

Briefing on the Hamas-Israel war
Dec 2023

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Background: Israel, Gaza, and Hamas

- Israel took control of the Gaza Strip from Egyptian armed forces of the United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1967 following the Six-Day War¹.
- Hamas was founded in 1987 as an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood. It is supported by Iran and Qatar².
- Israel forcibly withdrew every last Jew from Gaza in 2005 with the hope that the territory would be developed into the “Singapore of the Mediterranean”³.
- Hamas took control of Gaza in 2007 after a bloody coup⁴.
 - The rule of Hamas over Gaza has also included murdering political opponents, the violent suppression of any form of dissent⁵, and no press freedom⁶.
- Hamas is committed to establishing a caliphate over all the land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River by force. This is enshrined in its charter⁷, stated openly by its leaders⁸, and evidenced by its actions - terror attacks - since it was formed⁹.

For these reasons, Hamas is a designated terror organisation in many countries. However, New Zealand artificially separates out the ‘military wing’ for designation¹⁰.

- In response to attacks, Israel:
 - implemented a legal naval blockade¹¹;
 - built bomb shelters and developed the Iron Dome¹²;
 - created technology to find and destroy or prevent tunnel building into Israel¹³; and
 - has gone to war on several occasions¹⁴.
- The aid sent to Gaza has been misdirected by Hamas into building up a terror infrastructure, including a vast tunnel network, rather than building civilian infrastructure to grow and develop a thriving nation¹⁵.
- Hamas indoctrinates children towards martyrdom¹⁶.

¹ <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/gazas-centuries-war-brief-history-2023-10-30/>

² <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-hamas>

³ <https://eurasia.ro/2018/02/05/the-gaza-strip-from-singapore-of-the-mediterranean-to-a-palestinian-state/>

⁴ <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/wake-hamas-coup-rethinking-americas-grand-strategy-new-palestinian-authority>

⁵ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/10/23/palestine-authorities-crush-dissent>

⁶ <https://rsf.org/en/country/palestine>

⁷ https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp and <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/hamas-2017-document-full>

⁸ <https://www.memri.org/reports/ideology-hamas-%E2%80%93-its-own-words>

⁹ <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/the-road-to-october-7-hamas-long-game-clarified/>

¹⁰ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2019/09/do-new-zealand-officials-take-terror-seriously/>

¹¹ <https://aijac.org.au/update/un-palmer-report-blockade-of-gaza-is-legal/>

¹² <https://news.yahoo.com/shelters-safe-rooms-missile-shields-083013956.html>

¹³ <https://www.economist.com/science-and-technology/2023/11/08/israel-hopes-technology-will-help-it-fight-in-hamass-tunnels>

¹⁴ Eds., Joel Peters, David Newman, *The Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, 2013.

¹⁵ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/cement-for-rebuilding-gaza-diverted-to-attack-tunnels/>

¹⁶ <https://www.memri.org/tv/hamas-official-ghazi-hamad-we-will-repeat-october-seven-until-israel-annihilated-victims-everything-we-do-justified>

October 7, 2023: the Hamas attack and Israel's response

- On October 07, 2023, Hamas led an attack, "Operation Al-Aqsa Flood". It was conducted on the Jewish festival of Simchat Torah, which this year, was on the Sabbath¹⁷.
 - It started with a barrage of more than 3,000 rockets¹⁸.
- Approximately 3,000 terrorists¹⁹ crossed the border into Israel and:
 - gunned down whole families in their sleep²⁰;
 - fired RPGs at civilians²¹;
 - bound people together and burned them alive²²;
 - decapitated babies²³;
 - raped young girls and elderly ladies²⁴;
 - cut open a pregnant woman's belly and murdered the foetus²⁵;
 - baked a baby in an oven²⁶;
 - slaughtered 364 people at a music festival and took 40 hostage²⁷; and
 - abducted Israelis, including six-month-old babies, elderly and disabled people²⁸.
- In total, approximately 1,200 Israelis were murdered and 240 taken hostage²⁹.

Hamis and other terror groups committed unspeakable acts of violence and barbarity.

- Israel is operating to destroy Hamas' military capabilities, eliminate the threat posed to its citizens from the Gaza Strip and, to bring back home all the hostages³⁰.
- **Israel has the right and the duty to defend its citizens from the genocidal attacks³¹.**
- Israel also faces threats from Iranian-backed (IRGC) terrorist groups in Lebanon (Hezbollah)³², Syria³³, and Yemen (Houthis)³⁴.
- There is also the ever-present threat of terrorist attacks from Judea/Samaria³⁵.

¹⁷ <https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2023/10/17/overwhelmed-the-idfs-first-hours-fighting-the-terror-waves-on-oct-7/>

¹⁸ <https://edition.cnn.com/middleeast/live-news/al-aqsa-storm-militants-infiltrate-israel-after-gaza-rockets-10-07-intl-hnk/>

¹⁹ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-estimates-3000-hamas-terrorists-invaded-israel-in-oct-7-onslaught/>

²⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/oct/11/hamas-attack-kfar-aza-kibbutz-massacre-israel>

²¹ <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/sickening-moment-hamas-terrorists-fires-rpg-at-innocent-israeli-family-car/>

²² <https://themedialine.org/top-stories/evidence-on-display-at-israels-forensic-pathology-center-confirms-hamas-atrocities/>

²³ <https://www.ipost.com/breaking-news/article-767951>

²⁴ <https://forward.com/fast-forward/566249/israeli-officials-and-civilian-responders-describe-evidence-of-rape-and-other-atrocities>

²⁵ <https://www.the-sun.com/news/9313965/hamas-baby-children-bodies-burned/>

²⁶ <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2023-10-28/israel-says-its-war-can-both-destroy-hamas-and-rescue-hostages-their>

²⁷ https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/tv-police-probe-of-reim-massacre-shows-terrorists-didnt-know-about-party-in-advanc

²⁸ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67044255>

²⁹ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-revises-death-toll-from-oct-7-hamas-assault-dropping-it-from-1400-to-1200/>

³⁰ <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2023-10-28/israel-says-its-war-can-both-destroy-hamas-and-rescue-hostages-their>

