



Submission to the Trinity College Dublin Task Force on Academic and Institutional International Links and Related Matters

Submitted by

Academia for Palestine Trinity College Dublin (AfP TCD)

Addendum included 24th January 2025

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Executive Summary

This submission to the Task Force on Academic and Institutional International Links and Related Matters is made on behalf of Trinity College Dublin Academia for Palestine (AfP TCD), a staff collective who contribute our expertise to support the liberation of Palestine. Rather than seeing our roles within AfP as separate from our work for Trinity, we see the two as deeply connected. It is through our work and expertise gained at Trinity that we recognise the urgency attached to advocating for Palestinians at a time when their very existence is under threat.

In the following five sections we outline Trinity's obligations and responsibilities under international law and existing institutional policies (Section 1); the practice of scholasticide by the Israeli government and the unique role of Israeli academic institutions in perpetuating genocide and the occupation of Palestine (Section 2); the context and rationale for the call to sever ties with Israeli organisations as outlined by the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) movement (Section 3); the alignment of academic freedom with the academic boycott of Israeli universities (Section 4) and the precedent set for Trinity's future actions by Trinity's past academic boycott of Apartheid South African institutions and more recent actions taken by other universities to review ties with Israel (Section 5). A detailed summary of the 5 sections is included below, followed by our recommendations ensuing from the arguments and evidence presented.

In the Introduction, below, we discuss how our findings address the specific questions posed by this Task Force in its invitation for submissions.

Section 1. Trinity's Obligations and Responsibilities

This section first examines Trinity's obligation to act - as both an "organ of society" and an "organ of state" - in response to Israel's breaches of international law in accordance with the fundamental norms of international law and specific legal rulings. It then outlines the implications of Trinity's own policies concerning its social responsibilities, EDI commitments, University of Sanctuary pledges and commitments to responsible research practices, for the university's ties with Israeli institutions and its approach to Palestinian and Lebanese students.

1.1. Obligations under International law

- Outlines the general obligations of bodies to act in cases of genocide and apartheid, which includes "refraining from providing support...that can be used in the commissions of violations".
- Examines the 2024 ICJ and ICC rulings on the genocide in Gaza, the conduct of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Gaza, and the illegal Israeli occupation of the Palestinian Territories, which contain international obligations to act.
- Details the legal obligations the ICJ and ICC rulings place on universities as organs of society and organs of state.
- Discusses the obligations for Trinity College to take action under international law, including the cessation of ties to Israeli institutions and businesses.

1.2 Trinity's Policies and Social Responsibilities

- Shares testimonies on the impact of Trinity's ties with Israel and stance on Gaza on Palestinian students, noting their need for anonymity.
- Summarises Trinity's social responsibilities under its Strategic Plan, Civic Engagement Plan and statements on Gaza.
- Outlines Trinity's responsibilities as a University of Sanctuary to provide stronger support for Palestinian students, with examples from other universities.
- Discusses the implications of Trinity's EDI commitments for creating an inclusive space for staff and students, particularly in listening to the concerns of those affected by Israel's actions in Lebanon and the Occupied Palestinian Territories.
- Highlights Trinity's commitment to human rights and ethical integrity in research practice, with clear implications for ties with Israeli universities.

Section 2: Palestinian and Israeli universities and research links

This section outlines the ongoing scholasticide Israel is conducting in Palestine and the participation of Israeli institutions with which Trinity has links in the destruction of Palestinian society.

2.1 Scholasticide in Palestine

- Examines Israel's systemic denial of education to Palestinians and the destruction of educational institutions in Gaza and the West Bank before October 7th.
- Outlines Israel's destruction of the education system in Gaza since October 7th.
- Discusses the obligations that scholasticide places on academic bodies outside Israel/Palestine.

2.2 Israeli Universities

- Outlines the repression of academic freedom and dissent within Israeli universities.
- Examines the central role of Israeli universities in the destruction of Palestinian society, which predates but has intensified since October 7th.

2.3 Trinity's Exchange Links with Israeli Institutions

- Trinity has exchange links with Hebrew University and Bar-Ilan University. We outline their ongoing participation in Israel's machinery of war.

2.4 Trinity's Research Links with Israeli Universities and Businesses

- Trinity has research links with universities and businesses that are involved in Israel's war crimes. We outline the ongoing, concrete links these institutions have with Israel's occupation, apartheid system and ongoing genocide.

Section 3: What is the Academic Boycott of Israel?

This section explains what the academic boycott of Israel is, why it has been instituted and what it means in practical terms.

- Summarises what Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) is and the demands it makes for Israel to comply with international law.
- Outlines what the academic boycott involves and presents the guidelines of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) as offering a comprehensive and coherent set of recommendations to follow on boycott.
- Explains why boycotts, and academic boycotts in particular, are used in the case of Israel/Palestine and why it is an appropriate tactic.

Section 4: Academic Freedom and the Academic Boycott

This section discusses how and when academic freedom is compatible with academic boycott.

