SUBMISSION TO UNITED NATIONS COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE 2018 PROTESTS IN THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORY
ESTABLISHED PURSUANT TO UNHRC RESOLUTION S-28/1

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this submission is to provide the Commission of Inquiry (COI) with background about the appropriate legal framework and essential factual evidence concerning the “March of Return” riots along the Gaza-Israel border. All of the sources referenced herein are publicly available on the internet.

The question facing the COI is whether they will exercise independence of scope, thought and action, or whether they will be constrained by the imbalances of fact and law enshrined in their founding document, Resolution S-28/1, as adopted on May 18, 2018. The resolution condemns only Israel, ignores Israel’s right to self-defense, and completely omits mention of Hamas. Furthermore, in its condemnation of Israel, for example in OP1, the resolution prejudges the result of any COI investigation by determining in advance that Israel is “in violation of international humanitarian law, international human rights law and relevant United Nations resolutions.” Moreover, Resolution S-28/1 is replete with conclusory language—referring repeatedly to “civilians” engaged in “peaceful protests”—that purports to dispose of the fundamental questions facing the COI.

Thomas M. Franck, the late NYU scholar and former president of the American Society of International Law, lamented the emergence of this UN pattern in his authoritative article on procedural due process in human rights fact-finding by international agencies.\(^1\) Referring to a 1968 General Assembly resolution that had taken it for granted “that Israel was in breach of its international obligations,” Prof. Franck criticized the creation of a fact-finding mission whose mandate included “conclusory language that palpably interfered with the integrity of the fact-finding process by violating the essential line between political assumptions and issues to be impartially determined.” Prof. Franck’s evaluation of such resolutions neatly summarizes the essential defects of the S-28/1 mandate: “A fact-finding group created by terms of reference that seek to direct its conclusions is essentially a waste of time. Its findings, at most, will reassure those whose minds are already made up.”\(^2\)

It is the hope of United Nations Watch that the COI will, through a report that fully considers all sides, demonstrate the integrity of the fact-finding process.

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\(^2\) Id. at 316.
LEGAL FRAMEWORK

As a preliminary matter, it is imperative that the COI determine the correct legal framework under which to evaluate the facts. While some UN officials, and resolution S-28/1 itself, suggest that the applicable body of law is the law enforcement paradigm under international human rights law, this is based on the erroneous characterization of the events as: (a) “protests”; (b) “peaceful”; and (c) “civilian.”

In fact, as the UN’s Palmer Commission concluded in 2011, Israel and Hamas have been engaged in an international armed conflict for many years. The current round of violence is part of that armed conflict. As documented below, many of the so-called protesters were actually Hamas operatives—not “civilians”—acting on orders to breach Israel’s Gaza border fence, invade Israel’s border communities and commit terrorist attacks against Israelis.

They fomented violent riots, used weapons to attack Israel’s border security officers, and perpetrated terrorism to achieve these goals. Accordingly, Israel’s use of force against protesters must be evaluated under the framework of International Humanitarian Law (IHL), also known as the law of armed conflict. This is consistent with the judicial conclusion of the Supreme Court of Israel in its May 24, 2018 decision about the IDF’s rules of engagement, that protesters taking an active part in hostilities are subject to the law of armed conflict.

Regrettably, Resolution S-28/1 contains significant omissions or misstatements which affect the legal analysis. Among other things:

1. Resolution S-28/1 omits any mention of Israel’s right to self-defense, which is enshrined in Article 51 of the UN Charter. This right to self-defense does not demand that Israel sit back and wait to suffer casualties before it fights back, but is triggered by imminent threats. As a High-Level Panel of experts appointed by former Secretary-General Kofi Anan explained in 2004, “long established international law” permits a threatened state to “take military

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4 HCJ 3003/18 Yesh Din v. IDF Chief of General Staff, available at https://supremedecisions.court.gov.il/Home/Download?path=HebrewVerdicts\18\030\030\k08&FileName=18030030.K08&type=4.
action as long as the threatened attack is imminent, no other means would deflect it and the action is proportionate.”

2. Resolution S-28/1 falsely characterizes all of the Palestinians at the border fence as “civilians” and their activities as “peaceful protests.” The resolution title itself presumptively refers to “civilian protests;” PP8 refers to Israel’s “intentional targeting” of Palestinian “civilians”; OP1 refers to “peaceful protests”; OP3 refers to “demonstrations” of “civilians” that are “peaceful”; OP5 refers to Israel’s “assaults” on the large-scale “civilian protest.” These blanket characterizations of the individuals on the Gaza side and of their intentions and actions are false, incomplete and/or misleading. Hamas rules Gaza and played an essential role in overseeing or encouraging the events at the border, dispatching Hamas operatives under the guise of protests to engage in hostilities. Palestinian rioters directly participating in hostilities are not entitled to the protection afforded to civilians. Article 51(3) of the First Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions (1949) permits attacks on civilians “for such time as they take direct part in hostilities.” According to the ICRC commentary, this means “acts of war which by their nature or purpose are likely to cause actual harm to the personnel and equipment of the enemy armed forces.” Therefore, engaging in violent acts intended to breach Israel’s border fence with Gaza and/or cause harm on the Israeli side of the fence would cause rioters to lose protected civilian status. Significantly, when the protesters have stayed away from the fence, Israel has responded with less force resulting in much lower casualty rates.