³¹ <https://www.lawyersreply.au/>

³² <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/lebanons-hezbollah-says-it-attacked-israeli-position-using-drones-2023>

³³ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/10/11/syria-israel-attacks-war-hezbollah/>

³⁴ <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/who-are-yemens-houthis-why-did-they-attack-israel-2023-11-01/>

³⁵ <https://www.memri.org/reports/incitement-ijhad-and-terrorism-against-israel-west-bank>

Hamas' tactics

- Hamas launched an attack on Israeli civilians, knowing it would provoke a strong response, leading to the loss of civilian lives in Gaza. Hamas encourages 'martyrdom'³⁶.
- Hamas uses human shields, placing most of its military assets within or underneath civilian houses, offices, malls, schools, mosques, churches and hospitals³⁷ in the hope of drawing return fire and claiming outrage³⁸ against Israel.
- By using human shields, Hamas protects its weaponry and infrastructure if Israel refrains from striking at legitimate military targets to avoid harming uninvolved Palestinians³⁹.
- Hamas knows from past experience that the IDF is always held to a higher standard than any other military in similar circumstances.⁴⁰

Media [mis]representation of the conflict

- The main source of information on Gaza casualties is the Hamas-run Health Ministry. Any health official risks serious consequences by stepping out of line by giving different death tolls to those which Hamas wants journalists to report⁴¹.
- The reporting of the al-Ahli hospital incident shows the complicity of the media in false reporting. International media outlets immediately reported the information, related by Hamas, that Israel had targeted the hospital and 500 hundred were killed. Independent reports revealed that a misfired Islamic Jihad rocket had hit the car park behind the hospital⁴².
 - Even though a press statement by the Episcopal Diocese of Jerusalem that runs the hospital reported that two workers were injured and there were no deaths, but this was largely ignored by the international media⁴³.
- Past experience shows that Hamas inflates the numbers of victims: it doesn't differentiate between civilians and combatants; it counts teenaged fighters as children; includes those killed by Hamas' misfired rockets; as well as the daily toll of those who die from natural causes^{44,45,46,47}.
- Images from past wars⁴⁸ and AI-generated images⁴⁹ have been found to have been used by the media in this conflict, obscuring the real situation on the ground.

³⁶ <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/the-media-ignore-hamas-long-deliberate-strategy-to-increase-civilian-deaths/ar-AA1kDufd>

³⁷ https://stratcomcoe.org/cuploads/pfiles/hamas_human_shields.pdf

³⁸ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/eu-slams-hamas-use-of-hospitals-and-civilians-as-human-shields-as-idf-nears-shifa/>

³⁹ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2023/11/if-you-wish-to-help-hamas-pressure-israel/>

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ <https://honestreporting.com/media-rush-to-defend-hamas-ministry-providing-skewed-data-on-gaza-casualties/>

⁴² <https://honestreporting.com/media-commits-journalistic-crime-in-coverage-of-gaza-hospital-blast/>

⁴³ <https://www.pluri.blog/p/gazas-al-ahli-hospital-two-employees>

⁴⁴ <https://jcpa.org/article/casualties-in-the-2021-gaza-war-how-many-and-who-were-they/>

⁴⁵ <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/making-sense-of-casualty-counts-in-the-israel-hamas-war>

⁴⁶ <https://honestreporting.com/media-rush-to-defend-hamas-ministry-providing-skewed-data-on-gaza-casualties/>

⁴⁷ <https://jcpa.org/the-casualty-figures-in-gaza-are-a-scam/>

⁴⁸ <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/world/israel-hamas-war-recycled-images-from-past-conflicts-can-undercut-true-toll/>

⁴⁹ <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/world/fake-babies-real-horror-deepfakes-from-the-gaza-war-increase-fears-about-ais-power-to-mislead>

International law and Israel's responsibilities for humanitarian Aid

- The Gaza Strip is not occupied territory. Israel withdrew its civilians and military from Gaza in 2005. The military blockade that has been in place since 2007 does not constitute occupation⁵⁰. This means Israel is not subject to the humanitarian obligations applicable to occupying powers under International Humanitarian Law⁵¹.
- It is Hamas, not Israel, that is primarily responsible for the humanitarian needs of the people of Gaza. Hamas came to power in 2007, after a bloody coup⁵².

Hamas, as the de facto government, is primarily responsible for providing essential services to the civilian population in Gaza.

- Israel's provision of water and electricity to Gaza in recent years was entirely voluntary. Israel was/is not obliged to provide water or electricity to Gaza⁵³.
- The "siege" imposed by Israel after the October 7 attack was entirely legitimate^{54, 55}. Sieges are a legitimate form of warfare, provided they are not intended to starve the civilian population. Israel's cutting off of water, electricity and fuel was intended (and effective) not to starve the population but to prevent Hamas from carrying out unlawful aggression⁵⁶. Note that Hamas continues to use fuel and electricity to fire rockets on Israel.
- Israel provides less than 10% of the water in Gaza⁵⁷. The biggest problem facing Gaza is the supply of diesel to run the generators for the desalination plants. Hamas has one million litres of fuel stockpiled⁵⁸.
- Israel called upon civilians in Gaza City to temporarily evacuate to the south of Gaza⁵⁹. This was a necessary and entirely legitimate exercise of its obligation to protect the civilian population, especially as Israel is compelled to attack the military operations that Hamas has deliberately installed under hospitals, schools, and other civilian structures.
- Hamas is also obliged to move civilians from zones of hostility. It is not doing so; on the contrary, it is using its civilians as human shields and attempting to block their escape⁶⁰.
- Israel is entitled to prevent supplies coming in via Rafah Gate if it reasonably believes they will be misused by Hamas. Despite this, they are working with both Egypt and international aid groups to provide aid through the Rafah crossing.

