

The Likud Nexus Dossier & Project Phoenix Action Plan

**A Comprehensive Intelligence Product Evaluating the Likud-Led Coalition Under
International Law and Executing Key Analytical Recommendations**

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Introduction to the Consolidated Dossier

This document is presented in two distinct but interconnected parts, representing a complete intelligence cycle.

Part I: The Likud Nexus - Foundational Intelligence Assessment. This is the original, comprehensive dossier. It provides a multi-faceted assessment of Israel's Likud party and its governing coalition, evaluating their ideology, policies, and rhetoric against the foundational principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the specific frameworks of international criminal law. It concludes with a set of four analytical recommendations.

Part II: Project Phoenix - Execution of Recommendations. This part executes the four recommendations outlined in Part I. It transforms the foundational assessment into a series of actionable intelligence products: a detailed OSINT brief, a map of command and policy flow, a draft legal memorandum, and a public-facing white paper.

I The Likud Nexus

Foundational Intelligence Assessment

1 Executive Summary

This intelligence dossier provides a comprehensive assessment of Israel's Likud party and its governing coalition. It evaluates their ideology, policies, rhetoric, and actions against the foundational principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the specific frameworks of international criminal law, including the definitions of extremism, terrorism, genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The analysis is based on open-source intelligence (OSINT), including state records, official statements, and findings from international legal and human rights bodies.

Assessment

- **Terrorist Organization:** The Likud party does not meet the legal definition of a terrorist organization, as it is a state actor operating through official state institutions.
- **Extremist and Racist Organization:** There is substantial evidence to characterize Likud as an extremist and racist organization. This is based on its formal governing alliances with supremacist parties convicted of racial incitement, its implementation of discriminatory policies, and a documented pattern of incendiary rhetoric from its officials.
- **Systematic Contradiction of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:** The policies enacted and enforced by the Likud-led government stand in systematic and profound contradiction to the core principles of the UDHR. This includes documented violations of the rights to equality, life, liberty, property, freedom of movement, and an adequate standard of living for Palestinians under its effective control.
- **Major International Crimes:** Credible evidence, currently under review by the world's highest courts, suggests that senior members of the Likud-led government have engaged in actions and rhetoric that plausibly constitute major international crimes. This includes **incitement to genocide**, the commission of **war crimes** (settlement expansion, conduct of hostilities), and the implementation of policies that form the basis for investigating the **crime against humanity of apartheid**.

Conclusion

As the central architect of state policy, the Likud party bears ultimate responsibility for a governance system that has been credibly accused by international courts and human rights bodies of perpetrating war crimes and systematically violating universal human rights. Its senior officials face plausible risks of being held individually accountable for some of the most serious crimes under international law.

2 Legal and Policy Criteria

2.1 Terrorist Designations

International and national legal frameworks define terrorism as the use of premeditated, politically motivated violence against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents. This definition is not applicable to a state party acting through its official military and political structures.

2.2 Legal Precedents for Proscribing Political Parties

Democratic states, such as Germany, possess constitutional mechanisms to ban parties that aim to abolish the free democratic order. The threshold is exceptionally high, requiring proof that a party's core mission is actively and aggressively anti-democratic.

2.3 Genocide

The 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines genocide as specific acts committed with the "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group." Article III(c) of the Convention also criminalizes "direct and public incitement to commit genocide," a standalone crime that does not require proof that genocide subsequently occurred.

2.4 War Crimes

Defined by the Geneva Conventions and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC), war crimes are grave breaches of the laws of armed conflict. Key examples include the willful killing of civilians, disproportionate attacks, collective punishment, and the transfer by an occupying power of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.

2.5 Crimes Against Humanity

Defined by the Rome Statute, these are specific acts (e.g., murder, persecution, deportation) committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population. This category includes the crime of **Apartheid**, defined as inhumane acts within an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over another.

2.6 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

The UDHR is the foundational document of international human rights law. Adopted in 1948, its 30 articles provide a baseline standard for the treatment of all individuals. Key articles for this analysis include the rights to equality without discrimination (Art. 2), life and liberty (Art. 3), equality before the law (Art. 7), freedom from arbitrary arrest (Art. 9), freedom of movement (Art. 13), the right to own property (Art. 17), and the right to an adequate standard of living (Art. 25).

3 Likud-Led State Policies and Actions

3.1 Settlement Expansion in Occupied Territory

Successive Likud-led governments have aggressively promoted the expansion of Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem. This involves land confiscation, home demolitions, and the transfer of over 700,000 Israeli citizens into occupied territory, a policy deemed illegal under international law.

3.2 The Blockade and Military Operations in Gaza

Since 2007, the state of Israel has imposed a severe land, air, and sea blockade on the Gaza Strip, controlling the movement of people and goods. This has been punctuated by several large-scale military operations that have resulted in widespread destruction of civilian infrastructure and high civilian casualties.

3.3 Discriminatory Legal and Administrative Systems

In the occupied West Bank, a two-tiered legal system is enforced. Israeli settlers are subject to Israeli civil law, while Palestinians live under Israeli military law, which affords fewer rights and protections. This system has been described by organizations like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch as a key component of a system of apartheid. This includes the widespread use of administrative detention, where Palestinians are held for months or years without charge or trial.

3.4 Rhetoric of Incitement and Dehumanization

Particularly since October 7, 2023, public statements by senior Likud officials and their coalition partners have been characterized by extreme and dehumanizing language. This includes calls to "erase Gaza" and references to Palestinians as "human animals," language which has been presented as evidence of genocidal intent at the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

4 Analysis of Policies Against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The policies implemented under Likud-led governments systematically contravene core articles of the UDHR as they apply to Palestinians under Israeli control.

- **Violation of Equality and Non-Discrimination (Articles 2 & 7):** The dual legal system in the West Bank is a textbook violation of the right to equality before the law, institutionalizing discrimination based on national origin.
- **Violation of the Right to Life, Liberty, and Security (Articles 3 & 9):** The conduct of military operations with high civilian casualty tolls and the routine use of administrative detention directly conflict with the rights to life and liberty and the freedom from arbitrary detention.
- **Violation of Freedom of Movement and Property Rights (Articles 13 & 17):** The Gaza blockade, the West Bank checkpoint system, and the policy of settlement expansion—which relies on land confiscation and home demolitions—are in direct contravention of the right to freedom of movement and the right to own property.
- **Violation of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living (Article 25):** The blockade of Gaza has crippled its economy and public health system, denying millions their right to adequate food, clean water, housing, and medical care, a situation catastrophically worsened by recent military operations.

5 Analysis Against International Criminal Law

5.1 War Crimes

The policy of settlement expansion is explicitly defined as a war crime under Article 8 of the Rome Statute ("the transfer, directly or indirectly, by the Occupying Power of parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies"). Furthermore, the conduct of hostilities in Gaza, including the extensive bombing of civilian areas and the restriction of humanitarian aid, is under active investigation by the ICC for war crimes such as collective punishment and the use of starvation as a method of warfare.

5.2 Crimes Against Humanity

The combination of land confiscation, denial of residency, restrictions on movement, and the discriminatory legal system form the basis of credible reports by major human rights organizations concluding that Israel's policies against Palestinians amount to the crime against humanity of apartheid.

5.3 Incitement to Genocide

The rhetoric of senior officials is a key element of the ICJ case brought by South Africa against Israel. Statements by Likud ministers and coalition partners calling for the destruction of Gaza and invoking biblical commands to exterminate enemies have been presented as direct and public incitement to commit genocide, in violation of the Genocide Convention.

6 Criteria Gap Analysis

Criteria	Likud Party & Coalition – Presents?	Notes
Terrorist Organization	No	Operates as a state actor.
Racist/Extremist Organization	Yes	Based on ideology, alliances, and discriminatory policies.
Systematic Contradiction of the UDHR	Yes (as state policy)	Policies on settlements, blockade, and legal systems violate core UDHR articles.
Incitement to Genocide	Plausible evidence against individuals	Numerous statements by senior officials are being reviewed by the ICJ as evidence of incitement.
War Crimes	Yes (as state policy)	Settlement policy is a war crime per the Rome Statute. Conduct of hostilities is under ICC investigation.
Crimes Against Humanity	Credibly alleged as state policy	Based on policies of systematic oppression and discrimination constituting apartheid.

7 Accountability Pathways and Risks

The primary pathways for accountability are through international legal bodies, targeting both the state and individuals.

- **Individual Criminal Responsibility:** The most direct risk is to senior officials, including the Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, who face applications for arrest warrants from the ICC prosecutor for war crimes and crimes against humanity. This could lead to travel restrictions, asset freezes, and potential trial in The Hague.
- **State Responsibility:** The ICJ case holds the state of Israel itself responsible for potential violations of the Genocide Convention. A final adverse ruling would result in profound diplomatic isolation and legal consequences.

The primary pushback involves political and legal campaigns to delegitimize international courts, claiming bias and political motivation.

8 Recommendations for Next Steps

1. **Commission a unified OSINT dossier** tracking the policies, military directives, and public statements of senior Likud and coalition officials. Evidence should be meticulously cross-referenced with the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, the **Rome Statute** (War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity), and the **Genocide Convention**.
2. **Map Command Structure and Policy Flow.** Create a detailed chart showing how extremist policy proposals from coalition partners are approved, funded, and implemented through the official state ministries and military bodies controlled by the Likud-led government.
3. **Prepare a legal memorandum focused on Individual Criminal Responsibility.** This memo should move beyond party designation to assess the specific evidence against key individuals (e.g., Netanyahu, Gallant, etc.) for specific crimes under the Rome Statute, mirroring the structure of an ICC prosecution brief.
4. **Draft a public-facing white paper with a precise conclusion.** The paper should state that the Likud-led government is responsible for policies that not only systematically violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but have also led to its key officials being credibly investigated for committing war crimes, crimes against humanity, and incitement to genocide under well-established principles of international law.

II Project Phoenix

Execution of Recommendations

9 OSINT Dossier: Initial Findings (Fulfilling Recommendation 1)

This section fulfills Recommendation 1 from the foundational dossier. It provides a proof-of-concept for the full OSINT dossier by analyzing three specific pieces of evidence against the relevant international legal frameworks.

9.1 Evidence Item 1: Public Statement by Minister of Heritage Amichai Eliyahu (Otzma Yehudit)

- **Statement (November 5, 2023):** When asked in a radio interview if an atomic bomb should be dropped on the Gaza Strip, Minister Eliyahu stated, "This is one of the possibilities."
- **Legal Cross-Reference:**
 - **Genocide Convention (Article IIIc - Incitement):** This statement can be interpreted as a direct and public call for an act of genocide. Dropping an atomic bomb on a densely populated area would inevitably kill a substantial part of a protected group (Palestinians in Gaza) and render the area uninhabitable, fitting the definition of an act intended to destroy the group "in part."
 - **Rome Statute (War Crimes - Art. 8):** Such an act would constitute multiple war crimes, including intentionally directing attacks against a civilian population and intentionally launching an attack with the knowledge that it will cause incidental loss of life that is clearly excessive.
 - **UDHR (Article 3 - Right to Life):** The advocacy for an act that would cause mass death is the most extreme possible violation of the fundamental right to life.

9.2 Evidence Item 2: Policy of Settlement Expansion and Legalization

- **Action (February 2023):** The Likud-led government announced the formal authorization of nine previously illegal settlement outposts and plans for 10,000 new settlement homes, driven by Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich (Religious Zionism), who was granted cabinet-level authority over the Civil Administration.
- **Legal Cross-Reference:**
 - **Rome Statute (War Crimes - Art. 8(2)(b)(viii)):** This policy is a direct and continuing violation of the explicit war crime of "the transfer, directly or indirectly, by the Occupying Power of parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."

- **UDHR (Article 17 - Right to Property):** Settlement expansion is predicated on the expropriation of Palestinian land, directly violating the right to own and not be arbitrarily deprived of property.
- **UDHR (Article 2 & 7 - Equality):** The policy entrenches a two-tiered system where Israeli citizens are illegally transferred into occupied territory and granted superior legal rights, while the occupied population is dispossessed and controlled by military law.

9.3 Evidence Item 3: Public Statement by Defense Minister Yoav Gallant (Likud)

- **Statement (October 9, 2023):** In announcing a "complete siege" of Gaza, Minister Gallant stated: "There will be no electricity, no food, no fuel, everything is closed... We are fighting human animals and we are acting accordingly."
- **Legal Cross-Reference:**
 - **Rome Statute (War Crimes - Art. 8(2)(b)(xxv)):** The statement is a direct declaration of intent to commit the war crime of "Intentionally using starvation of civilians as a method of warfare." This statement was cited in the ICC Prosecutor's application for an arrest warrant against him.
 - **Genocide Convention (Article IIc & IIIc - Incitement):** The term "human animals" is classic dehumanizing rhetoric, which is a common precursor to and indicator of genocidal intent.
 - **UDHR (Article 25 - Right to an Adequate Standard of Living):** The declared policy is a direct and intentional violation of the right of every person to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being.

10 Map of Command and Policy Flow (Fulfilling Recommendation 2)

This section fulfills Recommendation 2. This conceptual map is based on OSINT and reflects the formal command structure as altered by the 2022 coalition agreements, demonstrating how extremist policy is implemented.

Level 1: The Security Cabinet (Ultimate Authority)

- **Chair:** Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (Likud)
- **Function:** Holds ultimate authority on matters of war, peace, and national security.

Level 2: Key Ministerial Nodes of Power

Minister/Party	Ministry/Role	Policy Levers and Influence Flow
Benjamin Netanyahu (Likud)	Prime Minister	- Directs the IDF and security services. - Sets the overall strategic agenda. - Final arbiter in coalition disputes.
Yoav Gallant (Likud)	Minister of Defense	- Direct command over the IDF. - Oversees COGAT, responsible for civilian affairs in the territories. - Flow: Executes Security Cabinet directives for military operations.
Bezalet Smotrich (Religious Zionism)	Minister of Finance & Minister within MoD	- Dual Role: As Finance Minister, he controls funding for settlements. As a minister in the MoD, he was granted authority over the Civil Administration. - Flow: An extremist policy can be proposed, approved, and funded by the same individual, bypassing traditional checks.
Itamar Ben-Gvir (Otzma Yehudit)	Minister of National Security	- Direct command over Israeli Police and Border Police, including units in the West Bank. - Flow: An extremist policy is implemented directly through police forces under his command.

Policy Flow Example (Settlement Legalization)

1. **Proposal:** Smotrich, as an ideological leader, proposes legalizing a settler outpost.

2. **Approval:** Smotrich, as minister controlling the Civil Administration, directs the bureaucracy to approve it.
3. **Funding:** Smotrich, as Finance Minister, allocates state funds for its infrastructure.
4. **Enforcement:** Ben-Gvir directs Border Police to protect the settlement.
5. **Ratification:** The policy is given final cover by the Security Cabinet, chaired by Netanyahu, who relies on Smotrich's and Ben-Gvir's parties to maintain his parliamentary majority.

11 Legal Memorandum: Individual Criminal Responsibility (Fulfilling Recommendation 3)

TO: MARIELANDRYSPYSHOP.COM
FROM: Gemini AI, based on OSINT
DATE: August 21, 2025
SUBJECT: Preliminary Assessment of Individual Criminal Responsibility of Benjamin Netanyahu under the Rome Statute

I. Question Presented

Does publicly available evidence provide a reasonable basis to believe that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, as a senior civilian leader, bears individual criminal responsibility for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in the Gaza Strip since October 7, 2023?

II. Applicable Law

The Rome Statute establishes individual criminal responsibility for persons who commit, order, or solicit a crime (Art. 25). Under the doctrine of command responsibility (Art. 28), a civilian superior is responsible if they knew, or should have known, that subordinates were committing crimes and failed to take reasonable measures to prevent them. Key crimes include the **War Crime of Using Starvation of Civilians (Art. 8)** and the **Crime Against Humanity of Persecution (Art. 7)**.

III. Statement of Facts (OSINT-Derived)

1. On October 9, 2023, Defense Minister Yoav Gallant, a direct subordinate of PM Netanyahu, announced a "complete siege" of Gaza.
2. The Security Cabinet, chaired by PM Netanyahu, had ultimate authority over the siege policy.
3. For months following, numerous credible humanitarian organizations publicly reported on the catastrophic humanitarian situation, the onset of famine, and the systematic obstruction of aid.
4. PM Netanyahu, as head of government, made numerous public statements defending the military's actions and did not publicly countermand or punish the policy of severe aid restriction.

IV. Analysis

A prosecutor could construct a case for PM Netanyahu's individual criminal responsibility based on two primary theories:

- **Direct Responsibility (Ordering/Soliciting):** As the head of the Security Cabinet that approved and oversaw the campaign, there is a reasonable basis to believe that PM Netanyahu was part of the decision-making process that implemented the "complete siege" policy.

- **Command Responsibility (Art. 28):** Even if he did not directly order the policy, PM Netanyahu meets the criteria: (1) He was the direct civilian superior of the Minister of Defense. (2) It is implausible that he "did not know" of the policy and its effects. (3) He failed to take necessary measures to prevent the crime or punish those responsible.

V. Preliminary Conclusion

Yes, there is a reasonable basis, grounded in publicly available information, to believe that PM Netanyahu bears individual criminal responsibility for the war crime of using starvation and the crime against humanity of persecution. This is consistent with the ICC Prosecutor's application for an arrest warrant.

12 Public-Facing White Paper (Fulfilling Recommendation 4)

The Governance of Extremism: How Israel's Ruling Coalition Placed Itself on a Collision Course with International Law

Executive Summary

The current Israeli government, led by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud party, is the product of a historic pact with far-right extremist parties. While Likud is a long-standing political entity, its current governing coalition has systematically integrated individuals and ideologies into the state apparatus that are fundamentally at odds with international human rights and humanitarian law. This is not a matter of policy disagreement, but of a governance model that has resulted in credible accusations against its senior leaders of committing the most serious crimes in the world. An analysis of the government's policies and the rhetoric of its ministers reveals a systematic disregard for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and has led to formal investigations by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for war crimes and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for violations of the Genocide Convention.

From Political Bargain to State Policy

To secure a parliamentary majority, the Likud party granted unprecedented power to extremist leaders. Itamar Ben-Gvir, a follower of the racist ideologue Meir Kahane, was made Minister of National Security. Bezalel Smotrich, who has advocated for annexing the West Bank, was given authority over its civil administration. This coalition agreement effectively handed the keys to state policy over to individuals who openly reject the legal and moral framework of international law. Their ideology is now state policy, with three clear consequences:

1. **The West Bank: The War Crime of Settlements is Official Policy.** The government has aggressively and openly pursued the expansion of illegal settlements, a policy defined as a war crime under the Rome Statute. This is no longer a fringe demand, but a budgeted, planned, and executed function of the state.
2. **Gaza: The Weaponization of Aid.** The conduct of the war in Gaza has been characterized by a policy of "complete siege." Senior ministers have publicly declared their intent to deprive 2.2 million civilians of food, water, and fuel. This has led directly to famine, prompting the ICC Prosecutor to seek arrest warrants for the Prime Minister and Defense Minister for the war crime of using starvation as a method of warfare.
3. **The Rhetoric of Incitement.** The world's highest court, the ICJ, is currently adjudicating whether Israel has violated the Genocide Convention. A key pillar of the case is the public, dehumanizing rhetoric of Israeli government ministers who have referred to Palestinians as "human animals" and called for Gaza to be "erased." This is the language of incitement, and under Likud's leadership, it has become normalized.

Conclusion: A Government at War with the Law

The Likud party does not meet the legal definition of a terrorist organization. The issue is more profound. It leads a government whose key officials are credibly accused of—and are being formally investigated for—committing war crimes, crimes against humanity, and incitement to genocide under well-established principles of international law. The governance model adopted by Likud, which relies on the empowerment of extremists, has created a direct and foreseeable collision between the State of Israel and the international legal order established after World War II.

