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DATA REPORT AUGUST 10, 2026

Does Amnesty International Describe Israel's Actions as Genocide and Apartheid? Reading the Published Documents and the Record Around Them

Two dated documents, one internal rejection, a named legal disagreement over intent, and the counts each party publishes.

Antisemitism Research

Genocide

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Yes, in two separate documents published four years apart. Amnesty International published a report in February 2022 titled “Israel’s apartheid against Palestinians: a cruel system of domination and a crime against humanity,” and in December 2024 published a report stating it had found a “sufficient basis to conclude” that Israel “has committed and is continuing to commit genocide” against Palestinians in the occupied Gaza Strip. Both are the organization’s own conclusions on its own application of two treaty definitions, and the record around them includes a public rejection by the organization’s own Israeli section, published legal disagreement over how genocidal intent was inferred, and counts published by the Israeli government and by Israeli research institutes that answer the charge on different terms.

Key Findings

- Among 1,504 comments on the Facebook pages of leading British media outlets during the May 2021 escalation, 26.9% were coded antisemitic against an IHRA-based scheme; within those antisemitic comments, the apartheid analogy appeared in 5.2% and the Nazi

analogy in 4.2% (Becker, Ascone and Troschke, 2022, peer-reviewed; categories are non-exclusive).

- Two nationally representative Norwegian surveys, one of 1,575 respondents and a preregistered replication of 1,653, found endorsement of Holocaust inversion, the belief that Israel treats Palestinians as badly as Jews were treated during the Second World War, associated with justification of harassment and violence against Jews (Enstad, 2026, peer-reviewed, abstract-sourced).
- Across three preregistered studies, the Conspiracies Mediated Model of New Antisemitism accounted for **over 55% of the variance in anti-Israel attitudes**, with conspiracy beliefs implicating Israel and Zionists mediating the association between antisemitism and those attitudes (Harber, Bulska, Malloy and Vila, 2026).
- The Israel Defense Forces stated at a briefing on 29 February 2024 that it had killed over 13,000 people it describes as terrorists in Gaza, the military's own count on its own classification.
- The Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs published a ceiling of at most 41,000 for civilians in Gaza who have died of war-related causes through October 2025, arithmetic it derived from inputs its own page states have not been independently confirmed.

Does Amnesty International say Israel committed genocide in Gaza?

Yes. In a report published in December 2024, Amnesty International stated that it had found a "sufficient basis to conclude" that Israel "has committed and is continuing to commit genocide" against Palestinians in the occupied Gaza Strip. That is the organization's own determination, reached on its own application of the Genocide Convention, published by an international human-rights advocacy organization rather than by a court.

The definition the conclusion is measured against is a treaty text. The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948, defines genocide in Article II as any of five enumerated acts, including killing members of the group and deliberately inflicting on the

group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part, “committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such.” The Convention therefore requires two things at once: a listed act, and the specific intent behind it.

Amnesty International’s subsequent country reporting for Israel and the occupied Palestinian territory carries the same wording forward, stating that Israel “continued to commit the crimes of genocide and apartheid.” That page is the organization’s annual country reporting rather than the December 2024 report itself, so the two are distinct documents making the same characterization.

The BBC reported the December 2024 publication as a genocide accusation and recorded that Israel rejected it, which is the state of the public record: an organizational finding, published and dated, and a rejection by the government it names. Neither is a judicial determination, and the sections below set out what the courts, the parties and the peer-reviewed literature have on record around it.

Is the apartheid finding a separate Amnesty report?

It is a separate and earlier document. Amnesty International published “Israel’s apartheid against Palestinians: a cruel system of domination and a crime against humanity” in February 2022, two years and ten months before the genocide report of December 2024. The Council on Foreign Relations, in its account of the organization, records the 2022 report as the source of the apartheid accusation.

The two characterizations rest on different treaty definitions, and the difference is not one of degree. The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 30 November 1973, defines the crime as inhuman acts committed “for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them.” Article 7(2)(h) of the Rome Statute, adopted on 17 July 1998, defines apartheid similarly as inhumane acts “committed in the context of an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over

any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime.”

The operative element in both apartheid texts is an institutionalized regime maintained over time. The operative element in Article II of the 1948 Genocide Convention is intent to destroy a group in whole or in part. A finding of one does not entail the other, and Amnesty International published them as two documents, on two dates, with two separate evidentiary records behind them.

