

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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