



**Written Testimony of Morton A. Klein
National President of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA)**

**Hearing before the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee
Middle East and North Africa Subcommittee (119th Congress)**

**Rayburn House Office Building, Room 2172
Honorable Michael Lawler, Chairman
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**UNDERSTANDING JUDEA AND SAMARIA: HISTORICAL, STRATEGIC,
AND POLITICAL DYNAMICS IN U.S.–ISRAEL RELATIONS**

“ . . . I could find it in my heart to wish that you had been at the head of a hundred thousand Israelites indeed as well disciplin’d as a French army—& marching with them into Judea & making a conquest of that country & restoring your nation to the dominion of it—For I really wish the Jews again in Judea an independent nation. . . . ”

- President John Adams letter to Mordecai M. Noah, March 15, 1819¹

Judea & Samaria’s Central, Strategic Location

Judea & Samaria is Israel’s Biblical heartland and the strategic, elevated area in the center of Israel, on Israel’s border with Jordan. 500,000 Jews currently live in J&S. J&S includes Jerusalem’s suburbs and Israel’s central mountain range, 3,609 feet above sea level. From these heights, J&S overlooks Israel’s largest population centers below. J&S is only 4 miles from Israel’s only international airport, 9 miles from the Mediterranean Sea at Netanya, and 11 miles from Tel Aviv. The Maccabees defeated the Romans from bases in J&S.

A Palestinian state in J&S would place all of Israel’s major cities within easy striking distance of rudimentary rockets, endangering Israel’s entire population.²



¹ Available at <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7097>

² Map from American Friends of Judea & Samaria, <https://afjs.org/judea-samaria-in-a-glimpse/>

Written Testimony³

Chairman Lawler, Ranking Member Sherman, Members of the Committee: Thank you for holding this important hearing. This hearing reminds us that the Jewish people are called Jews because we are from Judea.

For the past 32 years, I have served as president of the oldest pro-Israel organization in the country, the non-partisan Zionist Organization of America (the ZOA). ZOA is dedicated to advancing our mutually beneficial American-Israeli alliance, combating antisemitism, and assuring the safety of America and Israel, especially from the threat of terrorism.

America and Israel have the same enemies, and confront the same threats. Israel is on the front line against international terrorism. A strong Israel protects America, and helps carry out President Trump's policy of "peace through strength."⁴ To remain strong and survive, and have defensible borders, Judea and Samaria needs to be under Israeli sovereignty and control. A Palestinian state in Judea & Samaria would be a failed terrorist state, an existential threat to Israel, damage America's strongest alliance, and also be a terrorist threat to neighboring Jordan and other relatively moderate Arab states.

I will discuss herein: (1) Jewish history in Judea & Samaria; (2) Judea and Samaria's strategic importance; (3) Israel's legal right to Judea and Samaria and legality of settlements (versus massive illegal Arab construction); (4) the political necessity and advantages of Israeli sovereignty in Judea & Samaria; (5) the myth of "settler violence" and the reality of Palestinian Arab violence against Jews.

A. Jewish history in Judea & Samaria

Judea & Samaria is the historic Jewish homeland. Jews are called Jews because we are from Judea. These lands are where Abraham purchased his and Sarah's burial place (Hebron); King David was anointed and ruled; Jacob slept and dreamt; Joseph is buried; the ancient tabernacle stood for 369 years in Shilo; the Maccabees established their base (in Bet El); and Jewish kingdoms existed for hundreds of years. The children of Israel reentered Israel, led by Joshua bin Nun, via the Jordan River in 1223 B.C.E.

Judea & Samaria was the heart of the unified Jewish kingdoms of David and Solomon, and the separated Jewish kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

³ ZOA Director of Research and Special Projects Elizabeth Berney, Esq. assisted with this written testimony.

⁴ "President Trump is Leading with Peace Through Strength," The White House articles, Mar. 4, 2025, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/2025/03/president-trump-is-leading-with-peace-through-strength/>

Each part of Judea & Samaria is filled with Jewish history and sites that could fill pages and pages. For instance, Hebron – site of **the oldest Jewish community in the world** – has a long, rich Jewish history commencing with Abraham’s purchase of a burial site there and King David’s anointment there. Jews lived in Hebron continuously throughout the Jewish kingdoms and Byzantine, Rashidun, Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Mameluke and Ottoman periods.

In 1929, Hebron temporarily became devoid of Jews following the infamous, murderous Arab pogrom in which Arabs brutally murdered 67 Jews (in a manner comparable to Hamas’ and Gazan civilians’ October 7 atrocities against innocent Jews). The remaining Jews were forced to flee. Jews returned to Hebron in 1935, but again were forced to flee during the 1936-1939 Arab pogroms (which murdered approximately 500 Jews throughout Israel). After the 1967 Six-Day War, the Jewish community of Hebron was re-established.

Historic Jewish sites in Hebron include the Tomb of the Patriarchs; Tel Rumeida; the Jewish cemetery; historic Jewish residences; the Tomb of Ruth and Jesse (King David's father) located on a hillside overlooking the cemetery; the site of the Terebinths of Mamre from Genesis 18:1, where G-d appeared to Abraham; King David's Pool (also known as the Sultan's Pool), which Jews hold to be the pool referred to in II Samuel 4:12, 4); the Tomb of Abner, Saul and David's general; and the Tomb of Othniel Ben Kenaz, the first Judge of Israel (Judges 3:9-11).⁵



Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron

Shilo – where the Jewish Tabernacle stood for 369 years – is another remarkable site. In Shilo, this summer, “a team of researchers claim[ed] to have found, at the archaeological site of Tel Shiloh, which, according to the Bible, served as Israel’s first spiritual center, a

⁵ History of Hebron: The Bedrock of the Jewish Nation, Chabad of Hebron, <https://www.chabadhebron.com/history>

stone structure whose dimensions and orientation match the biblical description of the Tabernacle.”⁶

Jews lived in Judea & Samaria continuously for thousands of years; the Jews are the people indigenous to this land.

The Maccabees – the heroes of the Hanukkah story – made their camp in Bet El in the Judean Hills, a vantage point from which they could watch the Assyrian invaders’ movements and lead attack to restore Judea and the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem to the Jewish people. The Maccabees also built forts throughout Judea.

By contrast, the Arabs are not indigenous to Judea & Samaria (or any of Israel). Most hail from Arabia and North Africa. **There was never a Palestinian-Arab state in Judea & Samaria (or elsewhere in Israel).**

A series of binding international agreements from 1919 through 1945 (detailed in section C. below) guaranteed Israel, including Judea & Samaria to the Jewish people for Jewish settlement and the Jewish homeland.

In 1948-1949, Jordan attacked and seized Judea & Samaria (and eastern Jerusalem). Jordan killed or expelled the Jews living there, illegally occupied the area, and renamed Judea & Samaria the “West Bank.”

After Jordan attacked Israel again in 1967 (despite Israel warning Jordan to remain out of the Six Day War), Israel regained Judea & Samaria in the ensuing defensive war. Israeli communities were rebuilt on lands previously seized by Jordan from Jewish communities, and built on empty, unowned land.