A reader tracing the claim to its source therefore has two documents to read rather than one standing position, and the country-reporting page that states both together is a summary of the two, published after both. Where the characterization appears in circulation without a date, **February 2022** is the date attached to apartheid and December 2024 the date attached to genocide.

How many incidents did Amnesty’s genocide report examine?

Fifteen. Amnesty International’s December 2024 report states that it reviewed 15 Israeli air strikes carried out between 7 October 2023 and 20 April 2024, an incident sample spanning roughly six and a half months, alongside interviews and documentary material the organization gathered itself. The report presents that sample as part of the basis for its legal conclusion.

The casualty figures attached to the sample are the organization’s own count: at least 334 civilians killed, including 141 children, and hundreds more wounded across the 15 strikes. Those numbers describe the reviewed incidents, not the war, and they are published by the organization that reviewed them rather than compiled from an official register.

The population figure that travels alongside coverage of the report, roughly 2.3 million residents of Gaza, is a population estimate carried in secondary reporting rather than a measured finding of the report. The official series is published by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, which reports that roughly 2.2 million people were living in Gaza on the eve of the war, nearly two million of them subsequently displaced, and puts the population at about **2.13 million at the end of 2025**, a decline of approximately 254,000 people, which the

Bureau states is a decrease of 10.6% against pre-aggression population estimates. The Bureau attributes that change to war-related deaths, missing persons, reduced births and forced out-migration, so it is a demographic net decline and not a death toll.

The same Bureau brief separately reports 70,942 deaths in Gaza by the end of December 2025, a figure it attributes to the Palestinian Ministry of Health rather than measuring itself. Those are estimates rather than enumeration, and the Bureau says so; the last full census in the territory was conducted in December 2017, when 1,899,291 residents were counted in the Gaza Strip. Every later total in the series, on any side of the dispute, is a projection off that measured base rather than a count.

Did Amnesty's Israeli section accept the genocide finding?

No. Amnesty International Israel, one of the organization's own national sections, published a statement that it does not accept the main findings of the December 2024 genocide report, and The Guardian reported on 5 December 2024 that the Israel branch had distanced itself from the report within days of its publication. The split is internal to a single organization and is on the public record from both sides.

The disagreement did not stay a matter of published statements. The Council on Foreign Relations subsequently published an account of the suspension of Amnesty International's Israel branch, which records the institutional consequence that followed the dispute. Read together, the two dates show a global organization publishing a conclusion in December 2024 and a national section of the same organization declining to endorse it, with the relationship between them altered afterward.

This matters for how the finding is described. A report published under an organization's name is not, on this record, a position held uniformly across its structure, and the section closest to the country named was the section that dissented. Where the characterization is cited, the accurate description is that the international organization published it and its Israeli section rejected its main findings.

The dissent was over the report's conclusions rather than over the underlying documentation, and the statement did not supply an alternative count of the incidents

reviewed. No competing incident sample was published by the section, so the disagreement is recorded as one over the finding and not as a rival measurement.

What do legal analysts dispute in Amnesty's genocide determination?

The dispute is narrow and specific: it turns on intent. Just Security, the online legal-analysis publication run out of New York University School of Law, published critical observations on the December 2024 report centering on how genocidal intent was inferred, and on the distance between that approach and the standard applied in international jurisprudence, under which genocidal intent must be the only reasonable inference available from the pattern of conduct.

The reason the point is load-bearing sits in the treaty text. Article II of the 1948 Genocide Convention requires both an enumerated act and the specific intent to destroy a protected group in whole or in part. Acts alone, however grave and however well documented, do not meet the definition without that mental element, and the International Court of Justice used the “only reasonable inference” formulation in its 2007 judgment in *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro* and again in its 2015 judgment in *Croatia v. Serbia*. Where an organization's report and a body of legal commentary differ, on this record they differ over what threshold that inference must clear, not over whether the documented acts occurred.

Domestic courts have so far not reached the question. In *Defense for Children International-Palestine v. Biden*, the United States District Court for the Northern District of California dismissed the suit in January 2024, holding the claim a nonjusticiable political question, a ruling on the court's jurisdiction rather than on the merits of the characterization. **No United States federal court has ruled on whether the conduct meets the Article II definition**, and the one suit that put the question before a federal judge was resolved without reaching it.

