

AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL

**Amnesty International's
Cruel Assault on Israel:
Systematic Lies, Errors,
Omissions &
Double Standards**

Salo Aizenberg

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NGO Monitor's mission is to provide information and analysis, promote accountability, and support discussion on the reports and activities of NGOs claiming to advance human rights and humanitarian agendas.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

About the Author	0
Table of Contents	2
Introduction.....	3
Background.....	4
Methodology	6
Reliance on Other Ngos.....	8
Executive Summary	9
Errors, Misrepresentations, Omissions, Double Standards & Dead Citations	24
Recommendations	141
Endnotes.....	143

INTRODUCTION

"We are opposed to the idea — and this, I think, is an existential part of the debate — that Israel should be preserved as a state for the Jewish people." ¹

Paul O'Brien, Executive Director Amnesty International USA

In February 2022, Amnesty International ("Amnesty") released a 280-page report titled "Israel's Apartheid Against the Palestinians." Amnesty asserted that Israel is and always has been an apartheid state, both inside Israel and in the West Bank and Gaza. Statements by Amnesty officials and the report's recommendations highlight that Amnesty's objective is the end of Israel as a Jewish state.

As documented below in great detail, the Amnesty publication is fundamentally flawed, using lies, distortions, omissions, and egregious double standards to construct a fraudulent and libelous narrative of Israeli cruelty. A careful examination of the text shows that Amnesty conducted almost no primary research. Rather, it is bloated with cut-and-paste phrases and quotes and conclusions taken from third-party sources – notably other political NGOs that are part of the same libelous campaign against Israel. The footnotes are glaringly thin on primary documents, such as official Israeli government statistics, Palestinian documents, court documents, Knesset transcripts, interviews from leading officials, and much of the data is obsolete (often well over a decade old).

In preparing this report, we examined and critically assessed every line of the Amnesty publication and closely read the sources and citations provided. We uncovered five categories of faults: Errors, Misrepresentations, Omissions, Double Standards, and Dead Citations. This systematic review conclusively shows, contrary to Amnesty's claims, that Amnesty's allegations have no substance or merit.

BACKGROUND

Amnesty's report followed similar ones by Human Rights Watch (April 2021) and B'Tselem (January 2021), part of a coordinated legal assault to delegitimize Israel – most likely in response to major setbacks to the anti-Israel community, such as the Abraham Accords that shattered the myth of Arab isolationism of Israel until the Palestinian issue was resolved. Supporters of the apartheid charge like to point out that there is a “consensus” among human rights groups and NGOs that Israel is in fact an apartheid state.² However, in reality it is a fabricated thesis held by a tight knit circle of like-minded activists who share information and work together to create a false impression of broad based agreement against Israel.

Amnesty's report is a particularly vicious stream of invective against Israel. In their narrative, Israel is a cruel state run by a long line of evil leaders since its inception who have done nothing but intentionally dominate and segregate another people, the Palestinians, in an inhumane manner. As Amnesty makes clear: “This system of apartheid has been built and maintained over decades by successive Israeli governments across all territories they have controlled, regardless of the political party in power at the time.” Amnesty emphasizes Israeli “cruelty,” a word that appears in the title page and thus literally on every page of the report as the title appears in the footer of each page. As part of this cruelty, Israel is depicted as a serial war criminal and murderous nation since its formation in 1948, intentionally killing civilians and medical personnel, and vindictively withholding medical care from Palestinian children. In the construct and terminology used in its report, Amnesty portrays Israel as the worst human rights violator on the planet.

One statement by Amnesty is telling and fits in with some of the themes of this document, which is that Amnesty deliberately assesses Israel in a vacuum among all nations in the world:

Amnesty International notes and clarifies that systems of oppression and domination will never be identical. Therefore, this report does not seek to argue that, or assess whether, any system of oppression and domination as perpetrated in Israel and the OPT is, for instance, the same or analogous to the system of segregation, oppression and domination as perpetrated in South Africa between 1948 and 1994.

How is it reasonable to argue that there is no need to compare the first and only nation in history to be called apartheid, South Africa, to only the second country in history to be called apartheid? Amnesty insists that it applies rigorous international law to label Israel as apartheid, but ignores one of the most basic rules of legal

analysis: precedent. Amnesty admits that it will not even bother to examine precedent. The reason is obvious -- precedent would show that the notion of apartheid in Israel is preposterous.

Despite numerous rebuttals, many based on pointing out key factual errors and omissions,³ a “meta lie” quickly emerged from Amnesty and its supporters that those that oppose the report are simply claiming “antisemitism” or generally rejecting the narrative without actually *refuting* the report, and that no one can actually point out where Amnesty is wrong. For example, Amnesty’s Paul O’Brien, who is quoted above, said that none of AIPAC’s statement about the report “actually disputed findings of the report, except to say, in broad strokes, we do not believe that this report is motivated for the right reasons or reaches the right conclusions.” The purpose of this document is to specifically address the false notion that “no one can show where Amnesty is wrong.”

After uncovering and compiling nearly 300 examples of flaws in the report, the conclusion that emerges is that Amnesty has written a modern-day libel. This is not exaggeration or hyperbole. Based on their deliberately falsified narrative, Amnesty has accused every Jewish leader since 1948 and the institutions that comprise the State of Israel of numerous “inhumane” acts: stealing all the land from Palestinians, deliberately and cruelly dominating and persecuting Palestinians in every aspect of life, willfully and systematically killing Palestinians civilians, torturing Palestinians including children on a “large scale,” deliberately bombing the majority of Gaza’s healthcare facilities and dozens of ambulances, forcing Palestinians into dense enclaves, restricting basic rights of Palestinians including the right to “food” and limiting water to amounts that “does not meet their needs” – in other words, since its inception the Jewish state is the worst human rights abuser in the world. Amnesty also liberally uses the term “Jewish domination” to refer to Israel’s policies (in fact, “domination” appears in the report subtitle which is then copied on every page of the report), a concept, which along with charges of wholesale theft of land and property, that directly evokes antisemitic tropes of Jews seeking to wield power over others. When these accusations are made by relying on hundreds of deliberate factual errors and misrepresentations, mixed in with gross application of double standards, it is akin to historical libels of the Jewish people.

METHODOLOGY

Rebutting Amnesty's report in detail was a time consuming process since Amnesty created a massive document with 1,559 footnotes. Amnesty points to the report length and the fact that it took four years to produce as evidence of its veracity, as if numerous references by itself means that thorough and rigorous analysis was employed.

As we examined and critically assessed every line of the Amnesty report and followed up on nearly every source and every endnote, we documented five categories of faults. There is some level of overlap and subjectivity in how each item was classified, but in the end they are all serious flaws that in aggregate shows the report to be mendacious and it's authors as incompetent.

ERRORS: Errors refer to incorrect facts and figures, mistaken quotes and statements, and erroneous conclusions. Errors are typically items that can be easily verified as false with no subjectivity in making the determination of falsehood. Amnesty commits errors for several reasons: simple mistakes; copying erroneous information from third party reports which Amnesty did not bother to verify; copying information from obsolete sources; and in many cases, deliberate fabrication or manipulation of information. While many errors are simply due to the shoddy nature of the research, given the scale and nature of many of the errors, they suggest a deliberate pattern of falsification by Amnesty.

MISREPRESENTATIONS: Misrepresentations occur when Amnesty manipulates facts or events to fit its fabricated apartheid narrative. Examples are false conclusions inferred from certain data, the deliberate manipulation or removal of certain critical information that would materially modify or nullify the point Amnesty is making, truncated quotes, using isolated incidents to make broad conclusions, and information taken out of context. Misrepresentations are similar to errors in intent and effect, and a large number are certainly deliberate, which is to say they are similar to lies.

OMISSIONS: While errors and misrepresentations may seem to be the most important flaws in the report, it is omissions that ultimately render the report as useless propaganda. Amnesty deliberately and carefully omits an incredible number of key aspects of the Israel-Palestine conflict. Information that may contradict the apartheid libel is not included in the report. Another example of omissions is the completely one sided history of the conflict that erases any violence perpetrated by Arabs against Israel. A subset of the Omissions category is the dismissal of any legitimate security needs that Israel may have. Amnesty presents all Israeli actions that are purported to

be for security as a sham, a fabricated excuse and cover for Israel to implement its cruel policies of apartheid.

DOUBLE STANDARDS: Amnesty consistently holds Israel to what we call a “perfection standard,” where any disparity between Arabs and Jews is seen by Amnesty as a result of and evidence of apartheid. For example, higher poverty rates for Arabs versus Jews is seen as part of deliberate apartheid, even if these poverty rate differences are far better than those of minorities in many Western nations. Amnesty deliberately presents all data in a vacuum since any comparison to other nations would contradict their apartheid narrative.

DEAD CITATIONS: What is quickly apparent upon review of Amnesty’s report is the shoddy analysis and rampant violation of generally accepted rules of research. For example, Amnesty regularly does not cite firsthand sources and many of the third parties they do cite themselves do not cite an end source – what we call a “dead citation.” Dead citations also refer to worthless sources, such as using data from an unknown blogger or relying on 25-year-old data for current analysis. The Dead Citation category exposes the fact that much of the report is simply cut and paste information from prior NGO reports. Each NGO cites the other often citing another, with little primary research conducted.

Overall, our analysis uncovered 287 total flaws comprised of 102 errors, 97 misrepresentations, 29 omissions, 24 double standards, and 35 dead citations.

One aspect of the Amnesty report that this document does not delve into is the manipulation of international law to redefine apartheid and then apply to Israel only. Other references and manipulations of “international law,” which are common throughout the report, will similarly not be evaluated in this document. Amnesty’s falsification of the legal definition of apartheid and its application under international law, which it performs over 17 pages of its report, goes hand-in-hand with the falsified evidence it uses against Israel to fit this newly created definition of apartheid. Amnesty’s deliberate errors in its analysis of “apartheid” in international law is well covered in two reports authored by legal experts Joshua Kern and Anne Herzberg and published by NGO Monitor, *False Knowledge as Power: Deconstructing Definitions of Apartheid that Delegitimise the Jewish State* (December 2021) and *Neo-Orientalism: Deconstructing Claims of Apartheid in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict* (March 2022).⁴

RELIANCE ON OTHER NGOS

Amnesty relied extensively on dozens of reports issued by other NGOs and self-declared human rights organizations, with over 600 endnotes citing these sources, primarily in the sections where the “evidence” against Israel is outlined beginning in Section 5 of the report (out of 1,400 endnotes in this part of the report). NGO reports thus comprise more than 40% of the total body of evidence cited against Israel. Amnesty cites itself approximately 130 times, B’Tselem 75 times, Adalah 60 times, and about 10 to 30 each from Human Rights Watch (HRW), Gisha, Ir Amim, Peace Now, HaMoked, Al-Haq, Bimkom, and several others.

UN related sources (with reports issued by CERD, CESCR, OCHA, OHCHR, etc.) are cited over 150 times; a review of these documents shows many rely on these very same NGOs. For example, one UN document cited by Amnesty about 20 times itself cites B’Tselem, HaMoked, Al Mezan and others directly or indirectly at least five times.⁵ Amnesty cites another UN document three times that itself cites Al Mezan, Amnesty, B’Tselem, HRW and others at least seven times.⁶ The same NGOs are also cited by World Bank reports relied upon by Amnesty, for example, a report that is cited by Amnesty three times, itself cites B’Tselem, Bimkom and Gisha.⁷ The same phenomenon is seen in WHO documents, which Amnesty refers to about 25 times. For example, one WHO document cited by Amnesty six times itself cites several of the same NGOs.⁸ We have not examined the trail of each and every citation, but based on a sample examination of UN and other reports, most of these documents rely on the same NGO reports for some of their core data and conclusions.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Our deep analysis of Amnesty's report and the uncovering and documenting of nearly 300 flaws reveals some key assumptions and biases that underpin Amnesty's entire thesis of apartheid. In fact, anything that Amnesty writes about Israel can be assessed with these assumptions held by this NGO:

1. Jews are always the oppressors and Arabs are always the victims, therefore:
 - The 1948-9 war was all Israel's fault; Palestinians were innocently living in their homes until Israel attacked them and expelled them.
 - Palestinian terrorism does not and has never existed, thus any Israeli action purporting to be fighting terrorism is always inhumane.
 - There is some minor Palestinian violence, but it is inconsequential, thus any Israeli response to such violence is always inhumane.
 - Israel does not have any serious security needs; any such claim is a pretext to harm innocent Palestinians.
 - All military conflicts in Gaza were initiated by Israel and violate international law.
 - All Israeli military actions against Palestinians are characterized by war crimes.
 - The deaths of Palestinians civilians, medical workers, children and journalists are due to deliberate targeting of such persons by Israel, or as Amnesty puts it, inhumane acts of "murder."
 - Arab nations never initiated any hostility towards Israel.
 - Israeli fears of hostility from Arab nations from 1948 onward are illegitimate.
2. Defining a state as Jewish is inherently racist and by itself a key feature of apartheid.
3. A law that allows Jews from around the world to obtain automatic Israeli citizenship is apartheid.
4. It is absolutely certain that millions of Arab refugees from the 1948-9 war have a legal right to literally enter Israel and reclaim their homes, any hindrance of this right is apartheid.
5. Arab-Israelis do not exist; all Arabs in the region are Palestinians.
6. Arabs in Israel have citizenship, but they are still victims of apartheid.
7. Any disparity between Jews and Arabs is due to inhumane acts of apartheid.
8. Israel does not have the right to enforce zoning or building permitting laws, any hindrance to Arab construction in the Holy Land by Israel is an inhumane act of apartheid.
9. Israel does not have the right to enforce citizenship and residency laws, any hindrance to Arab desires for these benefits is an inhumane act of apartheid.

10. Israel must maintain open borders with Gaza and the West Bank, any hindrance on movement for Palestinians is an inhumane act of apartheid.
11. Israel is required to allow entry into Gaza anything Gazans desire regardless of their use, any hindrance or limitation of goods is an inhumane act of apartheid.
12. Israel has never agreed to any Palestinian statehood and offers for statehood never occurred.
13. Words and concepts that are irrelevant in understanding or assessing the Israel-Palestine conflict: Camp David, Clinton Parameters, terrorism, Yom Kippur/1973 War, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Mansour Abbas, suicide bombing, tunnels, and Arab-Israeli.

The above list, especially the underlying assumption that Jews are always the oppressors and Arabs are always the victims, is starkly confirmed in the Recommendation section of Amnesty's report. Amnesty lists about 50 recommendations for the Israeli Authorities to undertake. Palestinian Authorities are given only 2 recommendations; the first is to document Israel's apartheid and the second is to ensure that when dealing with Israel it does not contribute to apartheid against Palestinians. Thus, while Amnesty "recommends" that Israel open all borders to Gaza and allow the free entry of all goods into Gaza, it does not "recommend" that Hamas stop building rockets or tunnels. While Amnesty recommends that Israel remove the security barrier, it does not recommend that Palestinians halt all activities that promote terrorism, such as the so-called "martyrs payments" or naming schools after terrorists.⁹ Finally, the greatest hypocrisy and double standard, which demonstrates Amnesty's hostility to the Jewish right to self-determination: While Amnesty recommends that Israel repeal its Nation-State Law, it does not recommend that the Palestinian Authority change its constitution calling itself part of the "Arab nation" or that "Islam is the official religion of Palestine" or that "Islamic Shari'a" is the principal source of legislation -- knowing that Palestinians will become the majority in the region assuming Israel follows another recommendation to allow all "refugees" inside Israel.

The effort to document these falsehoods was extensive and results in a lengthy document. For those readers that prefer a shorter read, we have compiled a "Top 25" list of the most important and representative errors, misrepresentations, omissions, double standards, and dead citations that proves that Amnesty's report is nothing more than a propaganda piece with a stated mission of ending Israel as the Jewish state. If the reader is interested in reviewing more examples that cements the evidence against Amnesty, the remainder of the document lists 262 additional examples – most of which are equally as egregious as the 25 listed below.

1. OMISSION: Amnesty's map of Israel does not show Tel-Aviv, Jerusalem, or Haifa

In the introductory pages of the report Amnesty provides a map of "Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories" (p. 9). It is a truly bizarre map that is a microcosm of the Amnesty report that says virtually nothing about current reality in Israel but instead offers the reader a mythology of Jewish evil and ultimately a reflection of the hopes and dreams of Amnesty: the erasure of Israel as a Jewish state. This map of Israel does not include Tel-Aviv, Jerusalem, or Haifa, Israel's three largest cities, in what was obviously a deliberate decision. Instead, the map shows "East Jerusalem" and the names of three "oppressed" Arab towns referenced in the report: Iqrit, Al-Araqib and Umm Al-Hiran. In Amnesty's vision, Israel as a Jewish state should not exist, and thus the names and locations of the Jewish state's main cities are omitted as if the territory was already replaced by Arab localities and names. It is a preposterous geographic representation for what is presented by Amnesty as a serious, well-researched report.

2. ERROR: Amnesty claims that Israel stole more than 150% of the land in Israel

A core element of Amnesty's apartheid charge is that Jews stole all the land from its rightful Palestinian owners beginning in 1948. Over about 15 pages of the report in Section 5.4.1 "Land Expropriation Laws and Policies," Amnesty lists various laws Israel supposedly abused or created from 1948 to the mid-1950s to confiscate the land in what it calls "massive and cruel land seizures" to enable "Jewish domination." However, Amnesty did not perform any primary research and simply cut-and-paste various portions from a range of books and reports, not realizing that adding up the various millions of dunams (1,000 dunams equals 1 square kilometer) that Amnesty contends Israel stole sums up to more than 150% of the entire territory of Israel. Amnesty's report outlines with specific numbers that Israel expropriated at least 32.2 million dunams of land when all of pre-1967 Israel is only about 20.7 million dunams. Details of this egregious error, which undermines the veracity of Amnesty's entire report, are outlined with specificity in the endnote.¹⁰

3. ERROR: Israel expropriated 10,000 Palestinians shops

In the Executive Summary, demonstrating the importance of this statistic, and again deeper in the report, Amnesty claims that Israel expropriated over 10,000 shops from Palestinian refugees in the 1948-9 war (p. 23 and 120). The source Amnesty cites is a self-published blog post by an individual with no credentials in the field.¹¹ The 10,000 number is preposterous since it would mean that the retail landscape in the majority agrarian and Bedouin Arab population of British Mandate Palestine was three-times

denser than 2020 America, the world capital of retail.¹² Like many of the numbers in the report, this figure is unsubstantiated and easily shown to be false.

4. ERROR: Calling Arabs in Israel “Palestinians” when most call themselves “Arab-Israeli” or “Israeli”

Amnesty writes: “Regardless of whether individual Palestinians are citizens of Israel living in Israel, or Palestinians living under Israeli military rule in the OPT, or Palestinian refugees, they overwhelmingly regard themselves as Palestinian...” (p. 73-4). This is another fatal flaw of the report as Amnesty deliberately erases Arab-Israeli identity by fabricating the notion that the majority see themselves as “Palestinian.” Polls show the vast majority of Arabs in Israel refer to themselves as anything but, either Arab-Israeli (51%), Israeli (23%) or just Arab (15%) and only 7% as Palestinians according to one study.¹³ Even a source known to be hostile to Israel (*+972 Magazine*) shows that only 14% of Arabs in Israel consider themselves “Palestinian.”¹⁴ The problem Amnesty faced in crafting its apartheid thesis is that Arab-Israelis are active in every aspect of Israeli society including the legislature, leading schools, every major profession, top judges, sports, and media, and are not subject to any type of “segregation” policies. Also, the fact that the vast majority of Arabs inside Israel do not see themselves as Palestinians complicates Amnesty’s neat portrayal of Israeli apartheid as pitting cruel “Jews” against oppressed “Palestinians” who are portrayed as a separate “race” in order to fit into the definition of apartheid. Amnesty decided to solve these logical problems through a complete erasure of everything related to Arab-Israelis, even how they self-identify. As Amnesty explains, which is key in their application of the apartheid label to Israel: “This report demonstrates that Jewish Israelis and Palestinians self-identify as different groups, and crucially that the laws of Israel perceive and treat Palestinians as a separate and inferior group” (p. 72). The entire thesis falls apart if Amnesty has to acknowledge that the vast majority of Arabs inside Israel see themselves as something other than Palestinian.

5. MISREPRESENTATION: Fabricating the notion of “nationality” as a status distinct from “citizenship”

Another problem faced by Amnesty is that 2 million Arab-Israelis have citizenship, complicating the apartheid thesis. Amnesty solves this problem by acknowledging that “Palestinians” in Israel have citizenship but invents a new concept by asserting that they are not “nationals of Israel” and are “denied a nationality” and thus are discriminated against (p. 81-2). This supposed lack of “nationality” is the first item of evidence cited by Amnesty in the section on Israel’s “Segregation and Control” of Palestinians, and is repeated several times in the report (e.g. p. 217, 260, 264). Amnesty does not explain how a country can grant a person citizenship but not

“nationality,” a separate concept according to Amnesty, and does not provide examples for how this invented requirement can be achieved if Israel seeks to avoid apartheid. For instance, how might Germany grant “nationality” to its Turkish citizens in addition to citizenship? Or Australians to its Aboriginal citizens? Does the “Arab Republic of Egypt” that enshrines Islam as its state religion grant nationality separate from citizenship to its large and ancient Coptic minority, who do not consider themselves Arabic or Muslim?

6. ERROR: Falsely blaming Israel for Arabs losing British Mandate era Palestinian citizenship in 1948

Amnesty’s accusations against Israel are boundless and often preposterous. For example, Amnesty claims that Israel stripped Palestinian refugees of their “Palestinian citizenship granted under the Palestinian Citizenship Orders of 1925-1942” (p. 82-3). Amnesty in its ignorance does not realize that the Palestinian Citizenship Orders of 1925-1942 was a form of citizenship granted by the British government authorities under the British Palestine Mandate.¹⁵ When Britain withdrew from Palestine in May 1948, all persons who held this citizenship, both Arab and Jew, automatically lost this British granted citizenship. This one detail further encapsulates the core construct of the report where Jews are always oppressors and Palestinians always victims.

7. MISREPRESENTATION: Claiming Arabs in Israel are “packed” although Jews live more densely

A key tactic of Amnesty is to use words that are associated with apartheid to support its false narrative. The words fragmentation and segregation appear roughly 150 times, as well as words such as “enclave,” “packed” and “dense.” Amnesty seeks to create the perception that Israel has forced Palestinians into tight, restricted areas (they all but say the word “Bantustan”) and by extension, inhumane apartheid conditions. Amnesty writes that 7% of the land in Israel is privately owned and that: “Jewish Israelis own over half of this, that is around 3.5% to 4% of the total land. About 80% of Palestinian citizens of Israel are packed into the remaining 3% to 3.5% of the land” (p. 128). If Arabs are “packed” into 3.5% of the land, what would one call Jews, who comprise about 35% of the Arab population, living in a similar amount of land? Ultra-packed? Amnesty also does not realize that in this sentence it acknowledges that Arabs in Israel own more private land per capita than Jews – hardly a feature of apartheid.

8. ERROR: Amnesty claims Israel stole 100% of privately held land by Arabs in 1991-92

Amnesty lists hundreds of numbers in its report to prove Israel apartheid, but due to shoddy research the fabrications and internal contradictions are rampant. Amnesty writes: "According to one academic study, a 1992 report of the Israel Land Administration, the Israeli government body then responsible for managing state land in Israel, indicates that the [Land Ordinance of 1943] was invoked in the confiscation of 1.85 million dunams, 92% of which were privately owned by Palestinians" (p. 122). Footnote 533 cites page 88 of *Access Denied* by Hussein Abu Hussein and Fiona McKay, a key source for the section on Israel's supposed land theft. This is the original quote from the book: "The Israeli Land administration's report of 1992 shows that in the years 1991 and 1992 the legislation [Land Ordinance of 1943] was invoked on 1,850,000 dunams of land of which some 92 per cent was privately owned land." The authors cite an Israel Land Authority document from 1993 and their footnote 83 adds: "The report does not specify how much of the private land was owned by Arabs, but perhaps half privately owned land in the state is Arab owned." Amnesty falsifies that 92% of the land supposedly confiscated was privately owned by Palestinians when the original source has no idea and merely speculates that 50% was Arab owned. If the confiscation was equal for Jews and Arabs, how is this evidence of apartheid? But the fabrication is even more egregious as the book itself makes a fatal error that Amnesty copies. 1.85 million dunams is equivalent to 1,850 sqkm which is a very large area. Did Israel really confiscate 1,700 sqkm of private land (92% of 1,850) in 1991 and 1992? Total private land ownership in Israel is only about 7.5% of the total land mass (as Amnesty acknowledges on page 128) or about 1,700 sqkm! Hussein & McKay and then Amnesty literally accuse Israel of stealing *100% of privately held land* in the nation in the early 1990s. It should be noted that Amnesty relies on this same deeply flawed book, *Access Denied*, for twenty citations.

9. ERROR: Amnesty claims Gazans attacked "the fence" not at targets "over" the fence into Israel

Amnesty simply cannot acknowledge the existence of Palestinian violence and terrorism against Israel, either now or in the past, as doing so would imperil their narrative that all Israeli actions are part of cruel and inhumane apartheid and have nothing to do with legitimate security needs. The complete erasure of Arab and Palestinian actions of violence or terrorism is a startling omission that permeates the entire report. An egregious example is the section on the "Great March of Return." Amnesty does hint at some violence emanating from Gaza but not really, writing "some protesters attempted to approach the fence and damage it and threw stones, Molotov cocktails and incendiary kites in the direction of the fence." (p. 113) In this

Orwellian retelling, Gazans never sought to harm Israelis or areas inside Israel, instead they were merely attacking *the fence*. The lie here is incredible. Many thousands of acres of Israeli land have been burned by incendiary kites that went over the fence, a practice which continued well into 2021.¹⁶ These kites imperil Israeli communities and alone justify strong actions against Hamas. There were also documented instances of actual breaches of the fence with armed Gazans entering Israeli territory¹⁷ and a Hamas official admitted that 50 out of 62 Palestinians killed were in fact Hamas fighters, not innocent protestors as Amnesty presents.¹⁸ Even a UN report that Amnesty cites in Footnote 1165 actually admits to what Amnesty cannot: “during most protests dozens have approached the fence attempting to damage it, burning tires, throwing stones and Molotov cocktails towards Israeli forces and flying incendiary kites and balloons into Israeli territory; the latter resulted in extensive damage to agricultural land and nature reserves inside Israel and risked the lives of Israeli civilians.”¹⁹

10. ERROR: Amnesty fabricates notion that Israel “masks” data to hide its suppression of Palestinians

Amnesty’s libel against Israel is deliberate and systematic. In Section 5.5.1 on Israel’s “Suppression of Palestinians’ Human Development” Amnesty inserts the comment that Israel has “sought to mask this reality” by hiding adverse statistical data (p. 165). It is a serious charge that a modern OECD nation is “masking” statistics in a way one might expect from a totalitarian regime. As evidence, Amnesty cites the concluding observations of a 2019 UN CERD report on Israel.²⁰ Amnesty points to the section on “Concerns and Recommendations,” paragraph 7 and 8, where it recommends that Israel “provide updated statistics on the demographic composition of the population and on the socioeconomic status of the different population groups, within its territory and in the territories under its effective control, disaggregated by ethnic or national origin, gender and languages spoken, including migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and stateless persons, taking into account the principle of self-identification.” Amnesty extrapolates from these concerns and recommendations to claim that Israel hides data to support its suppression of Palestinians, citing no other evidence. A review of the same CERD reports on many other countries shows that nearly identical concerns and requests for further statistical information are found in most documents. It appears to be standard language in CERD and similar reports, as demonstrated in reviews of reports for Italy, France and Australia and several other countries (see endnote for full detail).²¹ Amnesty would never accuse these nations of “masking” data to hide the discrimination outlined in these same UN reports but employs double standards and misrepresentations to slander Israel.

11. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty devotes 15 pages on the situation of 877 people

The distorted world view of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is encapsulated in about 15 pages (p. 132-41 and 226-30), or more than 5% of the report, cataloguing supposed apartheid related to at most 877 people – as Amnesty acknowledges – in some neighborhoods in East Jerusalem such as Sheikh Jarrah. All of these cases are related to long standing ownership and tenant disputes that are beyond the scope of this document. Ownership and permitting disputes in Silwan comprise at least seven pages in the report, but as Amnesty's own data shows, the entire matter has affected 20 persons per year. The point is that the scale of these matters are negligible compared to the entirety of the region and population comprising some 5 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza and 2 million Arabs in Israel. Amnesty notes that in Sheikh Jarrah there have been 21 home demolitions since 2009, or less than two per year, and seven more families face eviction based on lawsuits filed against them in 2008, or 14 years ago. One might ask why a true apartheid government would wait so long to remove so few? UN data cited by Amnesty shows that various eviction actions against Arab residents in all of these East Jerusalem neighborhoods could affect 877 persons and many have been dragging on for years.²² In January 2021 Hamas bulldozed the homes of 23 families in Rafah without warning, more than in Sheikh Jarrah in over a decade, expropriated for commercial purposes;²³ Amnesty did not issue any reports on this incident. While it is perfectly reasonable to criticize Israeli actions in these locations, the scale of the issue and the multi-decade legal entanglements are misrepresented as evidence apartheid

12. MISREPRESENTATION: Israel wrongfully displays archeological finds as "Jewish"

Amnesty flirts with denying Jewish history in the Holy Land, which is ahistorical and antisemitic. Amnesty writes: "Jewish settlers, other Israeli citizens and Israel's military have illegally moved archaeological artefacts unearthed in the OPT and displayed them as Jewish and Israeli in exhibitions in Israel and abroad, in contravention of international law and treaties on cultural property." (p. 192) No specific artifacts that are supposedly subject to this incorrect "Jewish" designation and display are identified by Amnesty. The source for this accusation per footnote 1059 is a report written by Ahmed Rjoob, Director of Palestine Ministry of Tourism & Antiquities. PA officials have a long history of calling Jewish history in the region fraudulent²⁴ and this includes Rjoob who in his report states: "Archaeology plays a crucial role in the formation and enactment of colonial-national historical imagination and in authenticating Israel's territorial claims." The word "Jewish" is notably not used once in the Rjoob report instead "Palestinian heritage" is used often. It is preposterous to claim that Israel is

wrongfully displaying artifacts found in historical Judea and Samaria as “Jewish.” But like the map that erases Jewish cities, Amnesty seeks to erase Jewish history and Jewish cultural heritage.

13. OMISSION: Not using the word “terrorism” even one time in the entire 280-page report

Incredibly and without shame, Amnesty refuses to use the word “terrorism” even one time in the body of the text.²⁵ This deliberate omission is part of Amnesty’s decision to pretend that Arabs and Palestinians have never been and are not at all engaged in deliberate acts of violence against Israel and its civilian population, including the 1948, 1967 and 1973 wars. In the same way, Amnesty never mentions that Hamas is a terrorist organization designated as such by the EU, US, Canada, UK and others. Despite numerous pages cataloguing Israeli actions in Gaza, Amnesty never bothers to mention Islamic Jihad, a terrorist organization active in this territory. By eliminating all references to terrorism and presenting Hamas as nothing more than representing innocent Palestinians, Amnesty can present all Israeli actions as deliberately cruel and bloodthirsty, all within the paradigm of apartheid. Other related words like “suicide bomber,” which represented a major aspect of the conflict and drove many Israeli actions, are also not mentioned even once.

14. ERROR: Falsifying and misrepresenting a quote from Ehud Barak in three ways

Amnesty claims in several places that all Israeli leaders acted with intention to maintain the apartheid regime (e.g. p. 218) but provides no analysis of each leader and their actions. Instead, Amnesty reduces the entire legacies of all Israeli Prime Ministers to quote snippets. The example of Ehud Barak is particularly egregious and dishonest. Amnesty claims that leaders like Barak intended to “minimize Palestinians’ access to and control of land across all territories under Israel’s effective control” (p. 67). Amnesty states as its only evidence regarding Barak that: “Ehud Barak, when he was prime minister between 1999 and 2001, equated a ‘Muslim majority’ with ‘destruction of Israel as a Jewish state.’” Amnesty’s dishonesty here is threefold. First, the quote comes from an interview held with Barak in 2002,²⁶ when he was out of office, so it is plainly false to claim that he stated these words when he was Prime Minister. Second, the interview was specifically regarding the offers for statehood that Barak made to Yasser Arafat and the Palestinians, which Arafat ultimately rejected. Amnesty dishonestly cites Barak from an interview where he discusses his intention to hand over the West Bank and Gaza for Palestinian statehood to prove Barak’s goal all along was to “control all the territories.” Finally, Amnesty’s dishonesty is compounded by not mentioning anywhere in the entire 280-page document, even in the historical

timeline, how Barak offered statehood to the Palestinians twice – of course, since this event undermines the entire apartheid narrative.

15. DOUBLE STANDARD: Israel's Nation-State Law versus similar laws from dozens of nations

Amnesty considers Israel's "Nation-State Law" which enshrines Israel as the "nation state of the Jewish people" as the absolute embodiment of Israeli apartheid. Nothing disturbs Amnesty more than this legislation. This is an example of the "perfection standard" where similar actions by other nations evoke no concern but when done by Israel is seen as apartheid. The law is mentioned approximately 20 times in the report with a two-page sidebar where Amnesty claims the law "constitutionally entrenched inequality and racial and national discrimination against Palestinian and other non-Jewish citizens of Israel" (p. 65-6). While it is certainly legitimate to deeply criticize the law (as many Israeli Jews did) and strive for a world where there is no religion or nationality enshrined in any document, it is a gross double standard to present Israel's Nation-State Law, which does not change the Basic Law preserving equality for all citizens of Israel, as an element of apartheid when dozens of states, including many Western democracies, enshrine a particular religion or ethnicity in a governing national document with no apparent criticism. According to one study, more than 20% of nations have an official state religion.²⁷ Nine European nations are officially Christian with special rights for this chosen religion. Here are some examples of many, including a particularly blatant example in Amnesty's home country, the UK:

- Denmark – Part I of their constitution says: "The Evangelical Lutheran Church shall be the Established Church of Denmark, and as such, it shall be supported by the State." The constitution adds that "legislative power shall be vested in the King" who shall "be a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." Unlike Israel, Denmark reserves its top role to one religion.
- UK – The Church of England is the official church of the nation and of the English people.²⁸ Unlike Israel's statement about being a Jewish state, this is not just symbolic. The second chamber of Parliament, the House of Lords, literally reserves 26 seats exclusively for Christian Bishops. Thus Muslims, Jews and all other religions are legally prohibited from certain key roles in government. There is nothing even remotely as discriminatory in Israel's laws.
- Egypt – What is officially known as the "Arab Republic of Egypt" states in its constitution that it is an "Arab nation", and Article 2 affirms: "Islam is the religion of the state and Arabic is its official language. The principles of Islamic Sharia are the principle source of legislation." Israel does not enshrine Judaism or Jewish law as the principle source of legislation. Copts comprise an

estimated 10% of the population of Egypt and do not consider themselves either Arabs or Muslim.

- Jordan – Article 1 states that Jordan is an “Arab State” and that the Jordanian people are part of the “Arab Nation.” Article 2 states that “Islam is the religion of the state and Arabic is its official language.” The throne is reserved only for a Muslim individual. Christians comprise about 4% of the population in Jordan and are part of one of the oldest Christian communities in the world.
- Greece – This nation’s constitution begins with the words “In the name of the Holy and Consubstantial and Indivisible Trinity,” a specific reference to Christianity. Indeed, Article 3 states: “The prevailing religion in Greece is that of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ.”

16. ERROR: Amnesty claims Israel “destroyed” hospitals when source only says some “damaged”

Amnesty writes: “During the May 2021 military operation, Israel damaged or destroyed 28 health care facilities in Gaza, including nine hospitals and 19 primary care clinics, according to OCHA.” (p. 211) The UN OCHA report cited in footnote 1185 says: “9 hospitals partially damaged, 19 clinics damaged.” None were destroyed. Amnesty fabricates that some were “destroyed” when the UN report only says “damaged.”²⁹ As shown further below in other similar reports, self-reported “damage” is typically extremely minor (it often literally refers to damage below \$5,000), and facilities are usually back to normal operations within days.

17. DOUBLE STANDARD: Israel’s citizenship policies favoring Jews from other countries

Amnesty considers Israel’s Law of Return, which essentially allows Jews around the world to gain Israeli citizenship, as a core feature of Israeli apartheid. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racism (ICERD), which Amnesty quotes often in manipulating its definition of apartheid, makes clear that “State Parties” can make decisions on “nationality, citizenship or naturalization,” even for “the sole purpose of securing adequate advancement of certain racial or ethnic groups or individuals requiring such protection as may be necessary in order to ensure such groups or individuals equal enjoyment or exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms...”³⁰ If there ever was a group of people intended for this exact clause it is Jews, who suffered a genocide that wiped out 40% of their population only 77 years ago and as a tiny minority of 14 million people still face high levels of antisemitism worldwide. Numerous nations offer special citizenship privileges to their diaspora (e.g., Denmark, Ireland), even for persons with generations old connections to the country. It is the height of hypocrisy and dishonest manipulation for Amnesty to consider Israel’s

citizenship laws favoring Jews in the diaspora as apartheid when this common practice worldwide is legal and never raises concerns about racism. But Amnesty treats the Jewish state differently – it cannot exercise sovereign rights common to all nations without being tagged as apartheid.