- Discusses definitions of academic freedom to argue that academic freedom has been understood as carrying responsibilities and not necessarily to include the freedom to associate with regimes conducting gross human rights abuses.
- Argues that academic boycott directed at institutions participating in a genocidal regime committing scholasticide is one of these exceptional cases in which it is correct to apply academic boycott.
- Examines three key arguments of those opposing the academic boycott of Israel – that it impedes dialogue, that it impedes the autonomy of researchers and academic units, and that it causes reputational damage.

Section 5: Precedents for Academic Boycott

This section presents evidence of historical and contemporary precedents for an academic boycott of Israel and the lessons Trinity can learn from these in implementing a boycott. It is noteworthy that **no university that reviewed its partnerships with Israeli universities concluded that they should continue with those relationships**.

- Details how Trinity played a leading role in opposing Apartheid South Africa, including through refusal of academic institutional relationships, which offers an important precedent.
- Summarises the growing number of universities internationally that have declared their intention to cut ties with Israel.
- Provides more detailed summaries of the reports of four committees that recommended cutting ties with Israeli institutions - The University of Galway, Ghent University, Tilburg University and Erasmus University. These demonstrate that it is feasible to cut ties with Israeli universities and provide examples of processes to do so.
- Outlines the lessons from these findings for the practical implementation of academic boycott at Trinity.

Addendum

This submission was originally made for the Task Force's deadline of Friday 10th January 2025. On Monday 20th January the Task Force notified the College community of an extension to the deadline for submissions until Friday 24th January. Due to several important new developments between these dates, we have updated our submission to address two of these issues and include some points about their implications for Trinity.

- We draw attention to the Irish government's sudden and unexpected intention to adopt the highly controversial International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism, which has been widely weaponised to suppress pro-Palestinian speech, particularly within universities.
- We highlight why the temporary ceasefire in Gaza does not change or soften the rationale for boycott (including academic boycott), divestment, and sanctions against Israeli organisations (including universities).

Recommendations

The evidence presented here shows that Israeli academic institutions and business organisations are complicit in the occupation of Palestine, the maintenance of an apartheid regime and the genocide of Palestinians. In this situation the exceptional conditions required to enact an academic boycott are met. Trinity faces a choice between meeting its obligations under international law and its own commitments to social responsibility, EDI, and sanctuary provision, and continued complicity with Israel's occupation, apartheid and genocide through its partnerships with Israeli academic institutions and industry. Trinity should take a leadership role in boycotting Israel for its imposition of apartheid in Palestine as we did in the 1980s with the academic boycott of Apartheid South Africa, which inspired other Irish institutions - both academic and governmental - to pursue a boycott of South Africa. On the basis of these arguments we make the following recommendations:

1. Trinity should enact a boycott of Israeli academic institutions and private companies, in compliance with BDS and the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) guidelines (Section 3.2).
2. Trinity should cancel all Memorandums of Understanding with Israeli institutions.
3. Trinity should place an immediate moratorium on new research projects with Israeli institutions or affiliates. Without this, Trinity risks continuing to enter into more new partnerships with complicit Israeli institutions, as it did during 2024. This moratorium should only be lifted if the state of Israel ends its occupation of Palestine, its system of apartheid and the genocide of the Palestinian people.
4. Trinity should seek to end all current collaborations with Israeli partners in ongoing funded research projects, where possible, whether through working with the consortium to ask the Israeli partner to leave or through themselves leaving the project. At the very least, Trinity should review the human rights impacts of these ongoing projects, following the example of the universities discussed in Section 5.
5. Trinity should end student exchange programmes with complicit Israeli universities and build alternative methods for Hebrew language immersion for students.
6. Trinity should divest from all Israeli firms and not enter into new contracts with Israeli firms or their subsidiaries.

7. Trinity should expand the support it offers to Palestinian academics and students by providing additional scholarship opportunities to undergraduate and postgraduate Palestinian students. Greater involvement in 'Scholars at Risk' would also expand opportunities for Palestinian academics to collaborate with and work in Trinity. In line with our CORE values and the social responsibility of the university to its community, we should support all students, academics, and non-academic staff who have been affected by the events of the current circumstances (see Section 1.2).
8. Trinity should establish processes and mechanisms for assessing the human rights impacts of all of its future academic and business partnerships and business relationships, to include consideration of ethical supply chains.

Recommended Experts

To support the Task Force in identifying suitable external experts to consult on these topics, we provide a short list below, organised by area of expertise.

Legal responsibilities

Dr Susan Power (Head of Legal Research and Advocacy, Al-Haq)

Dr John Reynolds (Maynooth University)

Dr Gamze E. Türkelli (University of Antwerp)

Blinne Ní Ghrálaigh, KC, barrister, London

Francesca P. Albanese, UN Special Rapporteur on the Occupied Palestinian Territories

University of Sanctuary

Aleks Palanac (Head of Sanctuary, University of Leicester)

Scholasticide in Palestine and the role of Israeli universities

Dr Brendan Ciaran Browne (Trinity College Dublin)

Dr Karma Nabulsi (University of Oxford)

Professor Ilan Pappe (University of Exeter)

Lubna Shomali (Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights)

Prof Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian (Hebrew University)

Dr Maya Wind (University of British Columbia)