3. Resolution S-28/1 refers to Israel’s “disproportionate and indiscriminate use of force,” suggesting that “the extensive loss of life” on the Palestinian side renders the force used by Israel not proportional. However, notwithstanding the common misconception, the concept of proportionality in IHL is not a question of comparing the body count—of tabulating and comparing the number of Israelis killed or injured versus the number of Palestinians killed

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or injured. Rather, it is a prospective consideration based on the military commander’s assessment of whether the expected civilian casualties will be excessive in relation to the anticipated military gain. In fact, IHL accepts the possibility of civilian casualties. The correct legal analysis would look at whether the Israeli commander who decided to employ live ammunition in a particular scenario determined that the expected civilian casualties would not be excessive in relation the anticipated military gain, presumably preventing the breach of the border fence. It is a case by case analysis that can only be properly undertaken based on facts and data in the control of the Israeli military.

4. Resolution S-28/1 omits any reference to Hamas violations of international law, which are widespread and severe. As documented below, these include: targeting Israeli civilians in violation of Article 51(2) of the First Additional Protocol to the Geneva Convention of 1949; using Palestinian civilians, including women and children, as human shields, in violation of Article 51(7) of the First Additional Protocol; and disguising its own fighters as civilians, in violation of Article 37 of the First Additional Protocol — the crime of perfidy.

It must also be noted that even if the human rights law enforcement paradigm were applicable to Israel’s response, that paradigm does not limit the use of deadly force only to cases of imminent threat to life or deadly injury, as some have suggested. The law enforcement paradigm recognizes that quelling a riot is a legitimate reason to use force. This is clear from the negotiations over Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which provides: “Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.” The U.S. and UK argued over whether this Article should list a specific set of exceptions where a killing would not be considered arbitrary. The UK had proposed three exceptions, including quelling a riot. The U.S. agreed that quelling a riot was a legitimate exception, but vehemently objected to creating a list of exceptions on grounds that such a list would be too limiting and could not cover all possible exceptions.

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The riot quelling exception also is explicitly stated in Article 2(2) of the European Convention on Human Rights (1950), which states:

Deprivation of live shall not be regarded as inflicted in contravention of this Article when it results from the use of force which is no more than absolutely necessary: (a) in defense of any person from unlawful violence; (b) in order to effect a lawful arrest or to prevent the escape of a person lawfully detained; (c) in action lawfully taken for the purpose of quelling a riot or insurrection.

Even the International Committee for the Red Cross, author of the Geneva Conventions, accepts that in the law enforcement context, quelling a riot is a legitimate basis for use of force.11

A number of experts have written on these issues in the context of the Gaza riots from both the factual and legal perspective. See below for a non-exhaustive list of relevant sources:

- Thane Rosenbaum, *Why Gaza is no Selma*, CNN (May 17, 2018).14
- Eli Lake, *Palestinian Casualties are no Accident for Hamas*, Bloomberg (April 3, 2018).15

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• Bassam Tawil, Palestinians: A March to Destroy Israel, GATESTONE INSTITUTE (April 2, 2018).19

• *See also* Laurie R. Blank, *Asymmetries and proportionalities*, THE HILL (July 29, 2014) (writing on these issues in the context of Operation Protective Edge in 2014).20

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FACTUAL CONTEXT

The sources listed below provide examples of Hamas incitement, terrorism, and attacks against Israel during the March of Return riots, primarily during the month of May 2018. This list of statements and documentary evidence is not exhaustive, and there are many more examples publicly available on the internet from these and other sources.

**Hamas leaders incite rioters to murder Israelis and rally the crowds to violence**

- **Hamas Gaza leader Yehya Sinwar** shouts: “We will tear down the border and we will tear out their hearts from their bodies.” *Al-Jazeera*, quoted by human rights lawyer Arsen Ostrosky, April 6, 2018.21

- **Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh** says: “Palestine and Jerusalem belong to us...We will break the walls of the blockade, remove the occupation entity and return to all of Palestine.” *Times of Israel*, April 9, 2018.22

- **Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh** says: “Our people will outnumber the occupation and force it from our land.” *Chicago Tribune*, April 20, 2018. 23

- **Hamas Wire-Cutters unit** who cut through border fence shout: “Khaybar, Khaybar, O Jews, the army of Muhammad has begun to return”; and one of the members warns “this enemy is destined for perdition,” and Israeli settlers should “leave immediately, before it is too late...” *Al-Aqsa TV*, quoted by MEMRI, April 27, 2018.24