18. OMISSION: No mention of an Arab party joining ruling Israeli coalition for the first time in history

In 2021 an Arab-Israeli Islamist party led by Mansour Abbas joined the ruling coalition government for the first time in history – yet in a report on Israeli apartheid inside Israel Amnesty decided that this historic event was not worth mentioning, let alone incorporating into its analysis. Even in an eight-line footnote (number 262) describing the “new coalition government” formed by Naftali Bennet in June 2021, Amnesty still cannot find room to mention this important fact. This one omission alone proves that Amnesty’s report is deliberately dishonest and simply a propaganda piece.

19. ERROR: Manipulation of quotes to remove anything that might contradict the apartheid narrative

Amnesty expended significant effort to make sure that absolutely any evidence contrary to their apartheid narrative, no matter how small, was omitted. In discussing how Arabs in Israel are exempt from military service Amnesty quotes from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs website that says the “only legal distinction between Arab and Jewish citizens is... civic duty” (p. 83). The full quote actually says: “The only legal distinction between Arab and Jewish citizens is not one of rights, but rather of civic duty,” referring to military duty.³¹ Amnesty could not find room for seven more words to show that Arabs are considered by law as having equal rights. Instead, Amnesty awkwardly inserted an ellipse in violation of common sense use of citations. The manipulation demonstrates the careful crafting of the report by Amnesty where literally every sentence was curated to maximize the demonization of Israel while simultaneously omitting any countervailing information.

20. ERROR: Amnesty claims it is inconceivable for Israeli-Arabs to serve in the military

Amnesty’s erasure of Arab-Israelis and their experience is total and complete. In a section on Arab exemption from serving in the military Amnesty writes: “It is inconceivable for almost any Palestinian citizen of Israel to serve in any army that is occupying Palestinian land and systematically repressing Palestinians’ rights” (p. 83). Amnesty willfully ignores the fact that many Arabs in Israel do choose to serve in the army, and at growing numbers. In fact, record numbers enlisted in 2020, with more

than 1,000 new Arab soldiers – a stark repudiation of the fabricated apartheid narrative.³² The Bedouins, which Amnesty obsesses over with some 20 pages of coverage in the report, have a long history of military service, with 1,500 currently in the IDF.³³

21. MISREPRESENTATION: Focus on revocation of residency of 18 Palestinians out of 358,000

A notable aspect of Amnesty's report is the massive exaggeration of relatively minor events and the extrapolation of some possible or confirmed "bad things" to charge the entire nation of apartheid. A good example is the nearly two pages Amnesty devotes to the revocation of residency status for Arabs in East Jerusalem. Amnesty sees Israel using revocation to "consolidate its sovereignty" and that Israel has "restricted the number of Palestinians living in East Jerusalem to maintain a Jewish majority in the city" in what it calls a "quiet deportation" of "thousands of Palestinian residents of Jerusalem over the years." (p. 85) But the statistics supporting this assertion are laughable. Amnesty itself reports that these deportations affected "a total of 14,701 Palestinians between 1967 and 2020" –and 10,376 of the total were due to the persons relocating themselves abroad, hardly the cruelty Amnesty ascribes to Israel.³⁴ Footnotes 296 and 297 cite a HaMoked article as key evidence, but the report shows that in calendar year 2020 Israel revoked the residency of 18 East Jerusalem Palestinians³⁵ – out of a total of 358,000 persons! The Arab population in East Jerusalem has soared over the decades, up about 33% since 2009 (nearly a 90,000 person increase). Yet the situation affecting an amount that is not even a small rounding error is seen as nothing less than evidence of apartheid. By comparison, Amnesty's home country, UK, stripped citizenship from more people than Israel in 2020, primarily targeting Muslims.³⁶

22. MISREPRESENTATION: Focus on restrictions related to Palestinian family reunification

Another example of the inflation of events to demonstrate apartheid: Amnesty devotes about seven pages of the report (p. 98-104) documenting how Israel limits citizenship or residency status for family reunification. Several errors and misrepresentations regarding this section are highlighted further below. However, the statistics regarding this matter reveals that the issue is grossly exaggerated and hardly evidence of apartheid. A report from an NGO cited by Amnesty (footnote 396) reveals that over 20 years from 1993 to 2002 there were a total of 16,007 applications for family reunification or 800 per year, and data shows that more than half were approved.³⁷ After new tighter legislation was passed in 2003 until 2013 there were 12,284 family unification requests, of which 5,629 were approved, 4,249 rejected and the remainder

postponed or delayed. This means that a few hundred per year were rejected, often for security reasons and sometimes because “center of life” requirements could not be verified. From 2004 to 2013 there were 17,616 applications for registering children from mixed residency marriages; about 1 in 5 were rejected. The population of the West Bank is approximately 3 million according to Amnesty, so again the relative numbers are negligible, yet Amnesty extrapolates this matter as nothing less than evidence of apartheid. This also highlights a double standard, as many nations have arcane family reunification and citizenship rules that are often seen as unfair; for example, Denmark has highly stringent rules.³⁸

23. ERROR: Fabricating that Basic Laws allow for violation of rights, source cited says the reverse

Amnesty cites Israel’s Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty that establishes the values of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. Admitting that this is actual law that Israel adheres to would undermine the entire apartheid argument thus Amnesty adds in its discussion: “However, under Article 8 of the same Basic Law, the state’s Jewishness is a legal consideration that allows the state to limit the right to equality and violate other rights that are protected within the Basic Law” (p. 64-5). As evidence, footnote 144 cites a 2012 paper written in Hebrew by former Supreme Court Chief Justice Aharon Barak titled “The Values of Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State.” The falsifications in Amnesty’s comment are two-fold. First, Article 8 says nothing about “Jewishness” as a consideration to limit rights to equality. Article 8 says: “There shall be no violation of rights under this Basic Law except by a law befitting the values of the State of Israel, enacted for a proper purpose, and to an extent no greater than is required.” Second, the main thesis of the Barak article is the exact opposite of what Amnesty contends. Justice Barak explains: “It is true, the Jewish people have a special key to enter the home that is called The State of Israel. That is the point of Zionism and that is the point of our Jewish heritage...[but] giving the right of immigration to Jews does not discriminate against non-Jews.” Later he adds, “Of course the values of the State of Israel as a democratic state oppose all discrimination and necessitate equality.” There is absolutely nothing in the article that supports Amnesty’s fabricated statement; in fact it proves the reverse.

24. DOUBLE STANDARD: Citing higher poverty rates for Arabs as apartheid; it's much worse in the UK

Amnesty’s devotes multiple pages to sweeping statements and conclusions regarding deep discrimination against Arabs in all walks of life. Amnesty relies on dozens of statistics showing how Arabs are faring worse than Jews as evidence of apartheid. For example, Amnesty notes: “In 2020, 23% of Israeli citizens lived under the poverty

line, compared to 35.8% of Palestinian citizens of Israel” (p. 166). Besides the construct of the sentence which erroneously tries to distinguish between “Israeli citizens” and “Palestinians citizens of Israel” (in both cases they are Israeli citizens), these statistics do not evidence apartheid. The data is accurately cited from the Central Bureau of Statistics. One item omitted is that in the ultra-Orthodox Jewish sector the poverty rate is 49%, far higher than the Arab sector, already undermining the notion that poverty rates evidence apartheid.³⁹ But looking at the numbers comparatively to minority poverty rates worldwide shows that Israel is actually doing quite well relatively, and Amnesty should focus its apartheid lens elsewhere. The ratio of Arab to Jewish poverty in Israel is 1.56x; In the UK, Amnesty’s home country, it is far worse, with 50% of Muslim households in poverty, far higher than Arabs in Israel, and compares to 18% nationally⁴⁰ – a 2.78x ratio. The Black poverty rate in the UK is also similarly high, at 46% for black households versus 19% for white – a 2.4x ratio.⁴¹ Indigenous persons in Canada had a 25% poverty rate versus about 10% for Canada overall – a 2.5x ratio.⁴²

25. ERROR: Palestinians in Jerusalem lose 50% of GDP each year because they can't get a mortgage

Amnesty’s reliance on unverified statistics from a large number of third party reports which underpin their entire document leads to numerous preposterous conclusions. Some have already been shown above. In a section discussing the weak economy in East Jerusalem, all blamed on Israeli apartheid, Amnesty writes: “Israel’s discriminatory policies relating to land use, planning and housing and residency rights, which are aimed at hampering the natural growth of the city’s Palestinian population, have contributed to high poverty rates amongst Palestinians in East Jerusalem. Indeed, every year, Palestinians in East Jerusalem lose between NIS 630 million (USD 203 million) and NIS 1.4 billion (USD 452 million)... because they cannot prove ownership rights and therefore cannot secure a mortgage” (p. 176-7). The GDP of East Jerusalem is approximately \$600 million,⁴³ so using the midpoint of the annual “losses,” would mean that each and every year in aggregate East Jerusalem residents lose about 50% of total East Jerusalem GDP. The source cited by Amnesty does not provide further evidence of how this annual loss is incurred.⁴⁴ The scale of the loss is preposterous, especially given the number of households where ownership is in dispute is in the hundreds based on reports of “at risk” homes due to lack of ownership evidence. There is also no economic explanation for how an existing homeowner not being able to get a mortgage results in financial losses, let alone *annual* losses. Data from Palestinian sources shows that housing values have been steadily rising in Arab East Jerusalem, at 19% per year in one period from 2007-11, meaning homeowners are gaining value each year regardless of the mortgage market.⁴⁵ This is the first item of evidence Amnesty cites to show how Israel’s discriminatory policies hamper growth in East Jerusalem.

ERRORS, MISREPRESENTATIONS, OMISSIONS, DOUBLE STANDARDS & DEAD CITATIONS

The remainder of this document lists in page order each flaw in Amnesty's report under the previously listed categories. The number count continues from the 25 items listed in the Executive Summary.

26. MISREPRESENTATION: It does not take long for Amnesty to misrepresent. Introducing the Executive Summary is a quote snippet from former Prime Minister Netanyahu purporting to show apartheid: "Israel is not a state of all its citizens... [but rather] the nation-state of the Jewish people and only them." (p. 11) Amnesty repeats this quote on page 67 to show that Netanyahu intended "to minimize Palestinians' access to and control of land across all territories under Israel's effective control." The snippet was actually part of a broader response to actress Rotem Sela related to a question about the Nation-State Law. The full comment from Netanyahu: "Dear Rotem, an important correction: Israel is not a state of all its citizens. According to the Nation-State Law that we passed, Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish People – and them alone. As you wrote, there's no problem with the Arab citizens of Israel – they have the same rights as us all and the Likud government has invested in the Arab sector more than any other government."⁴⁶ While inelegant, and several Israeli politicians rebuked Netanyahu, Amnesty misrepresents the full quote and context, because the other portion of the comment contradicts the notion of apartheid.

27. MISREPRESENTATION: In the next sentence Amnesty misrepresents again in describing a Palestinian general strike that took place in May 2021. Amnesty asserts that the strike was held to defy "territorial fragmentation and segregation they face in their daily lives." (p. 11, and again mentioned on p. 134) However, Amnesty fabricates the reason for the strike offering no evidence or news report noting "territorial fragmentation and segregation" as a cause for the strike. These specific words were falsely added by Amnesty as part of their effort to insert language generally associated with apartheid. *Al-Jazeera* reported that Muhammad Barakeh, one of the

strike organizers, said the strike was about Palestinians expressing a “collective position” against Israel’s “aggression” in Gaza and Jerusalem and “brutal repression” by police inside Israel. The *Al-Jazeera* reporter said the strike was to protest against “occupation and Israel’s ongoing bombardment of the blockaded enclave [Gaza].”⁴⁷ *The New York Times* reported the strike was about Palestinians “protesting violence against Arab Israelis, the unfolding Israeli military campaign targeting Hamas militants in Gaza and the looming eviction of several families from their homes in East Jerusalem.”⁴⁸ Amnesty ignored contemporaneous news reports and fabricated its own reasons for the strike to support its false narrative.

28. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty makes a sweeping statement suggesting Israeli trickery with no evidence, writing that the Oslo Accords led to “fragmenting and segregating Palestinians even further to Israel’s benefit.” (p. 16, and also repeated on p. 75) In this narrative Israel duped the Palestinians, who were granted significant levels of self-rule under Oslo, into an agreement that harmed them to Israel’s benefit. Amnesty makes this serious charge without citing any specific evidence or explaining how Oslo led to “segregation” when the agreement did not require a single Palestinian to move. Amnesty further omits any mention that Oslo eventually led to multiple statehood offers for Palestinians in contiguous land in the West Bank and Gaza with land swaps comprising nearly 100% of the territory. In this video (see endnote) Chief Negotiator Saeb Erekat admits that the statehood offer was literally for more land area than the pre-1967 armistice lines.⁴⁹ Amnesty thus fabricates the notion that Oslo led to fragmentation and segregation.

29. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty’s usage of terms evoking apartheid are numerous and deliberate. In the Executive Summary it writes: “Some 90% of Palestinians with Israeli citizenship live in 139 densely populated towns and villages... as a result of deliberate segregation policies.” (p. 16) The canard of Palestinian living in high density, suggesting harsh living conditions, is common in anti-Israel discourse. However, the facts show that Arabs in Israel do not live in abnormal density; in fact, Arabs in Israel own more private land per capita than Jews (see Point 7). For example, Umm al-Fahm, one of the larger Arab-Israeli cities has a density of 2,200 persons per

sq km or about 25% of Tel Aviv and half of a smaller Israeli city like Herzliya. Shefa-Amr, another mostly Muslim town also has lower density of 2,100. A broader analysis would show similar results. Amnesty's representation is intentionally misleading. The notion that Arabs live where they do in Israel due to deliberate segregation policies is libelous and without evidence.

30. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty considers harsher security checks at Israeli airports for Arabs versus Jews evidence of discrimination and an important item evidencing apartheid, mentioned in the Executive Summary (p. 20) and again on page 96. Ideally, all persons of all ethnicities and nationalities would be treated exactly the same when it came to airport security, but this is unfortunately not the case in much of the world. This practice is not evidence of apartheid, but Amnesty applies the "perfection standard" for Israel. Did President Obama implement an apartheid-like policy when approving special scrutiny, such as full-body pats, to persons from 14 Muslim nations?⁵⁰ If Amnesty wants to fight apartheid it can focus on the "structural Islamophobia" leading to "detention of Muslims" at its home airport in the UK.⁵¹

31. OMISSION: Amnesty refers to "1948" throughout the document, approximately 90 mentions of this particular year in the document. For example, in just one page of the Executive Summary (p. 22) Amnesty writes about Israel's actions "since 1948," how Israel "had taken control" of land "after the 1947-49 conflict," and how "in 1948" Israel instructed residents from an Arab village to leave. The major omission throughout the document is presenting the 1947-49 events and their outcomes as entirely Israel's fault. In Amnesty's false narrative, Jews implemented evil from day one to "enforce massive and cruel land seizures and exclude Palestinians from their land & homes." (p. 113) In Amnesty's world view, Arabs did nothing wrong at all and they did not initiate civil war in Israel after the partition plan was announced; Amnesty makes no mention in the timeline (p. 41) of the invasion by five Arab nations in May 1948. In Amnesty's narrative, Palestinians sat innocently in their homes until evil Jews attacked them and kicked them out – similar to an alien invasion. Amnesty gives no credence to the fact that the 1948 war was seen as one of survival for Jews. There is no mention that after 1948-49, Arabs still refused to make peace with Israel. Thus, in Amnesty's vision, there

should be a complete “do over” where all land, people and things should go back to how they were before the war started -- anything else is inherently Jewish apartheid.

32. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty claims in the Executive Summary that “around 50,000 structures were built by Palestinians citizens of Israel without a permit” (p. 25) supposedly to demonstrate that Israel demolishes Arab homes more often than Jewish homes in Israel. The same number is mentioned deeper in the report (p. 147) where the citation is a 2019 report by the Mossawa Center titled “The 2019 State Budget and Government Resolution 922.” The report offers no source for this number.

33. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes in the Executive Summary that between 2012-14, 97% of administrative demolition orders were issued in the “Arab sector,” implying that only 3% was in the Jewish sector, and thus evidence of apartheid. (p. 25) The number is repeated on page 148 but neither mention offers a citation. There is also no context provided as to why or how these orders were given.

34. ERROR: In the Executive Summary (p. 33-4) and again in Section 7.1.3 on “International Community Inaction” Amnesty asserts: “Indeed, for over seven decades, the international community has stood by as Israel has been given free rein to dispossess, segregate, control, oppress and dominate Palestinians.” This statement is an incredible falsification of history. Amnesty willfully omits the major efforts by the Clinton administration to achieve a two-state solution. Indeed, the Clinton Parameters laid out a detailed plan for Palestinian statehood offering what most observers believed Palestinians wanted: statehood in the West Bank and Gaza. Arab leaders from Egypt & Saudi Arabia worked closely with all parties to arrive at a final agreement for Palestinian statehood. In a revealing video, Prince Bandar outlines the decades of help Saudi Arabia gave the Palestinians and their support for the Clinton Parameters, and criticizes Palestinians for rejecting statehood.⁵² Prince Bandar called these rejections a “crime” and “tragic.”⁵³ Egypt also supported the plan for statehood and ensured Arab world backing for Arafat to accept the proposal. Under President Bush the U.S. backed further plans by Prime Minister Olmert to offer statehood to the Palestinians on similar lines to the Clinton Parameters, which Mahmoud Abbas

rejected. Even if one wanted to argue that these plans were lacking, to simply state that for seven decades the international community effectively did nothing for the Palestinians is a complete lie. The “great omission” of Israeli offers for statehood is central to Amnesty’s narrative since this fact alone would demolish the entire premise of their report.

35. OMISSION: Amnesty’s refusal to use the word “terrorism” in the report, refusal to cite Palestinians violence as a cause of certain Israeli actions, and its portrayal of Arabs as only victims and Jews as oppressors is not merely an observation deduced from our analysis. Amnesty literally tells the reader that they do not intend to incorporate Palestinian violence in their analysis: “The organization has also documented violations committed by Palestinian authorities or armed groups against Palestinians and Israelis, which are not the focus of this report.” (p. 36) Amnesty self-absolves itself of any need to place Israeli actions in context, thus portraying all Israeli military actions as simple oppression and bloodthirst.

36. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty cites UN General Assembly Resolution 194 as evidence of “widely recognized... international human rights law” to support the so-called “right of return” and to consider Israel’s unwillingness to allow this flood of “refugees” as evidence of apartheid. (p. 93) However, when it comes to UN General Assembly Resolution 181 of 1947 which Amnesty acknowledges exists and which called for the partition of British Mandate Palestine into one Arab and one Jewish state, Amnesty cannot affirm this as international law. Instead, Amnesty conveniently writes: “...while the organization recognizes that both the Jewish and the Palestinian peoples claim the right to self-determination, Amnesty International does not take a position on international political or legal arrangements that might be adopted to implement that right. Instead, the organization engages with the reality of the existence of the State of Israel...” (p. 38) Since Amnesty’s entire apartheid thesis is predicated on the notion that a state that is “Jewish” is inherently apartheid, it cannot accept that a Jewish state was affirmed by the UN – a massive double standard. Of course, the truth is that General Assembly resolutions are not codified as international law, rendering the “right of return” as merely a desire, not actual law. Throughout the

report Amnesty presents the “right of return” as indisputable and settled international law, but this characterization is false.

37. ERROR: Amnesty writes that “Following the end of the First World War, under a League of Nations mandate from 1922 to 1947, Britain ruled over Palestine, a territory formerly under the control of the Ottoman Empire.” (p. 38 footnote 4) This is incorrect, as there was never a territory called “Palestine” under control of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, at no time over a period of about 400 years of Ottoman rule was there ever a territory designated as Palestine. The region that today comprises Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, West Bank & Gaza were all integral parts of the Ottoman Empire divided into administrative regions known as Vilayets and Sanjaks. None of the Ottoman administrative regions at any time conformed to the borders of any of these modern nations or any notion of “Palestine.” Following World War I, the British and French carved up the Ottoman empire and created new entities with new borders that had no relation to Ottoman geographic divisions. The borders of the British Palestine Mandate, which are often treated as “historic” and somehow sacred in today’s discourse, only go back to the 1920s. Amnesty incorrectly presents “Palestine” as a designated former Ottoman territory.

38. ERROR: Amnesty incorrectly states that “in 1922 the League of Nations placed Palestine under British Mandate...the area of mandate Palestine covered what is now Israel and the OPT.” (p. 41) In fact, the mandate was assigned to Britain by the San Remo conference in April 1920 and included Israel, the OPT and today’s Jordan. In May 1923 Britain separated what was then known as Transjordan and recognized its independence, effectively separated from the Palestine Mandate. Amnesty’s confusion with basic history is evidenced on a map it shows of “British Mandate Palestine (1920-48)” which provides boundaries for “Palestine” and “Transjordan.” (p. 43) Which date is it Amnesty, 1920 or 1922? Most anti-Israel sources omit the fact the today’s Jordan was part of the original Palestine Mandate and that historically and geographically, areas in the East Bank and West Bank of the Jordan river were both considered parts of the European notion of Palestine which was based on ancient Roman and biblical designations.⁵⁴

39. OMISSION: Amnesty's historical timeline (p. 41-2) is nearly as bizarre as its map of the region which excludes Israel's largest three cities (see Point 1). The timeline similarly omits and misrepresents key events, in particular anything that might indicate Arab violence perpetrated against Israel, following the report's clear mandate to always present Jews as oppressors and Arabs as victims. For example, the timeline says, "The Arab-Israel war in 1967, which Israel won in six days, led to Israel militarily occupying the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip." In this strange sentence construct the 1967 war simply was won, however, there is no mention that Egypt began hostilities with a military blockade of Israel's navigation in the Straights of Tiran, and it is well documented that Israel warned Jordan not to join the conflict, but they did so anyway by shelling Israeli Jerusalem. This led to Israel's response and capture of the West Bank. If Jordan would have stayed put in the war, the West Bank and East Jerusalem may still today be in Jordanian control. Amnesty also omits the Arab refusal to make peace in 1967 with the famous Khartoum Resolution where Arabs told Israel: "no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it." The 1973 Yom Kippur War where Egypt and Syria attempted to destroy Israel with a surprise attack on the Jewish holy day also does not make it to the timeline. But a line stating the Israel "bombed residential areas" and "demolished hundreds of homes" after the September 2000 Intifada makes it into this limited space.

40. MISREPRESENTATION: It has already been discussed in Point 13 that Amnesty does not use the word terrorism once in the entire document. One of the few places where Amnesty hints at some Palestinian violence is in the September 2000 section of the Timeline (p. 42) where Amnesty writes: "Israeli forces killed Palestinians unlawfully by shooting them during protests and at checkpoints although they were not posing imminent danger. They also bombed residential areas and carried out extrajudicial executions. Palestinian armed groups and individuals deliberately killed Israeli civilians by placing bombs in crowded places and in drive-by shootings both in Israel and in the OPT." There are several misrepresentations here. First, Amnesty makes a sweeping statement, without evidence, that Israel shot civilians for no reason, implying nothing more than bloodthirst. Second, there is no evidence that Israel simply "bombed

residential areas” in September 2000, which is a significant claim to make without providing specific detail and analysis (when and where in 2000 did this happen? It is not found deeper in the document either). Third, while Amnesty does allow that Palestinians killed Israeli civilians, they grossly misrepresent what mainly happened – over 100 cases where Palestinians strapped bombs onto their bodies, entered busy places like clubs and buses, and detonated the devices killing hundreds of Israeli civilians and injuring many more. The downplaying of the suicide bombings is a gross and deliberate omission by Amnesty to stamp out the notion that Palestinians have committed acts of terrorism for decades.

41. ERROR: Another deliberate fabrication in the Timeline where Amnesty writes: “In December 2008, November 2012, July 2014 and May 2021, Israel launched military offensives against Gaza, while Palestinian armed groups fired rockets from the territory into Israel.” Amnesty inverts the order of events, presenting rocket fire as a reaction to Israel’s military actions. In each case it was the reverse, Israeli actions were in response to rocket fire and military actions launched in order to end the rocket fire.⁵⁵

42. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “Palestinian citizens of Israel are subject to Israeli civil laws, which allow them to vote in national elections... but nonetheless deny them equal rights with Jewish Israelis (including to political participation)...” (p. 62) Amnesty does not explain how Arab citizens of Israel, despite being allowed to vote do not have “equal rights” as Jewish Israelis to “political participation.” Amnesty simply makes a sweeping statement with no evidence, of course ignoring that an Arab political party is a key component of the current ruling coalition.

43. ERROR: Amnesty states that the Gaza Strip has been placed “under an unlawful blockade” (p. 62) but is incorrect as the UN Palmer Report issued in 2011 clearly states in Clause 81: “The Panel therefore concludes that Israel’s naval blockade was legal.” Amnesty cites all types of UN documents in support of its fabricated narrative but of course ignores anything issued by the UN which contradicts its apartheid thesis. *The New York Times* published in September 2011: “Report Finds Naval Blockade by Israel Legal but Faults Raid.”⁵⁶ Other studies that actually cite international law show the

same conclusions. In the same paragraph Amnesty claims that Palestinians in Gaza remain “cut off” from the “rest of the world” due to Israel’s blockade.⁵⁷ Amnesty makes no mention of the fact that Egypt controls Gaza’s southern border, yet Amnesty blames only Israeli actions for Gaza being “cut off” from the rest of the world.

44. ERROR: Amnesty asserts that due to Israel’s actions, “those in the Gaza Strip have been placed under an unlawful blockade and remain cut off, under an official ‘separation’ policy, from the rest of the occupied territories as well as the rest of the world, without access to essential services.” (p. 62) This is a continuation from the prior point, but the rest of this comment contains several additional errors. Amnesty seems to forget that that the West Bank and Gaza were separated following the 1947-49 war and remained under the control of countries still at war with Israel, Jordan and Egypt. The separation of the territories was never part of an official policy by Israel. Gaza is not cut off from the world since Gaza has a border with Egypt that Israel does not control. Statistics from the Rafah crossing with Egypt show many 1,000s of monthly crossings. Amnesty claims that Gaza does not have “access to essential services” which is hyperbole. There is food, medicine, hospitals, schools and all manner of institutions in Gaza, with key health statistics above those of 100 countries.⁵⁸ Israel delivers about 1,000 trucks per day into Gaza with all type of goods.⁵⁹

45. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty cites a blog article by Rania Muhareb titled “Apartheid, the Green Line, and the Need to Overcome Palestinian Fragmentation” in footnotes 126 and 127 to support Amnesty’s assertion that “many elements of Israel’s repressive military system in the OPT originate in Israel’s 18-year-long military rule over Palestinian citizens of Israel.” (p. 62) Muhareb is a PhD candidate at the National University of Ireland who wrote these comments in a self-published blog article, with no citations, that Amnesty relies upon for sweeping statements about Israel’s actions.

46. ERROR: Amnesty writes that “Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem are denied the right to vote.” (p. 64) This is incorrect, as it does not distinguish between those residents who are citizens and those who are not as well as misrepresents rights

available to non-citizens. There are Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem who are Israeli citizens and they do have the right to vote. Those with permanent residency are able to vote in municipal elections. The topic of citizenship and East Jerusalem residents is complex, and a full discussion would factor in the fact that many East Jerusalem residents refuse to take Israeli citizenship. However, more and more have chosen to do so (at an unprecedented level in 2019),⁶⁰ a fact that Amnesty ignores.

47. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites a November 2020 ruling by a magistrates' court in Krayot that invoked the Nation-State Law as one of the reasons to reject certain school funding for Arab students. (p. 66) However, Amnesty deliberately omits a February 2021 ruling from a higher court that said the lower court was wrong in how it interpreted the Nation-State Law.⁶¹ The article on the matter noted that the judge explained that the Nation-State Law did not repeal other laws such as the Basic Law on Human Dignity and Liberty or the fundamental principles included in the Declaration of Independence and also quoted portions of the Declaration of Independence guaranteeing equal rights to all of Israel's citizens. Why would Amnesty hide this higher court ruling that happened well before the publication of Amnesty's report? Because the ruling contradicts the fabricated apartheid narrative.

48. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites Ben-Gurion from February 1948 to prove that he "openly praised the use of unlawful means to forcibly and cruelly change the demographic composition of the country to the benefit of Jewish Israelis by expelling Palestinians and destroying their homes and properties." (p. 67) The quote in question was said, according to Amnesty, after the Palestinians from the village of Lifta "had been expelled":

When you enter the city through Lifta and Romema, through Mahaneh Yehuda, King George Street and Me'ah She'arim – there are no Arabs. One hundred per cent Jews... What happened in Jerusalem and in Haifa – can happen in large parts of the country. If we persist it is quite possible that in the next six or eight months there will be considerable changes in the country, very considerable and to our advantage. There will certainly be considerable changes in the demographic composition of the country.

This quote from Ben-Gurion is one of the “go to” anti-Israel quotes (it was also included in the 2021 HRW apartheid report). It apparently comes from Ben-Gurion’s diary, but Amnesty did not actually cite the original diary, simply quoting from secondary sources that recycle the same quote. The quote does not evidence forcible actions, nor praise expulsion, nor indicate “cruel” actions. The quote notes the Jewish progress in the war and does not evidence any a priori intent of expulsion, which cannot be found in Ben Gurion’s broader words or writing. Amnesty does not explain that this quote came in the midst of war at a time when the outcome was far from certain, and Amnesty does not provide a broader analysis of Ben-Gurion’s thoughts on the matter. It reduces a lifetime of writing and words into one second-hand citation. While Lifta is mentioned by Amnesty as a key example of supposed expulsion by Israel, the story of Lifta is more complex and shows that the events in this village were war related, which is what Ben Gurion referred to, not part of a plan to remove inhabitants. Lifta was located on a strategic road from Jerusalem to Tel-Aviv, which was important to both sides. Historian Benny Morris explains: “Almost from the start of hostilities frontline Arab communities began to send away their dependents. For example, already on 3-4 December 1947 the inhabitants of Lifta, a village on the western edge of Jerusalem, were ordered to send away women and children (partly in order to make room for incoming militiamen).”⁶² Thus Lifta was not a defenseless village filled with innocent civilians who were expelled by Israel but a strategic site on a key road that was specifically set up by the Arabs as a site for its fighters. Many civilians were asked to leave in advance. The eventual depopulation of the village was a direct cause of the war and its use by the Arabs as a battle site along an important route used to enforce a blockade of the Jewish population of Jerusalem.

49. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty continues to claim that successive Israeli Prime Ministers since Ben Gurion have “have publicly stated their intention to minimize Palestinians’ access to and control of land across all territories under Israel’s effective control.” (p. 67) To prove this was the case for Yitzhak Rabin, Amnesty reduces the entire thoughts and actions of this leader to one quote from 1992-1995: “The red line for Arabs is 20 percent of the population; that must not be gone over... I want to

preserve the Jewish character of the state of Israel.” Despite the importance of this assertion, Amnesty did not bother to locate the actual source for this quote, verify it and place it in context. Instead, it lifts the quote from a book titled *Birth of the Nation: Strategies of Palestinian Women in Israel* by Rhoda Ann Kanaaneh from 2002. On page 50 of the book the author writes the same line by Rabin and cites *al-Ittihad*, an Arabic newspaper, from November 1, 1995. Rabin’s legacy was much broader than some 30 words broken into two fragments that Amnesty could not bother to track down to its original source and is an English translation from an Arabic translation of Rabin’s original Hebrew words.

50. ERROR: Continuing from the prior point, Amnesty is further mistaken as Ehud Barak and later Ehud Olmert offered full statehood to the Palestinians on approximately 100% of the West Bank and Gaza with land swaps to make up for the small amount of territory for settlements, mainly on the Green Line. How can these “Israeli politicians” be seen as intending to minimize Palestinian control of the land yet offering all of this land to Palestinians to establish an independent state? Amnesty once again relies on random and misrepresented quote snippets (see Point 14 as it relates to Barak) while ignoring major policy decisions and actions actually taken by these leaders.

51. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty provide a quote from Ariel Sharon from December 2000 supposedly showing that he considered Arabs internal enemies of the state. (p. 68-9) The quote describes how Sharon considered as a problem that 900,000 dunams of government land was in the hands of the Bedouin population. The quote clearly notes that the land in question is owned by the government, not by the Bedouins, and this illegal use of land is a problem – as it would be in any nation. Amnesty cites an Adalah newsletter from 2006 as the source for Sharon’s quote. Adalah cites a December 2000 article written by Ariel Sharon titled “Land as an Economic Tool for Developing Infrastructure and Significantly Reducing Social Gaps.” The article discusses how Israel can improve social gaps, not about confiscating Arab land. The original article was published in Hebrew in a journal called *Karka* (50:10-21). Amnesty certainly did not review the original Hebrew article, relying only on the

Adalah newsletter. This continues to demonstrate shoddy research, as each anti-Israel groups recycles the same quotes, compounding the error, and rarely examines the original source.

52. ERROR: Amnesty makes a sweeping claim that Israel, beginning with Ariel Sharon and continuing to this day, intended to “seize the lands of the Bedouin, to make them homeless, and to replace them with Jewish Israelis.” (p. 69) Amnesty reduces a complex situation regarding people with a semi-nomadic lifestyle into one where Israel seeks “to make them homeless.” This is a lie. Israel has made great efforts to move Bedouins into modern towns, building new towns for Bedouins – the opposite of making them homeless. For instance, *Haaretz* reported in 2019 on a new town to be built with 500 housing units for Bedouins.⁶³ Amnesty also mentions absolutely nothing about the new Arab party in the ruling coalition and major moves to recognize certain Bedouin villages, since Amnesty deliberately omits anything related to Arab participation in the current Israeli government.⁶⁴ While life for Bedouins can certainly be improved, the notion that Israel is making Bedouins “homeless” and replacing their locations with Jewish Israelis is preposterous and not supported by any evidence cited.

53. ERROR: Amnesty quotes Shimon Peres from 2009 purporting that he opposed settlements in the West Bank because of fear that this will lead “to enfranchisement for Palestinians there.” (p. 69) The quote from Peres as cited by Amnesty: “Israeli settlements in [parts of the West Bank] densely populated with Arabs... can lead to a threatening demographic change” that “places a Jewish majority in the state of Israel at risk.” However, looking at the original source shows that Amnesty deliberately removed a key part of the quote to obfuscate the full meaning. The full quote from Peres as reported in *The Jerusalem Post*: “Israeli settlements in territories densely populated with Arabs, which followed their attack on us, can lead to a threatening demographic change. It places a Jewish majority in the state of Israel at risk.” The actual meaning as reported was somewhat vague, but clearly refers to risk to Jews in locations where there have been a history of Arab attacks on Jews. The misuse of Peres’ quote is clear violation of proper rules of research and an egregious falsification.

54. ERROR: Amnesty falsifies a quote attributed to Israel Kimhi, the director of planning policy at the Interior Ministry in 1975. Besides the absurdity of relying on an old quote from an obscure official for anything important, Amnesty changes the meaning of the quote to fits its fabricated narrative. Amnesty writes that according to Kimhi: “one of the cornerstones in the planning of Jerusalem is the demographic question’ and that preservation of a Jewish majority would serve as ‘one of the yardsticks for the success of the solidification of Jerusalem’s status as the capital of Israel.” (p. 69-70) As usual, Amnesty does not cite the original source but another report, this time by NGO Bimkom, and copies the quote. The quote appears on page 19 of the 2014 Bimkom report titled “Trapped by Planning.” The full quote according to Bimkom: “one of the cornerstones in the planning of Jerusalem is the demographic question. The growth of the city and the preservation of the demographic balance between the ethnic groups therein were a subject for decision by the government of Israel. This decision regarding the growth rate of the city today serves as one of the yardsticks for the success of the solidification of Jerusalem’s status as the capital of Israel.” Kimhi says nothing about preservation of a Jewish majority and does not even use the word Jew or Jewish in his statement. Again, Amnesty violates the rules of citation and fabricates intent, masking their actions by breaking the quote into two parts and inserting words. This is the third instance where Amnesty deliberately truncated a quote to obscure it’s full meaning or context (see Points 19 and 53).

55. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty claims that for Israel the main consideration for Jerusalem was to “take control over the maximum area with a minimal Arab population.” However, as Amnesty points out (p. 70) without a hint of irony, and documents they cite show,⁶⁵ the Arab proportion of Jerusalem has increased steadily since 1967 – from 26% in 1967, 30% from 1970-85, and 35% in 2009. This data which belies the notion of displacing Arabs in Jerusalem does not seem to influence Amnesty’s thinking.

56. MISREPRESENTATION: Section 5.1 of the report about the Israeli intent to “oppress and dominate Palestinian people” contains many obscure quotes from various politicians over the decades. Of course, one can build a narrative with cherry-

picked quotes, narrowed down to a few words at a time, from one politician or another on just about any national subject. Every government has some more radical members, statements said flippantly or as part of election talk, or simply hyperbole. Amnesty consistently falsifies the meaning and context of quotes. Amnesty quotes Prime Minister Levi Eshkol after the 1967 war apparently to prove he too sought the “denial of economic and social rights to Palestinians.” Amnesty quotes him discussing the West Bank after its capture in 1967: “The security and the land are in Israeli hands.” (p. 70) In fact, this comment was part of a broader discussion by Eshkol about proposals “between Palestinian autonomy and an independent state in the West Bank.” The *Haaretz* article Amnesty cites for this quote explains: “In cabinet meetings after the end of the Six Day War, the proposals from the majority of ministers fluctuated between Palestinian autonomy and an independent state in the West Bank, with those who set the tone - prime minister Eshkol, defense minister Moshe Dayan, labor minister Yigal Allon and information minister Yisrael Galili - all in favor of the Palestinian option.”⁶⁶ The words “The security and the land are in Israeli hands” were taken from a longer group of sentences as follows: “I see only a quasi-independent region because the security and the land are in Israeli hands. I don't care if they eventually want representation in the United Nations. I started with an autonomous region, but if it turns out that this is impossible, they will get independence.” Amnesty grossly violates rules of citation by pretending the sentence began with the word “The” and eliminates the entire context of the discussion by Eshkol. The discussion that Amnesty cites that supposedly proves Israeli intention to dominate Palestinians is exactly the reverse – ways to get out of controlling the West Bank following the war with specific intentions for Palestinian statehood.

57. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty quotes prime minister Levi Eshkol in July 1967 saying that Israeli authorities “covet the dowry, not the bride” and claims this is “an apparent reference to wanting the West Bank without the Palestinians who live there.” (p. 70) Is this what he “apparently” means? The previous point shows that Eshkol leaned towards Palestinian independence. Can Amnesty honestly convey the intent of Eshkol based on a six-word quote and use this as evidence in a chapter showing Israeli intent to “oppress and dominate” Palestinians? Amnesty cites in footnote 186 a 2018 book

titled *The ABC of the OPT*, page 519, for this Eshkol quote. The book states that “Like many unhappy marriages, Israel entered its relationship with the occupied Palestinians in 1967, coveting ‘the dowry but not the bride.’” The book cites yet another book, *The Carrot and the Stick* for this quote, which cites the quote as: “you covet the dowry, not the bride.” Ultimately no source for the original quote is provided by Amnesty or the book it cites – but yet this is supposed to be key proof of Israeli intent to oppress and dominate.⁶⁷

58. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty claims that “Israeli politicians have made it clear that the OPT would not be allowed to develop for the benefit of Palestinians.” This sweeping statement is evidenced by exactly one quote attributed to then defense minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1985. He apparently said: “There will be no development [for Palestinians in the OPT] initiated by the Israeli Government, and no permits will be given for expanding agriculture or industry [there], which may compete with the State of Israel.” (p. 71) In footnote 196 Amnesty cites a 1997 book via *Google Books* (which only allows a limited view of certain pages of a book) titled *The Scarcity of Water, Emerging Legal and Policy Responses*. The book, which focuses on water scarcity and policies around the world, includes this Rabin quote in its chapter on Israeli Water Politics with Respect to the West Bank. The authors cite in footnote 24 a 1989 article titled “Water Rights in the Occupied Territories” in the *Journal of Palestine Studies*. This article on page 64 includes the same Rabin quote and in footnote 135 cites *Report on Israeli Human Rights Practices in the Occupied Territories for 1985* published by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign and American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. The report apparently took Rabin’s words from a *Jerusalem Post* article from February 1985 – which neither of the multiple sources bothers to provide further detail about, and Amnesty certainly did not track down. But this same quote, three degrees away from Amnesty’s source, is recycled ad infinitum as certain evidence of Israeli intent to restrict development in the West Bank & Gaza.

59. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty’s cites a quote attributed to Shimon Peres saying, “We are disengaging from Gaza because of demography.” (p. 72) Footnote 198 cites an *Irish Times* article where apparently Peres said these words in an interview on

Newsnight with no further information. This quote is presented as evidence that Peres supported Israel's "Intent to Oppress and Dominate the Palestinian People." Peres's entire life work is reduced by Amnesty to two isolated quotes from an undocumented interview in Ireland; the other quote in Point 53 has been shown to be deliberately altered by Amnesty.

60. ERROR: Amnesty claims that after leaving Gaza, Ariel Sharon planned to increase "efforts to dispossess Palestinians in the Galilee and the Negev/Naqab." (p. 72) As evidence Amnesty cites in footnote 199 a quote from Sharon (relayed by an advisor who said this is what Sharon said) that he "reached the conclusion that following the enormous investment in settling the territories, it is now necessary to settle the Galilee and the Negev." Amnesty falsely inserts the concept of "dispossession" despite the fact that the plan by Sharon was specifically to invest in new towns in the Galilee and Negev. The plan did not involve removing anyone from their homes or any concept related to "dispossession," an inflammatory word thrown in by Amnesty. In fact, the same news story in *Haaretz* discussing the plan noted that: "The government official stressed that the plan is not meant to prevent Arab villages from growing, and said that the Arab citizens of Israel have a right to live in the Galilee just like the Jewish citizens" – the stark opposite of apartheid.⁶⁸

61. DOUBLE STANDARD: In one of the report's most condescending and bizarre sentences, Amnesty writes: "An example of the overlap between race, religion and descent is evident in Israel's Law of Return, which defines 'Jew' to include 'a person who was born of a Jewish mother.'" (p. 73) This is part of Amnesty's assault on Israel's identification as a Jewish state. To Amnesty, even how Israel defines a Jew is problematic, suggesting that Israel's definition is applied in a discriminatory fashion, not based on ancient Jewish scripture and tradition. Does Amnesty suggest that it should be the one to define who is considered Jewish? Would Amnesty dare criticize Islam or any Muslim nation for simply how they identify a Muslim?

62. ERROR: Amnesty writes that in 1948 90% of privately owned land was held by Palestinians, a statement repeated four times in the report. (p. 74) This number is

absolutely incorrect. Amnesty cites in footnote 219 *The Iron Cage* by Rashid Khalidi, which on page one cites this statistic from a book by W. Khalidi titled *From Haven to Conquest*, which shows a map that cites UN figures based on British Mandate statistics from 1945. However, looking directly at the British Mandate statistics (*A Survey of Palestine*, Volume 1, December 1945-January 1946) there is no figure or estimate of any kind provided for Arab land ownership, since it was simply not known, so the 90% figure is a fabrication. Amnesty also does not disclose that the vast majority of the land was state owned (the Negev desert, which was vastly state owned, comprised more than half the land on its own) as it would show that both Jews and Arabs privately owned only a small percentage of the total land.⁶⁹

63. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “Early proponents of a state of Israel stated that they would establish a Jewish national home without undermining the rights of the native population, but this did not come to pass. Instead, as mentioned above, the establishment of a Jewish state led to the mass expulsion of more than 800,000 Palestinians.” (p. 75) Amnesty finds Israel guilty of “undermining the rights of the native population” by virtue of its very creation in 1948, grossly misrepresenting the events of 1947-49 as Israel simply, and for no reason, expelling 800,000 “natives.” Amnesty cannot find space to mention the partition plan to create an Arab and Jewish state, Arab rejection of such plan, launching of a war of elimination by Arabs against the Jewish state, and the fact that most Arabs who left the region were simply fleeing the conflict, they were not expelled. Despite near universal agreement, even in anti-Israel sources that Amnesty cites,⁷⁰ that many Arabs fled the fighting, Amnesty only notes expulsion.

64. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: “Palestinians in the West Bank are subjected to a military court system, which falls short of international standards for the fair conduct of trials and administration of justice.” (p. 75) Amnesty makes a broad qualitative judgement on Israel’s military court system but does not cite any evidence. They neither compare Israel’s military court system to others around the world currently or historically to assess if they fall short of international standards.

65. OMISSION: In what has now become standard practice in anti-Israel discourse, the statehood offers by Ehud Barak and rejections by Yasser Arafat, as well as the offer by Ehud Olmert and rejection by Mahmoud Abbas, are completely excised from the historical record.⁷¹ A stark example is where Amnesty recounts the details of the Oslo Accords noting that they were intended to be a “transitional arrangement” until further negotiations of a final agreement. (p. 79) Instead of explaining that Israel agreed to full Palestinian statehood on approximately 100% of the West Bank and Gaza with land swaps and everything that the Western nations say Palestinians want and that Arafat rejected the proposals, Amnesty skips over 20 years and literally in the next paragraph moves to April 2020 and Netanyahu’s plan to annex parts of the West Bank. The omission of the various statehood offers from 2000-08 is deliberate and egregious, but understandable. An honest accounting of this period would demolish Amnesty’s entire claim that since 1948 all Israel has sought to do is control and dominate Palestinian land and people. The words Camp David, Clinton and Arafat do not appear even once in the text of the 280-page report.

66. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty explains that in April 2020 Netanyahu planned to begin a process of annexing Israeli settlement in the West Bank but abandoned the plan due to the peace agreement with the UAE. (p. 79) Amnesty concludes the paragraph: “Although the annexation plan has been suspended, it offered further evidence of Israel’s intent to maintain control over Palestinians in the West Bank.” Only in Amnesty’s strange narrative is suspending a plan of annexation as part of a peace agreement with Arab nations evidence of intent to maintain control. An honest conclusion would have stated that when Arab nations demonstrate true peaceful intentions with Israel, the country will jump at the opportunity, similar to the handing over of Sinai to Egypt. An honest conclusion would have noted that Israel was similarly prepared in 2000 and 2008 to relinquish control of the West Bank and Gaza for Palestinian statehood in return for true end of conflict peace.

67. OMISSION: In a section titled “Gaza Strip” Amnesty offers some history noting that Hamas took control of the territory in 2007. (p. 80) Amnesty merely says that this happened “following Hamas’s victory in parliamentary elections the previous year and

the infighting among the Palestinian political factions,” but omits that Hamas seized control in a bloody conflict where 118 Palestinians were killed, including by throwing Fatah members off rooftops.⁷² This is in line with Amnesty’s deliberate whitewashing of violence committed by Palestinians, and Hamas in particular, as Gazans are only portrayed as innocent victims of apartheid. Amnesty also notes in this section that “Following Hamas’s takeover, Israel declared the Gaza Strip a ‘hostile entity’ citing security concerns” as if unreasonable, but does not explain that Hamas is designated as a terrorist organization by many entities including the US, EU and UK.

68. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes that Israel, citing security concerns, “imposed an air, land and sea blockade on it, preventing any movement of people or goods in or out of Gaza by air or sea.” (p. 80) Amnesty misrepresents the situation in Gaza, not explaining that Gaza has a land border with Egypt that Israel does not control. While Amnesty alludes to the Egyptian border elsewhere in the document, it is consistently downplayed and completely omitted in this section.

69. ERROR: Amnesty states that Israel used “mathematical formulas” to determine how much food to allow into Gaza, limited to what is deemed “essential for the survival of the civilian population.” (p. 80) Amnesty cites in footnote 265 a Gisha report from 2015 for this assertion, but the Gisha report, which makes the same claim on page two of its report, offers no source. There is no evidence that Israel mathematically calibrated food delivery into Gaza. Israel does monitor inventory levels to identify goods shortages, but these are not “mathematical formulas” for civilian “survival.”⁷³ (Amnesty omits that Israeli deliveries to Gaza are likely the first time in history that a nation delivered goods to a terrorist entity that publicly states its vows to destroy it.)

70. OMISSION: Amnesty writes: “...Israel only considers those who were forced to leave or fled in 1948, but not their descendants as refugees...” (p. 81) implying that the norm is to include descendants of refugees as refugees as well, and that Israel is violating some standard. In fact, the concept of descendant refugee status is not codified in international law and has been uniquely assigned to Palestinians only,

among all refugees in history. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) definitions, refugee status is not passed to descendants. Only under United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) definitions, uniquely created for Palestinians after the 1948 war, was this special definition created. Amnesty omits these nuances to paint Israel as outside of normal expectations when the reverse is true.

71. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes nearly a full page sidebar about how exemption of Palestinians from military service is somehow an element of Israel's apartheid, as it excludes Palestinians from economic benefits of serving. (p. 83-4) Amnesty downplays the fact that Arabs can join the military (see point 20), and many choose to do so. One can only imagine Amnesty's outrage if Israel *forced* Israeli-Arabs to join the army. In this case it's apartheid if you do, apartheid if you don't.

72. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty explains that Arabs in East Jerusalem can acquire Israeli citizenship if they desire but notes critically that they must swear allegiance to Israel, prove they are not citizens of any other country, and demonstrate some knowledge of Hebrew. (p. 84) Apartheid, right? Amnesty does not reveal that these are all normal and standard citizenship requirements throughout the world. For example, the U.S. requires an oath of allegiance that among other statements requires a person to "entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen."⁷⁴ But Amnesty's "perfection standard" for Israel considers this type of requirement as apartheid.

73. ERROR: Amnesty explains that Arabs in East Jerusalem can lose their permanent residency status based on Israeli "policies and measures" and contrasts this to "Jewish Israeli settlers residing in East Jerusalem [who] enjoy Israeli citizenship and are exempt from laws and measures enacted against Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem." (p. 84) The point here is nonsensical as it compares non-citizens to citizens (and further calls Israeli citizens living in annexed portions of Jerusalem "settlers") and ignores the fact that Arabs in East Jerusalem can and do obtain Israeli citizenship – as Amnesty

even points out elsewhere. Amnesty also does not explain what “policies and measures” it means, simply citing four NGO reports as evidence – two from Amnesty itself, one each from B’Tselem and HaMoked. Three of the reports are 16 to 24 years old, and the one from 2012 discusses a spousal citizenship ruling with no mention of East Jerusalem.

74. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty notes that Israel can cancel the residency status of Palestinians in East Jerusalem for “breach of allegiance” which includes “committing an act of terror... or an act of treason or aggravated treason.” Somehow, this policy is seen as part of Israel’s apartheid policies. The nefarious laws have been applied to 13 Palestinians from 2007 to 2017 and two more persons retroactively (p. 86). It is preposterous to consider a law that affected 15 persons over a decade as symptomatic of apartheid. Anyhow, loss of residency and citizenship for treason is the norm throughout the world. For example, the U.S. lists breach of allegiance, treason and participating in any attempt to overthrow the U.S. government as grounds to strip citizenship.⁷⁵ Eighteen EU states can revoke nationality for persons who commit treason.⁷⁶ Amnesty applies an inane double standard to Israel. Not mentioning how Israel’s law compares to those of other democracies is intellectually dishonest but a core tactic of Amnesty – evaluate Israel, and Israel only, in a vacuum based on a “perfection standard” of human rights and international law.

75. ERROR: Amnesty explains that Israel revoked the residency status retroactively against “at least two Palestinians for alleged participation in attacks against Israelis.” Amnesty falsely states that these were “alleged” attacks when in fact both of these persons were convicted and serving life sentences for involvement in planning and implementing fatal attacks against Israelis, as the HaMoked report Amnesty cites (footnote 309 and 310) readily acknowledges. Notably, the HaMoked petition to reinstate residency for these two convicted persons did not seek to dispute the convictions. These deliberate manipulations are in line with Amnesty’s mandate to whitewash all Palestinian violence against Israel.

76. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty considers it “profoundly discriminatory” that Israel has different rules for those who can obtain residency status, for instance for those with citizenship or other rules for nationality or location. In this example it refers to rules regarding spouses. (p. 88 and repeated earlier on p. 18) Again, Amnesty applies the “perfection standard” to label a certain Israeli practice as “discriminatory,” never bothering to compare various spousal citizenship and residency rules to those of other nations. For example, Denmark has strict rules for permanent residency, favoring certain groups over others for seemingly arbitrary reasons. As their rules state, residency rules are “relaxed” for those with “strong ties to Denmark” which includes having affiliation with a Danish minority in Argentina and belonging to a Danish minority in South Schleswig.⁷⁷ Denmark is known for particularly tough citizenship rules.⁷⁸ Of course, these rules disadvantage certain other nationalities, ethnicities and personal situations. While there are likely sad cases and seemingly unfair decisions, this is quite normal worldwide and sovereign nations are seen as having wide latitude on residency and spousal citizenship. These harsh rules and varying laws have not been considered by Amnesty to be “profoundly discriminatory” – except in the case of Israel.

77. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty discusses how Israel limits family reunification requests and discusses the outcome of 50,000 requests: “Israel granted requests only to those physically present in the OPT at the time, whereby around 35,000 requests were approved.” (p. 91) Footnote 333 cites HRW’s 2021 apartheid report “A Threshold Crossed” from page 190 regarding these 35,000 family reunification requests. HRW’s report cites this precise number from a HaMoked report titled “Israel Continues to Harm the Right of Palestinians to Family Life.” The first paragraph of the HaMoked report says: “Data received by HaMoked from various sources indicates that Israel approved approximately 35,000 requests as part of the gesture, but official figures on the matter were never received from the State.” Amnesty cites a source from two reports removed which ultimately offers no verification for this number. Amnesty should have said: “Unverified figure published in a HaMoked report.”

78. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty offers twelve lines regarding 5,000 Gazans who are undocumented and how terrible their lives are because of Israeli policies. (p. 92) As is typical in Amnesty's report, the smallest of possible injustices are seen as apartheid. Gaza has over 2 million people so even if 5,000 persons have been wronged it is hardly evidence of apartheid. In the UK, Amnesty's home country, policies related to 100,000 undocumented children is seen only as a "national disgrace."⁷⁹ Furthermore, footnote 342 which is the source for this number cites a 2021 report issued by Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor titled "The Gaza Strip: Undocumented Citizens." This 42-page report states this 5,000 number but offers no sources in their entire document.

79. MISREPRESENTATION: Continuing on the hardship of these 5,000 Gazans, Amnesty adds: "As a result, these Palestinians in Gaza still experience difficulties opening a bank account or making any bank transactions given that banking mechanisms continue to be linked to the Palestinian authorities in the West Bank and ultimately, to Israel." (p. 92) Footnote 343 cites a 2012 Norwegian Refugee Council report, where on page 73, the only place in the report where a bank account is mentioned, it discusses the case of one woman who had some difficulty opening a bank account but as the report concludes "She was eventually able to open the bank account." So even though the bank account was eventually opened, simply the *difficulty* experienced is evidence of apartheid. The report's source (note 298) is a verbal interview with this woman. Amnesty's complaint about banking is based solely on this one third-party interview.

80. ERROR: Amnesty inserts the notion that some Palestinians who are not properly registered are "prisoners in their homes" because they fear ID checks and arrests at Israeli checkpoints. (p. 92, and also in the Executive Summary p. 19) This section relies upon an *Al Jazeera* article that discusses how some Palestinians fear ID checks traveling from one town to another, but there is no mention or allusion to being a "prisoner in their own home." There is neither any mention of the concept that these Palestinians cannot leave their homes or move about normally in their towns. As is rampant throughout the report, Amnesty inserts and fabricates words and concepts that do not appear in the sources to amplify the "evil" actions of Israel.

81. OMISSION: Amnesty introduces Section 5.3.2 “Restrictions on Freedom of Movement as a Means of Control Over Land and People” as follows: “Since the mid-1990s the Israeli authorities have imposed a closure system within the OPT and between the OPT and Israel, gradually subjecting millions of Palestinians who live in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to ever more stringent restrictions on movement. These restrictions are another tool through which Israel segregates Palestinians into separate enclaves, isolates them from each other and the rest of the world and, ultimately, enforces its domination regime.” (p. 95) Over the three pages in this section Amnesty does not use the words terror, terrorism or suicide bombing (or other terms such as ramming, knife attack, etc.). Amnesty presents Israel’s restrictions as nothing more than cruelty and apartheid; the notion that these actions might be related to security is inconceivable to Amnesty. Amnesty notes that “Israel imposed a comprehensive closure system on the movement of Palestinians in the West Bank following the outbreak of the second *intifada* at the end of 2000” (p. 96) but does not disclose what happened at this time: over 100 suicide bombing attacks that killed hundreds of civilians that scarred the nation to this day, including the infamous bombing in the Park Hotel in Netanya during Passover that killed 30 civilians about 20 years ago to this day.

82. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “For Palestinians in Gaza, travel abroad is nearly impossible under Israel’s illegal blockade, which Israel imposes on Gaza’s entire population as a form of collective punishment... citing general security concerns, in the absence of specific, concrete and time-bound evidence. Indeed, travel through the Erez crossing is limited to rare exceptions... With tight Egyptian restrictions maintained on the Rafah crossing, Gazans must obtain official permits from the Israeli Civil Administration to exit Gaza. This has effectively segregated Palestinians in the Gaza Strip from the rest of the OPT, Israel and the rest of the world.” (p. 95) This paragraph contains several misrepresentation and omissions. First, statistics from one of Amnesty’s favorite NGOs, Gisha, shows many thousands of crossings through Erez each month. There were over 24,000 crossings in December 2021 and over 20,000 in November representing more than 2% of the Gaza population in just two months.⁸⁰

Next, Amnesty dismisses Egyptian control of the Rafah crossing as an irrelevant afterthought, thus blaming only Israel for Gaza not being able to travel to “the rest of the world” and claiming that this is “segregating” Palestinians. With a border with Egypt that Israel does not control, Israel cannot be blamed for Gaza’s travel restrictions. Instead, Amnesty should explore why Egypt restricts its border despite no conflict with the Palestinian people.

83. ERROR: Amnesty writes that “until recently the Israeli authorities banned approximately 4,000 Palestinian spouses” from traveling “abroad via Israel’s ports.” (p. 95-6) Footnote 361 cites a HaMoked news release from 2019 which discusses these 4,000 people (who are not specifically identified as “spouses”) but only notes travel restrictions at Ben Gurion Airport, not “ports” in general. While not a significant point, it continues to demonstrate shoddy research and subtle changes that are rampant throughout the report. The HaMoked release also notes that the Israeli High Court of Justice in the end approved travel for these persons through Ben Gurion – yet this approval is not seen as undermining this point that is part of the evidence for apartheid.

84. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty’s deliberate choice to falsely categorize both Arabs inside Israel and in the West Bank and Gaza as “Palestinians” all subject to apartheid creates internal contradictions which Amnesty cannot avoid. For example, it cites as discrimination the fact that Palestinians in the West Bank are restricted from certain movement that “Jewish settlers, Israeli citizens and foreign nationals” (p. 97) are not subject to. Amnesty avoids noting here that “Israeli citizens” includes Palestinians – so are these Palestinian citizens of Israel not subject to apartheid in this case? Amnesty concludes the section saying that “these restrictions on movement are unlawful, disproportionate and discriminatory as they only apply to Palestinians” – but this is not the case as Amnesty considers all Arabs citizens of Israel as “Palestinians.” The correct phrasing would have to be that they “only apply to Palestinians who are not citizens of Israel.” Amnesty does not like to make this distinction as it would expose that most differences in Israeli law are based on citizenship, not Palestinian ethnicity – but this would undermine the entire apartheid argument.

85. MISREPRESENTATION: As part of Amnesty's long section on Israel's limitation on spousal citizenship for Palestinians, Amnesty is critical of Israel's denial of family unification for spouses from Syria, Lebanon, Iran and Iraq all of which Israel considers to be "enemy states." (p. 99) Amnesty puts the words enemy states in quotes as if this were an Israeli claim, and not a good enough reason to deny family reunification. However, Amnesty ignores that Syria and Lebanon are actually technically at war with Israel due to their refusal to make peace ever since the 1948 war, and Iranian leaders regularly discuss the destruction of Israel. None of these facts influence Amnesty's analysis.

86. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty devotes about seven pages of the report (p. 98-104), including individual case studies, to how Israel limits citizenship by marriage. Section 5.3.3 "Separation of Families Through Discriminatory Laws" distorts Israel's rules as deliberate actions of cruelty for cruelty's sake. Amnesty claims that Israel's system "fragments and segregates" Palestinians, thus converting a common practice worldwide into one of apartheid. Amnesty notes that some of these laws were passed in 2002 and 2003, but does not disclose that this time period fell at the peak Palestinian wave of over 100 suicide bomb attacks that killed hundreds and thus security concerns informed these new citizenship rules. Footnote 380 cites a 40-page joint B'Tselem and HaMoked report on the issue which actually cites some of the Israeli court's reasoning behind these rules – Palestinians in the West Bank had abused family reunification laws to enter Israel to carry out terror attacks and the court presented six examples. B'Tselem and HaMoked of course scoff at the security needs, while Amnesty does not even acknowledge them. The fact is that every sovereign nation decides who can and cannot become a citizen, and it is not always fair – but it's not apartheid. For example, Jordan does not allow women to confer citizenship to their children, only men have that privilege – and this is the case in 27 countries. It may not be fair, but it is not apartheid.⁸¹

87. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty devotes nearly two pages (p. 103-4) discussing the case of Bassam Allan and his family whose East Jerusalem residency was revoked

when family member Fadi Al-Qunbar killed four soldiers in a ramming attack. There is no doubt that there is tragedy everywhere in this case from deaths to families disrupted, and Israeli actions can certainly be questioned for fairness. However, these actions have been upheld in Israeli courts and are based on a reaction to an attack that led to four deaths – not due to cruel apartheid randomly enacted on civilians for no reason. Once again Amnesty holds Israel to a higher standard than other nations who are not charged with apartheid when taking similar steps. For example, the UK passed legislation in 2014 that allows the government to strip citizenship from terrorism *suspects*.⁸²

88. MISREPRESENTATION: The reliance on short quotes from Ben Gurion to make broad statements about Israeli intentions is common in anti-Israel discourse.⁸³ Amnesty's report is no different. The report reduces the entire legacy of this Israeli leader to only three out of context quotes (p. 67, 105, 106), with no discussion of any kind or broader analysis of his actions or thinking on the matters discussed. Based on these quotes alone Amnesty evidences apartheid by Israel's first leader. One of the quotes is cited in discussing military rule following the 1948: "the military regime came into existence to protect the right of Jewish settlement in all parts of the state." Footnote 417 cites a 2005 book by John Quigley titled *The Case for Palestine: An International Law Perspective*, which cites Knesset Debates vol. 36 p. 1217 (February 20, 1963). Amnesty certainly did not look at the original Knesset Debates but evidences a key contention with just a few words from an unknown context in a 1960s parliamentary debate, twelve years after the 1948 war.

89. OMISSION: Amnesty writes: "In September 1948, Israel announced the establishment of military rule over those territories that had been designated to form an Arab state under the 1947 UN Partition Plan over which it had taken control." (p. 105) In Amnesty's magical narrative Israel just did this for no reason other than apartheid. There is no mention of Arab rejection of the partition plan, the launch of attacks by Arabs against Jews under Palestinian leader Haj Amin al-Husseini who collaborated with Hitler only three years prior, the invasion by several Arab nations, and Arab refusal to agree to peace with Israel after the war. Furthermore, if Amnesty

considers the Arab state that was to be formed under the partition plan as legitimate, then logically the Jewish state formed under the same plan is also legitimate.

90. OMISSION: Amnesty's section 5.3.4 on "Use of Military Rule" criticizes the military administration and rule following the 1948 war. (p. 105) Amnesty explains that Israel restricted the movement of Palestinians, enforced night-time curfews and excluded Palestinians from security-related jobs under "the pretext of emergency." Amnesty deliberately omits that it was Arabs inside the Palestine Mandate who initiated hostilities. Arab nations used the language of elimination when invading the new Israel and refused to negotiate a peace agreement post-war, deliberately maintaining an official state of war. Thus, the state of emergency was hardly a pretext. Three years after 40% of Jews were exterminated, military rule was necessary to protect against a state of hostility that Arabs maintained against Israel on four borders. But to Amnesty this is all illegitimate reasoning, merely a cover to establish apartheid policies. Amnesty indirectly reveals that military rule was in fact a security need, not Jewish dominated apartheid, as it acknowledges that Circassians and Druze were treated more favorably since "some of them fought alongside Israeli forces."

91. ERROR: Amnesty writes: "More than 1,800 military orders continue to control and restrict all aspects of the lives of Palestinians in the West Bank: their livelihood, status, movement and access to natural resources...and enjoyment of their rights to freedom of expression..." (p. 107) This is false as the Oslo Accords grant full control of civil affairs to the Palestinian Authority (PA) over more than 90% of Palestinians in the West Bank. Israel does not control the livelihood of Palestinians who hold jobs in all sectors, and does not limit freedom of expression; this is clearly demonstrated by PA state television which regularly rails against Israel and promotes violence against "Zionists."⁸⁴

92. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty writes: "The [Israeli] military justice system has a very high conviction rate... for 2010 99.74% of cases heard in military courts in the occupied West Bank ended in conviction." (p. 107) Other statistics since 1967 shows the conviction rate at 95%.⁸⁵ The Implication is that Israel's courts are a sham, as

would be expected in an apartheid regime. But is this conviction rate high or low? Of course, Amnesty only considers Israel in a vacuum. All courts are generally mandated only to bring cases to trial that are certain to be won – and this is even more so the case in military courts. Pew Research Center data shows that in 2019 US federal prosecutors had a 99.6% conviction rate for about 80,000 cases.⁸⁶ A recent article in *The Wall Street Journal* noted that “99% of criminal defendants in Japan are convicted.”⁸⁷

93. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty asserts that 800,000 Palestinians have been arrested by Israel since 1967 (p. 108). Footnote 443 cites a 2016 Addameer report which offers no source, but let’s assume it’s accurate. The number is deliberately cited as an aggregate total since the annual rate of 14,500 per year out of millions is not alarming. In the next paragraph Amnesty reveals that 4,236 Palestinians are in Israeli prisons as of May 2020 or 0.15% of the West Bank population. Once again Amnesty assesses these numbers in a vacuum. The U.S. black incarceration rate is about 1.1%⁸⁸ or more than 7 times the rate of Palestinians. Australia’s incarceration rates for Aboriginal persons is among the highest in the world for a minority population with about 12,456 in prisons in 2020,⁸⁹ which comes to a rate of approximately 1.6% -- more than *10 times* the rate of Palestinians. Amnesty may find apartheid practices in Australia, where White Australians dominate Aboriginal people after taking sovereignty over a continent they ruled for 80,000 years. In fact, the story on Palestinian incarceration rates should be that they are remarkably low given the nature of the multi-year conflict, which does not exist in the U.S. or Australia.

94. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “In addition, the representation of Palestinian citizens of Israel in the decision-making process, primarily in the Knesset, has been restricted and undermined by an array of Israeli laws and policies.” (p. 108) Amnesty further claims that the raising of the electoral threshold from 2% to 3.25% considerably weakens “the right to political participation of non-Jewish minorities.” (p. 109) There is no mention anywhere in the entire report that for the first time in history an Arab-Muslim party was instrumental in the formation and ongoing success of the ruling coalition government. Amnesty grossly misrepresents the participation of Arab-

Israelis in the Knesset with this deliberate omission, which would undermine their entire argument of lack of political participation for Arab-Israelis.

95. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty see apartheid in every Israeli action. Amnesty notes that “Israel’s constitutional law prevents Israeli citizens from challenging the definition of Israel as a Jewish state.” (p. 108) This speaks again to Amnesty’s refusal to accept that Israel can self-define itself as Jewish while having no problem with numerous Christian and Muslim states doing the same. Would Amnesty suggest as racist that citizens of Muslim states cannot challenge the definition of such state as Muslim? It is doubtful many citizens in these places would even try such a stunt since 40% of all nations have blasphemy laws.⁹⁰ Does Amnesty see apartheid in these 79 nations that can prosecute you for even speaking poorly about the primary national religion?

96. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty continues its assault on the fact that Israel identifies as a Jewish state. It notes that “the 1992 Law on Political Parties prohibits the registration of any party whose goals or actions deny either directly or indirectly ‘the existence of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state’... These provisions prevent Palestinian lawmakers from challenging laws that codify Jewish Israeli domination over the Palestinian minority” (p. 108). Amnesty would never write, for example, that Egypt prohibits Coptic lawmakers from challenging Egypt as an Arab Muslim state thereby preventing Copts from challenging Muslim Arab domination over the Copt minority. It is accepted worldwide that states can self define by religion or ethnicity and still be considered democracies – but not for Jews under Amnesty’s “perfection standard.”

97. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty continues to misrepresent Arab participation in the Knesset, noting that some members have faced judicial harassment “for expressing popular resistance to the Israeli occupation” among other things. (p. 109) Footnote 454 cites an article from *Electronic Intifada* regarding former MK Azmi Bishara. Amnesty fails to disclose that Bishara was suspected of treason and

espionage, for allegedly having aided Hezbollah during the Second Lebanon War in July and August 2006.⁹¹ Bishara fled the country before he could be tried.

98. ERROR: Amnesty cites as discrimination an incident from 2016 when three Arab MKs were suspended for meeting with families of terrorists killed after killing Israeli civilians. Amnesty contrasts this to “Jewish members of the Knesset [who] have not faced such repercussions for meeting Jewish civilians who carried out violent attacks against Palestinians.” (p. 109) Footnote 455 cites a 2019 Amnesty report titled “Elected but Restricted” which on page 14 mentions an incident regarding MK Ayelet Shaked. Amnesty cites in footnote 46 a *+972 Magazine* article from 2016 titled “Jewish politicians meet with terrorist families too” which cites a 2015 *The Forward* article where the original story was written.⁹² According to the report, Ayelet Shaked in her official capacity as Justice Minister met with the mother and lawyer of an Israeli-American teen held in custody. Importantly, the teen was *suspected* but not convicted of an attack. So, the *one* example of how a Jewish MK was treated differently than Arab ones is a falsified analogy; the teen was only a suspect and Shaked met the boy and his lawyer while fulfilling her active duty as a Justice Minister.

99. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty asserts that “The Knesset also regularly disqualifies bills related to Palestinians’ rights or political aspirations in Israel.” (p. 109) The “aspiration” in question for the one case Amnesty cites as evidence for what is claimed to be a “regular” occurrence was to eliminate the identification of Israel as a Jewish state. Amnesty cites a 2018 incident where Arab MKs proposed a bill to alter the Nation-State Law. The Knesset Presidium voted against allowing the bill to pass to the next step by a vote of 7-2. Amnesty presents this as evidence of apartheid and suggest that the Knesset illegally disqualifies bills put forth by Arabs. Amnesty misrepresents the truth as the Knesset action was done legally under parliamentary rules common worldwide. Simply because the bill did not get voted to the next stage is not evidence of apartheid.

100. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes about protests in 2000, 2008 and 2021 where Israeli authorities supposedly mistreated Arab protestors. (p. 110) Amnesty details

protests against the Gaza war in 2008 during which 832 protesters were arrested. Amnesty states that 80% of the detainees, who were overwhelmingly Palestinian, were denied bail while no Jewish protester was held without bail – this is apparently an example of apartheid. Footnote 462 cites an Adalah report from 2011 which cites yet another Adalah report for the statistics, but ultimately offers no source. The disparity is easily explained by the fact that the vast majority of protestors were Arab (see Point 102). Amnesty provides no verified source and offers a specious conclusion.

101. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty claims that Israel “tortured” detainees in May 2021 protests about the evictions in Sheikh Jarrah. Footnote 463 cites an Amnesty report from June 2021. In this report Amnesty writes: “Amnesty International also documented torture... An eyewitness said they saw special forces beating a group of at least eight bound detainees who had been arrested at a protest.” (p. 110) Based on this unverified and uncorroborated statement by Amnesty, Israel is accused of torturing detainees.⁹³

102. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty misrepresents the protests and rioting that took place inside Israel among Arabs and Jews in May 2021, presenting a wholly one-side view of the events with unsubstantiated claims. (p. 110-1) First, it claims that Israel launched Operation Law and Order “primarily targeting Palestinian protestors” but provides no evidence it was launched with a goal focused on Arabs. The Israeli Ministry of Security and media noted the operation was meant to stop violence nationwide; stating that it primarily targeted Palestinian protestors is speculation. Amnesty also claims without evidence that the operation was aimed at “settling scores” suggesting it was not merely to stop violence but to proactively and deliberately harm innocent Arabs. Footnote 464 cites Amnesty’s own June 2021 report on the topic which claims that “Israeli media” said the operation aimed to “settle scores” but does not cite which media and when. Thus, a serious charge about the intentions of Israeli actions are nothing more than “we say so.” Amnesty also does not disclose that Arab violence against Jews far exceeded the reverse, which explains why 90% of those arrested were Arabs; Amnesty simply pretends the numbers prove apartheid. As reported in Israeli media, between May 11-16 Arab rioters set fire to 10

synagogues, 112 Jewish homes and 849 Jewish-owned cars, in addition to significant looting. In contrast Jewish rioters did not burn down any mosques, no Arab homes were reported looted, 13 Arab properties were damaged and 13 Arab-owned cars burned. In two pages of detailed statistics, Amnesty did not find room to state these facts which contradict their demonizing narrative.⁹⁴

103. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty claims that Israel “over the years has arrested scores of Palestinians lawmakers... prosecuting them in military courts in trials that fail to meet international standard.” (p. 111) Amnesty does not cite a source for this sweeping claim of Israeli wrongdoing, does not cite an example of any such case and does not compare a trial to another international trial to demonstrate that it did not meet a certain standard. These types of grand claims of Israeli malfeasance, all of course part of apartheid, without analyzing how they compare to international norms is a core feature of the report.

104. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “Palestinians in East Jerusalem... are neither able to participate in political life in Israel nor in the West Bank. Although they can vote and run in municipal elections in Jerusalem, they have traditionally boycotted them in protest at Israel’s ongoing occupation and illegal annexation of East Jerusalem, and they remain excluded from national elections.” (p. 111) This statement is false in two ways, as many Palestinians in East Jerusalem are Israeli citizens and thus eligible for national elections. Many choose not to obtain citizenship as it is seen as taboo, however, more have obtained citizenship in recent years and tens of thousands hold citizenship.⁹⁵ It is also not correct that Palestinians in East Jerusalem are excluded from “political life” in the West Bank. As reported in April 2021, “Most Palestinians in East Jerusalem will be able to vote in the upcoming Palestinian elections.”⁹⁶

105. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “The Israeli authorities prevent any Palestinian political presence, including campaigning, in East Jerusalem, and have opposed Palestinian general elections being held in the city, despite this being guaranteed under the Oslo Accords.” (p. 111) Amnesty is incorrect, as this right is not guaranteed under Oslo. Amnesty may not like what was agreed to in Oslo, but the agreement does not say

what Amnesty claims. According to Oslo: "Palestinian residents of Jerusalem will be able to participate in the elections according to special arrangements detailed in the agreement. The voting will take place in localities outside Jerusalem; however, a number of Palestinian residents of Jerusalem will be able to vote by means of special envelopes which will be sent from post offices in Jerusalem to the Central Elections Committee. A Palestinian with a Jerusalem address who wishes to stand for election to the Palestinian Council will be able to do so only if he or she has an additional valid address in the West Bank or the Gaza Strip."⁹⁷ Israel has adhered to the agreement on this point.⁹⁸

106. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty makes various false claims regarding Palestinian election rights under the Oslo Accords. Amnesty explains that Israel "arrested two Hamas candidates and dispersed meetings in Jerusalem held ahead of elections to the Palestinian Legislative Council" as another example of illegal Israeli actions and violations under Oslo. (p. 111) However, Oslo makes clear that Palestinians have certain obligations in the type of candidates allowed, such as that the candidate cannot "pursue the implementation of their aims by unlawful or nondemocratic means." (Article III, Annex II) There is no doubt that candidates for Hamas, a terrorist organization designated as such by the US, EU, UK and others, fail to meet that requirement under Oslo.⁹⁹ Since Amnesty omits the word "terrorism" from its entire document, readers are not made aware of Hamas' designation.

107. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes several falsehoods about Israeli violations of Palestinian elections under Oslo as noted in the prior points. Amnesty concludes: "As a result, protests remain for Palestinians the only means to influence Israeli politics and challenge the political reality in the OPT." (p. 111) This sweeping statement of the only option left for Palestinians is wrong on several levels. First, as is the case in several sections of the report, Amnesty corners itself by insisting on calling all Arabs in the area "Palestinians" even though the vast majority of Arabs in Israel do not. It is clear that Palestinians in Israel can "influence Israeli politics" as evidenced by an Arab-Muslim party in the ruling coalition, but we know Amnesty deliberately omitted all mention of this fact. Next, the whole Oslo process, which led to the Camp

David negotiations and offers for statehood under Camp David and the Clinton Parameters was a key opportunity to “challenge the political reality in the OPT.” Palestinians have had many other opportunities to negotiate changes to their political reality, such as when Netanyahu froze settlement growth for ten months, but Abbas refused to negotiate.¹⁰⁰

108. OMISSION: Page 111 marks the only mention in the entire document of Mahmoud Abbas, President of the Palestinian National Authority. The mention is only in passing regarding how he postponed elections due to the arrest of two Hamas candidates. The erasure of the current recognized international leader of the Palestinians in this 280-page document is in line with Amnesty’s presentation of Jews only as oppressors and Palestinians only as victims. Palestinians do not have agency in this document, therefore there is no need to mention its current President. Similarly, long time Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat is literally not mentioned at all in the document despite numerous discussions of history from the 1960s through 2000s. In contrast, Israeli leaders and minor figures, who are the oppressors, are mentioned regularly.

109. ERROR: Amnesty makes sweeping claims of Israeli evil in its key section on “Dispossession of Land and Property.” Several critical errors have been previously highlighted, most notably in Point 2, demonstrating that the whole section relies on fabrication and libel. The introductory paragraph asserts that within the country Israel has used “expropriation measures... under the Judaization policy.” Amnesty adds that Israel “does not completely block Palestinians citizens of Israel from moving to predominately Jewish localities...” (p. 113) Amnesty does not provide evidence that the Israeli government has enacted any type of “blocks” on Arab-Israelis from living in certain cities, a serious charge which demands actual evidence.

110. MISREPRESENTATION: In the overall discussion on supposed Israeli theft of Palestinians land (p. 113-124), there is a gross and deliberate misrepresentation by Amnesty that all land that was not legally owned by Jews was “Palestinian land.” It is common to see maps that purport to show how Palestinian land has been eroded over

the decades. The fact is that the vast majority of the land was not privately owned, and certainly not part of a sovereign Palestinian entity, but in various categories of government ownership. While there is some data available on Jewish land ownership prior to the 1948 war, there are no clear statistics on Arab ownership, so all numbers on this topic are rough estimates and extrapolations from other data. The best source of data, cited by Amnesty several times in their report, is *A Survey of Palestine* published by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in 1946. As outlined in detail in this publication, most of the land was classified under various Ottoman legal constructs, with little privately owned. The simple numbers outlined in this 1946 report make clear that most of the land that became Israel in 1948 was not confiscated from private Arab owners, but was merely passed along from Ottoman to British to Israeli control. Off the top, the survey makes clear that the Negev desert (which it calls “the deserts of Beersheba”) comprised 12,577 sq km (p. 257) which it allows, “there may be private claims to over 2000 square kilometers that are cultivated from time to time.” So, we already know for sure that about 60% of Israel today (which comprises about 20,700 sqkm) *was not* confiscated from Palestinian landowners since it was government owned desert. The survey then notes that outside of the Negev desert, some 3,000 sq km are “mountainous wilderness” which it asserts would be mostly empty state land. Next, the survey describes in detail another 1,560 sq km that is some form of public or government owned land. Adding these three categories together arrives at roughly 70%-80% of 20,700 sqkm that is *not* privately owned. The survey then outlines in detail private Jewish ownership of 1,588 sq km, and after subtracting areas in Gaza and West Bank, comes to roughly 7% of Israel. Other categories are nebulous with the British not quite knowing exactly the breakdowns, noting that some “will no doubt be found to be part of village land” – which is again not private ownership. Estimates based on these figures and other sources typically places private Arab ownership in the mid-teens percentage; propaganda cites figures in the 90% range. Yet, despite these easily verifiable numbers in the best source of information leading up to the 1948 war, the myth persists that Israel stole their land from Palestinians.

111. OMISSION: Amnesty's long, error filled, and fabricated discussion of Israeli land theft post 1948 war (as detailed in Point 2) notably omits any context of how Israel came to control the majority of what became Israel. Amnesty misrepresents the war as something that happened in passing and was deliberately waged against Palestinians to steal their land and dominate. Even one of Amnesty's key sources, cited about 15 times in the report and which is hostile in tone to Israel, Alexander Kedar's article, "The Legal Transformation of Ethnic Geography: Israeli Law and the Palestinian Landholder 1948-1967," includes some important context and is not totally intellectually dishonest about the history of the conflict. Kedar writes: "On November 29, 1947, the United Nations voted in favor of the partition of Palestine. The resolution was accepted by the Jews and rejected by the Arabs, and immediately following the end of the Mandate, the State of Israel was established. On the following day, seven Arab countries declared war on the State of Israel..." While Kedar highlights Arab refugees and the *Nakba*, he also acknowledges as a key factor (even though still downplaying): "During the first three years of statehood, Israel's Jewish population swelled as the majority of Jews living in the Arab countries as well as the small number of Jews living in the areas of Palestine that came under Arab control moved to Israel (due, among other factors, to fear for their safety in countries that were at war with Israel). Most of these Jews left their possessions behind and became evacuees. During this period, survivors of the Holocaust from Europe also arrived in Israel. The Israeli government adopted the position that the mass immigration to Israel, in conjunction with the mass exit of Palestinian Arabs, constituted a de facto mutual population transfer. In its eyes, this population transfer was similar to what had taken place between India and Pakistan during the same period and earlier as a result of World War II and the war between Turkey and Greece. In fact, as was the case with India and Pakistan and the war between Turkey and Greece, most of the new immigrants arriving in Israel during this period were settled on refugee land (in this case, Arab land)."¹⁰¹

112. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: "[In 1948], Jews comprised around 30% of the population and Palestinians around 70%. Within the relatively short period of just over 70 years, a deliberate Israeli state policy has reversed this situation, often

using brutal means..." (p. 113) This is a gross misrepresentation by Amnesty and willfully omits the fact that 850,000 Jews were effectively forced to leave Arab countries following the 1948 war, which happened to approximate the number of Arabs displaced in the war.¹⁰² In addition, Israel absorbed about 200,000 Holocaust survivors in the first three years of the state following the genocide of 40% of world Jewry. But Amnesty suggests that the absorption of death camp survivors was part of a nefarious and deliberate demographic strategy. Most anti-Israel discourse ignores this entire chapter in Middle East history and also ignores the impact that the Holocaust had on the mindset of Jews who were threatened with expulsion and death only three years after this genocide.

113. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty makes a similar grand statement of Israeli wrongdoing by asserting that Arab-Israelis are "effectively restricted to living in enclaves within the state." (p. 114) Throughout the document Amnesty falsely inserts terms associated with apartheid, one example was highlighted in Point 7. Amnesty also frequently falsifies the notion that Arabs inside Israel are packed, blocked from living in certain places and in this case restricted to "enclaves." Besides not defining what it means by "enclaves" (and showing how Jews do not live in such enclaves) Amnesty does not provide evidence for these enforced living restrictions. In the same section Amnesty writes that Israel "has segregated Palestinian citizens of Israel in a particularly cruel manner." Again, this libelous statement is simply a broad statement with no backing. Amnesty cites the Nation-State Law in the next sentence as evidence, but does not explain how passing a law which is merely a statement of national identity physically "segregates" Palestinians inside Israel.

114. ERROR: Amnesty devotes about six pages of the report to Israeli theft of Palestinian property under the Absentees' Property Law of 1950 (p. 115-20). As shown in Point 2, Amnesty's numbers have already shown to be preposterous. There are further errors and inconsistencies within the specific sections as well. On pages 115-6 Amnesty cites data from Michael Fishbach's book *Records of Dispossession* claiming that under the law Israel "took over... 59,000 apartments and houses, 11,000 businesses, 6,246 bank accounts." It's unclear if all these structures were taken after

the supposed razing of 500 villages which Amnesty claims in the next sentence. According to Fishbach's detail on the "59,000 apartments and houses" it is not clear that these represented abandoned refugee properties, although some of them certainly were. As Fishbach notes, about 47% of these dwellings managed by the Israel "Development Authority" were in Tel-Aviv-Jaffa and other towns – Tel-Aviv was a Jewish town so not all these dwelling were Arab. In terms of the bank accounts Israel supposedly "took over" the fact is that Israel quickly agreed to return abandoned bank accounts although processing took a number of years; in the end, 94% of account assets were returned, and the remainder was almost entirely due to lack of claimants. Amnesty admits in footnote 487 that "some of the accounts were later released by Israel" but hides the fact that Israel moved to return all of them and did so to all who provided proof of claims – thus the whole notion of Israel stealing Palestinian bank accounts is a complete fabrication. Fishbach recounts that in December 1967 a claimant was able to recover the contents of their safe deposit box in Haifa in the presence of Israeli officials.¹⁰³ Once again Amnesty leaves out critical information that in some cases renders their entire premise as false.

115. ERROR: It has already been shown that Amnesty presents a wholly one-sided version of the 1948 war (see Points 31 and 89). In another example, Amnesty writes: "In order to prevent the return of Palestinians and to use the available land, Israeli authorities demolished the vast majority of the nearly 500 Palestinian villages deserted during the 1947-49 conflict..." (p. 116) First, the number of villages that were destroyed is in the high-300 range as Amnesty's own source used several times (*Records of Dispossession* by Michael Fischbach) outlines in detail.¹⁰⁴ More importantly, villages were often destroyed in the context of war. As Benny Morris explains: "The reasoning behind the demolitions was simple: the Haganah lacked troops to garrison every empty village and feared that, should they be left intact, they would be occupied by Arab irregulars..."¹⁰⁵ Morris makes clear that some villages were demolished for vengefulness and to coopt for the Jewish state. Amnesty deliberately presents all Israeli actions as one-sided evil, ignoring the far more complex events that were characteristic of a brutal war unleashed by Arabs against the new Jewish state.

116. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty scoffs at the enactment of Emergency Regulations in 1949, immediately following the war. Amnesty writes: “The Israeli-enacted Emergency Regulations (Security Zones) of 1949 then authorized the defense minister to declare security zones and order people to leave such areas.” (p. 121) Footnote 521 cites *Access Denied* by Hussein Abu Hussein and Fiona McKay. Amnesty deliberately omits an important point that even this flawed anti-Israel book admits – the areas declared as security zones were “bordering the frontiers of Israel.” Why might Israel feel the need create security zones nears its borders? Because following a difficult war that led to the death of 1% of the Jewish population, Arab nations still refused to make peace with or recognize Israel. The four Arab nations with whom Israel shared borders made clear that they would not agree to peace or recognition, merely armistice agreements. A state of war remained between these nations and literally exists today with Syria and Lebanon. Amnesty misrepresents these important facts and dishonestly reduces the creation of security zones to evil land confiscation under apartheid.

117. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “The Emergency Regulations (Cultivation of Waste Lands and Use of Unexploited Water Resources) of 1948 authorized the minister of agriculture to take over uncultivated lands.” (p. 121) Once again, Amnesty subtly misrepresents its source cited in footnote 522, the book *Access Denied*, which says that the Emergency Regulations of 1948 “empowered the minister of agriculture to take over agricultural lands not being cultivated *due to the war.*” [emphasis added] Amnesty misrepresents an action that took place during war time and related to the ongoing conflict as unlawful actions that were already apartheid policies.

118. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes that under the Land Acquisition Law of 1953 “Some 1.25 million dunams were expropriated in Israel under the Land Acquisition Law, 137,400 dunams of which were expropriated from Bedouins in the Negev/Naqab.” (p. 121) Footnote 524 cites page 36 of a 2009 report by the Negev Coexistence Forum for Civil Equality (NCF) called, “The Bedouin-Arabs in the Negev-Naqab Desert in Israel,” August 2009. Page 36 of the report discusses infant mortality

rates for Bedouins and Jews and the land data does not appear in any other page either. A review of the source cited for much of this section, the book *Access Denied* (footnotes 521-3 and 525-31), was reviewed in case it was simply a footnote numbering error. The numbers were not found anywhere in this book. We did find the 137,400 dunam figure in a March 2008 HRW report titled "Land and Housing Rights Violations in Israel's Unrecognized Bedouin Villages" on page 14, but HRW does not cite a source either.

119. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: "Under the [Land Ordinance of 1943], Israel expropriated at least 1.2 to 1.3 million dunams of land from the Palestinian population in Israel." (p. 122) Footnote 532 cites an Adalah web page titled "Land Acquisition Law" that comprises three paragraphs. The number is shown on the website, but no source is given. The shoddy research and jumble of numbers led to massive errors outline in Point 2.

120. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites a case decided by Israeli Supreme Court known as the *Karsik* case, which according to Amnesty allowed an original owner to take back ownership of expropriated land if the public purpose that was to be served by the expropriation ceased to exist. Amnesty then claims: "Following the decision, and fearing the large impact this might have regarding land confiscated from Palestinian owners, the Knesset passed legislation to circumvent the *Karsik* decision." (p. 122) Amnesty misrepresents a complex case (the decision comprised 86 pages) in which it claims the Supreme Court said to give back the land, but the Knesset reversed the decision. In reality, the court ruling made it clear that the legislature was responsible for making the specific rules, thus the Knesset did not "circumvent" a Supreme Court decision as Amnesty suggests, but merely followed the ruling that placed the burden of the final law making on parliament.¹⁰⁶

121. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites a Knesset amendment to the Land Ordinance of 1943 regarding claims against land that was confiscated for public purposes. Amnesty says: "Adalah has documented that the aim of the amendment was primarily to block claims from Palestinians landowners to land confiscated from

them..." (p. 123) Footnote 537 cites a short Adalah news report from 2010 where it says: "In Adalah's view, the wording of the new law appears to have been specifically designed to prevent Palestinian citizens of Israel from submitting lawsuits to reclaim their confiscated land." Amnesty claims that Adalah has "documented" this assertion when all it did was provide an opinion with no evidence.

122. ERROR: Amnesty explains Israel "started confiscating large parts of land unregistered in the Land Registry by declaring them state land based on Military Order 59 of 1967 Concerning State Property." (p. 124) Footnote 545 cites a study by the Norwegian Refugee Council titled "A Guide to Housing, Land and Property Law in Area C of the West Bank." The document makes no mention at all of Military Order 59. More importantly, Amnesty falsifies the intent of Military Order 59, which was related to taking control of land that belonged to a "hostile state" and specifically land owned by Jordan which initiated hostilities against Israel in 1967.

123. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty's long litany of Israeli land thefts has already been shown to be nonsense, adding up to over 150% of the land area of Israel. But there is still more land theft being charged. In Section 5.4.2 "Land Title Settlement: Registration of Land Rights" Amnesty makes another sweeping statement: "Through the legal reinterpretation of Ottoman and British law and, in the case of the OPT, Jordanian law, changes in the evidentiary rules, together with minor legal amendments, the Israeli government was able to exploit the unfinished land rights registration process to appropriate further Palestinian lands across all territorial domains and declare them to be state land." (p. 125) There is no further explanation on which particular land and when this statement refers to; this is additive to the 150% of the land in Israel already stolen, since in this sentence it talks about appropriation in "all territorial domains" meaning inside Israel as well. The source for this particular sentence in footnote 552 is the six-page "Law and Administration Ordinance"¹⁰⁷ from May 19, 1948, which does not discuss land ownership, or anything related to Amnesty's statement.

124. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty describes the land registration process in the West Bank territory, stating that Israel suspended the process after taking control of the area in 1967. Amnesty states: “Over the years, the Israeli authorities were able to exploit the suspension of the land settlement process and non-registration of individual property rights to gain control over large parts of Palestinian land in the OPT, including in East Jerusalem, for the sole benefit of its Jewish population.” (p. 127) The implication is that by not allowing rightful owners to register their land, Israel effectively stole it for use by Jews. However, Amnesty reveals earlier that “following the 1947-49 conflict, the Jordanian authorities continued the British-initiated land registration process in the West Bank, mainly in the Nablus and Ramallah sub-districts and in the Jordan Valley. By 1967, only about 30% of the West Bank was registered under the land title settlement procedure, including 12% registered as state land.” (p. 126) The source cited in footnote 566 adds more information, writing that “Land registration in the West Bank began during the British Mandate (1920-1948) and continued at a quicker pace under Jordanian rule (1949-1967).”¹⁰⁸ Amnesty thus criticizes Israel for ending a land settlement process that was 47 years in the making under two controlling nations as somehow unacceptable and a ploy to steal private land for Jews – despite a five-decade period where owners had a chance to make their land claims. The numbers also reveal that only 18% of the West Bank was registered as privately owned, meaning that when Israel took control of the West Bank 82% was state land, which matches British data from their 1946 survey that showed that the vast majority of Mandatory Palestine was not privately owned. These statistics on land ownership in the West Bank completely undermine the argument that Israel “took over large parts of Palestinian land in the OPT” when in reality it was Ottoman, then British, then Jordanian state land.

125. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty presents a major Israeli initiative to invest in the socioeconomic development of East Jerusalem under Government Resolution 3790 as underhanded and nefarious – part of a long list of “washing” actions whereby good things Israel does is really a trick to mask its cruel apartheid. Some of the plans stated goals are to increase Arab household income, improve workforce participation among Arab women, improve education, etc.¹⁰⁹ But Amnesty writes the following about part

of the plan, which also seeks to settle land registration rights: "While some Palestinians could obtain legal ownership of their lands through this process, Israeli organizations have warned that the mechanism could be misused to register lands to the state or Jewish individuals claiming ownership over property... As a result, it could become another major tool of furthering Palestinian dispossession in the city for the purpose of maintaining a Jewish majority." (p. 128) Only a page earlier, as discussed in the prior point, Amnesty criticized Israel for "suspending the land settlement process"; now Israel is criticized for seeking to move ahead with settling "registration of lands." Either construct is seen by Amnesty as an effort by Israel to steal land. As documented herein in several instances, it's "apartheid if you do, apartheid if you don't."

126. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes the following regarding the governing council for the Israel Land Authority that administers state land: "The Council is made up of 14 members including the minister of housing as chair, seven representatives of government ministries and six representatives of the JNF/KKL, making it a national institution that explicitly privileges Jews." (p. 129) Amnesty misrepresents this council as somehow exclusively reserved for "Jews" by law. In fact, it is a government entity with members chosen by the government and there are no positions "reserved" for Jews. This contrasts with the House of Lords in the UK, where Amnesty is based, which *reserves* 26 seats for Christians only. By virtue of the fact that the large majority of the population is Jewish and is reflected in government and government leadership positions, the Land Authority will generally be comprised of Jews. It is similarly likely that European, Australian, etc. land departments have few Roma, Muslims or Aboriginal persons, yet Amnesty would never write that they "explicitly privilege White Christians."

127. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes that organizations like the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency were involved in the 1948-50s era "to settle Jewish immigrants in Israel, a use of state land which excludes non-Jews." (p. 129) Amnesty considers this basic apartheid seen through its warped lens, ignoring the absorption by Israel of 850,000 Jews pushed out of Arab nations and numerous holocaust survivor immigrants. These organizations were mandated to absorb Jewish

immigrants that doubled the Jewish population of the state in just three years. There were about 200,000 holocaust survivors in this mix.¹¹⁰ Was it apartheid to focus more on the absorption of a people who suffered the genocidal destruction of 40% of their worldwide population than Arabs at a time when Arab nations just ended their attempt to destroy the new Jewish state and refused to make peace with Israel?

128. ERROR: As an example of how Israel maintains “segregation in housing and residence based on national identity” Amnesty explains how in 2017 a “new Jewish town... to be built on the ruins of a Palestinian Bedouin village” effectively reserved admission to only Jews. (p. 131, and again covered in a sidebar on p. 224-25) Footnote 605 cites a 2017 Adalah report about the town of Hiran. However, this is not the case and Supreme Court Justice Elyakim Rubinstein in a majority opinion wrote against this practice: “This is not expulsion and not expropriation, but the proposed evacuation involves various proposals of moving, construction, compensation and the possibility of homes [for Bedouins], whether in the town of Hura where most of the residents of the illegal villages involved will be moved, or in the community of Hiran, which is to be built.”¹¹¹ Other Supreme Court judgements have also ruled against discriminatory housing practices, which Amnesty omits.¹¹²

129. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “By 2017, some 38% of land in East Jerusalem had been expropriated from Palestinians, most of it privately owned.” (p. 131) Footnote 607 cites a 2017 report by Ir Amim and Bimkom titled “Deliberately Planned.” The comment in question can be found on page five of their report: “Since 1967, Israel has confiscated over 38 percent of the area of East Jerusalem for the construction of neighborhoods settlements for Israelis.” Ir Amim and Bimkom offer no source and not only does Amnesty thus rely on a number with no end source, but it also deliberately modifies the quote to add that the land taken from Palestinians was mostly “privately owned” when the source report does not make this claim.

130. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty’s gross dismissal of all Jewish rights in the region (which matches its flirtation with Jewish history denial outlined in Point 12) is evidenced in its sidebar titled “Judaization of Jerusalem: Demolition of Mughrabi

Quarter.” (p. 132) This section discusses Israel’s removal of inhabitants living adjacent to the Western Wall to create the Western Wall Plaza in June 1967. By omitting all history and context of the Western Wall from the discussion, Amnesty presents these events as apartheid, and by using the condescending and ahistorical word “Judaization” to refer to actions related to the Western Wall supports the contention that Amnesty engages in “soft” Jewish history denial in its report. Other than the Temple Mount itself, the Western Wall is the holiest site in Judaism. Jews have lived in Jerusalem since ancient times. In 1948 the Old City was captured by Jordan who proceeded to expel the Jewish population, destroyed dozens of synagogues, and in violation of the armistice agreement with Jordan, restricted access to the Western Wall. The Western Wall area under Ottoman rule was deliberately held to only a few meters wide, disrespecting this holy site. It was thus reasonable for Israel, after 19 years of restricted access and 2,000 years under foreign control to create a large prayer and visitor space to accommodate the literally hundreds of thousands of expected visitors. The Mughrabi buildings were built only meters away from the wall, and in some places brushed up against the wall itself. At the same time, Israel allowed the Muslim Waqf to maintain control of the Temple Mount, which remains the case today and was in direct contrast to how Jordan treated Jewish holy sites. The residents who were removed were compensated.¹¹³ While it is reasonable to argue that Israel should have handled the situation better, it is simply not evidence of apartheid.

131. MISREPRESENTATION: Silwan consumes a material portion of the report, mentioned about 30 times and discussed in two separate sidebars, one of nearly two pages titled “Judaization of Silwan” (p. 137-8) and the second of about four pages with photographs related to home demolitions (p. 226-30). The home demolitions are cited as totaling 164 structures over nearly 12 years or about 14 per year affecting some 20 people annually – hardly evidence of the mass apartheid that Amnesty presents. As discussed previously, such as in Points 11, 21 and 22, Amnesty obsessively details over matters affecting perhaps dozens to hundreds of people while ignoring the reality of 2 million Arab-Israelis and millions of Palestinians living under Palestinian Authority rule in the West Bank.

132. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty continues its exaggeration of events in East Jerusalem to evidence apartheid. Amnesty writes that since 2001 an Israeli organization called Ateret Cohanim has been “trying, with the support of Israeli authorities” to evict 84 Palestinian families from the Batn Al-Hawa neighborhood in Silwan. (p. 139) There has been scant movement in these efforts, as Amnesty cites a 2020 report that these same 80 plus families are at risk of eviction and recent reports still show no actual evictions – 20 years after the effort apparently began.¹¹⁴ The seemingly unsuccessful two-decade process hampered by Israel’s legal system (or is it with the “support of Israeli authorities”?) belies the notion of government-sponsored cruel apartheid. The minutiae of these legal matters is beyond the scope of this document, and one could probably write a full document on each of these eviction cases. It is certainly possible and likely that some of these actions are patently unfair to the Arab residents, but this hardly evidences apartheid. Amnesty also omits Jewish history in Silwan, where it is well known that dozens of Jewish Yemenite families were forced out of their homes due to threats of violence during the 1936-9 Arab revolt. These types of events will never find room in an Amnesty report. One of the buildings that Ateret Cohanim has recovered ownership of is the old synagogue in Silwan.¹¹⁵

133. DEAD CITATION: In the section on Israeli settlements, Amnesty claims that settlements “surround” Palestinian villages and are “located on hilltops over Palestinians villages in cultivated valleys.” (p. 142) There is no evidence provided for these broad conclusions, with footnote 664 citing a website titled “The Vertical Apartheid” which similarly makes this broad statement with no evidence or citations. This website is particularly virulent, stating that Gaza is being “starved,” that roads in the West Bank are “Jewish only” (there are some road sections restricted to Israeli-registered vehicles) and calls Israel’s use of drones as “domination from the air.”¹¹⁶

134. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: “According to Kerem Navot, an Israeli human rights organization, between 1997 and 2012 Israeli settlers took over nearly 24,000 dunams [of Area C in the West Bank]... including 10,000 dunams that were privately owned by Palestinians.” (p. 144) The numbers appear in the report, but no source is cited.

135. ERROR: Amnesty repeats the common falsehood about Gaza's density, writing: "With some 2 million people inhabiting 365km², the Gaza Strip is one of the most densely populated areas in the world." (p. 144) With 5,500 person/sqkm Gaza is certainly not "one of the most densely populated areas in the world." Singapore, which is what some say Gaza could be if it chose peace, is 40% more dense and Bahrain is equal with Gaza. Most major European cities are far denser as some quick Wikipedia searches show, with populations of more than Gaza's 2 million living more "packed in" than Gazans. Tel Aviv is 70% more dense. When will the hyperbole on Gazan density end? Actual places in the world that may be considered among the densest in the world are cities like Lagos, Nigeria with 15 million people living six times more densely than Gazans.

136. ERROR: Amnesty writes: "In 2005, guided primarily by demographic considerations, Israel withdrew its settlers and ground troops and subjected the territory to a land, sea and air blockade, controlling all aspects of Palestinian lives within the territory." (p. 145) Amnesty makes numerous errors and misrepresentations in this one sentence. Israel did not withdraw from Gaza "primarily for demographic considerations" but as Ariel Sharon said: "This is a decision that is good for the security of Israel, its diplomatic status, its economy and is good for the demography of the Jewish people in Israel."¹¹⁷ All of these considerations are typically cited with security and international status most often mentioned,¹¹⁸ but Amnesty only cited demography. Next, Amnesty errs by saying a blockade began in 2005 when it actually commenced in June 2007 after Hamas violently took over Gaza and threatened Israel.¹¹⁹ The notion of a land blockade is also a misrepresentation, as Israel merely controls its borders like any other nation, it is not a "blockade," and Gaza has a land border with Egypt that Israel does not control. Finally, the notion that Israel controls "all aspects of Palestinian lives" in Gaza is untruthful hyperbole. Hamas controls Gaza entirely, for instance by diverting massive resources to the construction of tunnels and thousands of rockets.

137. ERROR: Amnesty criticizes Israel's use of force to enforce a "buffer zone" along the border fence with Gaza suggesting Israel's actions are unnecessary "when Palestinian civilians, often farmers or protestors, pose no threat to life." (p. 145) Amnesty whitewashes all Hamas violence and attacks on Israel from areas near the fence, fabricating the notion that Israel acts only against innocent people. Violence from Gazans approaching the fence is well-documented. In August 2021 a Palestinian shot through a hole in the border fence killing an Israeli border guard.¹²⁰ An Israeli civilian was shot from across the fence in December 2021.¹²¹

138. ERROR: Amnesty misrepresents Arab-Israeli demographic data to support its falsified apartheid narrative. It writes: "about 90% of Palestinian citizens of Israel live in 139 localities that control less than 3% of state land in Israel... By contrast, there are over 1,000 Jewish localities, with large municipal areas, that have developed infrastructure and low population density." (p. 146) First, Amnesty suggests that the number of communities is skewed in a manner that evidences apartheid. Simply looking at the number of communities without qualification shows that about 87% are Jewish localities – hardly evidence of apartheid when about 75% of the population are Jews. Second, Amnesty suggests that Palestinian land ownership is low, mixing the notions of private and public ownership. As shown in Point 7, Arabs in Israel own more private land per capita than Jews. Third, the notion that Arabs live densely while Jews live with "low population density" is false. The largest Jewish majority city in Israel, Tel-Aviv, is among the densest in Israel and there is no evidence that Arabs live in higher density than Jews.¹²² Recent data shows that the densest locale in Israel is the ultra-Orthodox Jewish city Bnei-Brak.¹²³

139. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty states that Israel has established more than 700 Jewish localities in Israel since 1948 but none for Arabs except for planned Bedouin communities. (p. 146) While the demographics of the country are more complex than new localities, noting the construction of 100s of new localities for Jews without mentioning the need for Israel in the 1950s to absorb 850,000 Jews pushed out of Arab nations and hundreds of thousands of Holocaust survivors (as discussed in Point 127) is negligent misrepresentation.

140. ERROR: Amnesty cites data from a 10-year old Bimkom report explaining that of 119 Arab localities in Israel (Amnesty falsely calls them “Palestinian localities”), 75 had “local outline plans” initiated between 2000 and 2011 while no update plan had been initiated for the other 44 localities. Amnesty claims that this lack of a local plan meant “prior to 2000, none of the Palestinian localities had been granted permission to expand, construction being allowed only within the municipal residential boundaries of the locality, despite the fact that the Palestinian population had increased 11-fold since the founding of Israel.” (p. 147) Amnesty next contrasts this to Jewish localities claiming that their plans allow for growth based on “an underlying assumption of future expansion.” Amnesty commits several errors and misrepresentations. First, the Bimkom document notes that 34 of the 44 localities that Amnesty says did not have a plan did in fact have a plan approved between 1990-1999.¹²⁴ Also, a 2017 news article from *Haaretz* states that “Nearly all of Israel’s Arab communities now have approved master plans,” thus contradicting Amnesty’s contention.¹²⁵ Second, the Bimkom report explains, contrary to Amnesty’s assertion that Arab locality plans did not allow for any growth in population, that planning did allow for growth based on “natural growth.”¹²⁶ Jewish locality plans apparently assumed growth beyond natural growth, but given Jewish immigration projections this is not unexpected. It should further be noted that the Bimkom report has no citations and bases its conclusions on comparing the plans of five Arab and five Jewish localities that were handpicked by the NGO – not a random assessment of the different plans. Amnesty clumsily uses data from an old and hardly scientific report and ignores more recent information to make specious conclusions purporting to show Israeli apartheid.

141. ERROR: Amnesty is obsessed with the situation of Bedouins mainly in the Negev, massively exaggerating and distorting the situation to evidence apartheid. The Negev comprises about 60% of Israeli territory and excluding the city of Beersheba, has a population of about 500,000, or about 5% of the total Israeli population. This sparsely populated desert area is given intense focus by Amnesty, which mentions Bedouins on approximately 34 separate pages of the report including four dedicated sidebars comprising about 18 full pages. Amnesty deliberately ignores the broader experience

of the more than 90% of the Arabs in Israel who have proportionate representation in some of Israel's leading universities (e.g. Technion),¹²⁷ proportional representation of medical professionals in leading Israeli hospitals¹²⁸ and growing representation in the army to focus obsessively on the complex issue of Bedouins. Amnesty also erases the broader experience of Bedouins in Israel, reducing them only to groups of oppressed minorities. For example, 1,500 Bedouins serve in the IDF and comprise important units of the army.¹²⁹ In this example Amnesty writes: "For Palestinian Bedouins in the Negev/Naqab, the buildings of whole communities have been repeatedly demolished." (p. 148) Based on numerous videos and photographs, the Bedouin structures are not "buildings" but tent structures. A 2021 article in the Middle East Monitor notes how Al-Araqib (which Amnesty discusses in a long sidebar) is a village comprised of "tents and structures" – not buildings.¹³⁰

142. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty seeks to prove apartheid inside Israel by citing Arab housing statistics that supposedly favors Jews. They offer a mixture of statistics from various sources out of context that don't lead to any clear conclusions. For example, Amnesty claims that Israel's "various policies" lead to an "acute housing shortage for Palestinians in Israel." (p. 148) Key evidence is a 2015 report that showed that Israeli Arabs needed 13,000 housing units per year, and cites a 2017 report from Adalah that only 7,000 units were being built, leaving a 6,000 shortfall. Is 13,000 a lot or a little in the context of 2 million Arabs in Israel? How many housing units do Jews need per year? Is construction of Jewish units versus the amount needed higher or lower? None of these contextual numbers are provided. There is a well documented housing crisis throughout Israel and the government seeks to build 280,000 homes in the next four years. With about 75% of the nation comprised of Jews, this leads to a 210,000 unit housing shortage for Jews, dwarfing the 13,000 need for Arabs.¹³¹ However, Amnesty did not conduct any research, merely cherry-picking out of context numbers from various reports without any true analysis.

143. MISREPRESENTATION: Another key datapoint Amnesty cites to prove apartheid policies in Israeli housing is that in 2016 the Israel Land Authority issued tenders for the construction of 49,903 units in Jewish localities, 4,152 in Arab localities and 5,528

in “mixed cities.” (p. 148). Without any analysis or context, Amnesty presumes this is apartheid. Excluding the mixed city housing, Arab tenders comprised about 8% of the total versus 20% of the population. It’s unclear how the mixed city housing is broken down between Arab and Jews, so there is no way to precisely assess the numbers. Is 8% versus 20% composition of Arabs in housing tenders in 2016 proof of apartheid? As the previous point demonstrates, overall housing needs in Israel are high, evidencing that Jews are facing the main housing shortage, not Arabs. Is there evidence that Arab housing tenders were unfairly rejected? Amnesty does not conduct any serious analysis simply reaching broad conclusion of apartheid with minimal data.

144. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: “Bedouin townships in 2008 had jurisdiction over a mere 1.9% of land in the northern Negev/Naqab region, even though the Bedouins comprise over a quarter of the population in the area.” (p. 149) Footnote 724 cites a 2008 HRW report “Off the Map,” the statistic is found on page 29 and cites a source in footnote 69: “I. Peleg, “Jewish-Palestinian Relations in Israel: From Hegemony to Equality?” International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, vol. 17, no. 3, 2004, pp. 415-437(23).” Dr. Peleg is a serious scholar with a PhD from Northwestern University. Dr. Peleg writes the 1.9% Bedouin land ownership number on p. 422 and cites a source in footnote 20. Finally getting to the bottom of things—what does footnote 20 cite? “Adalah website” with no further information given. Amnesty relies on a source three degrees removed which ultimately is not itself properly sourced and presents it as 2008 data assuming the HRW report is current, not realizing that Dr. Peleg’s article was written in 2004 and probably referred to even earlier data. Amnesty did not bother to find current and reliable sources for Bedouin land ownership data. This 18 year old statistic is meaningless.

145. MISREPRESENTATION: Further to the previous point, Amnesty compares the Bedouin land ownership of 1.9% in the northern Negev to the fact that “there are now more than 100 Jewish towns in the Negev/Naqab.” Again, Amnesty relies on unsubstantiated data from 18 years ago to make this contention. This statement is also meaningless, as it compares the total number of “Jewish” towns in the Negev built since the state was found in 1948 to Bedouin land ownership circa 2004. Focusing on

the number of towns for Jews built since 1948 versus Arabs is a willful blind spot discussed in Point 127. It also turns out that new Arab towns built by Israel happened to be concentrated in the Negev to provide modern housing for Bedouins. However, Israel's effort to have Bedouins move from low quality, unregulated semi-nomadic living in the Negev is also seen as apartheid as Israel was blamed for "forced relocation." (p. 149) Amnesty makes clear that Bedouins should be allowed to build wherever they want without hindrance regardless of land ownership or legality, and that Israel must then provide full modern utility and other services to these locations. Anything less is apartheid.

146. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty seeks to further contrast Bedouin actions in the Negev versus Jewish actions to evidence apartheid. Amnesty claims that "Most unlicensed Jewish buildings and farms built without outlined plans and building permits are retroactively approved or never face a demolition order," and contrasts this to Bedouins where these actions are apparently not approved. (p. 153) Footnote 762 cites a third-party NGO report presented to the UN in 2006 and on page 15 cites the case of approval to construct 30 single household farms that apparently were in discussion in 2001. This one event from at least 16 years ago is presented as the sole evidence. Amnesty did not even bother to provide a recent update on these "farms."

147. ERROR: Amnesty writes: "Israeli courts have helped entrench this discrimination through retroactively approving dozens of Jewish Israeli communities and farms, contrary to the same planning laws that result in the demolition of Bedouin homes." (p. 153) Footnote 763 cites a one page website from Adalah outlining "Negev Development Authority Law – Amendment No. 4" which was passed in 2010 and according to Adalah "provides legal tools for the recognition of all individual settlements in the Naqab, and gives the Negev Development Authority the power to make recommendations the Israel Land Administration to allocate lands for these settlements in the future."¹³² Amnesty mistakenly claims that Israeli courts retroactively approved communities and farms, but the website merely discusses a law that was passed and Adalah's claim that the law *could* be used in a certain way. Amnesty has not updated the status of this law since 2010 or outlined if and how this

law was used for “retroactively approving dozens of Jewish Israeli communities and farms.”

148. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites the case of a Jewish owner who received approval for an illegally built guest house in the village of Azuz in the Negev as the only evidence that somehow the courts approve Jewish construction but not Bedouin construction. (p. 153-4) The main source about this story is cited in footnote 764, a *+972 Magazine* article from 2016, which talks about this one case.¹³³ This lone incident has now been picked up by all the anti-Israel NGOs. In the next sentence Amnesty concludes: “An investigation by the National Unit for Building Inspection in the Southern District revealed that enforcement of the planning and building laws targets Bedouin citizens only.” This claim is supported by footnote 765 which cites a dual report by Adalah and NCF, and Amnesty copies the conclusion from this report: “The court’s dismissal of the case served as de facto approval of the state’s discrimination against the Bedouin.” It turns out this NGO report uses the same Azuz guest house, literally one structure, as the sole evidence to make this sweeping conclusion of court sponsored apartheid in the Negev.

149. ERROR: Amnesty discusses the preparation of a “local outline plan” for East Jerusalem which is necessary for obtaining proper building permits. Amnesty writes: “Although the Planning and Building Law of 1965 required the preparation of a plan for a locality within three years, Israeli planners failed to do this for East Jerusalem, leaving Palestinian neighborhoods there without a local outline (or master) plan.” (p. 155) On the next page Amnesty jumps to 2004 discussing the “Jerusalem 2000” plan which apparently covers policies in East Jerusalem. Amnesty falsely gives the impression that no planning was done between 1967 and 2004, thereby limiting construction in East Jerusalem. However, the source that Amnesty cites in footnote 780, a Bimkom report from 2014 titled “Trapped by Planning,” outlines “The Five Stages” of planning for East Jerusalem. For example, in Stage 2 from 1978-1989 Bimkom states: “very restrictive plans were drawn up for the Palestinian neighborhoods surrounding the Old City, and building permits began to be issued under Article 78 of the Planning and Building Law,” and Stage 3 discusses plans in

additional neighborhoods from 1990-2000.¹³⁴ While Bimkom derides all Israel planning measures as insufficient, it is false to state that no planning took place for Arab East Jerusalem prior to 2004.

150. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites the so-called “Jerusalem 2000” plan which is apparently “the first to include East and West Jerusalem in a single plan.” Amnesty claims that this plan discriminates against Arabs in East Jerusalem, stating that “planning authorities have already used it to reject at least two Palestinian zoning plans, maintaining that they are not consistent with the ‘Jerusalem 2000’ plan.” (p. 156) Footnote 785 cites an HRW report from 2010 titled “Separate and Unequal” which on page 49 cites cases in neighborhoods of Wadi Sul and Jebel Mukabber. HRW cites a UN report from 2009 titled “Planning Crisis in East Jerusalem” which discusses one of the cases on page 12 but does not cite an ultimate source. Amnesty has not bothered to provide any other information or context: What has happened to these 13 year old events? What has happened since then in overall approvals for different parts of Jerusalem? Has the Jerusalem 2000 plan been implemented? How much construction has taken place under the plan, in light of what is written on its website: “The new master plan for Jerusalem, called Plan No. 2000, is not yet deposited but constitutes the planning policy in the city. This plan does not have the power to issue building permits or permits.”¹³⁵ As is the case throughout the report, Amnesty makes broad conclusions using decade old information, not providing context or comparison, and not providing detailed data on the current situation.

151. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: “In East Jerusalem today, Palestinians comprise 60% of the population but only 15% of the land is designated by the Israeli planning authorities for Palestinian residence, with 2.6% of this land zoned for public buildings.” Amnesty contrasts this to Jewish settlement building in East Jerusalem. (p. 156) Footnote 792 cites an Ir Amim and Bimkom report called “Trapped by Planning” which writes: “Today, only 15 percent of the area of East Jerusalem (and 8.5 percent of the area of Jerusalem as a whole) is zoned for the residential needs of the Palestinian population.” The report provides no source. Furthermore, the point is vague. Do these statements suggest 60% of the population live in 15% of East Jerusalem? Or that for

new development only this amount of land is available? The lack of detail and context renders this point meaningless.

152. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “The deliberate refusal to approve zoning plans for the development of Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem has had a ruinous effect on Palestinian communities, making it difficult for them to obtain building permits.” (p. 156) However in the next sentence Amnesty contradicts itself noting “According to data from Peace Now, from 1991 to 2018, Israeli authorities approved applications for 9,536 building permits for Palestinians in East Jerusalem...” The issue is not “deliberate refusal to approve” but that approvals appear to be at a lower proportional number than for Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem, which were 21,834 over this same time period. Interestingly, the source for this information (footnote 793) shows that for 2018 more permits were approved for Palestinians in East Jerusalem than for Israeli settlements (841 vs. 780).¹³⁶ One wonders what the apartheid government was thinking that year. Without greater detail on the specifics of these permit requests, why certain permits were approved or denied, etc. these numbers are not meaningful.

153. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty repeats the canard of unusually high Arab density throughout the report. In this example Amnesty writes: “Palestinians live in underdeveloped and densely populated areas in East Jerusalem where the average size of a Palestinian household is six, compared to just over three people per Jewish Israeli household in Jerusalem.” (p. 157) Amnesty then states that this is a cause of “grinding poverty for Palestinians residents of East Jerusalem.” Footnote 796 cites a six-page fact sheet by The Association for Civil Rights in Israel which cites no source for this statistic, but the figures appear accurate based on other data examined. Is this really a symptom of apartheid? According to Israel Central Bureau of Statistics data Arabs tend to have much larger families than Jews, 4.6 person per household for Arabs versus 3.6 for Jews, and a third of Arab families were composed of six or more people, but that was the case for only 10% for Jewish families.¹³⁷ In Jerusalem, 47% of Jewish households have only one or two persons versus 13% for Arabs. Finally, ultra-Orthodox families in Jerusalem have a similarly high proportion of households with six

or more people at 40%, again contradicting the notion that somehow large household size is a symptom of Jewish apartheid against Arabs.¹³⁸ It is inane to look to Arab household size as related to apartheid.

154. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: “Around 100,000 Palestinians with permanent Jerusalem residency” live in areas beyond the fence forcing them to pass through checkpoints for various movements. (p. 157) Footnote 799 cites an Ir Amim report titled “Displaced in their own city.” Page 24 of this report states “According to various estimates presented below, these neighborhoods have a total population of up to 100,000 Palestinians.” On page 30 Ir Amim provides these “various estimates.” The first is from a Supreme Court petition by Palestinians where the court estimates 20,000 such residents. Some other studies they cite are 55-65,000, and Ir Amim cites an Association for Civil Rights in Israel report from 2014 estimating 100,000. Where is the source for the Association for Civil Rights in Israel number? It is based on a reply by the Hagihon Water Company to a petition about water rights for some of the neighborhoods in question that said the number of residents in these neighborhoods was 80,000. With no primary research and only various estimates from a third party report, Amnesty presents “around 100,000” as fact.

155. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “Area C is home to around 300,000 Palestinians in addition to almost all of the 441,600 Israeli settlers living in the occupied West Bank excluding East Jerusalem. However, Israeli authorities have allocated 70% of the land in Area C to settlements and less than 1% to Palestinians.” (p. 158) Area C comprises about 61% of the West Bank, therefore Amnesty suggest that settlements comprise 43% of the total West Bank, which is patently false. A B’Tselem report from 2019 noted that 60% of Area C is designated as “state land, survey land, firing zones, nature reserves and national parks” as well as allocated to settlements.¹³⁹ Amnesty falsely claims that this amount of land in Area C is for “settlements” when it is primarily under control of Israeli authorities, as agreed to under the Oslo Accords, and not for settlements. Settlements cover only about 6% of the area of the West Bank and conforms to the amount of land swaps contemplated in the Clinton Parameters and Olmert proposals for a two-state solution.¹⁴⁰

156. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: “In practice, Palestinians are only allowed to build on about 0.5% (roughly 1,800 hectares) of Area C, most of which is already built-up.” (p. 158) Footnote 803 cites a report from B’Tselem from June 2013 titled “Fake Justice.” On page 15 of the report the same line is written, and footnote 26 cites the source: “From a conversation with Alon Cohen-Lipshitz of Bimkom in a meeting on 26 December 2012.” No further information is provided. Who is Mr. Cohen-Lipshitz? His LinkedIn page shows that he is an employee of NGO Bimkom, with a degree from Bezalel Academy of Art and Design from 2001 and a master’s degree in International Community Development from the Hebrew University. Like many references in the Amnesty report, they cite a report from another NGO which cites yet another NGO, but ultimately there is no valid end source.

157. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty asserts that in 1971 Israel adopted Military Order 418 to deprive Palestinians from any decision making in land use. (p. 158) Amnesty does not mention any security needs related to military orders in the West Bank since Amnesty ignores all Arab wars against Israel and dismisses all security needs as a cover for apartheid. At this time in 1971 the Arab nations refused to make peace with Israel and maintained a state of war. Indeed, Israel came arguably close to defeat in the 1973 war waged to annihilate it on the Jewish holy day, Yom Kippur, in hopes of catching the nation off guard. None of this makes Amnesty’s historical timeline. Dismissing all security needs, Amnesty claims that this 1971 military order “consistently privilege[ed] the interest of settlers.” However, settlements were negligible during the 1970s¹⁴¹ so it’s a further misrepresentation to state that this 1971 order was created with any notion of privileging settlers.

158. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty states that “The Israeli Civil Administration has also avoided approving local outline (or master) plans of Palestinian communities in Area C, where 90% of Palestinian communities remained without any outline plan in 2013.” (p. 158) Footnote 808 cites a B’Tselem report that shows this statistic on page 15 but cites no source. However, it is true that Israel controls Area C as agreed to with the Palestinian Authority under the Oslo Accords and Amnesty is not offering readers

any new revelations. This was a political agreement that eventually led to offers for statehood at Camp David and the Clinton Parameters, and other attempts thereafter. The situation in Area C is based on a political and territorial dispute and will ultimately be resolved through a political settlement; it is not apartheid.

159. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty's inflation of the significance of isolated situations related to a few dozen families at most, while ignoring the experience of millions, is seen in the sidebars regarding Umm Al-Khair (200 persons), Khirbet Susiya (250 person) and later in the report, Khirbet Humsa (177 persons). (p. 159-62 and 231-33) These relate to contentious land use disputes that have been dealt with in Israeli courts numerous times. Khirbet Susiya, consistently described as a "village," is comprised of a few dozens tents and animal pens each time it is erected and removed. Since the 1980s, Israel contends that these structures were built illegally and has had them removed, with approval from the courts. Since then, this "village" has become a cause célèbre among anti-Israel activists and seen as an example of apartheid, despite the fact that no permanent structures have ever been built (B'Tselem's photographs confirms this).¹⁴² It has never been a "village" in the common understanding of the word (similar to Al-Araqib as discussed in Point 141), and comprises at most 200 persons out of some 3 million that live in the West Bank, who build many thousands of new homes legally each month (see Point 265). The temporary structures have been removed and rebuilt numerous times, each time knowing that the same outcome awaits, always with cameras at the ready to "prove" Israeli apartheid. The same situation occurs in Khirbet Humsa which Amnesty says has 177 persons but its 18 tents housing only 11 families were removed twice in one week in February 2021¹⁴³ – yet this comprises three pages of Amnesty's report while terrorism and suicide bombings are not mentioned once. These families are ultimately used as pawns to slander Israel; all the resources spent on this issue by NGOs and other groups would be better spent finding a permanent and legal location for these few dozen families.

160. ERROR: As part of Amnesty's deliberate erasure of the self-identification of Arabs in Israel, it continues to pretend that the use of the term "Arab-Israeli" is a

mistake on everyone else's part. In the section on "Segregated Palestinian Economy Inside Israel" Amnesty refers to an OECD report that discusses "Arab populations living in Israel." (p. 166) Amnesty needs to stamp out any use of the term "Arab" instead of "Palestinian" to refer to Arabs living inside Israel, so in footnote 848 it explains that use of the term "Arab populations" by the OECD "appears to reflect the category of Arab citizens of Israel defined by the Israeli MoFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]" and then reminds the reader that "Palestinians citizens of Israel make up the vast majority of this category." So once again Amnesty refuses to acknowledge that Arabs in Israel overwhelmingly do not see themselves as "Palestinian" and blames the Israel MoFA for defining Arabs as Arab-Israeli. Amnesty's condescending tone masking its own blatant fabrications here are incredible.

161. DOUBLE STANDARD: Few in Israel deny that discrimination exists and that the Arab sector lags the Jewish sector in most socioeconomic categories. However, while Amnesty sees all of these disparities as evidence of apartheid, when these statistics are compared to those of minorities in many Western nations, Israel is performing better than most. One example was discussed in Point 24. A fair comparison would actually undermine the claims of apartheid. However, Amnesty deliberately assesses Israel in a vacuum, under its "perfection standard" and dishonestly uses these statistics to prove apartheid. Amnesty writes: "average monthly net income per household in the Arab sector is NIS 12,700 (USD 4,097), compared to NIS 18,720 (USD 6,051) in the Jewish sector in Israel" (p. 167) – or 32% lower. In the UK, Muslim household income is 60% below the average British household, nearly double the Israeli Arab disparity.¹⁴⁴ Recent statistics show that the Muslim community in the UK has a poverty rate ten times higher than the national average.¹⁴⁵ Household income for Aboriginal people in Australia is 50% below non-indigenous persons.¹⁴⁶ The real story is the reverse of apartheid.

162. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites high poverty rates among Bedouins by referring to a UN report: "In its 2019 review, the CESCR expressed concern 'about the high and growing incidence of poverty' in Israel, including among Palestinian citizens of Israel, who include Bedouins. It also noted the high level of income inequality, which

is the highest of the 37 member states of the OECD.” (p. 167) Amnesty misrepresents the report claiming it was primarily speaking about Arabs and Bedouins. The UN report cited actually says: “The Committee is concerned about the high and growing incidence of poverty in the State party, particularly among older persons, Bedouin families, Arab Israeli families and ultra-Orthodox families. It is also concerned about the high level of income inequality in the State party, which is the highest of States members of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development.” (p. 166) The UN report is not geared towards Arab poverty, as Amnesty implies, but general economic inequality in Israel which affects all sectors, including Jewish ones. Income inequality in Israel is a known issue that affects Jews as well. What Amnesty omits is that more recent statistics from the OECD website shows that income inequality in Israel is now better than the UK, U.S. and Chile.¹⁴⁷ Once again, Amnesty’s use of statistics to prove Israeli apartheid fails when exposed to the most basic level of analysis. It should also be noted that while the UN report specifically mentions “Arab Israel families” Amnesty once again willfully distorts by referring instead to “Palestinian citizens of Israel.”

163. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites lower labor participation rates among Arab-Israel women, at 34%, versus 68% for Jewish women as evidence of apartheid. (p. 167) It seems laughable to criticize female Arab labor participation rates in Israel, the only country in the Middle East where Arab women have full democratic freedoms. As reported by HRW itself, women in Gaza are limited in their right to travel without a male guardian; is Hamas committing apartheid?¹⁴⁸ In Jordan the female labor participation rate is 15% and in West Bank and Gaza it is about 10% -- in line with other Arab nations like Iraq and Syria.¹⁴⁹ In the entire Arab world the female labor participation rate is 22%, so Israel’s rate for women is 55% higher – yet Amnesty seeks to use this statistic as part of Israel’s cruel policies towards Arab women. Amnesty does not disclose, despite it being mentioned in a paper it cites several times in this section of its report,¹⁵⁰ that the Arab female labor participation rate rose from 10% in 1970 to 20% in 2010 to 34% today – yet somehow Amnesty finds apartheid. The Harvard University paper cited discusses “cultural factors regarding women’s role in households and society that might be constraining their professional pursuits.” This is

evidenced by the fact that Arab and Jewish male labor participation rates are equal at 64-5%. As the same paper cited by Amnesty concludes: “The increasing engagement of Palestinian women in the Israeli labor market is particularly note-worthy given the historically low rates of female labor force participation among this community.” The real story is how Israel’s democracy has allowed Arab women to thrive in the labor markets at levels far surpassing those in the entire Arab world.

164. ERROR: Amnesty fabricates the reason for socioeconomic gaps between Arab and Jewish Israelis, claiming: “The confinement of Palestinians to poorly resourced enclaves, institutional discrimination and ‘outright prejudice against Palestinians’ are amongst the key reasons behind these socio-economic gaps between Palestinian and Jewish Israelis.” (p. 167) As shown in prior points, the socioeconomic gaps cited are actually far better than similar gaps for minorities in other Western nations – and most notably in the UK. Amnesty cites the same paper used for some of its other data as supporting its false statement – but the paper does not say anything about Palestinian “confinement” or these other reasons cited by Amnesty. They are simply fabricated conclusions.

165. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “Since 1999, Palestinian gross domestic product (GDP) in the OPT has effectively remained stagnant clearly pointing to the ‘suppression of human potential’ and economic growth resulting from Israel’s oppression and domination of Palestinians.” (p. 168) This is incorrect as World Bank data shows that GDP has grown consistently in the West Bank and Gaza at \$15.5 billion in 2020 versus \$4.3 billion in 1999, for about a 6% compound annual growth rate.¹⁵¹

166. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “In 2019, GDP growth in the West Bank was 1.15%, down from 2.3% in 2018, the lowest rate since 2012.” (p. 168) This supposedly is further evidence of “suppression of human potential” (i.e. apartheid) despite GDP growth in both 2018 and 2019. In fact, the only year below 1.15% growth was in 2012. One would think that such harsh suppression would lead to a *contraction* of the economy at some point, otherwise known as a recession, not seven consecutive years of growth.

167. OMISSION: Amnesty writes a one-page sidebar about Israel's limits on the entry of "dual use" goods mainly into Gaza. (p. 168-9) Amnesty notes that these restrictions are based on items Israel "deems to potentially have military" use but they do not mention the specific security reasons or a broader discussion of how Hamas coopts goods for military use. As is the norm for its report, Amnesty dismisses all of Israel's security concerns, thus presenting the "dual use" limitations as nothing more than cruel apartheid. A May 2021 article from *The New York Times* discusses how Hamas uses water pipes to build an arsenal of 30,000 rockets.¹⁵² Hamas even released a propaganda video showing how it digs up water pipes for military purposes.¹⁵³ It is well known that Hamas uses massive quantities of cement to build its tunnel complex, which it openly boasted about in a recent *Al-Jazeera* report;¹⁵⁴ An article from *The New York Times* describes how thousands of tons of concrete have been smuggled into Gaza and diverted for tunnel construction, which can be 90 feet deep and reinforced with concrete.¹⁵⁵ *Al-Jazeera* noted that one tunnel was 66 feet deep and used 800 tons of concrete.¹⁵⁶ Hamas, which is designated as a terrorist entity by the US, UK and EU, has even used schools to store rockets as documented by the U.N. – none of this factors into Amnesty's analysis of Israel's actions on dual use goods.¹⁵⁷ Amnesty cites a World Bank call for Israel to reform its dual use policies, but does not see a need to similarly call on Hamas to refrain from using cement and other good to build its military infrastructure. Finally, Amnesty does not mention why it is not up to Egypt to allow such goods into Gaza.

168. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty's selective use of statistics and manipulation of numbers is common throughout the document. Amnesty explains how there is "leakage" in the Palestinian economy whereby Israel effectively appropriates a portion of Palestinian's economic output through six main sources, outlined in a 2020 UN report. The report is mostly based on conjecture and estimates of these "leakage numbers." Amnesty writes: "Between 2000 and 2017, the Palestinian fiscal leakage was estimated to be USD 5.6 billion, or 39% of GDP in 2017." (p. 169) Comparing aggregate financial figures over an 18 year time frame to the GDP number for only one year is senseless and a misrepresentation. Amnesty compares "apples and oranges"

in an attempt to pump up the “leakage” number to a more impactful 39% -- spread out over 18 years, as would be appropriate, would result in a very low single digit percentage per year, assuming that these “leakage” numbers are accurate.

169. ERROR: Amnesty devotes five pages to discussing the hardships in Gaza and how it has negatively affected the economy and welfare of the population. (p. 170-4). In its summary paragraph, Amnesty concludes: “The collapse of Gaza’s economy caused by the blockade has been exacerbated by four Israeli military offensives in the past 13 years, which have caused huge destruction to civilian property and infrastructure in addition to killing at least 2,700 Palestinian civilians as well as injuring and displacing tens of thousands of others. During this period Palestinian armed groups fired thousands of indiscriminate rockets towards cities and towns in Israel killing or injuring dozens of civilians.” The errors and omission in this single paragraph are significant and characterize the entire report. First, the legal naval sea blockade which Israel has enforced is a reaction to Hamas violence, primarily from rockets and tunnels. As already noted, Amnesty deliberately avoids all mention of Hamas military actions and its designation as a terrorist organization. Somehow, protecting against a terrorist organization is not seen as a reasonable action for Israel. Second, Amnesty presents Israel’s military actions as “offensives” and not specific reactions to Hamas rocket attacks which preceded Israel’s “offensives.” For example, in May 2021 there is no dispute that Hamas launched rockets into Israel first – and this has been the case in prior Gaza conflicts as well.¹⁵⁸ Amnesty refuses to place any blame on Hamas for the hardships in Gaza.

170. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes “every year Palestinians from the OPT lose substantial financial resources in income tax and social security payments made by Palestinians working in Israel, without benefiting from any corresponding public expenditure on services that would serve their communities.” (p. 170) The notion that paying income taxes in the jurisdiction in which you work is somehow an element of apartheid is preposterous. In the U.S. it is well known that taxes are paid in the state where the work is performed, even if you live out of state. Without a proper

assessment of taxation policies worldwide and comparing to Israel, citing this as evidence of apartheid is baseless.

171. ERROR: Amnesty writes that in Gaza: “Between 2000 and 2005, at least 2,500 homes were destroyed along the ‘buffer zone’ outside the context of military offensives.” (p. 171) Footnote 897 cites a 2004 HRW report “Razing Rafah.” The first paragraph of the HRW report says: “Over the past four years, the Israeli military has demolished over 2,500 Palestinian houses in the occupied Gaza Strip. Nearly two-thirds of these homes were in Rafah, a densely populated refugee camp and city at the southern end of the Gaza Strip on the border with Egypt.” Amnesty thus gets it wrong as only two-thirds of the homes were in the buffer zone not all 2,500 (HRW makes this clear further down). HRW cites a statement (in its footnote 3) which says: “United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) based mostly on assessments by its social workers.” Thus, social workers from UNRWA are relied upon for this data, so even the 2,500 total number is conjecture.

172. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “Israel’s four major military operations in Gaza between 2008 and 2021, carried out within the context of the illegal blockade...” Amnesty repeats the falsehood that Israel’s blockade of Gaza is illegal. This falsehood has been covered in Point 43.

173. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “For example, of the seven schools destroyed during Israel’s 2014 offensive [in Gaza], only one had been rebuilt by August 2016.” (p. 172) Footnote 905 cites an HRW 2014 report titled “Gaza’s Education in Rubble.” An examination of this report shows no reference to these schools destroyed and rebuilding. Amnesty also missed that it cited a 2014 report to discuss events that supposedly took place in 2016.¹⁵⁹

174. OMISSION: Amnesty devotes a two-page sidebar to the lack of construction materials in Gaza. (p. 172-3) Amnesty writes: “Prior to the 2014 Israeli attacks there was a shortage of at least 75,000 housing units in Gaza, largely as a result of building

stoppages caused by restricted imports.” The entire narrative on this topic is a major misrepresentation since it deliberately omits the reason why restrictions were placed on building materials – their theft and use by Hamas to construct tunnels into Israel and rockets for its terrorist activities. See Point 167.¹⁶⁰

175. OMISSION: Amnesty devotes a full page on the economic impacts of restrictions on movement in the West Bank imposed by Israel. (p. 173-4) The minutiae of the statistics are not necessary to review although many are based on questionable sources and analyses (for example Amnesty cites a study that checkpoints cost Palestinians 60 million hours of lost work per year based on tracking 70 vehicles over six months and extrapolating the data to the entire population).¹⁶¹ Like the whitewashing of Hamas’ terrorist designation and actions, Amnesty does not mention the reason why checkpoints remain in the West Bank: continued terrorism. Israel maintains documentation of hundreds of such attacks from 2015-21.¹⁶² Amnesty may choose to dispute these attacks, but not mentioning them as the main rationale for Israel’s actions in the West Bank is at best, negligence. It is not only Israel that is aware of Palestinian terrorist activity. In 2018 the U.S. signed into law the Taylor Force Act¹⁶³ which stopped certain economic aid to the Palestinian Authority until they ceased paying stipends to persons who commit acts of terrorism. This was in direct response to events related to the individual who knifed to death an American citizen, Taylor Force, on the streets of Jaffa. The family of the killer was subsequently paid a monthly pension for this act, well above a normal Palestinian wage, outraging Americans. The EU has officially listed several Palestinians groups as terrorist organizations¹⁶⁴ including Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigade, Hamas (which is active in the West Bank),¹⁶⁵ Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and PFLP.

176. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty asserts that the security barrier (which Amnesty incorrectly calls the “fence/wall,” because the use of the word “wall” sounds more “apartheid-like” despite the fact that even UN documents¹⁶⁶ refer to it as the “Separation Barrier”) caused over \$1 billion in “direct” losses to the Palestinians in East Jerusalem in the first 10 years through “lost trade and employment opportunities.” (p. 176) Footnote 929 cites a UN report from August 2020 referred to by Amnesty

multiple times in this section. The UN report notes this figure on page 13 and simply says this number comes from "Palestinian Authority, 2010."

177. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites statistic after statistic showing various disparities among Arabs and Jews, which it considers apartheid. Amnesty writes: "While more Palestinian men from East Jerusalem were in active employment in 2019 than Jewish men residing in the city (72% versus 78%) this is mainly due to low levels of employment amongst Jewish ultra-orthodox men, many of whom opt to study in yeshivas instead of working." (p. 177) In Amnesty's narrative, Arab disparities such as lower labor force participation amongst Arab women, (which Amnesty cites as evidence of "inequality" since its 23% for Arab women and 81% for Jewish women) is always due to apartheid, not cultural factors where Arab woman may not be encouraged to work outside the home; but when the numbers don't quite prove apartheid Amnesty seeks out countervailing factors to apply to the "Jewish" statistics.

178. ERROR: Amnesty writes: "Data collected in 2013 indicated that about 54% of Gaza's children had post-traumatic stress disorder as a result of Israeli military attacks and the blockade." (p. 178) The study cited by Amnesty in footnote 940 was sponsored by the Qatar National Research Fund, but let's assume the numbers are factual and unbiased. (In one section where they have survey questions the study asks things like "have you attended a martyr's funeral" and "have you been used as a human shield to arrest your neighbors by the [Israeli] army," and no questions at all about any actions by Hamas forces). Even so, Amnesty falsifies the conclusions. Amnesty states that PTSD was in part a result of "the blockade" but the report does not refer to the blockade in any way – only actual military actions. Amnesty subtly and falsely inserts "and the blockade" to elevate the "cruelty" of the blockade, which the UN deemed to be legal.

179. ERROR: Amnesty writes: "Today, only 2% of industrial zones in Israel, which generate a significant tax income, are located within Palestinian localities..." (p. 179) In Amnesty's manipulated language Palestinian localities refer to Arab majority areas of Israel. The implication here is that Israeli industry neglects Arabs, part of the

government's apartheid policies. Footnote 952 cites HRW's apartheid report, which on page 156 says: "The Knesset Research and Information Center found in July 2018 that only 2 percent of industrial zones managed by the government, which generate significant tax income, are located in Palestinian municipalities." Amnesty deliberately alters HRW's comment to make it sound worse by simply saying "industrial zones in Israel." Most industry in Israel is private, so admitting that the number is only for "government" managed industry would mean it is not a significant matter.

180. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites statistics from a 2014 report produced by NGOs Sikkuy and Injaz - "From Deficits and Dependence to Balanced Budgets and Independence: The Arab Local Authorities' Revenue Sources" to show disparities in local tax sources and government funding for all type of things such as education and municipal services. Amnesty shows from the report that Jewish tax collection from local taxes comprise 66% of local budgets and only 31% for Arab localities – therefore apartheid. (p. 179) This is mostly due to a generally lower tax base in Arab locations. Amnesty does not cite from the same report that government contributions for education seeks to close the disparity from local funding, with education spending for Arabs 8% *higher* per student than for Jews. While there is still a gap in the end, higher central government spending per capita for Arabs contradicts the notion of state sponsored apartheid. The resulting education gap leaves funding for Jews 51% higher than Arabs. While a gap still remains, these disparities are normal in most societies, thus Amnesty applies the "perfection standard" on Israel alone. For example, in the U.S. local tax dollars collected were 56% higher for white districts versus black districts, and unlike Israel, state funding was also higher for whites by 4%.¹⁶⁷

181. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty continually cherry-picks numbers that purport to evidence apartheid and deliberately omits countervailing data, even when highly significant and from the same sources Amnesty cites. In a paragraph discussing lower government funding for Arab localities, Amnesty writes that certain subsidies for Arab localities: "are lower than those received by Jewish localities in Israel and even lower than those received by Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank." (p. 179) Footnote 957 cites a report from Adva Center on government subsidies to various

sectors. Key data from the report that Amnesty omits: “Between 1997 and 2017, the per capita designated subsidy for Arab localities grew by 133%; that of the Haredi settlements by 121%, that of the non-Haredi settlements by 71% and that of the affluent localities by 66%. The lowest increase was found for Jewish development towns – only 31%.”¹⁶⁸ The report acknowledges historical disparities and historical neglect, but highlights various 5-year plans by Israel to close these disparities. Data showing that over 20 years Israel has grown Arab locality subsidies more than any other Jewish segment demolishes the notion of apartheid, so the source is cherry-picked for some data, but not its key conclusions which contradict Amnesty’s fabricated thesis.

182. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty notes statistics for Israeli government allocation of water for farming and irrigation, stating they are discriminatory. (p. 179) Footnote 960 cites a study published in 1995, 27 years ago. Another example of the shoddy quality of the research.

183. ERROR: Amnesty cites as another example of funding discrimination how “in April 2020 the Israeli government allocated an economic recovery budget of NIS 2.8 billion to local authorities amid the Covid-19 pandemic, of which only NIS 47 million or roughly 1.7% of the budget was transferred to Palestinian local authorities in Israel...” (p. 179-80) Footnote 961 cites a short article from the UK based *New Arab* with no quotes from officials or other data, and misrepresents the events, which Amnesty then copies.¹⁶⁹ A more complete discussion of these events can be found in the Israeli Knesset website and Israeli news reports. Importantly, the COVID economic package in question was specifically earmarked towards businesses, not localities, Jewish or Arab. Some Arab MKs wanted the package to cover local property taxes but as an official from the Finance Ministry explained: “There is no connection to the issue of indemnity in property taxes for businesses. The funds were transferred to businesses, the authorities were transparent in this regard. They gave exemptions and received money, [so] they made no profit here. The Arab authorities have a small number of businesses, so they received a small part of the money. The purpose of the allocation was to help businesses, not the local authorities. By definition, not one local authority

has benefited from this allocation.”¹⁷⁰ Indeed, reports of coronavirus economic packages in this time period note funding to help businesses and the health system.¹⁷¹

184. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites in passing Government Resolution 922 which allocated NIS 12.3 billion (nearly \$4 billion) to the development of the Arab sector. Instead of delving into these details Amnesty cites the Mossawa Center who essentially said this investment was not enough. (p. 180) Amnesty ignored a report from October 2020 in which the government extended this multi-billion shekel program aimed at “closing extensive gaps between Jewish and Arab communities.”¹⁷² The extension added another NIS 500 million to the program through the end of 2021 and another 5-year plan, Resolution 923, was expected to be passed. The report stated that “Arab Israeli MKs largely hailed the move to extend the 922 funding and remove obstacles to its use by local municipalities.” An official from NGO Sikkuy, which Amnesty cites earlier (see footnote 955), “highlighted some of 922’s key achievements, including improving the integration of Arab women in the workforce, expanding public transportation in Arab villages, and increasing public trust and collaboration between Arab municipalities and the Israeli government.” Instead of detailing this massive investment in the Arab sector, which acknowledges major gaps still exist and seeks to close them, Amnesty cites an earlier report from an NGO well prior to this October 2020 update – and then cites statistics from the 1960s and 70s in the next sentence. Amnesty acknowledges in the next paragraph that the new state budget approved in November 2021 allocated NIS 26.5 billion for a new 5-year plan to benefit the Arab sector – the most ever. Yet somehow this information does not adjust Amnesty’s thinking that budgetary policies evidences state sponsored apartheid.¹⁷³ Amnesty also ignores positive statements from Arab MKs – which is not surprising since Amnesty does not acknowledge the presence of Arabs in the Knesset in its entire report.

185. ERROR: Amnesty claims that in the West Bank “Israel uprooted 7,122 [Palestinian] olive trees, bringing the total to over 1 million trees destroyed since 2000.” (p. 181) “Israel” has not uprooted any olive trees and more credible sources on the destruction of olive trees do not claim these actions are perpetrated by the state or

are state-sanctioned, for example UN reports notes these are actions perpetrated by “Israeli settlers,” not the state.¹⁷⁴

186. ERROR: Besides falsely blaming the Israel government for destroying olive trees, the statistics behind the olive tree issue are false. The 1 million trees figure cited in the previous point is preposterous. The figure is cited in footnote 974 from a UN report which on page 10 cites a statement by Dr. Ola Awad, President of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics on the occasion of the 71st Annual Commemoration of the Palestinian Nakba.¹⁷⁵ The statement does not cite a source for the 1 million figure and includes other fake numbers such as that in the 1948 war “Zionist forces” perpetrated “70 massacres in which more than 15 thousand Palestinians were martyred.” Even the most aggressive numbers on Palestinian casualties in the war peak at about 11,000 civilian deaths, but most cite a far lower number of about 3,000 – so we already know that Dr. Awad’s speech is more propaganda than fact. The million trees uprooted figure which Dr. Awad claims to have happened between 2000-18 comes to about 55,000 per year. According to UN data, trees vandalized from 2016-19 came to 23,791 or 5,947 on average for four years. A report by Nazeem Fkhaidat, director of the Palestinian Agricultural Damage Documentation Department, stated in 2020 that “Israeli settlers have uprooted, burned down and chemically poisoned 101,988 olive trees since 2010,” or about 10,000 per year. Similar earlier statistics from various sources also indicates numbers generally in the 5-10,000 per year, which would mean 1 million trees is really at most 200,000 – and even then this number is unlikely to be accurate as it is based only on sources hostile to Israel and includes “vandalism” which can mean many things, not just full destruction. Some context is also necessary; while it is abhorrent to vandalize or destroy an olive tree, UN data states that there are over 10 million olive trees in the West Bank,¹⁷⁶ thus 7,122 is not even a rounding error – belying the notion that these actions are evidence of systematic apartheid. There is certainly settler violence that Israeli officials actively criticize,¹⁷⁷ but Amnesty of course leaves out that in 2020 the Israeli Shin Bet recorded 800 acts of Palestinians terrorism from the West Bank.¹⁷⁸ Israel can certainly do better on stopping settler violence, but the fact that some commit criminal acts of harming trees is not apartheid.

187. OMISSION: Amnesty devotes several paragraphs on the fact that Palestinians wishing to access land in the “seam zone” or areas on the Israeli side of the security barrier, must obtain permits and that in 2019 62% of about 7,500 such permit requests were rejected. (p. 181-2) There are various reasons for rejections, from bureaucratic to not having proof of connection to the land and security considerations. There is scant evidence that the reasons for rejection are wrong, but to Amnesty, when Palestinians don’t get what they want it is apartheid. Like other issues, the scale of the problem where 2,850 permit requests are denied among 3 million people in the West Bank is hardly material. More important is the omission: Amnesty never mentions the reason why the security barrier was built. Even the UN report Amnesty cites offers the rationale: “Following a wave of Palestinian attacks including suicide bombings, in 2002, Israel began building a Barrier with the stated aim of preventing such attacks.”¹⁷⁹ Like many important words about the conflict that Amnesty deliberately omits, “suicide bomber/bombing” does not appear in the 280-page document even once.