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An Assessment of Allegations of Racism Against Benjamin Netanyahu Towards Palestinians: An Examination of Statements, Policies, and International Legal Frameworks

OSINT AI Research by Google Gemini

Author: Marie Seshat Landry

Publisher: Marie Landry Spy Shop, MARIELANDRYSPYSHOP.COM

I. Executive Summary

This report provides a comprehensive assessment of allegations of racism against Benjamin Netanyahu concerning Palestinians, drawing upon public statements, policy impacts, and evaluations by international and domestic bodies. The analysis reveals that while Netanyahu has often framed his actions and policies in non-discriminatory or humanitarian terms, the documented impact on Palestinians has frequently been characterized by severe human rights violations, disproportionate effects, and systemic discrimination. This creates a notable discrepancy between the stated rationales and the realities observed on the ground. A critical divergence exists between international legal frameworks and Israeli political discourse. International bodies, including the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Court (ICC), along with leading human rights organizations, increasingly apply strong legal classifications such as "apartheid," "persecution," "war crimes," and "genocide" to Israeli policies, particularly those implemented under Netanyahu's leadership. Conversely, Netanyahu and his government frequently dismiss these accusations as politically motivated or even antisemitic. This fundamental tension underscores a broader geopolitical struggle over legal interpretation and narrative control, making a nuanced assessment of "racism" in this context particularly challenging. The report distinguishes between individual prejudice and systemic discrimination, concluding that the systemic outcomes of policies under Netanyahu's leadership align with definitions of institutionalized discrimination and oppression.

II. Introduction

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a deeply entrenched geopolitical issue with profound historical, religious, and national dimensions. The question of whether Benjamin Netanyahu exhibits racism towards Palestinians necessitates an examination beyond individual prejudice to encompass systemic discrimination embedded within state laws and policies. In this analysis, "racism" extends to practices that, irrespective of explicit individual animus, result in racialized outcomes, often described by terms such as "apartheid" and "persecution". A comprehensive assessment of "racism" in this context must extend beyond Netanyahu's

personal beliefs to the system he has led and perpetuated. The academic understanding of "race" as a social construct and "racialization" as a process by which a group is designated and treated as inferior is crucial here. The core inquiry thus becomes whether Netanyahu's leadership has actively constructed, maintained, or exacerbated a system that is discriminatory in its outcomes.

The discourse surrounding this topic is inherently fraught, often characterized by what has been termed the "Palestine Exception." This refers to the contested nature of naming anti-Palestinian racism, which frequently relies on coded language to obscure discriminatory practices. The language of antisemitism and Jewish suffering, while addressing systemic racism against Jewish people, is sometimes employed as a means to deflect or silence criticism of Israeli policies and to suppress claims for redress of anti-Palestinian racism. This report navigates this complex landscape by providing an evidence-based analysis of Benjamin Netanyahu's public statements, the policies implemented during his premiership, and the assessments of various international and domestic actors, strictly based on the provided source material.

III. Analysis of Benjamin Netanyahu's Public Statements and Rhetoric

Benjamin Netanyahu's public statements and rhetoric concerning Palestinians have drawn significant scrutiny, with critics often citing them as evidence of discriminatory or racist attitudes. A detailed examination of these statements, their context, and the reactions they provoked is essential for a comprehensive understanding.

A. Electoral Statements and "Arab Doves"

On Election Day in March 2015, Benjamin Netanyahu issued a controversial Facebook message warning that "Arab voters are heading to the polling stations in droves" and were being "bused to the polling stations by left-wing NGOs." He urged his supporters to vote to counteract this perceived threat to right-wing rule. This statement was widely condemned as "incitement and racism" by prominent Israeli figures, including Knesset member Dov Khenin and opposition leader Isaac Herzog. The White House also criticized it as a "cynical election day tactic" designed to "marginalize Arab-Israeli citizens and their right to participate in their democracy". Netanyahu later issued an apology, stating that such an outcome was "never my intent". However, analysis of this event suggests that the "Arab doves" comment was not a spontaneous "lapse in judgment" but rather a calculated element of a "broader strategy". Research indicates that Likud, Netanyahu's party, performed best when voters were "afraid of the consequences of a left-wing victory," and that "fear... was the best way for Likud to get votes". This suggests a deliberate political maneuver to mobilize the right-wing electoral base by framing the democratic participation of Palestinian-Israelis as an existential threat. This constitutes an act of political racialization, leveraging existing societal prejudices for electoral advantage. Netanyahu's subsequent apology can be interpreted as a form of damage control rather than a retraction of the underlying strategic intent.

B. "Nation-State of the Jewish People" Law and "Not a State of All Its Citizens"

In March 2019, in response to an Israeli actress's statement advocating for Israel to belong to all its citizens, Netanyahu publicly declared, "Israel is not a state of all its citizens... According to the basic nationality law we passed, Israel is the nation state of the Jewish people – and only it". He reiterated this position, characterizing Israel as a "Jewish, democratic state" with equal rights, but "the nation state not of all its citizens but only of the Jewish people".

This statement was made in the context of the Nation-State Law, formally known as Basic Law: Israel – The Nation State of the Jewish People, which was passed in 2018. This law constitutionally entrenches inequality by defining Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people, granting the right to self-determination exclusively to Jews, promoting Jewish settlement, and downgrading Arabic's status from an official language. While the Israeli Supreme Court upheld the law's constitutionality, asserting it "does not negate Israel's character as a democratic state", critics, including the Arab League, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Amnesty International, condemned it as a "manifestation of apartheid". Amnesty International specifically highlighted how the law "constitutionally entrench[es] inequality and discrimination against non-Jews". This legislative act, strongly supported by Netanyahu, establishes a legal framework that inherently disadvantages non-Jewish citizens. This transcends individual prejudice, signifying state-sanctioned discrimination, which is a core component of systemic racism or apartheid as defined by human rights organizations. The Supreme Court's decision to uphold the law, despite its discriminatory implications, underscores how legal systems can codify and normalize such practices.

C. "Greater Israel" Vision and Displacement Rhetoric

Netanyahu has openly endorsed a "Greater Israel" vision, an expansionist concept that extends beyond current Palestinian territories to include parts of Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. When asked if he supported this vision, Netanyahu responded "absolutely". This stance has drawn strong condemnation from Arab and Islamic nations, who view it as a "dangerous and provocative escalation" and a "threat to the sovereignty of states".

Regarding Gaza, Netanyahu has repeatedly articulated a policy of "allowing" Palestinians to "leave" the Strip, presenting this as "voluntary migration" or a "humanitarian measure". He explicitly mentioned the "Trump plan for voluntary migration" as a condition for ending the ongoing conflict. However, Palestinian leaders and campaigners widely interpret this rhetoric as a "euphemism for the ethnic cleansing of Gaza" and a "forcible expulsion in violation of international law". This interpretation is reinforced by the lack of guaranteed return and the uninhabitability of much of Gaza following extensive military operations. An Israeli think tank with ties to Netanyahu, the Misgav Institute for National Security & Zionist Strategy, published a position paper promoting a "blueprint for the complete ethnic cleansing of Gaza," advocating for the "relocation and final settlement of the entire Gaza population" to the Egyptian Sinai, explicitly exploiting the current conflict as a "unique and rare opportunity". These statements and proposals, when considered together, suggest a coherent, long-term vision that involves both territorial expansion and demographic alteration. While framed as "voluntary," the context of ongoing war, widespread destruction, and deliberate starvation renders such "voluntary" migration an impossibility for Palestinians. This indicates a policy objective that aligns with definitions of forcible transfer or ethnic cleansing under international law, which are severe human rights violations and can be components of crimes against humanity or genocide. The rhetorical shift from "occupation" to "freeing Gaza from Hamas" attempts to legitimize these actions.

D. Counter-Arguments and Alternative Interpretations

Netanyahu and his supporters have offered counter-arguments to allegations of racism. While acknowledging past "neglectful and discriminatory" government handling of the Arab minority, Netanyahu has stated, "We should not discriminate against an entire public because of a small minority that is violent and militant". The Israeli government has also affirmed its commitment to "fighting racism whenever it raises its ugly head and is committed to full equality to all Israeli citizens, irrespective of ethnicity, creed or background, as defined by our declaration of independence".

Supporters of Zionism, such as Chaim Herzog, argue that the movement is non-discriminatory and contains no racist aspects. Some academic analyses defending Netanyahu's policies or Israeli actions argue against the direct applicability of "apartheid" due to the complexities of "race" in the context, suggesting it is "less useful than to focus directly on the realities of the occupation". Others emphasize security imperatives as the primary driver of policies. Furthermore, commentators frequently frame criticism of Israel, particularly allegations of war crimes or genocide, as antisemitic, a tactic described as a "weapon wielded by a self-righteous government" to "silence critics of Israel".

The apparent contradiction between Netanyahu's general statements against discrimination and the documented impacts of policies implemented under his leadership is noteworthy. This suggests that general condemnations of discrimination may serve a rhetorical purpose to counter international criticism, while the actual policies pursued lead to demonstrably discriminatory outcomes. This highlights a potential disingenuousness or a prioritization of ethno-nationalist goals over principles of equality.

Table 1: Key Statements by Benjamin Netanyahu and Their Interpretations

Statement	Date/Context	Netanyahu's Stated Intent/Justification	Criticisms/Interpretations	Source Snippet IDs
"Arab voters are heading to the polling stations in droves"	March 2015 Election Day Facebook post	Rally right-wing voters to offset high Arab turnout; later apologized for offending	Incitement, racism, cynical tactic to marginalize Arab-Israelis, calculated strategy to instill fear	
"Israel is not a state of all its citizens... it is the nation state of the Jewish people – and only it."	March 2019, responding to actress Rotem Sela, referencing Nation-State Law	Affirm Israel's identity as Jewish, democratic state with equal rights but unique national rights for Jews	Formalizes marginalization, institutionalized discrimination, manifestation of apartheid, undemocratic	
Endorsement of "Greater Israel" vision	August 2025 i24NEWS interview	Affirmation of a "great mission" for Israel's survival	Dangerous and provocative escalation, threat to sovereignty of states, expansionist ambitions,	

Statement	Date/Context	Netanyahu's Stated Intent/Justification	Criticisms/Interpretations	Source Snippet IDs
			delusional claims	
"Allow" Palestinians to "leave" Gaza; "voluntary migration"	August 2025 interviews, conditions for ending war	Humanitarian measure allowing escape from war/hardship, Trump plan for voluntary migration	Euphemism for ethnic cleansing, forcible expulsion, violation of international law, genocidal intent	

IV. Examination of Policies and Their Impact on Palestinians Under Netanyahu's Premiership

The policies implemented during Benjamin Netanyahu's various terms as Prime Minister have had profound and often detrimental impacts on Palestinians, frequently analyzed through the lens of discrimination and human rights violations.

A. Settlement Expansion and Land Policies

Under Netanyahu's leadership, Israel has pursued a policy of significant and aggressive settlement expansion in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem. This includes the approval of over 20,000 new housing units since 2023 and the establishment of 28 "outposts" that receive government and military support. These settlements are consistently deemed "illegal under international law" by the international community.

A particularly contentious aspect is the revival of the E1 settlement project, which aims to connect occupied East Jerusalem with the existing illegal Israeli settlement of Maale Adumim. Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich explicitly stated that this development "buries the idea of a Palestinian state". Experts assert that this land is "vital for any future territorially contiguous Palestinian state" , and the United Nations has warned that its implementation would "permanently cut the geographical and territorial contiguity between occupied East Jerusalem and the West Bank and sever the connection between the northern and southern West Bank". These actions are not merely about security but fundamentally about shaping the demographic and political landscape to ensure Jewish majority and control, which aligns directly with the definitions of racial domination and apartheid.

Furthermore, policies involving land seizures and restrictive planning laws make it virtually impossible for many Palestinians to build homes legally, often leading to mass demolitions of homes constructed without permits. Discriminatory laws permit settler organizations to claim land owned by Jews before 1948, while Palestinians are barred from making analogous claims for their properties lost in Israel. These policies serve as instruments of demographic control and the denial of Palestinian self-determination.

B. Economic Policies and Disparities

Netanyahu's approach to the Palestinian economy has evolved significantly. Initially, he introduced the concept of "economic peace" (2008-2019), proposing that Palestinian economic growth could serve as a substitute for political solutions, arguing it would "mitigate" problems

and make them "more accessible for solutions". However, this approach yielded "ambiguous to destructive results" and led to a "growing disparity between West Bank and Gaza". Gaza, under a "severe closure policy," experienced significant economic decline, with unemployment reaching 43% by 2019, compared to 14% in the West Bank.

Post-2009, the strategy shifted towards "economic insurance against Palestinian statehood," where Israel's economic development was intended as a bulwark against international pressure to end the occupation, aiming to "permanently politically marginalize and control Palestinians". The Abraham Accords, while normalizing relations with Arab countries, effectively "sidelined the Palestinians" and denied their self-determination. This paradigm is argued to have ultimately generated "a colossal failure, leading to the bloodiest war in over a century," with Palestinian economic despair acting as an "incubator for fundamentalism and extreme violence". These economic policies, designed to maintain control and dependence, contribute to an environment ripe for conflict.

Specific punitive economic measures include the immediate ban on entry for approximately 150,000 Palestinian laborers who worked legally in Israel and the cessation of clearance tax transfers designated for the Palestinian Authority. These measures caused significant income loss for families and slashed PA revenue, justified by Israel as necessary for security but deemed "not credible" by one report. The broader economic inequity is stark, with disparities in unemployment rates (24.4% for Palestinians versus 3.7% for Israelis), maternal mortality (six times higher in West Bank and Gaza), and life expectancy (six years longer in Israel).

C. Security Measures and Human Rights Implications

Israeli military actions in Gaza have resulted in an unprecedented scale of killings, wounding, starvation, and forced displacement of Palestinian civilians. The Gaza Ministry of Health reported over 44,000 people killed and 104,000 wounded since October 7, 2023. Nearly all Palestinians in Gaza have been forcibly displaced, often multiple times, and face severe food insecurity or famine.

Amnesty International and other groups have accused Israel of implementing a "deliberate campaign of starvation" as a policy, systematically destroying the health, well-being, and social fabric of Palestinian life. This includes restricting piped water, cutting electricity, razing solar panels, and blocking fuel, leading to a severe water shortage where people have access to less than 5 liters per day. The blockade denied 83% of food aid entry to Gaza as of September, resulting in many people eating only one meal every other day. Amnesty International and B'Tselem conclude that Israel is committing the "crime of starvation under international law". This systematic deprivation of basic necessities extends beyond mere collateral damage in conflict. It suggests a calculated policy to inflict conditions of life "calculated to bring about their physical destruction", which constitutes a severe form of collective punishment and a direct assault on the civilian population, indicative of extreme dehumanization that is often a precursor or component of racist violence.

Movement restrictions are severe, including 793 roadblocks and checkpoints in the West Bank obstructing Palestinian movement, the cancellation of work permits for 100,000 Palestinian workers in Israel, and the blocking of Palestinian exit from Gaza through the Erez Crossing. Militarized arrest raids in the West Bank have resulted in hundreds of Palestinian deaths, with Israeli authorities reportedly not investigating these "apparently unlawful killings". Thousands of Palestinians have been subjected to arbitrary detention and ill-treatment, amounting to torture in many cases. The "Deportation of Families of Terrorists Law," passed on November 7, allowed for the removal of Israeli citizenship or Jerusalem residency from family members of detainees,

a measure widely seen as a form of collective punishment. The repeated observation that Israeli authorities "rarely prosecute those responsible for violence against Palestinians" and "did not investigate the apparently unlawful killings" creates an environment where discriminatory and violent acts against Palestinians can persist with minimal repercussions. This institutionalized impunity is a hallmark of an apartheid system, where one group is protected while the other is subjected to violence without adequate legal recourse, thereby reinforcing a racial hierarchy.

D. Legislative Frameworks and Discriminatory Practices

Beyond the Nation-State Law, other legislative and administrative practices contribute to discrimination. For example, an Israeli magistrate's court, citing the Nation-State Law, ruled that the northern city of Karmiel was a "Jewish city," effectively blocking Arabic-language schools and transport for Arab schoolchildren on the grounds that it would alter the city's "Jewish character". While this specific ruling was later overturned on appeal, it illustrates the potential for discriminatory application of the law. The Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law (Temporary Order), continuously renewed since 2003, continues to put certain categories of Palestinians at risk of statelessness. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) finding that Israel is in breach of the prohibition on racial discrimination and apartheid further indicates a pattern of discriminatory practices embedded in the legal and policy framework.

Table 2: Impact of Netanyahu's Policies on Palestinians: Key Indicators and Assessments

Policy Area	Specific Policy/Action	Documented Impact on Palestinians	Key Assessments/Labels	Source Snippet IDs
Settlements	Expansion of settlements in West Bank & East Jerusalem (e.g., E1 project)	Territorial contiguity severed, denial of Palestinian statehood, forced displacement, illegal seizure of land	Illegal under international law, buries idea of Palestinian state, apartheid	
Economy	"Economic peace" fallacy, "economic insurance against Palestinian statehood"	Increased disparity between West Bank and Gaza, Gaza's economic decline, "incubator for fundamentalism and extreme violence"	Failed to de-escalate conflict, permanent political marginalization, denial of self-determination	
Economy	Ban on Palestinian laborers, cessation of tax transfers to PA	Significant income loss, slashed PA revenue, surging housing costs in Israel (unintended)	Punitive, not credible for security, destructive economic domino effect	
Security/Movement	Gaza blockade,	Severe food	Deliberate	

Policy Area	Specific Policy/Action	Documented Impact on Palestinians	Key Assessments/Labels	Source Snippet IDs
Security/Movement	restrictions on water, food, aid, electricity, fuel	insecurity, famine, less than 5 liters water/day, mass forced displacement, physical destruction	campaign of starvation, crime of starvation under international law, genocide, collective punishment	
Security/Movement	Roadblocks, checkpoints, cancellation of work permits, exit restrictions	Obstruction of movement, delayed emergency access, economic losses, denial of medical care	Repression, human rights violations	
Security/Movement	Militarized arrest raids, arbitrary detention, ill-treatment/torture	Hundreds killed, thousands subjected to abuse, lack of investigation for unlawful killings	Unlawful killings, torture, impunity, crimes against humanity	
Legislation	Nation-State Law (2018)	Constitutional entrenchment of inequality, downgrading Arabic status, promotion of Jewish settlement	Manifestation of apartheid, institutionalized discrimination against non-Jews	
Legislation	Deportation of Families of Terrorists Law (2024)	Removal of citizenship/residency from family members of detainees	Collective punishment	

V. Assessments from International and Domestic Actors

The policies and actions under Benjamin Netanyahu's premiership have elicited strong reactions and formal assessments from a wide array of international and domestic entities. These assessments are crucial for understanding the characterization of his approach towards Palestinians.

A. International Organizations and Legal Bodies

A significant and growing body of international legal and human rights organizations has issued

grave assessments regarding Israeli policies, often directly implicating actions taken under Netanyahu's leadership. The **International Court of Justice (ICJ)**, for instance, issued an advisory opinion finding Israel's presence in the occupied Palestinian territory "unlawful" and stating that Israel is "in breach of the prohibition on racial discrimination and apartheid". The ICJ further advised Israel to evacuate and dismantle all settlements and make reparations to Palestinians. In January 2024, the ICJ stated that Israel was "plausibly committing genocide" in Gaza.

The **International Criminal Court (ICC)** issued arrest warrants in November 2024 for Benjamin Netanyahu and former Defense Minister Yoav Gallant, charging them with "war crimes and crimes against humanity" committed in Gaza from October 7, 2023, to May 20, 2024. These charges specifically include "starvation, deliberate attacks on civilians, murder, and persecution".

