

Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Written evidence submitted by Amnesty
International
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Summary of recommendations

- **The UK should act unilaterally to implement the International Court of Justice (ICJ) Advisory Opinion of July 2024 and take steps “not to render aid or assistance in maintaining the [unlawful occupation]” (as directed by the Court), including through:**
 - Undertaking a thorough due diligence review of its aid and assistance to Israel and determine whether it is being used by Israel to support and maintain the unlawful occupation. Aid and assistance include financial, military and political aid or support. Any aid and assistance determined to support and maintain the unlawful occupation must end.
 - Suspending trade privileges, agreements and negotiations with Israel pending the outcome of a thorough review.
 - Instituting and enforcing a ban on products from Israeli settlements in UK markets and regulating companies domiciled in the UK in a manner to prohibit companies’ operation in settlements or trade in settlements goods.
- **The UK should suspend all transfers of arms to Israel, including indirect transfers, in line with domestic and international obligations to prevent UK arms from being used in violation of international law.**
- **The UK should press for UN Security Council action including to:**
 - Impose targeted sanctions, such as asset freezes, against Israeli and Hamas officials who are most implicated in crimes under international law, including those committed in the context of Israel’s offensive on Gaza since 7 October 2023.
 - Impose a comprehensive arms embargo on Israel, Hamas and other Palestinian armed groups operating in Gaza. The embargo should cover the direct and indirect supply, sale or transfer, including transit and trans-shipment, of all weapons, munitions and other military and security equipment, including the provision of training and other military and security assistance.
 - Take steps to advance the withdrawal by Israel from the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT), in line with the ICJ’s advisory opinion of 19 July 2024 and the UN General Assembly resolution of 18 September 2024 demanding Israel end its unlawful presence and policies in the OPT within 12 months.
- **The UK should lead efforts at the UN Human Rights Council to:**
 - Provide the UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and Israel with significant additional resources, including for securing additional staff, to enable it to work more fully on all aspects of its mandate, including with respect to investigations and to the preservation of evidence of crimes.
 - Fully support the mandate and operations of the UN database of business activities in Israeli settlements pursuant to Human Rights Council Resolutions 31/36 of 24 March 2016 and 53/25 of 19 July 2023, and call for its expansion to cover all business enterprises involved in any activity within the OPT that facilitates Israel’s policies and practices as the occupying power, which were found to be in breach of international law by the advisory opinion issued by the ICJ on 19 July 2024.
- **The UK must support international justice mechanisms and uphold international law in a consistent manner, including through:**
 - Championing the International Criminal Court (ICC) and ICJ in all cases, including ensuring both have the resources they need to undertake investigations, acting on all rulings and recommendations from the ICJ and executing all ICC arrest warrants for all suspected perpetrators.
 - Taking action to prevent genocide in all situations, including through suspending the transfer of all arms to all parties and pressing for targeted sanctions by the UN Security Council.
- **The UK must learn lessons, change course and i) recognise the root causes of the conflict in Israel and Palestine and the extent of Israel’s violations against Palestinians ii) ensure its policies respect and**

uphold international law and iii) crucially, hold Israel accountable for its breaches of international law.

- The UK should exercise universal jurisdiction so that any person in the UK who may reasonably be suspected of committing crimes against humanity or other crimes under international law can be prosecuted. This requires the removal of relevant legal and policy obstacles including the UK nationality and residence requirements for prosecutions for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.
- The UK should use all political and diplomatic tools at its disposal to help finally end Israel's illegal occupation and dismantle its system of apartheid.
- The UK should review and revise its position on Common Article 1 obligations of the Geneva Conventions, to align with the legal views of the ICJ, and recognise third party obligations to ensure respect for international law.

What can – and should – the UK do, in cooperation with regional and international partners, to help bring about a ceasefire?

