Biden’s Push to End the War in Gaza

0:01

hey it's Michael before we start today

0:03

we wanted to invite you to something

0:05

really special the legendary Tribeca

0:08

Festival is starting a brand new annual

0:10

Gala to celebrate excellence in audio

0:13

and for this the inaugural year they've

0:16

chosen to celebrate the daily we know

0:19

that you our incredible audience are all

0:21

over the world but we'd like you to join

0:24

us the gala is in New York on June 9th

0:28

at 5:00 p.m. you can get all the details

0:31

and buy tickets at tribecafilm.com

0:35

thedaily that's tribecafilm.com

0:39

thedaily I'm going to be there so is

0:41

Sabrina along with a bunch of us from

0:43

the show mocka is going to host it so if

0:47

you're in the area or visiting we'd love

0:50

to see you there okay on with today's

0:54

show from the New York Times I'm Sabrina

0:57

tavernes and this is the daily

1:01

[Music]

1:08

in an unexpected speech last week

1:11

President Biden revealed the details of

1:13

a secret proposal intended to end the

1:15

war in Gaza most surprising was where

1:19

that proposal had come

1:21

from today my colleague Isabel kersner

1:25

explains Biden's Gambit and the

1:27

difficult Choice it presents for Israel

1:30

leader Benjamin

1:34

[Music]

1:35

[Applause]

1:37

[Music]

1:38

Netanyahu it's Wednesday June

1:42

[Music]

1:49

5th Isabelle tell us about this speech

1:52

from President Biden last Friday at the

1:54

White House so last Friday President

1:57

Biden made a speech and it came at a

2:01

pivotal moment in the war because for

2:04

weeks beforehand the whole world had

2:07

been focused on Israel's long delayed

2:11

invasion of the city of Rafa the

2:14

Southernmost city in the Gaza Strip and

2:18

also the city that about a million

2:20

displaced Palestinians had fled to to

2:24

find Refuge from fighting in other areas

2:26

of the Gaza Strip so understandably

2:29

there was huge concern internationally

2:31

and particularly a lot of pressure

2:33

coming from the White House for Israel

2:35

not to go into Rafa it was just

2:38

considered way too risky but for the

2:41

Israelis you know they were saying the

2:43

last battalions of Hamas are there many

2:46

hostages are there and without taking

2:48

control of that area the Israelis felt

2:51

they wouldn't have accomplished

2:53

anything so in the end they did begin to

2:57

move into the Eastern part of Rafa but

3:02

then as the Israelis were operating in

3:05

eastern Rafa with their tanks and ground

3:08

troops the Israelis on May the 26th

3:12

carried out a strike an air

3:17

strike this was an attack meant to

3:19

Target Two Hamas

3:23

operatives and they did in fact strike

3:26

those two operatives and kill them with

3:29

with what they said were the smallest

3:32

missiles that their Jets could

3:35

carry unfortunately that strike then set

3:39

off an absolutely devastating fire

3:42

because where the area the strike took

3:44

place in is right by a camp of makeshift

3:48

shacks and Tents where hundreds or

3:51

thousands of Palestinians were

3:53

Sheltering this fire ripped through the

3:56

tents and and ended up killing 40 five

4:00

civilians according to the Garen Health

4:02

authorities and it was exactly the kind

4:05

of disaster that everybody had feared if

4:09

Israel were to operate in this crowded

4:12

Southern Dusty Border

4:15

[Music]

4:19

Town which presumably put a lot more

4:22

pressure on the Biden White House to do

4:24

something about this war that's right

4:27

now we know that the White House the

4:29

Biden Administration would very much

4:31

like to see this war come to an end as

4:35

soon as possible and then on Friday good

4:40

afternoon before I begin my remarks

4:42

President Biden gives a speech and

4:47

surprisingly now to another issue this

4:50

speech when it turned to the Israel

4:53

Hamas war was not about Rafa in fact it

4:57

was something totally different much

5:00

bigger Israel has now offered Israel has

5:04

offered a comprehensive new proposal

5:07

it's a road map to an enduring ceas fire

5:10

and the release of all

5:12

hostages what President Biden described

5:16

as the outline of an Israeli proposal

5:20

for a ceasefire truce and hostage

5:24

release deal with Hamas that would end

5:27

the war this proposal been transmitted

5:30

by cutter to

5:32

Hamas today I want to lay out his terms

5:36

for the American citizens and for the

5:39

[Music]