Academic boycott and academic freedom

Omar Bargouthi (Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel)

Dr Lorna Finlayson (University of Essex)

Dr Ronit Lentin (Professor Emeritus, Trinity College Dublin)

Dr Conor McCarthy (Maynooth University)

Dr Nick Riemer (University of Sydney)

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Addendum

Introduction

AfP TCD was formed in January 2024 by a collective of Trinity staff members as an affiliate of the National Academics for Palestine organisation, with members across all third-level institutions in Ireland. AfP TCD members include academic, professional, technical and research staff. The group aims to support staff and students in understanding the Palestinian cause and to advocate on behalf of the Palestinian movement within Trinity. To do this, our members have hosted numerous talks and events with leading experts on Palestinian history and culture and Israeli complicity in the occupation, apartheid and genocide (e.g., Rashid Khalidi, Ardi Imseis, John Reynolds, Maya Wind), met with College and union leadership, including the Provost's office, to communicate the imperative for Trinity to condemn the genocide in Gaza and review its academic, business and investment ties with Israeli organisations, and organised a letter in March 2024, which was signed by over 400 Trinity staff members, urging Trinity to take urgent action to oppose the genocide. Our collaborations have included diverse bodies of staff and students, both nationally and internationally.

In response to the Task Force's call for submissions, our members have collaboratively prepared the current submission with the intention of providing evidence-based recommendations for actions Trinity should take in response to Israeli's ongoing and escalating genocide, occupation, apartheid and oppression of the Palestinian people.

In this work we primarily address two questions the Task Force has set. They are:

Which ethical principles should inform current and future links and exchanges between Trinity College Dublin and higher education institutions, commercial enterprises, and /or other relevant bodies in jurisdictions involved in armed conflict and/or [where] there are violations of international law?

And

How do we balance individual academic freedom and institutional autonomy in Trinity College Dublin?

In answering the question about violations of international law, we cannot only speak of ethical principles. **Trinity is bound to the international legal obligations arising from the rulings and findings of the ICJ and the ICC, as well as to the peremptory norms of international law.** International law is undermined not by its application but by its selective suspension for

those actors who are given impunity for political reasons (Section 1.1). Trinity must seek the application of international law in cases of war crimes, human rights abuses, and the violation of fundamental international legal norms. Further, **Trinity's own policies commit to ethics, societal responsibility and good research practice, including ensuring research serves the greater good.** To uphold these principles, Trinity must ensure its education and research partnerships and business relationships comply with human rights law (Section 1.2). Trinity has acted on these principles in the past, when it engaged in an academic boycott of Apartheid South African universities (Section 5.1).

In discussing academic freedom and institutional autonomy, we explain what the academic boycott of Israel involves and how it is implemented (Section 3). In this, we follow PACBI guidelines on academic boycott, in particular their insistence that the boycott is directed at institutions, not individuals. This boycott, we argue, does not run contrary to academic freedom as defined by Trinity's statutes and the 1997 Universities Act (Section 4). The scholasticide that Israel is carrying out on Palestinians within its jurisdiction (Section 2) makes a boycott commensurate with principles of academic freedom. This is not to say that boycott can be applied randomly to every political situation, it must remain an exceptional action, and we explain how the case of Israel/Palestine meets the tests of exceptionality (Section 4.2).

Actions ensuing from these principles

The ICJ and ICC have issued judgements with regards to genocide and apartheid in the case of Israel. This submission demonstrates the well-documented complicity of Israeli academic institutions in these crimes through entanglement with the state's military and security forces (Section 2). Every university who has reviewed their own partnerships with Israeli academic institutions has come to similar conclusions and determined that they had a responsibility to take actions to curtail ties with Israel (Section 5). On this basis, **Trinity must end all institutional cooperation with Israeli academic institutions. Trinity should implement an immediate moratorium on new institutional collaborations with Israeli institutions and all existing institutional cooperation should be halted.**

Implementation

The case for boycotting Israel is clear and unequivocal and this should be implemented without delay. The PACBI guidelines make clear how to implement an academic boycott of Israel (Section 3). For reviewing future partnerships, frameworks such as human rights impact assessments for academic and business partners or suppliers, developed by other universities, can serve as useful guides. Similar guidance and processes should be developed for this purpose (Section 5).

Our mission as a group and in this submission focuses on Israel due to its longstanding and exceptional violations of the fundamental principles of international law and human rights, culminating in its current and ongoing genocide, with its catastrophic humanitarian consequences.

We also argue that the Task Force must 'single out' Israel for censure because it has already been singled out in the extraordinary immunity from sanction it has been afforded from the United States, European nations and EU institutions. For decades, Israel has been involved in

a vast ethnic cleansing project aimed at clearing the Palestinian population from their land, has denied refugees the right of return and implemented an apartheid regime that racially discriminates against Palestinians who are Israeli citizens, whilst subjecting Palestinians in the Occupied Territories to violent military occupation and continuously expanding illegal settlements onto stolen Palestinian land. As this has been occurring, most countries have normalised relationships with Israel. The European Union has signed a preferential trade agreement with Israel and European universities have expanded research collaborations and educational exchanges with Israeli universities. Other countries have been condemned and sanctioned for war crimes and human rights abuses but Israel has not been held to account in any meaningful way. This tolerance of Israeli crimes has granted it effective immunity and has led us to the current juncture, where genocide is accepted and even defended.