⁵⁰ <https://aijac.org.au/op-ed/un-palmer-report-blockade-of-gaza-legal/>

⁵¹ <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/israel-duties/>

⁵² <https://www.thinc-israel.org/webinars/thinc-webinar-the-emerging-humanitarian-crisis-in-the-hamas-israel-conflict/>

⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁴ <https://www.camera.org/article/is-israels-siege-denying-water-and-food-to-gaza-just-the-facts/>

⁵⁵ <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2023/10/14/israel-siege-gaza-hamas-legal/71170435007/>

⁵⁶ https://cmeil.gmu.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/50/2023/11/Wheatley_LOAC_FINAL.pdf

⁵⁷ <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/10/18/middleeast/gaza-water-access-supply-mapped-dg/index.html>

⁵⁸ <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/investigations/hamas-hoarding-vast-amounts-fuel-gaza-hospitals-run-low-us-officials->

⁵⁹ https://edition.cnn.com/middleeast/live-news/israel-news-hamas-war-10-13-23/h_d5b0c4f36adfd60ae650ee9f9caf1b7b

⁶⁰ <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/hamas-seen-blocking-evacuation-routes-in-gaza-idf/ar-AA1idSJV>

Proportionality in international law

- Under international law, Israel has the inherent right to defend itself (Article 51 of the UN Charter)⁶¹.
 - Israel has the right to bring about a definitive end to the capacity of terrorists to kill, maim and kidnap all those citizens and foreigners in its territory.
- The principle of proportionality (Article 51(5)(b) of Additional Protocol I of the Geneva Convention), which prohibits the use of indiscriminate attacks and the use of disproportionate violence, prohibits:

“an attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated.”⁶²

Proportionality is, therefore, not about counting bodies on each side of a conflict.

- The principle of proportionality implies that, before undertaking an attack that may cause harm to civilians or civilian objects, serious consideration of these interests as well as of the military objectives should take place to prevent a disproportionate action.
 - It is implicit in the provision that the fact that civilians and civilian objects are hit by military action does not automatically mean that the military action is disproportionate⁶³.
- The application of the principle of proportionality, in the case of the military action by Israel against Hamas terrorists in Gaza, is complicated by the fact that it is part of the tactics, or even the strategy of Hamas, to use civilians as human shields: military operations are conducted from civilian locations, such as private homes, schools, hospitals, and mosques.
 - Furthermore, Hamas is structured in such a way that it is difficult to make a clear distinction between public services provided by “military” organisations and public services provided by “civic” organisations.
- The hostile forces did not respect international humanitarian law (IHL) in any way (see above)⁶⁴. They have also launched more than 10,000 rockets since October 7⁶⁵.

⁶¹ <https://legal.un.org/repertory/art51.shtml>

⁶² <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/en/ihl-treaties/api-1977/article-51>

⁶³ <https://www.thinc-israel.org/articles/proportionality-and-the-armed-conflict-between-israel-and-hamas->

⁶⁴ <https://oct7th.org/>

⁶⁵ <https://www.ynetnews.com/article/hy8wzc9q6>

The Law of Armed Conflict

- The Law of Armed Conflict (LOAC) requires militaries to distinguish between — and only attack — military, not civilian, targets. Commanders are obliged to make a good-faith effort to take all feasible precautions to mitigate civilian risk. These rules do not preclude unavoidable civilian casualties. A sad but undeniable reality of war is that international law tolerates harm to civilians if it is not deliberately inflicted, caused by indiscriminate attacks and avoidable with feasible precautions.⁶⁶
- While Israel’s enemies are quick to accuse Israel of committing “war crimes”, investigations into past conflicts “reflected a consistent and good-faith commitment to respect and implement these LOAC principles”⁶⁷.
- However, the same can not be said of Hamas. It deliberately targeted Israeli civilians. It exploited Gazan civilians as human shields, deliberately locating its military assets — including rocket launchers, mortars, command posts and military tunnels — in civilian areas when other options were available. This is all compelling evidence of LOAC violations.
 - This was an intentional and integral part of Hamas’ strategy. Putting Gazans in harm’s way made it harder for the IDF to strike Hamas targets while complying with LOAC. It also created the potential for civilian casualties that could be leveraged to accuse Israel of LOAC violations.
- A group of high-level military leaders from democratic countries assessed Israel’s 2014 war in Gaza and found that **“Israel’s conduct in the 2014 Gaza Conflict met and in some respects exceeded the highest standards we set for our own nations’ militaries”**⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ <https://www.thinc-israel.org/articles/new-proof-that-it-was-hamas-not-israel-that-committed-war-crimes-last-may/>

⁶⁷ <https://nypost.com/2021/11/12/new-proof-that-it-was-hamas-not-israel-that-committed-war-crimes-last-may/>

⁶⁸ <http://www.high-level-military-group.org/pdf/himg-assessment-2014-gaza-conflict.pdf>

Historical background: Jews are indigenous to Israel

- Jews have had a continuous presence in the land for over 3,000 years⁶⁹. Jews are the only people group to have ever had sovereignty in the land, at least twice prior to 1948⁷⁰.
- In 135CE, emperor Hadrian renamed Judea, Syria Palaestina after the Philistines, traditional enemies of Israel⁷¹. The Arabic word “Filastin” is derived from this Latin name.

The ‘colonisation’ narrative is dangerous⁷².

- The Arab’s homeland is Arabia, the southwestern peninsula of Asia⁷³. In the seventh century, the Arabs succeeded in establishing an empire⁷⁴.
- Many Arab leaders highlight broader Arab roots; for example, Fathi Hammad said, “we all have Arab roots, and every Palestinian, in Gaza and throughout Palestine, can prove his Arab roots - whether from Saudi Arabia, from Yemen, or anywhere ... We are Arabs.”⁷⁵
- While many Arabs have lived a long time in the disputed territories, their national identity only developed recently, particularly under Yasser Arafat in the 1960s⁷⁶. Palestinians have never had sovereignty as a people in the land.
- Prior to Israel declaring statehood in 1948, the region had been under the trusteeship of Great Britain. Palestine was one of many mandates awarded to a Great Power by the League of Nations. Prior to the Mandate, the Ottoman Empire governed the region⁷⁷.
- Israel declared statehood on May 14, 1948, after Britain’s withdrawal. Five Arab nations immediately declared war on the nascent Jewish state⁷⁸. Israel also fought defensive wars in 1956, 1967 and 1973⁷⁹.
- In 1948, Arabs fled for a number of reasons, including that the Arab Higher Command urged them to leave “whilst they drove the Jews into the sea”.⁸⁰ There were approximately 750,000 Arab refugees after 1948. Most Arab countries did not integrate these refugees or give them rights⁸¹.
- There were approximately 850,000 Jews who were expelled from Arab countries at the same time as a result of an open policy of antisemitic incitement and even ethnic cleansing⁸². These Jews were all absorbed into the nascent Jewish state.