5:42

world and Isabelle what did he mean

5:44

exactly by the Israeli proposal well

5:48

there's been a lot of smoke and mirrors

5:50

around this whole process of talks and

5:55

negotiations between Israel and Hamas

5:59

and in fact the last time we saw a

6:02

negotiation actually result in a

6:05

temporary ceasefire and a partial

6:07

hostage release was at the end of last

6:11

November but in fact there had been this

6:14

on again off again attempt at getting

6:18

negotiations back on track over the last

6:20

few

6:21

weeks and it soon came to light that

6:25

this was the latest Israeli proposal

6:27

that was apparently present Ed and this

6:31

proposal it turns out was unanimously

6:35

approved as a basis for the negotiation

6:38

by Israel's war cabinet and here is an

6:42

American president spelling out this

6:44

previously undisclosed Israeli position

6:47

on television absolutely and the Israeli

6:50

public knew nothing about

6:56

this so what does Biden actually say

6:58

what does he say in this proposal okay

7:01

well what he says this new proposal has

7:04

three phases three he presents it as a

7:07

deal in three phases which is generally

7:10

in line with all the previous plans of

7:13

the last few months and the first phase

7:16

would involve a six- week temporary

7:20

ceasefire during which a certain number

7:23

of hostages including women the elderly

7:26

the wounded and the most vulnerable ones

7:29

there are American hostages who would be

7:31

released at this stage and we want them

7:33

home would be exchanged for hundreds of

7:36

Palestinian prisoners in Israeli

7:40

jails and Israeli forces would be

7:43

withdrawing from population centers

7:46

within the Gaza street with 600 trucks

7:49

carrying Aid in the Gaza every single

7:52

day humanitarian Aid would be flowing at

7:56

a much greater level and generally the

7:59

beginning of a change in atmosphere and

8:02

climate so this seems in some ways like

8:06

the temporary ceasefire in November

8:08

right women and children vulnerable

8:11

hostages a cease in hostilities for 6

8:14

weeks what about phase two well here we

8:17

get to the crucial part because during

8:21

phase one the sides are supposed to

8:25

start negotiating phase two now I'll be

8:29

straight with you there are a number of

8:31

details to negotiate to move from phase

8:34

one to phase two and phase two is

8:38

supposed to culminate in all remaining

8:42

living hostages released and exchanged

8:45

again for many more Palestinian

8:48

prisoners from Israeli

8:51

jails this would involve also the

8:54

withdrawal of Israeli troops from the

8:57

Gaza Strip and in his speech President

9:01

Biden does say that as long as Hamas

9:03

lives up to its commitments the

9:06

temporary ceasefire would become in the

9:09

words of the Israeli

9:12

proposal the cessation of hostilities

9:15

permanently essentially meaning the end

9:18

of the war so Biden is actually talking

9:22

about the end of the war like he's

9:24

saying that out loud which is not

9:26

something we've been hearing from Israel

9:28

at all at least publicly

9:30

on the contrary in fact our colleagues

9:31

wrote a story at the end of last week

9:33

when one senior Israeli official said

9:36

the war would last until at least the

9:38

end of the year so this is something

9:40

very new absolutely and then we get to

9:44

phase three because there's a third

9:46

phase to this plan and that is moving

9:49

ahead already to the day after the war

9:52

um which has been kept very vague by the

9:55

Israelis up to now and the phase that

9:58

president Biden outlined was essentially

10:01

just for a major reconstruction plan for

10:05

Gaza that's the offer that's now on the

10:08

table and what we've been asking for

10:11

it's what we need so the president is

