PREFACE

Qatari cash inspired this **Guide** – although the author and the Jewish People Policy Institute (JPPI) have never received a penny from that Gulf State monarchy, unlike so many others. In May 2025, when Donald Trump accepted a Boeing 747-8 jetliner from his Qatari hosts, many feared the U.S.-Israel partnership was doomed. The word of the week was “transactional.” Israel’s supporters wondered: “how can Israel compete with a \$400 million flying palace?” This ***Essential Guide to the U.S.-Israel Partnership*** asks: “How can Qatar – or any other country – compete with Israel’s many diplomatic, military, intelligence, medical, technological, and cultural gifts to America?” America invests \$3.8 billion annually to work hand-in-glove with Israel; America spends \$55 billion annually to house troops in Europe, Japan, and South Korea, only to feel increasingly let down.

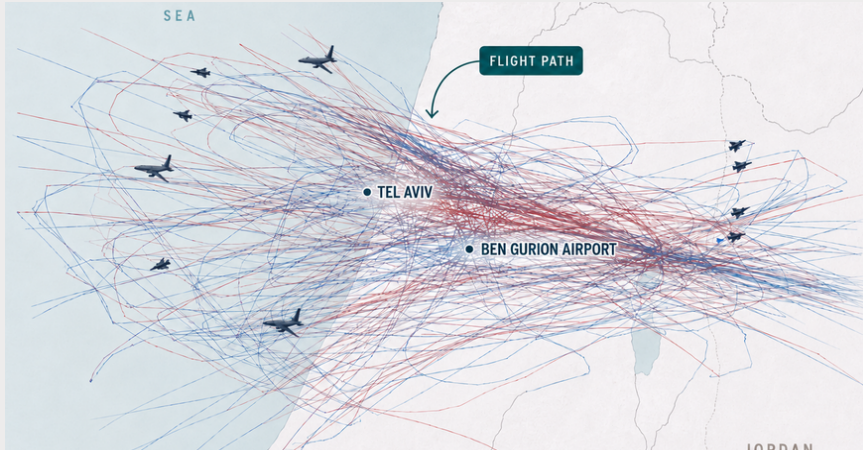
As America celebrates its 250th birthday, this **Guide** encourages Americans to appreciate their DIY ally – a Defend-It-Yourself democracy protecting Western civilization, too. Building to July 4, 2026, and beyond, Americans and Israelis should toast this remarkable friendship rooted in aligned values, shared interests, intertwined fates, and common enemies.

On February 28, 2026, the United States and Israel launched a long-delayed and much-justified war against Iran. As of this writing, the cooperation has been astonishing, the military gains have been historic – even as tensions over the final results soared. U.S. Air Force tankers refueled Israeli Air Force jets to then fly almost side-by-side with American F-15s and F-35s, guided by integrated intelligence. Americans and Israelis staffed joint command centers in Tel Aviv on Israeli Air Force bases. This was Israel’s first English-language war, on U.S. time – Greenwich Mean Time, which America’s military uses.

OPERATIONAL SYNERGY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL:

MEASURED IN FLIGHT PATHS DURING WARTIME

U.S. aerial refueling support for Israeli Air Force operations



FEBRUARY 25 – MARCH 15
19 DAYS



7,600+
ISRAELI AIR FORCE SORTIES



0

COLLISIONS BETWEEN U.S. AND ISRAELI PLANES



U.S. KC-135 STRATOTANKER

Aerial refueling aircraft extend the range and endurance of fighter jets, enabling deeper reach and sustained operations.

OPERATIONAL COORDINATION. TRUST. PRECISION.

The overlapping flight paths of U.S. KC-135 refueling aircraft highlight the extraordinary level of real-time coordination and interoperability between the United States and Israel.

Source: ADS-B data / adsb.lol

This *Essential Guide* offers the prequel to this conflict – even as Israelis and President Trump clash over his vision for ending the war. No matter what happens, the joint operation marked the culmination of decades of diplomatic teamwork, intelligence sharing, military partnership, and deep friendships, individually and communally. JPPI is publishing this *Guide* now, because it’s important to understand the history of the alliance and its fundamentals – especially as critics blast the war, while exaggerating Israel’s role in the build-up. Even many American Jews are torn. One JPPI mid-March survey found 68 percent of “connected” American Jews supporting the war – despite 52 percent expecting American antisemitism to then increase. But 70 percent of American Jews call themselves Democrats, and as many as 86 percent of Democrats condemned the war. Senator Tim Kaine – a former Vice-Presidential nominee – snapped: “Trump has launched an unnecessary, idiotic, and illegal war against Iran that puts America’s servicemembers and embassy personnel at risk.”

The gap between what Americans think about a war when it starts and when it finishes depends on what unfolds. But the deeper need to understand this increasingly important alliance, precisely when America’s relationship with Europe is increasingly fraught, will only grow.

Like *The Essential Guide to October 7* – and *The Essential Guide to Zionism, Anti-Zionism, Antisemitism, and Jew-Hatred* – this e-book is a joint publishing venture with the Jewish world. We encourage organizations, foundations, federations, synagogues and schools to send out or, even better, print out the PDF with the cover, both of which are available on the JPPI website.

For more copies of this guidebook or to discuss organizational collaborations and sponsorships please email: info@jppi.org.il

I am incredibly grateful to my extraordinary colleagues at JPPI, The Jewish People Policy Institute, the Global Think Tank of the Jewish People, for inspiration, illumination and support. Yedidia Stern, Shuki Friedman, Ita Alcalay, Eliran Carsenti, Moshe Cohen, Shlomo Fischer, Sam Hyde, Yaakov Katz, On Levy, Dov Maimon, Adi Shirazi, and Noah Slepko made great contributions to the *Guide* – or are about to! Special thanks to Barry Geltman for his thoughtful editing, and Maya Haser for the colorful graphics. I also thank my assistant Matt Shapiro for all his talents.

In memory of our fallen, especially the forty Americans killed in Israel since October 7 and the thirteen American soldiers killed in the Iran conflict. Their deaths represent the living bridge linking America and Israel, which because of their heroism, will endure.

Professor Gil Troy, Jerusalem, July, 2026

Q & A:

FIVE SHORT ANSWERS TO VERY BIG QUESTIONS:

1. WHY DOES THE UNITED STATES SUPPORT LITTLE ISRAEL WHEN THE ARAB AND MUSLIM WORLDS ARE ABOUT 180 MILLION TIMES LARGER?

America bases its foreign policy, Barack Obama said, on “our interests and our conscience.” Israel and America belong to the small global club of functioning democracies. Both are among the few democracies rooted in biblical values with catalytic, idealistic visions – “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,” “to be a free people in our homeland.” Beyond their congruent values, they share common enemies, especially in the Middle East: Iran’s Islamic Republic has long defined Israel as “Little Satan,” and America as “Great Satan.” History has further consecrated this U.S.-Israel alliance, anchored in overlapping values, interests, and challenges. Decades of two-way friendship culminated in the many ways America helped Israel defend itself after October 7, and the many American enemies Israel then defeated. The seamless cooperation in June 2025, continued in 2026, against Iran’s nuclear threat epitomized this reciprocity. True, occasional disagreements arise, and warning clouds are forming. But America’s good policy move has usually proven popular too. Since the 1990s, Gallup Polls consistently showed two of three Americans supporting Israel – until recently.

2. HOW DID AMERICA AND ISRAEL BECOME SUCH CLOSE ALLIES?

The alliance developed over time. In 1947, the Soviet Union and the U.S. competed for the future Jewish State’s friendship as the Cold War emerged. Initially, America wouldn’t sell Israel armaments. Then, America only supplied defensive weapons. By 1967, France was Israel’s biggest arms supplier. Even then, both democracies were intertwined emotionally, ideologically, and politically. Since France betrayed Israel in 1967 by imposing an arms embargo, and Americans realized Israel’s military and diplomatic

contributions, the relationship has flourished. Every president experienced some tensions with Israel. But the cooperation, and the identification of the two democracies as sisters – not twins – keeps growing, diplomatically, militarily, and overall, politically. That’s why, during presidential campaigns, Republicans and Democrats alike have traditionally insisted that their candidate is “best” for Israel.

3. WHEN ISRAEL AND AMERICA HAVE CLASHED, HOW DID THEY RESOLVE IT?

Two countries’ agendas will inevitably diverge sometimes. Little Israel faces huge dilemmas triggering internal clashes, let alone disagreements with allies. The greatest tensions have been tactical not existential. As Israel’s President Isaac Herzog told a Joint Session of Congress: “I respect criticism especially from friends, although one does not always have to accept it,” and such criticism “must not cross the line into negation of the State of Israel’s right to exist.” Most flashpoints erupted when America tried wooing the Arab world, and when presidents trusted various Palestinian peace processes more than wary Israelis did. Yet no rupture resulted. Presidents from Gerald Ford to Joe Biden occasionally slowed arms shipments to pressure the Jewish state. Still, the countries keep resolving the tensions. Most dramatically, Ronald Reagan sold the AWACS radar system to Saudi Arabia in 1981, then blasted Israel for bombing Iraq’s nuclear reactor and launching the 1982 Lebanon War. Yet, Reagan helped rewire the Republican Party as enthusiastically pro-Israel. Sometimes, however, most recently under Barack Obama and Joe Biden, relations remained solid but increasingly brittle – leaving lingering resentments.

4. WOULDN’T ISRAEL AND AMERICA BE CLOSER IF ISRAEL JUST SOLVED THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM?

Israeli and American policymakers have clashed occasionally regarding the Palestinian issue – while anti-Zionists have exploited the issue to bash Israel. The Gaza War intensified tensions, even alienating some American Jews still trusting a two-state solution. Yet, the bonds uniting both governments and peoples remain strong. Palestinian terrorists’ sabotaging of the Oslo Peace Process, Hamas’s hijacking of the Gaza Disengagement, its October 7 invasion, Hezbollah’s rocket attacks, and Iran’s missile barrages, proved Israel cannot make peace unilaterally. It’s also apparent that anti-Zionists hate Israel for what it is, not what it does. Critics abandoning Israel because of the “Palestinian problem” often overlook many Palestinians’ problem with Israel’s existence.

5. WHAT BENEFITS HAVE AMERICANS RECEIVED FROM INVESTING SO MUCH IN THIS SMALL, EMBATTLED COUNTRY?

Israel wants American arms, not bodies. America's calculus flipped during the 1973 War. The U.S. resupplied an Israel reeling from the Egyptian-Syrian surprise attack. Then, Israel's swift comeback provided the Pentagon with warehouses of Soviet weaponry and insights from Israeli tactics defeating Arab fighters using Soviet weapons. That exchange converted America's military community. Former skeptics suddenly appreciated Israel's flow of intelligence, technology, expertise, and experience. America's F-16 jet fighter incorporated over 600 Israeli-initiated modifications, saving the manufacturer Lockheed Martin billions in research-and-development dollars. The former chief of Air Force Intelligence General George Keegan called Israel's contribution to U.S. intelligence "equal to five CIAs." The late Senator Daniel Inouye, who chaired the Senate Intelligence Committee, said "The intelligence received from Israel exceeds the intelligence received from all [28] NATO countries combined." Diplomatically, Israel has been a reliable, self-reliant, American ally from the Cold War, through the Age of Terrorism, until today. Waves of Israeli medical, pharma, and high-tech breakthroughs, including many war-time innovations, keep benefitting America, while saving American lives at crash sites, in emergency rooms, and on battlefields.

Imagine living in Lebanon, Kansas, the midpoint of America's land mass. You log off your computer, whose microprocessor the Intel Haifa team developed, snack on cherry tomatoes, adapted by Hebrew University scientists, and hop into your car. Waze – an Israeli technology – guides you around the construction near your office, while a Forward Collision Avoidance system and EyeQ from Mobileye, founded in Jerusalem, help you dodge that crazy driver barreling toward you. Alas, the driver hits a tree. His car explodes. You, a medic, bandage him with the "Izzy," a product developed by an Israeli combat medic – while knowing that in Gaza, Israeli medics treated many soldiers using the gel the doctors will use, NexoBrid. This pineapple-based burn treatment hastens healing by eliminating dead skin quickly. Finally, back driving, listening to a podcast analyzing the jihadists' war against America, you marvel: how lucky America is to have Israel, that DIY – Defend It Yourself – Ally.

Similarly, imagine living in Jerusalem, between Washington and Lincoln streets, which you pronounce Link-o-len, but whose ideals you live in this democracy daily. You have an errand at the American Embassy. You pass Liberty Bell Garden, established on America's 1976 bicentennial, honoring the U.S.-Israel partnership, featuring a replica of

Philadelphia's big, bold symbol of freedom. Two blocks further is Martin Luther King, Jr. Street. Adjacent to the U.S. embassy is President Donald Trump Square, honoring his 2017 recognition of Israel's right to pick its own capital, and Jews' 3,000-year-old ties to this city, also called Zion. You're listening to a podcast detailing how Americans, left and right, supported Israel after October 7, marveling at how lucky Israel is to have the world's great superpower as its best friend.

When Harry Truman recognized the Jewish State in 1948, few could have imagined how much support the United States would give Israel – the Americans initially refused to sell the new embattled country any weapons. But as hard as that was to imagine, it was downright inconceivable that this small country of 600,000, surrounded by tens of millions of hostiles, would flourish into a regional military power, and a high-tech super-power, that has done so much to improve the lives of everyday Americans.

No doubt, tensions will continue to come and go. But the many dividends both Israelis and Americans obtain from this partnership, will continue paying off far into the future.

CHAPTER

1

ASSESSING THE U.S.-ISRAEL SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP – WHAT BINDS THE TWO COUNTRIES TOGETHER?

On June 22, 2025, America’s Secretary of Defense Pete Hegseth described America’s “precision strike in the middle of the night against three nuclear facilities in Iran.” Hegseth praised “the level of joint and allied integration that speak to the strength of our alliance and our joint forces.”

It was a fraught moment. Israel had long avoided joint military operations, not wanting one American life to be risked in defending the Jewish state. Donald Trump ran for president vowing “NO MORE FOREIGN WARS.” Some MAGA supporters opposed American intervention in “Israel’s war.” The headlines predicted MAGA’s fragmentation, as the “horseshoe alliance” united Tucker Carlson, Marjorie Taylor Greene, and other right-wingers with left-wing anti-Zionists, including Bernie Sanders and Ilhan Omar. As the conflict dragged on to Spring 2026, American Jews soured on the war, while a Pew Study estimated that 60 percent of Americans had soured on Israel.

Still, deeper forces triumphed. Most Americans supported specific war aims, even if the coverage and Democrats’ disdain for President Trump had them doubting the war. Fifty-seven percent supported Israel’s attack on Iran’s nuclear infrastructure. Eighty percent wanted Iran’s nuclear weapons program stopped – because it threatened America too. And defying the MAGA rebels, 83 percent of Trump voters supported Israel’s airstrikes. Most Americans agreed with General Michael Kurilla, CENTCOM’s commander, who declared: “There has rarely been a time with greater opportunity to protect [our] national interests” in the Middle East.

AIPAC, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, celebrates both countries’ “shared values” and “shared interests.” That still holds. The rhetoric of two of Israel’s closest friends, Ambassador Mike Huckabee and Representative Ritchie Torres, captures many

Americans' love for Israel, offering a rare bipartisan rallying point in a divided America.

Ambassador Huckabee articulates the traditionalists' "red state" sensibility, celebrating Israel as "a very special place on Earth." Recognizing Jews' "connection to this land that goes back 3,800 years," he declares: "America has friends. It has allies. It only has one partner. And by partner, I mean the relationship is like a marriage. It is so tight. And that's Israel."

Congressman Torres roots Israel in "blue state" values, insisting: "None of us is free until all of us are free. And so I see my freedom as a Black Latino from the Bronx as inextricably bound to the freedom of the Jewish people. I see the security of my own nation and home, the United States of America, as inextricably bound to the security of the Jewish homeland. And I'm here to affirm that I am pro-Israel, not *despite* my progressive values, but *because* of my progressive values."

Huckabee and Torres reflect a remarkable right-to-left coalition. Evangelical Christians and liberal Jews clash over abortion – but most jointly support Israel. Security-minded nationalist Republicans and stability-oriented globalist Democrats clash over Trump – but both support Israel. Healthy democracies need some issues over which left and right can agree. For decades, Israel gave America that balm. Today, with bipartisanship increasingly rejected, Israel risks becoming yet another partisan flashpoint.

Nevertheless, both Democrats and Republicans had come a long way during a seven-decade friendship with Israel, that formally began minutes after Israel's establishment as a modern democratic-Jewish state.

A ROOTED FRIENDSHIP

America and Israel belong to an exclusive international club of liberal democracies. The two constitute a smaller minority of catalytic "Over the Rainbow" democracies. Both are founded on a dynamic idea generating a volcanic, world-changing, energy. For America, it's "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." For Israel, it's "to be a free people in our homeland."

Both countries are rooted in biblical values and images providing a common language and many overlapping aspirations. In 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr., quoted the Prophets while proclaiming "I have a Dream!" And Israel's Declaration of Independence begins:

“ERETZ-ISRAEL [the Land of Israel] was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious, and political identity was shaped. Here they first attained to statehood, created cultural values of national and universal significance, and gave to the world the eternal Book of Books,” the Bible.

Signing the Declaration marking Israel’s rebirth in May 1948, Golda Meir cried. Born in Kiev in 1898, she moved to Milwaukee in 1906 and to Palestine in 1921. “When I studied American history as a schoolgirl and read about those who signed the United States Declaration of Independence,” she recalled, “I couldn’t imagine these were real people doing something real. And there I was sitting down and signing the Declaration.”

Longer books like Michael Oren’s majestic *Power, Faith and Fantasy: America in the Middle East, 1776 to the Present* (2008), detail Americans’ historic support for Jews and the Zionist dream. The Pilgrims’ “New Zion” resonated with the Jews’ *altneu*, old-new, restored Zion. Whether you believe their founding covenant is consecrated by God or by the sweat of the pioneers’ brow – or both – America’s and Israel’s stories, values, visions, and aspirations, rhyme much more than they clash.