⁶⁹ <https://www.algemeiner.com/2020/09/30/historical-proof-of-jewish-continuity-in-israel/>

⁷⁰ <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jewish-claim-to-the-land-of-israel>

<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/roman-rule-63bce-313ce>

⁷¹ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2018/02/israels-history-part-1-the-indigenous-jewish-presence-in-israel-palestine/>

⁷² <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2023/10/decolonization-narrative-dangerous-and-false/675799/>

⁷³ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2018/02/israels-history-part-2-the-arab-historical-connection-with-palestine/>

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ <http://www.memri.org/clip/en/0/0/0/0/0/3389.htm>

⁷⁶ <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/was-there-a-palestinian-national-identity-prior-to-1964/>

⁷⁷ <https://shalom.kiwi/2015/12/ellerslie-advertisement-an-old-lie/>

⁷⁸ <https://www.britannica.com/event/Arab-Israeli-wars>

⁷⁹ <http://www.mythsandfacts.org/media/user/documents/israel%20wars.pdf>

⁸⁰ Morris, B. (2008). *1948: The First Arab-Israeli War*, Yale UP

⁸¹ <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/18026/arab-apartheid>

⁸² <https://jcpa.org/article/the-forgotten-narrative-jewish-refugees-from-arab-countries/>

The Peace Process

The Arab Palestinians have had the opportunity to have self-determination on several occasions⁸³, but rejected any proposal that also allowed for Jewish self-determination.

- Arab Palestinians have rejected the opportunity for self-determination multiple times:
 - 1937 Peel Commission⁸⁴;
 - 1947 UN Partition Plan⁸⁵;
 - 1967 Khartoum Summit (while no offer was made, a clear statement was issued from the Arabs, “No Peace, No Negotiation, No Recognition)⁸⁶;
 - 1991 Madrid Conference⁸⁷;
 - 2000 Camp David Summit – Arafat rejected this offer, and the second intifada followed⁸⁸;
 - 2005 Disengagement from Gaza by Israel was followed by terrorist attacks^{89,90};
 - 2007 Annapolis Conference - No offer was made. It was a conference to launch good-faith bilateral negotiations in order to conclude a peace treaty - an opportunity for the Israelis, the Palestinians, and their neighbours to recommit to implementing the Roadmap⁹¹;
 - 2008 Realignment Plan⁹²;
 - 2013 Joint Peace Talks⁹³;
 - 2019 Bahrain Workshop⁹⁴; and
 - 2020 Trump Peace Plan⁹⁵.

⁸³ <https://www.camera.org/article/palestinians-rejected-statehood-three-times-claim-frustration-with-israel/>

⁸⁴ <https://unispal.un.org/pdfs/Cmd5479.pdf> <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-peel-commission>
<https://embassies.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/Maps/Pages/The-Peel-Commission-Plan-1937.aspx>
<https://www.palquest.org/en/highlight/16013/peel-commission-1936%E2%80%931937>

⁸⁵ <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-185393/> <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-208958/>
<https://embassies.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/Maps/Pages/1947%20UN%20Partition%20Plan.aspx>

⁸⁶ <https://www.palquest.org/en/historictext/9615/fourth-arab-summit-resolutions>
<https://www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/the-khartoum-resolutions>

⁸⁷ <https://embassies.gov.il/hague-en/aboutisrael/history/Pages/HISTORY-%20The%20Peace%20Process.aspx>
<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/madrid-conference>

⁸⁸ <https://honestreporting.com/in-depth-arafat-rejected-peace-in-2000/>

⁸⁹ <https://embassies.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/Maps/Pages/Israels%20Disengagement%20Plan-%202005.aspx>
<https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/scp/2005/57294.htm>

⁹⁰ <https://www.cfr.org/background/middle-east-gaza-withdrawal>

⁹¹ https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IsraelOPT_JointUnderstandingOnNegotiations2007.pdf
<https://www.gov.il/en/Departments/General/the-annapolis-conference-27-nov-2007>

⁹² <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/10/world/middleeast/olmert-outlines-plans-for-israels-borders.html>
<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/ehud-olmert-s-peace-offer>

<https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/israel/diplomacy-defense/92894-151119-abbas-says-he-rejected-olmert-peace-offer-in-2008-over-unseen-map>

⁹³ <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-kerry-initiative>
https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/kerrys-nine-month-quest-for-middle-east-peace-ends-in-failure/2014/04/29/56521cd6-cfd7-11e3-a714-be7e7f142085_story.html

⁹⁴ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/6/26/us-led-bahrain-meeting-on-palestine-all-the-latest-updates>
<https://www.mei.edu/publications/bahrain-workshop-and-dwindling-prospects-israeli-palestinian-peace-under-trump>

⁹⁵ <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/peacetoprosperty/>
<https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2020/the-failed-deals-of-the-century/index.html>
<https://www.adl.org/resources/background/trump-peace-plan>

- Israel has given up huge tracts of land in its attempt to build a peaceful homeland for Jews⁹⁶ while being firmly committed to respecting all civil rights of other groups⁹⁷.
- On July 24, 1922, the League of Nations entrusted Great Britain with the Mandate for Palestine, recognizing “the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine.”⁹⁸ In September 1922, the League of Nations and Great Britain decided that the provisions for setting up a Jewish national home would not apply to the area east of the Jordan River, which constituted three-fourths of the territory and became Jordan⁹⁹. Many saw this as providing a state for the Arabs from the original territory known as Palestine.
- On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly adopted UN Resolution 181, calling for the partition of Mandatory Palestine into Jewish and Arab states¹⁰⁰. The Jews accepted the plan, but the Arabs rejected it. Arab League Secretary Azzam Pasha, on September 16, 1947, stated,