10:14

saying that this is a deal that should

10:17

be accepted that uh meets the

10:20

requirements of both sides that can

10:22

point to a path forward and he makes a

10:26

couple of points to bolster that the

10:29

people of Israel should know they can

10:31

make this offer without any further risk

10:34

to their own security because they've

10:37

devastated Hamas for forces one of which

10:40

is that in his view Hamas has already

10:43

been uh sufficiently degraded and and

10:47

devastated to the point where as

10:50

President Biden puts it Hamas is no

10:52

longer capable of carrying out another

10:55

October the 7th in other words that goal

10:57

of you know total vict

10:59

that Netanyahu talks about Biden is

11:02

actually saying they've accomplished it

11:04

the Israelis have accomplished it not

11:06

really actually he takes on Netanyahu on

11:09

the total Victory slogan indefinite war

11:13

in pursuit of an unidentified notion of

11:16

total Victory will not bring Israel and

11:19

will not bring down bog down will only

11:21

bog down Israel in Gaza draining the

11:24

economic military and human and human

11:27

resources and furthering is is's

11:29

isolation in the world and says that

11:32

total Victory is a kind of nebulous and

11:36

unrealistic goal that would basically

11:39

mean indefinite War because what does

11:42

total Victory mean you can't kill every

11:46

last Hamas operative and even if you did

11:49

presumably there would be many more

11:51

Palestinians who would come to replace

11:53

them and in a way he's using this speech

11:57

to go over the head head of Netanyahu

12:01

and go straight to the Israeli people

12:04

and present them with these terms to in

12:06

a way Corner Netanyahu but also to put

12:12

down the gauntlet to Hamas and say here

12:14

are the terms they sound very like the

12:17

terms Hamas was asking for and putting

12:20

Hamas equally on the spot to come back

12:23

to the table even though Israel is still

12:26

fighting in

12:27

Rafa it's time to began this new stage

12:32

for the hostages to come home for Israel

12:34

to be secure for the suffering to stop

12:38

it's time for this war to

12:42

end for the day after to

12:45

begin thank you very

12:48

much so Biden is essentially saying here

12:53

listen Israel you have won the war

12:56

effectively like Hamas is degraded now

12:59

it's time to accept the ceasefire deal

13:01

that you yourself have

13:03

designed what was the reaction inside

13:07

Israel the initial reaction took a while

13:11

to come because President Biden made his

13:14

speech and it landed at about 8:30 in

13:18

the evening on Friday Israel time and

13:22

this is the time where many many

13:24

families are sitting around their

13:26

Sabbath dinner table as I was with with

13:29

my family and friends not watching the

13:32

news not looking at phones for the most

13:35

part observant Jews have actually

13:37

switched off for the Sabbath and aren't

13:39

going to hear any news until Saturday

13:42

night and as the news did begin to

13:45

trickle out it really shook Israel up

13:49

and this leaves Netanyahu in a great

13:52

bind because for months he's really been

13:56

playing for time and juggling competing

13:59

interests and really not having to make

14:03

a decision one way or the other on what

14:08

comes

14:12

next we've been hearing that rafath is

14:15

really the last stronghold of Hamas and

14:17

this is something the military has to do

14:20

but after that there was just a kind of

14:23

void and no news on the hostages or a

14:28

ceas fire or a deal on the

14:33

horizon and so when this speech was made

14:37

suddenly it shook up everything and

14:41

Netanyahu is suddenly facing a very

14:45

crucial

14:47

[Music]

14:54

Choice we'll be right back

14:57

[Music]