Arab terrorists continued to attack innocent Jews for decades prior to the reestablishment of Israel through the present day.

Israel attempted to achieve peace via the Oslo Accords. The Oslo Accords (1993-1995), signed by Israel and the Palestinian Authority, divided Judea & Samaria into administrative Areas A&B (under Palestinian Authority administrative control) and Area C (under sole Israeli administrative control). This was **not** a grant of sovereignty to the Palestinians – just administrative control. However, the Palestinians have used this foothold to try to seize all of Judea & Samaria, via constant terrorism, Intifadas, international campaigns and illegal building in Area C.

⁶ “Archaeologists Claim They’ve Found Remains Of Mishkan In Tel Shilo,” by Yehuda Dan, VIN News, Aug. 5, 2025, <https://vinnews.com/2025/08/05/601396/> (citing *Daily Mail* report)

Judea & Samaria are at the heart of the land that G-d promised to the Jewish people. A sacred, fundamental tenet of the Jewish faith is that G-d gave the lands including Judea-Samaria to the Jewish people forever, as an inheritance, to settle, possess and dwell in. Relinquishing these lands is forbidden. (Bereisheit (Genesis) 15:18, 17:8, 26:3-4; Shemot (Exodus) 23:31; Bamidbar (Numbers) 33:53; Devarim (Deuteronomy) 11:31.)

B. Judea & Samaria's Strategic Importance

Judea & Samaria needs to remain under Israeli control and should be under Israeli sovereignty to ensure Israeli security, provide Israel with defensible borders, and enable Israel to protect its major population centers. Without Judea & Samaria, Iranian-proxy terror groups would launch constant rocket attacks on all of Israel, including Israel's major population centers and airport; and Israel would be only nine miles wide and indefensible. Jordan would also be at risk from Palestinian Arab terror groups in a Palestinian state.

Israel is strategically located at the crossroads of Asia to Africa. The Mediterranean connects it to Europe. Thus, many nations sought to control Israel. Conquerors understood that Israel cannot be defended by solely holding its coastal plain. Rather, territorial breadth is needed to hold the land. For instance, the Crusaders deployed fortresses, in both the coastal cities, and also in Sinai and on ridges east of the Jordan River.⁷ The Ottoman Empire – which controlled Israel from 1517 to 1917; Persian Empire (539-332 B.C.E.) and others stretched far east of Judea & Samaria.

The kingdoms of David and Solomon, shown on the map below,⁸ stretched far beyond Judea & Samaria and Israel's present area (outlined with a light blue line).

⁷ "From the Crusaders to Yitzhak Rabin — The Land of Israel as a Strategic Asset," Major General (Res.) Gershon Hachohen, IDSF, <https://idsf.org.il/en/interviews-en/security-and-settlement/>

⁸ "Maps of Israel's History: The Kingdoms of David and Solomon: 1077 – 997 BC," <https://www.cfi.org.uk/downloads/MapsofIsraelHistory-v5.pdf>



The ancient Jewish kingdoms of Israel and Judah (see map below⁹) also maintained depth as they included Judea & Samaria, and lands to the east, across the Jordan River.



The initial Mandate territory assigned by the League of Nations for the Jewish homeland, under international law, likewise included large areas east of the Jordan River, in addition to Judea & Samaria. See map¹⁰ of the original Mandate below:

⁹ Ancient Israel and Judah, World History, Dec. 10, 2024, <https://worldhistoryedu.com/ancient-israel-and-judah/>

¹⁰ “Maps of Israel’s History: The British Mandate,” <https://www.cfi.org.uk/downloads/MapsofIsraelHistory-v5.pdf>



Britain subsequently carved off the area east of the Jordan River to give to the Hashemites and form Transjordan (later, Jordan). However, Judea & Samaria continued to remain in the Mandate area designated for the Jewish homeland and Jewish settlement.

Jewish communities (a.k.a “settlements”) in Judea & Samaria are moreover strategically vital.

Today, over 500,000 Jews live in Jewish communities in Judea & Samaria, located in Area C (the portion of Judea & Samaria under full Israeli control pursuant to the Oslo Accords). The Israel Defense and Security Forum (IDSF), consisting of thousands of Israeli security officers, explains that “Over the years Israel has proven that anywhere it creates Jewish settlements – security is higher, whereas areas with no or sparse Jewish population terror hotbeds germinate.”¹¹

Further, Major General (Res.) Gershon Hachohen of the IDSF explains that the Jewish communities are **not** a burden. Instead, Jewish communities in Judea & Samaria “provide[] the IDF with freedom of operation in those territories. The size of the IDF’s deployment in Judea and Samaria is not sufficient in itself to preserve stability in such a complex area. Stability persists only thanks to the weight of half a million Jews who live there. Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria also provide the security forces with convenient access to areas A and B — a benefit that has served the IDF well in various [counterterror] operations.”¹²

If anything, the Jewish communities in Judea & Samaria need to be significantly expanded to ensure the depth that is essential to protecting all of Israel. Over 60% of Israel’s Jewish

¹¹ “Settlement of the Jordan Valley,” Israel Defense & Security Forum, <https://idsf.org.il/en/interviews-en/israel-jordan-relations/>

¹² “Settlement and Security,” IDSF, <https://idsf.org.il/en/interviews-en/security-and-settlement/>

residents and most of Israel's strategic assets (including Ben Gurion Airport, the power stations, Ashdod Port, the national headquarters of the various armed services) are all in that same tight space of Israel's narrow coastal plain.

Major General Gershon explains: "Besides being narrow and crowded, the coastal plain is dominated by the Judean Hills and by the Samaritan slopes that overlook it from the east along its entire length. Those hills provide a direct view of the plain — and a convenient base for attacking it, whether by short-range rocket fire or by a ground incursion. Thus **whoever controls the hills of Samaria and Judea is, for practical purposes, in control of the entire coastal plain. . . . [A]ll the territory of Area C is vital to security and must remain in Israel's hands forever.** That understanding must be made clear to all the decision-makers, and preferably to all the country's residents. . . . Not only is settlement in Judea and Samaria less than extensive; it is in fact too limited. A backbone of 3–4 million residents is necessary between Arad and the Gilboa . . . ”¹³

Of course, precisely because Judea & Samaria and its Jewish communities are imperative to Israel's security, anti-Israel groups and nations constantly attack the Jewish people's rights to live in, build homes in and control these areas.