AfP TCD posits that Trinity has a responsibility to respond to the ongoing harm caused by Israel. Throughout the following submission, evidence will be offered to support the points that (i) Trinity as an institution has a legal and ethical responsibility to distance itself from complicity in apartheid, occupation and genocide, and (ii) Israeli academic institutions and private companies are load-bearing pillars that support Israel's current genocide in Gaza, its imposition of apartheid on Palestinians, and its occupation of Palestinian territory.

In preparing the current submission, we have collated and referenced a wide variety of both academic and non-academic sources to provide the Task Force with concrete, evidence-based recommendations that can support Trinity to take meaningful urgent action in opposition to apartheid and genocide. We want to emphasise that this is not a remote or abstract demand. Trinity's silence and lack of action to date has exacerbated the suffering of Palestinian members of the College community by demonstrating a complete lack of concern for what they are experiencing. We therefore include a number of testimonials based on consultation with Trinity's Palestinian community (Section 2.2) to underline the real human impact of Trinity's position when it chooses to support collaborations, business relationships and investments with a genocidal regime.

Section 1: Trinity's Obligations and Responsibilities

In this section we examine Trinity's obligations under international law and under its own policies and commitments to act in the case of Israel/Palestine.

The first section lays out College's obligations to act in cases of genocide and apartheid. Firstly we identify the general obligations on all entities to act under the peremptory norms of international law, before outlining the particular obligations arising from the 2024 ICJ ruling on genocide in Gaza, the 2024 ICJ ruling on the Occupied Palestinian Territories and the 2024 ICC arrest warrants issued for Israeli leaders for war crimes and crimes against humanity (1.1). We then lay out the legal obligations that the breaches of the peremptory norms of international law and the ICJ and ICC rulings place on universities as organs of society and organs of state (1.1.1). The next section (1.1.2) we argue that Israel's actions place unique obligations on Trinity College, and that these obligations entail the cessation of ties to Israeli institutions and businesses.

In the following section (1.2) we turn to Trinity's own policies with regards to the social responsibilities of College to its community. We first outline how societal responsibility and civic engagement have been identified by College as core values and placed at the heart of Trinity's current Strategic Plan. Trinity's current position on Gaza, where the Provost has endorsed the ICJ ruling on genocide and condemned the atrocities, indicates how this situation is covered under these responsibilities (1.2.1). We next look at our commitments as a University of Sanctuary, arguing that Trinity needs to alter its minimal response to the provision and delivery of places for Palestinian students, offering examples of other UoS responses in this regard (1.2.2). The next section examines the EDI obligations for Trinity, focusing on the importance of creating an inclusive environment for students and staff, and arguing that this involves listening to rather than dismissing the concerns of those who have been directly affected by Israel's assault on Gaza and Lebanon and its ongoing oppression of people across the OPT (1.2.3). We then turn to College's commitment to supporting responsible research practices, which embed human rights concerns and ethical integrity in all research undertaken in Trinity, and indicating the clear implications this has for institutional ties with Israeli universities (1.2.4). In this final section we also include the voices of Palestinian students, speaking of their experiences in Trinity College during this time of genocide. The fact that these students feel the need to maintain their anonymity speaks volumes about the serious impacts of the situation in College and the need for urgent change.

1.1 Obligations under international law

Under international law all states have obligations emerging from a series of findings and rulings on the actions of Israel by the world's leading legal bodies - the International Court of Justice (ICJ); the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the United Nations General Assembly. These obligations rest upon a number of international legal agreements including the Geneva Conventions, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

Trinity College Dublin is bound to act in accordance with these international legal obligations as both an "organ of society" and an "organ of state."

Before coming to the contents and consequences of these rulings, and Trinity College Dublin's obligations, it is important to first consider the very fundamentals of international law.

Jus Cogens: Norms of a higher order international law

A recent legal opinion by a group of legal scholars at the University of Antwerp in Belgium underlined the importance of *Jus Cogens* in considering the obligations of universities under international law.

"*Jus Cogens* norms, also called peremptory norms of international law, are recognised by the international community as norms from which no derogation is permissible."¹

"These norms under international law are of a higher order and exist both independently of and concomitantly with obligations under various international legal regimes, including international human rights law. These norms are so fundamental that they bind all States - even without contractual/treaty obligations - and allow no exceptions or objections."²

Peremptory norms give rise to obligations owed to the entire international community as a whole (*obligations erga omnes*) which are binding for every state and actor under international law.

According to the legal opinion from the University of Antwerp "neither consent, self-defence, countermeasures in respect of an internationally wrongful act, *force majeure*, distress nor necessity can be invoked as justification to disrespect peremptory norms."

On 12th August 2022 the International Law Commission (ILC) - established by the General Assembly, in 1947 to "initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of ... encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification"³ - published 'Draft Conclusions on Identification and Legal Consequences of Peremptory Norms of General International Law (*jus cogens*)'.⁴

The ILC drew up the following non-exhaustive list of peremptory norms in general international law.