15:08

so Isabel you said that this is a very

15:10

important moment for Netanyahu that now

15:13

he really is facing a choice what does

15:15

he do what does he come out and say so

15:19

his office actually put out a

15:21

statement and his first response was

15:25

that Israel is sticking to its

15:28

objectives

15:29

the destruction of hamas's military and

15:31

governing capabilities and he said the

15:34

actual proposal put forward by Israel

15:37

would allow Israel to uphold these

15:40

principles now this was a slightly

15:43

ambiguous response that you could pass

15:45

in different ways he wasn't exactly

15:48

denying that this was an Israeli

15:50

proposal and indeed we quickly learned

15:53

that in fact Israel's war cabinet had

15:57

unanimously voted on

15:59

the general outlines of what President

16:01

Biden had presented he wasn't denying it

16:05

but the one thing missing from that

16:07

statement was this declaration we'd been

16:09

hearing for months on end that the war

16:11

wouldn't end until there was total

16:13

victory that had gone so total Victory

16:18

had gone which is a difference which

16:21

means potentially the war goals have

16:24

shifted a little bit well the way he

16:27

articulated it is is talking about the

16:30

degradation or dismantling of hamas's

16:34

capabilities as opposed to talking about

16:37

the total elimination of Hamas as a

16:40

movement and then he followed up his

16:43

office put out another statement on

16:45

Saturday also still during the Sabbath

16:48

which was a little stronger he said

16:51

under the proposal Israel would insist

16:54

on its conditions being met these same

16:57

War object

16:59

before a permanent ceasefire is put in

17:02

place and that any suggestion that

17:05

Israel would agree to that permanent

17:08

ceasefire before the conditions are met

17:11

would be a

17:12

nonstarter but again you know it was

17:15

kind of conditional and could be

17:17

interpreted in different ways at what

17:20

point does one declare that the

17:22

capabilities have been dismantled or

17:26

sufficiently degraded so it left a lot

17:28

of room for

17:30

maneuver and so what is Netanyahu up to

17:34

here Isabelle I think he's trying to

17:37

balance all these competing sides he's

17:41

seems to be trying not to torpedo the

17:44

chances of this deal but at the same

17:47

time to be able to hang on politically

17:51

when he has a very serious challenge

17:55

looming within his government should

17:58

this deal go ahead so tell me about that

18:00

challenge Israel's government is formed

18:03

of a coalition of parties Netanyahu Le

18:07

could is the main party but uh it

18:10

totally relies for its majority in

18:14

Parliament on its Partners in the

18:16

Coalition and they include Two ultra

18:19

Orthodox parties and two far-right

18:22

parties and the far right parties have

18:26

both come out explicitly saying that

18:30

should this deal as outlined by

18:32

President Biden go ahead they will not

18:36

be party to it so Netanyahu faces this

18:39

real political Danger on his right

18:43

that's right so there are the leaders of

18:46

these two right-wing parties who he

18:50

relies on for his coalition government

18:53

he relies on them for his majority in

18:56

Parliament and the leaders of those

18:59

parties are itamar benier who's the

19:02

national security minister and bit salel

19:06

smotrich who is currently the Finance

19:09

Minister now neither of these parties

19:12

nor their leaders are sitting in the

19:16

much more tight and small War cabinet

19:20

that actually overseas and directs and

19:23

makes the decisions on the course of the

19:26

war in Gaza they would were seen as way

19:29

too extreme to be part of that Forum

19:32

that forum is much more reflective of

19:34

the national consensus but these parties

19:38

are part of the broader

19:40

government and they have threatened not

19:44

only to oppose the deal as outlined by

19:48

President Biden should it go ahead but

19:50

they have actually vowed if it does go

19:53

ahead they would withdraw their support

19:55

to Netanyahu and bring his government

19:58

down

19:59

and if his government were to collapse

20:03

as a result he would then be facing a

20:06

new election now he has been trying to

20:09

Stave off the end of the war and the

20:13

prospect of new elections ever since

20:16

October the 7th because then he's in

20:19

danger of facing that public Reckoning

20:22

for the perceived failures the the

20:25

government's policy failures the

20:27

military's failures intelligence

20:29

failures leading up to the Hamas Le

20:32

attack of October the 7th but we really

20:35

might be getting to crunch time when it

20:38

comes to his political Lifeline here so

20:42

this is a pretty dramatic moment for

20:44

Netanyahu then right I mean he's under

20:46

tremendous pressure from Biden his

20:48

biggest Ally Biden's basically asking

20:50

him to choose between this deal which

20:53

means the end of the war something his

20:55

Coalition Partners these hard right guys

20:57

really don't want and his own power

21:00

essentially right Staying Alive

21:02

politically or the end of the war and

21:05

the hostages coming home that is a very

21:08

Stark Choice absolutely and then there

21:11

are other choices that he has to weigh

21:14

because you know Israel has been

21:17

increasingly isolated and under

21:19

International censure for its

21:22

prosecution of the war in Gaza Netanyahu

21:25

himself is facing the prospect of

21:28

possible arrest warrants being put out

21:32

against him from the international

21:33

criminal court in the ha Israel is in

21:36

the dock on a genocide case in the

21:39

international court of justice in the ha

21:42

so should he go ahead with this deal he

21:46

has been offered sweeteners like an

21:48

invitation to address Congress and this

21:52

would in a way be a way of bringing him

21:54

back into the

21:56

fold so Isabel s Netanyahu approves this

22:00

proposal How likely is it that the

22:03

right-wing you know smotrich and benir

22:05

actually do leave the government I mean