Amnesty International has accused Israel of committing "genocide in Gaza" and "the crime of apartheid". Amnesty states that Israel is carrying out a "deliberate campaign of starvation" and that its policies deliberately inflict conditions calculated to bring about Palestinians' "physical destruction". The organization has urged Prime Minister Netanyahu to "cancel all orders for forced evictions and home demolitions against Palestinians" and end forced displacement.

Human Rights Watch (HRW) assessed in 2024 that Israeli authorities, under the leadership that includes Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, "continued to commit the crimes against humanity of apartheid and persecution through their repression of Palestinians". HRW has detailed widespread killings, wounding, starvation, and forced displacement in Gaza, as well as excessive lethal force in the West Bank.

B'Tselem, a prominent Israeli human rights organization, has concluded that Israel is committing "the crime of starvation under international law in the Gaza Strip". B'Tselem has long accused Israel of being an "apartheid state" and stated that Israel's policy towards Palestinians in Gaza shifted from "repression and control to destruction and annihilation" after October 7, 2023. The convergence of these assessments from multiple authoritative international bodies and leading human rights organizations, including an internal Israeli organization, suggests a significant and robust body of evidence pointing towards systemic, racially discriminatory practices and severe human rights violations under Netanyahu's leadership. This is not merely isolated criticism but a consistent pattern of legal and human rights findings.

B. Palestinian Perspectives

Palestinian leaders and the broader Palestinian population have consistently voiced strong condemnation of Netanyahu's policies. Nabil Abu Rudeineh, spokesperson for Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, has held the US responsible for halting Israel's expansionist actions and explicitly noted Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's "Greater Israel" vision.

Palestinians widely view Netanyahu's calls for "voluntary migration" from Gaza as "forcible expulsion" and "ethnic cleansing". They express a deep attachment to their land, stating, "This is our land, there is no other place for us to go... We were born here, and here we die".

Palestinian political parties and civil society groups have consistently struggled against systemic discrimination. For example, Balad, a Palestinian party, proposed a bill to redefine Israel as a state for all its citizens, recognizing the existence and rights of both Jews and Arabs as national groups.

C. Israeli Internal Discourse

Within Israel, there is a complex and often divided discourse regarding Netanyahu's policies towards Palestinians.

Opposition Politicians: Prominent opposition figures have sharply criticized Netanyahu's government. Yair Lapid accused Netanyahu of enabling "far-right ministers to pursue 'extreme fantasies'" such as the "humanitarian city" plan for Rafah. Benny Gantz, a former war cabinet minister, called the government "abandoning" and accused Netanyahu of relying on "fueling domestic insecurity" to remain in power. Former Prime Minister Ehud Olmert went further, accusing Netanyahu's government of making Israel a "pariah state" and inflicting "widespread slaughter of civilians... and the deliberate starving of Gazans." These remarks led to accusations of "treasonous" comments from Netanyahu's allies.

Academics and Human Rights Groups: A significant number of Israeli academics have raised their voices. Over 1,200 Israeli academics issued an open letter calling for an end to the war on Gaza, centering Palestinian suffering. They stated, "It is human societies, not governments alone, that commit crimes against humanity" and that "We cannot claim that we did not know". Some Israeli academics, including Benjamin Pogrund, who previously refuted parallels with apartheid South Africa, now believe Israel is "heading" towards apartheid or that the charge is "becoming fact" under Netanyahu's era.

Pro-Netanyahu/Right-Wing Views: Netanyahu's current government is described as the "most right-wing and religiously conservative government in the country's history". His coalition, which includes far-right parties like Religious Zionism and Jewish Power, is united by an "anti-liberal stance" and a consensus to "implement the settlement agenda". They often justify actions on security grounds, with Netanyahu stating, "Our goal is not to occupy Gaza. Our goal is to free Gaza, free it from Hamas terrorists". Criticism of Israel, particularly allegations of war crimes or genocide, is frequently dismissed as antisemitic. This strategy, as noted by various sources, can be seen as a "weapon wielded by a self-righteous government" to "silence critics of Israel". This highlights how the discourse around "racism" is manipulated, making it challenging to engage with the substantive merits of the allegations. Some commentators assert that ICC warrants for Netanyahu will impede peace efforts. The significant internal Israeli divide, with strong criticisms from within segments of Israeli society, indicates an ongoing struggle over Israel's identity and future, particularly regarding its adherence to democratic and human rights principles for all its citizens.

Table 3: International Legal and Human Rights Assessments of Israeli Actions (with reference to Netanyahu's leadership)

Assessing Body	Nature of Assessment/Allegation	Specific References to Netanyahu's Leadership	Source Snippet IDs
International Court of Justice (ICJ)	Unlawful presence in OPT, breach of prohibition on racial discrimination and apartheid, plausibly committing genocide in Gaza	Israel's presence in OPT under Netanyahu's government; plausible genocide in Gaza under his leadership	
International Criminal Court (ICC)	War crimes and crimes against humanity (starvation, deliberate attacks on civilians,	Arrest warrants issued for Benjamin Netanyahu and former Defense Minister Yoav	

Assessing Body	Nature of Assessment/Allegation	Specific References to Netanyahu's Leadership	Source Snippet IDs
	murder, persecution) in Gaza	Gallant	
Amnesty International	Genocide in Gaza, crime of apartheid, deliberate campaign of starvation, inflicting conditions for physical destruction	Urges Netanyahu to cancel forced evictions/demolitions; policies under his leadership contribute to genocide/apartheid	
Human Rights Watch (HRW)	Crimes against humanity of apartheid and persecution, widespread killings, starvation, forced displacement in Gaza, excessive lethal force in West Bank	Israeli authorities under leadership including Netanyahu continued to commit these crimes	
B'Tselem (Israeli HR Org.)	Crime of starvation under international law in Gaza, apartheid state, shift from repression to destruction/annihilation in Gaza	Israel under Netanyahu's government committing crime of starvation; his policies shifted towards destruction	

VI. Conclusion: Synthesizing the Evidence

The comprehensive review of Benjamin Netanyahu's public statements, the policies implemented during his premiership, and the assessments by various international and domestic actors reveals a complex and deeply concerning pattern. His rhetoric, notably the "Arab drives" comment and his assertion that Israel is "not a state of all its citizens", has been widely condemned as incitement and discriminatory. This rhetorical approach, particularly the calculated use of fear to mobilize political support, demonstrates a deliberate act of political racialization rather than a spontaneous expression of personal prejudice.

More significantly, the policies implemented and overseen under his leadership, including aggressive settlement expansion, restrictive economic measures, and severe security operations in Gaza, have had devastating and disproportionate impacts on Palestinians. These impacts include widespread displacement, deprivation of basic necessities, and immense loss of life. The consistent findings from multiple independent bodies, based on documented practices and their severe outcomes, provide strong grounds for the allegations of racism and related crimes under international law.

A crucial observation is the significant and growing consensus among authoritative international legal and human rights bodies (International Court of Justice, International Criminal Court, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch) and even some Israeli human rights groups (B'Tselem) that these actions and the broader Israeli system amount to "apartheid," "persecution," "war crimes," and "genocide". These terms, particularly "apartheid," directly relate

to systemic racial discrimination and domination under international law. The "Greater Israel" vision and the rhetoric around "voluntary migration" from Gaza further underscore a policy direction that seeks to alter demographic realities and deny Palestinian self-determination, aligning with elements of racial discrimination and forcible transfer.

While Netanyahu and his government consistently deny these accusations, often framing them as politically motivated or antisemitic, the consistent findings from multiple independent bodies, based on documented practices and their severe outcomes, provide strong grounds for the allegations of racism and related crimes under international law. The issuance of International Criminal Court arrest warrants for war crimes and crimes against humanity further highlights the gravity of these assessments. The analysis reveals that it is the cumulative effect of Netanyahu's rhetoric combined with the sustained implementation of discriminatory policies that leads to the conclusion of systemic racism or apartheid. The rhetoric serves to create an ideological justification and mobilize political support, while the policies enact the discriminatory outcomes on the ground. This demonstrates a powerful, reinforcing loop between discourse and action, where words shape policy and policy reinforces the underlying discriminatory framework. The report's findings shift the focus from a colloquial understanding of "racism" as individual prejudice to a legal and systemic definition, particularly as manifested in "apartheid" and "persecution." While proving individual, explicit racist intent is inherently challenging, the impact and character of the state policies and actions under Netanyahu's leadership are demonstrably discriminatory and oppressive along racial/ethnic lines, as assessed by international law.

VII. Recommendations

Based on the comprehensive findings of this report, several avenues for further research and policy considerations are proposed to foster a deeper understanding of the issues and to explore potential paths forward.

A. Further Research Avenues

To further elucidate the complex dynamics at play, it is recommended to:

- Conduct detailed longitudinal studies on the socio-economic disparities between Israeli citizens of Palestinian heritage and Jewish Israelis. Such studies should specifically examine the legislative and budgetary decisions made under various Netanyahu governments that contributed to these gaps, including their long-term effects on communities and individuals.
- Perform a comprehensive comparative legal analysis of the Nation-State Law against international human rights conventions concerning non-discrimination and minority rights. This research should explore its practical application and judicial interpretations in greater depth, particularly how it affects the daily lives and rights of non-Jewish citizens.
- Undertake in-depth qualitative research into the lived experiences of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza under specific policies implemented during Netanyahu's terms. Utilizing ethnographic methods would provide a granular understanding of the human impact of these policies, capturing the nuances often missed in quantitative data.
- Analyze the evolution of "anti-Palestinian racism" as a distinct academic and legal concept. This research would explore how it intersects with, or is distinct from, other forms of racism and settler-colonial studies, thereby contributing to the theoretical framework for understanding the conflict.

B. Policy Considerations

Addressing the systemic issues identified in this report requires a multi-faceted approach grounded in international law and human rights principles:

- International actors should be urged to uphold their obligations under international law to ensure accountability for alleged war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide, as indicated by the International Criminal Court and International Court of Justice. This includes supporting their investigative and prosecutorial efforts to ensure that perpetrators are held responsible. This imperative for accountability is a fundamental foundation for addressing systemic racism.
- Advocacy for increased international pressure on Israel to halt all settlement expansion and reverse policies that undermine the viability of a two-state solution or contribute to forcible displacement and ethnic cleansing is crucial. These actions are not merely political but have direct human rights and demographic implications.
- Calls for the immediate and unconditional lifting of blockades and unimpeded access for humanitarian aid into Gaza are essential to address the deliberate starvation and humanitarian catastrophe documented by human rights organizations. The weaponization of basic necessities constitutes a severe violation of international humanitarian law.
- Support for robust international efforts towards Palestinian self-determination and the establishment of a contiguous, sovereign Palestinian state is critical, recognizing this as a fundamental prerequisite for long-term peace and stability.
- Promotion and funding of initiatives that foster dialogue, cooperation, and mutual understanding between Israelis and Palestinians are important. These initiatives should specifically challenge discriminatory narratives and work towards equality and mutual respect, moving beyond the "us vs. them" framing. The proposed policy recommendations demonstrate that the issues at hand are deeply intertwined, encompassing political, economic, and human rights dimensions, and cannot be addressed in isolation. Addressing racism in this complex environment necessitates a holistic approach that recognizes and tackles these interdependencies, reinforcing the systemic nature of the problem and the need for integrated solutions.

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An OSINT Research Report on Benjamin Netanyahu

Executive Summary

Benjamin Netanyahu, often referred to as "Bibi," is a central and profoundly influential figure in Israeli politics, with a career spanning several decades. This report synthesizes open-source intelligence to provide a comprehensive analysis of his life, career, and enduring political influence. The findings suggest that Netanyahu's leadership is a complex and often contradictory fusion of unwavering ideological conviction, rooted in his family's Revisionist Zionist legacy and a profound personal tragedy, and a highly pragmatic, even opportunistic, approach to power.

His foundational experiences—particularly the intellectual influence of his father and the death of his brother, Jonathan—serve as the ideological bedrock for his security-first doctrine. This report shows that this core doctrine is seamlessly integrated with his economic policies, which sought to create financial independence for Israel, thereby enabling a more unconstrained foreign policy. Moreover, the analysis reveals that his legal challenges, far from being separate from his political life, are intrinsically linked to his actions, serving as both a source of vulnerability and a catalyst for high-stakes political maneuvers, such as the push for judicial reform and his handling of national crises. A central and recurring theme is his mastery of media and public narrative, characterized by both an adversarial stance toward the independent press and a sophisticated use of state-sponsored propaganda to shape domestic and international perception. This report concludes that Netanyahu's political longevity is a testament to his ability to leverage this symbiotic relationship between his core ideology, pragmatic political strategy, and his command of public narrative.

I. Early Life and Formative Influences: The Architect's Foundation

Benjamin Netanyahu was born on October 21, 1949, in Tel Aviv, Israel, and was raised in a family that was deeply committed to Zionist ideals and the necessity of Jewish statehood. His early life, a blend of Israeli upbringing and formative years spent in the United States, established a unique and complex foundation for his future political career.

1.1. The Family Legacy: A Revisionist Zionist Crucible

The most significant influence on Netanyahu's worldview was his father, Benzion Netanyahu. A renowned historian and a prominent Revisionist Zionist, Benzion was a follower of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, a key ideologue who advocated for a Jewish state with a strong military and uncompromising stance on territorial claims. This intellectual and political environment was not merely a backdrop for Netanyahu's childhood; it was the crucible in which his political identity was forged. His father, described as a scholarly historian, instilled in his three sons a "brutally realistic approach to Zionist politics," emphasizing Jewish vulnerability and the necessity of a

strong Jewish state for the "survival and well-being of Jewish people worldwide".

This heritage provides a crucial lens for understanding Netanyahu's consistent and unyielding focus on national security throughout his career. His hardline positions on issues such as Iran's nuclear program and the expansion of West Bank settlements can be viewed not simply as pragmatic political choices but as expressions of a deeply ingrained, almost hereditary, ideology. This foundational belief provides the intellectual justification for his security-first policies, even when they face international criticism or domestic pressure. The family's move to the United States in 1962, fueled by Benzion's frustration at being denied a teaching position at Hebrew University due to his political activism, further underscores the family's intense commitment to its ideological principles.

1.2. The Crucible of Military Service and a Defining Tragedy

Upon returning to Israel in 1967, Netanyahu enlisted in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), beginning a six-year period of military service. He served in the elite special forces unit Sayeret Matkal, rising to the rank of captain. His time in this unit was a period of intense and dangerous combat, including participation in the 1968 Israeli raid on Lebanon and the Yom Kippur War in 1973. He was also wounded in combat during the 1972 rescue of hostages from a hijacked Sabena airplane. These experiences provided him with a unique blend of military credibility and a deep understanding of the realities of warfare, which he has consistently leveraged throughout his political life.

However, the single most pivotal event in his early life was the death of his older brother, Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan "Yoni" Netanyahu, who was killed while leading the famous Entebbe raid in Uganda in 1976. This tragedy profoundly reshaped Netanyahu's path, transforming his personal ambition into a public mission. He left his private-sector job to return to Israel and, in his brother's memory, founded the Jonathan Institute, a think tank dedicated to fighting international terrorism. This decision demonstrates a direct, causal response to his brother's ultimate sacrifice, indicating that his lifelong focus on counter-terrorism is not merely a political position but a deeply personal and emotionally charged commitment. This elevates his public policy from a tactical to a moral imperative, a theme he has returned to frequently in his rhetoric, particularly the oft-cited "Never Again" promise.

1.3. Academic and Professional Foundations

After his military service, Netanyahu returned to the United States to pursue higher education, a step that further broadened his professional foundation. He attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where he earned a bachelor's degree in architecture in 1975 and a master's degree in business administration from the MIT Sloan School of Management in 1976. He also studied political science at both MIT and Harvard University. This academic background, which uniquely combines technical and business acumen with political theory, distinguished him from many of his political peers.

Following his education, he worked as a consultant for the Boston Consulting Group from 1976 to 1978 before returning to Israel. His early career in the private sector, coupled with his fluency in English and American culture, provided him with a command of modern business and a pragmatic, analytical mindset. This blend of skills would later prove critical in his ability to effectively educate and persuade U.S. policymakers on the strategic importance of Israel, a key factor in securing continued defense and economic aid from the United States.

II. The Ascent of a Political Maverick: From Diplomat to Prime Minister

Netanyahu's ascent to power was a deliberate and calculated process, beginning with his diplomatic roles in the United States, where he honed the public relations skills that would define his political career.

2.1. Cultivating a Diplomatic and Public Persona

Netanyahu's political career began in the early 1980s when he took on diplomatic roles in the United States, first as Deputy Chief of Mission at the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D.C. (1982–1984), and then as Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations (1984–1988). During this period, he became renowned for his ability to champion Israel's cause in the international arena. His leadership potential became clear as he successfully educated U.S. policymakers on Israel's strategic importance, an effort that helped secure crucial defense and economic aid for the Israeli state.

His time as a diplomat was a masterclass in public advocacy. He recognized the power of media and public opinion in the United States and actively courted journalists and policymakers to advance Israel's position. This established a core competency in public relations and narrative framing, a skill he would later transfer to his political career in Israel. The ability to articulate Israel's position with clarity and conviction on a global stage, coupled with his experience as Israel's principal spokesman during the Gulf War, built the foundation for his sophisticated and often confrontational media strategy later in life. This skillset demonstrates that his later media campaigns are not merely reactionary but are part of a long-standing, ingrained strategy to maintain power and influence through the control of public narrative.

2.2. The First Term and the Foundation of Likud Leadership

After his successful diplomatic service, Netanyahu returned to Israel and, in 1988, ran for a seat in the Knesset as a member of the right-wing Likud Party. His diplomatic success, coupled with his ability to garner media attention, led to his election as Likud party chairman in 1993, a move that signaled a generational shift within the party. In 1996, he won the direct elections for prime minister, becoming the first to be elected by popular vote.

His first term as prime minister, from 1996 to 1999, was marked by a focus on economic liberalization and attempts to advance the peace process, including signing the Hebron and Wye Accords. However, the period was also characterized by strained relations with officials and allegations of corruption and incompetence. His political journey during this period showcases the tension between his public role as a security hawk and his pragmatic efforts to navigate complex diplomatic and economic realities.

III. The "Netanyahu Doctrine": A Fusion of Ideology and Pragmatism

Netanyahu's political philosophy is a strategic and complex blend of deeply held ideological beliefs and a pragmatic, results-oriented approach to governance. This is most clearly exemplified in his economic policy, which he has used as a tool to achieve his foreign policy

objectives.

3.1. Hawkish Neoliberalism: Economic Policy as a Tool for Independence

As Minister of Finance from 2003 to 2005, Netanyahu implemented sweeping and controversial economic reforms aimed at revitalizing Israel's economy, which was in a recession. These policies, which included significant budget cuts, reductions in social spending, tax cuts, and the privatization of state-owned industries, are described in a recent analysis as the "Netanyahu Doctrine" or "hawkish neoliberalism". The purpose of these reforms was not just to stimulate economic growth; they were designed to transition Israel from a state of "financial dependency" on foreign aid to a model of financial independence.

By creating a "surplus country" with a globalized, free-market economy, Netanyahu sought to enable a more independent foreign policy, one that would be less vulnerable to political pressure from the United States and Europe. This reveals a central strategic framework in his leadership: his domestic economic policy is directly designed to serve his foreign policy objectives. From the perspective of Netanyahu and his camp, the domestic costs of these policies—such as a rise in inequality and poverty—were a "fair price to pay" for a national purpose that prioritized security and self-determination. This demonstrates a willingness to trade social welfare for geopolitical strength, highlighting a significant and enduring source of internal conflict within Israeli society.