A prime example has been anti-Israel groups' and nations' vicious opposition to Israel building the E-1 housing project of 3,000 homes between Jerusalem and Ma'ale Adumim. Ma'ale Adumim (population 40,000) is a suburb located four miles from Jerusalem, in the Judean desert. The opposition delayed the project for decades. Meanwhile, in the absence of Jewish homes in E-1, the E-1 area became a frequent site of Arab terrorist attacks on Jews commuting between Ma'ale Adumim and Jerusalem. In one such attack last year, three Arab terrorists opened fire on innocent Jewish commuters, murdered one and wounding at least eight innocent Jews.¹⁴

This past August, Israel finally advanced plans for about 3,400 housing units in E-1. Reversing previous administrations, fortunately **the U.S. backed the plan. The U.S. State Department stated: "A stable West Bank keeps Israel secure and is in line with the Trump administration's goal to achieve peace in the region."**¹⁵

The Lessons of the Gaza Withdrawal and Oslo Accords: Israel's withdrawal from Gaza in 2005 – in which approximately 8,000 Jews were uprooted from their homes and communities in Gaza – and, in return, Israel was bombarded with tens of thousands of

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ "Terror in Israel: One murdered, eight wounded in highway shooting," Jerusalem Post, Feb. 22, 2024, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/article-788208>

¹⁵ "US backs E1 housing plan linking Jerusalem and Maaleh Adumim," Israel Nat'l News, Aug. 14, 2025, <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/news/413297>

rockets and the horrors of October 7 – is also a stark lesson as to the strategic importance of Israeli communities, and what would occur if Israel left Judea & Samaria and tried to uproot its half a million Jews from their homes, synagogues, businesses and farms.

Israel's withdrawal from portions of Judea & Samaria (Areas A and B) and the establishment of the Palestinian Authority under the Oslo Accords was another disaster. Deadly terror attacks quadrupled in the wake of Oslo. Arab terrorists perpetrated suicide bombings in which they murdered Jewish children in pizza stores and Holocaust survivors at Passover Seders. The Palestinian Authority soon launched the 2000-2005 Intifada in which Palestinian Arab terrorists (including PA policemen) murdered 1,100 and maimed another 8,000 innocent Jews,¹⁶ using Molotov cocktails, pistols, assault rifles, machine guns, boulders, hand grenades and explosives.¹⁷

The PA launched and incited another wave of terror in 2015, murdering and wounding Jews in daily attacks and attempted attacks.¹⁸ This has continued to this day. PA leader Mahmoud Abbas and other PA officials called for spilling blood in repeated broadcasts,¹⁹ and spends **\$300 million per year** rewarding terrorists with large monthly rewards for murdering Jews ("Pay to Slay").²⁰

Palestinian Arabs in areas of Judea & Samaria controlled by the Palestinian Authority have recently demonstrated even more of what they would do if Israel withdrew from Judea & Samaria or permitted the creation of a Palestinian state there. Palestinian Arab terrorists in Jenin – a Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) stronghold **in an area of Samaria governed by the Palestinian Authority (PA) – launched two rockets towards Israel** in June 2023.²¹ When those rockets failed to reach their Jewish targets and instead landed in Palestinian Authority areas, the terrorists vowed to launch bigger rockets against Israelis next time.

¹⁶ "Total Casualties, Arab-Israeli Conflict," (chart), Jewish Virtual Library, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/total-casualties-arab-israeli-conflict>

¹⁷ "Al-Aqsa Intifada: Background & Overview (September 2000 - September 2005), at <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/background-and-overview-of-al-aqsa-intifada>

¹⁸ "Wave of Terror: 2015-2025," Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/wave-of-terror-october-2015>

¹⁹ See, e.g., "Abbas: 'We Welcome Every Drop of Blood Spilled in Jerusalem'," Palestinian leaders have created a culture of death that is motivating the latest violent terrorism.," by Tzipi Hotovely, The Wall Street Journal, Oct. 18, 2015 at https://www.wsj.com/articles/abbas-we-welcome-every-drop-of-blood-spilled-in-jerusalem-1445209820?gaa_at=eafs&gaa_n=AWETsqdmX35V78xslwRS0uZbbMUc17IFJQtqAG9V-PSwDtpYBjaNoLb80O2liT7eX_s%3D&gaa_ts=6937b0c7&gaa_sig=ViCRxef5qzK5qXfR2N6WVUGnMDIV4P3RRteMTl8FEcOh6VAqFDQz953u4Nr25bjF2FGMxH6LJ-12mJFomWOGCQ%3D%3D

²⁰ "Incentivizing Terrorism: Palestinian Authority Allocations to Terrorists and their Families," by Sander Gerber, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2017, <https://jcfa.org/paying-salaries-terrorists-contradicts-palestinian-vows-peaceful-intentions/>

²¹ "IDF: Rocket Fired from Jenin in PA-Controlled Territory," Israel Nat'l News, June 26, 2023, <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/news/373289>

Further, the previous month, Israeli security broke up a Palestinian Islamic Jihad terror cell in Jenin, directed by PIJ leaders in Gaza, that was manufacturing rockets to launch at Jewish population centers in Israel from the strategic vantage point of the hills of Judea & Samaria.²²

Moreover, terrorists from the Palestinian Authority's governing party, Fatah, gleefully bragged about and participated in the October 7 atrocities against innocent Jewish men, women, children and babies.²³ Overjoyed Palestinian Arabs in Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") also cheered the massacre, dancing in the streets.²⁴ Unfortunately, this is nothing new. Palestinian Arabs in Judea & Samaria routinely joyously celebrate when Arab terrorists murder Jewish children.

Incidentally, the current population of 500,000 means that if Judea & Samaria were a separate country, it would have the third highest Jewish population of any country in the world, after the rest of Israel and the United States. It is critical to the stability of Israel and the region that it be made clear that Israel intends to remain in Judea & Samaria permanently.

C. Israel's legal Right to Judea and Samaria and Jewish "Settlements" (versus massive illegal Arab construction)

Binding international law designates Judea & Samaria as within the Jewish homeland. Israel's exercise of sovereignty over these areas would fulfill (and not violate) international law. The Jewish people's clear legal right to these areas is confirmed by:

- **The San Remo Resolution (1920)**, a binding international agreement, which made the Mandatory (Britain) legally obligated to put into effect the Balfour Declaration (1917) for "establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."²⁵ The San Remo Resolution turned the Balfour Declaration from what some argued was just a "letter of intent" into a binding obligation. (However, the Balfour Declaration may have also been binding law even without the San Remo Resolution, due to the Jewish people's performance of assistance to the British government, and pre-approvals of the Balfour Declaration by France and U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, giving it international force.)

²² "Shin Bet Chief: Terror Cell Manufacturing Rockets in Jenin Thwarted," Israel Nat'l News, May 9, 2023, <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/news/371177>

²³ "Fatah joined in Oct. 7 attacks on Israel: The group's Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and Hamas are apparently competing over which fights Israel more," by Roy Fridlender, JNS, Nov. 5, 2023, <https://www.jns.org/fatah-in-gaza-joined-in-oct-7-attacks/>

²⁴ Israel: Palestinians in West Bank celebrate Hamas infiltration" (video), Sky News, Oct. 7, 2023, <https://news.sky.com/video/israel-palestinians-in-west-bank-celebrate-hamas-infiltration-12978858>

²⁵ "The San Remo Resolution (April 25, 1920), <https://www.scribd.com/document/71917791/The-San-Remo-Resolution-Apr-25-1920>

Note regarding this and other documents which used the term “Palestine,” that Palestine merely referred to the geographical **area** encompassing Judea, Samaria, and Israel within the green line (plus, regarding the early documents, present-day Jordan). Palestine was never a country. The Romans renamed the area “Palestine” to de-Judaize it, after the Romans vanquished the Jewish revolt in 132 CE. “Palestinians” moreover meant Jews (e.g.: the “Palestine Post” was the initial name of the Jerusalem Post) prior to Arabs co-opting the name.