- a) the prohibition of aggression;
- b) the prohibition of genocide;
- c) the prohibition of crimes against humanity;
- d) the basic rules of international humanitarian law;

¹ Türkelli, Gamze Erdem, et al. *Serious breaches of obligations arising from peremptory norms of general international law & consequences for institutional cooperation with universities in israel*, 30 August 2024, p.1. <https://medialibrary.uantwerpen.be/files/7154/746c261e-9427-4832-b1d0-9a47f79bdee2.pdf>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

² *ibid*.

³ United Nations. *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, 1 UNTS XVI, Article 13(1)(a), https://legal.un.org/repory/art13/english/rep_orig_vol1_art13_1a2.pdf. Accessed 7 January 2025.

⁴ International Law Commission (ILC). *Draft conclusions on identification and legal consequences of peremptory norms of general international law (jus cogens)*, 2022, https://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/draft_articles/1_14_2022.pdf. Accessed 7 January 2025.

- e) the prohibition of racial discrimination and apartheid;
- f) the prohibition of slavery;
- g) the prohibition of torture;
- h) the right of self-determination.

In the view of the ILC, serious breaches of such norms have the following consequences:

1. States shall cooperate to bring to an end through lawful means any serious breach by a State of an obligation arising under a peremptory norm of general international law (*jus cogens*).
2. No State shall recognise as lawful a situation created by a serious breach by a State of an obligation arising under a peremptory norm of general international law (*jus cogens*), nor render aid or assistance in maintaining that situation.
3. A breach of an obligation arising under a peremptory norm of general international law (*jus cogens*) is serious if it involves a gross or systematic failure by the responsible State to fulfil that obligation.
4. This draft conclusion is without prejudice to the other consequences that any breach by a State of an obligation arising under a peremptory norm of general international law (*jus cogens*) may entail under international law.

State parties have obligations of both negative and positive character in upholding peremptory norms of general international law (*jus cogens*).

Obligations of negative character include: “refraining from providing support (material/logistical/military/economic) that can be used in the commission of violations or that can be used to ‘legalize’ violations by normalizing the context in which violations have been occurring,” as well as “avoiding aiding or assisting in the internationally wrongful acts (of genocide, of the violation of the right to self-determination, of apartheid, of torture, certain humanitarian law violations etc.) and avoiding complicity (in genocide, in the violations of the right to self-determination, in apartheid, in violations of humanitarian law).”⁵

Obligations of positive character include: “taking all effective measures at the disposal of a State Party to respond to violations of peremptory norms of international law and may include, for instance, taking diplomatic measures (ranging from downgrading diplomatic representation, recalling diplomats or severing diplomatic relations) and imposing targeted economic, military or other sanctions.”⁶

Whilst the legal opinion of the University of Antwerp notes that following the ILC such obligations arise in all cases where the peremptory norms of general international law are disrespected recent findings and rulings by the ICJ and ICC have identified specific legal obligations in response to the actions of Israel. These are outlined in the following section.

International Court of Justice: Provisional Measures on Genocide (Jan 2024)

⁵ Türkelli, Gamze Erdem, et al. (at note 1), p.5.

⁶ Türkelli, Gamze Erdem, et al. (at note 1), p.5.

The ICJ is currently hearing a case taken by the government of South Africa against Israel under the Genocide Convention: ‘Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel)’.⁷ The case is ongoing and the Court will likely take many years to reach a final decision on the matter.

However, on 26 January 2024 the ICJ found that Palestinians in Gaza were a significant part of the protected group of Palestinians, whose intentional destruction would “have an impact on the group as a whole”.⁸ Therefore, “the right of the Palestinians in Gaza to be protected from acts of genocide and related prohibited acts” under the Genocide Convention was plausible. The Court also recognised that Gaza had by then become largely “uninhabitable”, “a place of death and despair”, and that the civilian population in Gaza “remains extremely vulnerable”.⁹

Due to the urgency and in order to prevent irreparable prejudice, the Court ordered provisional measures¹⁰: Israel had to take all possible measures to prevent genocide and to enable the provision of basic services and humanitarian aid. In later additional provisional measures, the ICJ ordered Israel to ensure immediate access to food supplies and to halt its military offensive in Rafah as well as any other action which may result in the physical destruction in whole or in part of the Palestinian group in Gaza. These court orders indicate that there is an exacerbating risk of genocide against the Palestinian population in Gaza.

In the twelve months since the ICJ issued its provisional measures Israel has continued to bomb densely-populated civilian areas in Gaza, including Rafah, and has actively blocked life-saving aid from reaching Gaza, producing a man-made humanitarian crisis. UN agencies have been warning that famine is ‘imminent’ in northern Gaza for nearly twelve months, with widespread starvation among the population and newborn babies dying of low birth weight.¹¹

The ICJ’s determination on 26 January 2024 that there was a plausible and imminent risk that Israel is violating the Genocide Convention in Gaza triggered the responsibility of all States to act to prevent genocide and end all direct or indirect complicity in its pursuit. Under the terms of the Geneva Convention and in response the ICJ ruling each and every State is obliged to investigate and prosecute those suspected of committing genocide, as well as the ancillary offences of direct public incitement, as well as aiding, assisting or conspiring to commit genocide.