Today, George Washington’s 1796 Farewell Address is remembered for its isolationist sentiment, urging “neutrality.” But his Address was also idealistic and interventionist, imagining America as a “blessing” to all nations, offering “the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.” Since then, American foreign policy wavers between dodging the world – and saving it. Especially since World War II, America is interventionist, usually benefitting others and America too. But many Americans share Washington’s fantasy of enjoying “our detached and distant situation.”

The Bible references “the Promised Land” at least 170 times. Christians often quote Joel 2:18: “Then the LORD will be jealous for His land, the Land of Israel, and will have compassion on His people,” the Jewish people. That explains why religious Republicans and Democrats usually support the Jewish State – and why America’s growing secularization may weaken the alliance. Long before Theodor Herzl founded the formal Zionist movement in 1897, many presidents affirmed, as Abraham Lincoln did, that restoring the Jewish national home in Palestine was “a noble dream and one shared by Americans.” Since Zionism fulfilled that dream in 1948, the existential and practical ties keep spiraling higher, benefiting Americans and Israelis.

WHAT IS ZIONISM?

1. CORE IDEAS OF ZIONISM (Jewish National Liberation Movement)

Three Fundamental Ideas:

- Jews are a people in addition to sharing religious faith.
- Jews have ties to a particular homeland.
- Jews have the right to establish a state on that homeland.



Am Yisrael The People of Israel **Eretz Yisrael** The Land of Israel **Medinat Yisrael** The State of Israel

2. Zionism is also a core expression of Jewish values and vision

rooted in Judaism’s DNA. Zionism is Abraham and Sarah wandering the land, Moses and Miriam yearning for the land, and Moshe Dayan and Golda Meir redeeming the land. Zionism is Jews evoking a “land flowing with milk and honey” by eating apples and honey every New Year, breaking the glass to honor two destroyed temples under the wedding canopy, and singing “Next Year in Jerusalem” at Passover seders.



3. Until 1948, the Zionist movement’s main goal was to establish a Jewish state

while also creating a New Jew, strong, proud, free. Since 1948, Zionism’s goal is to defend the Jewish-democratic State of Israel and the Jewish people when necessary, but continue to build, be rebuilt by it, and keep dreaming, always.



4. Jews confuse: Zionism could have been called Judeanism

Potential Names

Judea
Judeanism

ACTUAL NAMES

Israel
Zionism

instead of being named after that central hill in Jerusalem, Mount Zion; and Israel could have been called Judea – instead of being named after the Land of Israel. Then it would be hard to claim, “I only hate Judea and Judeanism, not Jews and Judaism....”



5. Calling Zionism “settler-colonialism”

negates Jews’ deep ties to the land of Israel; calling Zionism “racist” or “Apartheid” falsely tries making the nationalist clash between Israelis and Palestinians a racial fight.

6. Non-Jews who support Israel and the Jewish people can be Zionists

while Arab and Jewish citizens of Israel, who don’t believe that the Jewish state is also a shared project of the Jewish people, can be good Israelis without being Zionists.

That ideological stance broadens the understanding of that foundational story in U.S.-Israel relations, describing how one brave Jew saved the Jewish people. Despite the Holocaust, the legendary general and Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, warned an untested President Harry Truman that supporting a Jewish state would alienate millions of oil-rich Arabs. Nevertheless, Eddie Jacobson of Kansas City pressed his army buddy, Harry Truman, to meet with the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann. Then, America recognized Israel 11 minutes after its establishment in May 1948.

Although true, the story doesn't tell the whole truth. 1948 was an election year. The influential Jewish communities in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, and New York would support Truman's pro-Zionist stance. Moreover, 59 percent of Americans favored establishing a Jewish state in Palestine.

This poll found 57 percent believing the Jews had "too much power" in America – but it didn't diminish Americans' defense of the Jews, especially after the Holocaust. America was already competing with the Soviet Union. Both rivals supported UN Resolution 181 of November 29, 1947, recognizing the Jews' right to a Jewish state in Palestine.

Beyond his sentimental, political, and geopolitical motivations, Truman believed Deuteronomy 1:8, telling the Israelites to "take possession of the land God promised your ancestors." Truman embraced his historic opportunity to resettle the Jews, just as the Babylonia's Persian conqueror, Cyrus the Great, had restored the Jews to Zion in 539 BCE.

After Truman's presidency, when Eddie Jacobson introduced his friend at New York's Jewish Theological Seminary as the man who helped establish Israel, Truman shouted: "What do you mean, 'helped to create?' I am Cyrus. I am Cyrus."

Nevertheless, American support for Israel was initially wary. Most generals and diplomats doubted its viability amid so many hostile Arabs. They feared alienating the Arab masses and oil sheikhs. They wondered: "How many oil wells does Israel have?" Moreover, many antisemites in America's leadership class disdained Zionism and the Jews.

A story, perhaps apocryphal, captures these dynamics. In 1954, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, noting how Jews came from many lands, confronted Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion: "After 2,000 years of exile, can you honestly speak about a single nation, a single culture?"

Echoing his 1947 UN speech, Ben-Gurion noted that America’s “first settlers” came on the Mayflower, “approximately 300 years ago.” He doubted any “ten American children” knew who captained the ship, how many days they sailed, and what they ate on the Mayflower. “Now in contrast,” Ben-Gurion continued, “not 300 but more than 3,000 years ago, the Jews left the land of Egypt. I would kindly request from you, Mr. Secretary, that on one of your trips around the world, try and meet ten Jewish children in different countries.” And ask them: who led the Jews out of Egypt, how long they wandered, and what they ate in the desert. “Once you get the answers to these questions, please carefully reconsider the question that you have just asked me.”

Ben-Gurion understood what America’s best leaders have, that their diverse, continent-wide nation is an idea, forged in a shared story, values, identity, fate, not just geography and ethnicity. Ben-Gurion spoke the transcendent language that continues to bond America and Israel. It surpasses fleeting headlines, personality clashes, or policy differences. It provides the foundation for this mutually beneficial relationship.

Seven decades later, during the 2008 presidential campaign, an interviewer asked Barack Obama how he understood America’s relationship with the Jewish state. In this informal exchange – not an AIPAC speech – Obama saluted Zionism, passionately, empathetically. He recalled a Jewish camp counselor who “shared with me the idea of returning to a homeland and what that meant for people who had suffered from the Holocaust, and he talked about the idea of preserving a culture when a people had been uprooted with the view of eventually returning home.”

Half-Black, half-White, half-Kansan, half-African, perennially searching for his father, Obama found that “so powerful and compelling.” He proclaimed: “My starting point when I think about the Middle East is this enormous emotional attachment and sympathy for Israel, mindful of its history, mindful of the hardship and pain and suffering that the Jewish people have undergone, but also mindful of the incredible opportunity that is presented when people finally return to a land and are able to try to excavate their best traditions and their best selves. And obviously it’s something that has great resonance with the African American experience.”

More practically, as Israel’s ambassador to the U.S. from 2009 to 2013, Michael Oren often reassured Americans: “My friends, you don’t need to do nation building in Israel. We’re already built. You don’t need to export democracy to Israel. We’ve already got it. And you don’t need to send American troops to Israel. We defend ourselves.” In 2023, President Isaac Herzog told Congress: “When the United States is strong, Israel is stronger. And

when Israel is strong, the United States is more secure.”

Most succinctly, President Donald Trump Tweeted in 2018: “We have no better friends anywhere.”

Today, America and Israel are each divided internally. Some believe Israel is becoming more conservative “red,” alienating liberal “blue” Americans. The Gaza War intensified the polarization. In April 2026, 58 percent of Republicans viewed Israelis favorably – 80 percent of Democrats didn’t. Forty-seven percent of Republicans trusted Israel’s prime minister, 76 percent of Democrats didn’t. Some progressives put Israel on probation, with its acceptance contingent on good behavior. Anti-Zionists repudiate Israel as “settler-colonialist.”

The polarizations echo one another. Israelis fear “Jerusalem” or the traditionalist state of “Judea,” clashing with “Tel Aviv,” the ever-modernizing “Start Up Nation.” Meanwhile, “red state” Americans, traditionally oriented toward family, faith, and flag, delight in Jerusalem’s 3,000-year-history, the Promised Land’s allure, and Israel’s patriotic, family-centered, culture. Politically, most applaud Israel’s long-serving Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. “Blue state” Americans prefer the bustle of Tel Aviv’s gay-friendly, high-tech, party-hearty world.

Actually, both countries are more “purple.” Israelis particularly blur the lines. Israel’s army has long outpaced America’s army in integrating women and gay men into combat. Similarly, many Tel Aviv hipsters who protest vocally and look “blue” – usually serve in the army, marry, raise families, wave the flag on Independence Day, and celebrate the Jewish holidays that many American Jews overlook.

This analysis highlights two other keys to the U.S.-Israel bond. Both countries share a common reservoir of images, values, ideals, aspirations, and lifestyles.

Israel is more Americanized than the primitive, proto-socialist young nation of David Ben-Gurion and Golda Meir. As both countries navigate these confusing times, there’s much each could learn from the other – starting with Israelis explaining to Americans how, despite so much war, their sense of identity, community, and purpose propels them to rank in the top ten of the World Happiness Index, well ahead of Americans.

This cultural resonance has only grown along with the geopolitical alliance.

FIVE GATES TO FRIENDSHIP:

FIVE RED, WHITE, AND BLUE "LANGUAGES OF LOVE" FOR THE US- ISRAEL PARTNERSHIP

1 The Bible: Biblical Zionism

"For the people of Israel and America are partners in a common destiny... This is a relationship that's more than a matter of common interests. It is a shared identity—a deep, spiritual identity. We have both found our inspiration in the same Bible, and we have both been blessed by God with the opportunity to build a society where people are free to follow their own faith."
President Ronald Reagan, 1984



2 The Declaration of Independence: Sister Democracies - Liberal-Democratic Zionism

"The U.S.-Israel alliance is indivisible and unbreakable – for at its heart are people like you. Because of citizens of conscience like all of you, our alliance with Israel will forever be rooted in a fellowship of families, of friends, and of faith ... deepened by a shared culture of tolerance and a pioneer spirit ... and elevated by interests reinforced by common ideals. This is the true foundation of the U.S.-Israel alliance. It is enduring."
Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, 2008



3 The Pentagon: National Security Zionism

"It's about time we stop apologizing for our support for Israel. There's no apology to be made. None. It is the best \$3 billion investment we make. Were there not an Israel, the United States of America would have to invent an Israel to protect her interests in the region..."
Senator Joe Biden, 1986
*As President, Biden echoed the very same sentiment thirty-six years later:
"and I've often said... if there were—if there were not an Israel, we'd have to invent one."* 2022



4 The Statue of Liberty: Progressive Zionism

"We are both nations built by immigrants and exiles seeking to live and worship in freedom, nations built on principles of equality, tolerance and pluralism. At our best, both Israel and America are seen as a light unto the nations because of those values. This is the real foundation of our alliance, and I think it's why so many Americans feel such a deep emotional connection with Israel. I know that I do."
Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, 2016



5 The Iron Dome: Transactional Zionism

"Our relationship with Israel is fundamentally different. It is a country that can take care of itself, that is a technological and military powerhouse, and that acts as a bulwark against the common enemies of Western civilization. We want our allies to be like Israel—strong, independent, and capable of defending their own interests so we don't have to."
Vice President J.D. Vance, 2024



FOUNDATIONS OF THE U.S.-ISRAEL SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP: HOW AND WHY DID IT EMERGE, 1948 TO 1967?

The foreign policy guru Henry Kissinger noted: “America has no permanent friends or enemies, only interests.” And, despite the shared values and overlapping sense of mission linking the U.S. and Israel as yearning, churning, Promised Lands, America’s primary interest in 1948 was being “even-handed” in the Middle East. Wooing the massive, oil-rich Arab world made sense. Still, by 1973, Israel’s 25th anniversary, the “special relationship” had solidified. Conceived in the ABCs of liberal democracy – Aspiring to do good, Biblical values, and Civics, two recurring “Xs” bonded the two countries: Arab exterminationism and Soviet expansionism.

AMERICAN ZIONISM: LIBERAL DEMOCRACY AT ITS BEST

The George Marshall-John Foster Dulles skepticism regarding Israel lingered for years. Cultural disdain and oil hunger limited the military alliance. In December 1947, days after the UN recognized a Jewish state, the U.S. imposed a Middle Eastern arms embargo. Thus, America’s even-handed strategy began. While supporting Jewish statehood, Americans feared infuriating the Arabs, provoking the Soviets, and triggering an arms race. Ultimately, Czechoslovakia sold Israel machine guns, rifles, and 50 single-seat British-made Spitfire airplanes.

Nevertheless, American citizens who smuggled World War II surplus weapons to Israel – along with the \$50 million Golda Meir raised in America in January 1948 – anticipated future support. A grassroots all-American Zionism emerged uniting Jews, and many non-Jews. In 1948, American Jews, five million strong, constituted 3.7 percent of America’s population (today it’s 2.4 percent). Reeling from the Nazi mass murders, perhaps feeling guilty about their silence, American Jews mobilized. And many Americans, especially

World War II veterans, lived the slogan that eventually emerged – “Never Again” – generating a bipartisan consensus to protect the fledgling Jewish state.

Senator George McGovern flew 35 missions as a B-24 Liberator pilot over Nazi-occupied Europe. He epitomized a generation of American leaders, left to right, whose Zionism reflected their American patriotism and hatred of Nazism. As the Democrats’ 1972 presidential nominee, McGovern noted that, since 1948, supporting Israel has been “an issue that united Republicans and Democrats,” without “one candidate seeking to outbid the other.” And he called his “commitment to Israel” a “moral commitment that began with my entry into public life in 1957. It continues to this day. It is not a function of Cold War, balance-of-power politics.” It was existential.

Still, shared interests help. The Cold War reinforced Americans’ moral instincts. The Soviets found Israel particularly infuriating. The Mossad humiliated them with various intelligence coups – including securing a Soviet MiG-21 fighter jet in 1966. The IDF kept humbling their Arab allies. And Israel inspired Soviet Jewish refuseniks who stirred a broader dissident movement that shook the Soviet Empire.

Before Hitler, many American Jews resisted Zionism. They feared “dual loyalty” accusations. The progressive Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis Americanized Zionism. In 1915, he thundered: “Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent.”

Understanding that ethnic pride enriches distinctly American citizenship – today’s “multiculturalism” – Brandeis insisted: “Loyalty to America demands that each American Jew become a Zionist. For only through the ennobling effect of its strivings can we develop the best that is in us and give to this country the full benefit of our great inheritance.”

This insight shapes today’s “Identity Zionism.” Feeling rooted in their history, community, and homeland makes Jews more fulfilled individuals and more productive citizens wherever they live. Professor Ruth Wisse celebrates this rich heritage as “double loyalty.” With two countries in sync, grounding individuals and bettering the world, that’s doubly empowering.

Brandeis and others spent the next three decades fusing liberalism, Americanism, and Zionism. As Jews flocked to Palestine, as establishing a state in the ancestral Jewish homeland became foundational to modern Judaism, more American Jews became Zionist. Hitler’s murder of six million Jews, and America’s triumph over Nazism,

convinced most remaining doubters, Jews and non-Jews. In 1945, Rabbi Milton Steinberg wrote in *The Atlantic*: “Amid the House of Israel’s grim devastation, does not Jewish Palestine shine as a joy-bringing, hope-dispensing beacon?” Steinberg saluted the many non-Jewish Americans fired into “incandescence” for Zionism, including the liberal theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, FDR’s First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and the Republicans’ 1940 nominee, Wendell Willkie.

On August 16, 1948, *Time* magazine’s cover featured Israel’s founder, David Ben-Gurion. America met a proud, strong, unapologetic “New Jew,” fighting when necessary, dreaming always. Ben-Gurion was “Premier and Defense Minister, labor leader and philosopher, hardheaded, unsociable and abrupt politician, a prophet who carries a gun.” Transforming the Jewish people’s image, Ben-Gurion evoked the American founders’ best ideals. *Time* marveled: “The Jews beat the Arabs. Out of the concentration camps, ghettos, banks, courtrooms, theaters and factories of Europe, the Chosen People had assembled and had won their first great military victory since Judas Maccabeus ... 2,109 years ago.” These “tough... smart... vigorous” Jews weren’t victims anymore.

Israel became a rare, successful, post-colonial state following World War II. It was democratic – and, eventually, prosperous – despite lacking natural resources.

Israel’s founding story provides two American benchmarks for assessing the U.S.-Israel partnership:

- The Truman Test: Does supporting Israel – or any ally – align with American values?
- The Marshall Test: Does supporting Israel – or any ally – strengthen America militarily?

EISENHOWER’S FRUSTRATION – AND RED LINE LEGITIMIZING ISRAEL

Truman’s successor, Dwight Eisenhower, appreciated the need for a Jewish state, having seen the liberated Nazi concentration camps. And he wanted to cement Israel’s loyalty to the free world. To placate the Arabs, his administration maintained the arms embargo but provided economic aid, mostly loans for food.

This fragile alliance almost collapsed in 1956, when Israel joined Great Britain and France

in the Sinai campaign. By nationalizing the Suez Canal, Egyptian dictator Gamal Abdel Nasser antagonized France and England. Israel wanted to stop “fedayeen” terrorists infiltrating from Gaza and the Sinai, while ending Egypt’s blockade of the southern port of Eilat, which violated Israel’s international shipping rights.

Israel’s military campaign succeeded brilliantly. Over five days, Ben-Gurion later recalled, “we defeated three Egyptian divisions in Sinai and the Gaza Strip. We destroyed all the fedayeen bases, and destroyed or captured large quantities of Egypt’s military equipment.”