3.2. Ideological Bedrock and Tactical Flexibility

Despite his deep-seated commitment to the security-first principles of Revisionist Zionism, Netanyahu is also characterized as a practitioner of "pragmatic opportunism". This is evident in his willingness to make tactical reversals on key issues when necessary for political survival or strategic gain. For example, he reversed his earlier opposition to the 1993 peace accords and agreed to withdraw Israeli troops from most of Hebron in 1997. A more recent and prominent example is his qualified endorsement of a Palestinian state in his 2009 Bar-Ilan University speech, a significant departure from his party's long-standing position.

This apparent contradiction—the ideological hawk who makes tactical concessions—is not a flaw in his leadership style but a key feature of it. His flexibility allows him to forge alliances across the political spectrum and to navigate complex diplomatic situations, such as the Abraham Accords, while remaining true to his core security agenda. This dynamic explains his ability to maintain leadership despite persistent opposition and public distrust. His political flexibility is a survival mechanism, a core component of his enduring power that enables him to adapt to shifting circumstances without abandoning his fundamental beliefs.

IV. Foreign Policy and Geopolitical Strategy

Netanyahu's foreign policy is a reflection of his ideological foundations, consistently framing Israel's geopolitical challenges in the stark terms of survival and existential threats.

4.1. The Iran Question: A Consistent and Unyielding Stance

At the core of Netanyahu's foreign policy is his consistent and unwavering stance against Iran. For decades, he has been a vocal opponent of Iran's alleged nuclear weapons program,

lobbying for stronger international action and describing the program as the greatest threat to Israeli and world security. He frames the conflict with Iran and its proxies, such as Hezbollah and Hamas, not as a regional dispute but as a "clash between barbarism and civilization". In his speeches, he has warned that Iran seeks to impose its radicalism far beyond the Middle East, positioning Israel's actions as a necessary defense of global civilization.

His recent military actions, including an invasion of Lebanon to destroy Hezbollah and an invasion of Syria, are presented as direct extensions of this central preoccupation. This approach suggests that Iran is not a mere policy position for Netanyahu but a central, organizing principle of his entire political life. The stance is an extension of his father's Revisionist Zionist doctrine and his own "brutally realistic" view of threats to Jewish existence. This makes his position on Iran fundamentally non-negotiable and a central pillar of his legacy, which is a source of ongoing friction with the international community.

4.2. The U.S. Alliance and the Abraham Accords

The relationship with the United States has been a cornerstone of Israel's foreign policy, and Netanyahu's handling of it is a significant case study in leveraging personal relationships for national gain. He successfully used his fluency in American culture and his public speaking skills to cultivate relationships with U.S. policymakers, establishing a foundation for his political rise. From 2016, he made his "closeness to Donald Trump central to his appeal". This alliance was a calculated strategy that yielded unprecedented diplomatic victories for Israel, including the U.S. recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital and its sovereignty over the Golan Heights, as well as the brokering of the Abraham Accords.

The Abraham Accords, in particular, were a significant geopolitical achievement and a personal victory for both leaders. However, the reliance on a single political figure for these gains makes the long-term stability of the accords vulnerable to political shifts in Washington. The United Arab Emirates' "red line" warning against West Bank annexation highlights the fragility of these new alliances when they come up against Netanyahu's domestic political pressures and his ideological commitment to territorial expansion.

V. Navigating Perpetual Crisis: Domestic and Military Challenges

Netanyahu's recent leadership has been defined by a series of cascading crises—from the judicial reform protests to the ongoing Gaza war—which have tested his political resilience and leadership style.

5.1. The Judicial Reform Crisis: A Challenge to Democratic Norms

In January 2023, Netanyahu's coalition proposed a sweeping judicial reform package aimed at curbing the Supreme Court's power and giving the government control over judicial appointments. The move, which was seen by critics as an "alleged shift towards authoritarianism," sparked the largest-scale protests in Israel's history. While proponents argued the reform was necessary to correct a left-leaning judiciary and restore the balance of power, opponents viewed it as a direct threat to Israeli democracy. The timing of the reform, proposed shortly after Netanyahu's return to power and while he was on trial for corruption charges, suggests that the push for judicial reform is inextricably linked to his legal survival and a desire

to escape his criminal charges. The protests were ultimately halted by the onset of the Gaza war in October 2023, demonstrating how an external military conflict can be a powerful force for managing internal political crises.

5.2. Wartime Leadership and Public Perception

In the aftermath of the October 7 attacks, Netanyahu has faced widespread criticism for the security lapse and for his government's management of the hostage crisis. Despite this, his political standing remains complex. According to a July 2025 survey by the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI), Netanyahu's public trust rating was a low 40% overall, and a separate poll showed 70% of Israelis do not trust his government. Among his own Likud party voters, the share of those who trust him is even smaller than the share of those who trust IDF Chief of Staff Eyal Zamir, who enjoys a much higher trust rating of 68.5%. However, this lack of broad public trust has not translated into a clear loss of political viability. The same poll showed that he continues to poll competitively against his main rivals. This suggests that Israel's political landscape is not about a single leader's popularity but is a deeply polarized system. While his opponents lack a clear, unifying alternative, Netanyahu can rely on the steadfast loyalty of his right-wing base. His political survival is not dependent on broad consensus but on his ability to mobilize and consolidate his core political camp, even in the face of profound national crises.

The table below provides a clearer picture of public trust in key Israeli officials and institutions:

Table 1: Public Trust in Israeli Officials and Institutions (July 2025)

Figure / Institution	Overall Trust	Jewish Israelis	Arab Israelis	Right-Wing Trust	Center Trust	Left-Wing Trust
IDF Chief of Staff Eyal Zamir	68.5%	77%	25%	-	-	-
Mossad Director David Barnea	67%	74%	36%	-	-	-
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu	40%	46%	10%	64%	22%	3%
Defense Minister Israel Katz	35%	39%	15%	-	-	-
Education Minister Yoav Kisch	25%	-	-	-	-	-
Transportation Minister Miri Regev	20%	-	-	-	-	-
IDF (as an institution)	84%	93%	41%	-	-	-

Figure / Institution	Overall Trust	Jewish Israelis	Arab Israelis	Right-Wing Trust	Center Trust	Left-Wing Trust
institution)						
Police	50%	56%	22%	-	-	-

Data based on a July 2025 survey by the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI).

VI. Legal and Financial Controversies: The Perpetual Trial

Netanyahu's political career has been punctuated by a series of legal and financial controversies, three of which have resulted in a criminal indictment. This section breaks down the key cases and their implications.

6.1. The Corruption Indictments: A Case-by-Case Breakdown

On November 21, 2019, Netanyahu was officially indicted on charges of bribery, fraud, and breach of trust in three separate cases. His trial began on May 24, 2020, and is ongoing.

- **Case 1000 ("The Gifts Affair"):** This case alleges that Netanyahu and his wife received over \$195,000 in expensive gifts, including cigars and champagne, from two wealthy businessmen—Arnon Milchan and James Packer—over a period of 20 years. In return, the prosecution claims Netanyahu provided political favors, such as advocating for a tax exemption that would benefit Milchan and lobbying U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry to help Milchan secure a U.S. visa.
- **Case 2000 ("The Netanyahu-Mozes Affair"):** This case involves allegations of a quid-pro-quo deal between Netanyahu and Arnon Mozes, the publisher of the newspaper *Yedioth Ahronoth*. The prosecution alleges that Mozes offered to provide more favorable media coverage of Netanyahu and his family in exchange for legislation that would harm the circulation of a rival newspaper, *Israel Hayom*. The allegations of media manipulation are consistent with Netanyahu's broader adversarial campaign against the press, suggesting his alleged criminal actions are an extension of his standard political playbook.
- **Case 4000 ("The Bezeq Affair"):** The most serious of the cases, this one charges Netanyahu with bribery, fraud, and breach of trust. The investigation alleges that as Minister of Communications, Netanyahu granted regulatory benefits to the telecommunications company Bezeq and its owner, Shaul Elovitch, in exchange for positive coverage on Elovitch's news website, Walla!. The legal allegations are an extension of his political strategy, a pattern of using public office to manipulate the media for personal and political gain.

6.2. Other Controversies: Submarine and Qatargate Affairs

Beyond the criminal indictments, Netanyahu has been embroiled in other high-profile scandals. The "Submarine Affair" (Case 3000) involved allegations of bribery related to a German submarine deal, though Netanyahu was not personally indicted. The "Qatargate" affair is a more recent scandal involving allegations that Netanyahu's aides received bribes from Qatar to promote a pro-Qatar agenda, a claim that his office has denied. The research notes that critics allege Netanyahu allowed Qatari funds into Gaza to maintain a ceasefire, despite warnings that

the money was being used to strengthen Hamas. These scandals, while not all resulting in charges against him, continue to fuel public suspicion and provide ammunition for his political opponents, linking political corruption directly to national security issues. The table below provides a clear, professional overview of the legal landscape.

Table 2: Summary of Legal Cases (1000, 2000, 4000)

Case Number	Case Name	Allegations	Charges	Accused Parties	Trial Status
1000	The "Gifts Affair"	Receiving expensive gifts (cigars, champagne) in exchange for political favors.	Fraud, Breach of Trust	Benjamin Netanyahu, Arnon Milchan, James Packer	Ongoing; Defense testimony began December 2024
2000	The "Netanyahu-Mozes Affair"	A quid-pro-quo deal for favorable media coverage in exchange for legislation to harm a rival newspaper.	Fraud, Breach of Trust	Benjamin Netanyahu, Arnon Mozes	Ongoing; Defense testimony began December 2024
4000	The "Bezeq Affair"	Granting regulatory benefits to a telecommunications company in exchange for positive media coverage.	Bribery, Fraud, Breach of Trust	Benjamin Netanyahu, Shaul Elovitch	Ongoing; Defense testimony began December 2024

Data from various sources detailing the corruption cases.

VII. The Master of Public Perception and Media Strategy

Netanyahu’s political longevity is inextricably linked to his sophisticated and often aggressive approach to public perception and the media, a skill he has cultivated since his early career as a diplomat in the United States.

7.1. Rhetorical Tools and Narrative Framing

Netanyahu's speeches are characterized by a strategic use of language designed to project authority and simplify complex conflicts into clear, morally unambiguous narratives. His speeches rely heavily on "assertives" and "directives," which serve to inform, guide, and

persuade while emphasizing a strong sense of authority. He consistently employs powerful rhetorical devices, such as the binary opposition of "blessing or a curse" and vivid historical analogies, including the comparison of Hamas to the Nazis. By framing the conflict as a "clash between barbarism and civilization," he can sidestep nuanced policy debates and create a clear and compelling narrative for his supporters while simultaneously delegitimizing his opponents and critics. The strategic use of such a rhetorical style is highly effective at mobilizing a political base and shaping the political discourse on his own terms.

7.2. The Digital Battleground and "Hasbara" Campaigns

Netanyahu's government has also embraced modern digital warfare. According to a report by Drop Site News, his office entered into a six-month, \$45 million contract with Google to promote government messages and downplay the humanitarian crisis in Gaza. This campaign, which included ads denying famine and was also run on platforms like X, is characterized in government documents as "hasbara," a Hebrew term often translated as "propaganda". This move demonstrates a strategic decision to combat negative international narratives not by changing policy but by changing public perception through a well-funded, targeted information campaign. The timing of the campaign, which began shortly after Israel was accused of blocking food and humanitarian supplies, suggests it was a direct response to a perceived public relations crisis. This points to a new era of state-level communication, where governments use commercial platforms to engage in what is openly labeled as propaganda, raising significant ethical and geopolitical questions about the role of tech companies in international conflicts.

7.3. An Adversarial Relationship with the Press

Netanyahu's relationship with the media is not a healthy one but a political weapon he has honed over decades. Media watchers describe a systematic, decade-long campaign to undermine independent media in Israel. He has banned or boycotted news organizations whose reporting he dislikes, such as Al Jazeera and *Haaretz*, while actively promoting loyal outlets like the free newspaper *Israel Today* and the television channel Channel 14. His complaints of a "deep state" working against him, including the media, are a political tactic designed to dismiss critical reporting as politically motivated or as "fake news". His alleged quid-pro-quo deals with newspaper publishers, as outlined in Case 2000, demonstrate a desire not just to influence but to control the media. The legal allegations are an extension of his political strategy, suggesting a pattern of using public office to manipulate the media for personal and political gain. This ongoing campaign erodes public trust in democratic institutions, contributes to political polarization, and makes accountability journalism more difficult, further entrenching his power base.

VIII. Conclusions

Benjamin Netanyahu's career represents a unique and complex confluence of deeply held ideological convictions and a pragmatic, often ruthless, approach to power. His leadership is not a series of disparate events but a cohesive, self-reinforcing system where each element is leveraged for political survival and the advancement of his core ideology. His early life, shaped by his father's Revisionist Zionist beliefs and his brother's heroic death, instilled in him a foundational worldview centered on the existential threat to the Jewish state.

He then leveraged his education and professional background in the U.S. to create a political and economic strategy—the "Netanyahu Doctrine"—that sought to reduce Israel's financial dependency on foreign aid to enable a more unconstrained and security-focused foreign policy. The constant state of crisis that has defined his recent terms in office—from the judicial reform protests to the ongoing Gaza war—is not a random occurrence but a state he has skillfully managed to his advantage. The research indicates that the push for judicial reform was inextricably linked to his legal survival, and the subsequent war served to pause the domestic protests. His legal battles, which allege a pattern of using public office for personal and political gain, are inextricably linked to his broader political strategy of media manipulation and the consolidation of power.

Netanyahu's legacy is one of profound division, both within Israel and on the international stage. For his supporters, he is the unwavering defender of Israel's security, an economic liberalizer, and a skilled diplomat who brought peace with Arab neighbors. For his detractors, he is a polarizing figure accused of undermining democratic institutions, fostering social inequality, and putting personal survival above national interest. The International Criminal Court has issued an arrest warrant for him on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and his government faces accusations of genocide in Gaza. International confidence in his leadership is at a record low, underscoring the deep global divisions surrounding his policies. His final legacy will likely be a subject of intense debate for decades, inextricably tied to the ongoing conflicts and domestic crises of his time.

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Analysis of Political Discourse and Human Rights Issues Connected to the Likud Party: A Summary of Publicly Available Information

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Abstract

This document provides a structured analysis based on publicly available information regarding political discourse and human rights issues connected to the Likud Party. It synthesizes findings from United Nations bodies, major human rights organizations, academic literature, and Israeli parliamentary records. The analysis highlights concerns about policies in the occupied Palestinian territories, the nature of political rhetoric, and legislative activities, concluding with recommendations for the international community.

1 Introduction

The governance and political discourse of the Likud Party have been subjects of extensive scrutiny, particularly concerning their impact on human rights and international law. This document aims to summarize key findings and trends documented by prominent international organizations, academic researchers, and official records. The focus is on the period from approximately 2020 to the present, where applicable, and draws upon verified trends and specific reports to provide an overview of the critical perspectives on these issues.

2 Human Rights Documentation and International Oversight

Several leading international bodies and non-governmental organizations have monitored and reported on the human rights situation in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories, with specific attention to policies enacted under governments involving or led by the Likud Party.

2.1 United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC)

The United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) has consistently documented concerns regarding Israel's policies in the occupied Palestinian territories. These concerns frequently address issues such as the expansion of settlements, the demolition of Palestinian homes, restrictions on freedom of movement, and the impact of the blockade on Gaza [1]. Reports from the UNHRC and its appointed special rapporteurs have often highlighted how these actions are perceived to violate international humanitarian law and international human rights law, thereby undermining the fundamental rights of Palestinians. The UNHRC's oversight functions include periodic reviews and resolutions that call for adherence to international legal standards [2].

2.2 Human Rights Watch (HRW)

Human Rights Watch (HRW) has published extensive research on the Israeli-Palestinian context. A significant report, titled “A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution,” meticulously details allegations of systematic discrimination against Palestinians [3]. The report argues that Israeli authorities are committing the crimes against humanity of apartheid and persecution, based on an overarching policy to maintain Jewish Israeli control over demographics, land, and resources across Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories [3]. HRW’s findings point to a deeply entrenched system of discriminatory laws, policies, and practices that affect Palestinians differently and detrimentally [4].

2.3 Amnesty International

Similarly, Amnesty International, in its 2022 report “Israel’s apartheid against Palestinians: Cruel system of domination and crime against humanity,” asserts that Israel enforces a system of apartheid against Palestinians wherever it exercises control over their rights. This includes Palestinians living in Israel, in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), and displaced Palestinian refugees in other countries [5]. This system is described as being characterized by territorial fragmentation, segregation and control, dispossession of land and property, and the denial of economic and social rights, amounting to a crime against humanity under international law [5, 6]. Amnesty International calls for international accountability mechanisms to be activated and for an end to practices it identifies as constituting apartheid.

3 Academic Research on Political Discourse

Academic scholarship has provided critical analyses of the political discourse associated with the Likud Party, particularly its impact on inter-group relations, policy formation, and the prospects for peace.

3.1 Discourse Analysis of Likud Rhetoric

Studies employing discourse analysis methodologies have examined the rhetoric of the Likud Party and its prominent figures. This research often reveals a consistent narrative that strongly emphasizes Jewish nationalism, historical and religious claims to the entirety of Eretz Israel (the Land of Israel), and overarching security concerns as paramount [7]. Within this framework, Palestinian identity, rights, and national aspirations are frequently marginalized, delegitimized, or framed as existential threats to Israel’s Jewish character and security [8]. Such rhetoric, scholars argue, can contribute to the polarization of society, the entrenchment of conflict, and the justification of policies that negatively impact Palestinians.

3.2 Sovereignty and Annexation Discourse

Academic research has also tracked the evolution of Likud’s discourse concerning sovereignty, particularly over territories occupied since the 1967 war, including the West Bank and East Jerusalem. This body of work indicates a discernible discursive shift from earlier positions towards advocating for, or implementing policies that lead to, de jure or de facto annexation of these territories and the continued expansion of Israeli settlements [9]. The narrative often frames such actions as essential for national security, as fulfilling historical or religious

destinies, as a legitimate exercise of Israeli sovereignty, or as a response to perceived Palestinian intransigence, while often downplaying or reinterpreting international legal prohibitions against acquiring territory by force and the rights of the occupied population [10].

4 Knesset Records and Legislative Activities (2020–Present)

An examination of Knesset (Israeli Parliament) archives from 2020 onwards provides insights into legislative activities and policy-making under Likud-led or significantly Likud-influenced governments. Publicly accessible records, including legislative texts, committee minutes, and plenary debates, document the introduction, discussion, and passage of laws that have drawn criticism from human rights organizations, legal scholars, and international observers [11].

These legislative measures span various domains, including:

- Land ownership, planning, and zoning, which critics argue disproportionately favor Jewish settlement and development while restricting Palestinian land use, particularly in East Jerusalem and Area C of the West Bank.
- Citizenship, residency, and family unification laws, which have been criticized for discriminating on the basis of nationality or ethnicity, particularly affecting Palestinians.
- Civil rights and freedom of expression, where concerns have been raised about laws or amendments perceived as restricting dissent or targeting specific minority groups or critical NGOs.

Critics argue that such legislation can entrench inequality, further marginalize non-Jewish populations, and in some cases, violate international human rights norms [12].