*“The Arab world is not in a compromising mood... Nations never concede; they fight. You won’t get anything by peaceful means or compromise. You can, perhaps, get something, but only by the force of your arms. We shall try to defeat you”.*¹⁰¹
- Israel declared statehood on May 14, 1948, after Britain’s withdrawal. Five Arab nations promptly declared war¹⁰². Israel also fought defensive wars in 1956, 1967 and 1973¹⁰³.
- In the Camp David Peace Agreement with Egypt in 1979¹⁰⁴, Israel gave up the entire Sinai Peninsula. In 1994, peace was made with Jordan¹⁰⁵.
- The Oslo Accords (Oslo II), signed in 1995,¹⁰⁶ created Areas A, B and C in the West Bank, for which the Palestinian Authority was given some limited powers and responsibilities in Areas A and B and a prospect of negotiations on a final settlement¹⁰⁷ based on Security Council Resolutions 242¹⁰⁸ and 338¹⁰⁹.
 - The Palestinian Authority has violated the stipulations of the Oslo Accords in the core principles of the Accords and in various spheres, including in the encouragement of and involvement in terror¹¹⁰; incitement to hate, violence, and terror; and support for boycott and sanctions against Israel. They fail their people with ongoing corruption and human rights violations^{111 112}.

⁹⁶ <https://www.jns.org/land-for-peace-a-historical-perspective/><https://www.jns.org/land-for-peace-a-historical-perspective/>

⁹⁷ <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/background-and-overview-of-human-rights-in-israel/>

⁹⁸ <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-197873/>

⁹⁹ <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/829707>

¹⁰⁰ <https://jcpa.org/article/70-years-un-resolution-181-assessment/>

¹⁰¹ Avneri, A. (1984). *The Claim of Dispossession*, NJ: Transaction Books. p. 252.

¹⁰² <https://www.britannica.com/event/Arab-Israeli-wars>

¹⁰³ <http://www.mythsandfacts.org/media/user/documents/israel%20wars.pdf>

¹⁰⁴ <https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/>

¹⁰⁵ https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IL%20JO_941026_PeaceTreatyIsraelJordan.pdf

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-185434/>

¹⁰⁷ https://iris.org.il/oslo_2000.htm

¹⁰⁸ <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/242>

¹⁰⁹ <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/338>

¹¹⁰ <https://unitedwithisrael.org/how-palestinian-leaders-encourage-terrorism/>

¹¹¹ <https://jcpa.org/article/israeli-policy-has-enabled-and-encouraged-palestinian-violations-of-the-oslo-accords/>

¹¹² <https://jcpa.org/article/the-palestinian-authoritys-corruption-and-its-impact-on-the-peace-process/>

Israeli settlements in the West Bank

- Settlements are an issue of political and legal controversy inside and outside Israel. Some in the international community say all settlements are illegal, but numerous legal scholars argue otherwise^{113,114,115,116,117}.
 - Israel has legal, historical, and security claims to the West Bank, the cradle of Jewish history, which Palestinians want for their future state^{118,119}.
- Eugene Rostow, the former dean of Yale Law School, argued¹²⁰ that the
“Jewish right of settlement in the area is equivalent” to the Palestinian right to live there. Settlements do not violate UN Resolution 242 or Palestinian–Israeli agreements signed in the Oslo Accords.
- The built-up area of Jewish communities covers less than 2% of the West Bank¹²¹.

Settlements are one of many issues to be resolved in negotiations. There is a strong legal claim that Jews should be able to build homes on the land.

- Settlements are a symptom, not a cause, of the conflict¹²².
 - There were no ‘settlements’ when Arab leaders incited violence against Jews in the 1920s¹²³ or when Arab leaders launched wars and terrorism against Israel between 1948 and 1967¹²⁴.
 - Israel sought territorial compromise and peace in 2005 when it evacuated all settlements in Gaza¹²⁵ and four large settlements in the West Bank¹²⁶, but instead, terrorism and hostility increased¹²⁷.
 - Israel offered to dismantle many West Bank settlements for peace in 2000¹²⁸ and 2008¹²⁹, but Palestinian leaders refused the offer.

¹¹³ <https://aijac.org.au/australia-israel-review/essay-are-settlements-illegal/>

¹¹⁴ <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/israel-middle-east/articles/israels-rights-in-the-west-bank-under-international-law>

¹¹⁵ <https://aijac.org.au/resource/international-law-and-the-arab-israel-conflict/>

¹¹⁶ <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/occupied-palestinian-territories-and-illegal-israeli-settlements/>

¹¹⁷ <https://aijac.org.au/fresh-air/why-those-who-claim-the-illegality-of-west-bank-settlements-is-settled-law-are-wrong/>

¹¹⁸ Tishby, N. (2021). *Israel, A Simple Guide to the Most Misunderstood Country on Earth*, Free Press.

¹¹⁹ <https://theconversation.com/why-julie-bishop-is-wise-not-to-judge-israeli-settlements-illegal-22840>

¹²⁰ <https://www.isracast.com/prof-eugene-rostow-would-give-the-international-court-an-f-for-its-recent-ruling-on-israels-west-bank-settlements/>

¹²¹ <https://aijac.org.au/fact-sheets/factsheet-myths-and-facts-about-the-growth-of-is/>

¹²² <https://www.wsj.com/articles/pompeo-busts-the-occupation-myth-11574207220>

¹²³ <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/arab-riots-of-the-1920-s>

¹²⁴ <https://www.scmp.com/article/384435/long-history-arab-terrorist-attacks-against-israel>

¹²⁵ <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13537121003643912>

¹²⁶ Eds., Peters, J., Newman, D. (2013) *The Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Routledge.