That leaves the characterization where the record actually places it: as a published conclusion by an advocacy organization, disputed in named legal commentary on the intent element, with the domestic judicial record silent on the substance because the only suit to raise it was dismissed on jurisdictional grounds.

How does Israel's government answer the genocide charge?

Israel rejects the characterization and publishes its own operational counts. The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that more than 106,000 aid trucks carrying over two million tons of food, water, medicine and equipment entered the Gaza Strip between the October 2023 attack and 14 September 2025. That is the ministry's own reported count as a party to the conflict, published by it and not independently verified.

The Israel Defense Forces publish counts of their own on the same footing. At a briefing on 29 February 2024, the IDF Spokesperson stated that the military had killed over 13,000 people it describes as terrorists in Gaza since the beginning of the war. Both the count and the classification are the military's own; combatant and civilian classification in this conflict is contested, and the figure is stated as a floor rather than an exact total. On 19 August 2025 the IDF published a cumulative figure of over 1.9 million tons of aid delivered since the start of the war, again its own self-published total.

The Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories, a unit of the Israeli Ministry of Defense, reported in July 2026 that **1,778,363 metric tons of food** entered Gaza between 10 October 2025 and 7 June 2026, and put that against the World Food Programme's monthly requirement benchmark at nearly threefold. COGAT's own report states that tonnages rest on self-declaration by humanitarian organizations and private-sector providers rather than on weighing at the crossings, so the numerator is a party's record of what was declared. The same report gives a decline of approximately 72% in the Gaza food consumer price index between September 2025 and May 2026 without identifying the source of the price data.

These figures answer a different question from the one the genocide characterization poses. They record what one party states it delivered and whom it states it killed, and they are the tier of evidence that party has published; the wider [documentary record on civilian harm](#) is assembled from counts published on both sides, each carrying the definitions of the body that produced it.

Which Israeli research bodies contest the genocide framing?

Two publish standing rebuttals, and both are advocacy or policy research rather than measurement. The Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs published a ceiling of at most 41,000 for civilians in Gaza who have died of war-related causes through October 2025, arithmetic it derived by subtracting estimated natural deaths and Israel's count of fighters killed from the Gaza Ministry of Health total.

The Center's own page states the limits of that arithmetic plainly: neither the 67,000 total attributed to the Gaza Ministry of Health nor the Israeli estimate of 21,000 fighters killed has been independently confirmed, and it records that the former has been challenged. The **41,000 is therefore a stated ceiling rather than a count**, and it sits alongside the 70,942 deaths the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics reports for the end of December 2025 on the Ministry of Health's attribution. Two parties, two published figures, two sets of inputs neither has verified from the other.

NGO Monitor, the Jerusalem-based organization that examines the funding and output of non-governmental organizations, published in its 2024 annual report its own mapping of what it identifies as an anti-Israel network: 157 groups in the United States with over 3,000 connections between them, and 111 groups in Canada with over 1,800 connections. It also attributes \$28 million in funding cut off to NGOs during 2024 to its own work. All three are the organization's own reported counts, the method and inclusion criteria for the mapping are not stated in the report, and the \$28 million is a self-attributed claim about the effect of its own advocacy rather than an audited total.

The labelling standard here is the same one that applies to the reports these bodies answer. An organization with a stated mission publishing its own analysis is cited as that organization's own work, dated, whichever direction the analysis runs. On this question the published material on both sides is largely of that type, which is why the treaty texts, the court record, the official statistical series and the peer-reviewed measurement below are the tiers that carry the report.

How often does the apartheid framing appear in antisemitic comment corpora?

5.2%. Among comments coded as antisemitic on the Facebook pages of leading British media outlets reacting to the May 2021 escalation, the apartheid analogy appeared in 5.2%, per Becker, Ascone and Troschke (2022), peer-reviewed, coding 1,504 UK comments against a scheme built on the IHRA working definition.

The base rates matter as much as the share. Of the 1,504 UK comments analyzed, **26.9% were coded antisemitic**, against 12.6% of 1,500 French comments and 13.6% of 1,520 German comments. Within the UK antisemitic comments, the “evil” stereotype appeared in 39.8%, Israel’s sole guilt in 27.9%, child murder or blood libel in 8.1%, denial of Jewish self-determination in 7.7%, the apartheid analogy in 5.2% and the Nazi analogy in 4.2%. The categories are non-exclusive, so a single comment may carry more than one and the shares do not partition the corpus. The authors also report that thread context was needed to infer the antisemitic meaning in 38.7% of the UK antisemitic comments.