5 Recommendations for the International Community

Based on the concerns raised by the aforementioned bodies and research, the following recommendations are often proposed for consideration by the international community:

- **Enhanced Monitoring and Reporting:** Strengthen and adequately resource international oversight mechanisms, including those of the UN (such as Special Rapporteurs and treaty bodies) and independent human rights organizations, to rigorously monitor, document, and publicly report on compliance with international human rights law and humanitarian law in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories.
- **Accountability Measures:** Support and cooperate with impartial and independent investigations into alleged serious human rights violations and potential international crimes by all parties. This includes supporting the work of international judicial bodies, such as the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and considering the application of universal jurisdiction by national courts where appropriate to combat impunity.
- **Diplomatic Engagement and Policy Reform:** Engage consistently and robustly with Israeli authorities, through bilateral and multilateral channels, to encourage legislative and policy changes. Such engagement should advocate for reforms aimed at ensuring equality, non-discrimination, and the full protection of human rights for all individuals under Israel's effective control, in line with Israel's international obligations. This includes calling for the repeal or amendment of laws deemed discriminatory by human rights bodies.

- **Support for Civil Society:** Increase and sustain political and financial support for Israeli and Palestinian human rights organizations, legal centers, and peacebuilding initiatives that work to document abuses, provide legal aid to victims, challenge discriminatory practices, and advocate for human rights, justice, and accountability.
- **Adherence to International Law in Bilateral Relations:** Ensure that bilateral agreements and cooperation frameworks with Israel and Palestinian entities are consistent with international law and promote respect for human rights. This includes conducting due diligence to prevent complicity in violations.

6 Conclusion

The documentation from international human rights organizations, findings from academic research on political discourse, and an overview of official parliamentary records collectively point towards significant and systemic issues concerning human rights and international law in relation to policies enacted and rhetoric employed under the Likud Party's governance. These sources consistently highlight concerns regarding the treatment of Palestinians, the legality of settlement expansion, the enactment of discriminatory legislation, and the impact of a political narrative that often exacerbates tensions and undermines prospects for a just resolution. Addressing these deeply entrenched issues requires sustained, principled, and concerted efforts from the international community to promote accountability for violations, advocate for comprehensive policy and legislative reforms, and steadfastly uphold the principles of international law, human rights, and equality for all individuals in the region.

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Doxxing Likud: An International Peace Intelligence Report

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Date: April 23, 2025

April 23, 2025

To all global citizens, diplomats, educators, humanitarians, and peace-seekers:

Executive Summary

This document outlines linguistic and ideological patterns of dehumanizing speech, hate rhetoric, warmongering sentiment, and systemic discrimination originating from the Israeli Likud Party, including its leadership and affiliated political operators. Utilizing open-source intelligence (OSINT), peace linguistics, and ethical NLP analysis, this report highlights the alarming divergence between Likud's actions and universally recognized principles of human dignity, equality, and non-violence.

1 Introduction: The Context of Concern

The Likud Party, under the leadership of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, holds significant sway over Israel's political and military conduct. While public discourse often frames Israel's political leadership as security-focused, the Likud Party has repeatedly engaged in language and policy that contravenes international peace norms, human rights frameworks, and the foundational principles of pluralism.

2 Dehumanizing Language and Hate Speech

- **Yoav Gallant** (Likud Defense Minister) referred to Palestinians as “*human animals*” [?].

- **Yehiel Hazan** (former Likud MK) called Arabs “*worms*” [?].
- **Ariel Kallner** (Likud MK) publicly advocated for a new “*Nakba that will overshadow the original*”—implying support for ethnic cleansing [?].

These statements are not fringe; they are reflective of mainstream rhetoric within Likud’s ecosystem. Such language violates Article 1 of the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** (UDHR), which asserts that “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”

3 Incitement to Violence and Historical Revisionism

- In 2023, a senior Likud activist was expelled after stating he “*wished another six million would burn*”—a grotesque abuse of Holocaust memory [?].
- Likud has promoted a culture of militarism and vengeance, often blurring the line between national security and revenge politics.
- Their chatbot in 2019 pushed messages such as “The Arabs want to destroy all of us—women, children, and men” [?].

4 Suppression of Dissent and Undermining Democracy

- Shin Bet chief recently reported that Netanyahu demanded personal loyalty and sought to fire him for independent views [?].
- Likud’s efforts to control judicial appointments and intimidate Arab voters violate the principles of democratic pluralism.

5 Peace Mission Intelligence: Why It Matters

The Likud Party’s rhetoric and actions are in direct violation of:

1. **Universal Declaration of Peace (UDP)**, Article 1: *Right to live without threat and in dignity.*
2. **Universal Organic Rights (UDOR)**, Articles 30, 76, 80: *Protection from hate speech, promotion of peace, and community-based peacebuilding.*

3. **Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)**, Article 7: *Equal protection under the law.*

The long-standing conflict cannot be resolved through brute force or demonization. Instead, sustainable peace requires a conscious shift toward empathetic dialogue, acknowledgment of historical grievances, and inclusive governance.

6 Recommendations to the Global Public

- **Educate Yourself:** Do not rely on sanitized media portrayals. Read independent sources and track Likud rhetoric.
- **Support Peace Journalism:** Share accurate information and avoid language that fuels polarization.
- **Challenge Hate Speech:** Report and speak out against political figures who promote dehumanization.
- **Pressure Global Institutions:** Call upon the UN, EU, and human rights organizations to condemn and censure this behavior.
- **Uplift Nonviolent Movements:** Highlight and fund grassroots peace initiatives in both Israeli and Palestinian communities.

7 Conclusion: Which Side of History?

The future will remember those who stood silent, and those who raised their voices. Likud's trajectory is incompatible with universal peace and dignity. This is not about religion, identity, or nationalism—it is about accountability, ethics, and the human right to coexist peacefully.

We call upon global citizens to make an informed, ethical stand. History is watching.

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Operation VERITAS LIKUD: Doxxing Likud An International Peace Intelligence Report

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OSINT Enhancement
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April 23, 2025

To all global citizens, diplomats, educators, humanitarians, and peace-seekers:

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Executive Summary

This document provides a comprehensive analysis of linguistic, ideological, and policy patterns associated with the Israeli Likud Party, focusing on elements potentially conflicting with international norms of human rights, peace, and democratic governance. Originating from an initial intelligence brief and significantly expanded through Open Source Intelligence (OSINT) verification, peace linguistics frameworks, and ethical Natural Language Processing (NLP) analytical perspectives, this report details specific instances of dehumanizing rhetoric, hate speech, incitement, historical revisionism, and actions perceived as undermining democratic checks and balances and minority rights.

The period examined includes prominent historical incidents and extends through documented events up to late 2023, with contextual analysis reflecting the situation as understood on April 23, 2025. Verified statements from high-profile Likud figures, including government ministers and Members of Knesset (MKs), reveal language referring to Palestinians as "human animals" and "worms," and advocacy for actions potentially amounting to ethnic cleansing ("a Nakba that will overshadow the original"). Incidents involving party activists deploying grotesque Holocaust rhetoric and official campaign materials disseminating messages deemed hate speech further illustrate concerning trends.

Furthermore, the report scrutinizes Likud's central role in the contentious 2023 judicial overhaul initiative, widely criticized for weakening judicial independence, and examines historical actions, such as the 2019 deployment of cameras in Arab polling stations, viewed as voter intimidation. Persistent tensions between the Likud-led government and Israel's security establishment, particularly regarding policy impacts on societal cohesion and rule of law, are also noted.

These findings are contextualized within established international legal and ethical frameworks, primarily the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The analysis highlights a significant and alarming divergence between the documented rhetoric and actions associated with Likud elements and universally recognized principles of human dignity, equality, non-discrimination, and non-violence. The report concludes with actionable recommendations for the global public aimed at fostering informed discourse, challenging hate speech, supporting peace initiatives, and upholding international norms. This intelligence serves as a call for critical awareness and ethical engagement with a political trajectory impacting regional stability and universal values. History, indeed, is watching.

1 Introduction: Context, Scope, and Methodology

1.1 The Likud Party in Israeli Politics

The Likud Party (Hebrew: HaLikud, lit. 'The Consolidation') has been a dominant force in Israeli politics for decades, frequently forming the backbone of right-leaning coalition governments. Under the long-standing leadership of Benjamin Netanyahu, Likud has profoundly shaped Israel's national security doctrine, economic policies, and approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Its ideological roots lie in Revisionist Zionism, historically emphasizing territorial maximalism (Greater Israel), a strong military posture, and skepticism towards land-for-peace initiatives. While public discourse, particularly internationally, often frames Likud's policies primarily through the lens of national security imperatives,

a closer examination reveals patterns of rhetoric and action that raise significant concerns when measured against international law, human rights frameworks, and democratic principles. This report aims to provide a detailed, evidence-based analysis of these patterns.

1.2 Scope and Objective

The primary objective of this report is to consolidate, verify, and analyze publicly available information concerning rhetoric and actions attributed to the Likud Party, its leadership, elected officials, and prominent affiliates that appear to contravene established norms of peace, human dignity, and democratic governance. This includes:

- Documenting instances of dehumanizing language and hate speech targeting specific groups, particularly Palestinians and Arab citizens of Israel.
- Examining cases of incitement to violence and potentially inflammatory historical revisionism.
- Analyzing actions perceived as suppressing dissent, undermining judicial independence, and potentially infringing on the rights of minority groups.
- Assessing these findings against relevant articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the spirit of other international covenants promoting peace and non-discrimination.

This report does not purport to represent the views of all Likud members or supporters but focuses on documented actions and statements from influential figures and official party channels that carry significant political weight. The timeframe covers notable historical examples and documented events leading up to late 2023/early 2024, with analysis framed from the perspective of April 23, 2025.

1.3 Methodology

The findings presented herein are based on a multi-faceted methodology:

- **Open Source Intelligence (OSINT):** Extensive use of publicly accessible information, including major international news archives (e.g., Reuters, Associated Press, BBC, New York Times, The Guardian), reputable Israeli media outlets (e.g., Haaretz, Times of Israel, Jerusalem Post), reports from established human rights organizations (e.g., Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, B'Tselem), academic publications, and official government or parliamentary records where available. Specific claims from the initial source document were rigorously cross-referenced using search engines and databases.
- **Peace Linguistics Analysis:** Applying principles of peace linguistics to analyze the function and impact of language used. This involves examining word choices, metaphors, framing, and narrative structures to understand how language might contribute to dehumanization, polarization, or the justification of violence.
- **Ethical NLP Perspective:** While direct Natural Language Processing (NLP) computation was not performed for this iteration (beyond the AI assistance acknowledged), an ethical NLP lens

informs the analysis. This involves considering the potential real-world impact of automated or widely disseminated political messaging (like chatbots) and the ethical responsibilities associated with language propagation in the digital age.

- **Comparative Framework Analysis:** Evaluating documented rhetoric and actions against established international norms, primarily the UDHR, to identify specific points of tension or alleged violation.

It is crucial to note the date context: this report is finalized on April 23, 2025. While drawing heavily on verified historical data (primarily up to late 2023), it frames the ongoing relevance of these patterns within this projected timeframe. Speculative elements regarding developments between late 2023 and early 2025 are minimized; the focus remains on the documented foundation and its enduring implications.

2 Dehumanizing Language and Hate Speech

A significant area of concern identified through OSINT analysis involves the use of dehumanizing language by prominent Likud figures, particularly directed towards Palestinians. Such language strips individuals and groups of their human qualities, potentially lowering inhibitions against violence and discrimination.

2.1 Yoav Gallant: "Human Animals"

In the immediate aftermath of the devastating Hamas attacks on southern Israel on October 7, 2023, then-Defense Minister Yoav Gallant (Likud) made a statement that garnered widespread international attention and condemnation. On October 9, 2023, during a situational assessment with IDF soldiers near the Gaza border, Gallant announced a "complete siege" of the Gaza Strip and stated:

"We are fighting human animals and we are acting accordingly."

This statement was widely reported by global media outlets (*Times of Israel*, Reuters, Associated Press, etc.). **Analysis:** The term "human animals" is a stark example of dehumanizing rhetoric. By likening an entire population group (implicitly, Palestinians in Gaza, in the context of the siege announcement) to animals, it erases their humanity, complexity, and individual innocence. Critics, including numerous human rights organizations and UN officials, argued that such language could be interpreted as justifying collective punishment and indiscriminate violence against civilians in Gaza during the ensuing military operations. While framed by Gallant in the context of fighting Hamas militants responsible for atrocities, its broad nature raised alarms about its potential application to the wider Palestinian population. This language directly contravenes the spirit and letter of UDHR Article 1 ("All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights"). The use of such rhetoric by a high-ranking minister responsible for military conduct carries significant weight and potential real-world consequences.

2.2 Yehiel Hazan: "Worms"

This incident predates Gallant's statement but illustrates a historical pattern. In June 2004, Yehiel Hazan, then a Likud Member of Knesset (MK), made derogatory remarks about Arabs during a Knesset session. As reported by Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*, Hazan stated:

"The Arabs wish to destroy us... You can find Arabs everywhere like worms. They are like worms underground."

Analysis: Likening Arabs to "worms" employs a classic dehumanizing trope, portraying the targeted group as vermin – something to be eradicated or controlled, lacking inherent value. This statement, made within the Israeli parliament, drew criticism at the time for its blatant racism and contribution to a hostile political environment for Arab citizens of Israel and Palestinians. While Hazan was a controversial figure even within Likud, the fact such language was used by an elected MK highlights the presence of extreme rhetoric within the party's ecosystem over the years.

2.3 Ariel Kallner: "A Nakba That Will Overshadow the Original"

Following the October 7, 2023 attacks, Likud MK Ariel Kallner posted inflammatory remarks on social media platform X (formerly Twitter). He called for:

"Right now, one goal: Nakba! A Nakba that will overshadow the Nakba of 48. Nakba in Gaza and Nakba to anyone who dares to join!"

Analysis: The "Nakba" (Arabic for "Catastrophe") refers to the displacement and dispossession of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians during the 1948 war surrounding Israel's creation. It is a term laden with historical trauma for Palestinians. Kallner's call for a new, larger Nakba targeting Gaza and potential allies was widely interpreted as an open call for mass displacement or ethnic cleansing. This statement is not merely dehumanizing but actively advocates for actions that could constitute severe violations of international humanitarian law. Reported by outlets like *Middle East Eye* and others, Kallner's post represents an explicit endorsement of collective punishment and forced displacement, leveraging a term synonymous with Palestinian national trauma.

2.4 Linguistic Patterns and Impact

These examples are not exhaustive but illustrate recurring patterns:

- **Animalization:** Comparing human groups to animals ("human animals," "worms") denies their shared humanity and moral standing.
- **Existential Threat Framing:** Portraying the target group as an existential threat ("wish to destroy us") can be used to justify extreme measures.
- **Leveraging Trauma:** Using terms like "Nakba" offensively signals an intent to inflict maximum suffering and humiliation, echoing past traumas.

Such language, especially when emanating from figures in positions of power, contributes to a political

and social climate where discrimination and violence become more permissible. It shapes public perception, influences policy debates, and can have a tangible impact on the lives and safety of the targeted groups. It stands in direct opposition to principles of equality, dignity, and non-discrimination enshrined in the UDHR (Articles 1, 2, and 7).

3 Incitement to Violence and Historical Revisionism

Beyond dehumanization, specific incidents and broader cultural trends associated with Likud raise concerns about incitement to violence and the manipulative use of history, particularly Holocaust memory.

3.1 The Itzik Zarka Incident: Abuse of Holocaust Memory

In July 2023, Itzik Zarka, identified in media reports as a prominent Likud activist and close associate of figures within the party, was filmed engaging in a vitriolic verbal assault against anti-government protesters. His tirade included racist slurs against Ashkenazi Jews and deeply offensive invocations of the Holocaust. Reports confirmed he shouted phrases like "I wish another six million would burn" (as paraphrased/reported, the exact slurs were extremely offensive and specific) and other racist epithets. **Analysis:** This incident, reported by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) and Israeli media, prompted widespread outrage. Prime Minister Netanyahu publicly condemned the remarks, and reports indicated Zarka was subsequently distanced or expelled from party activities. The event is significant for several reasons:

- **Extreme Hate Speech:** The language used represents a grotesque form of hate speech, targeting fellow citizens based on ethnicity and trivializing/weaponizing the Holocaust.
- **Political Polarization:** It occurred during a period of intense national division surrounding the judicial overhaul, illustrating how political polarization can fuel extreme rhetoric.
- **Abuse of History:** The invocation of the Holocaust in this manner is a severe form of historical revisionism and abuse, exploiting collective trauma for political attacks. While the party leadership condemned the remarks, the incident raised questions about the political culture that might tolerate or embolden such figures.

3.2 Alleged Culture of Militarism and Vengeance

The initial brief asserted that Likud promotes a "culture of militarism and vengeance." This is a broad claim, harder to pinpoint than specific quotes, but can be analyzed through recurring themes:

- **Emphasis on Military Solutions:** Likud platforms consistently prioritize military strength and often frame diplomatic solutions with skepticism. Responses to security threats, particularly from Gaza, frequently involve large-scale military operations.
- **Rhetoric of Retribution:** Following attacks against Israelis, official statements often emphasize retribution and deterrence through force. While self-defense is a recognized right, critics argue that the accompanying rhetoric sometimes blurs the line into vengeance or collective punishment, especially when civilian casualties result from retaliatory strikes. For example, language used

during various Gaza operations over the years has often included terms like "mighty vengeance," "crushing force," or promises to make the opposing side "pay a heavy price," which can be interpreted as prioritizing retribution over proportionality or civilian protection.

- **Settlement Expansion:** Likud has historically championed settlement expansion in the West Bank, considered illegal under international law by most of the international community. This policy is inherently tied to military control and often involves friction and violence, arguably fostering a culture where military dominance over occupied territory is normalized.

Analysis: While maintaining a strong defense is a core tenet of Israeli national security consensus, the specific **framing** and **emphasis** attributed to Likud's political culture are what draw criticism. The concern is whether this emphasis tips from legitimate defense into a cycle of violence fueled by vengeful rhetoric, potentially hindering long-term peace prospects. This requires ongoing analysis of policy decisions and official communications.

3.3 The 2019 Netanyahu Chatbot Incident

During the September 2019 election campaign, a chatbot operating on Prime Minister Netanyahu's official Facebook page disseminated messages targeting Arab voters and parties. One message, widely reported by international media like *The Guardian* and regional outlets like *The New Arab*, stated:

"The Arabs want to destroy us all — women, children and men."

Another warned that a vote for Netanyahu's opponents would lead to a government reliant on Arab parties who, the chatbot claimed, "want to annihilate us." **Analysis:** This incident represents a direct use of official campaign infrastructure to spread messages characterized as hate speech. Facebook temporarily suspended the chatbot for violating its policies against hate speech. The message employed fear-mongering and collective accusation, portraying Arab citizens as a monolithic, dangerous entity. This tactic aimed to mobilize right-wing voters by stoking fear and hostility towards a significant portion of Israel's own citizenry. It exemplifies incitement by portraying a specific group as an imminent, genocidal threat, directly undermining social cohesion and democratic principles of equal citizenship.

4 Suppression of Dissent and Undermining Democracy

Concerns have been raised regarding actions associated with Likud-led governments that potentially suppress dissent, weaken democratic institutions, and discriminate against minority groups.

4.1 The 2023 Judicial Overhaul Initiative

Throughout 2023, the Likud-led coalition government pursued a highly controversial set of legislative proposals aimed at significantly altering Israel's judicial system. Key elements included:

- Granting the governing coalition decisive control over the appointment of judges, including Supreme Court justices.
- Limiting the Supreme Court's ability to exercise judicial review over legislation, particularly

through the "reasonableness standard."

- Allowing the Knesset to override Supreme Court decisions with a simple majority.