- **The League of Nations Covenant, Article 22 (1919)**, a binding international treaty, reaffirmed that the Ottoman Empire’s 400-year sovereignty over the territory ceased; and made the well-being and development of the each mandate’s beneficiary, until the beneficiary could stand alone as an independent nation, “a sacred trust of civilization.” The Jewish people was the trust beneficiary of the British Mandate for Palestine. (Arabs were the beneficiaries of mandates in areas that became Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon.)²⁶
- **Senate Concurrent Resolution 29 (2017)** (bipartisan), sponsored by Senators Jim Lankford (R-OK) & Joe Manchin (D-WV) affirmed that “the Balfour Declaration, was ratified into international law by the League of Nations on July 24, 1922.”²⁷
- **The British Mandate for Palestine (1922)** made the Mandatory (Britain) responsible to “secure the establishment of the Jewish national home,” and “for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign Power.” The Mandate also reiterated that “recognition has [] been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home.” The Mandate territory included Judea-Samaria. (See map on p. 4; Judea & Samaria was also included the truncated area, after the British removed the land east of the Jordan River to form Transjordan.)
- **The Lodge-Fish Resolution (1922)**²⁸ signed into law by U.S. President Warren G. Harding, approved the establishment of the Jewish homeland in mandatory Palestine.
- **1924 Anglo-American Convention [Treaty]**, signed by the U.S. president and ratified by U.S. Senate in 1925 (making it a binding U.S. treaty obligation), recognized “the historical

²⁶ “The Covenant of the League of Nations,” Yale Law School Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp

²⁷ “S. Con. Res. 29 – Recognizing the 100th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration (Nov. 2, 2017), <https://www.congress.gov/115/crec/2017/11/02/modified/CREC-2017-11-02-pt1-PgS7003.htm>

²⁸ <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/u-s-congress-endorse-the-balfour-declaration>

connection of the Jewish people with Palestine,” and designated the area including Judea/Samaria as a “sacred trust” for “reconstituting” the Jewish homeland.²⁹

- **The UN Charter, Article 80 (1945)** (the “Jewish people’s clause”), preserved intact all rights granted to the Jewish people under the Mandate, even after the Mandate’s expiration. in 1948.³⁰ Article 80 prohibits the UN from transferring rights over any part of Palestine to any non-Jewish entity, such as a “Palestinian state.” **UN resolutions that contradict the Charter are void.**³¹ (The Charter is comparable to a constitution; resolutions that violate it are “unconstitutional.”)

- **Uti possidetis juris:** Further, the fundamental, well-established, clear border-determination rule of international law called uti possidetis juris (“as you possess under law”) entitles a new country (e.g., the reestablished state of Israel) to the borders of the preceding top level administrative mandated territory (e.g., the British Mandate for Palestine, including Judea & Samaria). This international legal entitlement to the full mandatory borders applies regardless of whether sectarian groups are happy with a new country’s borders.

The Pompeo Doctrine: In November 2019, then-Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced that the Trump administration concluded after careful study that Israeli settlements “were not inconsistent with international law.” In other words, Jewish communities in Judea & Samaria are legal. Secretary Pompeo also noted that President Reagan did not believe that Jewish settlements were illegal, and that the Obama administration’s declaration that settlements were illegal had changed a previous careful bipartisan approach. Secretary Pompeo added that the “Trump administration is reversing the Obama administration’s approach towards Israeli settlements.” Secretary Pompeo further noted that “calling the establishment of civilian settlements inconsistent with international law hasn’t worked. It hasn’t advanced the cause of peace.”³²

No Legal Impediments: The Jewish people’s legal rights to these Judea & Samaria have never been abrogated. No U.S. or binding international law impedes Israel’s rights to Judea

²⁹ “Convention between the United States of America and Great Britain, Signed at London, December 3, 1924,” https://jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/US_UK_Convention_1924.pdf

³⁰ United Nations Charter, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>

³¹ “Article 80 and the UN Recognition of a ‘Palestinian State,’” by Howard Grief, *Algemeiner*, Sept. 22, 2011, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2011/09/22/article-80-and-the-un-recognition-of-a-“palestinian-state”/>

³² Sec’y Michael R. Pompeo Remarks to the Press, Nov. 18, 2019, at <https://2017-2021-translations.state.gov/2019/11/18/secretary-michael-r-pompeo-remarks-to-the-press/>

& Samaria. The claims that Jews living in Judea & Samaria are illegal relies on blatant falsehoods about the content of various documents and events. Specifically:

- **The 1947 UN “Partition Resolution” (UN Res. 181) merely contained a non-binding recommendation of partition.**³³ The Arabs rejected the recommendation, and instead went to war to annihilate the Jewish state and people, killing 1% of Israel’s Jewish population. The partition resolution thus did not become an internationally binding agreement.

- **The 1949 ceasefire lines (a.k.a the “1949 Armistice Demarcation Lines,” “Green Line” or “pre-1967 lines”) were non-binding lines** merely marking approximately where the fighting stopped in 1949, after six Arab nations invaded Israel, and Jordan illegally seized Judea & Samaria and eastern Jerusalem. Israel and Jordan specifically agreed in their Armistice Agreement that these ceasefire lines were “without prejudice to an ultimate political settlement between the parties.”³⁴

- **UN Security Council Resolution 242**, adopted after the 1967 Six Day War, called for Israel to have “recognized and secure” borders, and did **not** call for Israel to surrender “all” lands Israel recaptured in 1967.³⁵ Then-U.S. President Lyndon Johnson declared: “It is clear . . . that a return to the situation of June 4, 1967, will not bring peace.”³⁶ Israel moreover more than complied with Res. 242 by returning the Sinai to Egypt.

- **Jordan’s capture and 19-year illegal occupation of Judea & Samaria etc. (1948-1967)** did not abrogate Israel’s sovereign rights. Jordan attacked Israel again in 1967, resulting in Israel recapturing these areas during the defensive Six-Day War.

The Levy Commission (headed by esteemed former Israeli Supreme Court Justice Edmund Levy) concluded that when Israel recaptured these areas “the original legal status of the territory was restored, namely, a territory designated as a national home for the Jewish people, who had a “right of possession” to it during Jordanian rule while they were absent

³³ “United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181, November 29, 1947,” Yale Law School Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/res181.asp

³⁴ “Jordanian-Israeli General Armistice Agreement, April 3, 1949,” Article II.2, Yale Law School Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/arm03.asp

³⁵ “United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, November 22, 1967,” Yale Law School Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/un242.asp

³⁶ “Lyndon Johnson: Speech on ‘A Just and Dignified Peace’ (September 10, 1968), <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/president-johnson-speech-on-ldquo-a-just-and-dignified-peace-rdquo-september-1968>

from the territory for several years due to a war imposed on them, and have now returned to it.”³⁷

Further, in 1988, Jordan publicly relinquished any claims to Judea/Samaria. The 1994 Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty recognized the Jordan River as the international boundary,³⁸ thereby admitting Judea & Samaria are within Israel.