¹²⁷ <https://forward.com/news/14901/timeline-the-gaza-strip-from-disengagement-to-op-03128/>

¹²⁸ <https://honestreporting.com/in-depth-arafat-rejected-peace-in-2000/>

¹²⁹ <https://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/10/world/middleeast/olmert-outlines-plans-for-israels-borders.html>

<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/ehud-olmert-s-peace-offer>

<https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/israel/diplomacy-defense/92894-151119-abbas-says-he-rejected-olmert-peace-offer-in-2008-over-unseen-map>

False claims of Israeli ‘apartheid’

- Apartheid is the state-sanctioned and state-generated degradation of one or more ethnic groups based on an assumption of racial inferiority. Such a system relies on segregation, denationalisation and denial of basic rights for its implementation¹³⁰. This is not the case in Israel^{131,132}.
- Israel is a liberal democracy, guaranteeing civil, religious and social equality to all its citizens. Arabs make up 21% of the population¹³³, and all Israeli citizens have the same rights, including to:
 - vote - there are three Arab political parties in the Knesset¹³⁴;
 - practise their religion - all religions are protected¹³⁵, unlike in most neighbouring countries beyond the one-state religion of Islam¹³⁶;
 - petition the Supreme Court, which is politically independent¹³⁷;
 - An Arab judge was one of those who sentenced an ex-Israeli Prime Minister to jail¹³⁸.
- Arabic is an official language (as well as Hebrew)¹³⁹.
- Arabs are in senior positions and in every sector of society (Knesset, Medicine, judiciary, IDF, sports)¹⁴⁰.
- Where there is apartheid, it is in the disputed territories, where it is illegal - on pain of death - to sell land to a Jew¹⁴¹.

Israel is not an apartheid state, but some of her neighbours are.

¹³⁰ <https://www.britannica.com/summary/apartheid>

¹³¹ <https://www.jns.org/hrw-crosses-line-with-apartheid-accusation-against-israel/>

<https://www.ejiltalk.org/the-apartheid-accusation-against-israel-lacks-is-baseless-and-agenda-driven/>

¹³² <https://fathomjournal.org/2022-introduction-enough-is-enough-on-amnestys-antisemitic-apartheid-report/>

¹³³ <https://en.idi.org.il/articles/38540>

¹³⁴ <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/arab-parties-and-their-place-in-the-israeli-government/>

¹³⁵ <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/freedom-of-religion-in-israel>

¹³⁶ <https://providencemag.com/2021/01/religious-freedom-democracy-decade-arab-spring-egypt/>

¹³⁷ <https://freedomhouse.org/country/israel/freedom-world/2023>

¹³⁸ <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0.7340.L-4745655.00.html>

¹³⁹ <https://www.polilingua.com/blog/post/languages-spoken-in-israel.htm>

¹⁴⁰ <https://versa.cardozo.yu.edu/justices-supreme-court-israel>

¹⁴¹ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/12/31/palestinian-sentenced-to-life-for-selling-land-to-israelis>

False claims of Israel committing ‘genocide’

- Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (adopted by the UN in 1948)¹⁴² defines genocide as acts that are “committed with an intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group”.
 - The acts include killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm, inflicting conditions of life that would bring about the group’s physical destruction, imposing measures to prevent births within the group, or transferring children out of the group.
- The false accusation of ‘genocide’ has been applied to the ‘Nakba’, meaning catastrophe or disaster in Arabic, which refers to the estimated 750,000 Arabs who either fled or were forced from their homes in the 1948 war¹⁴³.
 - The charge of genocide is inapplicable here, as Israel fought a defensive war of survival¹⁴⁴. There was no intent to commit genocide.
- The accusation of ‘genocide’ has also been levelled at Israel for the 2014 war¹⁴⁵, and most recently with the 2023 war against Hamas¹⁴⁶. These are also false accusations, especially in light of the actions Israel takes to protect civilian lives¹⁴⁷.
 - It seems each time Israel defends herself with military action, she is accused of ‘genocide’.
- Accusations of an “incremental genocide” (slow genocide over a long time period) have also been made, ignoring that the Palestinian population keeps climbing¹⁴⁸, along with their health measures¹⁴⁹.
- The accusation of cultural genocide, i.e. the attempts to destroy the Israeli-Arab and Palestinian societies through the disintegration of their culture is not supported by evidence. Since 1988, the number of mosques in Israel has increased five-fold¹⁵⁰, 2015 saw Israel’s first modern Arabic art museum opened in the northern city of Sakhnin¹⁵¹, and 2016 saw the Knesset observe the first Arabic language day¹⁵².
- However, Hamas has a genocidal charter¹⁵³.

Claims of Israel committing genocide is an atrocity inversion¹⁵⁴

¹⁴² <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-prevention-and-punishment-crime-genocide>

¹⁴³ <https://www.dw.com/en/what-is-the-palestinian-nakba-and-why-does-it-matter/a-65539735>

¹⁴⁴ <https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/israels-war-of-independence/>

¹⁴⁵ "Allegation: Israel Commits Acts of Genocide"

¹⁴⁶ <https://www.ajc.org/news/5-reasons-why-the-events-in-gaza-are-not-genocide>

¹⁴⁷ <https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2023/11/10/how-the-term-genocide-is-misused-in-the-israel-hamas-war>

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.hscentre.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/israel-genocide-myth/>

¹⁴⁹ <https://fathomjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Has-Israel-damaged-Palestinian-health.pdf>

¹⁵⁰ <https://embassies.gov.il/UnGeneva/NewsAndEvents/Pages/Facts-and-Figures-Islam-in-Israel>

¹⁵¹ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israels-first-arab-modern-art-museum-opens-in-galilee/>

¹⁵² <https://www.timesofisrael.com/found-in-translation-arabic-language-wins-unexpected-approval-in-knesset/>

¹⁵³ <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2023/10/hamas-covenant-israel-attack-war-genocide/675602/>

¹⁵⁴ <https://www.ngo-monitor.org/reports/false-accusations-genocide-and-ethnic-cleansing/>

The chant: 'From the River to the Sea, Palestine will be free'

- The literal words suggest that the land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River (see map) will be Palestine.
 - If the chant replaced "Palestine" with "Palestinians" or "Everyone", for example, it would have a very different meaning and connotation.
- Palestinians under the leadership of Yasser Arafat in 1964, called for the establishment of a single state that extended from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea¹⁵⁵.
- The phrase is used in the 2017 Hamas Charter¹⁵⁶ to define "Palestine", which they describe in the same document as "an Arab Islamic land" and commit to 'liberating' by 'all means and methods'.

The chant is a call for a Palestinian state to replace Israel¹⁵⁷.

- If the whole land becomes "Palestine", Jews will most likely be unwelcome or dhimmi,^{158,159} if they are not murdered. Thus, the chant is also understood to be a call for genocide or ethnic cleansing.
- It is deeply concerning that New Zealand political leaders would unapologetically lead this chant, especially after being told by the Jewish community what it means¹⁶⁰.