⁷ International Court of Justice (ICJ). “The Republic of South Africa institutes proceedings against the State of Israel and requests the Court to indicate provisional”, *Press Release*, 29 December 2023, measures <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20231229-pre-01-00-en.pdf>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

⁸ International Court of Justice (ICJ). “Order of the 26 January 2024 - Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel)”, Document Number 192-20240126-ORD-01-00-EN, 26 January 2024, paragraph 44, <https://www.icj-cij.org/node/203447>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

⁹ International Court of Justice (ICJ). (at note 8), paragraph 47.

¹⁰ International Court of Justice (ICJ). (at note 8), paragraph 86.

¹¹ “Imminent famine in northern Gaza is ‘entirely man-made disaster’: Guterres”, UN New: Global perspective Human Stories, 18 March 2024, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/03/1147656>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

On 6th January 2025 Ireland announced it had formally intervened in South Africa's case against Israel at the ICJ.¹² Although Ireland does not seek to become party to the proceedings it seeks clarification on the construction of genocide in the case and is seen to be a significant step in isolating Israel diplomatically.

International Criminal Court: OPT (July 2024)

In a separate legal procedure the ICJ published a ruling on 19th July 2024 that Israel's presence in the OPT - which include the whole of Gaza and the West Bank, as well as East Jerusalem – is an illegal occupation and contrary to peremptory norms of international humanitarian law.¹³ It ruled that this illegal occupation must be brought to an end as rapidly as possible. The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) subsequently determined that this means by 17th September 2025.¹⁴

The Court also ruled that Israel's policies and practices serve to maintain a near-complete separation in the West Bank and East Jerusalem between the settler and Palestinian communities, which "constitutes systemic discrimination based on, *inter alia*, race, religion or ethnic origin" in violation of both the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).¹⁵ In addition, the Court found that Israel was violating the integrity of the OPT, and thus preventing an essential element of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.¹⁶

In his oral submission to the Court on behalf of the State of Palestine the renowned international lawyer Philippe Sands noted that under international law the consequences for Israel should be:

"No aid. No assistance. No complicity. No contribution to forcible actions. No money, no arms, no trade, no nothing. All UN Members are obliged by law to end Israel's presence on the territory of Palestine."¹⁷

¹² "Declaration of the Intervention by Ireland pursuant to Article 63 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice", Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel), 6 January 2025, <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20250106-int-01-00-en.pdf>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

¹³ International Court of Justice (ICJ). "Summary of the the Advisory Opinion of 19 July 2024", *Legal Consequences arising from the Policies and Practices of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem*, 19 July 2024, <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/186/186-20240719-sum-01-00-en.pdf>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

¹⁴ "UN General Assembly demands Israel end 'unlawful presence' in Occupied Palestinian Territory", UN News: Global perspective Human Stories, 18 September 2024, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/09/1154496>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

¹⁵ International Court of Justice (ICJ). "Summary of the the Advisory Opinion of 19 July 2024" (at note 13), p.14.

¹⁶ International Court of Justice (ICJ). "Summary of the the Advisory Opinion of 19 July 2024" (at note 13).

¹⁷ International Court of Justice (ICJ). "Verbatim Record", *Public sitting held on Monday February 19, 2024, at 10 am, at the Peace Palace, President Salam presiding, on the Legal Consequences arising from the Policies and Practices of Israel in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem*, 19 February 2024, paragraph 27, <https://www.icj-cij.org/node/203591>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

On 18th September 2024 the United Nations General Assembly passed an implementing resolution in response to the ICJ's opinion on the OPT, which called upon all states:

"To take steps to ensure that their nationals, and companies and entities under their jurisdiction, as well as their authorities, do not act in any way that would entail recognition or provide aid or assistance in maintaining the situation created by Israel's illegal presence in the Occupied Palestinian Territory" (OPT).¹⁸

On the same day and in response to the ICJ's ruling dozens of UN human rights experts (including Francesca Albanese, UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in the OPT) warned that:

"the edifice of international law stands upon a knife's edge, with most States failing to take meaningful steps to comply with their international obligations" and extending impunity to Israel in perpetrating genocide in Gaza.¹⁹

The experts noted that:

"All States have a legal obligation to comply with the ICJ's ruling and must promote adherence to norms that protect civilians." They issued fourteen demands including that all states must "cancel or suspend economic relationships, trade agreements and academic relations with Israel that may contribute to its unlawful presence and apartheid regime in the Occupied Palestinian Territory."²⁰

International Criminal Court: Arrest Warrants (Nov 2024)

Following the rulings by the ICJ, on the 21st November 2024, the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued arrest warrants against sitting Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and former war cabinet minister Yoav Gallant for war crimes and crimes against humanity perpetrated in Gaza,²¹ which the BDS Movement referred to as "a watershed in the Palestinian quest for the long overdue justice and accountability."²²

¹⁸ United Nations General Assembly. "Agenda Item 5: Illegal Israeli actions in Occupied East Jerusalem and the rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territory", Tenth Emergency Special Session, 18 September 2024, paragraph 5(a), <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/ga-10th-ess-resolution-18sep24/>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

¹⁹ "UN experts warn international order on a knife's edge, urge States to comply with ICJ Advisory Opinion" UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 18 September 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/statements/2024/09/un-experts-warn-international-order-knifes-edge-urge-states-comply-icj-advisory>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

²⁰ "UN experts warn international order on a knife's edge, urge States to comply with ICJ Advisory Opinion" UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (at note 19).