Analysis: This initiative, spearheaded by Justice Minister Yariv Levin (Likud) with strong backing from Netanyahu, sparked unprecedented mass protests across Israel for months. Critics, including former judges, legal experts, security officials, economists, and large segments of the public, argued the overhaul would dismantle crucial checks and balances, severely weaken judicial independence, undermine minority rights protections, and pave the way for an unchecked executive. International bodies and allies also expressed concern. While proponents framed it as restoring balance between branches of government, the methods and substance were widely seen as an assault on democratic norms. As of April 2025, the long-term consequences and potential revival of these controversial reforms remain a significant factor in Israeli political discourse, highlighting Likud's willingness to challenge established democratic safeguards.

4.2 Intimidation of Arab Voters

Beyond the 2019 chatbot incident, other actions have been perceived as attempts to suppress or intimidate Arab voters:

- **2019 Polling Station Cameras:** In the April 2019 election, Likud activists affiliated with the party placed cameras in polling stations within Arab communities. Likud claimed the initiative, run by an external PR firm, was intended to prevent alleged voter fraud. However, Israel's Central Elections Committee chairman condemned the action, and critics widely viewed it as a tactic to intimidate Arab citizens and discourage turnout. (*New York Times*, Israeli media).
- **Legislative Proposals:** Over the years, various legislative proposals backed by right-wing coalitions including Likud have been criticized as discriminatory towards Arab citizens (e.g., related to land use, national identity - such as the Nation-State Law of 2018).

Analysis: These actions contribute to a perception that elements within Likud view Arab citizens' political participation with suspicion or hostility. Such tactics potentially violate fundamental democratic principles of free and fair elections and equal citizenship, undermining trust between the state and its Arab minority.

4.3 Tensions with the Security Establishment

The initial source document referenced a speculative future news report (Guardian, April 21, 2025) regarding Netanyahu demanding loyalty from the Shin Bet chief. While that specific future claim cannot be verified, OSINT confirms *significant, documented* friction between Netanyahu's government and the heads of Israel's security establishment (IDF, Shin Bet, Mossad) during 2023. **Analysis:** Reports in major outlets (*New York Times*, Israeli press) detailed warnings from security chiefs to Netanyahu regarding the societal divisions and potential negative impacts on military readiness and national security stemming from the judicial overhaul push. Reservists, including crucial personnel like pilots, threatened to cease volunteer duty in protest. This public airing of disagreement between the political leadership and

the professional security echelon was highly unusual. While direct evidence of Netanyahu demanding personal loyalty or attempting to fire the Shin Bet chief *for the reasons mentioned in the speculative article* is not publicly confirmed, the underlying tension regarding the government's direction and its impact on state institutions is a documented reality. By April 2025, the state of these relationships remains a critical factor for assessing institutional integrity. Lingering reports of friction over policy and appointments underscore concerns about the politicization of security bodies.

5 Peace Mission Intelligence: Frameworks and Implications

The documented patterns of rhetoric and action associated with Likud figures require assessment against established international frameworks and an understanding of their potential real-world consequences.

5.1 Violations of Universal Norms

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) provides a fundamental benchmark. Specific articles appear particularly relevant:

- **Article 1:** "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Dehumanizing language ("human animals," "worms") directly contradicts this principle.
- **Article 2:** "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." Rhetoric and actions targeting Palestinians or Arab citizens based on their national or ethnic identity raise concerns under this article.
- **Article 7:** "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law." Actions potentially intimidating Arab voters or legislative efforts seen as discriminatory challenge this principle. Efforts to undermine judicial independence also impact the guarantee of equal protection.
- **Article 19:** "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression..." While broad, concerns about suppressing dissent touch upon the climate for free expression.
- **Preamble & Spirit:** The UDHR's overarching goal is to promote "peace and justice in the world." Rhetoric that incites hatred, dehumanizes others, or advocates for mass displacement fundamentally undermines this goal.

While the "Universal Declaration of Peace (UDP)" and "Universal Organic Rights (UDOR)" mentioned in the original document appear to be specific conceptual frameworks perhaps developed by the author, their core tenets—the right to live without threat and in dignity, protection from hate speech, promotion of peace, community peacebuilding—resonate strongly with the principles of the UDHR, the UN Charter, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD). The verified Likud-associated actions conflict with these widely accepted underlying principles.

5.2 The Concept of Peace Intelligence

The framing of this report as "Peace Intelligence" suggests an approach focused on identifying and analyzing factors that hinder peace and promote conflict. This involves monitoring not just overt military actions but also the political, social, and linguistic drivers of conflict. Dehumanizing language, incitement, and the erosion of democratic norms are critical data points in this context, as they shape the environment in which violence becomes more likely and peacebuilding efforts are undermined.

5.3 Tangible Implications

The patterns outlined in this report have significant potential implications:

- **Fueling Conflict:** Dehumanization and incitement can lower barriers to violence, contributing to cycles of attacks and retaliation. Rhetoric advocating for actions like a "new Nakba" directly inflames tensions.
- **Eroding Democracy within Israel:** Weakening judicial independence, intimidating minority voters, and potentially politicizing security institutions can damage Israel's democratic foundations.
- **Harming Social Cohesion:** Hate speech and discriminatory actions deepen divisions between Jewish and Arab citizens within Israel.
- **Damaging International Standing:** Actions and rhetoric conflicting with international law and human rights norms can lead to diplomatic isolation, criticism from allies, and potential actions by international bodies (e.g., investigations by the International Criminal Court (ICC) or censure by UN bodies).
- **Obstructing Peace Processes:** A political climate dominated by maximalist positions, dehumanizing rhetoric, and disregard for international law makes negotiated solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict exceptionally difficult.

6 Recommendations to the Global Public

Based on the analysis of publicly available intelligence, the following recommendations are directed towards global citizens, policymakers, diplomats, educators, and activists seeking to promote peace, human rights, and accountability:

- **Educate Yourself Critically:** Move beyond simplified or sanitized media narratives. Actively seek out diverse and credible sources, including reports from UN agencies, established international and Israeli/Palestinian human rights organizations (e.g., Amnesty, HRW, B'Tselem, Yesh Din), academic research, and reputable investigative journalism from multiple perspectives. Track specific statements, legislative proposals, and policy decisions attributed to Likud and its leaders. Understand the historical context, including the Nakba and the Occupation.
- **Support and Practice Peace Journalism:** When sharing information, prioritize accuracy, context, and complexity over sensationalism. Avoid language that mirrors or amplifies hate speech,

dehumanization, or collective blame. Focus on underlying causes, peace initiatives, and human stories that bridge divides, rather than solely on conflict and violence narratives. Advocate for media outlets to adhere to these principles.

- **Challenge Hate Speech and Dehumanization:** Actively condemn and report instances of hate speech and dehumanizing rhetoric by political figures, regardless of their origin. Utilize social media reporting tools, write letters to editors and representatives, and support organizations that monitor and challenge hate speech. Do not become desensitized to extreme language; recognize its potential impact.
- **Pressure Global Institutions and Governments:** Urge your government, the United Nations (including the Security Council, General Assembly, and Human Rights Council), the European Union, and other international bodies to consistently uphold international law and human rights standards. Call for accountability for documented violations, including potentially supporting investigations by the International Criminal Court (ICC) where applicable. Advocate for diplomatic pressure that demands adherence to democratic norms and cessation of rhetoric/actions that undermine peace.
- **Uplift and Fund Nonviolent Movements:** Identify, amplify, and provide financial or logistical support to grassroots peace initiatives within both Israeli and Palestinian societies. This includes organizations promoting dialogue, joint community projects, human rights advocacy, nonviolent resistance against occupation policies, interfaith cooperation, and education for peace. Strengthening these local actors is crucial for building a foundation for sustainable peace from the ground up.

7 Conclusion: Which Side of History?

This report has synthesized and analyzed open-source intelligence concerning patterns of dehumanizing rhetoric, incitement, historical revisionism, and actions undermining democratic norms associated with influential elements within Israel's Likud Party. The evidence, drawn from verifiable public sources, points towards a significant disconnect between these documented behaviors and the universally aspired principles of human dignity, equality, non-violence, and democratic accountability enshrined in international declarations like the UDHR.

The statements referring to human beings as "animals" or "worms," the calls for actions resonant with ethnic cleansing, the weaponization of Holocaust memory, the use of official channels to spread hate speech, and the concerted efforts to weaken judicial independence are not isolated anomalies. They represent data points indicating a political trajectory that warrants profound concern from the international community and citizens worldwide committed to peace and human rights.

This analysis is not an indictment of an entire nation or political group, but a focused examination of specific, documented actions and rhetoric emanating from positions of power. It argues that such behaviors are fundamentally incompatible with the foundations required for sustainable peace, mutual respect, and coexistence. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict cannot be resolved through brute force, dehumaniza-

tion, or the dismantling of democratic safeguards. Sustainable solutions demand empathetic dialogue, acknowledgment of historical grievances and traumas on all sides, adherence to international law, and inclusive governance rooted in equality and justice.

The future will inevitably judge the actions taken—and the silences kept—during times of intense conflict and political polarization. This report serves as a call to global citizens, policymakers, and institutions to engage with the situation in Israel and Palestine based on verified information and ethical principles. It is a call to reject rhetoric that divides and dehumanizes, to support mechanisms of accountability, and to actively foster conditions for a just and lasting peace. The choice of which side of history to stand on—the side of universal human rights and dignity, or the side of division and disregard for established norms—remains urgent. History is watching.

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The Likud Party: An Open-Source Analysis of Allegations Regarding Racism, Incitement, and Human Rights

Executive Summary

This report provides a comprehensive analysis of the Likud party's historical and contemporary involvement in policies and rhetoric concerning racism, incitement to violence and genocide, dehumanization, discrimination, human rights abuses, warmongering, illegal warfare, colonialism, Zionism, lies, and propaganda. Utilizing publicly available information from authoritative sources, the analysis reveals a consistent ideological thread rooted in Revisionist Zionism, which underpins the party's hardline stance on territorial control and Palestinian rights.

Key findings indicate a pervasive pattern of discrimination, culminating in the constitutional entrenchment of "Jewish supremacy" through the Jewish Nation-State Law. There is documented evidence of escalating incitement by Likud-affiliated figures, contributing to an environment conducive to violence, with some statements directly cited in international genocide accusations. The report highlights the systemic nature of human rights abuses in the occupied territories, directly linked to settlement expansion, and notes the challenges posed to international legal accountability by the Likud-led government. Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates how the concept of "security" is utilized to justify expansionist and annexationist policies. Allegations of sophisticated disinformation campaigns and media manipulation are also examined, revealing complex tactics that influence public discourse and political outcomes.

The report suggests that Likud's approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is driven by deep-seated ideological convictions, where any apparent flexibility on a two-state solution serves as a tactical maneuver rather than a fundamental shift. It identifies a strategic reinterpretation of international norms, where the historical imperative of "never again" is employed to legitimize actions that might otherwise be considered violations of international law. The consistent use of dehumanizing language by prominent figures is shown to be a precursor and justification for discriminatory and violent policies. The evolution of colonial practices from overt seizures to more subtle, legally entrenched methods is also observed. Finally, the analysis points to a significant challenge to the international rule of law, as the state actively works to undermine accountability mechanisms, and highlights the integration of disinformation into state strategy for both domestic and foreign policy objectives.

Introduction: The Likud Party and Open-Source Analysis

The Likud party stands as Israel's largest right-wing political entity, established in 1973 with the explicit aim of challenging the long-dominant Labour Party.¹ Its ascent to power in 1977 under Menachem Begin marked a significant turning point in Israeli politics, and it has since remained a dominant force, leading governments under various prime ministers including Yitzhak Shamir, Benjamin Netanyahu, and Ariel Sharon.¹ The party's ideological bedrock is characterized by a blend of conservative and nationalist principles.²

This report is constructed upon principles of open-source intelligence, drawing exclusively from publicly available and verifiable information. The sources utilized include established academic analyses, reports from international organizations such as the United Nations, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch, governmental documents like those from the US State Department, and reputable news media outlets. Each assertion and piece of data presented is substantiated with direct references to the source material, ensuring transparency and enabling verification.

The purpose of this report is to provide an in-depth, evidence-based examination of the Likud party's actions, policies, and public statements in relation to a range of critical allegations. These include accusations of racism, incitement to violence and genocide, the use of dehumanizing language, discriminatory practices, human rights abuses, warmongering, illegal warfare, colonialism, specific interpretations of Zionism, and the deployment of deceptive propaganda and media manipulation tactics. Through this detailed analysis, the report aims to offer a multi-layered understanding of these issues, culminating in a set of conclusions and recommendations for a public audience.

I. Likud's Ideological Foundations and Evolution

A. Roots in Revisionist Zionism and "Greater Israel" Concept

The ideological underpinnings of the Likud party are deeply embedded in Vladimir Jabotinsky's Revisionist Zionism, an influential movement particularly among Russian Jews in the 1920s and 1930s.² At its formation, the Likud coalition was significantly shaped by the Herut ("Freedom") party, which itself emerged from pre-independence groups such as the Irgun Zvai Leumi.² Notably, some of these groups were classified as terrorist organizations by the British authorities during the Mandate period, and Menachem Begin, Likud's founder, was a prominent leader of the Irgun.²

This foundational ideology translated into explicit territorial claims. The original 1977 Likud party platform unequivocally stated that "between the Sea and the Jordan there will only be Israeli sovereignty".³ This platform further asserted the Jordan River as Israel's permanent eastern border and claimed Jerusalem as an integral part of Israel.³ Menachem Begin, a staunch advocate for a "Greater (Eretz) Israel," frequently invoked Jewish historical, theological, and security claims to "the whole land of Israel".⁴ This expansive vision, often presented as holy and sacred, extended biblically from "the river of Egypt" to the Euphrates, encompassing territories believed to have been under the control of King David and King Solomon.⁴

A significant observation emerges regarding the party's core beliefs: Likud's fundamental commitment to a "Greater Israel" and the principle of "Jewish sovereignty between the Sea and the Jordan" has remained remarkably steadfast since its inception. This enduring ideological stance persists despite occasional rhetorical adjustments or conditional endorsements of a two-state solution by leaders like Benjamin Netanyahu. For instance, while Netanyahu, in his 2009 "Bar-Ilan Speech," offered a conditional acceptance of a Palestinian state³, the party's official position continues to oppose such a creation, and its 2014 constitution, while ambiguous, prioritizes strengthening Jewish settlements.¹ This pattern suggests that any apparent flexibility is more a strategic adaptation to external pressures than a deviation from the long-term objective of maintaining and expanding control over the West Bank and solidifying Jewish presence. The overwhelming vote by the Likud Central Committee to endorse the de facto annexation of West Bank Area C further underscores this unwavering dedication to territorial expansion.¹ This underlying consistency in ideology, even when masked by tactical ambiguity, indicates that the party's approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is deeply rooted in its foundational principles, making a genuine two-state solution highly improbable under its leadership. Such a dynamic implies that diplomatic overtures for a Palestinian state may serve primarily to manage international perceptions while internal policies continue to advance the "Greater Israel" agenda.

B. Stance on Palestinian Statehood and Territorial Claims

Likud has consistently adopted a hardline approach when it comes to territorial concessions for Palestinians.¹ While Benjamin Netanyahu did, for the first time, endorse the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel in his 2009 "Bar-Ilan Speech," this endorsement was accompanied by several conditions and has been described as a "tepid endorsement" that he later partially retracted.¹ The Likud Constitution of May 2014 reflects this strategic ambiguity, being "more vague and ambiguous" on the explicit establishment of a Palestinian state, yet simultaneously affirming commitments to strengthening Jewish settlement in the West Bank.³ The party officially opposes the creation of a Palestinian state¹, a position solidified by the Likud Central Committee's overwhelming vote to endorse the de facto annexation of West Bank Area C.¹

Another crucial observation relates to how Israel's security policy, particularly under Likud, strategically employs the historical imperative of "never again" to justify territorial expansion and what one Israeli scholar terms a "permanent preemptive war against terrorism (i.e., the Palestinians)".⁴ This approach is presented as essential for safeguarding the civilian population. The security doctrine depends on achieving "strategic depth" and is directly linked to the "Greater Israel" vision.³ The protection of illegal settlers in the West Bank is framed as "atrocities prevention"⁴, which then serves to legitimize further territorial claims. The Hamas attack of October 7, 2023, is noted to have significantly bolstered the position of hardliners within the government, presenting an "opportunity for Israel to reconquer Gaza and parts of Lebanon".⁴ This strategic deployment of historical trauma reframes actions that might otherwise be seen as violations of international law, such as annexation and occupation, as defensive measures vital for national survival. This reinterpretation allows for the continuous expansion of settlements and military control to be presented as necessary for security, rather than as acts of aggression or colonialism.

II. Allegations of Racism, Discrimination, and Dehumanization

A. Analysis of the "Jewish Nation-State Law" and its Discriminatory Implications

In July 2018, the Israeli parliament adopted the controversial "Jewish Nation-State Law," which formally defines Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people and asserts their "exclusive right to national self-determination in it".⁵ This legislative act immediately drew widespread condemnation for its discriminatory implications, particularly concerning Israel's 1.8 million Palestinian citizens. Critics, including Ayman Odeh, head of the Arab Joint List, stated that the law enshrined "Jewish supremacy" and effectively relegated Palestinian citizens to "second-class citizens".⁵ Ahmed Tibi, another legislator, dramatically declared it the "death of democracy".⁵

Adalah, the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, described the law as containing "key elements of apartheid," arguing that it promotes "ethnic superiority by promoting racist policies" and transforms "discrimination a constitutional value".⁵ The law also demoted Arabic from an official language to a "special status," a move seen as diminishing the cultural and linguistic identity of Palestinian citizens. Furthermore, it explicitly states that the state "views the development of Jewish settlement as a national value and will act to encourage and promote its establishment"⁵, a clause that critics contend promotes segregation and discrimination in housing and land allocation. Even within Likud, Benny Begin, son of the

party's founder Menachem Begin, abstained from voting, expressing concern over the party's "growing disconnect from human rights".⁵

The passage of the "Jewish Nation-State Law" represents a pivotal moment, marking a substantial shift from informal or societal discrimination to the formal institutionalization of discriminatory practices. This law embeds "Jewish supremacy" directly into the foundational legal framework of the state.⁵ Prior to this legislation, discrimination against Arab citizens was widely reported ⁶, but the Nation-State Law explicitly defines Israel as the exclusive homeland for Jews, downgrades Arabic, and constitutionally promotes Jewish-only settlements.⁵ This elevates discrimination from a de facto reality to a de jure constitutional principle, as highlighted by Adalah's assessment that it contains "key elements of apartheid".⁵ The abstention of Benny Begin from the vote, citing Likud's "disconnect from human rights," further underscores the perceived radical nature of this legislative act even within the party's historical context.⁵ This legal backing for discrimination complicates any future efforts to achieve equality and reinforces the perception of a two-tiered citizenship, potentially exacerbating internal tensions and providing a legal basis for further discriminatory policies.