188. OMISSION: Amnesty devotes six pages of the report (p. 182-7) to Israel’s “Destruction of the Agriculture and Fishery Sectors” in Gaza. Amnesty presents all these actions as the cruel and wanton actions of an apartheid state, for no other reason other than what can be described as “that’s just what apartheid regimes do.” All security needs are dismissed and there is no mention at all of threats from Hamas such as rocket fire and tunnel building. With a security justification removed, it is then simple to present Israeli actions as cruel. Even a UN report Amnesty relies on in this section (footnote 984) acknowledges in its executive summary that Israel’s actions are with “the stated intention of preventing attacks by Palestinians armed factions.” The UN report also mentions the 2006 kidnapping of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit as a cause for certain Israeli actions. Despite still harshly criticizing Israeli actions, the UN report further admits that Israel’s actions were “triggered and compounded by the military activities carried out by Palestinian armed factions.” Amnesty won’t even mention the presence of “armed factions” in Gaza. The word terrorism is not found in the document, and even the whitewashing, generic term “militants” commonly found in the media to refer to Hamas personnel is not found once in the document. In terms of

sea access, Amnesty ignores Palestinian attempts to smuggle in weapons by boat, the most famous example the Karine A vessel in 2002 when a large shipment of weapons provided by Iran was captured by Israel in route to Gaza.¹⁸⁰

189. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty cites statistics about Israel's restrictions on land areas near the Gaza fence and maritime areas. (p. 182) Footnotes 983-5 cite a UN OCHA report from August 2010 titled "Between the Fence and a Hard Place." The UN report admits on the first page that it is "based upon a study commissioned to Al-Sahel Co. for Institutional Development and Communications, which is a Ramallah based organization." Checking the citations for this report, endnote 5 states that the data collected by the study relied upon for the report: "are available upon request for further study/analysis." Did Amnesty request the relevant data and fact check?

190. ERROR: Amnesty writes: "An estimated 178,000 people, including 113,000 farmers, can no longer access this area" referring to a buffer area of land in Gaza near the border fence. (p. 182) Footnote 984 cites a UN OCHA report from 2010 which says: "An estimated 178,000 people...are directly affected by the access regime implemented by the Israeli military. This includes approximately 113,000 people affected by such measures in land areas..." Amnesty falsely inserts the word "farmers" when the UN report says people and does not indicate that farmers are the only ones affected. Sources show that some 30-35,000 farmers are active in all of Gaza.¹⁸¹

191. ERROR: Amnesty writes: "According to OCHA, between 1 January and 19 October 2020, many of the 42 Israeli military incursions into the Gaza Strip included bulldozing agricultural land and destroying crops." (p. 182) Footnote 987 cites an UN OCHA report from 2020 titled "Protection of Civilians Report 6-19 October 2020" which says: "On 18 October, Israeli forces entered Gaza and bulldozed land at around 400 meters from the perimeter fence, east of Khan Younis, destroying several dunums of crops and irrigations systems. According to Israeli sources, the operations were aimed at destroying tunnels dug by Palestinian armed groups for military purposes." This is the only reference to crops or agricultural land in the report. The UN report mentions only one incursion that destroyed several dunams (or about one or two

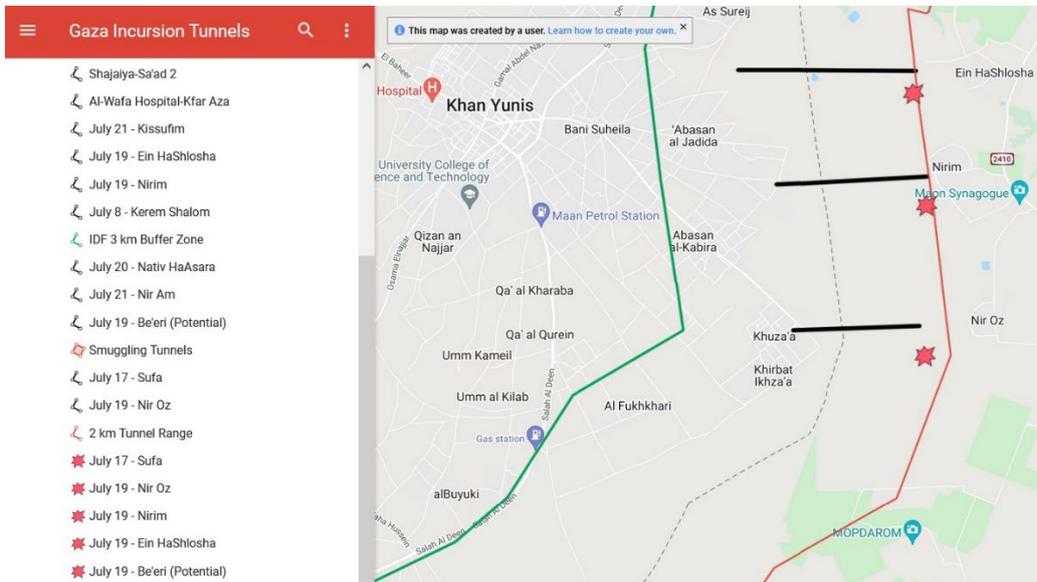
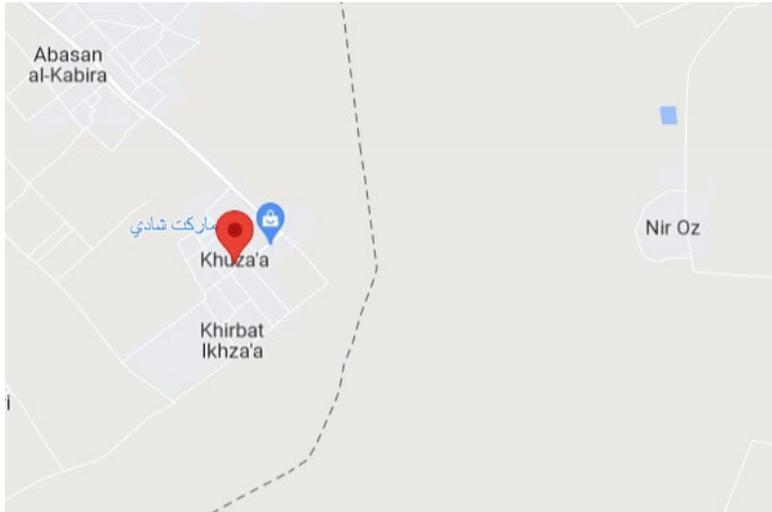
acres) to destroy tunnels. Amnesty altered the source data to indicate that “many of the 42” incursions in 2020 bulldozed agricultural land when the source mentions only one instance and there is no information on any others of this nature. Amnesty happily cites a UN report about Israeli actions and portrays them as wantonly cruel, but omits the stated reasoning, not even using the word tunnel one time in its 280-page report.

192. OMISSION: In the same section on purported destruction of agriculture by Israel in Gaza Amnesty writes: “Gaza’s Ministry of Agriculture estimated a USD 27 million loss in the agriculture sector’s greenhouses, agricultural lands and poultry farms as a result of the destruction caused by Israel’s military offensive in May 2021.” (p. 182) Footnote 988 cites a *Reuters* article that notes this damage to the agricultural sector, as well as \$62 million to the industrial and energy sector. The same article states that over a three day period *Israel’s* economic loss was \$166 million, excluding damage to factories, “because the south and centre of the country came under intense rocket fire from Gaza”¹⁸² – facts which Amnesty deliberately omits. Hamas began this 2021 incident by firing over 4,000 rockets into Israel, who responded to this massive barrage against its cities. The damage to Gaza’s greenhouses would not have occurred if Hamas did not initiate rocket attacks.

193. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: “According to Gisha, between 2010 and 2017 there were 1,300 incidents involving live fire by Israeli forces against farmers, herders, scrap collectors, demonstrators and other Gaza residents near the fence separating Gaza from Israel; at least 161 Palestinians were killed and more than 3,000 injured.” (p. 182) Footnote 990 cites a Gisha webpage titled “Closing In: Life and Death in Gaza’s Access Restricted Areas.” Gisha cites no sources for its data.

194. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty devotes a full page sidebar (p. 183) to the case of Ms. Nisreen Qudeh, a Gazan farmer whose house and plant nursery were destroyed in Israeli strikes in 2014. We don’t doubt the story or the human tragedies caused by the 2014 conflict. However, Amnesty presents these actions as unprovoked attacks on civilians simply referring in the sidebar to the “Israeli military offensive.” Amnesty omits critical context and grossly misrepresents events that would show the blame should

actually all be placed on Hamas. Amnesty says the farmer's home was in Khuza'a, which it notes lies 500 meters from the Gaza border fence. A Google maps image shows where this location lies relative to the border fence and about 1,500 meters from the Israeli town of Nir Oz. (see first image below) A similar map overlaid with the location of Hamas' tunnels built into Israeli territory is shown next.¹⁸³ As can be seen, a tunnel very close to Nir Oz literally opens inside Gaza at Khuza'a. Hamas built military tunnel infrastructure in Ms. Qudeh's town, which it used several times to infiltrate Israel and initiate attacks. An article from *The New York Times* describes how eight Hamas militants emerged inside Israel on July 19, 2014, and several other incursions around the same time.¹⁸⁴ Israel rightly feared mass scale attacks from these tunnels and destroying them was a top priority. With the tunnel head in Khuza'a, Israel was within its rights under international law to destroy it, and Ms. Qudeh mentions the attacks in her area occurred around July 24, 2014. It was Hamas who converted a civilian town into a military location, and they should compensate Ms. Qudeh for her losses (Amnesty instead writes: "Israeli authorities did not compensate [Ms. Qudeh] or her family"). Hamas' use of the area under Khuza'a did not end in 2014. In the May 2021 war in Gaza Israel targeted Hamas' well-known underground tunnel system found in many areas under Gaza. IDF maps of the tunnel system show a network near the border fence exactly under the same area of Khuza'a, as shown in the third map below¹⁸⁵ (the area near the fence where the green and blue area meet is in the vicinity of Khuza'a). Instead of proper analysis on why the area around Ms. Qudeh was stuck by Israel, Amnesty simply promotes blood libel: Israel attacked Khuza'a to promote its cruel system of apartheid.



195. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “Since 2014, the Israeli military has aerial-sprayed herbicides over Palestinian crops along the fence between Gaza and Israel. Israel claims that the spraying is designed to ‘enable optimal and continuous security operations’ yet has not provided any evidence to support this claim.” (p. 184) Amnesty misrepresents by saying Israel has not provided evidence. However, reports in *Haaretz* and elsewhere makes clear spraying targets vegetation on fences to remove hiding places for terrorists. Amnesty distorts the facts to falsely claim that spraying was done for no reason other than pure evil. The Defense Ministry has also denied that the spraying damaged any Gazan fields asserting that it only uses herbicides that are approved by the Israeli Agriculture Ministry and used by farmers on their own fields both in Israel and abroad.¹⁸⁶

196. MISREPRESENTATION: Continuing on the misrepresentation of Israeli spraying in Gaza, Amnesty adds: “In 2016, Israel admitted to spraying an estimated 12km² from the north to the south of Gaza.” (p. 184) Footnote 993 cites from a report by Forensic Architecture, which confirms the number but notes: “the Israeli Ministry of Defense confirmed that aerial herbicides are sprayed along the width of the perimeter of Gaza.” Amnesty omits the fact that spraying is along the perimeter to make it appear that Israel is spraying randomly all over Gaza.

197. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “In 1995, Israel agreed to designate a maritime zone stretching 20 nautical miles from the Gaza coastline for ‘fishing, recreation and economic activities’ for Palestinians. In fact, this agreement has no basis in international law” explaining that “the State of Palestine” under Article 57 of UN convention on Law of the Sea can declare exclusive 200 mile zone (p. 185) Amnesty notes that this fishing zone was agreed upon under the Oslo Accords which the Palestinian Authority signed, so in this sentence Amnesty suggests that this agreement signed by two parties is not valid. This is part of Amnesty’s suggestion that Israel duped the Palestinians into signing Oslo to further fragment and segregate Palestinians (see Point 28), or that Oslo was really a tool of Israeli apartheid. Next, Amnesty suggest that Gaza is “the State of Palestine” with rights conferred to states

by international law. If this is the case does it mean apartheid can apply from one state to another? Does the "State of Palestine" not have the right to sign agreements, even if Amnesty believes they are not fair? The internal contradictions in this section are significant.

198. ERROR: Amnesty discusses how since the discovery of natural gas offshore Gaza, Israel has limited Gaza's maritime zone to at times a "mere 3 nautical miles." (p. 185) To further link Israel's actions to gas discoveries, Amnesty writes in the next sentence: "An Israeli senior naval official outlined the rationale behind this policy: 'These fields have strategic significance and could be easily a target for our neighbors... Usually to protect an area, we just make a sterile zone around it. But we can't do that in international territory.'" Amnesty presents this comment as directly related to maritime areas near Gaza and as the reason why Gaza's maritime space is limited – to exploit its gas. But Amnesty deliberately falsifies the meaning and context of the quote. The source for this quote in footnote 1005 is a 2013 article about the impending opening of the Tamar Gas field which is located 80 km west of Haifa and has absolutely no relation to Gaza. The naval officer speaks specifically about challenges of protecting a maritime area outside of the 12 mile zone near shore and the "sterile zone" which Amnesty deceptively leads the reader to believe is related to the Gaza maritime area is actually about the far offshore area near the Tamar Gas field. Amnesty fabricates the notion that Israeli restrictions are related to gas fields when they are totally related to security needs – but Amnesty does not acknowledge any Israeli security needs as a core tenet of its report.

199. ERROR: Amnesty writes: "Ever since the discovery of natural oil and gas in 1999, Israel has repeatedly changed the demarcation of Gaza's maritime space, sometimes reducing it to a mere 3 nautical miles..." (p. 185). Footnote 1004 refers to an Al Mezan report "2013 Statistical Report on Israeli Attacks in the Access Restricted Areas." The report does not contain one instance of the words oil or natural gas, so Amnesty's attempt to connect Israeli maritime actions in Gaza to energy discoveries is once again fabricated and a deliberate attempt to scoff at security concerns as the driver of Israeli actions. Al Mezan's source is "Field information obtained by Al Mezan's field workers

from fishermen and supported by information from Fishermen Syndicate in Gaza," otherwise known as "trust us because we say so" evidence.

200. ERROR: Amnesty writes that Israel "routinely submerges and seizes fishing boats" in Gaza. (p. 185) Footnote 1008 links to a Gisha news update from December 1, 2019, which has no mention of submerging or sinking boats, only about boats that were seized. A general search for other sources did not find any news of Israel "routinely submerging" boats, which evokes unusual cruelty far worse than simply seizing the boats. Amnesty consistently falsifies information to demonize Israel.

201. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty cites various statistics related to Israeli attacks on Gaza fisherman, such as that between 2012-19 Israel has killed 6 fisherman and injured 132, arrested 547 including 40 children and confiscated 177 boats. (p. 185) Footnote 1010 cites a November 2019 report, prepared by eight Palestinian and Arab organizations, titled "Joint Parallel Report to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on Israel's Seventeenth to Nineteenth Periodic Reports." The report makes clear that there is "Cumulative recognition of Israeli Apartheid" so once again Amnesty's apartheid report cites an earlier apartheid report. Page 28 lists the same numbers shown by Amnesty, which in footnote 174 cites a B'Tselem article as the final source. The B'Tselem article from November 2019 is titled "2018: Plight of Gaza Fisherman after Israel's gradual destruction of their sector." None of the statistics cited by any organization – by Amnesty, who cites a report to the UN produced by eight groups, who cite a B'Tselem article – provide any source.

202. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: "[Israeli maritime restrictions] has led to the collapse of the [fishing related] sector and resulted in approximately 95% of the fishermen living below the poverty line in 2018." (p. 186) Footnote 1014 cites a B'Tselem article, the same one mentioned in the prior point. B'Tselem mentions the same comment but does not provide a source.

203. DEAD CITATION: In the next line Amnesty discusses more poverty statistics for Gaza fisherman stating that "according to an earlier source from 2011" nearly 90% of

fisherman were poor, up from 50% in 2008. (p. 186) Footnote 1015 cites an Al-Haq report titled "Shifting Paradigms Israel's Enforcement of the Buffer Zone in the Gaza Strip." Page 9 of this report notes the same poverty statistics and in footnote 17 cites a Red Cross news release from June 14, 2010, titled "Gaza Closure: Not Another Year" which offers the same figures but provides no source.

204. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: "some 660,000 Palestinians in the West Bank are estimated to have limited access to water." (p. 188) Footnote 1020 cites a UN report from September 2021 which on page 7 mentions the same number, and in their footnote 50 cites a one page PDF document produced by the West Bank Protection Consortium, which provides no source for this number. The next point below also proves that this statement, claiming that about 22% of Palestinians in the West Bank have limited access to water, to be patently false based on water consumption statistics reported by the Palestinians themselves.

205. ERROR: Amnesty resorts to hyperbole and numerous lies to describe the water situation as if Palestinians are nearly dying of thirst. The entire three page section on Israeli "Control of Water in OPT" is filled with fabricated numbers and misrepresentations. The report asserts: "The amount of water that Israel makes available to Palestinians is restricted to a level which does not meet their needs" (p. 188) Amnesty appears to make this statement based on a UN report which claims that 100 liters per day is "recommended by WHO." This is the first key error which underlies the entire "not enough water" canard. UN documents make clear that: "According to WHO, between 50 and 100 liters of water per person per day are needed to ensure that most basic needs are met and few health concerns arise. Access to 20-25 liters per person per day represents a minimum, but this amount raises health concerns because it is insufficient to meet basic hygiene and consumption requirements."¹⁸⁷ According to the UN's Special Rapporteur on the Human Right to Safe Drinking Water, "20 liters per capita per day is a minimum quantity required to realize minimum essential levels of the right, but there remain significant health concerns. To ensure the full realization of the right, States should aim for at least 50 to 100 liters per person per day."¹⁸⁸ Anti-Israel reports universally falsify

WHO numbers to assert that they recommend 100 liters per day as the recommended minimum, when this is actually the upper end of the recommended range of 50 to 100 liters per day (e.g. Amnesty’s report “The Occupation of Water” from 2017 claims Palestinian water consumption is “below the World Health Organization’s recommended daily minimum of 100 liters per capita.”)¹⁸⁹ In fact, anything over 50 would “meet the needs” of a population within their “full realization of the right.” According to the Palestinian Authority’s own numbers for 2018, as shown below, there is not a single area of the West Bank where Palestinians consume less than 50 liters per day and the average across the West Bank is 90.5 per day¹⁹⁰ – at the upper end of WHO recommendations (and an increase from 82 several years ago and 73 ten years ago). Gaza consumption is 83 per day, still in the upper half of the recommended range, and suffers from pipeline defects and theft, as actual water supplied is 95 liters per day.¹⁹¹ The fabrication of the WHO minimum number persists, as reporting the true figure would completely demolish the argument that Palestinians are not getting enough water.

Governorate	Daily Consumption Rate per capita (liter/capita/day)	Population End of 2018	Total Losses (million m ³)	Consumed Water (million m ³)	Supplied Water for Domestic Sector (million m ³)
West Bank ^{(1) (2)}	90.5	2,665,791	30.8	88.1	118.9
Jenin	50.2	321,950	2.3	5.9	8.2
Tubas & Northern Valleys	118.4	62,430	1.3	2.7	4.0
Tulkarm	99.3	190,169	3.2	6.9	10.1
Nablus	82.9	396,210	3.7	12.0	15.7
Qalqiliya	147.4	115,184	2.1	6.2	8.3
Salfit	155.5	77,473	1.0	4.4	5.4
Ramallah & Al-Bireh and Jerusalem ⁽¹⁾	97.3	495,268	3.8	17.6	21.4
Jericho & Al-Aghwar ⁽³⁾	268.7	50,946	1.5	5.0	6.5
Bethlehem and Hebron ⁽⁴⁾	78.5	956,161	11.9	27.4	39.3

206. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “according to a report by UNCTAD in 2017, nearly 93% of cultivated Palestinian land was not irrigated.” (p. 188) This is blamed on denial of “access to the Jordan River & freshwater springs...the Israeli army destroys cisterns...” Further research seems to indicate that it is likely accurate that 93% of cultivated Palestinian land was not irrigated, but Amnesty falsifies the reason – it is not due to destruction of cisterns or other Israeli actions, it is simply how olive trees are grown. The vast majority of West Bank cultivated lands are olive trees, and it turns out that olive trees in both Israel and the West Bank have historically not been irrigated due to

cost and the simple fact that they can thrive without irrigation (simply proven by the fact that many of the olive trees in the region are literally hundreds of years old). Israeli group IsraelAgri notes “total extent of olive-tree plantations in Israel today is estimated to be close to 300K dunams 250K of which are grown without irrigation (dry farming)...”¹⁹² So Israel's own olive production is 83% “not irrigated.” Looking elsewhere, Lebanon's crops are 92% “not irrigated” for the same reason, which is that olive trees can survive well with rain-fed water.¹⁹³ Again, Amnesty libels Israel with false claims of insufficient water.

207. ERROR: Amnesty cites statistics and commentary implying that Israel “steals” Palestinian groundwater. Like all the other water claims, this is a fabrication. Amnesty writes: “Israel has transferred 82% of Palestinian groundwater into Israel and for the use of Jewish settlements, while Palestinians must purchase over 50% of their water from Israel.” (p. 188) Footnote 1024 cites a UN report titled “The Besieged Palestinian Agricultural Sector” which on page 29 says the same 82% statistic and cites “Palestinian Ministry of Agriculture, 2010” as the source with no further information or confirmation. Amnesty does not reveal that groundwater allocations were agreed upon under the Oslo Accords (Article 40 of Annex III)¹⁹⁴ which specifically governs water usage. Under this agreement Palestinians are entitled to 227 MCM (million cubic meters) per year, and according to the Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria this amount covers the PA's total consumption of 190 MCM per annum.¹⁹⁵ The Mountain Aquifer is a shared resource with an estimated 641 MCM available per annum and allocations were agreed upon and crafted in part based on proportional population needs. Israel has been following this agreement and according to statements from the Israeli administration in June 2017, Israel is providing water above the agreed upon amount.¹⁹⁶ Israeli settlements in the West Bank do not use the PA allocation, they only receive the Israeli allocation, therefore the notion that settlements use “Palestinian water” is false. Amnesty does not provide a serious analysis of water usage and allocations per the Oslo Accords, simply parroting unsubstantiated comments that are more than a decade old. A key issue is theft of water by Palestinians, which contributes to the “losses” discussed in prior points; according to a Mekorot official, “Palestinian water theft lies at the root of the shortages.”¹⁹⁷ Presenting the issue as

one where Israel steals water is incorrect and libelous. Based on the PA's own published statistics on water usage, which are at the upper end of WHO's recommended numbers, it is clear that Palestinians in the West Bank have plenty of water.

208. ERROR: Amnesty asserts that in the West Bank, "Palestinians pay on average at least eight times more for water than Israeli settlers." (p. 188) Footnote 1026 cites an Al-Haq report "Water for one People Only," which on page 29 links to a *Haaretz* editorial from 2013 by Amira Hass. With no evidence or source, she writes: "Due to the Israeli refusal to link up Palestinian communities in Area C... tens of thousands of people have to purchase water from tankers all year long... The transportation increases the price of water to an average of eight times and more what their 'neighbors,' the settlers, pay." Amnesty falsifies the data from the editorial stating that "Palestinians" pay eight times as if this is a widespread issue, when Hass makes clear this issue (setting aside whether her allegation is true) only affects "tens of thousands" of people in Area C – so at most 3% of the population of the West Bank.

209. ERROR: Amnesty continues to write repetitiously about inequality in water resources, with further use of erroneous and fabricated numbers. Amnesty writes that the "Average Palestinian consumption in the OPT is about 70 liters per day per person." (p. 189) This is incorrect, per statistics produced by the Palestinians and shown in Point 205, West Bank consumption is 90.5 per day and Gaza at 83 per day (and actual amount supplied is 95 per day).

210. ERROR: While falsely citing Palestinian water numbers as lower than they are, Amnesty predictably falsely inflates the Israel water usage number, writing that Israeli water consumption is about 300 liters per day. (p. 189) Even a B'Tselem report from 2021 stated that water consumption by Israel was 230 liters per day,¹⁹⁸ but they also misstate the number. Mekorot, the Israeli water company states a range of usage in Israel, due to various factors, of 100 to 230 per day,¹⁹⁹ thus B'Tselem dishonestly took the highest number in the range as the operative figure. In all cases Amnesty's figure is mistaken.

211. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty continues to fabricate Israeli evil related to water, using the false data debunked above to write: "The devastating impact of Israel's discriminatory allocation of the OPT's natural resources for the benefit of Jewish Israelis is perhaps best exemplified in the Jordan Valley." (p. 189) Amnesty relies so heavily on decade old and error filled third party NGO reports, that it does not mention a "landmark water deal" signed in July 2017 between Israel and the Palestinians, along with Jordanian participation, to supply significant amounts of desalinated water to the Palestinians. The head of the Palestinian Water Authority, Mazen Ghuneim, said: "This will alleviate the suffering of Palestinians that they surely face, especially in the hot summer months."²⁰⁰

212. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: "Although the Jordan Valley contains vital land reserves for the natural expansion of Palestinian towns and cities, Israel has taken over most of the land with a view to enabling its de facto annexation...Israel endeavors to minimize Palestinian presence in the Jordan Valley by barring Palestinians from using 85% of the land." (p. 189) This sweeping statement of wrongdoing misrepresents the facts. Israel captured the West Bank from Jordan in 1967 and there has never been a Palestinian state in these lands. The Oslo Accords laid out a plan for a division of the territory in Area A, B and C, which does not need to be explained here again. The notion of "enabling de facto annexation" is hyperbole, in fact talk of annexation was ended with the signing of the Abraham Accords, which Amnesty barely mentions.

213. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: "Agriculture is the largest economic sector in the Jordan Valley for Israeli settlers, who cultivate 33,000 dunams (3,300 hectares) of land, earning them USD 130 million annually." (p. 189) In footnote 1030 Amnesty cites page 51 of a report by Al-Haq and other NGOs. These statistics are not found on page 51 nor anywhere else in the report. We do not know if these numbers are accurate, however, it should be noted that 33,000 dunams is equivalent to 33 sq km, which comprises 0.58% of the West Bank.

214. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: "...various Israeli policies have made it impossible for many [Palestinian farmers] to farm or keep more than a few animals because they cannot access sufficient water or land. Of the 42 Israeli drillings for extracting groundwater in the West Bank, 28 are in the Jordan Valley." (p. 189-90) Footnote 1036 cites a 2011 B'Tselem article that discusses these drillings, but provides no source. All of the evidence from water consumption by Palestinians to statements by Israeli officials that water allocations are meeting the agreed upon amounts, contradicts the notion that Palestinians farmers are lacking water. Amnesty instead relies on an 11 year old unsubstantiated report about well drilling as evidence.

215. ERROR: Similar to numerous errors and misrepresentations about water in the West Bank, Amnesty falsifies the water situation in Gaza. They write: "In parallel, Israel has consolidated complete control of all water resources and water-related infrastructure in the Gaza Strip, including the coastal aquifer, which is the only freshwater resource in Gaza." (p. 190) Israel does not have "complete control of all water resources and water-related infrastructure" as Amnesty ignores the massive investment in desalination in Gaza over the past decade. In 2014 an EU and UNICEF sponsored desalination plant began operation in the Khan Younis area serving 20,000 Gazans.²⁰¹ In January 2017 an EU funded desalination plant was completed that provides drinking water for 75,000 Gazans – about 4% of the population.²⁰² The EU granted additional funding to double the plant capacity. In July 2019 another major desalination plant opened that serves 200,000 Gazans – 10% of the population – funded by the Kuwaiti Fund through the Islamic Development Bank.²⁰³ In January 2020 two smaller desalination plans funded by China opened near Rafah that serve about 10,000 people.²⁰⁴ More projects are underway, including a massive €456 million project pledged by the EU²⁰⁵ and \$117 million project funded by the World Bank announced in February 2020.²⁰⁶ In addition to these major plants Gaza has 286 desalination plants of various capacities that serves much of the population. Israel does not control this water infrastructure that has transformed Gaza's water situation. The resources for water infrastructure from foreign donors has allowed Hamas to continue to divert massive financial resources to building its rocket inventory and maintain its military tunnel network.

216. ERROR: Amnesty continues to misrepresent the water situation in Gaza: “Despite the dire water shortage in the Gaza Strip, Israel... does not allow the transfer of water from the West Bank to Gaza.” Footnote 1041 cites another Amnesty report from 2017 which makes the same claim but does not provide any source. The notion that Palestinians seek to physically transport water from the West Bank to Gaza and is thwarted by Israel does not appear in any news stories or other sources upon search. Next, the statement that there is a “dire water shortage” in Gaza is incorrect. According to statistics compiled and published by the Palestinians,²⁰⁷ Gazans consume 83 liters per day, in the upper half of the recommended range by the WHO of 50 to 100 liters per day.

217. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes two paragraphs about how Israel has deprived Palestinians access to the oil and gas under their land and coastal waters, mainly off Gaza, thus depriving Palestinians of an estimated \$2.57 billion to their economy. (p. 190) The notion that Gaza has energy revenue for the taking but thwarted by Israel is preposterous and not backed by any sources in the Amnesty report; it is manufactured conjecture. Both the UN report & the World Bank report cited by Amnesty (note 1043) do not mention any specific development that has been thwarted, because there is none. No multinational energy firm, which is an absolute requirement, will work with Hamas since it is designated as a terrorist organization by much of the western world. Amnesty misrepresents by blaming Israel as the obstacle to Gaza’s energy billions. It should be noted that similar offshore gas has been found off the shores of Lebanon and they have not been able to make any progress extracting the energy despite not being held back by Israel.

218. ERROR: Point 12 describes how Amnesty engages in Jewish history denial by criticizing Israel for displaying certain archeological artifacts found in the West Bank as “Jewish,” as if ancient artifacts from Judea and Samaria are not legitimately part of Jewish history. In the same section, Amnesty asserts that Israel had engaged in “intensive destruction” of archeological sites which “deprives Palestinians of their right to their cultural heritage and property.” (p. 192) The only evidence of “intensive

destruction” that Amnesty cites is found in its note in footnote 1060: a) The removal of the Mughrabi Quarter adjacent to the Western Wall in 1967. This is discussed in Point 130. Amnesty does not cite any evidence that these homes were part of an archeological site, and even sources highly critical of Israel do not accuse Israel of destroying an archeological site in this action; b) the transfer of archeological finds from the Palestine Archaeological Museum in East Jerusalem to the Israel Museum in West Jerusalem. Even if true (no evidence is provided), the transfer of objects from one museum to another is not “intensive destruction” of archeological sites; c) Israel’s siege of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem in 2004, which Amnesty claims destroyed parts of the church. Claiming this siege is an example of “intensive destruction” of archeological sites is preposterous. First, this above ground church is not an “archeological site.” Second, Amnesty omits that dozens of armed Palestinian militants entered the church as a haven to avoid capture by Israel, effectively using the site as a shield, knowing that Israel would not attack the church – it is thus Palestinians themselves who cynically desecrated a holy site by using it as a shelter. After 39 days, a peaceful resolution was reached, and the militants surrendered. Due to some minor gun battles each side accused the other of starting, some slight damage occurred to the church. The notion of “intensive destruction” is pure fabrication and libel, and Amnesty grasps at straws to manufacture false evidence to support its lie. In fact, a well known instance of destruction of archeological sites was perpetrated by the Palestinians. In 1999 the Waqf illegally removed 9,000 tons of soil in the Temple Mount area, which is now being sifted for relics by a private group.²⁰⁸ Joseph’s Tomb, an ancient Jewish holy site in Nablus, was ransacked and burnt by Palestinian rioters in 2000 and again in 2015.²⁰⁹

219. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty begins a section on “Discriminatory Provision of Services” with its typical sweeping and libelous claims of wrongdoing by Israel: “Across Israel and the OPT, millions of Palestinians live in densely populated areas that are generally underdeveloped and lack adequate essential services such as garbage collection, electricity, public transportation and water and sanitation infrastructure, and often face arbitrary restrictions in their access to healthcare.” (p. 194) The “density” canard has been debunked previously. Jews live as densely or more

densely than Arabs, with less privately owned land per capital in Israel. As discussed in earlier points, Arabs both within Israel and the territories obtain sufficient water, even in Gaza where services are strained. Amnesty has not provided evidence of lack of public transportation in any location, and a general search of sources does not bring up evidence of this charge.

220. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: "Palestinian residents of Jerusalem comprise 38% of the population of the city, they receive less than 10% of Jerusalem Municipality's budget; Jewish Israeli residents (most of whom live in West Jerusalem) receive more than 90%." (p. 194) Footnote 1074 cites a 2014 article from Nathan Thrall, well known for his anti-Israel articles²¹⁰ which are typically unsourced. He does not offer a source here either. Amnesty did not bother to conduct primary research reviewing more recent city budgets, instead relying on one sentence from an article discussing the 2013 budget. Jerusalem's budget has increased by about 75% since then to NIS 7.6 billion for 2022²¹¹ and investment in the Arab sector has also grown significantly; MK Mansour Abbas took credit for massive increases in allocations to the Arab sector.²¹² None of this new data was analyzed or incorporated by Amnesty.

221. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty launches a series of accusations of Israeli wrongdoing in East Jerusalem from roads "full of holes" to serious charges such as "the road network has been intentionally designed to prevent future urban expansion." (p. 194) Footnote 1075 cites a UN Habitat report from 2015. Page 15 of the report notes something similar and cites an academic article by Dr. Wendy Pullan from 2013 published in *Mobilities*. The article is all conjecture and cites no sources to prove that the road network was built with certain intentions. In fact, the article implies the opposite saying that Palestinians in the city "use the old roads of the city, many of which are unchanged and unreconstructed since the British Mandate."²¹³ This contradicts the notion that Israel has designed a road system for a specific manner.

222. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty states that 335,000 Palestinians are served by six welfare offices compared to nineteen offices for 570,000 Jewish residents of Jerusalem. (p. 194) In Amnesty's view, any difference in any area of life is a sign of

apartheid. Footnote 1076 and 1077 cite a 2021 report by the Association for Civil Rights in Israel and a *Haaretz* article; neither mention statistics about welfare offices.

223. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty continues to cite further disparities between East Jerusalem and West Jerusalem, from poorer sanitation services, fewer post offices and playgrounds, and weaker education. (p. 194-5) Although some of Amnesty's sources are dubious or old, there is little dispute that services in East Jerusalem are inferior to West Jerusalem, as city documents themselves show. However, this is not evidence of apartheid. In all nations certain neighborhoods are substantially poorer, especially in majority minority areas. In France, 4.4 million mostly Muslim people live in *banlieues*, which are extremely poor neighborhoods often literally considered "no go zones" where 60% of children live below the poverty line, unemployment is twice the national average, and no changes seem to have been made in recent decades. The statistics and descriptions of these areas are far worse than East Jerusalem.²¹⁴ In the UK 48% of the Muslim population lives in the 10% most deprived districts in England while only 1.7% live in the least deprived districts.²¹⁵ Other statistics of massive inequality between Muslims and whites in the UK abound. None of these inequalities in Israel, France or the UK are condoned – but they hardly evidence apartheid, and certainly not if applied to Israel alone, which is what Amnesty consistently does.

224. ERROR: Amnesty claims that "analysts" note that "The Netanyahu government has conceded that its neglect of East Jerusalem has failed to induce Palestinians to leave," a serious charge. (p. 195) Footnote 1082 cites a report by the International Crisis Group from 2019. The report writes this line in its introductory paragraphs but offers no source and does not mention any "analysts." Amnesty falsely inserted this word to add credibility to the statement, because otherwise it's just conjecture from an unsourced webpage.

225. ERROR: The Gaza related water issues have been shown to be falsified or misrepresented in prior points. Amnesty begins a new subsection titled "Substandard Water and Sanitation Services" where it repeats some of these same falsehoods. Amnesty says that the majority of Gazans buy their drinking water from desalination

and purification plants, which is likely a correct statistic and contradicts earlier fabrications such as that Israel “has consolidated complete control of all water resources and water-related infrastructure in the Gaza Strip.” (see Point 215) Amnesty also effectively admits that Gazans do in fact obtain sufficient water, which has been proven by the water consumption statistics. In fact, massive investment in desalination renders the constant refrain common in anti-Israel discourse that 95% of water in Gaza is unfit for human consumption false; it is true that the aquifer is 95% depleted, but like in Israel, desalination has transformed the water situation. Now Amnesty falsifies the cost of desalinated water, claiming it costs 10 to 30 times more than piped water (p. 195). According to an *Al-Jazeera* report the average cost for desalinated water in Gaza from private vendors is NIS 30 for 1,000 liters.²¹⁶ While specific water cost numbers vary, a report in the *Jerusalem Post* from 2015 lamenting the high cost of water noted that Israelis pay NIS 9.2 for 1,000 liters of piped water. This means Gazans may pay three times as much for tanker provided water versus piped water in Israel. The source for the 10 to 30 times cost numbers is a UN report (footnote 1084) which provides a case study of a small desalination plant in Al-Amal, Gaza that serves 1,132 families. According to the report, the cost of this water has fallen to NIS 0.8 per 1,000 liters – it is possible that Amnesty compared what some people pay for tanker water in this one location of piped desalinated water to come up with a 30x ratio. However, if this is the case in all of Gaza (of which there is no evidence), this means that Gazans pay 90% less for piped water than Israelis! Either way the numbers are grossly misrepresented to support a false narrative.