¹⁵⁵ <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/from-the-river-to-the-sea-what-does-the-palestinian-slogan-really-mean/ar-AA1jgbSc>

¹⁵⁶ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/hamas-2017-document-full>

¹⁵⁷ <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgroundunder/allegation-river-sea-palestine-will-be-free>

¹⁵⁸ <https://www.jewishpress.com/news/eye-on-palestine/palestinian-authority/pa-officials-double-down-on-ban-to-sell-land-to-jews/>

¹⁵⁹ <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-treatment-of-jews-in-arab-islamic-countries>

¹⁶⁰ <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2023/11/chl-e-swarbrick-refuses-to-apologise-for-chant-that-jewish-community-member-said-felt-like-death-threat.html>

¹⁶¹ <https://kids.britannica.com/kids/article/Jordan-River/346153>

New Zealand allows a loophole for supporting terror

- New Zealand artificially separates out the “military wing” of Hamas for terror designation¹⁶². The same is true for Hezbollah¹⁶³. New Zealand also does not designate the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps.
- This is out of step with traditional allies and Five Eyes partners^{164,165,166,167}. The loophole means that New Zealanders can materially support terror.
- There is support for Hamas and Hezbollah in New Zealand.
 - Hamas has been closely affiliated with the “freedom flotilla” attempts to breach Israeli sovereignty¹⁶⁸. Kia Ora Gaza¹⁶⁹ has facilitated Kiwis participating in the “flotilla” for some years.
 - In 2016, Green MP Marama Davidson participated¹⁷⁰.
 - In 2018, Unite Union National Director Mike Treen was a participant and was invited to a lunch at parliament hosted by Labour MP, Dr Duncan Webb¹⁷¹.
 - A public demonstration in Auckland on June 8, 2018, included banners of support for Hezbollah¹⁷².
 - A man openly expressed support for Hamas violence while an invited guest of Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet at the 2021 Counter Terrorism hui in Christchurch¹⁷³.

New Zealand allows a loophole for the material support of Iranian proxy terror groups.

- It appears that this loophole was created because MFAT staff hope for a return of trade with Iran and do not want to jeopardise that dream by designating their proxy terror groups¹⁷⁴ as such.

¹⁶² <https://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/renew-igb-terrorist-entity-28-aug-2022.pdf>

¹⁶³ <https://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/renew-ir-terrorist-entity-28-aug-2022.pdf>

¹⁶⁴ <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/israel-australia-japan-uk-us-others-have-officially-designated-hamas-a-terrorist-organization/ar-AA1i9o1M;>

<https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2021/nov/24/australia-lists-neo-nazi-group-the-base-and-hezbollah>

¹⁶⁵ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-59346441>; <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-47359502>

¹⁶⁶ <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scr/cntr-trrrsm/lstd-ntts/crmt-lstd-ntts-en.aspx#25>;

<https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scr/cntr-trrrsm/lstd-ntts/crmt-lstd-ntts-en.aspx>

¹⁶⁷ <https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/hamas>; <https://www.state.gov/foreign-terrorist-organizations/>

¹⁶⁸ <https://www.lawandisrael.org/wp-content/uploads/Topics/Terrorism/Anti-Terror-Litigation/KerenKayemet/TERRORISTS-IN-SUITS-Press-Release.pdf>

¹⁶⁹ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2019/12/kiwi-activist-planning-another-publicity-stunt-with-terrorists/>

¹⁷⁰ <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/85020524/green-mp-marama-davidson-detained-by-israeli-authorities-on-boat-in-international-waters--reports>

¹⁷¹ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2018/08/israel-institute-calls-on-government-to-distance-itself-from-terrorism/>

¹⁷² <https://israelinstitute.nz/2018/06/kiwi-support-for-terror-in-the-heart-of-auckland-city/>

¹⁷³ <https://twitter.com/IsraelInstNZ/status/1405824137352781833>

¹⁷⁴ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2022/09/iinz-claims-political-interference-in-terror-designations-threatens-security-and-us-fta/>

New Zealand's biased record at the UNGA

- Each year, the United Nations General Assembly votes on more resolutions condemning Israel than those singling out any other country combined¹⁷⁵.
 - The text of resolutions condemning Israel is also stronger and less caveated than they are for other countries¹⁷⁶.
- New Zealand's record of supporting anti-Israel resolutions shows the claims about balance, evenhandedness, and being an "honest broker" to be false¹⁷⁷.
 - New Zealand does not vote against any of the biased resolutions¹⁷⁸. This is in sharp contrast to our traditional allies and Five Eyes partners¹⁷⁹.
- New Zealand helped prevent the passing of a historic resolution at the UN that would have condemned Hamas in 2018¹⁸⁰.

New Zealand's voting record at the UN General Assembly is biased against Israel.

New Zealand prioritises an embassy in Iran over one in Israel

- New Zealand's diplomatic, trade, and investment representation in Israel is through a single de facto part-time Ambassador based in Turkey – a nation hostile toward Israel in word¹⁸¹ and deed¹⁸² and a nation increasingly hostile to Europe and the USA.
- New Zealand spends approximately \$2m each year on an embassy in Iran, a theocracy at war with the USA and Western values^{183,184}.
- While trade with Iran was large (exports were up to \$250M in 2011), in 2022 exports to Iran were valued at \$2.55M¹⁸⁵. This compares to exports of \$25.34M to Israel in 2022¹⁸⁶.
- The capital city of Israel is Jerusalem. There should be no reason not to put an embassy in Jerusalem on the Eastern side of the 1967 armistice line¹⁸⁷. This is where the Knesset is and is not disputed territory.

For trade and shared values, New Zealand should have an embassy in Jerusalem.