- **Hamas Gaza leader Yehya Sinwar** rallies the crowd: “We would rather die as martyrs than die out of oppression and humiliation...We are ready to die, and tens of thousands will die with us.” *New York Times*, May 9, 2018.25

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• Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh rallies the crowd with chants of “Death to Israel,” and vows “We shall never recognize Israel.” Internet source quoted by MEMRI, May 11, 2018.26

• Hamas Gaza Deputy Chief Khalil al-Hayya explains that the purpose of Monday’s demonstration is “to draw the map of return in blood.” New York Times, May 14, 2018.27

Other Hamas admissions showing border violence is part of ongoing armed conflict between Hamas and Israel, and is instigated and supported by Hamas

• Hamas spokesman Hazem Qassem admits that Hamas pays $200 to $3,000 to the families of Gazans killed or wounded in the rallies. Hamas website (quoted by MEMRI), April 5, 2018.28

• Hamas co-founder Mahmoud al-Zahhar admits to Al Jazeera that calling the border protests “peaceful resistance” is “deceiving the public.” Al-Jazeera (quoted by MEMRI), May 13, 2018 statement.29

• Hamas Politburo member Salah al-Bardawil admits in TV interview that 50 out of 62 people killed on May 14 were Hamas members, and more than 50% of those killed at border since March 1 were Hamas members. Baladna TV (quoted by MEMRI and Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center), May 14, 2018.30

• Hamas press release admits that the marches are being conducted by “the organizations of jihad fighters,” and managed and supervised by “combat organizations,” concluding “This is jihad — victory or causing death in the way of Allah.” Hamas press release (published by Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs).31

30 https://www.memri.org/tv/senior-hamas-politburo-member-bardawil-fifty-martyrs-were-hamas-members;
Rioters at the Gaza border fence are well-organized into military-style units, each responsible for different type of tactics against Israel

- Video of *Sons of Zoari* kite-burning unit boasts of using kites “just like the ones kids fly on the beach,” to set fire to Israeli fields, and threatening to send hundreds of explosive kites into Israel. Al-Jazeera and Wattan News Agency (quoted by MEMRI).  

- Video of Fence-cutters Unit rallying the crowd with antisemitic chants of “Khaybar, khaybar, O Jews!” and calls to liberate Palestine, and boasting that they had cut the Israel-Gaza border fence. Al-Aqsa TV (quoted by MEMRI).  

- Video of Tire-burning Unit rallying the crowd against the Jews, chanting the antisemitic slogan “Khaybar, khaybar, O Jews!” Footage posted on the internet (quoted by MEMRI).  

**Palestinian use “March of Return” as a cover for militant activity and attacks on the Israel-Gaza border fence**

- Video footage of violent rioters and terrorists at the Gaza-Israel border hurling rocks and explosives, cutting fence, burning tires, launching arson balloons. “Behind the Smokescreen,” documentary by Pierre Rehov.  

- Video and photos of violence at the Gaza border, including cutting the border fence, and launching projectiles into Israel. Border violence in Gaza includes shootings, Molotov cocktails, explosive devices, catapults to launch rockets, slingshots to throw steel ball bearings, burning thousands of tires next to the border, dropping burning objects from the air, sabotaging the border fence, and throwing stones. Various media sources, cited by Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs.

35 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RsQ3ngyYWVM.  
- Video of Gaza Fence Cutters Unit cutting fence with wire cutters, crossing to the Israeli side, and setting a fire at the fence. Video also depicts tire burning and other violence. Palestinian YouTube accounts (quoted by MEMRI).

- Video of catapult machine at Gaza border clashes. Palestinian YouTube video (quoted by MEMRI).

- Instructions posted on “March of Return” Facebook page for May 14, 2018, telling protesters to bring weapons (knife, dagger, or handgun), and approach the fence en masse. Palestinian Facebook pages for “March of Return” and “Gaza Now” and March of Return forum on PALDF website (quoted by Palestinian Media Watch).

- Photos of violence at the Gaza border May 11, 2018. Various Palestinian media sources, including Shehab News Agency and Hamas Twitter account (cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center).

- Photos and discussion of violence at the Gaza border on May 14-15, 2018 (throwing pipe bombs and Molotov cocktails at the fence; launching explosive kites into Israel; shooting attacks; and planting explosives). Various Palestinian media sources, including Facebook Page of Beit Hanoun News (cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center).

- Photos and video of Hamas wire cutters cutting border fence on May 14, 2018. Various Palestinian media sources, including Facebook Page of Shehab News Agency and Hamas media committee in Beit Hanoun (cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center).

- Violence at the Gaza border on June 8, 2018 included gunfire, throwing IEDs, flying incendiary kites, and flying kites and balloons with IEDs attached to their tails. March of Return Facebook page and other Palestinian media

(cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center).

- Photo of ax wielded by Palestinian rioter shot and killed by IDF while attempting to infiltrate Israel. Haaretz.

- Teenage boy killed while attempting to sabotage border fence. Palestinian Facebook pages and Hamas Information Committee in Beit Hanoun (cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center).