226. OMISSION: Amnesty writes: “In 2021, water and sanitation infrastructure in Gaza reached a crisis point, exacerbated by the stringent restrictions imposed for over 14 years by Israel on the entry into Gaza of material and equipment necessary for its development and repair.” (p. 196) Once again Amnesty omits the reason for the “stringent restrictions” on entry of materials for the poor quality of the water system, which is Hamas’ diversion of materials for tunnels and rockets. Hamas has issued propaganda videos literally showing how they dig up water pipes for use as rockets,²¹⁷ but yet Amnesty places all blame on Israel. It is also unclear that Gaza’s water infrastructure is at a “crisis point” given the massive foreign investment in desalination

plants outlined previously. Amnesty does not reveal how it determined that a “crisis point” has been reached.

227. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “Israeli settlements... contribute to the pollution of fresh water and groundwater with both treated and untreated waste, as well as the pollution of air and soil.” Footnote 1095 links to a UN report which on page 9 says: “Israeli settlements... place additional pressure on limited natural resources, further contributing to the pollution of water, as well as air and soil and water.” (p. 196) The first UN report cites yet another UN report that says the same thing – in both cases there is no mention of “treated or untreated waste.” Amnesty manipulated a generic statement from a UN report that populations pressure the environment, and inserted words about “untreated waste” to make the settlements appear uncaring about the environment, a libelous charge.

228. ERROR: Amnesty again brings up the issue of Bedouins, and again is mistaken in its commentary. It writes: “...the Israeli authorities do not provide adequate housing or essential services such as water and sanitation, healthcare, education, public transport or electricity to 35 unrecognized Bedouin villages in the Negev/Naqab...” (p. 197) In fact, Israel has made significant efforts to provide adequate housing and services for years – it is the Bedouins who often refuse to leave their tent camps and semi-nomadic lifestyle while living on certain lands illegally. For example, in 2018 Israel approved a town earmarked for Bedouins (Avdat) with 500 units with modern living features.²¹⁸ Amnesty is also mistaken in the number of unrecognized Bedouin villages as several were legalized in 2021 under agreement with Mansour Abbas’ Ra’am party²¹⁹ and another 10 to 12 are in planning to be recognized.²²⁰ It is not surprising that Amnesty omitted these events, as the report completely omits mention of Mansour Abbas as a deliberate policy to ignore all participation and influence of Arabs in Israeli government. While occurring after Amnesty’s report was released, Israel recently announced a major NIS 5 billion five-year development plan for Bedouin communities.²²¹ This is not an anomaly; Israel has significantly increased investment in the Arab sector in recent years, contradicting the notion of neglect due to apartheid. Amnesty deliberately chooses to ignore these developments.

229. ERROR: Amnesty says Palestinians in Area C of the West Bank are “prevented from repairing existing infrastructure including water cisterns.” (p. 197) Footnote 1097 cites a UN OCHA report from June 2021 which says they “face impediments in rehabilitating existing connections and constructing or repairing water cisterns.” Amnesty subtly deceives by implying Israel “prevents” when the original source says they face unnamed “impediments.” Subtle and not so subtle slander permeates much of the Amnesty report. Besides the error, and similar to much of the report which focuses on small subsets of communities (e.g., Bedouins in the Negev, Palestinian residents denied citizenship for reunification), Amnesty devotes several pages in this section to some thousands of Area C residents who do not have full access to utility services, like water pipelines. All of this is blamed on Israel as evidence of apartheid – the semi-nomadic lifestyle of many of these residents is not considered a factor.

230. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty devotes two more pages to a sidebar (p. 197-8) of supposed Israeli cruelty at the unauthorized tent camp at Al-Hadidiya, comprising all of 200 people out of 3 million in the West Bank and 7 million overall in the whole area supposedly suffering from apartheid. Like other news outlets, these tents are presented as “villages” and Israel is thus destroying “homes” and “structures” to give a false impression that Israel is just razing a regular town for no good reason. Amnesty notes that the residents lived in a certain location prior to 1967 and had to move in 1997 when the site was declared a firing zone. Amnesty also notes the “village” is not connected to the water supply – which means that for 19 years under Jordanian rule this was also the case. Did Jordan deliberately cut the villagers off from water? Or is it the case that what is essentially a tent camp is not typically connected to fixed utilities? B’Tselem’s own video²²² of the destruction of the “village” clearly shows that Al-Hadidiya is a nothing more than a collection of temporary type structures in the middle of an area clearly far away from any roads or utilities, which is why the Jordanians did not connect them to water pipes either. There is a human tragedy here – the exploitation of some dozens of people to manufacture incidents for the cameras of B’Tselem.

231. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty criticizes Israel for not connecting unrecognized Bedouin villages in the Negev to the national water network. (p. 199) Once again, Amnesty refuses to accept that these structures are built illegally on land not owned by these individuals. Why would Israel or any nation connect unauthorized construction of tent camps to sewage, water, and electric. Instead, Israel's has offered to provide Bedouins with housing in established towns with all of these services. The Israeli Supreme Court has upheld many of the matters related to the Bedouin issue. While there may certainly be fair and less fair aspects of the matter, and one can argue that alternative methods to solve the situation should be implemented, portraying these issues as simply "apartheid" is a gross misrepresentation.

232. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty continues its intense focus on the Bedouins, this time in the village of Al-Araqib (p. 200-1) which apparently has some 400 people although a 2021 article by the Turkish Andalou Agency says it has 22 families²²³ and an *Al-Jazeera* article says it has 220 people.²²⁴ The town even gets placement on the introductory map of the region that Amnesty felt had no room to display Tel-Aviv, Jerusalem or Haifa (See Point 1). This town is covered in two pages of the report while the daily experience of nearly 2 million Arab citizens of Israel is barely covered. It turns out this village comprised mainly of tents and shacks has been demolished 186 times as of 2021 or about 3 to 4 times per year. Amnesty says that "Al-Araqib was established during the Ottoman period on land that was purchased by the village's residents in 1906" in an attempt to establish that Israel is stealing private land. Footnote 1111 cites a website of an obscure NGO aptly titled "Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions" who says "the residents of Al-Araqib have documents from the Ottoman era showing their ancestors purchased the land in 1906" with no further sources or images of these documents. Amnesty has also not provided official documents or reviewed court cases. Amnesty says "In the 1970s, former residents submitted multiple claims of land ownership to Israeli authorities to allow them to return to Al-Araqib. They were all rejected." Neither Amnesty nor any NGO cited has provided evidence that this land is in fact owned by these Bedouins – despite decades and 186 removals and assurances that these Bedouins have documentation. Israel has made it clear many times that they have modern, alternative housing for

Bedouins. This is not apartheid but a legal dispute over a small amount of desert land near a highway that Israel claims is not privately owned, but Amnesty, without evidence of Bedouin ownership claims, decides that Israel's motivation is cruel apartheid.

233. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty claims Israel “discriminates when providing funds to the health system serving Palestinian citizens of Israel, even though they have worse health care than their Jewish Israeli counterparts...” (p. 203) The evidence for this section are various disparities between Arab and Jews, which Amnesty sees only as a result of apartheid. The first disparity cited is that 41% of Jews surveyed said they had a *direct* bus route to their local medical facility versus 15% for Arabs. See the apartheid? Footnote 1125 cites a report from Physicians from Human Rights which Amnesty relies upon for this section titled “Unequal Access to Health Care Services.” The statistics are from a survey conducted by this group. A review of the methodology reveals this was an online only survey that had 612 respondents including 123 Arabs. About two pages of Amnesty's report relies on the results of this one survey to charge Israel with apartheid-like healthcare services for Arab citizens of Israel. Every statistic cited by Amnesty is a double standard that ignores normal disparities in minority populations worldwide. While in a utopian world there would be no disparities, the fact that they exist in Israel is not evidence of apartheid. Further double standards are highlighted in the next points.

234. DOUBLE STANDARD: The next evidence of apartheid from the survey is that 78% of Jewish respondents said they were granted a medical appointment in the first week within their request, but only 55% for Arabs. The same survey showed that 86% of Jews saw their doctor within 30 mins of appointment time but only 81% of Arabs enjoyed this same short wait time. Amnesty did not cite this statistic as reflective of apartheid despite it not being exactly the same. The average wait time for an appointment was 19 days in the UK²²⁵ so it seems Arabs in Israel are doing better than British citizens. The continued assessment of various disparities in Israel, no matter their consequence, without a full comparison to other nations, is part of the “perfection standard” Amnesty applies to Israel.

235. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty cites Arab infant mortality at 5.4 (per 1,000 births) versus 2.4 for Jews as evidence of apartheid. In the UK Infant mortality for blacks and Muslims was about 6 versus about 3.7 for whites; also a significant disparity, and it seems “apartheid” Israel provides better maternal care to its Arab citizens than UK to its Muslims.²²⁶ Australia appears to have apartheid-like infant mortality disparities, with 6.3 infant mortality for Aboriginal persons versus 3.1 for whites.²²⁷ The U.S. is no better, with a high 10.8 rate for blacks versus 4.6 for whites.²²⁸ Instead of apartheid, the story should be how the Arab minority in Israel has a lower infant mortality rate than minorities in the UK, Australia and the U.S. as well as surrounding nations Lebanon (6), Turkey (8), Jordan (13) and Egypt (17).²²⁹

236. DOUBLE STANDARD: The next double standard Amnesty relies upon to evidence apartheid is disparity in life expectancy: 83.1 years for Jews versus 79.5 for Arabs. (p. 203) No matter that Arab Israelis have the highest life expectancy compared to all 21 Arab countries including the Gulf states, and commensurate with life expectancy in the U.S. Under the “perfection standard” any difference between Arab and Jews is apartheid. Similar disparities among different minority groups are normal worldwide. In one stark example, Aboriginal persons in Australia are at 73.6 years versus 81.8 for whites.²³⁰

237. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites as evidence of apartheid that: “Self-assessed health is lower for respondents among Arab citizens of Israel (49% assessed their health as very good), compared to Jewish Israeli respondents (56% assessed their health as very good).” (p. 204) The insignificance of this result from an online survey of a few hundred Israelis is simply a misrepresentation. This sentence is one of a few “slip ups” by Amnesty in the report that bypassed the editors, who in nearly all cases made sure to deliberately refer to Arab-Israelis as Palestinians or Palestinian citizens of Israel.

238. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty continues to misrepresent concerns and recommendations from UN CERD reports as evidence of Israeli apartheid, despite this

type of language standard in most of these reports. Amnesty writes: "In its 2020 review, CERD expressed concern about the disproportionately poor health status of the 'Palestinian and Bedouin' populations..." and notes similar concerns were expressed in 2019. (p. 204) The CERD report on the UK expresses similar concerns "that persons of African descent face institutional racism in their enjoyment of rights, including the specific areas of concern mentioned in the present concluding observations, such as health, employment, education..."²³¹ Similar examples can be found in numerous reports and thus they do not evidence unique levels of racism in Israel that amount to apartheid.

239. OMISSION: Amnesty devotes several pages to how Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza have difficulty obtaining permits to enter Israel for certain healthcare. (p. 205-6) In Gaza, Amnesty blames "the blockade and segregation" as reducing healthcare services. As is the case throughout the report, Amnesty omits all mention of Hamas attacks against Israel and its designation as a terrorist organization by most of the Western world as factors in Israel's actions. Amnesty also omits incidents where Hamas abused the healthcare permit process to allow its operatives to enter Israel. An incident of this nature occurred in February 2022, after the Amnesty report was published,²³² but prior incidents occurred as well; in 2019 a Gazan man who obtained a permit to enter the West Bank was recruited by Hamas to recruit for operatives.²³³ In April 2017 two Gazan sisters were caught smuggling in explosives from Gaza into Israel using an entry permit for cancer treatment. In 2007 two women were arrested who admitted to planning a suicide bombing in Tel Aviv and Netanya; they exploited the medical permit system to enter Israel.²³⁴ Incredibly, despite this abuse by Hamas which Amnesty does not cite let alone condemn, Amnesty admits that of the permits requested nearly 80% are approved and "the remaining 20% are either denied or not approved in time." Amnesty scoffs at "unexplained 'security' reasons" by Israeli authorities – the above examples are sufficient explanation.

240. OMISSION: Amnesty criticizes Israel for restricting the entry into Gaza of certain medical equipment such as radiotherapy equipment. (p. 205-6) Footnote 1150 cites a *Haaretz* article about a PET/CT scanners not allowed entry into Nablus, which is not

Gaza. Ironically, the article is about the success of Arab Dr. Haj-Yahia who earned a medical degree at Israel's prestigious Technion institute and performed the first ever Palestinian heart transplant – an example that starkly contradicts apartheid. As in the previous point, Amnesty completely ignores Hamas use of equipment and materials for rockets and tunnels. Hamas possesses Russian made Grad rockets and Kornet missiles smuggled into Gaza via Iran. Hamas also has the ability to purchase radiotherapy equipment and deliver it through Egypt, a land border that Israel does not control. Is the lack of equipment possibly due to the fact that Hamas has not made it a priority to divert \$3 million from its weaponry budget on this expensive machine? Amnesty once again distorts and omits key information to accuse Israel of apartheid.

241. OMISSION: Amnesty cites a WHO report (footnote 1151) discussing restrictions on entry of equipment to Gaza such as “communications equipment” which Amnesty says makes it difficult “coordinating ambulances and emergency response.” (p. 206) Again, Amnesty willfully ignores Hamas’ massive investment in its military infrastructure. Hamas successfully communicated and coordinated while launching 4,000 rockets and hiding its fighters in a tunnel network. In February 2020 Hamas operatives broke into the warehouses of Palestinian media and telecommunications company Paltel Group and stole millions of dollars of advanced communications equipment for its own military purposes.²³⁵ Similar theft was recorded in 2016. Amnesty should criticize Hamas’ theft and abuse of dual use equipment that deprives Gazan civilians and forces Israel to enact tight restrictions on the entry of goods into Gaza.

242. ERROR: Amnesty claims that Israel’s approval rate for Gazan children to enter Israel for healthcare was lower for those injured in the so-called “Great March of Return” than the overall permit rate as a “punitive measure.” (p. 207) This is a particularly slanderous charge, that Israel vindictively targeted a certain group of children to not receive healthcare. In footnote 1167 Amnesty cites a UN document²³⁶ which on page 8 paragraph 24 writes: “The approval rate for such applications is significantly lower for Palestinian children who were injured during demonstrations in Gaza than for those injured in other circumstances. In 2018, 22 per cent of applications

were approved, compared with an average approval rate of 75 per cent for other cases involving children.” The source provided in footnote 30 is a WHO document “Health access: barriers for patients in the Occupied Palestinian Territory,” June 2019. A review of this WHO document does not mention any statistics related to fewer permits for children injured in demonstrations. The only reference to “Great March” permits is the following sentences from page 3: “As of 30 September 2019, according to Gaza’s Coordination and Liaison Office, there had been 591 patient applications to Israeli authorities for permits to access healthcare through Erez/Beit Hanoun crossing by those injured during the Great March of Return demonstrations since 30 March 2018. The approval rate for this group is significantly lower than the overall approval rate for patient permit applications to exit Gaza, with 18% (104) approved, 27% (161) denied and 55% (326) delayed.” The WHO report does not mention anything in this section about *children* and the report does not match up with the UN statement, which Amnesty copied. Furthermore, the UN document does not speculate that the different rates for approval, which is incorrect anyway based on its source, was for “punitive measures.” Amnesty merely speculates based on false data that it did not verify that Israel took revenge against children.

243. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty devotes a full page to a Gazan child who apparently died due to delayed entry into the West Bank for cancer, where he already had a surgery. (p. 208) Amnesty blames Israel but unwittingly reveals that it was not quite Israel’s fault: “The family tried reaching out to the Civil Administration office but were told that they were not processing any permits since the Ramallah-based Palestinian authorities had cut ties with the Israeli authorities, following Israel’s declared plans of annexation in April 2020.” The Palestinian Authority allowed its own politics to supersede the needs of this child, yet Amnesty still blames Israel and cites this case as evidence of apartheid.

244. OMISSION: Amnesty again cites the UN document “Concluding Observations: Israel 12 Nov 2019” urging Israel to “[i]mmediately lift the blockade and closures on the Gaza Strip” and other related recommendations. (p. 209) Amnesty omits this comment from the same UN document *prefacing* its urgings: “While noting the serious

security situation affecting [Israel]." Amnesty cites the recommendation but deliberately omits the UN acknowledgment of Israel's "serious security situation."

245. OMISSION: Amnesty devotes a paragraph to the fact that ambulances from the West Bank often need to transfer patients to Israeli-licensed ambulances when approved for entry to Israel. (p. 209) The average wait time is 24 mins and according to the source (footnote 1178) it can be a difficult process, such as when it rains (an actual comment from the source cited). Why might Israel not allow an ambulance to enter freely from the West Bank into Israel? Due to several instances of ambulances used as cover for terror attacks into Israel, which Amnesty willfully omits. These events are similar to Palestinian abuses of medical permits to support terrorism. An example of abuse of ambulances is cited in this endnote.²³⁷

246. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty attempts to cite Israeli actions in Arab areas of East Jerusalem (Kufr Aqab and Shuafat) at the beginning of COVID-19 as somehow discriminatory but the details reveal the opposite. (p. 210) Amnesty notes that testing facilities were not available early on and only after court petitions by Adalah and other groups on April 8, 2020, did the health authorities in Israel commit to opening clinics and testing facilities. Indeed, three clinics opened on April 15 and later on more testing facilities. Despite Israeli attention to this matter early on in the pandemic, Amnesty still presents these actions as evidence of apartheid. A proper review of the history of the pandemic will show that the world only began to take aggressive action in March 2020; the U.S. declared a state of emergency on March 13 and testing in the U.S. was notoriously slow to get to any type of scale in April 2020.²³⁸ Israeli testing was also slow to ramp up in these weeks of March and April.²³⁹ The fact that the Israeli health system responded properly and opened the requested clinics within a week of the petition and within a few weeks after the pandemic began to be dealt with internationally is a testament to Israeli democracy and care for its citizens, not apartheid.

247. ERROR: Amnesty claims that Israel has "repeatedly targeted medical facilities during its military offensives" from 2008 to 2017 which is another way of saying that

Israel is a serial war criminal that barbarically and deliberately attacks medical facilities. (p. 210) Amnesty says that Israel damaged or destroyed 147 hospitals and clinics and 80 ambulances, and killed or injured 145 medical workers over this time period. While Amnesty lists statistics it does not cite evidence of how it determined these were “targeted” attacks. Amnesty libels Israel with major war crimes, but cites no evidence. The numbers cited are from a group called Medical Aid for Palestinians which is a group based in the UK, but they provide no source – their data says 73 hospitals or clinics were damaged or destroyed in the 2014 Gaza conflict (and 58 in 2008-9 and the remainder at other times). Through further research this 73 number for the 2014 conflict appears in a UN report titled “Key figure on the 2014 hostilities,”²⁴⁰ in which footnote 7 cites the “Gaza Strip Joint Health Sector Assessment Report” by a group called Health Cluster which appears to be staffed by WHO persons using data from people in Gaza – effectively self-reported data with no further verification. Page 9 of the report breaks down the 73 health care facilities damaged or destroyed out of 97 total. It turns out 53 incurred “minor” damage defined as “less than 5,000 USD” and 12 received “major” damage defined as more than \$5,000 of damage but the facility is “functional and operational.” Two clinics had “severe” damage of more than \$5,000 but needed to be repaired before they could reopen, and “total” damage was incurred by 1 hospital (out of 32) and 6 clinics and other facilities.²⁴¹ The notion of Israeli weapons “targeting” these clinics but in most cases causing literally \$5,000 or less of damage is preposterous. Based on data reported by Gazan officials, perhaps 7 facilities, mainly clinics which are typically not freestanding, were destroyed. A similar conclusion can be made for the 2008-9 figures. The source for the 58 medical facilities “damaged or destroyed” in this conflict comes from a WHO report titled “Gaza Initial Health Needs Assessment, 29 January 2009” which is also cited in a UN report.²⁴² Annex 1 lists the events for all 122 facilities during the war, which are all self-reported by Gazan officials. According to this data two clinics were “completely destroyed” and perhaps in 3 or 4 cases did the report allege “direct” attacks by Israel from shelling or direct fire. The vast majority of the damage was extremely minor and incidental, and the report noted that all the centers were back in operation except for two that were destroyed. Amnesty does not provide a shred of evidence that Israel “targeted” healthcare facilities, but makes this assumption based on a misrepresented high

number of facilities that it assumes were destroyed or suffered massive damage. A closer review shows the opposite -- Israel did not wantonly target a majority of Gaza's healthcare facilities since the vast majority in the 147 number were barely damaged. Of course, Amnesty does not mention anything about why Israel was engaged in military activity in Gaza; even a UN report on the 2014 conflict provided some context explaining: "Between 7 July and 26 August 2014, Palestinian armed groups fired 4,881 rockets and 1,753 mortars towards Israel, killing six civilians and injuring as many as 1,600 people, including 270 children. A mother from Israel described the situation experienced: "We have 45 seconds to run. You just have to wait and see if it's going to fall on you"²⁴³ and also explaining "Palestinian armed groups released statements indicating that they intended to attack Israeli civilians and population centres in Israel. In some instances, Palestinian armed groups in Gaza reportedly attempted to warn civilians in Israel of imminent attacks. For instance, on 20 August 2014, the Al-Qassam Brigades warned communities near Gaza to avoid returning home or to remain inside shelters." Amnesty is comfortable slandering Israel of committing war crimes with no evidence, but not even mentioning obvious Hamas war crimes.

248. ERROR: Amnesty writes: "On 16 May 2021, Israel carried out air strikes against residential buildings and streets in Gaza city, which destroyed two residential buildings belonging to the Abu Al-Ouf and Al-Kolaq families, killing at least 30 people." (p. 211) Once again, Amnesty falsifies war crimes against Israel. As reported in *The New York Times*, according to Israeli military spokesman Lt. Col. Jonathan Conricus, "several Israeli aircraft fired 11 missiles along a 200-yard stretch of Al Wahda Street, aiming to destroy a tunnel and command center beneath it."²⁴⁴ The reported noted that drone footage showed craters in the road left by the GPS-guided bombs. The residential building was not targeted and was not hit by a bomb, contrary to Amnesty's assertion; as the article explained, "while most of the adjacent buildings remain standing, the Abul Ouf Building collapsed in what the official described 'a freak event'" It was the underground explosion of Hamas' tunnel command center that dislodged the building's foundations – a tragedy caused by Hamas' construction of military infrastructure under residential buildings. Since Amnesty deliberately decided not to include the word "tunnel" in the report, none of this information was conveyed.

249. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty writes: “between October and December 2015, attacks by Israeli security forces resulted in damage to 92 ambulances and injuries to 147 medical workers, in addition to eight hospitals being raided.” (p. 211) Footnote 1190 cites a report from Medical Aid for Palestinians, which on page 13 says these numbers, and in footnote 3 cites a WHO report titled “Right to Health: Crossing barriers to access health in the occupied Palestinian territory 2014-2015.” The WHO article on page 45 shows these same numbers citing “The Palestine Red Crescent Society” with no further source or evidence.

250. ERROR: Amnesty states that Israel raided Palestinian hospitals 8 times in October to November 2015, “usually aimed at arresting injured Palestinian protestors whilst they are seeking medical care,” thus characterizing Israeli actions as simple cruelty against innocent hospitalized people who were doing nothing more than peacefully protesting. (p. 211) Footnote 1190 cites a Medical Aid for Palestinians report which itself cites a 2013 WHO report that is the ultimate source for these raids that occurred on these two specific months in 2015.²⁴⁵ The WHO report highlights in detail each of these 8 hospital raids (they actually list 9 raids, but Medical Aid for Palestinians only notes 8 as one raid was to a “private” clinic). Here is an overview of each of these 8 raids: The first raid at a Nablus hospital on October 4, 2015 led to the capture of Palestinian gunman Ahmad Dawabsheh who shot to death an Israeli couple in their car in front of their four children aged 4 months to 9 years old – not quite the innocent protestor Amnesty purports.²⁴⁶ The second raid on October 27 at Makassed Hospital in East Jerusalem simply took patient files under court order, no one was arrested or harmed.²⁴⁷ The third raid occurred the next day at the same hospital and also seized files, no one was arrested.²⁴⁸ The fourth raid was yet again at the same hospital to seize files and no one was arrested. As reported in *Haaretz*, the files sought by the army was related to a teenager who was preparing to throw a firebomb.²⁴⁹ The fifth raid was at an “NGO Clinic” on October 30 and according to the WHO personnel were forced to evacuate the facility, but no one was arrested or harmed. The sixth raid was at a private clinic in Hebron and according to the WHO, staff were detained for interrogation – no one was arrested. The seventh raid on

November 9 was once again at the Makassed Hospital to obtain the same patient's file per the WHO report and confirmed in a news story.²⁵⁰ The eighth raid occurred on November 12, 2015 at the Ahli hospital in Hebron, and as reported by *The New York Times*, was meant to capture Azzam Azat Shaaban Shalalda who stabbed an Israeli civilian, and after being shot following the attack fled to this hospital.²⁵¹ The ninth raid listed in October and November 2015 was at a Red Crescent hospital in East Jerusalem where according to the WHO, security camera footage was demanded. No one was harmed or arrested. Amnesty thus egregiously fabricates the charge that Israel conducted raids to arrest "protestors" – in none of the raids cited did this type of arrest occur. What Amnesty did omit is that the two instances where Palestinians were arrested, they had committed terrorist acts, including the brutal murder of two parents in front of their children.

251. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty claims that during the 2021 protests in Sheikh Jarrah, Israeli forces "impeded the work of Palestinian healthcare workers by preventing them from treating the wounded..." (p. 211) Footnote 1193 cites a letter to the UK government written by the group Medical Aid for Palestinians. The letter does not cite any proof or documented incidents, and neither does Amnesty.

252. DEAD CITATION: Amnesty claims that that during Sheikh Jarrah protests in May 2021 "at least 41 healthcare workers were injured in the West Bank, and 21 medical service vehicles were damaged or confiscated." (p. 211) Footnote 1194 cites a webpage report by NGO Anera, which itself cites no source.

253. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty makes a sweeping statement that: "Israel discriminates against Palestinian students in Israel and East Jerusalem by underfunding the Arab education sector...They receive less funding than their Jewish counterparts..." (p. 212) Over the subsequent page Amnesty lists various statistics showing how funding for education in Arab locales is lower than Jewish locales. Based on 2016 funding statistics government spending on Jewish education is around NIS 20,000 versus NIS 16,000 for the Arab sector – a 25% disparity.²⁵² As usual, Amnesty takes normal instances of minority disparities and cites them as evidence of apartheid,

refusing to note many of the statistics show that Israel is actually performing better than many OECD countries. For example, Canada reports a 30% funding gap in education for its First Nation people.²⁵³ The funding gap in the U.S. is 19% for blacks versus whites, and in some states much higher.²⁵⁴ No doubt similar disparities occur worldwide for reasons other than apartheid. Amnesty also ignores massive recently announced funding initiatives for Arab education.²⁵⁵

254. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites all kinds of statistics purporting to show deliberate neglect of Arab education. Amnesty writes as apparent evidence of apartheid: “In 2016, only 526 classrooms were built in Arab localities, compared to 2,171 classrooms built in the Hebrew education system.” (p. 213) Amnesty just proved equality in education with this statistic, as 20% of classrooms built for Arabs is in the same proportion as their population.

255. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty continues to cite disparities in education statistics noting that there is a high drop-out rate for Arabs in East Jerusalem due to various factors it blames on Israel. (p. 213) Footnote 1210 cites an Ir Amim and ACRI report which on page 4 says that the total dropout rate in East Jerusalem is 13%. The dropout rate for indigenous Canadians is 43% versus 16% overall in Canada. In the EU, 68% of Roma children left school early and only 18% go on to higher education.²⁵⁶ France’s body that evaluates the school system referred to Muslim immigrant districts as “school ghettos” where dropout rates are high.²⁵⁷

256. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “In 2019, public schools in East Jerusalem had a shortage of 1,983 classrooms out of a total shortfall of 3,800 classrooms in the entire city” and cites some other statistics on classroom count disparities. (p. 214) As Amnesty has noted elsewhere, Arabs comprise about 38% of the population of Jerusalem, however, Arab children comprise more than 50% of children in the city.²⁵⁸ The shortage of classrooms is about 50/50 for Arabs and Jews, and with the school population also around 50/50, Amnesty again cites statistics that *contradicts* apartheid.

257. DEAD CITATION: The minutiae of some of Amnesty's charges against Israel contrast starkly to the major omissions already listed above. Amnesty cites a report from Ir Amim (footnote 1223) claiming that many schools in East Jerusalem "lack open spaces" and "have sub-standard sanitary conditions due to a shortage of cleaning staff and unavailability of sanitation supplies." (p. 214) The Ir Amim reports are not sourced, and these comments are purely subjective. It is absurd to mention a lack of cleaning supplies as part of the case to prove Israeli apartheid but not to use the word terrorism or tunnel even once.

258. ERROR: Amnesty continues to cite lack of classrooms and schools in East Jerusalem as a sign of apartheid despite the fact that the classroom shortage is equal for Arab and Jewish children as discussed in Point 256. Amnesty nevertheless libels Israel claiming "blatant neglect" and mentions that "according to the UN, in 2019, eight schools in East Jerusalem" had stop-work orders or demolition orders against them affecting 1,100 students if implemented. (p. 214) Footnote 1224 cites a UNICEF document with a graphic that cites a group called "Education Cluster" with no further source. However, Amnesty misrepresents by focusing on schools likely built illegally instead of new schools built and new investment in East Jerusalem education. A 2021 *Haaretz* article highlights a new Arab school in Beit Hanina that opened in September 2020 serving 600 students – alone offsetting more than half of the possible students theoretically affected by stop work orders. According to the same article, 32 new schools have been built in East Jerusalem in recent years, four times the number apparently affected by stop-work orders, starkly contradicting Amnesty's libelous charge of "blatant neglect."²⁵⁹

259. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty notes that in May 2018 the Israeli government announced major investments in East Jerusalem but criticized that a portion of the education budget was conditioned on East Jerusalem schools adopting the Israeli curriculum. (p. 215) Once again, Amnesty treats Israel's rights as a sovereign nation differently than others; it is common for a nation to establish a standard curriculum for public schools. About half of East Jerusalem students attend private schools run by Muslim and other organizations who can teach alternative curriculums, as is normal in

any democracy. However, Amnesty omits another key truth – Arabs in East Jerusalem *requested* the Israeli curriculum. The Palestinian curriculum was seen as outdated, while the Israeli curriculum offers technology studies, help for students with disabilities, and necessary Hebrew language education.²⁶⁰

260. ERROR: Amnesty claims that during the 2014 Gaza conflict, “nearly 615 educational facilities” were “damaged or destroyed.” (p. 216) Footnote 1238 cites an article from the UN Development Programme but no end source is cited. This number is contradicted by other more reliable sources. An official UN Human Rights Council report, certainly no friend to Israel, states 235 schools were destroyed or damaged.²⁶¹ An *Al-Jazeera* report stated: “Ziad Thabet, an official in Gaza’s education ministry, told *Al-Jazeera* that 187 government schools were damaged during the conflict, three of which were totally destroyed and cannot be used. Another 184 sustained some form of damage.”²⁶² Given the definition of “damage” based on the criteria used to assess damage to hospitals (see Point 247), we already know that damage could literally mean a few thousand dollars of paint damage.

261. OMISSION: Amnesty cites damage to schools in the May 2021 Gaza conflict and asserts that “Israeli violations” placed thousands of Gazan children at risk of dropping out. In the next paragraph Amnesty blames “Israeli air strikes on schools” (again, a charge of war crimes made with no evidence) along with “preventing entry of construction materials” for the lack of enough schools. (p. 216) As usual, Amnesty absolves Hamas of all fault for any adverse conditions in Gaza, despite the fact that Hamas began the conflagration by firing rockets into Israel. Amnesty’s complete whitewashing of Hamas actions is a major theme of the report. The remainder of this section continues to criticize Israel for restrictions on movement that hamper education, but Amnesty does not mention security concerns as a reason for these restrictions.

262. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “thousands of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip have been unable to access higher education outside Gaza, including in the West Bank, since Israel imposed its blockade...” (p. 216) Footnote 1243 cites a January 2021

article from Gisha that discusses restrictions on student travel from Gaza *specifically* due to COVID restrictions.²⁶³ Amnesty misrepresents Israel's actions as normal behavior when the evidence cited tell a different story. Amnesty also omits Gaza's border with Egypt. Why must Israel allow persons to enter from an entity run by an EU and US designated terrorist entity sworn to Israel's destruction? Why is this not Egypt's responsibility? Amnesty deliberately avoids asking and answering these questions.

263. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty devotes two more pages to repeating the entire long list of crimes committed by Israel, basically recounting the Executive Summary, and how they supposedly comprise apartheid. Amnesty adds a new charge against Israel in this section: "While Palestinian citizens of Israel can vote in national elections, in practice their right to political participation is limited and they continue to be perceived as the 'enemy within.'" (p. 218) This is pure conjecture by Amnesty and a bankrupt opinion given the fact that Amnesty refuses to honestly evaluate "political participation" by Arabs in Israel, such as the presence of an Arab party in Israel's ruling coalition. Given the massive investment in the Arab sector in recent years ignored by Amnesty and the inclusion of an Arab party in the ruling coalition for the first time in history, the notion that Arab-Israelis are perceived as the "enemy within" is not supported (even if there are elements in society and right wing politicians who might express racism).

264. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty repeats comments regarding home demolitions in the Negev, East Jerusalem and Area C as an example of "inhuman and inhumane acts." Despite the relatively small numbers – generally in the hundreds in the case of illegally built tents by Bedouins, perhaps some 1,000 plus affected Arabs in East Jerusalem assuming the absolutely worst allegations are true in every instance (Point 11 shows that UN statistics list 877 possibly at risk persons), and similar numbers in Area C, versus 7 million Arabs in the region – Amnesty cannot see anything else but "inhumane acts." (p. 220-1) Amnesty claims these acts "coerces the transfer of Palestinians" despite significant growth of the Palestinian population. Amnesty admits that Israel does this "on the grounds of lack of building permits" but effectively scoffs

at the notion that this is a legitimate reason. Amnesty thus denies Israel the right as a state to determine its laws as a democracy, including building permitting – a right it would not criticize for any other nation. The assumption Amnesty maintains as a tautology is that if a Palestinian is denied a permit by Israel it is not legitimate, but literally an “inhumane act.”

265. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “The restrictive and discriminatory planning laws and policies in Israel, East Jerusalem and Area C of the West Bank have made it extremely difficult or virtually impossible for Palestinians to obtain building permits from the Israeli authorities...” (p. 221) Since this comment is listed in the section of “inhuman and inhumane acts” Amnesty’s implication is that Israel won’t allow Palestinians to live and thrive. The gross misrepresentation is part of the report’s intense focus on Area C and East Jerusalem to the total exclusion of Area A and B and claiming that Arabs in Israel cannot obtain building permits. Not mentioned is that Area C under the Oslo Accords did not allow Palestinians to build freely – both sides continue to adhere to this agreement, so not approving building permits is hardly “inhumane.” Not mentioned is that in Area A, where more than 90% of Palestinians in the West Bank actually live, many thousands of new building permits and dwellings are built each year without incident. Amnesty does not care to report on this construction as it contradicts their thesis of “inhumane acts.” In Q4 2020 the Palestinian Authority approved 2,732 building licenses, up 38% from Q3 2020.²⁶⁴ Except for a dip in 2020 due to COVID, building permits range from 2,200-2,600 per quarter in the Palestine Authority.²⁶⁵ 15,331 new dwellings were built in 2019.²⁶⁶ Of course in Gaza where 2 million Palestinians live Hamas has full control of building permitting. While Amnesty has focused on Bedouin communities where Israel has not allowed illegal construction, Amnesty has not cited data for the other 95% of the 2 million Arabs in Israel and their experience with obtaining building permits in their towns.

266. MISREPRESENTATION: The absurd focus on alleged building demolitions in Bedouin locations, East Jerusalem and Area C is further confirmed in Amnesty’s own citation of the numbers related to these issues (p. 221-2) Amnesty says that in

Bedouin communities where permits were denied, 7,298 “demolitions” (generally the removal of tents) occurred over six years – the statistics certainly double count the frequent removals in the same year of tent structures -- or 1,200 per year. In East Jerusalem UN statistics show 1,360 structures removed in nearly 12 years or about 120 per year affecting 215 persons each year. In Area C Amnesty shows statistics that “between 1988 and 2014, the Israeli Civil Administration issued 14,087 demolition orders against Palestinian structures in Area C and executed nearly 20% of them” – meaning about 110 per year. Amnesty reduces Israeli apartheid related to permits and removal of structures – assuming the numbers cited are true – to the experience of a perhaps hundreds to a thousand plus per year in three locations, ignoring the experience of 3 million Palestinians in the West Bank who mostly build without requiring Israeli approval, 2 million Israeli Arabs who similarly are subject to local permitting laws in their towns, and 2 million in Gaza who are completely self-governed.

