03-5121750

nyti@haaretz.co.il

Execution of a father of

10 at the checkpoint

The Twilight Zone, Page 13

Established 1919

ENGLISH EDITION

Friday, September 12, 2025 | Elul 19, 5785. Vol 106/32397

ISRAEL'S LEADING DAILY NEWSPAPER

www.haaretz.com



Failed Doha strike bursts illusion that Israel can use all force it wants

It seems Hamas' leaders survived, while Doha seeks immediate action against Israel

Amos Harel

Benjamin Netanyahu doesn't like the word "strategy." In deliberations with the heads of the security branches, he has a habit of showing open contempt for the very existence of the term, quoting his father, the late historian Benzion Netanyahu, who always regarded it with suspicion. This doesn't mean the prime minister lacks strategic goals. For three decades, he has waved two flags: preventing an Iranian nuclear bomb and thwarting the establishment of a Palestinian state (even if, for tactical reasons, he briefly pretended in 2009 that he was willing to support the idea). In recent years, especially since his corruption trial began in 2020, a different goal has occupied the top spot: remaining prime minister, at any cost.

In Netanyahu's world, opportunities are exploited from a position of strength, and options are always kept open for the last minute. People who have worked with him closely describe a man who consistently uses a system of compartmentalized cells. Dozens of moves are examined and carried out simultaneously, and only he is aware of the connection between them and the ability to link a concession at point A to extortion at point B – without restraint or feelings of regret

After the October 7 massacre, several of his foreign guests recounted meeting a shadow of a man, a pale and



A protester calling for the release of the hostages from Gaza, in Tel Aviv on Thursday.

frightened leader who feared his country's citizens would drive him from his home in Jerusalem with rocks and sticks, given his responsibility for the massacre. But Netanyahu soon recovered and developed new survival

Immediately after the war with Iran in June, his close associate Nathan Eshel was quoted by the Times of Israel as saying that by the next

general election everyone in Israel will have forgotten the October 7 calamity; "The disaster will have no effect whatsoever on the election results. None." That's Netanyahu's revised approach, which

is still aimed at survival.

In his handling of the war, his policy is militant and expansive and involves taking more risks than he would have dared to in the past. Along the way, he seems to have fallen in

love with a new idea: expanding the state's borders, for the first time since 1967 Hence the constant flirtation with seizing new territory in the

See WAR, Page 6

PM asks key panel to approve embattled Shin Bet pick

Qatar pushes UAE to close TA embassy after Doha strike

Chaim Levinson and Jack Khoury

Qatar is pressuring the United Arab Emirates to take immediate diplomatic measures against Israel, including closing its embassy in Tel Aviv, as part of its response to the Israeli airstrike in Doha, diplomatic sources in Gulf states told Haaretz.

According to the sources, Qatar's appeal to the UAE, which is reportedly eager to recall Israeli Ambassador Yossi Shelley, a former close aide to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, has been received attentively, and decisions are expected soon.

A regional diplomat told Haaretz that Qatar does not intend to ignore the strike, unlike its response to the fictitious Iranian attack on Al-Udeid base in June, which was a reprisal for U.S. strikes on Iran's nuclear sites. Qatar is now considering multiple measures. "The gloves are off," the diplomat said.

According to Gulf sources, Qatar claims, supported by documents, that Israel and the U.S. requested it to provide shelter for senior Hamas leaders who fled Syria following the civil war, preferring them to be in Qatar rather than in Turkey.

From Doha's perspective, accusing Qatar of hosting Hamas leaders is seen as a knife in the back and could affect continued cooperation with Mossad as well as other interactions between the emirate and Israel.

Since the strike, Qatar and the UAE, despite their tensions, have been coordinating potential reprisals. The UAE has grown increasingly frustrated with Netanyahu, recognizing that he is not pursuing regional peace and stability but using the normalization treaty with the UAE for political gain before discarding it. Recent calls within the Israeli government to annex the West Bank have heightened concerns and are seen as a possible reason to cancel the Abraham Accords.

Qatar's relations with the United States could also be affected. Until recently, Oatar had discussed a defense agreement with the U.S. as a strategic goal. They are now offended and expect clear, public explanations to halt regional strikes and end the war. If this does not happen, Qatar may turn to the Chinese-Russian axis for protec-

The folly of assassination

Yossi Verter, Page 2

tion instead of the American alliance. Special envoy Steve Witkoff, close to the Qatari prime minister, is expected to present these concerns to Trump.

From Qatar's perspective, it is a small country with few citizens but abundant resources, which could easily be threatened by Saudi Arabia or other nations seeking its high-yield gas fields. To counter this, Qatar has invested in international alliances and mediation efforts to maintain good relations with multiple countries. This worldview also led Qatar to host a U.S. Air Force base after Saudi Arabia expelled American forces following 9/11. Qatar has heavily invested in the base, intended to protect against attacks and sabotage.