1. Amnesty International has been calling on Israel, Hamas and other Palestinian armed groups to agree to an immediate, sustained ceasefire since October 2023. Almost a year after the International Court of Justice (ICJ) recognised the risk that Israel's actions in Gaza could constitute genocide, in December 2024 Amnesty International published a report concluding that Israel has committed and is committing the crime of genocide against Palestinians in Gaza¹. This grave assessment of the crimes being committed under international law by Israel and the catastrophic conditions in Gaza for Palestinians – and for the hostages held in Gaza by Palestinian armed groups – should serve as a wakeup call to the international community: civilians, particularly those in Gaza, cannot wait, an immediate ceasefire is urgently needed.
2. Amnesty International welcomes the current Government's position in calling for an immediate ceasefire, however, not nearly enough has been done by the international community – including the UK – to secure one.
3. It is regretful, for example, that despite early signs that Palestinians living in Gaza were at risk of an unprecedented onslaught, which included crimes under international law, it took until June 2024 for the UN Security Council to eventually adopt a three-phase ceasefire plan².
4. The reality is that despite widespread and repeated violations of international law in Gaza and elsewhere, Israel has faced little to no consequence as a result. With such flagrant impunity for unlawful occupation, annexation, war crimes, crimes against humanity (including the crime against humanity of apartheid) and now genocide, there is little incentive for Israel to come to the table and agree a ceasefire. Impunity only lays the ground for escalating violations, as acknowledged by former Middle East Minister Alistair Burt to the Foreign Affairs Committee on 3 December 2024:
5. *"I think the fact that settlements have been allowed to grow with no consequence has done a lot of damage: it has fuelled a sense of impunity among certain politicians in Israel. If you have significant condemnation but no action, what is anyone going to do when you take the next step?"*³

¹ [Israel-OPT: Amnesty research shows Israel is committing genocide against Palestinians in Gaza - new report](#)

² UNSC, Resolution 2735 (2024), adopted on 10 June 2024, UN Doc. S/RES/2735.

³ <https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/15086/pdf/>

6. Amnesty International has condemned the Hamas led attack on Israel on 7 October 2023, which included deliberate mass killings, indiscriminate attacks, destruction of civilian property and hostage taking, including of children. At least 1200 people were killed, including at least 36 children. Some of these actions constitute war crimes. Amnesty International has called for and continues to call for the immediate release of all civilian hostages and for perpetrators of the 7 October attack and ongoing indiscriminate attacks against Israel to be held to account. There is no justification for these actions.
7. Neither is there any justification for Israel's unlawful actions in response.
8. Israel's violations of international law have been recognised by a number of international justice mechanisms in 2024:
 - i. In January 2024 the ICJ ordered Israel to comply with provisional measures to avoid inflicting genocide on Palestinians, yet Israel has ignored these binding orders, along with the Court's further measures ordered in May 2024 to avoid a humanitarian catastrophe in Rafah.
 - ii. In July 2024 the ICJ set out in an advisory opinion⁴ (thereafter: the ICJ's Advisory Opinion) that Israel's occupation and annexation of Palestinian territory is unlawful and its policies and practices breach the prohibition on racial segregation and apartheid. The ICJ directed Israel to dismantle its settlements, evacuate its settler population and reverse the occupation. Israel has not only ignored this direction, but high-level officials have stated their intention to expand annexation. The ICJ also clearly directed all States to take action to bring Israel's occupation to an end and to cease any aid or assistance that enables Israel to maintain it.
 - iii. In November 2024 the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued arrest warrants⁵ for Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and former Defence Minister Yoav Gallant for the war crimes of starvation as a method of warfare and intentionally directing an attack against the civilian population; and the crimes against humanity of murder, persecution, and other inhumane acts. The ICC also issued an arrest warrant for Mohammed Diab Ibrahim Al-Masri (Deif) for crimes against humanity and war crimes.
9. The UK has failed to take any effective action in response to any of these international legal developments that would result in meaningful consequence for Israel. This fosters impunity for Israeli authorities and leaves the UK failing to uphold international law, undermining its own obligations and moreover, undermining the rules-based international system as a whole.
10. To secure a ceasefire the UK must make it clear with action rather than rhetoric that Israel will face consequences for violating international law and compel Israel to end its military operations in Gaza to prevent further breaches.
11. The continuation of arms transfers to Israel by the UK and other states is clearly contributing to the prolongation and extension of the conflict and has created a disincentive for Israel to negotiate a ceasefire. The UK's exclusion of exports to the F-35 programme from the scope of its partial suspension of arms to Israel is incredibly problematic given significant [evidence](#) that Israel is using F-35s to bomb Gaza. In fact the UK itself has [acknowledged](#) that "there is a clear risk that F-35 components might be used to commit or facilitate a serious violation of IHL". Since the Government's admission that UK supplied parts to the F-35 programme are traceable,⁶ its position that it cannot suspend transfers to Israel via the Global Supply Pool is untenable, as well as being in breach of its international obligations under the Arms Trade Treaty (which require transfers to be suspended if there is a risk they could be used to violate international law). **The UK should therefore act unilaterally in response to Israel's breaches of international law, as established by the ICJ and ICC in Gaza and elsewhere, to suspend all**