But Israel also surprised America’s president. Eisenhower feared the invasion would destabilize the Middle East. America pressured Israel to withdraw from the Sinai. In return, a United Nations Emergency Force would patrol on Egypt’s side of the border, creating a buffer zone to protect Israel from invasion.

In February 1957, Israel was resisting, holding onto the Gaza Strip bordering many agricultural settlements, and Sharm El Sheikh, key to the southern Eilat port. Israel demanded more reliable guarantees. Expressing “keen disappointment,” Eisenhower blasted Israel’s arrogant assumption that “a nation which invades another should be permitted to exact conditions for withdrawal.”

Still, Eisenhower wouldn’t equate “a nation like Israel” with the Soviet Union, which was defying the UN in Hungary. “The people of Israel, like those of the United States, are imbued with a religious faith and a sense of moral values,” Eisenhower explained. He expected more from “such peoples of the free world” than “from a nation controlled by atheistic despots.”

Ben-Gurion reciprocated. Emphasizing the “common approach between us and the American people to the heritage of the Bible,” Ben-Gurion acknowledged America’s “moral and material aid,” while expressing “our feelings of appreciation of and friendship for the American people.”

Fearing sanctions, Israel caved. Within days, Egypt re-occupied Gaza, displacing the UN despite the promises. A decade later, the Six-Day War erupted because Nasser expelled the buffering troops and again blockaded Eilat.

Sometimes, culture and good PR trumps geopolitics. What could have been a disastrous breach in 1956 bonded Americans to this plucky country. As quarreling leaders buried the tensions and affirmed their common bonds, Israel’s chief of staff with the dashing

black eye-patch, Moshe Dayan, became an international celebrity. Dayan epitomized the young, bold, native Sabra – the Israeli cactus-fruit, prickly outside, soft inside.

Eisenhower controlled his disappointment – unlike today’s critics who often escalate from disliking what Israel does to repudiating that Israel is. Still, his critique suggests a third benchmark:

- The Eisenhower Test: Does supporting Israel – or any other ally – advance America’s diplomatic agenda and enhance its global standing?

THE JFK-LBJ EMBRACE

Eisenhower’s successor, John Kennedy, visited Palestine in 1939. His dynamic Cold War liberalism – along with the many urban Jews cementing his electoral coalition – made him sympathetic to the Jewish state. During the 1960 campaign, JFK blasted Eisenhower for allowing the Egyptians to violate the post-1956 agreements. Integrating both countries’ biblical tradition and democratic characters, Kennedy proclaimed: “We are in this country the youngest of people. But we are the oldest of republics. Now is our chance in this country to extend the hand of friendship to the oldest of People and the youngest of republics.”

Still, as President, Kennedy viewed the Middle East minefield warily. Once, the Saudi king offered Jacqueline Kennedy magnificent white stallions. Kennedy balked. Intimidated by his wife, the president sent Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke, his chief of protocol, to tell her “it’s hurting me politically.... The Arabs give her these horses and then Israelis come along with an old Bible worth about \$12.” Squirming, the ambassador conveyed the message. “I understand what you’re saying, Angie,” Mrs. Kennedy replied. “But... I want the horses.”

Kennedy also wooed Nasser as a “neutralist” non-Communist leader from the developing world. America supplied Egypt with food aid while financing grain storage silos and other projects.

Nevertheless, in 1962, Kennedy sold Israel Hawk anti-aircraft missiles. He hoped to blunt Israel’s interest in developing nuclear weapons for self-defense. Although the weapons were defensive, this ended America’s arms embargo. The Middle East arms race had

already begun. The Arab states spent nearly a billion dollars annually buying weapons, often with Soviet subsidies. America's turning point proved critical after 1967, when France cold-shouldered Israel.

Succeeding Kennedy, bearing a Texas-sized chip on his shoulder, Lyndon Johnson knew most Jews rejected him as a crude hillbilly not an urbane Harvard man. Nevertheless, LBJ told an Israeli diplomat shortly after Kennedy's assassination, "You have lost a very great friend. But you have found a better one."

Johnson loved Israel's pioneering energy. He viewed "the Israelis as Texans, and Nasser as Santa Ana," one adviser exclaimed. When Levi Eshkol visited Johnson's ranch, Israel's Prime Minister bent down to feel the Texas soil. The two farmers bonded. "I may not worry as much as Eshkol does about Israel," Johnson would say, "but I do worry as deeply."

Initially, Johnson continued America's balancing act. LBJ branded Nasser "an instrument of the Kremlin" – Nasser called LBJ a mere "cowboy." Yet the president unnerved Israelis by selling arms to Jordan. Speaking of King Hussein, Johnson told aides, "This little king has some value to us," and "we ought to keep him as far away from the Soviets and Nasser as we can." Johnson appeased Israel by having West Germany sell Israel 150 M-48 tanks secretly, with an "option" for another hundred – including American modernization kits. That marked America's first sale of offensive weapons to Israel.

In 1966, watching Nasser befriend the Soviets while rallying the Arab world against Israel, Johnson approved direct sales to Israel of 48 A-4 Skyhawk jet bombers. Israel's foreign minister Abba Eban hailed this "continued intensification of the existing U.S. commitment and the creation of sui generis strategic relations."

Still, State Department and Pentagon Arabists occasionally cooled relations with Israel. Showing "concern over too close a military relationship," the State Department ordered American diplomats to boycott Israel's May 1967 Independence Day Parade.

That 19th anniversary was tense. A day later, on May 16, Egypt deployed 75,000 troops into the Sinai, expelling the UN Emergency Force. The UN complied. Emboldened, Nasser mined the Straits of Tiran leading to Eilat. Arab demagogues vowed to "throw the Jews into the sea."

Johnson grumbled that by blockading Eilat, Nasser "slit our throat." Such aggression "brought a new and very grave dimension to the crisis," since "the right of free

and innocent passage of the international waterway is a vital interest of the entire international community.”

Still, LBJ urged Eshkol “to avoid any action on your side which would add further to the violence and tension in your area.” Behind the scenes, Johnson’s National Security Advisor Walt Rostow memoed the president that “our commitment is (a) to prevent Israel from being destroyed and (b) to stop aggression – either through the UN or on our own.”

Hearing heavily armed Arabs threatening another genocide, seeing Nasser mock international law, tracking increasingly menacing Arab troop deployments north and south, Israel attacked pre-emptively. America urged a ceasefire, then pressured Israel into ending its lightning victory after six days. Israel tripled in size. It overran Gaza and the Sinai, the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem, and the biblical territories of Judea and Samaria, on the Jordan River’s “West Bank” – a geopolitical term Jordanian and British diplomats coined when Jordan illegally seized that territory after invading Israel in 1948.

During the war, Israel bombarded a U.S. Navy spy ship, the USS *Liberty*, killing 34 and wounding 171. Israel’s commander Iftach Spector apologized for mistakenly identifying the ship as Egyptian. America accepted Israel’s apology – although speculation about a “cover-up” lingers.

Johnson and his aides gloated over Nasser’s “stunning loss” – and the Soviets’ foolishness in encouraging this “belligerence.” Privately, the Soviet embassy’s Yuri Tcherniakov told America’s Under Secretary of State for Public Affairs Eugene Rostow that the Arab commitment to exterminating Israel was “nonsense” and caused much of the region’s “tragedy.”

The Six-Day War cemented the U.S.-Israel alliance – casting Israel as a central Cold War asset against the Soviet Union. President Johnson wanted all countries to respect every nation’s “fundamental right to live.” Protecting Israel, the U.S. stubbornly negotiated the wording of UN Security Council Resolution 242. It demanded “Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict” – not “the territories.” That meant some territories, not all.

Two weeks after the war, Johnson hosted Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin at the “Glasboro Summit” in New Jersey. Johnson recalled Kosygin saying “he couldn’t understand why we’d want to support the Jews – three million people, when there are a hundred million Arabs. I told him that numbers do not determine what was right.”

Sentimental and shrewd, Lyndon Johnson bound America and Israel together with an idea David Ben-Gurion articulated. In 1953, Israel's founding prime minister estimated the population ratio between Israel and the Arabs as 1 to 60; the territorial ratio was 1 to 3000. Ben-Gurion's paper, "The Doctrine of Defense and State Armed Forces," concluded that Israel must maintain its Qualitative Military Edge (QME) over such mammoth adversaries.

LBJ made the QME a fundamental American commitment – in weaponry, soldiering, and strategy. In 2008, Congress codified this promise, obligating every president to ensure Israel's Qualitative Military Edge, defined as the "ability to counter and defeat any credible conventional military threat from any individual state or possible coalition of states or from non-state actors, while sustaining minimal damages and casualties, through the use of superior military means, possessed in sufficient quantity."

Professor Michael Mandelbaum analyzed how the 1967 war benefited the U.S. "long-term." Israel's emergent "military supremacy ... continues to be a major strategic asset for Washington." This foreign policy expert explains that "unlike in Europe and East Asia," America did not have to balance out the Soviet Union by deploying "troops on the ground in the Middle East." Israel was strong and demanded autonomy. "Israel has remained a reliable surrogate ever since, allowing the United States to remain an offshore balancer in the region for long stretches of time."

This breakthrough suggests a fourth test:

- The JFK-LBJ "vibe" test: Does supporting Israel – or any ally – feel right, in the White House, in Congress, on the American street? Are the two nations true friends?

Recognizing Israel in 1948 established the precedent: America supported Israel. Building on the romantic, ideological, biblical foundations, the 1967 war solidified this partnership's strategic, diplomatic, and pragmatic bonds. No mere passive recipient of aid, Israel was an active player in advancing Western and American interests. Senator Jesse Helms, who opposed most foreign aid, later asked: "If Israel did not exist, what would U.S. defense costs in the Middle East be?"

Uncle Sam found a true partner in principles too.

AMERICA'S TEST OF A GOOD ALLY

The Truman Values Alignment Test:

Does supporting Israel – or any ally – align with American values?

- ▶ *Two Sister Democracies: Zionism and Americanism Rhyme More than they Clash.*



The Marshall Military Power Test:

Does supporting Israel – or any ally – strengthen America militarily?

- ▶ *From 1967 and 1973 through the Cold War, the War on Terror, the Post-October 7th Wars Against Iran and Iran's Ring of Fire, Israel the DIY – Defend it Yourself – Ally, has made America – and the world – safer.*



The Eisenhower Useful Ally Test:

Does supporting Israel – or any other ally – advance America's diplomatic agenda and enhance its global standing?

- ▶ *Since its establishment in 1948, Israel has been the ROI – Return on Investment – Ally, perennially backing America.*



The JFK-LBJ "Vibe" Test:

Does supporting Israel – or any ally – feel right, in the White House, in Congress, on the American street? Are the two nations true friends?

- ▶ *As the two nations converge culturally, economically, ideologically, the connection grows.*



Like all long marriages, the U.S.-Israel relationship is resilient enough to survive repeated conflict. Good partnerships need strong foundations, mutual incentives to rebound, and willpower to outgrow the inevitable tensions. Despite clashing over continuing wars, targeting nuclear sites, sabotaging negotiations, or simply accommodating colliding egos, the buoyant partnership remains, as Ambassador Dennis Ross says, “doomed to succeed.”

A full history charting this rollercoaster is beyond this *Essential Guide’s* scope. But the overriding headline from ten presidents since 1968, from Richard Nixon through Donald Trump, illuminates the ever-strengthening connection. That bedrock bond unleashed forces that keep overcoming the inevitable stressors between a small democracy, surrounded by Middle Eastern enemies vowing to exterminate it, and the world’s most powerful democracy, spoiled by the world’s longest non-militarized border – with Canada.

RICHARD NIXON – UNSENTIMENTAL BUT MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL JOURNEYS

President Richard Nixon unintentionally tape-recorded some of his Jew-hating outbursts. In April 1973, he fumed: “It’s about goddamn time that the Jew in America realizes he’s an American first and a Jew second.” Yet, when Egypt and Syria invaded Israel six months later, sparking the October 1973 Yom Kippur War, he raised America’s defense posture to DEFCON 3, to restrain the Soviets. Nixon barked: “Send everything that will fly.” America’s record-breaking resupply outdid the 1948-1949 Berlin airlift.

The U.S. Air Force delivered over 22,325 tons of tanks, artillery, and ammunition. This helped Israel counterattack so effectively, America then intervened diplomatically to save Egypt's surrounded Third Army. Until 1973, many in America's military wondered, "why support Israel?" Israel shipped back seized Soviet weapons, while improvising tactics that outmaneuvered the Soviet-trained Arab troops. Those successes helped turn the Pentagon pro-Israel.

Nixon's relationship with Israel was not overly sentimental. More than two-thirds of the Jewish community opposed him. But this master strategist and Cold Warrior recognized Israel as the indispensable ally. Thus, the terrifying Yom Kippur War cemented the military and diplomatic connections. Meanwhile, Israel's American-immigrant prime minister, Golda Meir, cemented the popular bond between the two peoples. Meir was deemed America's "Most admired woman" in 1973 and 1974, often surpassing America's first ladies throughout the decade.

GERALD FORD: REASSESSING AND REBOOTING

When Gerald Ford abruptly succeeded Nixon, Nixon's Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was busy doing "shuttle diplomacy." Kissinger laid the groundwork for what became the 1979 Israel-Egyptian Camp David peace treaty. As negotiations dragged, Ford said Israeli "tactics frustrated the Egyptians and made me mad as hell."

In March 1975, Ford declared a "reassessment of United States policy" – suspending aid. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said this "innocent-sounding term ... heralded one of the worst periods in American-Israeli relations." On September 4, 1975, Israel, caving, signed the Sinai Interim Agreement with Egypt. The aid resumed.

That fall, President Ford declared: "This administration is very, very much opposed" to the UN's resolution calling Zionism "racism," which "is contrary to the basic Charter of the United Nations." Ford added that the Palestinian national movement "refused to recognize the State of Israel. And we, of course, strongly back the State of Israel in its attitude that there must be recognition before there can be any contact or any participation by the Palestinians in any negotiations."

Spurred by Ford's UN Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a liberal Democrat, the American people mocked the UN resolution, from left to right, black and white, labor unionists and preachers alike. Recognizing this anti-Zionism as antisemitic, most Americans embraced Israel. On the new program "Saturday Night" – not yet "Saturday

Night Live” – the mock newscaster Chevy Chase “reported” on the resolution: “Black entertainer Sammy Davis, Jr., a convert to Judaism, was quoted as saying: ‘What a breakthrough! Now, finally, I can hate myself!’”

JIMMY CARTER – PEACEMAKING AND BOND-BREAKING

In October 1977, in a speech to the Democratic National Committee, President Jimmy Carter said, “I would rather commit suicide than hurt the nation of Israel.” He explained that “If I should ever hurt Israel, which I won’t, I think a political suicide would almost automatically result, because it’s not only our Jewish citizens who have this deep commitment to Israel but there’s an overwhelming support throughout the nation, because there’s a common bond of commitment to the same principles of openness and freedom and democracy and strength and courage that ties us together in an irrevocable way.” Israel was becoming a bipartisan national asset.

In September 1978, Carter’s Camp David Summit generated the once-inconceivable Israel-Egyptian Peace Treaty of 1979. Israel’s Prime Minister Menachem Begin said Carter’s peace effort would “be remembered and recorded by generations to come.”

Today, however, Carter is remembered as “anti-Israel,” especially after publishing a 2006 polemic, *Palestine: Peace not Apartheid*. Historians – and psychologists – keep speculating about Carter’s post-presidential journey. Still, while befriending anti-Zionists, Carter never negated Israel’s right to exist.

Carter’s restraint reflects America’s consensus supporting Israel’s existence. In January 1978, the former vice president, Hubert Humphrey, dying of cancer, proclaimed: “We must declare without embarrassment, and without apology, that Israel has earned a special relationship with America.” Humphrey, along with Senators Bob Dole, Frank Church, Daniel Inouye, Henry Jackson, and Ted Kennedy, framed supporting Israel as an existential all-American issue – rooted in the Bible, confirmed by World War II’s lessons, defending Cold War America, and transcending partisan disagreements. Nevertheless, Carter’s disenchantment with Israel’s government anticipated the greatest threat to the partnership today, especially among Democrats.

RONALD REAGAN: ROCKY START – GAME-CHANGING FINISH

President Ronald Reagan’s administration began with high-profile clashes. In April 1981, Reagan endorsed Jimmy Carter’s \$8.5 billion deal selling Saudi Arabia 62 F-15 fighter

aircraft, advanced tanks, and five Airborne Warning and Control Systems (AWACS). The *Boston Globe* called it “a manifest contradiction of Reagan’s campaign promise to enhance Israel’s security.” Despite passionate lobbying, the pro-Israel community lost.

That June, Israel bombed Iraq’s nuclear power plant at Osirak. Enraged, Reagan halted delivery of the F-16 fighter jets to Israel and supported the UN Security Council resolution condemning the Israeli operation. In December, Israel annexed the Golan Heights. Reagan suspended America’s strategic cooperation agreement with Israel. Prime Minister Menachem Begin snapped: Israel is not a “banana republic.” Then, in August 1982, Reagan called Begin, expressing “outrage” that Israel’s bombing raids during the Lebanon War caused “needless destruction and bloodshed.”

Nevertheless, despite all of this, Reagan is remembered as the most “pro-Israel” of presidents.

Reinforcing Nixon’s Cold War pragmatism with sentiment and idealism, Reagan inspired most Republicans to become enthusiastically pro-Israel, cementing Israel’s bipartisan support nationwide. Reagan united the Evangelical Protestants of the Moral Majority and other religious groups with security-minded neoconservatives and anti-Communists. They supported Israel for deeply idealistic and cold-heartedly pragmatic reasons.