B. Documented Instances of Racist Rhetoric and Policies towards Minorities

Beyond the Jewish Nation-State Law, various reports document discriminatory attitudes and policies within Israel. Some elements within the Ashkenazi Israeli Jewish population have been described as holding discriminatory attitudes towards fellow Jews of other backgrounds, including Ethiopian, Indian, Mizrahi, and Sephardi Jews.⁶ Former Likud MK and Minister of Defense Moshe Arens criticized the treatment of minorities in Israel, stating that they did not bear the full obligations nor receive the full privileges of citizenship.⁶

Societal discrimination is also evident. A poll conducted by Channel 10 revealed that 58% of Israelis supported a discriminatory practice (blocking Arab access to a public park), despite widespread condemnation from politicians.⁶ The UN Special Committee observed that the Israeli establishment did not demonstrate sufficient sensitivity to the needs of the Arab population and failed to allocate state resources equally, nor did it adequately "uproot discriminatory or unjust phenomenon".⁶

Specific instances of right-wing incitement linked to Likud include billboards put up by the Likud party slate for the Tel Aviv city council, featuring slogans such as, "It's us or them – either a Hebrew city or a country of infiltrators and an Islamic Jaffa".⁷ Bezalel Smotrich, a minister in the current Likud-led government, caused controversy in 2015 by declaring in a Knesset meeting that developers in Israel should not be compelled to sell homes to Arabs. He defended this stance by stating, "Anyone who wants to protect the Jewish People and opposes mixed marriages is not a racist," and added that Jews are the ones deprived in Israel because "they don't get free land in the Negev," in reference to Bedouin communities.⁸

C. Examination of Dehumanizing Language and "Animalization" by Likud Figures

The use of dehumanizing language, often involving animal stereotypes, is a documented feature in the discourse surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, appearing on both sides.⁹ Within the context of Likud and its affiliated figures, several prominent examples exist:

- **Menachem Begin (Likud):** In a 1982 address to the Knesset, while justifying the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Begin infamously likened Palestinians to "two-footed beasts".¹⁰
- **Benjamin Netanyahu (Likud):** He has referred to both Palestinians and Arabs beyond Israel's borders as "wild beasts/predators" (*hayotteref*).¹⁰ He also employed the simile of Arabs as "beasts of prey" that need to be fenced off from a "villa," stating, "At the end, in the State of Israel, as I see it, there will be a fence that spans it all. I'll be told, 'this is what you want, to protect the villa?' The answer is yes".¹⁰
- **Moshe Dayan (Likud):** In 1967, Dayan suggested that Israel should inform Palestinian refugees, "we have no solution, you shall continue to live like dogs".¹⁰
- **Yoav Gallant (then Defense Minister):** At the onset of the Gaza war, Gallant announced a blockade of Gaza with the statement, "Everything is closed... We are fighting human animals and we are acting accordingly".¹⁰ This particular statement has been cited in accusations that Israel is committing genocide in Gaza.¹⁰
- **Raphael Eitan (then-chief of staff of the IDF, associated with Likud):** In the Knesset, Eitan declared, "When we have settled the land, all the Arabs will be able to do about it will be to scurry around like drugged roaches in a bottle".¹⁰
- **Yehiel Hazan (Likud member):** In 2004, a Likud member stated in the Knesset that Arabs are like worms, asserting, "You find them everywhere like worms, underground as well as above".¹⁰
- **Bezalel Smotrich (Minister in current government):** In November 2023, Smotrich claimed there are "2 million Nazis" in the West Bank, "who hate us, exactly as do the Nazis of Hamas-ISIS in Gaza".⁸

The consistent use of dehumanizing language, particularly animalization, by prominent Likud figures is not merely rhetorical; it functions as a psychological and political precursor, and an ongoing justification, for discriminatory policies, territorial expansion, and military actions. When leaders refer to Palestinians as "two-footed beasts," "wild beasts/predators," "dogs," "drugged roaches," "worms," or "Nazis"⁸, it implicitly or explicitly strips them of their human rights and moral standing. This linguistic framing makes it easier to implement policies such as the "Jewish Nation-State Law"⁵, which constitutionally marginalizes non-Jewish citizens, or to rationalize blockades and military operations that cause widespread suffering, as exemplified by Gallant's "fighting human animals" statement¹⁰, which has been cited in genocide accusations. Such language constructs a narrative where harsh treatment is not only acceptable but presented as a necessary measure for "security." This highlights the insidious connection between rhetoric and policy, demonstrating how dehumanization lowers the

psychological barrier to violence and discrimination, both for those enacting policies and for the public supporting them. This dynamic can entrench conflict and impede peaceful resolution.

Key Likud Figures and Associated Dehumanizing/Inciting Statements

Figure Name	Likud Affiliation/Role	Specific Statement (Quote)	Context/Date	Source Snippet ID
Menachem Begin	Likud Founder, PM	Likened Palestinians to "two-footed beasts."	1982 Knesset address (justifying invasion of Lebanon)	¹⁰
Benjamin Netanyahu	Likud Leader, PM	Referred to Palestinians and Arabs as "wild beasts/predators" (<i>hayotteref</i>).	General statements	¹⁰
Benjamin Netanyahu	Likud Leader, PM	"At the end, in the State of Israel, as I see it, there will be a fence that spans it all. I'll be told, 'this is what you want, to protect the villa?' The answer is yes."	Describing security policy	¹⁰
Moshe Dayan	Likud	"we have no solution, you shall continue to live like dogs."	1967, regarding Palestinian refugees	¹⁰
Yoav Gallant	Defense Minister (at time of statement)	"Everything is closed... We are fighting human animals and we are acting accordingly."	Beginning of Gaza war (Oct 2023)	¹⁰
Raphael Eitan	IDF Chief of Staff (associated with Likud)	"When we have settled the land, all the Arabs will be able to do	Knesset statement	¹⁰

		about it will be to scurry around like drugged roaches in a bottle."		
Yehiel Hazan	Likud MK	"You find them everywhere like worms, underground as well as above."	2004 Knesset statement	¹⁰
Bezalel Smotrich	Finance Minister, Minister in Defense Ministry	Claimed there are "2 million Nazis" in the West Bank.	November 2023	⁸

III. Incitement to Violence and Genocide

A. Statements by Likud-affiliated Officials Promoting Violence or "Wiping Out" Communities

The rhetoric emanating from Likud-affiliated officials has been linked to an atmosphere conducive to violence. The UN Special Committee noted that the widow of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin attributed the climate that led to her husband's assassination in 1995 to Benjamin Netanyahu and other Israeli right-wing figures who engaged in incitement.¹¹ This "domestic atmosphere of fear and violence," cultivated by Netanyahu since the mid-1990s, is reported to have persisted and intensified in 2023 during his sixth term as Prime Minister.¹¹ More recently, Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich, a key minister in the current Likud-led government, made highly inflammatory statements. Following a settler rampage on March 1, 2023, he declared, "The village of Huwwara needs to be wiped out. I think that the State of Israel needs to do that – not, God forbid, private individuals".⁸ Smotrich also asserted that Israel should act "in a way that conveys that the master of the house has gone crazy" after a Palestinian attack.⁸ In a statement on April 29, 2024, Smotrich escalated his rhetoric, stating, "There are no half measures... Rafah, Deir al-Balah, Nuseirat – total annihilation. 'Thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.' There is no place for them under heaven." The Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* characterized these comments as a call to genocide.⁸

B. Context of Settler Violence and Alleged Government Incitement/Support

The UN Special Committee report details the escalating influence of Israeli settlers on the human rights situation in the occupied territories.¹¹ This influence is often bolstered by statements from government figures. In 1998, Ariel Sharon, then Foreign Minister, openly urged settler youth to "run and grab as many hilltops as they can to enlarge the settlements, because everything we take now will stay ours".¹¹ This call significantly contributed to the "Hilltop Youth" movement, an ultranationalist group focused on establishing illegal settlement outposts across the occupied West Bank.¹¹

More recently, National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir, himself a settler and former member of the "Hilltop Youth," echoed Sharon's message in June 2023, calling on settlers to "'run to the hilltops' and establish additional outposts".¹¹ Ben-Gvir's political party, Jewish Power, is recognized as the most right-wing in Israeli politics, with its parent party "Kach" having been banned for inciting racism and designated a terrorist organization.¹¹ Ben-Gvir's own record includes multiple criminal convictions, notably for supporting a terrorist organization and incitement to racism.¹¹ The report also highlights that incidents of settler harassment and intimidation in the Hebron area doubled after Prime Minister Netanyahu refused to renew the mandate of the international observer mission in 2019.¹¹ This suggests that the withdrawal of international oversight may have emboldened settler actions. Furthermore, Bezalel Smotrich has controversially argued that "price tag assaults" on Palestinian people or property, while criminal, should not be classified as terrorism, defining terrorism solely as "violence carried out by an enemy within the framework of war against us".⁸ He asserted that labeling such deeds as terrorism causes "mortal and unjustified harm to human and civil rights".⁸

The research points to a concerning pattern of state complicity, if not direct encouragement, in settler violence, particularly in the West Bank. This is evident through the rhetoric of Likud-affiliated ministers and a perceived lack of accountability for perpetrators. Ministers like Ariel Sharon and Itamar Ben-Gvir, a former "Hilltop Youth" with criminal convictions for incitement, have openly urged settlers to seize land and establish outposts.¹¹ Smotrich, another minister, has explicitly argued against classifying "price tag assaults" as terrorism.⁸ The doubling of settler harassment incidents in Hebron after Netanyahu's government refused to renew the international observer mission¹¹, coupled with the UN Special Committee's direct attribution of settler violence to the State when it fails to protect Palestinians¹¹, suggests more than mere inaction. This indicates a permissive environment, if not active support, for such violence. This dynamic is critical because it reframes settler violence not as isolated acts, but as an instrument, or at least a tolerated consequence, of a broader state policy aimed at territorial control and the dispossession of Palestinians. This has profound implications for international law, as states are obligated to protect populations under occupation and ensure accountability for violence.

C. International Reports and Accusations of Genocidal Intent

Major international human rights organizations, including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, issued reports in December 2024, concluding that Israel was committing acts of genocide in Gaza.¹² Amnesty International's extensive 296-page report, titled "You Feel Like You Are Subhuman," unequivocally stated that "the state of Israel has committed and is continuing to commit genocide against Palestinians in the Gaza Strip".¹²

Amnesty's report found that Israel had carried out acts prohibited under the Genocide Convention, specifically including killings, causing serious bodily or mental harm, and deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about the physical destruction of Palestinians in Gaza.¹³ The organization established specific intent by analyzing the overall pattern of conduct, identifying 22 "dehumanizing and genocidal statements" from senior Israeli government and military officials between October 2023 and June 2024, and considering contextual factors such as Israel's system of apartheid and its inhumane blockade of Gaza.¹³ Human Rights Watch's 179-page report, "Extermination and Acts of Genocide: Israel Deliberately Depriving Palestinians of Water in Gaza," further documented the restriction of water and power, destruction of infrastructure, obstruction of repairs, and the killing of water workers.¹²

Specific statements by Likud-affiliated officials have been directly cited in these accusations. Yoav Gallant's declaration at the beginning of the Gaza war, "We are fighting human animals and we are acting accordingly," has been explicitly referenced in arguments that Israel is committing genocide in Gaza.¹⁰ Similarly, Smotrich's comments about the "total annihilation" of Gaza areas⁸ further contribute to the body of evidence supporting allegations of genocidal intent.

There is a discernible progression from historical instances of incitement by Likud figures to contemporary statements by ministers that are explicitly cited in international reports as evidence of genocidal intent. The UN Special Committee noted a persistent and worsening "atmosphere of fear and violence" cultivated by Netanyahu since the mid-1990s.¹¹ This historical context is amplified by recent statements such as Smotrich's call to "wipe out Huwvara" and "total annihilation" of Gaza areas⁸, and Gallant's reference to "fighting human animals".¹⁰ These statements directly align with the findings of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, which identified "dehumanizing and genocidal statements" by senior Israeli officials as crucial evidence for proving specific intent in their genocide reports.¹³ This indicates that the rhetoric of incitement, once potentially dismissed as political hyperbole, has intensified to a point where it forms a critical component of legal arguments for genocide. This signifies a dangerous normalization of extreme language within the highest echelons of government, which can have direct and devastating consequences on the ground and significantly impact Israel's international standing and legal accountability.

IV. Human Rights Abuses and Violations of International Law

A. Reports of Unlawful Killings, Arbitrary Detention, and Restrictions on Movement

Reports from the US State Department in 2019 and 2021 document significant human rights concerns, including credible reports of unlawful or arbitrary killings, such as targeted killings of Israeli civilians and soldiers, as well as arbitrary detention.¹⁴ These reports also detail restrictions on non-Israelis residing in Jerusalem, including arbitrary or unlawful interference with privacy, family, and home.¹⁴ Human rights organizations have asserted that most Palestinian victims killed by Israeli forces posed no imminent threat, while the Israeli government maintained that many were Hamas operatives or that live fire was used as a last resort.¹⁴ Critically, reports highlight that the Israeli government has not consistently or seriously investigated killings of Palestinians or held IDF members accountable, despite announcing intentions to do so.¹⁵

Arbitrary detention practices are also noted, disproportionately affecting Palestinian neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, which experience higher numbers of temporary checkpoints and raids.¹⁵ The 2003 Law of Citizenship and Entry, which was annually renewed until July 2021, prohibited Palestinians from the West Bank or Gaza, including spouses of Israeli residents or citizens, from obtaining resident status, leading to family separation.¹⁵ Furthermore, significant restrictions on freedom of movement persist, with the barrier dividing the West Bank from Israel also dividing some communities in Jerusalem, impacting residents' access to places of worship, employment, essential services, and agricultural lands.¹⁵

B. Impact of Settlement Expansion on Palestinian Human Rights

The UN Special Committee report explicitly documents the increasing influence of Israeli settlers on the human rights situation in the occupied territories.¹¹ This influence is directly tied to the policies of the Likud government, which, particularly after 1977 under Menachem Begin, significantly increased state aid to the settlement movement.⁴ The current Security Cabinet, under Likud leadership, has granted retroactive "legalization" for nine settler outposts and announced 10,000 new settlement units, a move deemed a "flagrant violation" of Security Council resolution 2334 (2016).¹¹ Between June 2022 and May 2023, Israeli plans for the construction of approximately 16,500 settlement units were advanced or approved, representing a 58% increase in Area C of the occupied West Bank and a 145% increase in East Jerusalem compared to the previous year.¹¹ The report consistently reiterates that these settlements possess no legal validity and violate international law and UN resolutions.¹¹ Home demolitions, described by the UN Special Committee as a "punitive colonial practice," also saw a 46% increase in the first quarter of 2023.¹¹ In Hebron, the withdrawal of the

international observer mission in 2019, under Netanyahu's government, directly led to a doubling of settler harassment and intimidation incidents.¹¹ Amnesty International has characterized Israel's implementation of a "wolf pack" facial recognition database in Hebron, labeled "Hebron Smart City," as "automated apartheid".¹¹

The documented human rights abuses—unlawful killings, arbitrary detention, restrictions on movement, and the pervasive impact of settlement expansion—are not isolated incidents but appear to be systemic, embedded within the governance and security apparatus operating in the occupied Palestinian territories. The consistent patterns of abuses highlighted in US State Department reports¹⁴ and the constitutional entrenchment of discrimination through the "Jewish Nation-State Law"⁵ point to a deeper structural issue. The UN Special Committee's explicit statement that it is "increasingly difficult to distinguish between settler and State violence in Hebron" and its direct attribution of settler violence to the State when it fails to protect Palestinians¹¹ further reinforce this observation. The International Criminal Court's investigation into "illegal Israeli settlements"¹⁶ as a potential war crime also suggests a policy-level violation rather than mere individual acts. This indicates that the human rights situation is a direct consequence of state policy and control over the occupied territories, rather than merely individual misconduct. Addressing these abuses therefore requires fundamental policy shifts and accountability at the highest levels, rather than just isolated investigations. This also strengthens arguments for Israel's actions constituting apartheid or other severe international law violations.

C. International Criminal Court (ICC) Investigations and Charges against Israeli Leaders

The International Criminal Court (ICC) has initiated an investigation into alleged war crimes committed in Palestine since June 13, 2014.¹⁶ The scope of this investigation includes the establishment of illegal Israeli settlements, violations during the 2014 Gaza War, actions during the Gaza border protests (2018-2019), and events during the ongoing Gaza War (2023-present).¹⁶ Specifically, starting October 8, 2023, ICC judges found "reasonable grounds to believe that Israeli leaders committed crimes including starvation, murder, deliberately targeting civilians, and persecution".¹⁶

On November 21, 2024, the ICC issued arrest warrants for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Minister of Defense Yoav Gallant.¹⁶ The charges against them include war crimes and crimes against humanity, specifically starvation as a method of warfare, wilful killing or murder, intentionally directing attacks against civilians, extermination, and persecution.¹⁶ While Israel is not a member of the ICC and disputes its jurisdiction, arguing that Palestine is not a sovereign state, the ICC ruled in 2021 that its territorial jurisdiction extends to Gaza and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem.¹⁶

An investigation conducted by *The Guardian*, *+972*, and *Local Call* revealed a nine-year campaign by Israel, reportedly closely monitored by Netanyahu, utilizing its intelligence

agencies to surveil, hack, pressure, smear, and allegedly threaten senior ICC staff in an effort to obstruct the court's inquiries.¹⁶

The actions of the Likud-led government, particularly concerning the ICC investigation, represent a significant challenge to the international rule of law and the mechanisms of accountability for alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity. Israel, under Likud leadership, disputes the ICC's jurisdiction, arguing Palestine is not a sovereign state¹⁶, despite the ICC's ruling affirming its jurisdiction.¹⁶ Furthermore, reports of a nine-year campaign by Israeli intelligence agencies to "surveil, hack, pressure, smear, and allegedly threaten senior ICC staff"¹⁶, reportedly followed closely by Netanyahu, indicate a deliberate effort to obstruct justice. The condemnation of the ICC arrest warrants and threats of sanctions by key allies like the US¹⁶ further underscore this challenge. This highlights a broader geopolitical tension where a state accused of severe violations actively works to undermine the international legal institutions designed to hold it accountable. This dynamic has implications not only for the specific case but for the credibility and effectiveness of international law globally, suggesting a potential erosion of the international system if powerful states or their allies can effectively circumvent or dismantle accountability mechanisms.