⁴ <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/186/186-20240719-adv-01-00-en.pdf>

⁵ <https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-state-palestine-icc-pre-trial-chamber-i-rejects-state-israels-challenges>

⁶ See Q72 <https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/15114/html/>

transfers of arms to Israel, including indirect transfers, in line with domestic and international obligations to prevent UK arms from being used in violation of international law.

12. The UK should act unilaterally to implement the ICJ Advisory Opinion of July 2024 and take steps “not to render aid or assistance in maintaining the [unlawful occupation]” (as directed by the Court), including through:

- i. Undertaking a thorough due diligence review of its aid and assistance to Israel and determine whether it is being used by Israel to support and maintain the unlawful occupation. Aid and assistance include financial, military and political aid or support. Any aid and assistance determined to support and maintain the unlawful occupation must end.
- ii. Suspending trade privileges, agreements and negotiations with Israel, including current negotiations on a Free Trade Agreement, pending the outcome of a thorough review.⁷
- iii. Instituting and enforcing a ban on products from Israeli settlements entering the UK market or being traded in the UK, and prohibiting companies domiciled in the UK from trading with, investing in, or doing business with settlements.⁸
- iv. Ensuring that any future agreement or Memorandum of Understanding between UK and Israel includes a territorial clause that restricts the agreement’s application to within Israel’s internationally recognised borders and does not benefit Israel’s illegal settlements in occupied Palestinian territory.

13. The UK should press the UN Security Council, to:

- i. Impose targeted sanctions, such as asset freezes, against Israeli and Hamas officials who are most implicated in crimes under international law.
- ii. Impose a comprehensive arms embargo on Israel, Hamas and other Palestinian armed groups operating in Gaza.
- iii. Take steps to advance the withdrawal by Israel from the OPT, in line with the ICJ’s advisory opinion of 19 July 2024 and the UN General Assembly resolution of 18 September 2024, which demands Israel ends its occupation within 12 months.

14. The UK should lead efforts at the UN Human Rights Council to:

- i. Provide the UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and Israel with significant additional resources, including for securing additional staff, so as to enable it to work more fully on all aspects of its mandate.
- ii. Fully support the mandate and operations of the UN database of business activities in Israeli settlements pursuant to Human Rights Council Resolutions 31/36 of 24 March 2016 and 53/25 of 19 July 2023, and call for its expansion to cover all business enterprises involved in any activity within the OPT that facilitates Israel’s policies and practices as the occupying power.

What can be learned from the record of UK Government policies to date?

15. Over decades Israel has entrenched its unlawful occupation of Palestinian Territory, expanded illegal settlements and instituted a system of institutionalised discrimination against Palestinians – which Amnesty International and many others⁹ recognise as the crime against humanity of apartheid – in

⁷ On 15 November 2024 Josep Borrell, High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs [called](#) for all EU member states to suspend political negotiations with Israel, stating that business as usual with Israel must end given Israel’s lack of compliance with international law.

⁸ On 15 November 2024 Josep Borrell, High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs [called](#) for all EU member states to ban imports from illegal settlements. This followed Ireland [stating](#) that it will introduce a bill to restrict trade with settlements. The UK has previously banned the import of goods from Russian occupied Crimea.

⁹ Numerous states and other international, Israeli and Palestinian organisations have previously drawn similar conclusions, including [Human Rights Watch](#), [B’Tselem](#), [Yesh Din](#), [Al Mezan](#) and others, as have several Israeli politicians, for example see [op-ed](#) from former Israeli Attorney General Michael Ben-Yair; [op-ed](#) from former Israeli Environment Minister Yossi Sarid; [op-ed](#) by

order to dominate Palestinians and establish (and extend) control over land and resources.