Reagan fought to free Soviet Jews and Ethiopian Jews. He bailed out Israel’s inflation-ravaged economy with a \$1.5 billion emergency package. In 1985, he approved America’s first Free Trade agreement with a country outside North America, Israel – which helped launch its capitalist revolution. Two years later, Israel was among the first countries to receive Major Non-NATO Ally status, symbolizing enduring mutual friendship, and facilitating diplomatic, military, economic, and research ties.

Russian muscle-flexing, then international terrorism targeting Americans, proved clarifying. From Hezbollah’s 1983 U.S. Marine Barracks bombing in Beirut, murdering 241 Americans, to the PLO’s 1985 Achille Lauro cruise ship hijacking – with terrorists throwing one wheelchair-bound American Jew overboard – to Libya’s 1988 downing of Pan Am Flight 103, killing 270 innocents, Israel and America united to fight this evil.

Ultimately, Reagan loved Israel. “When it comes to Israel, the United States is not a bargainer or a broker: The United States is a friend and an ally,” he said in 1988. “And that’s why one of the things I’m proudest of is the steps we’ve been able to take during this administration to build a stronger foundation of enduring friendship and cooperation.” He called “strategic cooperation” a “commitment our two governments have made to

each other. It responds to our mutual needs...” Vowing: “We will not leave Israel to stand alone, nor will we acquiesce in any effort to gang up on Israel,” Reagan connected his support for Israel with his campaign to help America regain its “sense of purpose... proclaiming enthusiastically the democratic ideals that inspired our Founding Fathers and the Founding Fathers of Israel.”

GEORGE H.W. BUSH: HARD LINE, SOFT HEART

The Reagan template continued, with bipartisan support, growing interconnectedness, but also acrimonious clashes. In 1991, Israel requested \$10 billion in loan guarantees to absorb Soviet Jewish immigrants. Bush didn’t want the money spent in the disputed territories and demanded that Israel join a Palestinian peace conference.

Bush apologized when his melodramatic claim that he was “one lonely little guy” facing “something like 1,000 lobbyists,” emboldened Jew-haters. Secretary of State James Baker denied saying about the Jews: “Fuck ‘em. They don’t vote for us.” And both led a wall-to-wall bipartisan coalition to invalidate the UN’s 1975 “Zionism is Racism” resolution.

Characteristically, these political and diplomatic disputes upstaged the most significant developments. Bush’s Persian Gulf War leadership ensnared America in the Middle East, increasing America’s military and intelligence cooperation with Israel exponentially. Israel’s restraint, as Saddam Hussein’s Iraq bombarded Tel Aviv with SCUD missiles, endeared Israel to policymakers and the public. American sympathy for Israel hit polling highs of 79 percent.

After the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991, many analysts hailed Israel’s role in repeatedly embarrassing the Soviets. Highlights included easily downing 88 Soviet-made Syrian MiGs in 1982 and providing America’s military with fresh intelligence, freed of CIA conceptions.

CLINTON — LOVE-LOVE AND TOUGH LOVE

Like Truman, Johnson, and Reagan, President Bill Clinton felt a profound non-negotiable commitment to Israel. Clinton’s pastor, W.O. Vaught, pronounced on his deathbed: “God will never forgive you if you do not support Israel.” In bonding with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and spearheading the Oslo Peace Process, despite Israeli objections and Palestinian terrorism, Clinton demonstrated his reverence for Israel. When an extremist

Jew opposing Oslo assassinated Rabin in November 1995, Clinton was devastated. The President popularized the pitch-perfect phrase memorializing Rabin: “Shalom Chaver.” It meant: “goodbye my close friend,” and “buddy, let’s have peace.”

Rabin’s assassination shocked Americans. While attending Rabin’s funeral along with Clinton, Jimmy Carter, and George H.W. Bush, Senator Ted Kennedy placed earth from his two murdered brothers’ graves onto Rabin’s. The Senate adjourned in Rabin’s memory. American flags flew at half-mast – a rare honor afforded a foreign leader.

Clinton’s relations with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu proved contentious. In 1996, Clinton fumed to staffers: “Who the fuck does he think he is? Who’s the fucking superpower here?” Still, despite Netanyahu’s resistance, despite giving “Bibi” tough love, Clinton blamed Yasir Arafat and the Palestinians for derailing Oslo by turning to terror in September 2000.

Nevertheless, the Palestinian issue subsequently clouded U.S.-Israel relations. Tension between a Netanyahu-dominated Israel and Democrats mushroomed. Still, both houses of Congress voted unanimously to celebrate Israel’s 50th birthday in April 1998. Kevin Costner and Michael Douglas hosted CBS’s prime time special, “To Life! America Celebrates Israel’s 50th,” featuring celebrities like Kirk Douglas, Sid Caesar, Natalie Cole, Jessye Norman, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Noah Wyle, and Stevie Wonder.

GEORGE W. BUSH: FIGHTING TERROR TOGETHER

The Palestinian terrorism of the “Second Intifada” exploded in September 2000, following Clinton’s failed Camp David Summit, and persisted for four years. Only after al-Qaida’s devastating attacks against America, on September 11, 2001, did most Americans really begin noticing. Many Americans instantly, viscerally, identified with Israel – and tried learning from Israel about fighting terror.

America’s War on Terror brought the two countries into sync.

ISRAEL'S POST-OCTOBER 7 WAR VERSUS AMERICA'S POST 9/11 WAR ON TERROR

by the numbers:



CASUS BELLI

Hamas killed 1,277– and kidnapped 251 innocents on October 7, 2023 – the American equivalent would be 40,000 dying in one day...VERSUS Al Qaida killed 2,977 on September 11, 2001

ISRAEL



UNITED STATES



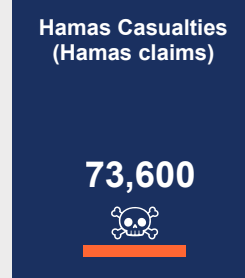
LENGTH OF WAR



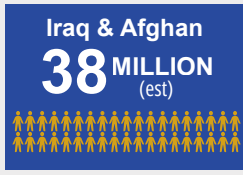
ENEMY CASUALTIES

Gaza – Hamas claims 73,600 – but that includes an estimated 11,000 natural deaths and at least 4,000 deaths caused by their own friendly fire – and over 25,000 terrorists killed.
Kill Ratio of 2 civilians for every terrorist

Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria – (est)900,000 **Kill Ratio of 4 civilians for every terrorist**



DISPLACED POPULATION



COST



Prime Minister Ariel Sharon helped lead this “international struggle of the free world against the forces of darkness who seek to destroy our liberty and way of life.”

In 2006, one Brookings Institution analysis identified “three key areas” where “Israel’s experiences were directly relevant and offered specific lessons for the United States”: “coercing” reluctant governments “to take effective counterterrorism measures; broader defensive measures; and techniques for striking at the leadership of terrorist groups.”

Continuing the cult of Moshe Dayan, American popular culture celebrated Israelis as noble warriors. From 2005 to 2013, the CBS TV series NCIS spotlighted Ziva David’s Mossad training and Sabra toughness-masking-sweetness. Adam Sandler’s 2008 movie “You Don’t Mess With The Zohan” mocked hyper-macho Israeli fighters with hearts of gold – while romanticizing them. By 2017, Miss Israel 2004, Gal Gadot, wowed the world as Wonder Woman.

Bush’s pro-democracy agenda saluted democratic Israel, while his “Road Map for Peace” stirred tension by continuing America’s decades-long search for a two-state solution. Bush backed Sharon’s 2005 Gaza disengagement, reassuring Israelis that withdrawing would bring peace. Bush then discovered that democracy requires civil society and civil liberties, not just voting. Hamas exploited popular frustration with the Palestinian Authority to gain a Gazan foothold through elections, then violently seized control in 2007.

OBAMA — DAYLIGHT AND SURPRISES

Barack Obama’s two terms highlighted the extensive economic, military, diplomatic, and political ties linking Israel and America – despite growing tensions, especially between “blue state” Democrats and Benjamin Netanyahu’s “red state” Israel. America secretly sold bunker buster bombs to Israel in 2009, contributed \$235 million to develop the Iron Dome missile defense in 2011, and signed a 2016 Memorandum of Understanding, MOU, providing \$3.8 billion annually to Israel for ten years. Visiting Israel in March 2013, Obama celebrated Zionism, insisting: “Israel is not going anywhere.”

Nevertheless, Israel’s ambassador to the U.S. from 2009 to 2013, Michael Oren, claimed Obama broke America’s longstanding vow of “no daylight” and “no surprises.” Obama believed that, under George W. Bush, “there was no space between us and Israel, and what did we get from that? When there is no daylight, Israel just sits on the sidelines, and that erodes our credibility with the Arab states.”

There was much daylight between Israel’s fears of a nuclear Iran and Obama’s commitment to engaging Iran. And there was much daylight, as Obama condemned the settlements and demanded a Palestinian peace process, while Netanyahu resisted. Netanyahu offended Obama by accepting Republican Speaker of the House John Boehner’s 2015 invitation to address Congress. There, Netanyahu condemned Obama’s attempts to negotiate a nuclear deal with Iran. Obama took revenge in December 2016, by withholding the U.S. veto of a UN Security Council resolution calling Israel’s settlements “legally invalid.” The vote capped the long, brittle relationship between Obama and Netanyahu – even as Congressional votes for Israel’s security continued with overwhelming support, such as the 410 to 4 vote for the “United States-Israel Rocket and Missile Defense Cooperation and Support Act.”

Obama’s growing coolness to Israel encouraged ever-more enthusiastic Republican support – especially among Evangelical Christians. The Reverend John Hagee and other conservatives opposed the Iran agreement, while blasting Obama for pushing Israel to return to “Auschwitz borders.” And Fox News, which celebrated Israel’s contribution to the post-9/11 War on Terror, continually cheered the Jewish state. That’s why, despite tensions, in 2018 Gallup pollsters found 64 percent of Americans supporting Israel, a post-Gulf-War high.

TRUMP 1.0: BIPARTISANSHIP DOOMED?

Donald Trump repudiated many Obama’s policies, including his chariness toward Israel. Trump recognized Jerusalem as Israel’s capital and moved America’s embassy to Jerusalem – fulfilling a longstanding bipartisan pledge. He recognized Israel’s annexation of the Golan Heights. And he brokered the Abraham Accords, defying the experts. While forging economic, cultural, technological, and diplomatic relationships between Israel and many Gulf States, the agreement created a template that Trump envisioned eventually including Saudi Arabia and transforming the region.

Occasional tensions persisted. Trump leveraged the Abraham Accords to block Netanyahu’s plans to annex the Jordan Valley. But more worrying forces buffeted America’s pro-Israel community. Trump was so polarizing, and he embraced Israel so enthusiastically, it soured some anti-Trump Democrats on Israel. And as partisans left and right rejected bipartisanship, it became harder to keep the U.S.-Israel relationship non-partisan.

AIPAC's Policy Conferences still consecrated bipartisanship. Until COVID hit, America's largest pro-Israel hootenanny attracted nearly 20,000 attendees annually, Jewish and non-Jewish. Two-thirds of Congress attended. Beyond politics, Israel's role as what CBS News called "a living lab," vaccinating its population against COVID-19 successfully, culminated an extraordinary Israeli makeover. Once, Israel was considered a backward country of Jaffa oranges and goofy "*kova tembel*" caps; today, it's this high-tech powerhouse inventing disks-on-key and super-powered chips.

BIDEN - THE DEMOCRATS' LAST ZIONIST PRESIDENT?

Joe Biden called himself a "Zionist." While supporting the creation of a Palestinian state, he approached the October 7 horrors with moral clarity. His 2023 trip to Israel, 11 days later, marked the first American presidential trip to Israel during wartime. Over the next 18 months, Biden approved an additional \$18 billion in arms shipments to the Jewish state. And in April 2024, when Iran launched 320 missiles at Israel, the seamless way America, Israel, and other allies shot most down, epitomized the multidimensional alliance Biden's generation built.

Yet, Biden's "Don't, Don't" warning didn't only stop Hezbollah and Iran from invading on October 8. Biden also blocked Israel from responding immediately to Hezbollah's rocket fire. He fought a grinding tug-of-war with Benjamin Netanyahu over Israel's military strategy, especially in Gaza.

Those tensions, progressives' anti-Zionism, and searing media coverage of Israel's Gaza bombing, rattled the U.S.-Israel alliance. When Biden left office, he boasted: "Iran's air defenses are in shambles. Their main proxy, Hezbollah, is badly wounded.... And if you want more evidence that we've seriously weakened Iran and Russia, just take a look at Syria." While adding a ten-word acknowledgment that "Israel did plenty of damage to Iran and its proxies," Biden didn't mention that most of those gains resulted because Netanyahu defied him. Meanwhile, Democratic critics, resenting Trump's embrace, risked making Israel another partisan wedge issue.

TRUMP 2.0: SLEDGEHAMMER DIPLOMACY

As of this writing, Donald Trump remains president, Israel's Hamas war has evolved from its intense fighting phase after all the hostages returned home, with 168 alive. October 7 also taught Israelis that ongoing threats like Iran and Hezbollah could no longer be tolerated, a lesson Trump also embraced, intermittently. Initially, Trump encouraged

Netanyahu to fight more aggressively in Gaza, defying MAGA's Tucker Carlson-Candace Owens anti-Israel wing. Trump's sledgehammer diplomacy also freed the final 20 living hostages, brokering a Gaza ceasefire that left Israel initially controlling 53 percent of Gaza. Still, Trump took jabs at Netanyahu, sold weapons to Saudi Arabia and Qatar, and wooed Turkey. Most unnerving, in June, 2026, he seemed to abandon his and Israel's original war goals in negotiating his ceasefire with Iran. Such Trumpian zigzagging left Israelis treading carefully to appease this volatile president.

The roller-coaster ride continues. No one knows what will happen in a Democratic Party filled with millions cheering Bernie Sanders, the Squad, and Zohran Mamdani, with a youth wing increasingly forged by anti-Israel encampments. Nor can anyone guarantee that Trump's successor won't embrace the isolationist, antisemitic "woke right," which believes that supporting Israel drains America.

Nevertheless, the U.S.-Israel relationship keeps bouncing back – reflecting a popular foundation far stronger than passing headlines suggest. On January 27, 1970, the *New York Times* reported that President Nixon and Prime Minister Golda Meir made statements reflecting “an effort on both sides to eliminate the tensions caused by American diplomatic initiatives and Israel's reaction to them.”

Thousands of articles since, pronouncing a teetering partnership, have described “furor,” “American frustration,” and “Israel's defiance.” Yet, the alliance has continued to blossom.

That August 1970, the *Times* covered a conference of “American Jewish and Israeli intellectuals” darkened by “the tension between the universal and the particular in Jewish religion, culture and politics,” clashes over America's support for Israel, and shared worries about Jewish students' “alienation.”

History is not destiny. It's facile to say, “Israel survived it then, Israel will survive it now.” And tracking the ongoing fissures – let alone the recurrent presidential F-bombs – indicates how deep the frustrations can run. But it's equally facile to surrender prematurely. Present tensions – peaking after a challenging, brutal, war – don't determine the future either.

CHAPTER

4

WHY CAN'T ISRAEL SOLVE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM – WHY CAN'T AMERICA?

American presidents keep pressuring Israeli prime ministers to advance a Palestinian peace process. In 2010, leaked diplomatic exchanges repudiated a central assumption behind this push. While Barack Obama assumed that Arabs prioritize the Palestinian cause, Arab leaders actually feared the Iranian “danger.” Obama’s rapprochement with Iran unintentionally spawned the Abraham Accords, by propelling Egypt and Saudi Arabia toward Israel. Similarly, shortly after October 7, while supporting Israel courageously, Joe Biden, like his predecessors, reiterated his endorsement of the “two-state solution.” Even Donald Trump, despite supporting Netanyahu’s government, often proposed solving the Palestinian problem in ways Israel didn’t.

Today, after more than two years of harsh coverage emphasizing Gazans’ suffering from Israel’s counterattack, with many reporters treating the Iran alliance’s seven-front war to annihilate Israel as a one-sided Israeli police action against Palestinians, more Americans criticize Israel’s resistance to a Palestinian state. In autumn 2025, 21 percent of Israelis supported a Palestinian state – a 29-point drop since 2013; 58 percent of Americans supported one, up from 44 percent in 2013.

Furthermore, although Trump criticized European allies for recognizing a non-existent Palestinian state, 47 Democratic representatives and eight Democratic senators endorsed the initiative. “America has a new generation that will recognize a Palestinian state when we come to power,” said Representative Ro Khanna, a California Democrat.

Before looking ahead, better to look backward, asking two questions. First, why can’t Israel solve the Palestinian problem, given how much reputational damage Israel sustains over the issue? And second, after working so hard to establish a Palestinian state, why have Americans also failed so dramatically?

Actually, the pressing question is: why haven't Palestinians solved their own problem? Assuming others should take responsibility for them is condescending and feeds a paralyzing victim mentality. The biggest obstacle to peace remains Palestinian leaders' refusal to tolerate a Jewish state of any size on "their territory," from the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in the 1940s to the Sinwar brothers of Hamas.

Arab leaders rejected the UN's 1947 Partition Plan. As various compromise plans percolated years earlier, the Mufti declared: "Those who go to meet the partition commission should take their shrouds with them." In 1947, the Arab League's secretary-general, Abdul Rahman Hassan Azzam, vowed that if Jews established a state, Arabs would unleash "a war of extermination and momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacre and the Crusades."

In 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) founders rejected any Jewish state. "The liberation of Palestine..." the PLO's Charter proclaimed, "aims at the elimination of Zionism in Palestine."

Three years later, when Israel expanded following its Six-Day War of self-defense, the Arab League issued the Three NOs of Khartoum, Sudan: "No peace with Israel, No recognition of Israel, No negotiations with it." Eventually, Anwar Sadat boldly accepted coexistence, signing the 1979 Israel-Egyptian peace treaty. Two years later, Egyptian Islamic Jihad terrorists assassinated him.