- **The Oslo Accords (1993-1995)** do not impede Israel’s sovereign rights. The Oslo Accords never endorsed or even mentioned a Palestinian Arab state. Then-Israeli Prime Minister Rabin told the Knesset that the contemplated “permanent solution” resulting from the Oslo process, will be a State of Israel that “will include most of the area of the Land of Israel as it was under the rule of the British Mandate” including Ma’ale Adumim and Givat Ze’ev [in Judea & Samaria], and that Israel’s borders “will be beyond the lines which existed before the Six Day War. We will not return to the 4 June 1967 lines.” Rabin also noted that a Palestinian entity that runs Palestinian Arabs’ lives would be “less than a state.”³⁹

Further, the Palestinian Authority breached and voided the Oslo Accords, by launching Intifadas, BDS, paying terrorists to murder Jews, and refusing to negotiate peace.

- **The Geneva Convention (Article 49)** is inapplicable, because it only applies to signatory nations (Israel never signed) and only concerns occupation of another sovereign nation’s territory. Israel has the sovereign rights, and is not occupying another sovereign nation’s territory. Further, even when an area is occupied territory, the Geneva Convention has never been interpreted to prevent its citizens from moving into purportedly occupied territories.

- **UN Resolutions Promoting Creating a Palestinian State and/or Wrongly Referring to Judea & Samaria and eastern Jerusalem as “Occupied Palestinian Territory” and/or Wrongly Declaring Jewish Communities in Judea & Samaria Illegal.** UN Security Council Res. 2334 declared that “the establishment by Israel of settlements in the

³⁷ The Levy Commission Report of the Status of Building in Judea and Samaria,” June 21, 2012, English translation by Regavim, at <https://zoa.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/The-Levy-Commission-Report-on-the-Legal-Status-of-Building-in-Judea-and-Samaria.pdf>. See also, “Major Israeli Legal Commission Report: Jewish Communities in Judea-Samaria are Legal,” <https://zoa.org/2012/07/103293-major-israeli-legal-commission-report-jewish-communities-in-judeasamaria-are-legal/>

³⁸ “Treaty of Peace between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan,” Oct. 26, 1994, <https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/default/files/document/files/2024/05/il20jo941026peacetreatyisraeljordan.pdf>

³⁹ “Yitzhak Rabin: Speech to Knesset on Ratification of Oslo Peace Accords (October 5, 1995),” Jewish Virtual Library, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/pm-rabin-speech-to-knesset-on-ratification-of-oslo-peace-accords>

Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, has no legal validity and constitutes a flagrant violation under international law.”⁴⁰ UNSC Res. 2334 was orchestrated by the Palestinian Authority and President Obama, who then declined to veto the resolution to enable its passage in Dec. 2016, during his lame duck period. **It bears repeating that such resolutions are void under UN Charter Article 80. The UN does not have the power to transfer to another entity land assigned to the Jewish people and state under binding international law.** (See paragraph and footnotes re: UN Charter, Article 80, *supra*.)

Moreover, U.S. House of Representatives Resolution 11 (overwhelmingly passed 342-80-4⁴¹ in January 2017, a week after the passage of UNSC Res. 2334), resolved that “the House of Representatives opposes United Nations Security Council Resolution 2334 and will work to strengthen the United States-Israel relationship, and calls for United Nations Security Council Resolution 2334 to be repealed or fundamentally altered . . .” and that “the passage of United Nations Security Council Resolution 2334 **undermined the long-standing position of the United States to oppose and veto United Nations Security Council resolutions that seek to impose solutions** to final status issues, or are one-sided and anti-Israel, reversing decades of bipartisan agreement.”⁴²

• **The International Criminal Court (ICC)’s (Illegitimate) Assertions of Jurisdiction over Judea & Samaria.** The ICC is a politicized, anti-Israel and anti-U.S. body – hat has unlawfully taken it upon itself to assert jurisdiction over both U.S. personnel and the “West Bank” (Judea & Samaria) and other areas that the ICC illegitimately asserted were part of a Palestinian state. Both Israel and the U.S. did not sign the Rome statute conferring ICC jurisdiction, and oppose ICC’s illegitimate attempts to confer jurisdiction over them and investigate them.

In 2021, then-Secretary of Secretary Antony Blinken denounced the ICC decision to investigate Israel and alleged “Palestinian state” areas including Judea & Samaria, correctly stating: “*The United States firmly opposes and is deeply disappointed by this decision. The ICC has no jurisdiction over this matter. Israel is not a party to the ICC and has not consented to the Court’s jurisdiction, and we have serious concerns about the ICC’s attempts to exercise its jurisdiction over Israeli personnel. The Palestinians do not qualify*

⁴⁰ UN Security Council Resolution 2334 (2016), <https://www.un.org/webcast/pdfs/SRES2334-2016.pdf>

⁴¹ Roll Call Vote 2017/11, <https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/201711>

⁴² H. Res. 11 (2017), <https://www.congress.gov/bills/115th-congress/house-resolution/11/text?s=1&r=2&q=%7B%22search%22%3A%22house+resolution+2334%22%7D>

*as a sovereign state, and therefore are not qualified to obtain membership as a state in, participate as a state in, or delegate jurisdiction to the ICC.”*⁴³

Senators Sen. Ben Cardin (D-MD) and Rob Portman (R-OH) also spearheaded a bipartisan letter, signed by 53 U.S. Senators, commending Secretary of State Anthony Blinken for opposing the ICC’s politically-motivated investigation of Israel for phony, alleged “war crimes,” and urging the Secretary to also do more. The bipartisan letter also affirmed that the ICC has no jurisdiction over Israel; that “‘Palestine’ does not meet the criteria for designation as a state”; and that the ICC does not have the authority to accept its claims to these territories.⁴⁴

Both Trump administrations imposed strong sanctions on the ICC for its unlawful assertions of jurisdiction over the U.S. and Israel.⁴⁵

C.1 Illegal Arab Construction

By contrast to the false claims that Israeli homes in Judea & Samaria are illegal, the real and dangerous illegal construction in Judea & Samaria is being carried out by the Palestinian Authority, which, pursuant to the 2009 Salam Fayyad plan, illegally builds massive, strategically targeted structures to attempt to seize Area C (the area designated for full Israel control under the Oslo Accords). The PA’s illegal construction is funded largely by hostile-to-Israel European and Arab governments, the EU and the UN, which spent half a billion euros funding illegal Palestinian construction in Judea & Samaria from 2013-2021.⁴⁶

As of 2021, the Israeli government reported that there were already at least 60,000 illegal Arab structures, many of them (by design) built alongside roads and Israeli communities to endanger and choke off Israeli communities. Anti-Israel NGOs tie up efforts to demolish illegal structures in the courts interminably.⁴⁷

⁴³ “Press Statement, Antony J. Blinken, Secretary of State, Mar. 3, 2021, <https://il.usembassy.gov/the-united-states-opposes-the-icc-investigation-into-the-palestinian-situation/>

⁴⁴ “Portman, Cardin Lead Bipartisan Senate Call for Secretary Blinken to Continue to Defend Israel Against Politically Motivated Investigations by the International Criminal Court,” Mar. 11, 2021

⁴⁵ “Imposing Sanctions on the International Criminal Court,” White House press release, Feb. 6, 2025, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/02/imposing-sanctions-on-the-international-criminal-court/>

⁴⁶ “The Palestinian Campaign for Area C – Shaping a Security Reality on the Ground, Description and Implications,” State of Israel Ministry of Intelligence, June 7, 2021 (declassified in 2022)

⁴⁷ *Id.*



Photos above and below: Illegal Palestinian Authority construction on hills and road to Jewish communities in Judea, a short distance from Jerusalem. Similar construction is all along the road. Photos by ZOA Director of Research Elizabeth Berney, Esq., October 2025.