16. It is abundantly clear that Israel's violations of international law have escalated dramatically over the past decade, devastatingly so over the last year. Israel's ongoing annexation of the West Bank and its destruction of Gaza combined with plans for settlements there as well¹⁰ make the UK's objective of a two-state solution all but impossible. The primary lesson that can be learned from the record of UK policies, therefore, is clear: they have failed.
17. As Alistair Burt's quote above demonstrates, the UK's policy of not taking action to hold Israel accountable for violations of international law over many years has contributed to a culture of impunity for Israel which has led to the situation deteriorating to current catastrophic levels.
18. Lessons that the UK should learn can be broken down as follows:
 - i. **Ensure UK policy on Israel is consistent with international law:** Despite international law recognising settlements as war crimes for a long time, the UK has continued to allow trade with and investment in settlements. Moreover, its ongoing trade negotiations with Israel are underpinned by a [strategy](#) that contains no territorial clause and therefore does not differentiate between Israel and the territories it occupies illegally. Additionally, ongoing transfers of arms are not compliant with international obligations under the Arms Trade Treaty (as set out above).
 - ii. **Develop policy that recognises and responds to the roots of the conflict:** The UK's response to the current crisis offers no recognition that it is rooted in ongoing and [long-term violations and injustice](#) impacting everyday lives of almost all Palestinians. This includes decades in which Israeli authorities have maintained and enforced laws, policies, and practices that deliberately oppress Palestinians, amounting to [apartheid](#). The UK should examine and acknowledge not only that the October 7 attacks do not justify Israel's response since, but that Israel's post-7 October actions form part of a [long-term intentional, systematic, State-organised forced displacement and replacement of the Palestinians](#). Understanding the root causes of violence in the occupied Palestinian territory and Israel is crucial to helping prevent future violations and for respect for international law.
 - iii. **Take a progressive and proactive approach to accountability mechanisms:** Criticism of Israel by its main allies, including the UK, has been muted, as has any demand for accountability mechanisms including sanctions to be applied via the UN (or unilaterally to any meaningful degree). The UK's [voting record](#) on UNSC and UNGA resolutions on Israel is indicative of a de facto policy of shielding Israel from accountability. The UK's [opposition to the UN Commission of Inquiry](#) on the situation in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza on grounds of 'disproportionate focus on Israel' raises the question of what threshold of international crimes committed by Israel would enable the UK to consider such accountability mechanisms to be proportionate.
 - iv. **Recognise legal realities of violations, including apartheid and genocide:** As set out above, a growing international consensus recognises that Israel's policies and practices constitute apartheid (most recently recognised in the ICJ's Advisory Opinion, which set out that Israel's policies violate the prohibition on racial segregation and apartheid). However, the UK refuses to engage with this legal reality. On genocide, both the [UK Prime Minister](#) and the [Foreign](#)

former Israeli Education Minister Shulamit Aloni; [remarks](#) by former Israeli Ambassador to South Africa Alon Liel to a Jerusalem conference in 2013.

¹⁰ Minister of Finance Bezalel Smotrich and Minister of National Security Itamar Ben-Gvir have vocally [advocated](#) and rallied support for the re-establishment of Jewish settlements in Gaza; and in November 2024 Brig Gen Itzik Cohen, a senior IDF officer [admitted](#) that "There is no intention of allowing the residents of the northern Gaza Strip to return to their homes," adding that his "clear orders" were to "create a cleansed space".

[Secretary](#) have denied that Israel's actions amount to genocide against Palestinians, without issuing any analysis or evidence-based reasoning for this conclusion. 37 UK civil society organisations have sought but not received [clarification](#). In contrast, the [ICJ](#) had already recognised the risk of Israel's genocide back in January 2023, and the [UN Special Rapporteur](#) on the human rights situation of Palestinians and [Amnesty International](#) have published extensive material setting out reasoning and evidence for Israel's genocide.

19. The UK must change course and i) recognise the root causes of the conflict in Israel and Palestine and the extent of Israel's violations against Palestinians ii) ensure its policies respect and uphold international law and iii) crucially, hold Israel accountable for its breaches of international law, as set out above in the first section.