In the 1970s and 1980s, while publicizing their cause through global terrorism, Palestinian nationalists generally avoided religious rhetoric. PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat sought a "secular democratic state in Palestine." Sadat's assassination reflected jihadists' growing power. They made this clash of nationalisms more cosmic and irreconcilable.

By 1988, what Palestinians called the "Intifada" (uprising) spawned the jihadist organization, Hamas. The Hamas Covenant declared, "Israel will exist ... until Islam will obliterate it." Rejecting compromise, interweaving antisemitism with anti-Zionism, the charter proclaimed: "There is no solution for the Palestinian problem except by jihad [struggle]."

Hamas worked hard to sabotage the Oslo Peace Process, which began in 1993 with a conceptual breakthrough. To minimize the number of Palestinians directly under Israeli control, the new Palestinian Authority controlled the six largest Palestinian cities in the territories. Since then, most Palestinians live under the PA. Historians debate Yasir Arafat's sincerity and some of Israel's actions – given how divided Israel was, and

how the fiery opposition culminated in Yitzhak Rabin's assassination. But by targeting Palestinian moderates and murdering Israelis during negotiations, Hamas doomed the peace process.

In September 2000, pressured by jihadi radicals led by Hamas, and unwilling to coexist with Israel, Arafat launched the "Second Intifada." Palestinian suicide bombers and gunmen cumulatively killed over 1,000 innocents – shaking most Israelis' faith in a two-state solution. If in the 1980s, American conservatives were liberals who were mugged, in Israel, hardliners were "peaceniks" who were bombed.

Nevertheless, in 2005, to placate the Americans – and simplify Israel's battlelines – Prime Minister Ariel Sharon disengaged Israel from Gaza. Israel dismantled 21 Jewish communities, removing 8,000 Israelis who lived in the coastal strip on Israel's southwestern flank. President George W. Bush insisted: "Palestinians must undertake an immediate cessation of armed activity and all acts of violence against Israelis anywhere, and all official Palestinian institutions must end incitement against Israel." Negotiations would then give Israel "secure and recognized borders."

Instead, by 2007, Hamas violently seized power. Gaza's new jihadi leaders believed their charter: "Leaving the circle of struggle with Zionism is high treason and cursed be he who does that."

Occasional attempts to reignite negotiations between Israel and the PA failed amid constant tension between Hamas and Israel, punctuated by periodic military clashes. In 2008, Prime Minister Ehud Olmert offered Palestinians 93 percent of Judea and Samaria (the West Bank), all of Gaza, and 5.8 percent of Israeli territory from within the pre-1967 borders, to balance Palestinians' pre-1967 claim. Asked in 2015, "What did you propose in return?" the PA president, Mahmoud Abbas, boasted: "I did not agree. I rejected it out of hand."

On October 7, 2023, Hamas invaded Israel. Seventy-one percent of Palestinians cheered as decades of rejectionism culminated in unspeakable barbarism. Meanwhile, as Israelis bled, a systematic global campaign tried ostracizing the Jewish state, while cancelling any Zionists supporting Israel's right to exist.

HOW THE ISRAELI UNDERSTANDING OF PALESTINIANS EVOLVED

Rooting Hamas's crimes in the Grand Mufti's hatred exposes the Palestinian national movement's lethal aversion to Zionism, Israel, and the Jews. Nevertheless, it's important to understand Israel's evolution on the Palestinian question, especially as more Americans blame the impasse on Israel.

Israel-bashers oversimplify, pitting 7.75 million Israeli Jews against 7 million Arabs living "from the river to the sea," meaning the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea. But Palestinians live under six different political arrangements. Two million Israeli Arabs enjoy full rights in Israel's democracy. Approximately 350,000 East Jerusalemites are "permanent residents," refusing Israel's citizenship offer. Another two million Palestinians live in Gaza, which Hamas has controlled tyrannically since 2007. Three million Palestinians live in what most of the world calls "the West Bank" – of the Jordan River – and many Israelis call "Judea and Samaria" – the territories' biblical names. There, 55 percent of Palestinians live in Area A, where the PA exercises civil and security control, 43 percent live in Area B, with the PA exercising civil control, while sharing security responsibilities with Israel. Only 2 percent, between 150,000 and 300,000 Palestinians, live in Area C, which Israel controls fully.

To Israelis, the "Palestinian problem" involves the Palestinians in the territories Israel liberated or occupied – your politics determines the verb – during the 1967 war. Hamas's 2007 coup essentially created three entities, with Israel, the radical Hamas-dominated Gaza strip, and the PA-administered Judea and Samaria/West Bank. Endorsing "two states" ignores the PA-Hamas rivalry. Some analysts propose a confederation with Jordan – whose territory included Palestine until 1921. Others imagine archipelagos of autonomy, noting the tribal and clannish dynamics of Hebron or Jenin, or the way one village might be pro-Hamas, its neighbor PA-oriented, and a third, Greek Orthodox. Westerners shouldn't impose their conceptions of nationalism on Palestinian Arabs.

Israelis vigorously debate the Palestinian issue. The "peace camp" demands sweeping Israeli concessions. Most settlers deny Palestinian rights to any part of "greater Israel." The majority remains torn.

Israeli government policy roughly evolved in four phases: Initial Denial; Diplomatic Attempts; Weary Disinterest; and, since October 7, Disgusted Deadlock.

INITIAL DENIAL 1948-1987

For the first four decades of Israel's existence, the Arab world's genocidal threats quite reasonably distracted Israel's government. Most Arabs emphasized pan-Arabism, as Egypt and Syria led the fight to "throw the Jews into the sea."

Israel's comeback after the Yom Kippur surprise attack in 1973, marked the last massive clash between Israel and conventional armies. Watching Israel defeat major Arab armies, Yasir Arafat was more innovative. Palestinians targeted Israeli civilians, often beyond Israeli borders, including 1972's Munich Massacre of Israeli Olympians. Despite this violence killing Westerners too, Palestinians' accompanying campaign questioning Israel's legitimacy propelled Palestinian nationalism to the top of the international agenda, making it a defining progressive cause.

Fighting Palestinian terrorism at the Rome and Vienna Airports, the Ma'alot schoolyard, Entebbe, while defending Israel's legitimacy at the UN, undercut most Israelis' interest in negotiating. Israel's Prime Minister Golda Meir said in 1969: "There is no Palestinian people. There are Palestinian refugees." She later explained: "My statement was based on a lifetime of debates with Arab nationalists who vehemently excluded a separatist Palestinian Arab nationalism from their formulations." Throughout the 1980s, Prime Minister Menachem Begin dismissed the "PKO" – the Palestine Killers Organization. Israeli law prohibited contact with PLO representatives, considering the blood they shed.

Meanwhile, following the 1967 war, some Israelis rebuilt abandoned communities in the disputed territories, while others founded new ones. These communities, reflecting Labor Zionists' love for the land and Religious Zionists' return to Jews' biblical roots, cover one percent of the mostly unpopulated West Bank. Their regional councils and jurisdictions extend to approximately 42 percent. They are limited to Area C, about 60 percent of the territory.

Although branded "the" monolithic settlements, these communities vary in legal status, with some deemed "legitimate" by the Israeli consensus, others disputed passionately.

Among 750,000 "settlers" in lands Israel controlled after 1967, at least 230,000 live in Jerusalem, across the pre-1967 Green Line. Few Israelis consider the Old City's Jewish Quarter, or the neighborhoods integrated into the Jews' historic capital, "occupied" or "settlements." In 1980, the Jerusalem Law annexed those territories constituting "greater Jerusalem."

Of the 500,000 Israelis living outside Jerusalem and over the Green Line, over 200,000 live in cities that most Israelis wouldn't agree to dismantle.

The five largest consensus cities, ranging from 88,000 to 13,000 inhabitants, are: Modi'in Illit, Beitar Illit, Ma'ale Adumim, Ariel, and Efrat.

These cities, and other smaller villages, are mostly suburban, offering backyards, a sense of community, and quality of life, within commuting distance of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Some people also find living there ideologically fulfilling.

Some are security settlements. Under the Labor leader Yigal Allon's plan, the Israeli government, recalling that Jordan invaded Israel in 1948 and 1967, built settlements such as Almog, Beit Ha'arava, and Chemdat, in the Jordan Valley. These settlements secure that border – still rife with smugglers – while protecting some north-south roads. Similarly, in outer Jerusalem, where thousands of terrorists have attacked, neighborhoods like Givat Ze'ev and cities like Ma'ale Adumim, provide some security insulation for over one million Jerusalemites.

Some revived communities, especially Hebron and Gush Etzion, were destroyed by Arab violence then restored after 1967. Kibbutz Kfar Etzion has roots in 1927, growing until the Arab riots of 1929 drove out the founders. Reestablished in 1943, it was overrun by Jordanian troops in 1948. For 19 years, the survivors met regularly on Israel's side of the Green Line, straining to glimpse the 700-year-old oak, the "Lone Tree of Gush Etzion." In returning after the 1967 war, they believed they were righting historical wrongs, not invading.

Some villages are ideological homesteads. Some are populated by idealists returning to their biblical roots. Some assert a Jewish presence in overwhelmingly Arab areas, to protect Jewish farmland or distance ambushers from innocents driving on deserted roads. In some regions, Jews and Palestinians cooperate; usually, relations are brittle.

Finally, activists established dozens of unauthorized outposts. These can be as small as two or three caravans or farmers. Some militants established them as "price tags" avenging terrorist attacks to annoy, even displace, Palestinians. Others are shepherds expanding their grazing areas – or security-minded ideologues creating safe corridors. These homesteads are particularly controversial. Israel's army occasionally dismantles them, but, especially under Netanyahu's government, enforcement has been erratic. The Biden Administration sanctioned some Jewish extremists for undermining "peace, security, and stability in the West Bank."

During Oslo, in the 1990s, barely 100,000 Israelis lived over the Green Line. Today, there are over 500,000 – excluding Jerusalem.

ATTEMPTS AT DIPLOMACY 1987-2005

Two political earthquakes changed the status quo. In December 1987, what Palestinians call the “First Intifada” erupted in Gaza then spread throughout the territories. Pilloried globally, many Israelis started considering the situation untenable. For 20 years, most had emphasized the running water, improved universities, and economic opportunities Palestinians enjoyed following 1967. And many experienced warm interactions and productive economic exchanges.

Both Palestinian agitators and genuine frustrations destabilized matters. Then in 1991, the Soviet Union and its Communist satellites collapsed. The PLO wondered how to proceed without its strongest international patron.

Secret meetings between Palestinian officials and Israeli professors near Oslo, Norway, jump-started this second phase of diplomatic attempts. The September 1993 Oslo Accords established the Palestinian Authority (PA) to govern Palestinian territories. Israel recognized the PLO as the Palestinian people’s legitimate representative, while Yasir Arafat recognized “the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.”

For Israelis, Oslo brought high hopes, deep divisions, and devastating violence. Suicide bombings and other terrorist attacks punctuated talk of territorial concessions, Palestinian self-rule, and coexistence. Most Israelis lost faith in diplomacy when Prime Minister Ehud Barak offered sweeping concessions at Camp David, in July 2000. To President Bill Clinton’s frustration, Arafat made no counteroffer, then unleashed the bloody “Second Intifada.” The 1,000 Israelis murdered from 2000 through 2004 – like the 1200 murdered on October 7, 2023 – convinced many Israelis that so many Palestinians threatening to kill “the Jews” made further territorial concessions too risky.

WEARY DISINTEREST 2005-2023

After Israel quashed the “Second Intifada’s” terrorism, most Israelis wearied of “peace process” talk. Ehud Olmert was already indicted and a lame duck when he launched his 2008 “two-state” initiative. Olmert later called the ongoing conflict the “source of livelihood” for Palestinian terrorist groups, explaining why Mahmoud Abbas didn’t counteroffer.

Especially under Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel’s government has shown little interest in solving the Palestinian problem. In 2013, however, pressured by Obama, Netanyahu accepted a demilitarized Palestinian state, if the Palestinians recognized Israel as a Jewish state. In 2018, the PLO Central Council suspended recognition of Israel, advancing a boycott and anti-normalization strategy to isolate the Jewish state.

As Israel became “Start-Up Nation,” most Israelis concentrated on prospering, cultivating diplomatic ties elsewhere, and managing occasional American pressures. Netanyahu worried more about a nuclear Iran than about Palestinian terrorism or Gaza rocket fire. Especially after signing the Abraham Accords in 2020, and while hoping to include Saudi Arabia in 2023, Netanyahu believed the Arab world was fed up with Palestinian violence too.

DEADLOCK

Today, after the October 7 barbarism, few Israelis trust a two-state solution. Rhetoric about Gaza’s “day after” flourishes, but with little planning. Most Israelis want the enclave demilitarized and Hamas’s 400-mile tunnel network destroyed. And few “two-staters” have explained how Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank will reunite.

Meanwhile, soldiers patrolling the territories chase a seemingly endless flow of weapons and terrorists. In the two years following October 7, the Israel Security Agency counted 10,496 Palestinian terrorist attacks or attempts in the territories and Jerusalem. The UN counted over 2000 acts of “settler violence.”

First, discussions of “settler violence” should start by emphasizing that no state should tolerate any civilian violence. Israel should prosecute every criminal. Second, the IDF identified 75 particularly violent settlers, backed by 300 fanatics, fomenting most troubles. But the UN and reporters exaggerate by counting car accidents, Jewish Temple Mount visits, and electrical fires Palestinians blame on Jewish arsonists as “settler violence.” Third, settlers attack sometimes, inexcusably. Other times, settlers defended themselves.

In short: violent settlers shouldn’t be tolerated, but “settler violence” shouldn’t be exaggerated either.

Thus, today’s deadlock. Few Israelis or Palestinians see their neighbors as peace partners.

ISRAELI ATTEMPTS AT COMPROMISE AND PALESTINIAN REJECTIONISM

- **1947** The Zionists, reluctantly, accept the Partition of Palestine under UN General Assembly Resolution 181 for the sake of peace – Arab leaders reject it.
- **1967** Following the June 1967 Six-Day War, the Arab League endorses the THREE NOs of Khartoum: No peace with Israel; No negotiations with Israel; No recognition of Israel.



- **1993** Israel accepts the core compromises of the Oslo Peace Process. By 2001, Bill Clinton yells at Yasir Arafat: "I'm a failure. And on this you made me a failure" (by resisting compromise).



- **2000** Arafat leads his people away from negotiation back to terror, leading to over 1,000 Israeli deaths and 3,000 Palestinian deaths in the "Second Intifada."



- **2005** Israel withdraws from every inch of the Gaza Strip as part of the "Gaza Disengagement" – by 2007, Hamas has seized power, driven by its genocidal, Jew-hating charter, proclaiming: "Leaving the circle of struggle with Zionism is high treason, and cursed be he who does that..."
- **2008** Israel's Prime Minister Ehud Olmert presents PA President Mahmoud Abbas a Peace Plan, offering 93% of Judea and Samaria/The West Bank, all of Gaza, and 5.8% of pre-1967 Israel to balance out the territorial exchange. In 2015, when asked "What did you propose in return," Abbas admits: "I did not agree. I rejected it out of hand."

From: The Essential Guide to Zionism, Anti-Zionism, Antisemitism and Jew-Hatred Design: Tal Shimshon

AMERICA SHRINKS “THE” CONFLICT – BUT FAILS WITH PALESTINIANS

American policymakers keep trying to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict. That confidence reflects Americans’ pragmatism, assuming every territorial clash can be resolved by just redrawing the right borders.

This rationalist approach underestimates Palestinian exterminationism – and Jewish territorial maximalism. Palestinian national ideology still aspires to eradicate the Jewish presence anywhere in Palestine. Meanwhile, an influential minority of Jews, some motivated by security, others by ideology, reject any sovereign Palestinian entity in their sliver of land, given that Arabs control 640 times more land than Jews do.

Still, American policymakers have triumphed occasionally – brokering Israel’s peace with Egypt and Jordan, then the Abraham Accords. That spotlights the core impasse, between Israelis and Palestinians.

In the beginning was the Arab-Israeli conflict. Long before Israel’s establishment, until Egypt’s president Anwar Sadat visited Jerusalem in 1977, Arab hostility toward Israel seemed monolithic and intractable. Gradually, persistently, America fragmented the Arab alliance. “The conflict” became “the Arab-Israeli conflicts” – adding an “s” and reducing the clouds of despair.

Today, American policymakers operate on three planes. One dimension is Israel’s occasionally wobbly yet enduring peace with Egypt, Jordan, and the Abraham Accord nations – those who joined, especially the UAE, and those considering joining, especially Saudi Arabia. Each breakthrough required American doggedness. A second dimension involves Iran and its proposed “ring of fire” around Israel, including the Houthis, Hezbollah and Iran’s mullahs. These Jew-hating anti-Zionists make no negotiable claims, beyond seeking Israel’s destruction. Although Israelis, especially Prime Minister Netanyahu, have often been more alarmed by this threat to Israel – and the West – every U.S. president since Iran’s 1979 revolution recognized Iran’s regime as hostile. Finally, the Palestinian question looms.

An intentional ambiguity defines America’s approach. Following the 1967 war, Israel controlled much more territory – and 300,000 more Palestinians. America helped negotiate UN Security Council Resolution 242’s peace formula. Arabs would recognize Israel’s right to exist and terminate the state of “belligerence,” in exchange for “withdrawal

of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict.”

We’ve noted the missing “the.” Israel never intended to leave all “the territories,” which included Jewish areas of Jerusalem the Jordanians seized illegally in 1948 – the UN never accepted Jordan’s occupation of what diplomats named “the West Bank” in 1949.

America’s UN Ambassador, Arthur Goldberg, who resisted the Arab and Soviet pressure, insisted: “The resolution does not explicitly require that Israel withdraw to the lines that it occupied on June 5, 1967, before the outbreak of the war.” He added that 242’s call for “a just settlement of the refugee problem” included 850,000 Jewish refugees expelled from Arab and Muslim lands, not just Palestinians.