Timeline of Key Likud Policies/Actions and International Legal Challenges

Year	Likud Policy/Action	Key Likud Leader/Government	Relevant International Legal Challenge/Report/Accusation	Source Snippet ID
1977	Original party platform states "between the Sea and the Jordan there will only be Israeli sovereignty."	Menachem Begin	Basis for future territorial claims and conflict with international law.	³
1982	Invasion of Lebanon; Menachem Begin likens Palestinians to "two-footed beasts."	Menachem Begin	Dehumanizing rhetoric during military action cited in later analyses.	¹⁰
1995	Benjamin Netanyahu blamed for	Benjamin Netanyahu (Opposition)	UN Special Committee report notes incitement.	¹¹

	atmosphere leading to Rabin's assassination.			
1998	Ariel Sharon urges settlers to "run and grab hilltops."	Benjamin Netanyahu (PM)	Propagates "Hilltop Youth" movement, leading to illegal outposts.	11
2003	Law of Citizenship and Entry prohibits Palestinians from West Bank/Gaza from obtaining resident status.	Ariel Sharon (PM)	Leads to family separation, criticized by human rights groups.	15
2014	Likud Constitution commits to strengthening Jewish settlement in West Bank.	Benjamin Netanyahu (PM)	Contributes to ongoing settlement expansion, a focus of ICC investigation.	3
2018	Jewish Nation-State Law passed.	Benjamin Netanyahu (PM)	Accused of "Jewish supremacy" and "elements of apartheid" by critics.	5
2019	Netanyahu refuses to renew mandate of international observer mission in Hebron.	Benjamin Netanyahu (PM)	Settler harassment and intimidation incidents double.	11
2019	ICC investigation in Palestine initiated (covers events from 2014).	Benjamin Netanyahu (PM)	Covers illegal settlements, 2014 Gaza War, Gaza border protests.	16
2023	Smotrich states "Huwvara needs to be wiped out."	Benjamin Netanyahu (PM), Bezalel Smotrich (Minister)	Cited as incitement to violence/genocide .	8
2023	Yoav Gallant	Benjamin	Cited in	10

	states "We are fighting human animals."	Netanyahu (PM), Yoav Gallant (Defense Minister)	accusations of genocide against Israel.	
2023-2024	Increased settlement unit approvals (+58% in Area C, +145% in East Jerusalem).	Benjamin Netanyahu (PM)	"Flagrant violation" of UNSC Resolution 2334.	¹¹
2024	Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch reports declare Israel committing genocide in Gaza.	Benjamin Netanyahu (PM)	Document prohibited acts and intent based on official statements and patterns of conduct.	¹²
2024	Smotrich calls for "total annihilation" of Gaza areas.	Benjamin Netanyahu (PM), Bezalel Smotrich (Minister)	Described as a call to genocide by Israeli media.	⁸
2024	ICC issues arrest warrants for Netanyahu and Gallant.	Benjamin Netanyahu (PM), Yoav Gallant (Defense Minister)	Charges include war crimes and crimes against humanity.	¹⁶

V. Warmongering, Illegal Warfare, and Colonial Practices

A. Likud's Security Doctrine and "Permanent Preemptive War" Approach

Likud's national security doctrine places a strong emphasis on military force, reflecting a reluctance to negotiate with neighboring entities perceived as seeking Israel's destruction.³ This approach is rooted in the preventive policy advocated by the party's founder, Menachem Begin.³ Israel's security policy, particularly under Likud, is framed around achieving "strategic depth" and engaging in what one Israeli scholar describes as a "permanent preemptive war against terrorism (i.e., the Palestinians)" to safeguard its civilian population.⁴ This perspective suggests that security is not merely defensive but necessitates continuous engagement to

neutralize perceived threats. The Hamas attack on October 7, 2023, is noted to have further solidified the position of hardliners within the government, presenting an "opportunity for Israel to reconquer Gaza and parts of Lebanon".⁴ This indicates a strategic interpretation of conflict as a means to advance territorial and security objectives. National Security Minister Itamar Ben-Gvir continues to advocate for attacks on Gaza, reinforcing this proactive military stance.¹¹

A significant observation is the deeply intertwined nature of Likud's security doctrine and its colonial expansionist goals. The party's security policy, based on "strategic depth" and "permanent preemptive war" ⁴, is not merely defensive but actively serves as a justification and driver for continuous territorial expansion and de facto annexation, effectively blurring the lines between security and colonialism. The party's emphasis on a strong military and preventive policy ³ is directly linked to the "Greater Israel" vision.⁴ The protection of illegal settlers is framed as "atrocities prevention" ⁴, which then "licenses further territorial claims." The explicit calls for applying "full Israeli sovereignty" to the West Bank ¹¹ and the de facto annexation of Area C ¹ are presented as security imperatives, even as they violate international law. This demonstrates that "security" is a flexible concept used to rationalize and advance expansionist goals. This reveals a core mechanism by which Likud-led governments pursue territorial control. It suggests that any "peace process" that does not address this fundamental link between security and expansion is unlikely to succeed, as the underlying strategic logic for retaining and expanding territory remains intact, regardless of stated intentions. It also reinforces the argument that Israel's occupation is not temporary but aims for permanence.

B. Policies Related to Illegal Settlements and De Facto Annexation

Likud has consistently opposed ceding significant portions of land to Palestinian control and dismantling Israeli settlements in territories conquered in 1967.² This stance is reflected in concrete actions, such as the Likud Central Committee's overwhelming vote to endorse the de facto annexation of West Bank Area C.¹ The current government's coalition agreement explicitly states that "the prime minister will work towards the formulation and promotion of a policy whereby sovereignty is applied to Judea and Samaria" (the occupied West Bank).¹¹ Bezalel Smotrich, a minister in the current government, has been instrumental in leading "clandestine Israeli efforts to annex territories in the West Bank, first as a fait accompli, then by force of law".⁸ His "Decisive Plan," published in 2017, called for "full Israeli sovereignty to the heartland regions of Judea and Samaria" and advocated for "establishing new cities and settlements deep inside the territory and bringing hundreds of thousands of additional settlers to live therein".¹¹ From an international legal perspective, Israel's conquest of the West Bank, Gaza, Sinai, and the Golan Heights during the Six-Day War in 1967 has never been formally recognized by the United Nations, which continues to designate them as "occupied territories".⁴ The International Court of Justice has recognized that Israel was effectively

annexing these territories.⁴

C. Accusations of Colonialism and Territorial Expansion

The concept of a "new politics of territorial expansion" is directly linked to Israel's security policy and Likud's approach to the occupied territories, often driven by the "never again" imperative.⁴ The "Greater Israel" concept, championed by figures like Menachem Begin and Benjamin Netanyahu, envisions territorial expansion beyond current internationally recognized borders.⁴ This vision is further underscored by open advocacy from far-right ministers for the settlement of conquered Gaza and occupied southern Lebanon.⁴

Historical actions demonstrate this expansionist drive. Immediately following the 1967 war, the destruction of the Magharibah Quarter in Jerusalem, which involved evicting over 600 Arab inhabitants with just two hours' notice to enlarge the area in front of the Western Wall for Jewish worshippers, is described as an act aimed at changing Jerusalem's Arab character.¹⁷ Israeli authorities subsequently confiscated 30 acres of the Old City to expand the Jewish Quarter, utilizing laws like the Absentee Property Law, despite the fact that most of these properties were not Jewish-owned prior to 1948.¹⁷ This expropriation alone included 1,048 flats housing 6,000 Palestinians.¹⁷ The UN Special Committee has explicitly labeled home demolitions as a "punitive colonial practice".¹¹ Furthermore, the International Criminal Court's investigation includes "illegal Israeli settlements" as a potential war crime.¹⁶

The approach to territorial expansion and settlement under Likud has evolved from overt, sometimes violent, seizures to more "legalized" or clandestine methods. Early Labor and Likud policies involved direct actions such as the destruction of the Magharibah Quarter and mass evictions.¹⁷ Over time, the strategy shifted towards utilizing existing legal frameworks, such as the Absentee Property Law, to confiscate Arab properties¹⁷, and secretly funneling government funds to settler groups.¹⁷ Legislative acts like the Jewish Nation-State Law were also employed to constitutionally promote Jewish settlement.⁵ Smotrich's efforts to annex territories "first as a fait accompli, then by force of law"⁸ exemplify this transition. This indicates a sophisticated adaptation of colonial practices designed to navigate international scrutiny and domestic legal frameworks. The underlying goal of territorial control and demographic engineering remains constant, but the methods have become more subtle and legally entrenched, making them more challenging to directly oppose. This "legalization" of colonial practices poses a significant challenge to international efforts to uphold the principles of self-determination and non-annexation.

VI. Lies, Propaganda, and Media Manipulation

A. Allegations of Fake Social Media Networks and Disinformation Campaigns

Allegations of disinformation campaigns and the use of fake social media networks have been directed at the Likud party and its associated figures. While Israel's Attorney General Avichai Mandelblit found "insufficient evidence" to directly link the Likud party to illegal propaganda via fake accounts¹⁸, this finding was specifically in response to a petition and indicated a lack of sufficient factual evidence for *criminal* implication.¹⁸

However, the "Big Bots Project," an independent watchdog organization, reported links between a network of hundreds of fake accounts and Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud party and his re-election campaign.¹⁸ This network allegedly engaged in "manipulations, slander, lies and spreading rumors," reportedly sending thousands of tweets daily, with activity intensifying during election periods and at "climactic moments for Netanyahu," such as the announcement of his indictment.¹⁸ The content disseminated included promoting Netanyahu and disparaging his rivals.¹⁸ Although direct funding by Likud was not sufficiently proven, the report noted that leading Likud campaign officials and Netanyahu's son, Yair Netanyahu, frequently reposted messages originating from this network.¹⁸ Furthermore, a private investigator reportedly spoke to Yitzhak Haddad, who allegedly organizes online promotion campaigns and claimed connections with "very senior figures in Likud".¹⁹

Beyond domestic political campaigns, reports suggest a broader "information warfare campaign" by Israel aimed at dehumanizing Palestinians and flooding public discourse with "false, unsubstantiated, and unverifiable allegations".²⁰ One such covert campaign, commissioned by Israel's Ministry of Diaspora, allegedly used hundreds of fake accounts posing as Americans on X (formerly Twitter), Facebook, and Instagram to post pro-Israel comments, specifically targeting U.S. lawmakers, particularly Black and Democratic Party members. ChatGPT was reportedly used to generate many of these posts, and three fake English-language news sites featuring pro-Israel articles were also created.²⁰ The State of Israel has also intensified a "disinformation campaign against UNRWA," utilizing commercial advertisements and paid Google ads globally, publicly advocating for the dismantling of the agency and labeling it a "terror organisation." UNRWA asserts that this campaign may constitute hate speech and poses a serious risk to its personnel.²¹

B. Official Responses and Findings Regarding Propaganda Efforts

In response to the allegations, Attorney General Mandelblit's finding indicated "insufficient evidence" for direct Likud funding of the alleged fake social media network.¹⁸ A Likud spokesman, Jonathan Urich, denied running a network of fake accounts, asserting that Likud's digital activity is "entirely authentic" and based on "great support" from Israeli citizens.¹⁸

Benjamin Netanyahu himself accused his political rivals of lying and branding Likud voters as "bots," though the report did not claim the accounts were not run by real people.¹⁹

However, Ofer Golan, Likud's media-shy campaign manager, notably stated in an interview that it was "legitimate and even necessary to lie and deceive in politics".²² He also admitted to engineering a campaign to place secret cameras in over a thousand Arab polling stations, not to deter fraud as claimed, but to gather video evidence of fraud for later use by the campaign.²² This tactic suggests a deliberate strategy to manipulate perceptions or suppress votes. A 2022 analysis published in the

Journal of Politics indicated that a newspaper (implied to be *Israel Hayom* due to context of Netanyahu's influence) exerted "significant electoral influence, primarily benefiting Netanyahu and his Likud party," highlighting the substantial impact that ultrarich media ownership can have in shaping politics.²³

The analysis reveals a notable disconnect between formal legal findings and the de facto influence of alleged disinformation campaigns. While the Attorney General found "insufficient evidence" to *criminally* implicate Likud in directly funding fake accounts¹⁸, the extensive reports from watchdog groups, such as the Big Bots Project¹⁸, and the documented behavior of high-ranking Likud officials, like Yair Netanyahu reposting content from the network¹⁸, strongly suggest a de facto, if not formally provable, connection and benefit from these disinformation operations. The AG's finding was narrowly focused on *funding* and *criminal* evidence.¹⁸ However, the reports detail how the network intensified activity at "climactic moments for Netanyahu"¹⁸, spread slander against rivals¹⁸, and that an individual linked to organizing such campaigns claimed connections with "very senior figures in Likud".¹⁹ Furthermore, Likud's campaign manager explicitly admitted the legitimacy of "lying and deceiving in politics".²² This creates a strong circumstantial case for a coordinated, if not directly funded, relationship, where the party benefits from and implicitly condones such tactics. This highlights a common challenge in prosecuting digital disinformation: proving direct, legally actionable links between political parties and covert online operations. Even without formal conviction, the documented patterns indicate a strategic approach to information warfare that shapes public opinion and political outcomes, raising concerns about democratic integrity and the manipulation of public discourse.

Furthermore, the alleged disinformation campaigns extend beyond domestic elections to serve broader foreign policy objectives, such as influencing international perceptions and targeting international bodies like UNRWA, as well as domestic control, such as manipulating voter turnout in specific communities. The Ministry of Diaspora's covert campaign targeting U.S. lawmakers with pro-Israel content, generated by AI²⁰, demonstrates an international dimension. The Israeli government's "disinformation campaign against UNRWA," labeling it a "terror organisation" through global advertisements²¹, represents a direct attack on an international humanitarian agency. Domestically, the admitted use of secret cameras in Arab polling stations by Likud's campaign manager was designed to gather "video evidence of fraud" for later use, implying a tactic to suppress or delegitimize Arab votes.²² This indicates that disinformation is not merely a campaign tactic but a sophisticated tool integrated into

state strategy, both to shape international narratives and to exert control over domestic political processes. This raises serious concerns about the integrity of information environments and the potential for state actors to undermine democratic processes and international cooperation through covert influence operations.

Overview of Alleged Disinformation Campaigns and Their Nature

Campaign/Allegation Name	Primary Actors/Alleged Source	Nature of Content/Tactics	Target	Official Response/Finding	Source Snippet ID
"Big Bots Project" Network	Likud-affiliated, Netanyahu's re-election campaign	Hundreds of fake accounts, manipulations, slander, lies, spreading rumors, thousands of tweets daily.	Political rivals, public opinion, Netanyahu's re-election.	AG found "insufficient evidence" for direct Likud funding; Likud denied; Netanyahu accused rivals of lying.	¹⁸
Ministry of Diaspora Covert Campaign	Israel's Ministry of Diaspora	Hundreds of fake accounts (posing as Americans), AI-generated posts, 3 fake English news sites.	U.S. lawmakers (especially Black & Democratic Party), international public opinion.	Not explicitly stated in snippets, but campaign was active.	²⁰
UNRWA Disinformation Campaign	Government of Israel	Commercial advertisements, paid Google ads, public calls to dismantle UNRWA, labeling it a "terror organisation."	UNRWA, international public opinion, donor states.	UNRWA states it's creating reputational damage and risking personnel lives.	²¹
Secret Cameras in Arab Polling	Likud campaign manager Ofer	Placement of secret cameras.	Arab polling stations, Arab voters.	Golan admitted it was to gather "video	²²

Stations	Golan			evidence of fraud" for later use.	
Influential Newspaper Ownership	Ultrarich individuals (benefiting Netanyahu/Likud)	Media ownership influencing electoral outcomes.	National politics, voters.	Analysis indicates "significant electoral influence" benefiting Netanyahu and Likud.	²³

VII. Conclusions

The comprehensive analysis of the Likud party's historical and contemporary actions, policies, and rhetoric reveals several consistent and interconnected themes. Rooted deeply in Revisionist Zionist ideology, Likud has maintained a hardline stance on territorial control and Palestinian rights, consistently pursuing a vision of "Greater Israel" between the Sea and the Jordan.³ Any apparent flexibility on a two-state solution has generally served as a tactical maneuver, masking a consistent commitment to expanding Jewish presence and sovereignty.¹ Evidence points to pervasive patterns of racism and discrimination, culminating in the institutionalization of "Jewish supremacy" through the Jewish Nation-State Law.⁵ This law, along with documented instances of racist rhetoric from Likud-affiliated figures, including dehumanizing language that animalizes Palestinians, contributes to an environment where discriminatory policies and actions are rationalized.⁸ The consistent use of such language by prominent figures is not merely rhetorical; it psychologically prepares for and justifies discriminatory policies, territorial expansion, and military actions, effectively stripping individuals of their human rights and moral standing.

There is a clear escalation of incitement by Likud-affiliated figures, which has fostered an atmosphere conducive to violence and has now been cited in international genocide accusations.⁸ This progression from general incitement to language directly cited in legal arguments for genocide indicates a dangerous normalization of extreme rhetoric within the highest echelons of government. Furthermore, the research suggests a pattern of state complicity, if not direct encouragement, in settler violence, particularly in the West Bank, through the rhetoric of Likud-affiliated ministers and a lack of accountability for perpetrators.⁸ The human rights abuses in the occupied territories, including unlawful killings, arbitrary detention, and severe restrictions on movement, appear to be systemic, embedded within the governance and security apparatus.¹⁴ These abuses are directly linked to settlement expansion, which is often framed as a security imperative but functions as a colonial practice.⁴ The approach to territorial expansion has evolved from overt seizures to more subtle, legally

entrenched methods, posing a significant challenge to international efforts to uphold self-determination and non-annexation. The Likud-led government's actions, particularly concerning the International Criminal Court investigation, demonstrate a significant challenge to the international rule of law and accountability mechanisms for alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity, with reports suggesting deliberate efforts to obstruct justice.¹⁶ Finally, the widespread allegations of disinformation and media manipulation reveal sophisticated tactics employed both for domestic political control and to influence foreign policy objectives.¹⁸ While formal legal culpability for direct funding may be difficult to establish, the documented patterns indicate a strategic approach to information warfare that shapes public opinion and political outcomes. This sophisticated use of disinformation highlights its integration into state strategy, raising serious concerns about the integrity of information environments and the potential for state actors to undermine democratic processes and international cooperation through covert influence operations.

VIII. Recommendations

Based on the findings of this open-source analysis, the following recommendations are put forth for international bodies, governments, and civil society:

Proposals for International Bodies, Governments, and Civil Society

International Bodies (e.g., UN, ICC)

- **Strengthen Observer Missions:** The Security Council is urged to renew and strengthen the mandate of international observer presences in sensitive areas such as Hebron, where settler harassment and intimidation have increased following the withdrawal of such missions.¹¹
- **Expedite ICC Investigations:** The International Criminal Court is encouraged to expedite its investigation into the situation in Palestine, ensuring accountability for all alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity, and operating free from political interference.¹¹
- **Continuous Documentation and Reporting:** The United Nations and other international organizations should continue their vital work of documenting and reporting on human rights abuses and violations of international law in the occupied territories, providing transparent and verifiable information.
- **Develop Norms Against State-Sponsored Disinformation:** International bodies should work towards developing stronger international norms and enforcement mechanisms to counter state-sponsored disinformation campaigns, which undermine

public trust and democratic processes.

Governments

- **Distinguish Territories:** Member States are urged to review their policies to ensure a clear distinction between the territory of Israel and the occupied territories, in adherence to international law.¹¹ This distinction is crucial for upholding the principles of international legality and preventing de facto annexation.
- **Cease Support for Illegal Settlements:** Governments should cease offering tax incentives or any other forms of support to organizations involved in illegal settlements or the exploitation of natural resources in occupied territories.¹¹ Such support contributes to the perpetuation of illegal activities and human rights abuses.
- **Impose Targeted Sanctions:** Governments are encouraged to consider imposing targeted sanctions on individuals found to be inciting violence or committing human rights abuses, as demonstrated by actions taken by some countries against figures like Bezalel Smotrich and Itamar Ben-Gvir.⁸
- **Condition Aid and Relations:** Aid or diplomatic relations should be conditioned on adherence to international humanitarian law and human rights principles. This approach can incentivize compliance with international norms.
- **Combat Disinformation:** Governments must implement robust regulations and mechanisms to combat state-sponsored disinformation and media manipulation, including holding advertising companies and social media platforms accountable for the content they disseminate.²¹

Civil Society Organizations and Human Rights Advocates

- **Monitor and Report:** Continue to diligently monitor, document, and report on human rights abuses, incitement, and discriminatory practices in the region. This independent oversight is critical for exposing violations and advocating for justice.
- **Support Legal Challenges:** Support legal challenges against discriminatory laws and policies, such as the Jewish Nation-State Law, to protect the rights of all citizens.⁵
- **Counter Narratives:** Engage in public awareness campaigns to actively counter dehumanizing narratives and disinformation, fostering a more accurate and empathetic understanding of the conflict.
- **Advocate for Humanitarian Support:** Advocate for increased funding and sustained support for humanitarian organizations working in the occupied territories, such as UNRWA, which provides essential services to vulnerable populations.¹¹

Suggestions for Further Research or Monitoring

- **Psychological and Societal Impacts:** Conduct in-depth studies on the long-term psychological and societal impacts of dehumanization and incitement on both Israeli and Palestinian populations, exploring how such rhetoric shapes attitudes and behaviors.
- **Effectiveness of International Legal Mechanisms:** Analyze the effectiveness of international legal mechanisms in holding state actors accountable for violations in protracted conflicts, identifying strengths, weaknesses, and potential reforms.
- **Digital Disinformation Evolution:** Continue monitoring digital disinformation campaigns, including the evolving use of artificial intelligence, and their impact on democratic processes and international relations.
- **Socio-Economic Consequences of Settlements:** Research the comprehensive economic and social consequences of settlement expansion and home demolitions on Palestinian communities, quantifying the long-term impacts on livelihoods, displacement, and access to resources.

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