Framings within antisemitic comments on UK media Facebook pages

SHARE OF CODED ANTISEMITIC COMMENTS INVOKING EACH FRAMING, MAY 2021 ESCALATION



Source: Becker, Ascone and Troschke, 2022, peer-reviewed; 1,504 UK comments. Categories are non-exclusive and do not sum to 100%.

A related framing has been measured at population level rather than in comment sections. Enstad (2026), across two nationally representative Norwegian surveys of 1,575 and 1,653

respondents, measured endorsement of Holocaust inversion, the belief that Israel treats Palestinians as badly as Jews were treated during the Second World War, and found endorsement associated with justification of harassment and violence against Jews and with refusal to take a stance against such aggression. The preregistered second study confirmed the first. Both figures describe how these framings appear in discourse and in survey responses; neither speaks to the legal characterizations themselves.

Do these framings correlate with measured antisemitic attitudes?

Over 55%.

Harber, Bulska, Malloy and Vila (2026), across three preregistered studies with 373, 243 and 493 participants, report that their Conspiracies Mediated Model of New Antisemitism accounted for over 55% of the variance in anti-Israel attitudes, with conspiracy beliefs implicating Israel and Zionists mediating the association between antisemitism and those attitudes.

The specificity of that mediation is the finding's edge. In the same studies, conspiracy beliefs about Jews unrelated to Israel did not mediate the association, and a general conspiratorial mindset did not explain the results. The authors also report that Democrats, compared with Republicans, expressed less antisemitism but stronger anti-Israel attitudes and greater endorsement of anti-Israel and anti-Zionist conspiracy beliefs. These are measured associations in survey samples, correlational by design, and they do not establish direction.

Ozer, Obaidi and Bergh (2025), in two experiments with British samples of 354 and 490 participants that primed participants with war-in-Gaza material, report two separate pathways to anti-Jewish hostility. Political orientation was positively associated with hostility toward Jews through social dominance orientation, a classical right-wing pathway, while conservative orientation was negatively associated with antisemitism through out-group identity fusion with the Palestinian people, a distinct identity-based pathway the authors describe as conflating attitudes toward Israel with prejudice toward Jews. Allington, Hirsh and Katz (2023), in a preregistered survey of 1,790 UK adults, found coronavirus

conspiracy suspicion correlated with all three measured forms of antisemitism, most strongly with attitudes toward Jews as Jews.

None of these studies measures whether a legal characterization is correct, and none of their authors claims otherwise. What they measure is how attitudes toward Israel, conspiracy belief and antisemitic prejudice covary within defined samples, which is a separate question from the treaty question and is measured with separate instruments. Where the boundary between the two sits is [itself an open research question](#), and the studies above report associations at the sample level rather than a definition.

Methodology

This report documents what named bodies have published about two legal characterizations, and what the measured literature reports about how those framings appear in discourse and in survey responses. It draws on five source types, each labelled where it is used.

Treaty texts are cited directly as primary records: the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (1973), and Article 7 of the Rome Statute (1998). Official statistical records are cited to the issuing body: the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics for the 2017 census count and the end-2025 population estimates, which the Bureau itself describes as estimates rather than enumeration, and whose 254,000 decline is a demographic net change reflecting deaths, missing persons, reduced births and out-migration, not a casualty count. Court records are cited as orders: the United States District Court for the Northern District of California dismissed *Defense for Children International-Palestine v. Biden* in January 2024 on political-question grounds, a jurisdictional disposition.

Parties' own counts are labelled as such throughout and are not independently verified. This covers the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2025), the Israel Defense Forces (2024 and 2025) and COGAT (2026), whose tonnage figures rest on self-declaration by humanitarian organizations and providers rather than on weighing at the crossings, and whose combatant classifications are the military's own and contested. Organizational publications, including those of Amnesty International (2022 and 2024), the Jerusalem Center for Security and

Foreign Affairs (2025) and NGO Monitor (2025), are named, dated and carried as the publishing body's own determination, with the same labelling standard applied in every direction.