America defused the deadliest state-to-state conflict by brokering the Camp David peace with Egypt in 1979. Under President George H.W. Bush, Israel attended the Madrid Conference in 1991. That conference paved the way toward the 1993 Oslo Accords.

Although the Americans didn’t initiate Oslo, Bill Clinton embraced this shot at Middle East peace. At the White House signing, Bill Clinton practically squeezed Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO chairman Yasir Arafat together. For seven years, Clinton alternately charmed and bullied the Israelis and the Palestinians to keep negotiating.

Oslo failed primarily because Arafat resisted. At the July 2000 Camp David summit, he didn’t even counter Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak’s proposal. It included a demilitarized Palestinian state controlling 92 percent of the territories, with compensating land swaps enabling Israel to keep its largest settlements. Palestinians would control parts of East Jerusalem, including the Old City’s Muslim and Christian quarters, but not the Temple Mount. Arafat’s demand for the Temple Mount and “the right of return” restoring all Palestinians to their former homes, derailed the process.

By then, the president felt betrayed as Arafat triggered new waves of Palestinian terrorism, called the Second Intifada. In his final Oval Office meeting, in January 2001, the oleaginous Arafat called Clinton “a very great man.” Clinton growled, “I’m a failure, and you have made me one.”

Arafat’s return to terror saved the Israelis from their own divisions. Many Israelis always doubted Oslo – with their fears confirmed by Hamas’s suicide bombings, which began before Yitzhak Rabin’s 1995 assassination.

America might have clashed with Israel if Arafat had leaped. Instead, Clinton recognized Arafat's recalcitrance, leaving Israel's peace camp undermined by Palestinian rejectionism, far more than Israeli skepticism.

George W. Bush followed with a step-by-step "roadmap" involving more international partners. Prime Minister Ariel Sharon surprised Bush by offering to leave Gaza. Sharon preferred defending one border between Israel and Gaza, rather than guarding 21 settlements while patrolling multiple roads against ambushes.

Supporting Sharon's "disengagement," Bush reassured Israelis that Palestinians would "undertake an immediate cessation of ... all acts of violence," while "all official Palestinian institutions" would "end incitement against Israel." Israel left Gaza in 2005. Alas, the rocket fire never stopped, even before Hamas seized control.

These failures produced more Israeli doubt and greater tensions, culminating in the October 7th massacre.

America succeeded in pressuring state actors to accept Israel's existence, incentivizing them diplomatically, militarily, and economically. These breakthroughs shrank the Arab-Israel conflict, highlighting Palestinian rejectionism more than Israeli intransigence. But as the media, academia, and the world diplomatic corps obsessed about Palestinian suffering, American policymakers failed to learn lessons from their predecessors. Not quite comprehending Palestinian fanaticism, reasonable American diplomats keep struggling to get fragmented jihadist terrorist organizations to act reasonably.

TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS OF AMERICA'S
DIY AND ROI ALLY: HOW HAVE ISRAEL AND
AMERICA BENEFITTED FROM THE U.S.-ISRAEL
PARTNERSHIP?

In 2023, the U.S. supported 177 countries. Between January 2022 and June 2025, American spent \$130.6 billion helping Ukraine, which some MAGA Republicans charge “puts America last.” During its long, futile Afghanistan effort, the U.S. invested over \$141 billion in reconstruction efforts alone. Since the 2021 Taliban takeover, America added \$3.83 billion in humanitarian and development aid. Brown University’s Cost of War project estimated that by 2021, America’s 20-year war on terror cost \$8 trillion and 900,000 lives, mostly Iraqi and Afghani civilians. At least 7,053 U.S. soldiers died – four times as many have committed suicide.

Adding \$1.8 billion for Ethiopia, \$1.7 billion for Jordan, and \$1.5 billion for Egypt – just in 2023 – Israel stands out. Israel is the rare DIY ally – a Defend It Yourself friend, defending itself, America, and the West with its own soldiers – while providing invaluable protection in the volatile Middle East. And with Israel’s aid barely a tenth of a percent of America’s budget – less than the government spends leasing unoccupied offices and Americans spend dressing their pets – Israel is the ROI ally, generating rich Returns on America’s Investment.

The friendship is mutual. This was most obvious after al-Qaeda’s September 11, 2001 murders. America turned to its smaller ally, which was too experienced in fighting terror. In 1996, President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Shimon Peres signed a formal U.S.-Israel Counterterrorism Cooperation Accord. Clinton declared that “maintaining our resolve for peace does not mean turning the other cheek.” He explained: “The United States stands with Israel through good times and bad, because our countries share

the same ideals – freedom, tolerance, democracy. We know that wherever those ideals are under siege in one country they are threatened everywhere.” Five short years later, Osama Bin Laden attacked those ideals.

American-Israeli consultations intensified, among diplomats, soldiers, intelligence analysts, and police officials, especially in New York. Israeli counterterrorism experts shared intelligence while advising Americans on behavior profiling, crowd protection strategies in public spaces, rapid response tactics following urban attacks, and preemptive disruptions. They proposed protective design features, including street barriers, helping Americans replicate Israel’s Rapid Intelligence Fusion centers, integrating military, police, and intelligence reports. Israeli aviation experts suggested passenger interviewing techniques and airplane security features, including reinforced cockpit doors.

Therefore, perhaps America’s greatest dividend from its Israel partnership is nothing – the safest, most boring post-9/11 nothing. It’s President George W. Bush’s great achievement too. Everyone was “sure” America would absorb more terrorist catastrophes. But none of the many subsequent attempts succeeded, as America crushed al-Qaida. How do you celebrate bells that *didn’t* ring?

In 2003, when America ended Saddam Hussein’s Iraqi dictatorship, Israel’s intelligence, experience, and tactical planning again saved American lives. Urban warfare specialists trained soldiers in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and on Israeli bases, while Israeli military “consultants” visited Iraq secretly. As insurgents planted IEDs – improvised explosive devices – Israel developed vehicle-mounted microwave devices to jam terrorist communications frequencies. Although no panacea, receiving the Israeli-made Dragon Spike and Dragon Spike II anti-tank missiles at Yuma Proving Ground in Arizona, and retrofitting them, jumpstarted American counter-efforts.

In 2004, Ambassador J. Cofer Black, the State Department’s Coordinator for Counterterrorism, proclaimed: “the United States is standing shoulder to shoulder with many allies in a global coalition against terrorism, none more stalwart than the State of Israel.” Key “areas of cooperation” included “physical security, the detection and defeat of explosives, countermeasures against chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear threats, and investigative support and forensics technologies.” Black concluded: “We have succeeded in jointly developing new technologies which have saved American and Israeli lives over the years.”

DIVIDENDS FROM ISRAEL'S POST-OCTOBER 7TH WAR

Under the 2018 MOU – Memo of Understanding – negotiated during Barack Obama's presidency, Israel receives \$3.3 billion in American aid annually via the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program, and \$500 million for cooperative missile defense programs. It's another win-win. American companies and workers benefit because Israel must spend most of the aid on American-produced hardware and services.

By June 2025, America had shipped over 90,000 tons of military equipment, via 800 flights and 140 maritime shipments since October 2023. American aid since 1948 now exceeds \$130 billion. Still, following Joe Biden's pressure on Benjamin Netanyahu to restrain the IDF, many Israelis fear Israel's over-dependence on America. Biden told Israel to "take the win" after Iran's April 13, 2024, barrage and not eviscerate "Iran's air defenses." In September, Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin reportedly shouted at Defense Minister Yoav Gallant for only giving America last-minute notice of Hassan Nasrallah's assassination. The *Jerusalem Post* reported: "The U.S. has urged Israel multiple times to act less aggressively or to avoid taking certain actions against Hezbollah to prevent... a regional war."

Israelis should thank Biden and his team for supplying Israel so generously. But Biden also kept constraining Israel, saying, for example, in May 2024: "I made it clear that if they go into Rafah... I'm not supplying the weapons that have been used historically to deal with Rafah" – meaning 2,000-pound bombs and D-9 bulldozers.

Simultaneously, America's growing "neo-isolationists" wondered what America gets in return for its investment – besides debt, Arab enmity, and risks of "forever wars." When Gulf States rulers welcomed President Trump in mid-May 2025, with \$4 trillion in investments, business deals for his family, and a 747 jet, Israel seemed to be on the losing side of this "transactional" approach to foreign policy. Stuningly, few Jewish or Israeli leaders responded by trumpeting Israel's many paybacks to America. Ignoring them is political malpractice.

Usually, allying with a superpower is like trusting your older brother – the big guy fights the little guy's battles. Israel, however, has always been America's DIY ally, requesting arms, not bodies. Until the final day of its 12-Day war with Iran, Israel always fought alone – but President Trump recognized Iran's lethal threat to America – "Great Satan" – and the West too.

SIX OF THE GREATEST MILITARY GIFTS ISRAEL HAS GIVEN THE US

1

Defeating Soviet-backed Arab Armies at the Height of the Cold War in 1973

2

Providing Intelligence and Expertise to Assist the US During Its War on Terror

3

Destroying the Iraqi and Syrian Nuclear Projects

4

Training US Soldiers in Counterterrorism and Urban Warfare

5

Battering Iran and its Proxies, leading to collapse of Assad's regime in Syria

6

Innovating Missile Defense, AI and Drone War Breakthroughs

For decades, Israel strengthened America by defending itself. Israel's 1967 and 1973 victories humiliated America's Cold War rival, the Soviet Union. Going beyond the Vietnam-era morale boost, intelligence bonanza, and diplomatic gains, West Point's John Spencer reports that America's Department of Defense commissioned 37 studies evaluating the 1973 War. "Israel's battlefield successes" transformed "U.S. military doctrine, directly influencing the development of AirLand Battle doctrine and the 'Big Five' weapon systems – Apache helicopters, Bradley Fighting Vehicles, Patriot missile systems, Abrams tanks, and Black Hawk helicopters. These advancements, combined with new operational approaches emphasizing speed, firepower, and joint-force coordination, would redefine modern warfare."

Then, in 1981, despite the Reagan Administration's initial fury, Israel's destruction of Iraq's nuclear plant proved game changing. No other ally has done more to limit nuclear expansion. In 1991, after the Gulf War, America's Defense Secretary Dick Cheney sent David Ivry, who had commanded Israel's Air Force in 1981, a satellite photo detailing Osirak's destruction. Cheney signed it, "With thanks and appreciation for the outstanding job you did on the Iraqi nuclear program in 1981, which made our job much easier in Desert Storm!"

In 2007, Vice President Dick Cheney urged President George W. Bush to bomb Syria's North Korean-built nuclear plant, recalling, "There was no doubt that the building in Syria had been built exactly like the one in North Korea, which was used to produce plutonium for nuclear bombs Pyongyang built for itself." When Bush refused, Israel bombed the plant. "I'm glad that's what they did," Cheney exulted.

Initially, the Middle East was another Cold War theater, a secondary region where Israel checked Soviet ambitions. After the Soviet Union's 1991 collapse, Middle East madness menaced America directly. Threats ranged from the Iraqi, Syrian, and Iranian nuclear projects, to the direct horrors and devastation al-Qaida brought to America on September 11, 2001.

With Jihadi terrorism spreading, America needed Israel's occasionally aggressive, often proactive, and almost always autonomous defense posture. While benefiting from Israel's intelligence sharing, training exercises, tactical improvisations, and strategic brainstorming, many Israeli and American soldiers bonded too.

Moreover, from al-Qaida to ISIS, from Hezbollah to Hamas, the Islamists hated the West, and America, not just "the Jews." Israel keeps hitting America's enemies, hard. Israel's 2024 killing of Hassan Nasrallah – and many Hezbollah terrorists – belatedly avenged Hezbollah's Beirut barracks bombing that murdered 241 Americans in 1983.

Iran also has American blood on its hands. Iran-backed militants killed 608 Americans during the Iraq war, one in every six American combatant fatalities. Iran-backed terrorists murdered three American diplomats visiting Gaza in 2003, while Iran paid bounties to Taliban fighters who killed American soldiers in Afghanistan.

Israeli and American intelligence exchanges keep saving lives. Countless passengers flew safely in 2017 following Israeli warnings that Syrian jihadists were masquerading bombs as laptop batteries. Israeli tips in 2020 and 2021 sent over 1,500 American soldiers into shelters before Iran unleashed missile barrages.

Also facing jihadists who hide behind civilians, America has learned from the IDF how to advance militarily while minimizing civilian harm. Innovations include pinpoint precision targeting, advance warnings, humanitarian corridors, and "roof knocking," firing small, non-lethal weapons onto rooftops, to warn residents to flee. Such shots sacrifice the element of surprise to save lives. In 2016, the U.S. military knocked roofs in Mosul, Iraq against ISIS.

In the difficult, bloody post-October 7th Gaza conflict, Israel taught the world how to use AI to target terrorists. AI programs estimate from cell-phone usage how many

civilians may be home alongside a terrorist relative, sometimes leading to aborted missions in the final seconds. Pathbreaking big data analysis processed millions of pieces of evidence. “Lavender” tracked Hamas targets, while “The Gospel” identified military infrastructure concealed in civilian buildings. Facial recognition software, “Blue Wolf” and “Red Wolf,” helped Gazans move along more quickly, as computers detected terrorists hiding among them.

THE SANCTIMONY CYCLONE: MEDIA BIAS AGAINST ISRAEL

NEW YORK TIMES



6,656

Articles in 9 months after Oct. 7

VS

80

Articles in 9 months of US-led Battle of Mosul (2016-17)

(Mosul: US unintentionally killed 10,000–40,000 friendly Iraqis)



Disproportion!

Analyzing 1,561 New York Times Articles

Results: A disproportionate number of “personal stories of Palestinian or Lebanese suffering” that “is imbalanced toward creating sympathy for the Palestinian side, places most of the agency in the hands of Israel,” and “is often at odds with actual events.” By Edieal J. Pinker, Yale School of Management, January 20, 2025

9 to 1

Articles pairing “Israel and genocide” vs. “Rwanda and genocide” at the peak of the intentional Rwandan mass murders in 1994



6 to 1

Imbalance re the genocide in Darfur.



Zach Goldberg, “How the Media Manufactured a ‘Genocide,’” *Tablet*, June 5, 2025

Morally, the IDF set standards America's army – and all democratic militaries – will study for years. True, Israel has been pummeled worldwide for its “disproportionate assault” on Gaza. But America's coalition destroyed more in Iraq and Afghanistan. The narrative, however, differed. The *New York Times* ran 6,656 articles about Gaza in the nine months after October 7 – and only 80 articles about America's nine-month assault to free Mosul's pro-Western citizens from ISIS jihadis. Edieal Pinker from the Yale School of Management found that 1,561 *New York Times* articles disproportionately emphasized “personal stories of Palestinian or Lebanese suffering... creating sympathy for the Palestinian side,” while placing “most of the agency in the hands of Israel,” which “often” contradicts “actual events.” Florida State University's Zach Goldberg noted in *Tablet* that “articles pairing Israel and genocide reached levels more than nine times higher than the peak for Rwanda and nearly six times greater than for Darfur” – where actual, intentional, mass genocides occurred.

Anti-Zionists have little credibility: they accused Israel of “genocide” long before October 7.

And genocide is not a catchall for “civilian deaths” or “wars I condemn.” The UN website, quoting the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, emphasizes “a mental element,” the “intent to destroy,” as well as a comprehensive “physical element” – “wherever” a group lives. In 900 days following October 7, Israel provided 2,174,489 tons of aid – 13,209 pallets via 111,540 trucks. Israel didn't target Gazans outside the conflict zone, while often constraining its own self-defense efforts. Such efforts distinguish the Gaza war tragedy from genocide.

War is hell. Urban warfare is particularly hellish for civilians. “While there is no denying that civilians are dying because of the IDF's actions, the routine Hamas tactic of walking the streets in civilian clothes with no weapons, then duck[ing] into a building knowing where weapons are stored for use against the IDF, makes urban structures legitimate military targets according to the laws of armed conflict,” wrote David A. Deptula, a retired American Air Force Lieutenant General. “The military activities I saw...,” he wrote, after visiting Gaza in 2024, “are indicative of the IDF complying with the laws of armed conflict.”

West Point's urban warfare expert, Col. John Spencer, noting how Israel distributed military maps to civilians for the first time in history, made 70,000 direct phone calls, dropped 7 million leaflets, and sent 13 million text messages, and 15 million pre-recorded voicemails, concluded: “Israel has followed the laws of war, legal obligations, best

practices in civilian harm mitigation, and still found a way to reduce civilian casualties to historically low levels.” The UN estimates that in urban warfare, nine civilians often die for every one combatant. Even accepting Hamas’s exaggerated numbers, which include all natural deaths, Israel’s approximate ratio of one-to-two civilians for every terrorist killed, while heartbreaking, is groundbreaking too.

GENOCIDE:

WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

Article II of the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines genocide as mass murder committed “with *intent* to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group.” The UN website emphasizes “a mental element” - the “*intent* to destroy”- as well as a “physical element,” which is comprehensive, “*wherever*” a group lives.

This term, used historically to describe the heinous crimes against six million Jews, one million Armenians, 800,000 Rwandans, should not be confused with civilian casualties that occur in a justified conflict, or even in what some might consider military overreach.

HISTORICAL GENOCIDES — NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH CIVILIAN WAR CASUALTIES

**6
MILLION**

Jews
Holocaust



**1
MILLION**

Armenians
Armenian Genocide



**800
THOUSAND**

Tutsis
Rwandan Genocide



TERMS USED TO JUDGE WARS:

WHAT THEY REALLY MEAN



A JUST WAR

A morally justified military conflict. When an enemy launches a supreme assault and a democracy mobilizes supreme measures in self-defense, the moral blame is on the enemy who started the violence.



ASYMMETRICAL WARFARE

A conflict pitting a country's conventional army against a terrorist force. The "asymmetry" describes both differing firepower and the way terrorists, who respect no rules, often make democracies' larger armies look heavy-handed and unethical.