²¹ International Criminal Court. "Situation in the State of Palestine: ICC Pre-Trial Chamber I rejects the State of Israel's challenges to jurisdiction and issues warrants of arrest for Benjamin Netanyahu and Yoav Gallant", Press Release, 21 November 2024, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-state-palestine-icc-pre-trial-chamber-i-rejects-state-israels-challenges>. Accessed 7 January 2024.

²² "ICC Arrest Warrants: No Platforming of Suspected Israeli War Criminals in Academic or Cultural Settings", Briefing, BDS movement, 13 December 2024, <https://bdsmovement.net/resources/icc-arrest-warrants-no-platforming-suspected-israeli-war-criminals-academic-or-cultural>. Accessed 7 January 2025.

1.1.1 The obligations of universities under international law

Sara Dehm, Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Law at the University of Technology Sydney, has noted that “many people might be surprised to learn that Australian universities are already both subject to and enforcers of international law.”²³ The same is true of Irish Universities, including Trinity College Dublin, and this is important in understanding the consequences of the rulings of the ICC and the ICJ as regards Israel’s actions in Gaza and the OPT as a whole.

We have elsewhere indicated how Israeli universities are not only complicit in occupation, apartheid and the genocide of the Palestinian people but are central to Israel’s settler colonial project and to normalising war crimes and breaches of international law. However, it is worth quoting at length the legal opinion issued as regards the University of Antwerp to clarify the legal ramifications of this.

“Universities are organs of society endowed with the responsibility to teach and educate. They must avoid aiding and assisting the commission of serious breaches of peremptory norms of international law created by Israel’s illegal presence in the OPT, and address such aid and assistance when it occurs. Israeli universities as institutions are embedded in the exclusivist nature of the Israeli political system and benefit from the occupation. They have put their expertise at the disposal of governmental measures aimed at maintaining and expanding the occupation. Institutional cooperation with these universities thus amounts *prima facie* to aid and assistance in maintaining a situation that breaches peremptory norms of international law.”²⁴

This applies not only to the University of Antwerp but to all universities worldwide, including Trinity College Dublin. Given that “Institutional cooperation with these universities amounts *prima facie* to aid and assistance in maintaining a situation that breaches peremptory norms of international law” it is crucial for universities to cut ties, including all forms of partnerships, with Israeli universities to avoid complicity in serious violations of international law, or indeed to avoid aiding these violations.²⁵

Universities: Organs of Society and Organs of State in International Law

Legal experts at the University of Antwerp have argued that universities are bound to the international legal obligations emerging from the ICJ and ICC rulings and to the peremptory norms of international law on the basis that they are both “organs of society” and, in the case of public universities such as Trinity College Dublin, “organs of state.”

The preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights describes human rights as:

“a common standard achievement of all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and

²³ Dehm, Sara. “Australian universities and the “plausible” genocide in Gaza: What are the legal and ethical risks and responsibilities?” ABC Religion & Ethics, 22 March 2024, <https://www.abc.net.au/religion/australian-universities-ici-plausible-genocide-gaza/103620064>.

Accessed 7 January 2025.

²⁴ Türkelli, Gamze Erdem, et al. (at note 1), p.2.

²⁵ Türkelli, Gamze Erdem, et al. (at note 1), p.2.

by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective observance, both among the people of the Member States themselves and the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.”²⁶

As the Legal experts at the University of Antwerp have argued:

“Universities are organs of society endowed with the responsibility to teach and educate. They have an important social responsibility in securing the universal and effective recognition and observance of human rights. This is a *fortiori* the case when universities are faced with a finding by the International Court of Justice, the principal juridical organ of the United Nations, that serious breaches of a variety of peremptory norms of international law (including but not limited to human rights norms) over a lengthy period of time have been committed by a given State.”²⁷

As organs of society universities, such as Trinity College Dublin, are required to avoid aiding and assisting the commission of serious breaches of peremptory norms of international law, such as those created by Israel’s illegal presence in the OPT. Further, they are required by international law to address such aid and assistance when it occurs, such as institutional cooperation with Israeli universities that have benefitted from the occupation.

Moreover, the legal team at the University of Antwerp have argued that “a strong argument can be made that for the purposes of public international law, the University of Antwerp is an organ of the State. This does not mean that the university can not set its own policies. It does mean that the Belgian State is internationally responsible for the conduct of the university, and that the Belgian State’s international obligations apply to the university.”²⁸ Again, as a public university Trinity College Dublin is likewise an organ of state in international law and is bound to the same international legal obligations as the Irish state.