- Video of rioters crossing security fence and entering IDF post during August 3 “return march.” March of Return Facebook page (cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center): 47

- Photos of hand grenades thrown at IDF soldiers and other violence during September 28 “return march.” IDF spokesperson, Hamas Twitter account, other Palestinian sources (cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center).

- Photos of rioters sabotaging security fence and entering Israeli territory during October 6 “march of return.” Hamas Twitter account (cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center).

- Photos, video, and statements regarding violence at Gaza border October 2018, including arson kites, tire-burning, sling shots, and explosive devices.

Photos and video footage of May 14, 2018 riots along Gaza border fence. IDF website.

Photos and video posted on IDF Twitter account:

- Photo of weapons found on Palestinian terrorists who were shot and killed by the IDF as they attempted to infiltrate Israel May 6, 2018.
- Video footage of violence by rioters at the Gaza border.
- Photo from March of Return Facebook page depicting map of border area and how rioters infiltrating Israel can reach the nearest Israeli communities.
- Video footage of Palestinian terrorists attempting to place explosive device at border fence.
- Video footage of Palestinians setting tires on fire along the Gaza border fence and using cover of smoke to cut through the fence.
- Video footage of Palestinian violence at the Gaza border, including burning tires, throwing an IED, attempting to infiltrate Israel, launching arson kites.
- Video of Palestinian terrorists armed with knives crossing into Israel shouting “Allahu Akbar!” and “We are coming for their hearts.”
- Photos of violence at the Gaza border May 15, 2018, including arson kite, explosives, wire cutter, stone throwing, Molotov cocktails and

50 https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-5364727,00.html
52 https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/993132543192059905
53 https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/99497492451725314
54 https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/995672742707040256
55 https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/99599558562443264
56 https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/996473502785032193
57 https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/997160483856769024
58 https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/997099787550851072
burning tires.\textsuperscript{59}

- Video footage of Palestinian terrorists destroying Gaza border fence.\textsuperscript{60}
- Video footage of armed Hamas terrorists hurling pipe bombs and grenades at IDF soldiers and security fence.\textsuperscript{61}
- Video of Palestinian terrorists breaching Gaza border fence and infiltrating into Israel on May 26, 2018.\textsuperscript{62}

- Twitter account of \textbf{Joe Truzman}, an Oregon-based freelancer, respected by numerous journalists and government officials, who tweets daily photos, videos, and statements collected from various sources in the Gaza Strip: \textsuperscript{63}
  - Video of instructions for how to properly cut the fence.\textsuperscript{64}
  - Photos of Molotov cocktails being assembled at Gaza border May 14, 2018.\textsuperscript{65}
  - Video footage and photo of masses of Palestinians running to the Gaza border fence May 14, 2018.\textsuperscript{66}
  - Photos from scene where 8 Hamas gunmen attempted to breach border fence and were shot by IDF.\textsuperscript{67}
  - Photos of Palestinians cutting through border fence with wire cutters, being arrested by IDF.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{59} \url{https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/996427205944184832}.
\textsuperscript{60} \url{https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/996390220873510912}.
\textsuperscript{61} \url{https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/996398196040654848}.
\textsuperscript{62} \url{https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/1000339793312698368}.
\textsuperscript{63} \url{https://www.jns.org/opinion/joe-from-twitter-meet-the-man-bringing-objectivity-back-to-middle-east-reporting-in-280-characters-or-less/}.
\textsuperscript{64} \url{https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/995738302698348544}.
\textsuperscript{65} \url{https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/995928538661376000}.
\textsuperscript{66} \url{https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/995946458644803584}; \url{https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/99594467808569345}.
\textsuperscript{67} \url{https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/996429072409513986}.
\textsuperscript{68} \url{https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/996454484061503488}. 
- Video footage of Palestinians violently attacking border fence.\(^\text{69}\)

- Photos and video of terrorists from Gaza shooting at IDF and Israeli homes in Sderot. Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades claims responsibility.\(^\text{70}\)

- Video footage of attack on IDF jeep at Gaza border.\(^\text{71}\)

- Video footage of Palestinian border infiltration into Israel and burning of IDF sniper tent.\(^\text{72}\)

- Photos of protesters and IDF soldiers at the fence, shows soldiers exercising restraint.\(^\text{73}\)

- Video footage of Gazans cutting fence, infiltrating Israel and setting a fire.\(^\text{74}\)

- Video footage of IDF vehicle dispersing rock throwers at the Gaza border fence.\(^\text{75}\)

- Video of IED being exploded near Gaza fence intended to target Israeli soldiers.\(^\text{76}\)

- **Hamas Twitter account (@PalinfoAr):**

  - Photos of rioters near border fence May 4, 2018 with wire cutters, smoke from burning tires, sling shots.\(^\text{77}\)

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\(^\text{69}\) [https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/996519106563137536](https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/996519106563137536).


\(^\text{71}\) [https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/997728018381488128](https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/997728018381488128).


\(^\text{73}\) [https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1000274381904400384](https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1000274381904400384).