Peer-reviewed measurement carries the discourse layer. Becker, Ascone and Troschke (2022) analyzed 4,500 comments across three languages during one escalation in May 2021, so its shares describe media comment sections at a particular moment, and its categories are non-exclusive and do not sum to a whole. Enstad (2026) and Harber and colleagues (2026) are drawn from published abstracts, so figures beyond those reported there are not carried. All survey and model findings in this report are correlational and are reported with the authors' own caveats; none establishes direction of effect.

Conclusion

So does the organization say both things? Yes, and the record is more specific than the question implies: an apartheid report in February 2022, a genocide conclusion in December 2024, each measured against a different treaty definition, one requiring an institutionalized regime of domination and the other requiring intent to destroy a group in whole or in part.

What sits around those two documents is a record with named edges. The organization's own Israeli section stated it does not accept the main findings of the December 2024 report, and The Guardian recorded that within days of publication. Published legal commentary disputes the intent element rather than the documentation, against a jurisprudential standard under which genocidal intent must be the only reasonable inference from the conduct. A United States federal court dismissed the one suit raising the question in January 2024 without reaching the merits. And the parties publish their own numbers against each other: 15 strikes and at least 334 civilians in the organization's incident sample, over 13,000 people the Israel Defense Forces describe as terrorists on its own count, a ceiling of at most 41,000 civilians from the Jerusalem Center on inputs its own page says are unconfirmed, and 2.13 million residents in the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics' end-2025 estimate.

Underneath the legal argument runs a measured layer that belongs to a different discipline. The apartheid analogy appeared in 5.2% of antisemitic comments on British media pages during one escalation, and the Nazi analogy in 4.2%, in a corpus where 26.9% of all comments

were coded antisemitic. Holocaust inversion, endorsed at population level in Norway, tracked with justification of harassment and violence against Jews. Anti-Israel conspiracy belief carried over 55% of the variance in anti-Israel attitudes, while general conspiracy thinking carried none of it.

Those two layers are usually discussed as if they were one. They are not: a treaty definition is settled by lawyers and courts, while a comment section is settled by whoever is typing. The open question is what happens in the gap between them, when a legal term with a strict definitional threshold enters ordinary speech and becomes a shorthand that no longer carries the threshold with it. Which of these framings, in which settings, functions as an input into the attitudes the surveys are picking up, and at what point does a legal argument stop being one?

Frequently Asked Questions

How does international law define genocide?

The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948, defines genocide in Article II as five enumerated acts, including killing members of a group and deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction, committed with intent to destroy a national, ethnical, racial or religious group in whole or in part. Both elements are required: the act and the specific intent behind it.

How is apartheid defined as a crime under international law?

Two treaty texts define it. The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (1973) defines it as inhuman acts committed to establish and maintain domination by one racial group over another and systematically oppress them; Article 7(2)(h) of the Rome Statute (1998) requires an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination together with the intention of maintaining that regime. Neither text requires intent to destroy a group.

Which other organizations have published apartheid findings about Israel?

Human Rights Watch published a report using the characterization in April 2021, and the Israeli organization B'Tselem published one in January 2021, both preceding the February 2022 Amnesty International report. Each is that organization's own determination on its own reading of the treaty definitions, published under its own name and mission.

What is Holocaust inversion, and how is it measured?

Enstad (2026) defines it in survey terms as the belief that Israel treats Palestinians as badly as Jews were treated during the Second World War, and measured endorsement in two nationally representative Norwegian surveys of 1,575 and 1,653 respondents. Endorsement was associated with refusal to answer questions measuring blatant antisemitic prejudice, which the author reports alongside the main finding.

How do researchers separate attitudes toward Israel from antisemitic prejudice?

Through mediation and partialling designs. Allington, Hirsh and Katz (2023), surveying 1,790 UK adults, found the correlation between coronavirus conspiracy suspicion and anti-Zionist antisemitism was accounted for by its overlap with attitudes toward Jews as Jews. Harber and colleagues (2026) report that conspiracy beliefs about Jews unrelated to Israel did not mediate anti-Israel attitudes, while beliefs implicating Israel and Zionists did.

Does belief in conspiracy theories about Jews change how Jewish people behave?

Jolley, Paterson and McNeill (2024), across one cross-sectional study of 250 Jewish participants and two experiments of 194 and 201, found that telling participants many rather than few non-Jewish people hold Jewish-targeted conspiracy beliefs raised perceived intergroup threat, which in turn raised ingroup anger and anxiety. In the third study, higher perceived popularity made participants less likely to interact with a non-Jewish partner in a behavioural task.

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