¹⁷⁵ <https://unwatch.org/database/>

¹⁷⁶ <https://unwatch.org/2023-unga-resolutions-on-israel-vs-rest-of-the-world/>

¹⁷⁷ <https://israelinstitute.nz/reports/mfat-advice-on-new-zealand-voting-at-un-with-regard-to-israel/>

¹⁷⁸ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2020/12/new-zealand-joins-the-bullies-against-israel-again-at-the-un/>

¹⁷⁹ <https://unwatch.org/database/>

¹⁸⁰ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2018/12/nz-aids-terror-at-un-as-us-led-resolution-condemning-hamas-fails/>

¹⁸¹ <https://www.ipost.com/Middle-East/Erdogan-Whoever-is-on-Israels-side-we-are-against-them-597026>

¹⁸² <https://www.timesofisrael.com/turkey-allowing-hamas-to-plot-attacks-on-israelis-from-its-soil-report/>

¹⁸³ <https://news.yahoo.com/iran-lot-missiles-ready-them-040000134.html>

¹⁸⁴ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2022/09/iinz-claims-political-interference-in-terror-designations-threatens-security-and-us-fta/>

¹⁸⁵ <https://tradingeconomics.com/new-zealand/exports/iran>

¹⁸⁶ <https://tradingeconomics.com/new-zealand/exports/israel>

¹⁸⁷ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Green_Line_\(Israel\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Green_Line_(Israel))

New Zealand supports hate via UNRWA

- The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) was established in 1949 to deal exclusively with those Arabs displaced as a result of Israel's 1948 defensive War of Independence¹⁸⁸. The schools operated by UNRWA in territory controlled by the Palestinian Authority and Hamas (and in Jordan¹⁸⁹) teach hate and incite violence¹⁹⁰.
 - This is against MFAT's stated approach to aid¹⁹¹ and aid policy¹⁹².
- A clear pattern has emerged over several decades that textbooks used by UNRWA contain egregious antisemitism and incitement to terror; staff employed by UNRWA incite violence on social media; and UNRWA creates its own racist material for use¹⁹³.
- In 2019, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination raised concerns *"about the existence of hate speech in... school curricula and textbooks [used by UNRWA], which fuels hatred and may incite violence..."*¹⁹⁴.
- In 2021, the European Parliament passed a resolution expressing concern about "hate speech and violence" taught in schools run by UNRWA¹⁹⁵. This followed a report funded by the European Union and conducted by the Georg Eckert Institute (GEI) that found examples of egregious antisemitism, glorification of terror, rejection of peace, delegitimization of Israel, and incitement to violence¹⁹⁶.
- In July 2022, there was evidence that UNRWA was creating their own school materials with content that encourages jihad, violence, and martyrdom, as well as content promoting antisemitism, and the erasure, demonization, and delegitimization of Israel; and deliberately directing students to pages in Palestinian Authority textbooks containing hateful passages that violate UN values¹⁹⁷.
- A report published in March 2023 shows that UNRWA has continued to create their own egregious material, as well as continuing to use the hate-filled texts produced by the Palestinian Authority¹⁹⁸.
 - The report also contains 25 examples from 10 different UNRWA schools of heinous content, including 9th grade study material created by UNRWA that celebrates a Palestinian firebombing attack on a Jewish bus as a "barbecue party".

¹⁸⁸ In contrast to UNHCR, that looks after all refugees in the world, UNRWA uses a different definition of "refugee" (including people with citizenship) and actively opposes resettlement.

¹⁸⁹ <https://www.adl.org/blog/antisemitism-in-jordanian-textbooks>

¹⁹⁰ <https://israelinstitute.nz/2021/01/a-timeline-of-new-zealand-funding-hate/>

¹⁹¹ <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/aid-and-development/our-approach-to-aid/>

¹⁹² <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/assets/Aid-Prog-docs/Tools-and-guides/Evaluation-Policy.pdf>

¹⁹³ See, for example, the IMPACT-SE reports presented in [2001](#), [2002](#), [2003](#), [2004](#), [2005](#), [2007](#), [2008](#), [2009](#), [March 2011](#), [May 2011](#), [2017](#), [2018](#), [2019](#), and [2022](#) that show continued inclusion of egregious antisemitism in the curriculum used by UNRWA; and the UN Watch reports of [September 2015](#), [November 2015](#), [2017](#), [2019](#), [2021](#), and [2022](#) in which more than 100 examples of UNRWA staff and teachers inciting violence on social media.

¹⁹⁴ https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/Concluding-Observations-CERD_C_PSE_CO_1-2_36938_E.pdf

¹⁹⁵ <https://www.algemeiner.com/2021/04/28/european-parliament-becomes-first-legislature-to-censure-unrwa-over-antisemitic-hatred-taught-in-palestinian-schools/>

¹⁹⁶ <https://stoppinghate.nz/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/GEIreport2021.pdf>

¹⁹⁷ https://bit.ly/July2022_review_UNRWA_hate

¹⁹⁸ <https://unwatch.org/un-teachers-call-to-murder-jews-reveals-new-report/>

- The report also contains newer examples of UNRWA teachers and other staff posting support for hate or violence, including conspiracy theories about Jews controlling the world, and praising Hitler.
- There is now evidence that UNRWA teachers and staff have celebrated the Oct 07 attacks¹⁹⁹.

New Zealand funds no other hate and must stop supporting UNRWA until it is rid of racism.

- There are also serious concerns about corruption in UNRWA²⁰⁰.
- UNRWA changed the eligibility requirements to be a Palestinian refugee in 1965 to include third-generation descendants. It extended it again to include all descendants of Palestinian refugee males, including legally adopted children, regardless of whether they had been granted citizenship elsewhere in 1982²⁰¹. This classification process is inconsistent with how all other refugees in the world are classified, including the definition used by the UNHCR²⁰².
 - This unique definition of a 'refugee' feeds into the narrative that Arab Palestinians will one day 'return' - an idea reinforced in the UNRWA school textbooks²⁰³. This would make Jews a minority in Israel.

¹⁹⁹ https://unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/UNW_119_UNRWA_Report_2023_November_2023-11-05_web.pdf

²⁰⁰ <https://israelinstitute.nz/reports/iinz-report-on-new-zealand-support-for-unrwa/>

²⁰¹ <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/08/17/unrwa-has-changed-the-definition-of-refugee/>

²⁰² <https://emergency.unhcr.org/entry/55772/refugee-definition>

²⁰³ <http://israelbehindthenews.com/library/pdfs/RightofReturninUNRWASchools.pdf>