\(^\text{74}\) [https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1000409530767785985](https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1000409530767785985).

\(^\text{75}\) [https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1000455767571415040;](https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1000455767571415040) [https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1000456255108874241](https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1000456255108874241).

\(^\text{76}\) [https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1000632196732829697](https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1000632196732829697).

\(^\text{77}\) [https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/992441673409024000](https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/992441673409024000).
○ Photos of tire-burning and sling shot use at Gaza border May 4, 2018.78

○ Photos of Palestinian mobs with wire cutters and sling shots May 11, 2018.79

○ Photos and video footage of rioters crossing border fence May 11-12, 2018.80

○ Photos of rioters cutting Gaza/Israel border fence May 13, 2018.81

○ Photos of tire-burning, use of sling shots, and violence at Gaza border May 14, 2018.82

○ Video footage of violence during border riots May 15, 2018, including rock throwing, tire burning, cutting through the fence.83

○ Photos of Gaza border violence, including use of sling shots, May 18, 2018.84

○ Photos and video footage of violence at Gaza border riots, including woman using sling shot and burning tires May 25, 2018.85

So-called peaceful protesters admit they intend to breach fence and attack and kill Israelis (examples of quotes below)

● Twitter account of Emad Aql of Gaza (quoted by MEMRI) saying “[The Israeli town of] Sderot is only 700 meters east of [the Palestinian town of] Beit Hanoun in northern Gaza. The headquarters of the Israeli army is there,

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78 https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/992488872524374019.
79 https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/994930417785561088.
80 https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/995233804510990336; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/995006880610246657.
81 https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/9955897156212002816.
83 https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/996502411744370688.
84 https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/997589115976736768.
85 https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/1000140909407817728; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/1000132255925329925; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/99829638724685824.
and houses about 800 pigs. [The town] can be reached in two minutes on motorcycles or in 5-8 minutes at a brisk run”; and urging “Murder, slaughter, burn and never show them any mercy.”

- **Gazan Facebook user (quoted by MEMRI)**: “Kibbutz Kerem Shalom, east of Rafah, is only 300 meters from the border. It has turkey pens, a football field and a pool, [although] it houses only 15 families. Pounce on them with knives.”

- **Twitter account of Ahmed Ahmed of Gaza (quoted by MEMRI)**: “To anyone who succeeds in entering occupied soil: There is a fat fish waiting for us very close by: the settlement is Be’eri, located 4-4.5 kilometers from eastern Gaza... It is considered to be one of the richest settlements, and houses 900 settlers.”

- **Twitter account of Muhammad Al-Bursh (quoted by MEMRI)**: “People and residents of Gaza! With Allah’s help, afternoon prayers will be held in the Gaza border settlements of Nativ Ha-Asara, Erez, Sderot, Nir Am [and] Mefalsim...During your sacred advance tomorrow, I direct you not to kill children, women or very elderly people...”

- **“Palestine Unites Us” Facebook page (quoted by MEMRI)**: “Oh Jew, you do not belong here... [you have] no state here, only fear and terror.”

- **Hamas’s Al-Aqsa TV (quoted by MEMRI)**: “We, the rebel youth of the Gaza Strip, east of the Jebalia refugee camp, convey a message to the settlers along the border of the Gaza Strip: Leave immediately, before it is too late! The Palestinian revolution will not cease until victory or martyrdom!”

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86 [https://www.memri.org/reports/great-return-march-campaign-initiative-sponsored-hamas-whose-goal-was-breach-border-fence](https://www.memri.org/reports/great-return-march-campaign-initiative-sponsored-hamas-whose-goal-was-breach-border-fence).
87 *Id.*
88 *Id.*
89 *Id.*
90 *Id.*
91 *Id.*
Palestinian terrorists assault Israel with explosive balloons and kites, causing millions of dollars in damage to Israeli environment and agriculture, and terrorizing Israeli civilians

- Al-Jazeera and Wattan News Agency (quoted by MEMRI): TV interview with “Sons of Zouari” unit responsible for flying incendiary devices into Israel and burning Israeli fields.92

- Various Palestinian news outlets (quoted by MEMRI): Photos of Hamas explosive kite and fire in Israeli fields, excerpts from Arab press praising the kite terrorism.93

- Palestinian, Israeli, and other sources (quoted by Palestinian Media Watch): Photos of Hamas Kite terrorists and devastation on Israeli side of the fence, along with information and statistics about the damage.94

- IDF Twitter account: Video footage of arson kites being launched and setting fires in Israel, as Palestinian terrorists proclaim: “Allah willing, the Jews hearts will burn.”95

- Joe Truzman Twitter account:
  - Video footage of incendiary kites launched from Gaza sparking fires in Israel, May 2, 2018.96
  - Video footage of Palestinians displaying incendiary kites ready to be launched to set fires on the Israeli side of the fence.97
  - Video footage of Palestinian launching incendiary balloons and setting fire to territory in Israel.98