See QATAR, Page 6



Jonathan Lis

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu sent a letter on Thursday to the Senior Appointments Advisory Committee, chaired by former Supreme Court President Asher Grunis, requesting that it advance the appointment of David Zini as Shin Bet chief.

Netanyahu wrote to Grunis that he wants to move for-

ward with Zini's appointment so it can be presented to the government for approval on September 21, citing "the weighty security challenges the Shin Bet is facing these days, and the urgent need to appoint a permanent chief to the agency.

He highlighted Zini's military experience, noting that "the critical thinking he demonstrated in his various roles,

his willingness to think outside the box and re-examine operational assumptions, his readiness to assert his professional opinion, and his ability to lead and adapt the system to changing realities, along with his accumulated experience in building and operating a force, all lead me to conclude that he is the most suitable candidate for Shin

The Senior Appointments Advisory Committee will review the candidacy without one member, Talia Einhorn, who faces a conflict of interest due to suspicions regarding her son, Srulik Einhorn, involved in the Qatargate affair. The committee can approve or reject the appointment, even with just three members.

The Shin Bet has been led

in an interim capacity by S. since Ronen Bar's departure in June. In July, the government reached a compromise with Attorney General Gali Baharav-Miara on the appointment of a permanent Shin Bet chief.

Under the compromise, Netanyahu's candidate cannot involve himself in the Qatargate affair, in which several of the prime minister's advisers have been questioned and arrested. For this reason, S.'s interim tenure has been extended until a permanent chief is appointed. The compromise did not include a date for concluding the investigation into ties between the Prime Minister's Office and Qatar.

See SHIN BET, Page 6

New safety regulations at construction sites

Developers and contractors will be held responsible for accidents

Ran Shimoni

Developers, contracting companies and their senior officials will now be held criminally liable for occupational accidents at construction sites, according to the updated occupational safety regulations, which were approved on Wednesday by the Knesset's Labor and Welfare Committee.

An on-site foreman, which up to now was the most senior official carrying this responsibility, will now only deal with ensuring the safety of workers at the site, not on managing the actual work being done. According to the new regulations, a developer or contracting company will be prohibited from beginning work without a safety plan and the provi-

sion of resources for its implementation, including the appointment of a licensed safety controller who will conduct periodic inspections and report deficiencies to the company. After these regulations take effect a year from now, their violation by any of these parties will lead to administrative and criminal proceedings, particularly in the event of an accident occurring in a site they are responsible for.

Over the years, the obligation of implementing safety procedures at a construction site was entrusted mainly to the foreman. In cases of criminal proceedings relating to construction sites, he was the one carrying the brunt of the responsibility, along with more junior workers. Senior officials at

the project, from developers to contractors, were not obliged to account for any negligence that led to harm done to workers at their construction site. As of the end of August, 30 people have been killed this year at construction sites, compared to 21 in the similar period last

The reform that was just approved has been under discussion by the Knesset committee for the last two vears. MK Israel Eichler (United Torah Judaism) who was the committee chairman until recently, returned in order to complete the ratification of the new regulations. "These regulations are meant to save lives," he said at the end of the discussion.

See SITES, Page 6

Israeli leaders found a martyr in Charlie Kirk for their struggle against the 'global left'

Etan Nechin

The assassination of Charlie Kirk, an American right-wing, Christian influencer, by an unknown gunman at Utah Valley University on Wednesday was the latest iteration an old plague of political violence in America. It is woven into the nation's fabric; from the assassinations of Lincoln and Kennedy, to the murders of Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. In recent years it has reared its head again, from the January 6, 2021 insurrection at the U.S. Capitol, assassination attempts against U.S. President Trump, and the murders of Minnesota House Speaker Melissa Hortman and her husband this past June.



Within minutes, political figures began sharing prayers and reactions to

the news from Utah. But what stood out in this case wasn't only the speed at

which the reactions came, but also the corners they came from.

In Israel, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu mourned Kirk as a "lionhearted friend of Israel" who "fought the lies and stood tall for Judeo-Christian civilization." Israel's Foreign Minister Gideon Sa'ar, Israel's Foreign Ministry, and lawmaker Benny Gantz mourned him as a representative of "the Judeo-Christian values that unite Israel and America,' or some variation of that.

Other right-wing Israeli politicians rushed to weaponize the tragedy, using it to stoke fear, amplify Islamophobia, and fold Kirk's assassination into their broader anti-left agenda. National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir said "the collusion between the global Left and radical Islam is

See KIRK, Page 6