22:08

they would be giving up power too no

22:11

they would and if we look at all the

22:15

opinion polls being done in Israel in

22:18

the last few months but salel smutr and

22:22

his religious Zionism party for one

22:25

would barely scrape back into parliament

22:28

in another election and therefore

22:30

there's a lot at stake for him too and

22:33

for itar BV because if the next

22:36

government that's formed is not going to

22:38

be a right-wing and farri government he

22:40

would find himself out of power too but

22:43

Isabel let's say they do leave what

22:46

happens in that

22:48

scenario well the assumption is that the

22:51

government would collapse it would lose

22:53

its majority and naturally the knesset

22:58

would vote to dissolve itself and set a

23:01

date for a new election which would have

23:04

to come within five months and during

23:08

that period this government would turn

23:11

into a caretaker government now usually

23:14

a caretaker government that's a

23:16

transitional one in that period before

23:19

elections isn't supposed to make

23:21

dramatic decisions for the country but

23:25

you know being a caretaker govern during

23:29

wartime this puts Israel in Uncharted

23:32

political territory then theoretically

23:35

if we were to ask could such a

23:37

government even approve a deal once it

23:40

had been

23:41

negotiated even without the support of

23:44

those far-right parties apparently there

23:47

would still be enough in favor to see it

23:52

through interesting so it seems like

23:55

there are a lot of possibilities for how

23:58

this could go but it does in a way rely

24:02

on Netanyahu deciding what Israel's

24:05

course will be and it seems like he

24:08

probably needs to land on one of these

24:11

options what do you think he's going to

24:13

do well it might not end up being black

24:17

and white take the deal or not take the

24:19

deal we might end up seeing something in

24:23

between because you know I think

24:27

Netanyahu who is facing huge public

24:29

pressure to bring back those hostages

24:33

who still are alive would definitely

24:35

want to move ahead with at least that

24:39

first part of the deal that would see a

24:41

six- week temporary ceasefire in return

24:45

for the most vulnerable hostages and

24:48

then you get into the much trickier part

24:51

of that negotiation for the next stage

24:55

which would involve essentially ending

24:58

the war and it could be that you know we

25:01

might see Netanyahu wanting to proceed

25:04

with this deal but only partially and

25:08

then get to a point where it can't go

25:11

further and Netanyahu is probably very

25:16

keenly aware of the American political

25:19

timetable there are Skeptics here who

25:23

say that by Labor Day all the American

25:27

attention is going going to be focused

25:29

on America's own internal politics

25:33

running up to the November elections and

25:36

that Netanyahu basically just has to

25:38

survive another 90 days to get to that

25:41

point at which point the pressure

25:45

subsides so this is a scenario in which

25:48

he just basically runs out the clock he

25:50

keeps on that tight RPP that's a

25:52

possibility absolutely and one that he

25:54

would be very Adept at doing if the past

25:57

is anything to go by okay so there are a

26:00

number of ways Netanyahu could actually

26:02

handle this how should we think about

26:05

what Biden has really accomplished here

26:08

well I think it's hard to say that one

26:12

speech is going to change the course or

26:15

the outcome of this war but it certainly

26:19

has crystallized the issues and brought

26:22

them out into the light after months and

26:25

months of murkiness that Netanyahu was

26:29

able to in a way hide behind and operate

26:33

within and I think now he's in the

26:36

spotlight and assuming that Hamas is

26:39

willing to accept and go along with this

26:43

negotiation for this

26:46

proposal the Israeli Public's

26:48

expectations have certainly been risen

26:51

now toward a

26:54

deal and all eyes are now on Netanyahu

26:59

to see which way he will

27:02

[Music]

27:05

go Isabelle thank you thank you so

27:09

[Music]

27:13

much in an interview with Time Magazine

27:16

published on Tuesday Biden was asked

27:19

whether Netanyahu was prolonging the war

27:21

in Gaza in an effort to hold on to

27:24

office Biden said quote there is every

27:27

reason for people to draw that

27:30

[Music]

27:34

conclusion we'll be right

27:46

back here's what else you should know

27:48

today on Tuesday Republican lawmakers in

27:52

Arizona voted to put a ballot measure

27:54

before voters in November that would

27:57

make unlawfully crossing the border from

27:59

Mexico a crime in the state the move

28:03

would put the Border crisis directly

28:04

onto the ballot in a key swing state

28:08

potentially firing up anti-immigration

28:10

conservative voters it is similar to a

28:13

law passed in Texas earlier this year

28:16

currently held up in court after it was

28:18

challenged by the Biden

28:21

Administration

28:22

and the results of a major election in

28:25

India have been tallied and they are

28:28

deeply disappointing for India's prime

28:30

minister Narendra Modi Modi appeared to

28:33

have secured a third consecutive term in

28:35

office however his BJP party did not

28:38

deliver the landslide Victory it had

28:40

promised and even lost its majority in

28:44

Parliament now Modi and the BJP must

28:47

come to an agreement with other parties

28:50

in order to form a coalition government

28:52

in India's parliamentary system

28:55

[Music]

29:00

today's episode was produced by Will

29:02

Reed Eric krupy and Sydney Harper it was

29:05

edited by Brendan clingen Berg and

29:07

Michael benoa contains original music by

29:11

Marian Lozano Diane Wong Dan Powell and

29:15

Rowan neimo and was engineered by Chris

29:18

Wood our theme music is by Jim brunberg

29:21

and Ben Lanser of wonderly

29:27

[Music]

29:30

that's it for the daily I'm Sabrina

29:32

tavernes see you tomorrow

29:38

[Music]

English (auto-generated)