92 https://www.memri.org/tv/gaza-activists-use-firebomb-kites-set-fire-to-israeli-fields
93 https://www.memri.org/reports/arab-press-praises-kite-terror-against-israel
95 https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/993134819365281792.
97 https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/992326479340961792.
98 https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/994096114688299008.
○ Video footage of IDF attempting to put out fires sparked by incendiary kites from Gaza May 11, 2018.99

○ Video footage of fires in Israel caused by incendiary kite from Gaza.100

○ Video footage of fire on Israeli side of security fence started by incendiary kite from Gaza.101

○ Photo of young women at Gaza border readying arson kite to be launched into Israel.102

○ Video footage of fire raging at Kibbutz Be’eri sparked by incendiary kite from Gaza.103

○ Fire at Israeli community of Nahal Oz caused by incendiary device from Gaza.104

○ Video footage of damage to fields in Israel caused by incendiary kite from Gaza.105

○ Video footage of incendiary kite launched from Gaza starting a fire in Israel.106

○ Video of arson balloon being launched and setting fire to fields near Israeli Kibbutz Nahal Oz.107

○ Video footage of incendiary balloon being launched into Israel and starting a fire in Kfar Aza.108

○ Video footage of incendiary devices being launched into Israel.109

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100 https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/995889569429045248.
101 https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/996426458145804288.
102 https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/996524439490592768.
103 https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/997203098576670720.
104 https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/997543592632750086.
105 https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/998332593517903872.
106 https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1001893743211962368.
107 https://twitter.com/Jtruzmah/status/1001970997820616704.
• Hamas Twitter account (PalinfoAr):

  ○ Photo of Israeli firefighters putting out fires sparked by Palestinian arson terrorism at Israeli kibbutz near Gaza border May 2, 2018.\(^\text{110}\)

  ○ Photos of fires in Israeli agricultural field ignited by arson balloons from Gaza, May 7, 2018.\(^\text{111}\)

  ○ Photo of destruction of Israeli farm land caused by incendiary balloon from Gaza, May 8, 2018.\(^\text{112}\)

  ○ Photo of fire in Kibbutz Kfar Azza ignited by arson kite from Gaza, May 9, 2018.\(^\text{113}\)

  ○ Photos of fires in Israel sparked by Palestinian arson kite, May 12, 2018.\(^\text{114}\)

  ○ Photo of fire in Kibbutz Nahal Oz sparked by Palestinian arson terrorism, May 13, 2018.\(^\text{115}\)

  ○ Photo of fires in Israel sparked by Palestinian incendiary kites, May 14, 2018.\(^\text{116}\)

  ○ Photo of fires in Israel sparked by Palestinian arson kites, May 15, 2018.\(^\text{117}\)

\(^{110}\) https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/9916866804820992; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/991681132814065665.

\(^{111}\) https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/993730741585444564; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/993479237050028032.

\(^{112}\) https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/993781629851140096.

\(^{113}\) https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/994212339695128578.

\(^{114}\) https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/995312331361046528; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/995209546032386048.

\(^{115}\) https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/995779677431136256.

\(^{116}\) https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/995970257058783234.

\(^{117}\) https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/996343350872637441.
- Photos and video footage of fires in Israeli fields sparked by Palestinian arson terrorism, May 17-18, 2018.\textsuperscript{118}

- Photos of fires in Israel sparked by Palestinian arson terrorism, May 20, 2018.\textsuperscript{119}

- Photos of fires in Israel, including near railway, sparked by Palestinian arson terrorism, May 23, 2018.\textsuperscript{120}

- Photo of Palestinian border rioters launching incendiary kite near Gaza border.\textsuperscript{121}

- Photos of fire sparked by Palestinian arson terrorism, May 27, 2018.\textsuperscript{122}

- Photos of fire sparked by Palestinian arson kite, May 28, 2018.\textsuperscript{123}

- Video footage of fires in Israel from Palestinian arson kites, May 30, 2018. \textsuperscript{124}

- **Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center**: June 8, 2018, incendiary kites flown into Israel cause 40 fires.\textsuperscript{125}

- **Palestinian Facebook pages (cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center)** Photos of arson terrorism. As of June 19, 2018, Israel had suffered from 75 consecutive days of fires (over 400 fires), burning over 6,000 of fields and forests, and causing approximately $2.5

\textsuperscript{118} https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/997404517204398080; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/997355924019916800; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/997093444341428225.

\textsuperscript{119} https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/998169132653797376; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/998167318239809537; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/998125167732719616.

\textsuperscript{120} https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/999382015555317761; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/999312941100955650; https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/999270749121675264.

\textsuperscript{121} https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/999620041854332930.

\textsuperscript{122} https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/1000974677165125632.

\textsuperscript{123} https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/1001079394453082112.