PROPORTIONALITY

A legal term judging whether the target is justified militarily — it does NOT mean asking if each side suffers the same number of casualties or some "proper proportion" between one and the other.



URBAN WARFARE

The particularly difficult battle conditions when enemy combatants, often terrorists, are embedded in a city, using civilians as "human shields." The UN suggests that if an army kills only ten civilians for every combatant, those disproportionate numbers are still reasonable. In Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. killed about four civilians for every fighter, which means that if Israel's ratio is even two civilians for every Hamas terrorist, the IDF halved the damage other democratic armies caused in similar conditions.

Perhaps the best symbol of the trust integrating Israel and America militarily is how Americans operate out of an Israeli base in the Negev, "Site 512," for shared intelligence and defense purposes.

Americans don't feel compelled to build an independent base. Equally important are the many U.S.-Israel collaborations redefining modern warfare, from the David's Sling missile defense system, first used to defend Israel in 2018, the Arrow 3 air defense system Boeing and Israel developed jointly, and the bilateral military exercises, which Israelis and Americans acknowledge have "tremendous strategic significance."

Since 2001, American and Israeli forces have alternated between the massive, sophisticated, high stakes Juniper Cobra and Juniper Falcon drills. Juniper Cobra anticipated the kind of large-scale ballistic missile attacks Israel absorbed from Iran. Juniper Falcon emphasizes logistics, command-and-control structures, and rapid deployment in case a massive invasion of Israel threatens America too. “Interoperability is a big part of long-term success for our two countries, and the more we work together and practice our combined mission, the more effective we are going to be...” explains Lt. Col. Nicholas Welly of the U.S. Central Command – CENTCOM.

In January 2023, Israelis and Americans ran Juniper Oak 2023.2. CENTCOM called it “the largest ever U.S.-Israel combined” live-fire exercise. Integrating land, air, sea, space, and cyber forces, 6,400 Americans trained with over 1500 Israelis. Americans left reassured they could defend themselves in the Middle East, if necessary, “while maintaining commitments in other priority theaters,” one analysis concluded. The Pentagon affirmed that this exercise demonstrated “that the U.S. commitment to Israel’s security is ironclad and enduring.”

No matter what the politics, the military relationship keeps deepening. Since October 7, many of Israel’s war-time contributions to America can be summarized in four major categories. These go beyond the dividends the “Start Up Nation” usually bestows on humanity. In the acronymous spirit of the Pentagon, the land of the MRE, Meal, Ready-to-eat, and of the NCO, Non-Commissioned Officer, consider the acronym MIMI (as in what’s in it for Me and Me?): Military and Intelligence breakthroughs; International gains; Medical innovations; Industrial applications.

MIMI: WHAT'S IN IT FOR ME AND ME IN SUPPORTING ISRAEL



MILITARY AND INTELLIGENCE BREAKTHROUGHS

Israel encountered unprecedented battlefield challenges in a seven-front war. Hezbollah bombed from Lebanon. Palestinian terrorists attacked inside Israel and the disputed territories. Assad's Syria offered Iranian-backed militias launching pads and weapons-smuggling routes. Iranian-backed militias bombarded from Iraq. Houthis in Yemen attacked Israel and international shipping. Iran bankrolled and choreographed the "Ring of Fire," while launching its own ballistic missiles. And in Gaza, Israel faced 400 miles of terror tunnels, with hostile civilians often housing the 251 innocent hostages.

Hamas and Islamic Jihad also used two million Gazans as human shields. "In the study of war," Professor Ruth Wisse writes, "I find no precedent for an aggressor who booby-trapped his own civilian population to provoke the response that could then be blamed on the invaders. Germany did not *plan* to have Dresden bombed nor did Japan *invite* the blasting of Hiroshima so that they could then accuse the Allies of war crimes."

Nevertheless, Israel succeeded – without losing thousands of soldiers as American experts predicted.

American and NATO troops are already adopting Israeli innovations. Western troops must anticipate urban warfare, drone warfare, and four-dimensional fighting on land, sea, tunnels, and online, while, like the IDF, fighting within every democratic army's ethical limits.

Battlefield breakthroughs include:

- New TTPs (tactics, techniques, and procedures) coordinating efforts above and below ground.
- Updating the Trophy Active Protection System (APS), a “layered defense,” introduced in 2011, sensing rocket, anti-tank, and now, thanks to Israel, drone assaults. Developed by Rafael Advanced Defense Systems to dodge RPG fire in dense urban warfare conditions, military analysts consider it “one of the most significant Israeli contributions to armored warfare.”
- Expanding the Arrow 2 and jointly developed Arrow 3 missile defense systems, debuting the C-Dome sea-launched missile defense, the Iron Beam laser defense, and the Maoz or Spike Firefly. This “loitering munition,” ideal for urban warfare, the *Jerusalem Post* reports, can “strike enemies who might be hiding behind walls or alleys.”
- Drone innovations, from developing the Hermes 450 and Hermes 900, to repurposing M113 APCs – armored personnel carriers – as unmanned vehicles useful in tunnel warfare, to integrating drones with other weapons, to countering Iran's drone-swarming, to secreting drones near Iranian bases to neutralize Iranian surface-to-surface air missiles.
- Soldiers from the Cyber Defense Division's Spectrum Warfare Battalion 5114 using electronic warfare to jam or override Iranian drones.
- Anti-tunneling technology detecting, mapping, and navigating around tunnels, which will also stop guerrilla groups and drug-running cartels on the U.S.-Mexico border. No army has the experience the IDF has in fighting and managing underground.

- In what may be the first AI war, using audio recognition, facial recognition, mass language analysis, and other big data searches to hunt terrorists and their hideouts, coordinate efforts, control drones in enemy territory, and save soldiers' lives. Israel's intelligence unit, 8200, established an AI innovation hub, "the Studio." AI tools tracked enemy drones, intercepted Hamas phone calls, analyzed secretive online chatter, and assessed Palestinian public opinion as the war continued. "Where's Daddy?" tracks a target's phones. Ten years ago, "you needed a team of around 20 intelligence officers to work for around 250 days to gather something between 200 to 250 targets," Tal Mimran, a former IDF legal adviser, told *Time*. "Today, the AI will do that in a week."

INTERNATIONAL GAINS

Another hard-to-prove triumph: imagine how emboldened jihadists, Russia, and China would have felt had Israel responded weakly or collapsed. While difficult to quantify, Israel's assertive response avoided that diplomatic disaster for America, the West, and the world.

As noted, Joe Biden's bold post-October 7 gamble on Israel paid off with Hamas, Hezbollah, and Iran degraded militarily and diplomatically, as Assad's Russian-backed Syrian regime collapsed. Israel's blows strengthened America and weakened Russia and China. Israel's effective counterattack demoralized jihadists globally. Perhaps most important, by exposing the Tehran regime as dangerous, weak, and bent on going nuclear, while emboldening the heroic January 2026 street protesters, little Israel has done America and the world "monumental" favors, using a favorite Trumpian adjective -- even if the "mullahocracy" survives. As the war against Iran unfolded, it became clear how essential Iranian oil was for China, and how much an American-Israeli victory could deter China too.

MEDICAL INNOVATIONS

Since 2002, many American, Canadian, French, and Belgian soldiers carry "the Izzy," "the Israel bandage." The bandage has become, journalists explain, "one of the most common bleeding control devices in tactical and emergency medicine around the world." An Israeli combat medic in the 1990s, Bernard Bar-Natan, noted that the bandages in his medical bag dated to the 1930s. His modernized bandage is elastic, incorporating a non-

adhesive pad to avoid sticking to wounds. Its built-in pressure applicator and locking mechanism keep pressure on the wound – even over awkward body parts.

The horrors of October 7, and subsequently, popularized another Israeli innovation which will soon save millions of Americans. NexoBrid gel, recently approved by the FDA, is a pineapple-based burn treatment that solved a longstanding problem. Researchers knew that enzymes extracted from pineapple stems could dissolve dead skin, enabling doctors to treat wounds directly. But the enzyme evaporates too quickly. The Israeli company MediWound dehydrated the enzymes. Now, a liquid activates the gel only for treatment.

At Sheba Medical Center in Tel Hashomer alone, 85 start-ups responded to a post-October 7th call for innovation. The Kintai personal trainer app was repurposed to assess patients' movements with AI to diagnose rehabilitation needs, freeing physiotherapists to treat patients. "Every technology that we talk about is not just valuable for war injuries, but has long-term civilian applications," says Avner Halperin, CEO of Sheba Impact.

Such breakthroughs speeded the time spent evacuating wounded soldiers, improved combat medics' skills, and halved Israel's death rate among those injured in the Second Lebanon War, to today's 6.7 percent rate. With so many more wounded soldiers surviving, Israel improved rehabilitation methods and post-trauma treatment. The *New York Post* marveled in December 2024: "From surgical robots that remove bullets and shrapnel to 3D-printed prosthetics tailored for rapid deployment... these technologies are redefining modern medicine and saving lives."

AI perfected triage – essential following mass casualty events. Advanced programs identify who needs the most help and where they can get treated, while creating a uniform medical record following each wounded soldier.

INDUSTRIAL APPLICATIONS

Americans fell in love with Israel – and America started supporting Israel – when Israel had a crude, heavily-centralized economy, run by socialists who at least respected private property and civil liberties. Today, 88 Israeli-founded companies are worth more than \$1 billion. Sixty leading American companies from Microsoft to Meta established Israeli research and development (R&D) centers. Every minute, every day, Americans use Israeli innovations in their phones, homes, cars, and offices.

Others have detailed Start-Up Nation’s contributions globally. Still, Israeli innovation and Defense Ministry boldness rushed many inventions into action since October 7. They’re now being adapted for civilian use. The ministry’s “green path” for war-accelerated inventions has fast-tracked more than 100 start-ups in the last two years.

Robotican’s “Angry Birds” drone-versus-drone system will enhance security in civilian airspace, especially as more drones crowd the skies. AI-driven drones that navigated Hamas and Hezbollah terror tunnels can facilitate mining, rescue operations, and infrastructure maintenance of sewers and subways.

Xtend’s AI-driven indoor drones serve mundane functions like warehousing and inventory control, as well as security monitoring and search-and-rescue in large buildings.

“The Gospel” AI target-generation system can apply its pattern recognition and data fusion for risk assessment, threat detection, and fraud protection.

Thirdeye’s Chimera system uses heat-signature thermal technology and advanced imaging systems that can manufacture robotics and self-driving vehicles, while offering birds-eye views of anything from agriculture to airports, through clouds or rain.

Clearly, Israel is the bold DIY ally and the ROI ally too, offering America impressive Returns on Investment. That’s why Israel passes the four presidential tests:

- **The Truman Values Alignment Test:** Most Israelis share most Americans’ values, while Israel defends those values in the Middle East, helping America embody and defend them worldwide.
- **The Marshall Military Power Test:** Israel has been an invaluable military asset, not just a loyal ally.
- **The Eisenhower Useful Ally Test:** True, Israel and the United States do not always see eye-to-eye diplomatically, but Israel, especially after October 7, advanced America’s interests diplomatically too.
- **The JFK-LBJ Vibe Test:** Despite enduring a massive media assault demonizing the Jewish State, the fundamentals remain. Some polls are sobering, with younger Americans increasingly critical of today’s Israel. But the way Americans and Israelis are more similar today than they’ve ever been, along with ongoing congressional support, military cooperation, economic exchanges, technological teamwork, and

the growing American audiences for Israeli TV shows, reflect deeper connections. These could easily revive Israel's popularity, when headlines shift, leaders change, the region transforms, and today's volatile political dynamics calm.

Every president vows to “preserve, protect, and defend” the Constitution – and, by extension, the American people. Few allies have done more to “preserve, protect, and defend” the American people than Israel. That's why America's 2026 National Defense Strategy calls Israel “a model ally,” which, when enabled “to defend itself,” can “promote our shared interests.”

For decades, most Americans instinctively understood that payoff. No matter how Israel fared in the media, or internationally, 70 percent of Americans kept supporting Israel. Then came October 7, with the surge in anti-Zionist antisemitism, slanted media coverage accusing Israel of brutality, an orchestrated campaign against Israel online, and the rise of Jew-haters and Israel-bashers, Left and Right, committed to making Israel – and its supporters – radioactive.

Since October 7 – actually, since its establishment – Israel has faced a series of unhappy choices when defending itself against genocidal enemies. Democracies can benefit from robust debate and thoughtful critique. But some criticisms are so extreme, unfair, and obsessive that they indict the accuser more than the accused.

BRAIDED BITTERNESS: ANTI-SEMITISM, ANTI-ZIONISM, AND ANTI-AMERICANISM INTERTWINED

Antisemitism reflects an obsession defining the Jew, the Jewish people, or the Jewish state as uniquely evil and threatening. Anti-Zionism focuses that obsessive hatred on Israel and Zionism. The far left accuses Israel of “genocide,” claiming supporting Israel risks America's soul. The far right accuses “the Jews” of “putting Israel first,” claiming supporting Israel risks America's soldiers and bankbook. Both take their bigotry out on individual Jews. Meanwhile, America's “silenced majority” fears being tagged or doesn't follow the issue carefully enough, allowing the zealots to shape the broader conversation.

As anti-Zionists burn American and Israeli flags together, splash red paint on the White House gates, deface monuments, block Christmas-time traffic, and graffiti universities,

congressional offices, and synagogues, while cheering Iran on, the ideological affinities become clear. Just as Americanism, liberalism, and Zionism rhyme much more than they clash, anti-Americanism, anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism overlap. It's a braided bitterness. Six intertwined ideological threads reinforce one another:

- **Anti-Westernism** brands successful if imperfect democracies, like the U.S. and Israel, “oppressors” and “settler-colonialists.” Shouting “Globalize the Intifada” or “Shut it down for Palestine,” envisions expanding their war beyond the Jews and Israel.
- **Nihilism** rationalizes terrorism, and other violence. The logic of “By Any Means Necessary” led to pronouncements after October 7 that “Rape is Resistance,” and “this is what de-colonization looks like.”
- **Anti-Capitalism** and a superficial romanticization of socialism exploit today's growing frustration with economic inequities and armies of over-educated, under-achievers.
- A selective **suicidal pacifism** builds on an anti-establishment impulse rooted in the Sixties' identity politics. It encourages defunding the police, and hollowing out America's military, while blaming Israel for any perceived abuses on America's streets – or for American wars they oppose.
- This cumulative enmity is **unpatriotic**, expressed by shrieking “Freedom for Palestine means Death to America,” or “US drones in the sky, Iran's missiles will reply!”
- Finally, a **conspiracism** links many anti-Zionists, from right to left. Right-wingers attacking America's federal government as ZOG – the Zionist Occupied Government – or left-wingers branding Congress or Washington “Israel-occupied territory,” discount America's independence and institutional resilience. Overlooking more powerful lobbies, and AIPAC's various losses over the years, the social media demagogue Nick Fuentes claims “the Israel lobby... exerts far too much influence over Washington.” Fuentes caricatures Zionism as a tool advancing Jewish interests at the expense of “native-born white Americans.”

BRAIDED BITTERNESS:

HOW ANTI-AMERICANISM AND ANTI-ZIONISM REINFORCE EACH OTHER



TWO IDEOLOGIES. SIX COMMON THREADS. ONE HARDENED CORD.

1 ANTI-WESTERNISM



- "Oppressor-Oppressed"
- "Settler-Colonialism"
- "Globalize the Intifada"
- "Shut It Down for Palestine"

2 PRO-TERRORISM



- "By Any Means Necessary"
- "Rape is Resistance"
- "Violence is Justified"

3 ANTI-CAPITALISM



- "A liberated Palestine threatens global capitalism"
- "The only solution is socialist revolution"
- "Capitalism is the real enemy"

4 POLICE- & DEFENSE-BASHING



- "NYPD, KKK, IDF – they're all the same"
- "US military, hands off the Middle East"
- "The struggle against Zionist occupation abroad is the same struggle against police brutality"

5 AMERICA-BASHING



- "Freedom for Palestine means Death to America"
- "US drones in the sky, Iran's missiles will reply"
- "Say it loud, say it clear, we support Hezbollah here"
- "Yemen, Yemen, make us proud, turn another ship around"

6 CONSPIRACISM



- "The US is ZOG"
- "America takes a back seat, Israel takes the wheel"
- "The government is controlled by Zionists"

DIFFERENT NARRATIVES. ONE VIRULENT HATRED.

Many analysts consider anti-Semitism an elaborate conspiracy theory, placing the Jew at the center of whatever the haters hate. Today, the Jewish state of ten million people often is their focal point – casting a continental superpower, 350 million strong, as Israel’s dupe – or co-conspirator.

Critics often accuse Jews of defensively clumping anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, and anti-Americanism together. Yet in the age of intersectionality, radicals hunting down “systemic” sins, connect the dots. “If you grow up in the United States, you are naturally socialized to obscure settler-colonialism in a settler-colony... you’re just socialized to be a capitalist, and to be a racist, to be a settler, and then – to be a Zionist,” Noura Erakat, Professor of Africana Studies at Rutgers University, claims. Similarly, in 2023 Zohran Mamdani conflated his enemies, insisting: “We have to make it clear that when the boot of the NYPD is on your neck, it’s been laced by the IDF.”

Patriots love their countries because of its politicians sometimes, and despite its politics always. Like all countries, Israel has good and bad politicians, good and bad policies. The liberal media has so demonized Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who indeed has coalition allies contemptuous of liberal values, that some Jews feel disaffected with Israel’s government – and, increasingly, the Jewish state. Hopping on the bandwagon driven by anti-Zionist zealots and media bias, many Americans who didn’t leave America despite hating either Biden or Trump, abandon the people of Israel because they despise its government. By contrast, in Israel, many Netanyahu’s critics fought courageously alongside many Netanyahu loyalists to save their country together.