Palestinian Authority illegal construction has increased since then. A detailed report by non-governmental organization Regavim, which maps illegal Arab structures in Area C, found that illegal Arab building in Area C increased 80% in 2022, resulting in “81,317 illegal Arab-built structures in this area, covering an area of approximately 150,000 dunams – twice the total area of Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria.”⁴⁸ Meanwhile, Areas A and B – the areas designated for Palestinian Authority control under the Oslo Accords – has vast empty spaces and “remain[s] undeveloped and completely un-utilized.”⁴⁹

Moreover, as of early this year, 7,675 illegal Palestinian structures have been built within 1 kilometer (six-tenths of a mile) and 18,889 Palestinian structures have been illegally built within 4 kilometers (2.48 miles) of the separation barrier intended to protect Israeli civilians. The illegal PA structures are “virtually adjacent to homes in Israeli communities – in such close proximity that they are literally a stone’s throw away, to say nothing of the range of any type of firearms, thus rendering whatever still exists of the [anti-terror] security barrier useless.”⁵⁰



Illegal Palestinian construction in Area C

Regavim photo of illegal Palestinian construction in Area C.

D. The Political Necessity and Advantages of Israeli Sovereignty in Judea & Samaria

⁴⁸ “Rate of illegal Palestinian construction in Area C increased by 80% in 2022,” Regavim, <https://www.regavim.org/rate-of-illegal-palestinian-construction-in-area-c-increased-by-80-in-2022/>

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ “Israel must stop the hostile Palestinian takeover of the West Bank – opinion,” by Naomi Linder Kahn, Jerusalem Post, Mar. 2, 2025, <https://www.jpost.com/opinion/article-843526>

Israel's exercise of sovereignty in Judea & Samaria – at a minimum, over Areas C and H-2 (the areas of Judea & Samaria under full Israeli control) would have the following political, human rights and religious freedom advantages:

- Provides regional stability, by ending the fantasy that more warfare and terrorism will succeed in driving out Israel's Jews from Judea & Samaria and all of Israel; and by protecting Jordan and other neighbors from a failed Iranian-sponsored terrorist state on their border (in the case of Jordan) or nearby. A Palestinian state, combined with local Jordanian Palestine Arabs (70% of the Jordanian population) could topple the Hashemite rule in Jordan. Further, Israeli rule preserves vital joint Israeli-Jordanian water, tourism and economic projects.
- Provides stability, normality and human rights to 500,000 Jewish residents: The 500,000 Jews who live in Judea & Samaria need to have their communities fully integrated with the rest of Israel and governed by Israeli law. Sovereignty would restore stability and normalcy to these Israeli citizens' lives; end decades of limbo; and provide with these Israelis with full humanitarian rights of citizenship – including labor protection laws, anti-pollution laws, access to special education for disabled students, and freedom from excessive military bureaucracy.
- Enables infrastructure development benefiting all residents of Judea & Samaria, and reduce political wrangling that interminably delays needed infrastructure projects that benefit both Arabs and Jews.
- Makes it clear that the Jewish people are in Judea & Samaria to stay, thereby disabusing Palestinian Arabs of their belief that they will be able to ethnically cleanse every Jew living in these historic Jewish lands – an essential shift that is necessary for peace.
- Preserves sacred religious sites and enables freedom of worship. Palestinian Arabs attacked and destroyed or damaged Jewish religious sites and worshipers praying there or in transit to sites such as Joseph's Tomb,⁵¹ and Christian sites such as the Church of the Nativity,⁵² in Palestinian Authority-controlled areas. As Israeli Ambassador and international law expert Alan Baker explains, the repeated Palestinian attacks on Joseph's Tomb violate the Palestinian Authority's obligations under the Oslo Accords to "to ensure free, unimpeded, and secure access to the relevant Jewish holy site"; and "to ensure the

⁵¹ "Yet Again: The Vandalizing and Desecration of Joseph's Tomb: The Palestinian Authority permits violations of the Oslo Accords," by Ambassador Alan Baker, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, April 12, 2022, <https://jcfa.org/yet-again-the-vandalizing-and-desecration-of-josephs-tomb/>

⁵² "Agreement on Church of the Nativity and Sequence of Events - IDF Spokesman," May 9, 2002, <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/agreement-on-church-of-the-nativity-and-sequence-of-events-idf-spokesman-may-9-2002>

peaceful use of such site, to prevent any potential instances of disorder and to respond to any incident.”⁵³



Joseph's Tomb, damaged by rioters, April 10, 2022 (Courtesy)

Photo: Arab rioters' damage to Joseph's Tomb

- Preserves significant archeological sites. The Biblical heartland of Judea & Samaria contains 6,000 sites of historical and archaeological importance recognized by the scientific community, including numerous sites providing incontrovertible evidence of the Jewish People's history in the Land of Israel. Similar to the destruction of Jewish archeological treasures on the Temple Mount, the Palestinian Authority is systematically and purposefully – in violation of the Oslo Accords and in a blatant attempt to erase Jewish history – destroying and vandalizing archaeological sites in Judea & Samaria, such as an ancient synagogue at Samu'a; the fortress at Tel Aromah built by the Maccabees to protect the Jewish State and its heartland in Judea & Samaria; the altar built by Joshua at Mount Ebal; the burial site of Hasmonean kings; and the capital city of the northern Israelite Kingdom in Samaria. The PA's attempt to erase Jewish history also includes renaming Jewish sites as "Palestinian heritage sites," and inverting history by falsely accusing Israel of destroying Palestinian heritage sites.⁵⁴

⁵³ "Yet Again," *supra* at n.40.