How can the UK assure the resilience of efforts to bring about a lasting peace at a time of uncertainty caused by conflicts elsewhere and changes in leadership in the international community?

20. The immediate priority must be to stop the ongoing genocide in Gaza by working in coordination with states to press Israel to halt the commission of prohibited acts under the Genocide Convention, prevent the further commission of such acts, and ensure justice, accountability and full reparation for any such acts that have already been committed.
21. In Amnesty International's report '*You feel you are subhuman*': *Israel's Genocide Against Palestinians in Gaza*¹¹, we conclude that Israel has committed and is committing genocide in Gaza. The Genocide Convention prohibits five acts – our investigation found that Israel has committed three of them against Palestinians in Gaza: killings, causing serious mental or bodily harm and deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about the destruction of the group in whole or in part.
22. To meet the threshold of genocide, the Convention sets out that prohibited acts must be taken with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, the protected group. Amnesty International's analysis of the evidence as a whole has led us to determine that that intent is there. The evidence for this includes a range of things, including the overall pattern of Israel's conduct (including repeated direct attacks on civilians and deliberately indiscriminate strikes), unprecedented levels of destruction across Gaza, and continuous refusal to allow adequate aid into Gaza. It also includes the context in which this escalation of conflict is taking place, for example the decades old unlawful occupation and system of apartheid.
23. As a State Party to the 1948 Genocide Convention, the UK is required 'to prevent and to punish' the crime of genocide (Article I). The obligation to prevent is not contingent on the commencement of genocide. As the ICJ has emphasised, to suggest that the obligation is triggered by the commencement of genocide '*would be absurd, since the whole point of the obligation is to prevent, or attempt to prevent, the occurrence of the act*'.¹²
24. Securing a lasting peace is impossible without recognising and taking action to prevent an ongoing genocide. In particular, **ongoing transfer of UK components for F-35s to Israel, knowing that Israel is using F-35s to bomb Gaza, including in attacks that could constitute war crimes¹³, risks UK's complicity in genocide and must be rectified urgently.**

¹¹ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/8668/2024/en/>

¹² ICJ, *Bosnia v Serbia* (2007) para 431

25. A ceasefire on its own is only a starting point. The only way to find a route through this conflict is to recognise the deep structural issues driving the decades-long crisis. This most recent escalation of violence and violations, like others before it, is rooted in decades of illegal occupation, annexation, apartheid, impunity, and failures to centre human rights in any so-called peace agreements. From Amnesty International's perspective, these are key drivers of the crisis.
26. Furthermore, the rules-based international system itself is arguably under attack in unprecedented ways. As well as Israel's repeated and flagrant breaches of international law, [Russia](#) is accused of war crimes in Ukraine, [Myanmar](#) is accused of genocide against the Rohingya and the constant flow of weapons into [Sudan](#) is fuelling relentless attacks on civilians and widespread human rights violations. It is not just civilians under attack, but also international law and the global system designed to protect us all.
27. To work towards a lasting peace in the Middle East and protect the rules-based international system as a whole, the **UK must consistently support international justice mechanisms, uphold international law and take action in response to violations.** When the UK states that it will suspend all programme support, restrict defence cooperation, and limit engagement with representatives of the Georgian Dream government because of that government's excessive use of force against protestors¹⁴, but will not take similar action against Israel despite Israel's Prime Minister being accused by the ICC of war crimes and crimes against humanity, this is seen as abject hypocrisy. This undermines the UK's self-described reputation as an upholder of international law and its ability to build credible international alliances to oppose violations of international law by others; for example, Russia.
- 28. The UK must:**
- i. **Champion the ICC and ICJ in all cases, including ensuring both have the resources they need to undertake investigations, acting on all rulings and recommendations from the ICJ and executing all ICC arrest warrants for all suspected perpetrators.**
 - ii. **Take action to prevent genocide in all situations, including through suspending the transfer of all arms to all parties and pressing for targeted sanctions by the UN Security Council.**
 - iii. **Fully comply with the ICJ's Advisory Opinion and ensure Israel ends its unlawful occupation.**
 - iv. **Exercise universal jurisdiction so that any person in the UK who may reasonably be suspected of committing crimes against humanity or other crimes under international law can be prosecuted. This requires the removal of relevant legal and policy obstacles including the UK nationality and residence requirements for prosecutions for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.**¹⁵
 - v. **Use all political and diplomatic tools at its disposal to help finally end Israel's illegal occupation and dismantle its system of apartheid.**
29. In particular, an enduring peace is impossible without an end to Israel's unlawful occupation. The ICJ directed Israel to cease new settlement activity, evacuate all settlers from existing settlements, dismantle parts of the wall constructed by Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, repeal all