\textsuperscript{124} https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/1001820381638995968.

million in damages.\textsuperscript{126}

- **IDF and Hamas-affiliated Facebook pages (cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center):** Hamas leads arson terrorism, manufacturing kites, transporting them to launching sites, and scheduling launches which are carried out by Hamas operatives.\textsuperscript{127}

- **Ynet and Haaretz:** In at least two separate incidents in July and November, incendiary balloons from Gaza land in Israeli kindergartens near Gaza border.\textsuperscript{128}

- **USA Today:** Photo of damage to Israeli wheat fields from Gaza kite terrorism and interviews with Israeli Gaza-border residents July 19, 2018.\textsuperscript{129}

- **Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs:** Photo of damage from arson terrorism, which as of August 8, 2018 had burned over 7,400 acres, killed hundreds of chickens and turkeys, destroyed dozens of beehives, causing $3 million in damage to local farmers.\textsuperscript{130}

- **Otef.Gaza Instagram account:** Photo of damage from arson terrorism October 19, 2018.\textsuperscript{131}

**Palestinian terrorists vandalize Kerem Shalom border crossing, preventing humanitarian aid from entering Gaza**

- **IDF website:** Photo and video of damage to Gaza fuel lines caused by rioters.\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{129} https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2018/07/19/israeli-farmers-ecological-disaster/794330002/
\textsuperscript{130} https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Terrorism/Pages/Arson-terror-from-Gaza-continues-to-devastate-southern-Israel-8-August-2018.aspx
\textsuperscript{131} https://www.instagram.com/p/BpHkWUvH2dP/
• **IDF spokesperson and Palestinian Facebook pages (cited by Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center):** Hundreds of rioters break into Kerem Shalom crossing, cause hundreds of millions of shekels in damages when they destroy humanitarian equipment and damage the fuel terminal.133

• **Joe Truzman Twitter account:** Video footage and photos of Palestinians burning Kerem Shalom humanitarian crossing May 4, 2018.134

• **IDF Twitter account:**
  ○ Photo of Palestinians setting fire to Kerem Shalom humanitarian crossing, May 11, 2018.135
  ○ Photo of Palestinians setting fire to Kerem Shalom humanitarian crossing, May 14, 2018.136

• **Hamas Twitter account (@palinfoAr)**
  ○ Photo of fire inside Kerem Shhalom crossing set by Palestinian rioters.137

_Hamas deliberately uses women and children as human shields and hides among civilians_

• **IDF Twitter account:**
  ○ Video footage of rioters actively involving children in the violence and using them for cover.138
  ○ Video footage of group of rioters running towards fence under cover of heavy smoke, holding stretcher with purportedly injured rioter. As the group nears the fence, the rioter on the stretcher gets up, jumps off


135 [https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/995007857446834176.](https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/995007857446834176.)

136 [https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/996079791051870209.](https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/996079791051870209.)

137 [https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/992456149537521666.](https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/992456149537521666.)

138 [https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/992815363581775872.](https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/992815363581775872.)
stretcher and joins the rush towards the fence.\footnote{139}{https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/992815574857199616.}

- Video footage of Gaza children engaging in violence at Gaza border riots.\footnote{140}{https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/996051651399208960.}

- Hamas rioter captured by Israel admitted Hamas’s use of human shields: “They [Hamas] tell women to go forward. They say to a woman: Go ahead, you’re a woman and the army doesn’t shoot women. They tell small children: Go ahead, the army doesn’t shoot small children. They tell a child to go ahead and he goes. It’s a small child. They trick him.”\footnote{141}{https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/996798515249598465; see also https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-5263044,00.html.}

- “\textit{Behind the Smokescreen,” documentary by Pierre Rehov:} Video footage showing how Hamas exploits women and children at the front lines, and manipulates outside media.\footnote{142}{https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RcQ3ngyYWVM.}

- \textit{Al-Jazeera (quoted by MEMRI):} On May 16, Hamas leader Yehya Sinwar admitted the use of women and children as human shields to \textit{Al-Jazeera:} “When we decided to embark on these marches, we decided to turn that which is most dear to us – the bodies of our women and children – into a dam blocking the collapse in Arab reality.”\footnote{143}{https://www.memri.org/reports/hamas-leader-gaza-yahya-sinwar-our-people-took-their-military-uniforms-and-joined-marches.}

- \textit{New York Times:} Hamas leaders rallied the crowds, shouting “Get closer! Get closer!” to the fence; and “We don’t want just one or two people to get closer, we want a big group.”\footnote{144}{https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/14/world/middleeast/gaza-protests-palestinians-us-embassy.html.}

- \textit{Hamas Twitter account (@PalinfoAr):}
  - Photos of Palestinian women participating in violence near Gaza border fence. May 4, 2018\footnote{145}{https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/992462300715126784.}; May 11, 2018\footnote{146}{https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/995011688746205184.}; and May 15, 2018.\footnote{147}{https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/996206687768981504.}
Photo of Palestinian boy learning how to use sling-shot at border protests May 27 2018.148

Israel ensures Palestinians receive humanitarian and medical aid while Hamas prevents medical aid from entering Gaza