The Second Iran War quickly became a referendum on Trump in America. His opponents opposed the war, most supporters cheered. In Israel, support for the war transcended partisanship. Most Israelis recognized the Iranian threat as existential not political – while scurrying to bomb shelters.

ADDRESSING ISOLATIONISTS, PROGRESSIVES, AND IRAN WAR CRITICS

Amid this cyclone singling out Israel for disproportionate criticism and holding it to standards wartime democracies rarely meet, it’s tempting to demonize all critics. Some right-wing isolationists hate Israel because they support Nazism and white nationalism. And left-wing anti-Zionists burying Palestinian racism, sexism, homophobia, illiberalism,

and terrorism are guilty of the antisemite's triple double-cross: they betray the Jews, liberalism, and themselves.

This minority of anti-Zionist fanatics, for whom opposing Israel is a defining cause, claims to represent all those viewing Israel unfavorably. But most disillusioned Americans sympathized with Israel after October 7, yet currently recoil. These tumbleweed critics are influenced by the sharks' passion, media harshness, social pressures, distaste of Trump, and sincere critique. Similarly, some longtime Israel supporters currently reject Israel's actions and its government.

Without demonizing or questioning critics' motives, it's possible to summarize this book by addressing open but worried isolationist conservatives, genuinely anguished idealistic liberals, and Iran war critics.

The response to conservatives is pragmatic. Overall, Israel has been a most useful partner. No other country has been a DIY ally, delivering such ROIs. As Donald Trump said when visiting Israel in 2017, "Today we reaffirmed the unbreakable bond of friendship between Israel and the United States, a friendship built on our shared love of freedom, our shared belief in human dignity, and our shared hope for an Israel at lasting peace. . . . But we are more than friends. We are great allies. We have so many opportunities in front of us," including "advancing prosperity, defeating the evils of terrorism, and facing the threat of an Iranian regime that is threatening the region and causing so much violence and suffering." Those shared values and shared agenda will ultimately overcome the likes of Tucker Carlson, Candace Owens, and Nick Fuentes.

The response to liberals is ideological. In this imperfect world, Israel is not perfect – no country is. But, unlike the PA, Hamas, Hezbollah, or Iran, Israel has effective mechanisms for addressing those imperfections: democratic elections, a functioning judiciary, civil liberties protecting free speech, freedom to assemble, and a free press. Is there another Middle Eastern country as in sync with American values, with progressive values, regarding women's equality, inclusivity, diversity, liberal democracy? If so, ally with them! If not, reconsider Israel.

Finally, it's possible to denounce this second Iran war without condemning Israel. Wars are ultimately defined by their outcomes – and this conflict continues so far. Mid-conflict, debates often pivot around what caused the war, how leaders justified the war, and how the war is being fought. It's legitimate to challenge the war's framing and its execution.

But the cause is just. Iran's regime threatened to destroy America and Israel for decades. It amassed a dangerous number of ballistic missiles. It supports lethal proxies. It's rushing to go nuclear. And the speed of its rearmament surprised many after the 12-day war. Those threats justify Israeli and American military strikes.

FIVE GATES OF FRIENDSHIP: PATHWAYS TOWARD SUPPORTING ISRAEL

While headlines again pronounce the partnership doomed, Israel's core American supporters are unwavering. American Jews and Evangelicals remain most devoted – with 80 percent of each group embracing Israel – along with Americans over 55, Catholics, mainstream Protestants, Cuban Americans, and security-minded voters.

The American covenant to protect the Jewish State remains inviolate. Five different gates – each defined by an all-American symbol -- can welcome these core supporters and others into supporting its existence: that Israel is, without necessarily endorsing everything that Israel does.

- **The Bible:** Biblical Zionism: Many Jews, Evangelicals, devout Protestants and Catholics cherish Israel as the Promised Land and the Jewish democratic State. Zionism is foundational to what Ronald Reagan called their “shared identity – a deep, spiritual identity,” rooted in the Bible. They appreciate Israel pragmatically, romantically, existentially – and theologically. As the late Charlie Kirk said after visiting the Holy Land: “Israel changed my life. Strengthened my faith, made the Bible pop into reality, and gave me the most precious memories with Erika,” his wife, now his widow.
- **The Declaration of Independence:** Liberal-Democratic Zionism: If biblically-rooted Americans are more Reaganite, these Clintonians, including many golden agers, in both parties, start with America's founding documents and the fact that the U.S. and Israel are sister democracies. These supporters combine affection for Israel, appreciation for its security needs, reverence for its democratic values, with a pride in the historic ties uniting both countries. In 2008, Condoleezza Rice, George W. Bush's Secretary of State, celebrated the shared “fellowship of families, of friends, and of faith ... deepened by a shared culture of tolerance and a pioneer spirit.” Nancy Pelosi, the longtime Democratic House Speaker who believed

protecting Israel was “in my DNA,” said, in 2018, “If this Capitol crumbled to the ground, the one thing that would remain would be ... our cooperation with Israel. That’s fundamental to who we are.” Pelosi, like many others, led by Bill and Hillary Clinton, hope Israel will solve the Palestinian conflict as soon as possible, while acknowledging the complexities, starting with Palestinian rejectionism.

- **The Statue of Liberty:** Progressive Zionism: Many Progressives, rallying around the State of Liberty as the beacon to immigrants, the oppressed, the poor, have become leading anti-Zionists. They brand Israel a right-wing bully, while slinging the settler-colonialism, racism, oppressor, and genocide slurs. One day, like many once-disapproving, now supportive baby boomers, they may realize that liberal-democratic Israelis live far closer to Progressive values than the sexist, homophobic, fundamentalist autocrats of the PA or Hamas. Some Palestinian crime or Israeli peace breakthrough might change the conversation. But the trendy “Palestinianism” dominating the media, academia, and the arts has seduced many into supporting a dramatically illiberal cause. “I do find it confusing,” Senator John Fetterman confessed in 2023, when “the very left progressives in America don’t seem to want to support really the only progressive nation in the region that really embraces the same kind of values I would expect we would want as a society.”
- **The Pentagon:** National Security Zionism: Security-minded voters are more Nixonian. They support Israel as the most useful ally, militarily and diplomatically and, as Ambassador Nikki Haley explained, “the front line of defense” against “jihad terrorism.” General Alexander Haig went from resenting Israel’s defiance during its 1982 Lebanon War to appreciating how Israeli pilots easily demolished Soviet-made anti-aircraft batteries. Haig branded Israel: “America’s largest aircraft carrier in the world that cannot be sunk.”
- **The Iron Dome:** Transactional Zionism: Finally, many Trumpians are transactionalists – although President Trump has historically been quite “Reaganite” regarding Israel. A vocal minority is anti-Jewish and rigidly isolationist. But most MAGA supporters calculate the dividends America’s investment in Israel yields. Convinced skeptics include Vice President J.D. Vance, who puts Ukraine and Israel “in separate buckets.” While saluting the sacred nature of “that narrow little strip of territory on the Mediterranean.” Vance says Israel “gives us missile-defense parity,” and is a “regional counterweight to Iran.” In 2024 he proclaimed: “We want our allies to be like Israel—strong, independent, and capable of defending their own interests so we don’t have to.”

With the return of Ran Gvili's body, the final Hamas-held hostage, Israel – with America's indispensable help – defied the odds, again. Few thought Israel could track down every hostage – and bring home 168 alive. In two years, Israel accomplished so much on many fronts – although more defensive work remains. Unknowns surround the Iranian dictatorship's future, the Lebanon-Hezbollah power struggle, the Gaza reconstruction, Palestinians' debate between building their state or seeking to destroy the Jewish state. But, more than 900 days after October 7, Israel is stronger than ever and not collapsing.

Nevertheless, while it's better to win the war and lose some PR battles – than vice-versa – Israel's victory was costly. Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism have become mainstream. Criticism of the U.S.-Israel partnership is spiking. Surprisingly, left-wing anti-Zionists, right-wing antisemitic isolationists, and Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu all now oppose U.S. military aid to Israel. Obviously, for some, it reflects disgust, for others, indifference. For Netanyahu, his hope to “wean” off this dependence in favor of co-development and joint investments reflects his confident desire for independence. Debates regarding Israel throughout an increasingly volatile America seem destined to intensify.

On December 28, 2025, Israel expanded its “Iron Dome” missile protection system by deploying Rafael Advanced Defense Systems' “Iron Beam” higher-energy laser defense system. This was the world's first “unlimited magazine,” low-cost, missile-neutralizer. America's \$1.2 billion investment paid off as officials toasted the “gamechanger,” and accelerated America's directed energy programs. Bryan Clark, a defense analyst, marveled: “As long as you've got electricity,” it “will continue to recharge, continue to shoot down incoming weapons.”

Twelve years earlier, when visiting Israel, Barack Obama said that although “Jews achieved extraordinary success in many parts of the world, the dream of true freedom finally found its full expression in the Zionist idea – to be a free people in your homeland.” Repudiating those “rejecting Israel's right to exist,” he insisted: “Israel is not going anywhere.” And speaking clearly, “so that there's no mistake here,” he vowed: “so long as there is a United States of America – *Atem lo levad*. You are not alone.”

Obama's words, “You are not alone,” have echoed in many Israeli hearts since October 7. Along with gratitude for America, Israelis have often felt alone. We've buried young friends who were just living their lives on kibbutzim, dancing at the Nova music festival, or defending their country. We know what it's like to be sitting in a meeting with fellow officers, have Hezbollah aim at you, miss, and kill a 20-year-old soldier in her barracks.

We know what it's like to "work" your way up the chain of command, simply because the three commanders above you, including two Druze heroes, were killed. We know what it's like to work, facing life and death stakes, in a base where friends were killed, raped, abused, kidnapped, just days earlier. We know what it's like to watch fellow soldiers, surging with adrenalin, hormones, or yes, rage, sometimes handcuff a resistant prisoner too roughly – then see a commander reprimand your aggressive comrade before you raise it. We know what it's like to watch grandparents bury their grandchild, a mother bury her son, then hear that if the army had only knocked down that six-story Gazan apartment across from where he ran his fatal run, the Hamas sniper wouldn't have had a perch to kill him and his commander. And yes, we know what it's like to feel judged by friends, sitting in ivory towers and comfortable penthouses, because our life-or-death choices and sacrifices make them uncomfortable, even though they stayed silent as their own post 9/11 wars unintentionally killed over 476,000 Iraqis and Afghans.

Each of those stories is a family story. Resisting jihadist delusions that the West is ready to collapse is Israel's story. Today, so many wallow in tales of failure, betrayal, paralysis, and misfires. Yet together, Americans and Israelis have written a chapter in history that, while complex, is noble, constructive, and idealistic.

That's why we end this *Guide* saying, as America celebrates its 250th anniversary and continues spreading "exalted justice and benevolence" worldwide: God Bless America. And *Anachanu Lo Levad*. We Israelis are not alone. Because the United States of America keeps supporting Israel, the democratic Jewish state, for altruistic and pragmatic reasons in an ongoing win-win for both democracies.

TIMELINE OF US-ISRAEL RELATIONS

1940

November 29, 1947

The US and the Soviet Union both vote in the UN to recognize a Jewish State (UN General Assembly Resolution 181).

December 5, 1947

The US announces a Middle Eastern arms embargo.

July 20, 1949

Israel's War of Independence ends (final armistice agreement with Syria; earlier armistices: Egypt – February 24, 1949; Lebanon – March 23, 1949; Jordan – April 3, 1949). The improvised Green Line emerges from these agreements.

May 14, 1948

(6:11 p.m. Washington time): Truman recognizes the Jewish State of Israel 11 minutes after its declaration.



1950

October 7, 1953

Ben-Gurion reinforces Israel's need to maintain a Qualitative Military Edge over larger Arab adversaries.



1956

Fulbright Exchange Office in Israel starts a program fostering educational and cultural ties.

Oct. 29 - Nov. 7, 1956

Sinai Campaign (Suez Crisis), Eisenhower objects.



August 30, 1962

Kennedy approves sale of Hawk anti-aircraft missiles to Israel.



1960

March 8, 1957

Israel completes its withdrawal from Sinai under US pressure.

February 8, 1966

Johnson approves sale of 48 A-4 Skyhawk jet bombers — America's first open sale of offensive weapons to Israel.



May 22-23, 1967

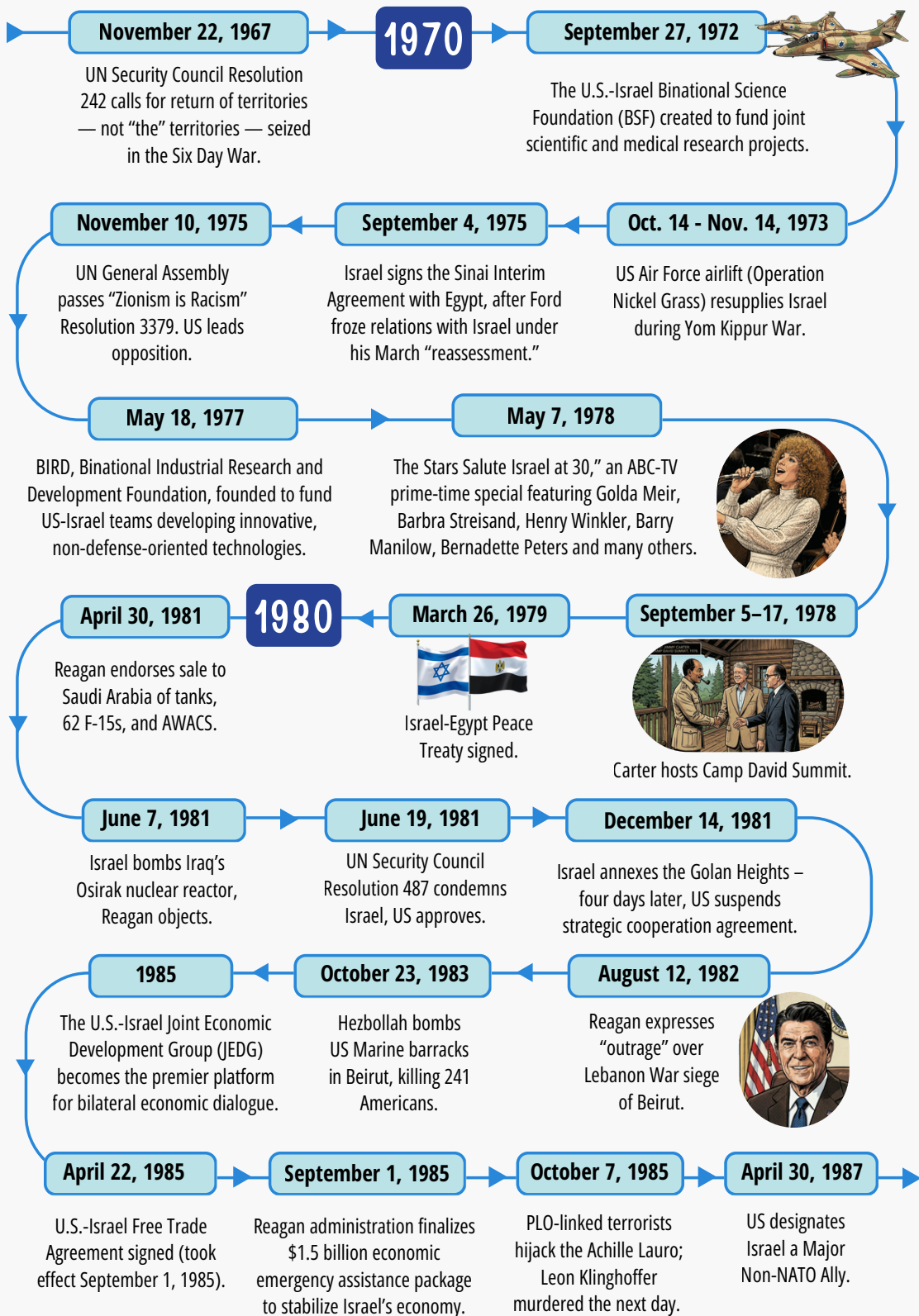
Egypt closes the Straits of Tiran, blockading Eilat, having already deployed 75,000 troops into Sinai.

Aug. 29 - Sep. 1, 1967

Khartoum Conference — Arab League's "Three No's" — no peace, no recognition, no negotiation.

June, 1967

June 5, 1967: Israel's pre-emptive strike launches the Six-Day War, ultimately tripling in size.
June 8, 1967: Israel mistakenly bombs the USS Liberty — and later apologizes.



December 14, 1987

Palestinians violently launch First Intifada.

1988

Ofra Haza's song "Im Nin'alu" establishes this Israeli singer as an American pop phenomenon.



August 18, 1988

Hamas Covenant issued (Hamas founded December 1987).

September 12, 1991

Israel formally requests \$10 billion in US loan guarantees.

January 17 – February 28, 1991

Iraq fires 39 SCUD missiles at Israel during Persian Gulf War -- American sympathy for Israel hits polling highs of 79 percent.



1990

October 18, 1991

George H.W. Bush conditions guarantees regarding settlement activity – tension grows.

September 13, 1993

Oslo Accords signed on the White House lawn. Palestinian Authority founded, soon controls the six largest Palestinian cities in "Area A."



April 6, 1994

Hamas suicide bombing in Afula, starts wave of bombings undermining Oslo.

November 5, 1995

Clinton eulogizes Rabin: "Shalom, Chaver."



November 4, 1995

Rabin assassinated.

October 26, 1994

Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty signed.

December, 1999

First "Taglit-Birthright Israel" participants visit Israel – over 600,000 Americans, from all 50 States and over 1,000 universities visited since.



2000

July 11–25, 2000

Camp David negotiations — no Palestinian counter-offer.

September 11, 2001

Al Qaida's 9/11 attacks – Israel helps the US fight the War on Terror.



September 28, 2000

Palestinians violently launch "Second Intifada," ultimately killing over 1,000 innocents.