¹³ see for example <https://caat.org.uk/news/investigation-reveals-israel-used-partly-uk-made-f-35-in-attack-on-gaza-humanitarian-zone-in-july-killing-90/>; and *Israeli F-35s Providing Close Air Support To Troops In Gaza With 2,000-lb Bombs - The Aviationist*

¹⁴ https://www.gov.uk/government/news/foreign-secretary-statement-situation-in-georgia?utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=govuk-notifications-topic&utm_source=8539e63e-c4d2-4e28-864c-2adbbbc4953c&utm_content=immediately

¹⁵ For more information see <https://redress.org/publication/global-britain-global-justice-strengthening-accountability-for-international-crimes-in-england-and-wales/>

legislation that creates or maintains the unlawful situation (including those which discriminate against Palestinians) and provide full reparations for the damage caused for its unlawful acts.

30. Amnesty International does not suggest that the above is easy. But the ICJ and international law are clear – Israel must do these things, not as part of any “peace process” or negotiation, Israel must do these things as soon as possible (in fact UN General Assembly resolution ES-10/24¹⁶, which gives effect to the ICJ Advisory Opinion, *demands* that Israel does so by 18 September 2025).
31. Israel may argue that the occupation is necessary for security purposes. However, the ICJ made clear that security concerns do not justify the acquisition of territory by force, given such acts are strictly prohibited in international law. In fact, Judges Georg Nolte and Sarah Hull Cleveland recognised that “*any possible [security] justification is necessarily lost if such a presence is abused for the purpose of annexation and suppression of the right to self-determination*”¹⁷. Moreover, security based on domination of and discrimination against Palestinians is no security at all.
32. For its part, the UK must take action to ensure Israel does comply with the directions of the ICJ. The ICJ made clear that “*all the State parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention have the obligation...to ensure compliance by Israel with international humanitarian law as embodied in that Convention.*”. This interpretation is shared by the International Committee of the Red Cross authoritative interpretation of Common Article 1 of the Geneva Conventions: “*The obligation to ensure respect also has an external dimension related to ensuring respect for the Conventions by others that are Party to a conflict.*”
33. It is incredibly problematic for the UK’s description of itself as an upholder of international law that it has opposed this international consensus, stating that “*we do not believe that Common Article 1 of the Geneva Conventions establishes third party obligations.*”¹⁸. It is Amnesty International’s understanding that the only States to hold this view are the UK, the United States and Israel.
34. In March 2025 Switzerland will convene a *Conference of High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention on measures to enforce the Convention in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and to ensure respect thereof in accordance with Common Article 1*, as agreed in UN General Assembly Resolution ES-10/24. **The UK government will be invited to present its views on Common Article 1 obligations and should review and revise its position to align with the legal views of the ICJ; and take concrete action to ensure Israel complies with the ICJ’s Advisory Opinion.**

Conclusion

35. Previous attempts to resolve this entrenched crisis have failed, quite predictably, precisely because respect for human rights, especially the human rights of Palestinians, have not been made central to negotiations and agreements.
36. A just and durable peace requires a plan that prioritises the human rights of all Palestinians and all Israelis. **The UK must act to secure this and ensure that any political solution explicitly adheres to key human rights principles.**

¹⁶ <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/ga-10th-ess-resolution-18sep24/>

¹⁷ Paragraph 8 <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/186/186-20240719-adv-01-09-encc.pdf>

¹⁸ https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/expansion-of-settlements-undermines-peace-and-must-cease-immediately-uk-explanation-of-vote-at-the-un-fourth-committee?utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=govuk-notifications-topic&utm_source=6762792c-c811-4c68-8934-72abcb7a8083&utm_content=immediately

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