267. OMISSION: Amnesty devotes another page to calling Israeli military operations that led to the destruction of homes a war crime. Amnesty writes: “The destruction of property in the OPT not justified by military necessity is also a violation of international humanitarian law.” (p. 223) Amnesty has not cited military experts that assessed Israel’s actions in the context of the laws of warfare, merely claiming war crimes. In fact, we have not seen any NGOs enlisting credentialed military experts on the laws of warfare to charge Israel with war crimes. On the other hand, a report assessing Israel’s actions in Gaza in May 2021 written by 12 former leading US military officials (such as the former commander of the US Marine Corps and several generals) concluded that Israel acted in accordance with the Law of Armed Conflict.²⁶⁷ As usual, Amnesty omits all mention of Hamas, rockets, tunnels, etc. in this section, once again libeling Israel as a bloodthirsty war criminal.

268. ERROR: As shown several times previously, Amnesty fabricates the notion of Arabs living in high density or packed enclaves. In describing Silwan it writes it is “a very densely populated part of East Jerusalem lying south of the Old City, with 40,000 to 45,000 Palestinians living in an area of merely 5.5km.” (p. 226) The use of the words

“very” and “merely” are meant to cement the idea that there are inhumane levels of density in this place. Silwan has the same urban density as Tel Aviv and about 30% less dense than New York City. Neither of these places are ever described as “very dense” with people living in a “mere” area of land.

269. ERROR: Amnesty repeats a commonly cited falsehood that Israeli construction in an area known as E1 “will effectively cut the geographic contiguity of the West Bank, with a solid line of Israeli settlements dividing the northern and southern parts of the West Bank.” (p. 234) This is incorrect, as the width of the West Bank at its narrowest where E1 is located, even if constructed, would be the same width of Israel today at its narrowest point, about 15 kilometers.²⁶⁸ If construction in E1 would “effectively cut the geographic contiguity of the West Bank” then Israel as it stands today is already effectively not contiguous. A simple look at the map shows this is obvious, yet the falsehood related to E1 continues to make its way into NGO reports. In 2012 *The New York Times* issued a correction to a news report admitting that construction in E1 “would not divide the West Bank in two” and “would not technically make a contiguous Palestinian state impossible.”²⁶⁹ However, despite four years of research on their report, Amnesty was not able to uncover this evidence.

270. ERROR: Amnesty again repeats charges of deportation and forcible transfers of Palestinians by Israel as “central and widespread Israeli policy.” Amnesty then reveals that “Between 1967 and 2019, according to the Israeli Ministry of Interior, Israel revoked the residency status of 14,683 Palestinians from East Jerusalem.” (p. 236) This comes to about 280 persons per year, while the Arab population in East Jerusalem has soared over the decades, up about 33% since 2009 (nearly a 90,000 person increase). It is a fabrication to call these numbers evidence of a “central and widespread Israeli policy.”

271. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty cites deportation statistics of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza as evidence of inhumane actions – 1,522 Palestinians deported between 1967 and 1992 or about 60 persons per year. (p. 237) Amnesty notes this practice ended in 1992 except for 2002 when 13 Palestinians were

deported. Despite this practice which affected a few dozen persons having ended 20 years ago, Amnesty still cites this as evidence of “inhumane” actions of apartheid.

272. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty repeats its false allegations against Israel throughout the report. In Section 6.1.3 it writes more sweeping statements: “Across Israel and the OPT, Israeli authorities have employed a set of interrelated discriminatory policies and practices that have directly caused the displacement and dispossession of Palestinian communities, created unbearable living conditions for Palestinians...” (p. 239) Amnesty has not evaluated the “living conditions” of the vast majority of 2 million Arab-Israelis so the notion that Arab-Israelis live “unbearably” is hyperbole and a good example of the grand statements of evil attributed to Israel backed by fabricated evidence or exaggerated events that affect a very small number of persons. Even in the West Bank, Amnesty has not evaluated the living conditions of the vast majority of Palestinians, focusing pages and pages on the very small percentage of the population living in Area C; in fact, almost nothing has been written in the entire report about the more than 90% of Palestinians living in Area A and B. Amnesty has not explained how such “unbearable” conditions reconcile with key health indicators in the territories above those of 100 nations (see Point 44).

273. OMISSION: Amnesty devotes about six pages to the issue of administrative detention whereby Israel detains individuals without trial for periods of time due to unusual security related matters. Amnesty notes that since the late 1980s there have been about 5,000 Palestinians held in this manner, and as of May 2020 about 352 Palestinians in administrative detention. Amnesty acknowledges that administrative detention is “not completely prohibited under international law” but only in “exceptional circumstances.” Amnesty of course has determined that Israel’s use of administrative detention is not reasonable and in fact used against Palestinians “solely for the non-violent exercise of their right to freedom of expression and association and punish them for their view challenging the policies of occupation.” (p. 242) This makes sense in Amnesty’s narrative where Palestinian terrorism against Israel is completely omitted from any discussion of any issue. While the matter of administrative detention is certainly controversial and deserves scrutiny, it is a

misrepresentation and omission to assert that its use has no relationship to security measures and terrorism, and that a few thousand people over the decades were detained in this way only to stifle free speech.

274. ERROR: Amnesty devotes almost two pages of a sidebar along with a photograph of the personal story of Ahmad Qatamesh who had been in prison and administrative detention on charges of being a member of the PFLP which Amnesty says is “left-wing political party with an armed wing.” (p. 243-5) This is incorrect, as the PFLP is a terrorist organization designated as such by the EU, US, Japan, Canada and others. Israel did not enact administrative detention on this person to stifle his free speech, as Amnesty contends, but due to his affiliation with a terrorist organization.

275. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty claims that Israel has engaged in “torture on a large scale against Palestinians” but has not provided any evidence of any such large scale torture, thus once again grossly libeling Israel. (p. 248) In the prior pages Amnesty outlines a case purporting to show Israel engages in torture, but it is mostly based on unverified allegations and other NGO reports saying the same thing. In the final paragraph Amnesty states: “According to the Public Committee Against Torture [PCATI] in Israel, between 2001 and 2020, over 1,300 complaints of torture were submitted to the Israeli Ministry of Justice.” The notion that unverified allegations of torture amounts to “large scale” torture is libelous. PCATI has a history of issuing unverified allegations of torture, which Amnesty has picked up in its report. For example, in 2013 it issued a report that Israel placed prisoners, including children, in iron cages, which was unproven and is wholly inaccurate.²⁷⁰

276. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “According to B’Tselem, between September 2000 and February 2017 Israeli forces killed 4,868 Palestinians in the OPT, including 1,793 children, outside the context of armed conflict.” (p. 249) The notion of Palestinians killed “outside the context of armed conflict” implies deliberate killing of civilians, which matches the title of this section of the report, “Unlawful Killings and Serious Injuries” where Amnesty uses the word “murder” to describe Israel’s actions. The B’Tselem report cited by Amnesty says: “From September 2000 – when the second intifada

broke out – through February 2017, Israeli security forces killed 4,868 Palestinians who were not taking part in hostilities.” B’Tselem cites a larger report they wrote which directs readers to their website for an explanation for what “not taking part in hostilities” means.²⁷¹ Contrary to Amnesty’s gross falsification of what B’Tselem explains, “not taking part in hostilities” does not mean the individual was not killed in the context of armed conflict – and in fact, the vast majority of individuals killed shown by B’Tselem were killed in the context of warfare, which by itself is not indicative of war crimes. It simply means, that according to B’Tselem’s sole assessment, the individual killed was not an actual *combatant*. Amnesty redefines Amnesty’s own explanation to present Israel as killing thousands of civilians outside of the context of war – simple bloodthirst. It is a deliberate and cruel manipulation that is part of Amnesty’s strategy to present Israel as the worst violator of human rights in the world.

277. MISREPRESENTATION: Amnesty writes: “Policing activities against civilians during belligerent occupation may never be conducted like hostilities against combatants, as they do not meet the threshold of hostilities regulated by international humanitarian law.” (p. 250) In effect, Amnesty seeks to tie Israel’s hands in combatting terrorism by making this claim as if this is clearly established law, and fails to explain that much of this policing activity is directly related to combatting terrorism. Footnote 1459 cites as evidence an academic paper which reveals that the topic is far more complex and misrepresented by Amnesty. The paper Amnesty cites, “The right to life in armed conflict: does international law provide all the answers”²⁷² makes clear that there are nuances and circumstances that render Amnesty’s neat definition incorrect. In fact the paper’s abstract makes clear that “The concurrent applicability of international humanitarian law and human rights law to hostilities in armed conflict does not mean that the right to life must, in all situations, be interpreted in accordance with the provisions of international humanitarian law” and makes a distinction regarding “civilians taking ‘direct part in hostilities’” In another section the paper explains: “Unlike international armed conflicts, which clearly categorize people as either ‘combatants’ or ‘civilians’, IHL does not formally recognize the status of ‘combatant’ in non-international conflicts.” This comment contradicts Amnesty’s simple notion of “combatants” and “civilians.” A broader analysis of this 24 page

paper contradicts much of Amnesty's one-line statement to portray Israeli actions as violating international law.

278. ERROR: Amnesty downplays and excuses violence by Palestinians against Israeli soldiers asserting: "During protests, demonstrators often resort to low-level violence, throwing stones and rocks at Israeli soldiers but without posing any serious risk to them due to the distance and the heavily protected nature of their positions." (p. 250) This type of thinking is typical in anti-Israel discourse, such as when Israel is told not to respond to Hamas rockets with some kind of comment like "they are not so bad."²⁷³ In fact, attacks on soldiers are frequently far more deadly and the hurling of Molotov cocktails and other explosives are frequent.²⁷⁴ Amnesty willfully ignore numerous news stories, even from favorite source *+972 Magazine*²⁷⁵ to whitewash Palestinian violence. The criticism of Israeli actions in this section of the report is rendered invalid by this deliberate falsification of the facts by Amnesty.

279. ERROR: Amnesty writes: "Israeli forces regularly obstruct and prevent medical personnel from providing medical care to injured protesters, contributing in some cases to their death." (p. 250) Four sources cited in footnote 1463 do not cite any specific and proven examples of Israel preventing medical personnel from helping injured protesters. The UN document cited does not contain any mention of the word protest or protesters, or discuss any of these types of events. Two Al-Haq reports cite allegations of such actions but provides no evidence (one in Gaza where Israel has no presence, but Israel military action apparently prevented ambulances from entering a combat zone and the other where Al-Haq says "there is evidence..." but offers no specifics). The fourth source is an 87 page report produced by Amnesty in 2014 where on page 59 it writes: "PHR-Israel documented...one case where medics were prevented from providing medical assistance to injured protesters..." Thus, based on scattered allegations with no evidence Amnesty erroneously charges Israel with "regularly obstructing" medical personnel from helping injured protesters.

280. MISREPRESENTATION: Similar to the previous error, Amnesty writes that "Israeli forces appear to have deliberately targeted medics, journalists and human rights

defenders during protests,” once again serious charges of deliberate targeting of innocent medical personnel. (p. 251) Footnote 1465 cites Amnesty’s own report from 2014 titled “Trigger Happy” where on page 8 it simply writes virtually the exact same line – but offers no source. On page 59 it discusses the case of a medic who was injured by a foam-tipped bullet that hit his right knee which he claims a soldier fired on him on purpose. Then the report says: “PHR-Israel documented eight cases where Israeli forces targeted medics and injured them...” but with no further evidence. The second source cited for this claim is yet another Amnesty report titled “Six Months On: Gaza’s Great March of Return” where it discusses medics who were injured but does not discuss if or how they were deliberately targeted. Thus, once again Amnesty fabricates a charge of war crimes with no evidence, simply citing two of its own earlier reports that similarly offer no evidence.

281. ERROR: Amnesty discusses the case of Razan Al-Najjar, a Palestinian paramedic who was killed in June 2018 during the so-called “Great March of Return” protests. Amnesty claims that Ms. Al-Najjar was “willfully killed, a grave breach of the Geneva Conventions and a war crime.” Amnesty notes that Israel investigated the killing but found no shots were fired deliberately at Ms. Al-Najjar. Amnesty also feels comfortable citing a December 30, 2018, *New York Times* article²⁷⁶ on this incident but purposely hides the conclusion from a very long investigative piece written by this newspaper: “But the Times’s reconstruction confirmed it: The bullet hit the ground in front of the medics, then fragmented, part of it ricocheting upward and piercing Ms. Najjar’s chest.” *The New York Times* confirmed what Israel’s investigation shows: Ms. Al-Najjar was not willfully killed. The only willful action here is Amnesty’s lie.

282. DOUBLE STANDARD: Amnesty cites data from an Israeli media organization Sikha Mekomit that 14 citizens of Israel, including 9 Palestinians, had been killed by the police over a recent five year period. This comes to about three per year. (p. 256) No details about these particular cases are described, but this is part of Amnesty’s section on how Israel “systematically” kills Palestinians. Regardless of the specific circumstances of these cases, wrongful deaths by police is an unfortunate tragic circumstance in any nation. The U.S. is familiar with these examples as are other

nations.²⁷⁷ Even if the officers involved were racist, it is not evidence of apartheid. In fact, the entire 10-page section of the report purporting to show how Israel unlawfully and systematically kills Palestinians is based on unfounded allegations (such as claiming Israel targets medics), falsifying events (such as the example of Razan Al-Najjar), downplaying violence committed by Palestinians (claiming they are not causing harm and ignoring their frequent hurling of explosives) and amplifying certain cases as “systematic” and deliberate. It is simply another example of Amnesty’s libel against Israel.

283. ERROR: Amnesty cites the case of Kheir Hamdan who was killed by a police officer in 2014. Amnesty writes that he was killed: “after he had approached a police vehicle following the arrest of another man from the village. According to Adalah, Kheir Hamdan banged on the police vehicle’s windows with an object and then ran away when the officers got out. The officers shot Kheir Hamdan while he was running away and not posing an imminent threat to lives.” (p. 256-7) Amnesty cites this incident from an Adalah report which misreports key details. According to a report in *Haaretz*, “Kheir Hamdan ran toward the vehicle while holding a 29-centimeter-long knife and shouting, ‘Allahu akbar.’ The vehicle stopped, Hamdan pounded on the armored windows with his knife and tried to open the door unsuccessfully. An officer sitting by the rear window yelled at him to go away and then opened the van door, firing two bullets into the air...While Hamdan was retreating, Naor Yitzhak came out and fired a single bullet at Hamdan, which hit first his left elbow and then his abdomen.” It appears the case is still in process after a Supreme Court ruling that reopened the case after the police officer was cleared.²⁷⁸ While it may certainly be a case of police wrongdoing, as usual, Amnesty incorrectly cites the true nature of the events.

284. ERROR: Amnesty writes: “The systematic denial of the right to a nationality and severe restrictions imposed by Israel on movement and residence, including the right to leave and to return to one’s country, go beyond what is justifiable under international law.” (p. 260) Amnesty does not explain how a person can be granted a nationality separate from citizenship, yet they claim it is not justifiable under

“international law.” Despite numerous citations of international law throughout the report, Amnesty does not provide a source for this statement.

285. ERROR: Amnesty claims that Israel restricts a “host of basic rights and freedoms, including the rights to freedom of opinion and expression.” (p. 260) Amnesty has not provided evidence that Palestinians do not have a right to freedom of opinion and expression. A review of Palestinian media shows that they dispense aggressive anti-Israel content with no consequences from Israeli authorities.²⁷⁹ There is no evidence that Arabs in Israel do not have freedom of opinion.

286. ERROR: In this section accusing Israel of all types of evil, Amnesty writes that Israel restricts a “host of basic rights and freedoms” including “food.” (p. 260) Amnesty has not provided any evidence of lack of food among Palestinians or a deficiency in caloric intake. This is egregious libel against Israel.

287. ERROR: Amnesty repeatedly discusses the notion of nationality and citizenship as separate statuses that the State of Israel must provide to Palestinians. Amnesty writes: “There is no security justification for the bifurcation of nationality and citizenship within Israel and the limitations that this imposes on Palestinians in exercising their rights.” (p. 264) In this section as well, Amnesty fails to provide any explanation of how nations provide citizenship separate from nationality to persons. It is simply a fabricated concept.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Given the evidence that Amnesty has intentionally fabricated its narrative of Israeli apartheid with systematic and deliberate errors, misrepresentations, omissions, double standards and dead citations, as part of a political campaign to end the State of Israel’s status as a Jewish state in favor of its replacement with an Arab Palestinian state, Amnesty should immediately retract its report and end its vicious legal assault on Israel.

ENDNOTES

¹ “Amnesty USA Director Paul O’Brien’s remarks to the Woman’s National Democratic Club,” *Jewish Insider*, March 14, 2022; <https://jewishinsider.com/2022/03/amnesty-usa-director-paul-obriens-remarks-to-the-womens-national-democratic-club/>

² For example, see this Tweet: <https://twitter.com/saribashi/status/1506633391676002308>

³ Here is one example of many: “Amnesty International’s Big Lie About Israel,” CAMERA, January 31, 2022; <https://www.camera.org/article/amnesty-internationals-big-lie-about-israel/>

⁴ Reports available at: <https://www.ngo-monitor.org/reports/apartheid-report/> and <https://www.ngo-monitor.org/reports/apartheid-report-2022/>

⁵ UNCTAD, *Report on UNCTAD assistance to the Palestinian people*, 5 August 2020. In this UN document, footnote 12 cites ACRI; Footnote 13 cites a World Bank report which cites B’Tselem; Footnote 20 cites a paper that cites B’Tselem; Footnote 24 is a report from Palestinian NGO Women’s Centre for Legal Counseling which itself cites HaMoked, ACRI and YeshDin; Footnote 25 is another UN report which cites Al Mezan, Amnesty, B’Tselem and Ir Amim.

⁶ UN Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in the Palestinian Territories Occupied since 1967, Report, 21 October 2019, UN Doc. A/74/507. Cited by Amnesty in footnotes 1167, 1230 and 1236. In the UN document footnote 11 cites Al Mezan, footnote 14 cites Amnesty, footnote 17 cites B’Tselem, footnote 27 cites Ir Amim, footnote 55 cites HRW, footnote 84 cites Peace Now, and footnote 90 cites B’Tselem director Hagai El-Ad.

⁷ *Area C and the Future of the Palestinian Economy*, 2014; Amnesty cites this World Bank report in footnotes 1033, 1054-5. The report’s bibliography on pages 81-3 lists Bimkom, B’Tselem, Gisha and Yesh Din.

⁸ WHO, Director-General, *Health conditions in the occupied Palestinian territory, including east Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan*, 5 November 2020. Amnesty cites this document in footnotes 941, 1139, 1146, 1153, 1172, 1179. In the WHO report page 6 footnote 5 cites ACRI and footnote 6 cites Al-Haq, page 13 footnote 1 cites ACRI, and page 14 footnote 1 cites Adameer.

⁹ “Belgium ends cooperation with PA education over school named for terrorist,” *i24News*, September 15, 2018; <https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/middle-east/palestinian-territories/184247-180915-belgium-ends-funding-to-palestinian-education-over-school-named-for-terrorist>

¹⁰ The calculation of more than 32.2 million dunams is comprised of adding up all the instances where Amnesty describes a certain amount of land taken in some form by Israel: (1) Amnesty begins with the Absentees’ Property Law of 1950 which it says, “Under this law, Israel expropriated between 4.2 and 6.6 million dunams of land” and cites another source that Israel took 4.45 million of privately owned land. (p. 115) This was in addition to land already held by Israel; (2) Amnesty next claims that “Another major transfer of Palestinian refugees’ land was from the Israeli government to the JNF/KKL” of more than 2 million dunams. 1.1 million was transferred in 1949 and 1.3 million in October 1950. (p. 116). It is possible that some of this land moved to the JNF/KKL came from the land shown in point (1), but the next point sums the two amounts together; (3) Based on the above two expropriations, Amnesty writes: “By 1950, the JNF/KKL owned 2.1 million dunams and the state claimed ownership of 16.7 million dunams of land.” (p. 116) Amnesty thus makes clear that by 1950 Jews held 18.8 million dunams of land. At this point, according to Amnesty, Israel controls about 91% of all the land (Israel post-1948 is about 20.7 million dunams, unchanged until after the 1967 war) (4) Amnesty discusses the Land Acquisition Law of 1953 (p. 120-1) explaining that “Some 1.25 million dunams were expropriated in Israel” under this law. Adding to the prior total, Israel now controls about 20 million dunams or about 97% of total land; (5) In the next section Amnesty describes the Land Ordinance of 1943 and how “The major use of the ordinance [by Israel] began in the mid-1950s as part of the government’s plan for ‘Judaizing the Galilee.’” Amnesty adds “Under the ordinance, Israel expropriated at least 1.2 to 1.3 million dunams of land from the Palestinian population of Israel.” (p. 122) At this point in the mid-1950s, Israel has thus taken control of at least 21.2 million dunams of land, or 102% of the entire land available, which is already impossible and assumes zero Arab land ownership; (6) Amnesty next describes the “State Property Law” passed in 1951, which “transferred ownership of all properties of the British Mandate Government to the State of Israel, as well as properties with no owners.” (p. 126) According to Amnesty, the British mandate government claimed ownership of 1 million dunams which “were transferred to the State of Israel.” So now the total land taken by Israel reaches 22.2 million dunams, or 107% of the total area; (7) Amnesty next writes,

clearly separate from all the prior land totals taken by Israel: “Under the process of land title settlement, the Israeli government also transferred close to 10 million dunams of land considered as wasteland so that it was classified as state land. Hence the Israeli government claimed large tracts of both wasteland and cultivated land.” (p. 126) Adding these wasteland dunams, we arrived at a total land amount of 32.2 million dunams or over 150% of the total land area of pre-1967 Israel; (8) In section 5.4.2 (p. 124) Amnesty further asserts that: “The land title settlement process, which was initiated in 1928 under the British mandate, became an additional tool for Israel’s dispossession of Palestinians across all domains of control, and ultimately, enabled the Israeli authorities to transfer millions of dunams of land for Jewish settlement.” These unspecified “millions of dunams” are presented as separate confiscations from all those already mentioned above, so the total amount of land stolen by Jews is even higher than 32.2 million dunams; (9) On page 129 Amnesty states that “Before 1948 the JNF/KKL acquired a little over 800,000 dunams in Palestine, and therefore this is additive to the more than 2 million dunams per point 2 above. This is once again presented as *separate* from all the land taken by Israel, which would add even further to the 32.2 million dunams held by Jews; (10) To be absolutely clear, Amnesty’s narrative treats each of these expropriations as separate events under separate laws and mechanisms that Israel used from 1948 through the mid-1950s to take Palestinian land. These are not overlapping events as presented by Amnesty and the numbers are not indicated in any context as subsets of larger numbers. The numerical analysis in this endnote is therefore not “double counting” to arrive at the minimum of 32.2 million dunams total.

¹¹ “Why we need to speak about the Absentee Property Law,” Anna Roiser, July 5, 2020; <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/why-we-need-to-speak-about-the-absentee-property-law/>

¹² Per statistics published by investment banking firm UBS in April 2021 (<https://www.businessinsider.com/retail-apocalypse-means-80000-store-closures-next-5-years-2021-4>), the total number of retail stores in the U.S. in 2020 was 878,000 for a population of about 330 million persons. The Arab population in British Palestine in 1948 was about 1.2 million which would compare to 3,200 stores assuming the same density as the current retail landscape in the U.S. Therefore, if we say there were 10,000 stores held by Arabs in the pre-1948 war period of Israel, it means the retail density was 3.1x greater than the U.S. today. About 60% of the Arab population was rural and at least another 6% were Bedouin Nomads, thus only about 35% were urban (according to *A Survey of Palestine*, Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Volume I, December 1945-January 1946, p. 150).

¹³ There are various polls and source, but they all agree that the majority self identify as Arab-Israeli or Israeli, not Palestinians. See for example “Only 7% of Israeli Arabs define themselves as ‘Palestinian’”, *The Jerusalem Post*, April 21, 2021; <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/only-7-percent-of-israeli-arabs-define-themselves-as-palestinian-625285>; the original poll can be found here: <http://jppi.org.il/en/article/index2020/>

¹⁴ “Poll: Jews, Arabs much less divided than Israeli politics lets on,” *+972 Magazine*, April 3, 2019; <https://www.972mag.com/poll-israelis-positive-view-jewish-arab-relations/>

¹⁵ See *A Survey of Palestine*, Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Volume I, December 1945-January 1946, p. 206-8

¹⁶ “Incendiary Balloons Launched From the Gaza Strip,” *i24NEWS*, June 17, 2021; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sjt816ZrcJA>

¹⁷ “Two Palestinians breach Gaza security fence in fourth incident in a week,” *The Times of Israel*, March 29, 2018;

<https://www.timesofisrael.com/two-palestinians-breach-gaza-security-fence-in-fourth-incident-in-a-week/>

¹⁸ “ Hamas Political Bureau Member Salah Al-Bardawil: 50 of the Martyrs Killed in Gaza were from Hamas, 12 Regular People,” from Baladna TV (Gaza), see MEMRI TV, May 16, 2018; <https://www.memri.org/tv/hamas-politburo-member-bardawil-fifty-martyrs-were-hamas-members>

¹⁹ “Two years on: people injured and traumatized during the “Great March of Return” are still struggling,” OCHA, April 6, 2020; <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/two-years-people-injured-and-traumatized-during-great-march-return-are-still-struggling>

²⁰ CERD, Concluding Observations: Israel, 27 January 2020, UN Doc. CERD/C/ISR/CO/17-19

²¹ (1) Italy - CERD writes: “While noting the recent efforts made by the State party to improve its data collection of criminal offences committed on the basis of racist motives, the Committee reiterates its previous concern regarding the lack of detailed data on the racial and ethnic composition of the State party. Such data is the essential starting point for the subsequent disaggregation of more detailed socioeconomic indicators by social group that will reveal the extent to which there is a differential enjoyment of the rights under the Convention by individuals protected under article 1.” CERD added: “The Committee recommends that the State party establish a mechanism not only to collect disaggregated data on criminal offences committed on

the basis of racist motives...” (CERD, Concluding Observations: Italy, 17 February 2017, CERD/C/ITA/CO/19-20, page 2-3, paragraphs 8 & 9); (2) Australia - CERD expressed concern over “the lack of nationally consistent measures for the collection and public reporting of disaggregated data on the full range of obligations contained in the Convention” and recommended that “the State party, in conjunction with the Office of the National Data Commissioner, develop a national disability data framework to ensure appropriate, nationally consistent measures for the collection and public reporting of disaggregated data on the full range of obligations contained in the Convention, especially with regard to women, children and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons with disabilities.” (CERD, Concluding Observations: Australia, 15 October 2019, UN Doc. CRPD/C/AUS/CO/2-3, page 14 paragraphs 57 & 58); (3) France – CPRD writes: “The Committee notes with concern” related to the issue of domestic violence against Women and “Recommends that the State party: Ensure that data-collection systems and impact assessments of legislation and policies include indicators and disaggregated data concerning women and girls with disabilities.” (CPRD, Concluding Observations: France, 4 October 2021, UN Doc. CRPD/C/FRA/CO/1, Page 4, paragraph 14). (4) Argentina – See CERD report 11 January 2017, paragraph 10 & 11 noting lack of data on “people of African descent” and gypsies.

²² “Palestinian family evicted from Silwan neighborhood in East Jerusalem,” UN OCHA, August 9, 2019; <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/palestinian-family-evicted-silwan-neighbourhood-east-jerusalem>

²³ “ Hamas forcibly expels residents from their homes in Rafah,” *Al-Monitor*, January 7, 2021; <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/01/gaza-hamas-rafah-expropriate-destroy-lands-homes.html>

²⁴ “PA says Jewish history in Jerusalem is ‘fabricated,’ ‘forged,’ ‘delusional myths,’ ‘lies,’ ‘libels,’ ‘legends,’ and ‘stolen heritage,’” Palestine Media Watch, July 29, 2020; <https://palwatch.org/page/18138>

²⁵ The term “Counter-Terrorism” is used three times. Once in reference to Israel’s “Counter-Terrorism Law of 2016,” once to accuse Israel of “misusing counterterrorism legislation,” and once to note that UN human rights experts condemned Israel for “counterterrorism measures.” The word “terrorist” is used a few times only to describe how Israel has labeled some others. Terrorism or terrorist are never used to describe Palestinian actions.

²⁶ “Camp David and After: An Exchange (1. An Interview with Ehud Barak),” *The New York Review*, June 13, 2002;

<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2002/06/13/camp-david-and-after-an-exchange-1-an-interview-wi/>

²⁷ “More than 20% of countries have official state religions – survey,” *The Guardian*, October 3, 2017;

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/03/more-than-20-percent-countries-have-official-state-religions-pew-survey>

²⁸ “Parliament, Church and Religion,” UK Parliament; <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/religion/overview/church-and-religion/>

²⁹ “Gaza Strip: Escalation of hostilities as of 3 June 2021”, UN OCHA, June 6, 2021;

<https://www.ochaopt.org/content/gaza-strip-escalation-hostilities-3-june-2021>

³⁰ “International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,” UN;

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cerd.aspx>

³¹ State of Israel, MoFA, “Arab Israelis”, 20 August 2001; <https://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFA-Archive/2001/Pages/Arab%20Israelis.aspx>

³² “IDF sees record number of Israeli Arab conscripts,” *Ynet News*, January 3, 2021;

<https://www.ynetnews.com/article/rJVONmyCP>

³³ “Arab Christians and Bedouins in the IDF: Meet the members of Unit 585,” *The Jerusalem Post*, January 12, 2020;

<https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/the-sky-is-the-limit-in-the-idfs-unique-unit-585-613948>

³⁴ “Statistics on Revocation of Residency in East Jerusalem,” B’Tselem, April 7, 2021;

https://www.btselem.org/jerusalem/revocation_statistics

³⁵ “Ministry of Interior data: 18 East Jerusalem Palestinians were stripped of their permanent residency status in 2020 as part of Israel’s “quiet deportation” policy; 10 of them women,” HaMoked, March 8, 2021;

<https://hamoked.org/document.php?did=Updates2224>

³⁶ “Hundreds stripped of British citizenship in last 15 years, study finds,” *The Guardian*, January 21, 2022;

<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/jan/21/hundreds-stripped-british-citizenship-last-15-years-study-finds>

³⁷ See OHCHR UPR Submission by Community Action Center (Al-Quds University), Al-Haq and Society for St. Yves, paragraph 16: “Between 1995 and 2013, Israel refused 43% of family unification applications.”

³⁸ Denmark allows reunification only if both parties are 24 years old and a “stipulation that the couple have a greater affiliation to Denmark than to any other country.” The government admits the rule is in part “to limit the flow of immigrants to Denmark.” One can copy Amnesty’s conclusion just changing Israel to Denmark: “Denmark’s implementation of the policy barring Danish family unification in a blanket manner constitutes a systematic denial of basic rights, including the rights to nationality and status, freedom of movement, work, health, education, and family life.” See “Divorced From Reality: The True Impact of Denmark’s 24 Year-Old Rule,” *Humanity in Action*, January 2006; https://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledge_detail/divorced-from-reality-the-true-impact-of-denmarks-24-year-old-rule/

³⁹ “About two million Israelis live below the poverty line – report,” *The Jerusalem Post*, January 22, 2021; <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/israel-report-about-two-million-people-live-below-the-poverty-line-656317>

⁴⁰ “How can we explain the high Muslim levels of poverty?” Centre for Social Investigation, September 15, 2021; <http://csi.nuff.ox.ac.uk/?p=270>

⁴¹ “Nearly half of BAME UK households are living in poverty,” *The Guardian*, June 30, 2020;

<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/jul/01/nearly-half-of-bame-uk-households-are-living-in-poverty>

⁴² “Poverty in Canada,” Canadian Poverty Institute; <https://www.povertyinstitute.ca/poverty-canada> and “Dimensions of Poverty,” Statistics Canada; <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/topics-start/poverty>

⁴³ “UNCTAD: Palestinian economy in East Jerusalem left in ‘development limbo’ under Israeli occupation,” May 8, 2013; <https://unctad.org/press-material/unctad-palestinian-economy-east-jerusalem-left-development-limbo-under-israeli>

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⁴⁵ “Housing Sector in East Jerusalem, a Market Opportunity Analysis,” Dimensions Consulting via the Al-Quds Economic Forum and the Office of the Quartet, March 2015

⁴⁶ “Netanyahu to Rotem Sela: Israel is not a country of all its citizens,” *The Jerusalem Post*, March 10, 2019; <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/benjamin-netanyahu/netanyahu-hits-back-at-israeli-actress-after-she-criticizes-miri-regev-582959>

⁴⁷ “In Pictures: In show of unity, Palestinians go on strike,” *Al Jazeera*, May 18, 2021;

<https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2021/5/18/in-pictures-palestinians-unite-with-a-general-strike>

⁴⁸ “In Show of Unity, Palestinians Strike Across West Bank, Gaza and Israel,” *The New York Times*, May 18, 2021; <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/18/world/middleeast/palestine-strike.html>

⁴⁹ “Olmert offered Abbas 20 sq.km more than size of West Bank, according to PLO Chief Negotiator,” Palestine Media Watch, April 16, 2019; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0X3cPPU7eoU>

⁵⁰ “New Air Security Checks From 14 Nations to U.S. Draw Criticism,” *The New York Times*, January 4, 2010; <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/05/us/05tsa.html>

⁵¹ “Detention of Muslims at UK ports and airports 'structural Islamophobia,’” *The Guardian*, August 20, 2019; <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/aug/20/detention-of-muslims-at-uk-ports-and-airports-structural-islamophobia>

⁵² “Exclusive interview - Part 3 | Prince Bandar bin Sultan on supporting Palestine but not its leaders,” *Al Arabiya*, October 7, 2020; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9XTSrlONiDU>

⁵³ “The Prince,” *The New Yorker*, March 16, 2003; <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2003/03/24/the-prince-3>

⁵⁴ For example, the British clearly delineated areas West of the Jordan River as “Western Palestine” and areas east as “Eastern Palestine.” See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/PEF_Survey_of_Palestine

⁵⁵ “Israel launches airstrikes on Gaza Strip after Hamas rocket attacks,” *The Guardian*, May 10, 2021; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/10/hamas-fires-rockets-into-israel-in-dispute-over-jerusalem-mosque>

⁵⁶ “Report Finds Naval Blockade by Israel Legal but Faults Raid,” *The New York Times*, September 1, 2011; <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/02/world/middleeast/02flotilla.html>

⁵⁷ “The Legality of the Israeli Naval Blockade of the Gaza Strip,” *European Journal of Current Legal Issues*, Vol 19, No 1 (2013); <https://webjcli.org/index.php/webjcli/article/view/207/277>

⁵⁸ Gaza life expectancy is about 75 years ahead of more than 100 countries such as Brazil, Iran, Egypt and Kosovo, see CIA World Factbook data at <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/field/life-expectancy-at-birth/country-comparison>; Infant mortality is 15.6 per 1,000 live births, also ahead of about 100 countries such as Morocco, Indonesia, Turkey and Paraguay

⁵⁹ “Entrance of goods to Gaza from Israel,” Gisha, June 30, 2021; <https://gisha.org/en/graph/goods-entering-gaza/>

⁶⁰ “Unprecedented 1,200 East Jerusalem Palestinians got Israeli citizenship in 2019,” *The Times of Israel*, January 13, 2020; <https://www.timesofisrael.com/unprecedented-1200-east-jerusalem-palestinians-got-israeli-citizenship-in-2019/>

⁶¹ “Relying on Nation-state Law in Ruling on Arab Students Was Wrong, Israeli Appeals Court Says,” *Haaretz*, February 4, 2021; <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-appeals-court-invalidates-lower-court-s-reliance-on-controversial-nation-state-law-1.9511612>

⁶² See *1948*, Benny Morris, p. 96

⁶³ “Bedouin Communities Oppose Israel's Plan for New Negev Town,” *Haaretz*, May 15, 2019; <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-israel-approves-new-town-to-house-bedouins-from-unrecognized-villages-1.7245066>

⁶⁴ “A New Israeli Government Could Mean Help for Neglected Bedouin Villages,” *The New York Times*, June 10, 2021; <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/10/world/middleeast/israel-government-bedouin-villages.html>

⁶⁵ “Demography, Geopolitics, and the Future of Israel’s Capital: Jerusalem’s Proposed Master Plan,” Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2010; jcpa.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Jerusalem-Master-Plan.pdf

⁶⁶ “The ‘Jordanian Option,’ the Plan That Refuses to Die,” *Haaretz*, July 25, 2007; <https://www.haaretz.com/1.4954947>

⁶⁷ Our research tracked down this quote to speeches Eshkol made at a Kibbutzim Union’s conference and a Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee meeting, both in November 1967. See *The Bride and the Dowry* by Avi Raz. As usual in anti-Israel discourse, these few words are quoted endlessly but the full content and context of the speeches and meetings are never provided.

⁶⁸ “PMO Issues Rush Order for 30 New Towns in Negev, Galilee,” *Haaretz*, July 20, 2003; <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5347089>

⁶⁹ “Amnesty International’s Big Lie About Israel,” CAMERA, January 31, 2022; <https://www.camera.org/article/amnesty-internationals-big-lie-about-israel/>

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