- **IDF Twitter account:**
  - Photos and video footage of humanitarian aid transferred to Gaza May 15, 2018.149
  - Hamas refuses to allow medical aid to enter Gaza.150
  - Photo and video of Jordanian ambulances transferring injured at Erez crossing.151
  - Photo of humanitarian aid entering Gaza through Erez crossing.152

- **COGAT Twitter account.** COGAT is the initials for the Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories, the Israeli entity responsible for implementing the government’s civilian policy within Judea, Samaria, and towards Gaza.153
  - Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing week of April 4, 2018.154
  - Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing April 11, 2018.155
  - Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing week of April 15, 2018.156

148 https://twitter.com/PalinfoAr/status/1000556821088817158.
150 https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/996711039164133396.
152 https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/997510784493252609.
154 https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/984482278133903362.
155 https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/984057478899003394.
156 https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/988463259396198400.
○ Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing April 16, 2018.\textsuperscript{157}

○ Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing April 17, 2018.\textsuperscript{158}

○ Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing April 23, 2018.\textsuperscript{159}

○ Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing April 24, 2018.\textsuperscript{160}

○ Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing April 25, 2018.\textsuperscript{161}

○ Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing April 26, 2018.\textsuperscript{162}

○ Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing May 1, 2018.\textsuperscript{163}

○ Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing May 8, 2018.\textsuperscript{164}

○ Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing and Gazans crossing into Israel for humanitarian purposes, May 9, 2018.\textsuperscript{165}

\textsuperscript{157} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/985845008204009472.
\textsuperscript{158} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/986229540610625541.
\textsuperscript{159} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/988417458016083968.
\textsuperscript{160} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/988770282214223872.
\textsuperscript{161} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/989115809627889664.
\textsuperscript{162} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/989504621608452097.
\textsuperscript{163} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/991305487860711424.
\textsuperscript{164} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/99384217557512192.
\textsuperscript{165} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/994216670641045504; https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/994193266022199298.
purposes, May 10, 2018.\textsuperscript{166}

- Video footage of Kerem Shalom crossing being reopened after destruction by rioters May 15, 2018.\textsuperscript{167}

- Hamas refuses humanitarian aid from Israel. Source: COGAT Twitter account.\textsuperscript{168}

- Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing and Gazans crossing into Israel for humanitarian purposes, May 16, 2018.\textsuperscript{169}

- Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing and Gazans crossing into Israel for humanitarian purposes, May 17, 2018.\textsuperscript{170}

- Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing and Gazans crossing into Israel for humanitarian purposes, May 23, 2018.\textsuperscript{171}

- Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing and Gazans crossing into Israel for humanitarian purposes, May 24, 2018.\textsuperscript{172}

\textsuperscript{166} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/994581070757511168; https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/994559428014686208.

\textsuperscript{167} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/996461196143456257.

\textsuperscript{168} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/996650537662779392.

\textsuperscript{169} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/996754895205216258; https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/996747346464727042.


\textsuperscript{172} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/999673123837501440; https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/999656766471331840; https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/99963663526796288.
○ Statistics on humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing during last week of May 2018.\textsuperscript{173}

○ Statistics regarding humanitarian aid entering Gaza via Kerem Shalom crossing and Gazans crossing into Israel for humanitarian purposes, May 29, 2018.\textsuperscript{174}

\textit{Testimony by Israeli residents of Gaza border towns about life in the shadow of Hamas terrorism}

- \textbf{Times of Israel}: “Seeing my father going out to put out fires almost every day for the last eight months and then seeing him coming home smelling of smoke, and seeing in his eyes another burnt field and another animal covered in soot — yes, that too is traumatic.”\textsuperscript{175}

- \textbf{The Spectator}: “Israeli children living in the border communities report markedly higher mental health problems than the rest of the country. Three of Davidi’s children have been diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder.”\textsuperscript{176}

- \textbf{Jerusalem Post}: “Just last week, a kite with an explosive device landed in the Kibbutz schoolyard...The Kibbutz members received a friendly WhatsApp to remind their children never to touch kites or balloons.”\textsuperscript{177}

- \textbf{Ynet}: “Residents of Kerem Shalom, and particularly young children, have been suffering from breathing difficulties and vomiting caused by the smoke of the burning tires...‘In recent days, there were grave incidents of children walking around outside when all of a sudden a wave of tear gas and black smoke came. They simply lay down on the floor and couldn't breathe.’”\textsuperscript{178}

\textsuperscript{173} https://twitter.com/cogat_israel/status/1001133747847086080.
\textsuperscript{177} https://www.pressreader.com/israel/the-jerusalem-post-magazine/20180622/281891593999700.
\textsuperscript{178} https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-5363660,00.html.
• **Otef.Gaza Instagram account**: “We are children living in the Gaza border envelope... Every day we experience Molotov kites, explosive balloons, tear gas explosions which we breathe and are suffocated by...”\(^{179}\)

\(^{179}\) [https://www.instagram.com/p/BpFOGMJHUmP/](https://www.instagram.com/p/BpFOGMJHUmP/)