⁵⁴ "The Historic Battle for Israel's Heritage," Regavim, Sept. 20, 2020, <https://www.regavim.org/the-historic-battle-for-israels-heritage/>; "Palestinian destruction of Jewish archaeological sites must be halted," by David M. Weinberg, Dec. 7, 2024, <https://www.misgavins.org/en/weinberg-stop-destruction-of-archaeological-sites/?print=print>; "Looting Jewish History," by Seth Mandel, Commentary, Aug. 25, 2025, <https://www.commentary.org/seth-mandel/looting-jewish-history/>

- Makes it clear that terrorism does not pay. Creating a Palestinian state, or refraining from exercising Israel's rightful sovereignty in Judea & Samaria, rewards the horrors of October 7 and constant Palestinian-Arab terrorism.
- Carries out the will of the Israeli government and people, who support Israeli sovereignty in Judea & Samaria, and will never accept a Palestinian (terror) state on the Jewish people's land in Judea & Samaria. The Knesset overwhelmingly voted against establishing a Palestinian state, with only 9 Knesset members (the Arab Knesset members) voted on the other side. Virtually every poll finds that Israelis oppose a Palestinian state. The 2025 Pew Research survey found that only 21% of Israeli adults think that Israel and a Palestinian state can peacefully coexist, and these numbers continue to decline.⁵⁵ The respected 2025 Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs [poll](#) found that 68% of Israelis support Israeli sovereignty in Judea & Samaria; 71% of Israelis oppose a Palestinian State, and 64% oppose a Palestinian state even if it includes normalization with Saudi Arabia.⁵⁶
- Stands up to Hamas' attempted blackmail. Hamas is now attempting to avoid its disarmament obligation under President Trump's 20-point plan, by stating that it will only turn over its weapons to a Palestinian state created in Gaza and the "West Bank."⁵⁷ Giving in to such blackmail would undermine U.S. credibility.

E. The Myth of "Settler Violence," the Reality of Palestinian Arab Violence Against Jews and the Despicable Anti-Israel Sanctions Campaign

"Settler violence" against Arabs is a vicious blood libel, perpetrated by the PA and well-funded anti-Israel NGOs, to attempt to wrest control of Judea & Samaria from Israel; smear and sanction innocent Jews; and downplay and turn upside down the real issue of daily, murderous Palestinian Arab violence against Jews, incited by the PA's "pay to slay" payments and constant incitement in schools, mosques, public events and the media.

⁵⁵ "Israeli Public Is Increasingly Skeptical About Lasting Peace," by Maria Smerkovich, Kelsey Jo Starr and Andrew Prozorovsky, Pew Research Center, June 3, 2025, <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2025/06/03/israeli-public-is-increasingly-skeptical-about-lasting-peace/>

⁵⁶ "71% of Israelis oppose Palestinian state; 68% support sovereignty in J&S: poll," by David Isaac, JNS, Feb. 2, 2025, <https://www.jns.org/71-of-israelis-oppose-palestinian-state-poll/>

⁵⁷ "Hamas says it will only hand over weapons to Palestinian state at end of 'occupation'," AFP/Times of Israel, Dec. 6, 2025, https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/hamas-says-it-will-only-hand-over-weapons-to-palestinian-state-at-end-of-occupation/

In fact, “settler violence” is extremely rare, and any hint of this is dealt with harshly by Israeli authorities. During my frequent trips to Judea & Samaria, I observed Jews remarkably living their lives peaceably, under the threat of Arab terrorism.

The real problem is the **hundreds per month** of daily terror attacks on Jews perpetrated by Arab terrorists against innocent Jews, including shootings, stabbings, Molotov cocktail attacks, fire bombings, car-ramming attacks, pipe bomb, boulder-throwing and IED attacks, etc. The attacks are documented in the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs website.⁵⁸ In October 2025 alone (the most recent month reported), there were 400 such deadly and life-threatening attacks.

A detailed 125-page Regavim report this year entitled “False Flags and Real Agendas: ‘Settler Violence’ – A Modern Blood Libel”⁵⁹ analyzed the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (“OCHA”) website which collects the supposed reports of “settler violence” fed to OCHA (by anti-Israel NGOs and foreign governments, the PA and other anti-Israel sources).

The analysis found that the UN (OCHA) and the anti-Israel NGOs and PA, etc. counted and deemed the following items to be “settler violence”:

- Arabs injured or killed while the Arabs were perpetrating terror attacks against Israelis
- Arab attacks on Israelis (misclassified as Israeli attacks on Arabs)
- Jewish visits to the Temple Mount (16% of the alleged listed “incidents”)
- Clashes with security forces (not with “violent settlers”) (14% of the alleged “incidents”)

Part of the “settler violence” delegitimization campaign conflates “settlers” with security forces and the State of Israel.

⁵⁸ <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/wave-of-terror-october-2015>

⁵⁹ “False Flags and Real Agendas: ‘Settler Violence’ – A Modern Blood Libel,” Regavim, April 2025, <https://www.regavim.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/RegavimSilufEng0406digital.pdf> . See also “The Settler Violence Myth: How a flawed narrative about Jewish settlers in Judea and Samaria became a global campaign—and a weapon against Israel,” by Gadi Taub, Tablet Mag., July 3, 2025, <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/israel-middle-east/articles/settler-violence-myth> ; and “Fact, fiction, or both: A closer look at settler violence in the West Bank,” by Judith Segaloff, Jerusalem Post, June 19, 2025, https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-857535#google_vignette



(Picture and slogan accompanying anti-Israel NGO B'tselem's false accusations)

- Tourists visiting archaeological sites
- Infrastructure work carried out legally by the State of Israel
- Traffic accidents
- Alleged “trespassing” by Israeli tourists or hikers, with no damage to any property or person (19% of the alleged “incidents”)
- Incidents that took place outside of Judea & Samaria (20% of the alleged “incidents”)
- “Involvement in clashes,” with no indication as to who initiated or was responsible for the alleged clash
- Other clearly non-violent incidents

Notably, 98% of the incidents which alleged death or injury to an Arab, resulted from clashes with security forces, and were **not** attributed to “settlers” in any way. (Security forces frequently have to subdue Arab terrorists trying to commit attacks, or arrest Arab terrorists who are plotting or have committed terror attacks. Arab terrorists frequently shoot at and engage in battles with security forces attempting to arrest them.)

The same report found that Israel’s over-zealous, selective enforcement in fact targets Jews in Judea & Samari. Jews are three times as likely to be indicted for the same offenses – despite the fact that senior police officials have stated on multiple occasions that the overwhelming majority of complaints received by police against Jews turn out to be false, and were submitted by left-wing movements to inflame the area. Due to the lack of veracity of the claims against Jews, at trial these cases crumble, with Jews in Judea & Samaria having the lowest conviction rate anywhere in Israel.

In sum, the myth of widespread “settler violence” is a calculated blood libel.

But unfortunately, the “settler violence” blood libel turned into a U.S. and international campaign to sanction innocent Israelis.

During his last year in office, President Biden issued Executive Order 14115 (Feb. 1, 2024),⁶⁰ demonizing and imposing severe financial and travel sanctions on “settlers” [meaning Jews] for allegedly perpetrating violence. This was a complete reversal of who is perpetrating the violence, at a time when Arab terrorists were perpetrating multiple violent attacks each day against Jews. Moreover, Biden’s expansive executive order dangerously authorized sanctioning a whole range of other innocent parties – including government entities – who indirectly assisted, hired or paid any sanctioned person, or who had as a member of its organization a sanctioned person, or whom the Biden administration deemed to threaten peace in the “West Bank” (Judea-Samaria) for any other reason.⁶¹

The Biden administration then sanctioned innocent Jews, reportedly based on false, biased reports from anti-Israel NGOs. There was no due process for any Jew or Jewish organization whom the Biden administration decided to sanction.

Innocent Jewish farmers and American citizens were unlawfully targeted, despite the fact that E.O. 14115 only authorized sanctions against “foreign persons.” Jewish soldiers who were busy trying to rescue the hostages and fighting Hamas in Gaza were sanctioned for supposedly magically simultaneously perpetrating violence in the “West Bank.” A Jew was mistakenly sanctioned because he had a similar name to the name of someone else. The sanctioned Jews and Jewish organizations had their bank accounts and credit cards frozen and had their businesses and personal finances destroyed. Adding injury on top of injury, other countries followed the Biden administration’s “example” and imposed their own sanctions on innocent Jews.

Two American citizens who were unlawfully sanctioned, Levi Yitzchak Pilant and Issachar Manne, filed a federal lawsuit against the Biden administration in January 2025, alleging that sanctions placed on American-Israelis living in Judea & Samaria violated their constitutional rights to due process and equal protection, and that sanctions decisions were solely based on “evidence” provided by anti-Israel groups.⁶² The Biden administration

⁶⁰ “Executive Order on Imposing Certain Sanctions on Persons Undermining Peace, Security, and Stability in the West Bank,” Feb. 1, 2024, <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2024/02/01/executive-order-on-imposing-certain-sanctions-on-persons-undermining-peace-security-and-stability-in-the-west-bank/>

⁶¹ See “[ZOA Condemns Biden’s Antisemitic Executive Order Sanctioning Jews in Judea/Samaria While Ignoring Arab Terrorists](#),” Feb. 7, 2024.

⁶² “American-Israeli settlers sanctioned by US sue Biden administration,” Jerusalem Post, Jan. 11, 2025, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/article-837036>

admitted that the Americans were mistakenly sanctioned.⁶³ I understand that the Department of Justice is currently in settlement discussions regarding this matter.

Fortunately, President Trump immediately revoked E.O. 14115 upon taking office. via Executive Order 14148, signed on January 20, 2025.⁶⁴

But now there is a despicable campaign to enact legislation similar to the Biden executive order, misleadingly called the “West Bank Violence Prevention Act of 2025” (H.R. 3045⁶⁵ introduced by Jerry Nadler and S. 2667⁶⁶ by Senator Cory Booker). Concerningly, 104 House members and 24 Senators (all Democrats) have been co-sponsored the bills. Appallingly, in addition to hostile-to-Israel NGOs such as J Street, the Reform Movement, Reform Action Committee (RAC) is actively campaigning for evil, harmful anti-Jewish legislation. If enacted, the legislation would again impose severe financial and travel sanctions on numerous innocent Jews protecting themselves from Arab terrorism and a large range of other innocent people – without evidence and without any due process protections. **I strongly urge the co-sponsors and Reform movement to learn the facts and discontinue their support for this antisemitic, falsehood-based legislation.**

F. Conclusions and Recommendations

We need to say “No” to a Palestinian State in Judea & Samaria (and Gaza): After so many Israelis suffered on October 7th, and so many fought, died and suffered in the wars to dramatically set back Iran’s nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities and its terror proxies’ encirclement of the Jewish homeland, and after so many Jews have been murdered by Arab terrorists in Judea & Samaria and throughout Israel, the last thing Israel or the U.S. needs is a Palestinian terror state in the Jewish heartland. After Israel suffered so much damage, it makes no sense to make any agreements or take any steps toward creating **a Palestinian state that can and will use the Judean Hills to fire rockets into Israel’s population centers. A Palestinian state would moreover reward perpetrators of October 7th – including Fatah, the Palestinian Authority’s governing party, which gleefully participated in the October 7 massacres.**

⁶³ “Biden aides admit they mistakenly targeted 2 US citizens immune from settler sanctions,” by Jacob Magid, Times of Israel, Jan. 17, 2025, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/biden-aides-admit-they-mistakenly-targeted-2-us-citizens-immune-from-settler-sanctions/>

⁶⁴ “Initial Recissions of Harmful Executive Orders and Actions,” Executive Order 14148, Federal Register, <https://public-inspection.federalregister.gov/2025-01901.pdf>

⁶⁵ H.R. 3045 <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/3045/text>

⁶⁶ S. 2667, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/senate-bill/2667/text?s=2&r=1&q=%7B%22search%22%3A%22s.+2667+west+bank%22%7D>

We must remember that Judea & Samaria is the Jewish heartland, is lawfully Jewish land, and that the Palestinian Arabs have no legitimate claim to this territory.

We must bear in mind that the Israeli Knesset overwhelmingly voted to oppose the creation of a Palestinian state in July 2024 (with only the 9 Arab Knesset members opposing the vote), and remember Prime Minister Netanyahu's statement in *The New York Times* in March 2018 that **a Palestinian state “doesn't work. . . . When we leave land, Arab terror organizations take over. Immediately.”**

When other countries wrongfully “recognize” the non-existent “State of Palestine,” this should encourage us to steel ourselves to assert Israel's lawful rights. Indeed, U.S. Ambassador to Israel Mike Huckabee stated that if countries unilaterally recognize a Palestinian state, this should “serve as encouragement to Israel to consider declaring sovereignty over parts of Judea and Samaria.”⁶⁷

U.S. Ambassador to Israel Mike Huckabee recently said the following at the City of David excavations in Jerusalem. I believe that his beautiful statement is equally applicable to Judea & Samaria:

“The Jewish people never forgot that this was their land, their home, their undivided, indisputable, indigenous capital from eternity and tonight, something truly extraordinary happens. It is often said that history is to a civilization what memory is to the individual. If any of us were to wake up tomorrow and not remember where we lived or who we were, or who that woman is that is living in our house because we didn't know her to be our wife. Amnesia is a horrible thing to have, because one is disoriented, lost, completely unable to make a connection just to the simplest things of life, that history is to a civilization, what memory is to the individual. And tonight, this is a celebration of the history of Yerushalayim [Jerusalem]. There is a verse in the New Testament in Luke, verse 40 of chapter 19, and it says this, “If the crowds keep quiet, the stones will cry out.” If the crowds don't acknowledge it, the stones were crying out. Tonight, the stones are crying out. The crowds may say it, but the stones, absolutely and 100% validate that the Jewish people not only belong here now, but they have belonged here for 4000 years, since the time God said to Abraham, this is yours, take good care of it, and you'll be a blessing to the people around the earth and even to those of us who aren't even Jewish. He says, “Those who bless Israel will be blessed, and those who

⁶⁷ Ynet News, reporting on Amb. Huckabee interview on Sept. 18, 2025 on ILTV, after Britain, Canada, Australia, and Portugal unilaterally recognized a Palestinian state, Sept. 22, 2025, <https://www.ynetnews.com/article/rkv00sbcixg>

curse Israel will be cursed.” And I come here tonight because I’d rather have a blessing than a curse.”⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Ambassador Mike Huckabee’s Remarks at the City of David in Jerusalem,” U.S. Embassy Jerusalem, Sept. 15, 2025, <https://il.usembassy.gov/ambassador-mike-huckabees-remarks-at-the-city-of-david-in-jerusalem/>