The ILC Articles on State Responsibility indicate that an organ of the State may “exercise legislative, executive, judicial or any other” functions. State organs include entities that have the status of an organ under domestic law, but are not limited to them.²⁹

Trinity College Dublin is a public institution of higher education supervised by a government ministry which monitors the implementation of the law regarding higher education and its financial management. Trinity College Dublin’s operational and institutional independence is limited by its reliance on State funding. A strong case can thus be made that the international obligations of the Irish State are binding for the university as well, and that any violation of such obligations would result in the attribution of responsibility to the State. Among these obligations is, as established by the ICJ, is the requirement not to render aid or assistance that would maintain Israel’s illegal presence in the OPT.

²⁶ United Nations. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. 1948.

²⁷ Türkelli, Gamze Erdem, et al. (at note 1), p.14.

²⁸ Türkelli, Gamze Erdem, et al. (at note 1), p.2.

²⁹ International Law Commission (ILC). *2001 Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts*, UN Doc. A/RES/56/83 (2001), adopted 3 August 2001, article 4(1).

1.1.2 Trinity College Dublin's obligations under international law

As an “organ of society” and an “organ of state” Trinity College Dublin is bound to the international legal obligations arising from the rulings and findings of the ICJ and the ICC, as well as to the peremptory norms of international law. The rulings of the ICJ and the ICC make it clear that these obligations are not a matter of debate but are legally binding responsibilities.

Trinity College Dublin does not have the authority to question or dispute these international legal obligations, and it would be willfully perverse to do so in the name of justice, non-discrimination, civil and political rights, human rights, or peace, given that the United Nations, the ICJ and the ICC are the very institutions that have formulated and are tasked with defending these rights, principles, and values, and have a global mandate to do so.

The question sometimes arises as to why Israel is being ‘singled out’. This matter is addressed elsewhere in this document but requires two responses regarding international law specifically.

The first is that the actions of Israel do in fact place it in a somewhat unique position from the perspective of international law. As the authors of the legal opinion from the University of Antwerp have noted: “The unusually broad range of obligations for third States identified by the ICJ is directly connected to the finding that Israel engages in *serious* breaches of *a variety of peremptory Norms* of international law (including but not limited to human rights norms) *over a lengthy period of time*. This distinguishes the circumstances at hand from most other contexts in which human rights violations occur, but where violations are not as widespread, not as severe and not as prolonged.”³⁰

As such, they note that, “this is quite a unique situation in which the International Court of Justice has found serious prevalent and long-term breaches of multiple peremptory norms of international law.”³¹ They argue that:

“In this context cooperation with institutions in Israel *that operate within a legal and political context that entails and has for a long period of time entailed violations of jus cogens norms* present an extremely high risk of complicity and may amount to aid or assistance in maintaining the situation created by Israel’s illegal presence in the Occupied Palestinian Territory.”

A similar situation does not face universities, including Trinity College Dublin, with regard to other States that have breached international legal norms, although there are many other cases where appropriate measures can and should, and indeed have, been taken to cut ties. In Section 4.1 we discuss precedents within Trinity College Dublin itself.

The second, is that, as noted above, human rights experts at the United Nations warned on 18 September 2024 that “the edifice of international law stands upon a knife’s edge” in light of “most States failing to take meaningful steps to comply with their international obligations.”³² Hence, what is at stake in the wake of the ICJ and ICC rulings is not simply an instance of international

³⁰ Türkelli, Gamze Erdem, et al. (at note 1), p.14.

³¹ Türkelli, Gamze Erdem, et al. (at note 1), p.22.

³²“UN experts warn international order on a knife’s edge, urge States to comply with ICJ Advisory Opinion” UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (at note 19).

legal norms being violated but rather of the validity and viability of the “international order” as such.³³

International law is undermined not by its application but by its selective suspension for those actors who are given impunity for political reasons. If Trinity College Dublin seeks to uphold the structures of international law, and defend the values that it seeks to protect, then it must seek the application of international law as regards Israel as it must in other cases of war crimes, human rights abuses, and the violation of fundamental international legal norms. In failing to do so Trinity College Dublin would be complicit in granting a selective impunity to Israel and further undermining the international legal order as a whole.

A further point of concern for Trinity College Dublin is that in failing to act to fulfil the university’s international legal obligations its management may even themselves have individual criminal responsibility before the ICC having failed to act to protect the fundamental norms of international law, failed to act in response to international legal obligations, and have been complicit in genocide, illegal occupation, apartheid, and the denial of self-determination by maintaining relationships with Israeli universities and institutions that aid and support the conduct of these crimes.

1.1.3 Conclusions

The occupation of the Palestinian Territories by Israel has been deemed illegal by the ICJ and has led to serious breaches of obligations arising from several peremptory norms of general international law over an extended period of time. It is crucial that this ruling includes but is not limited to the current leadership of the Israeli government.

The recent Advisory Opinion of the ICJ attests that a number of peremptory norms of international law, without a doubt including the prohibition of racial discrimination (including the prohibition of racial segregation and apartheid), the right to self-determination, and basic norms of international humanitarian law have been gravely and grossly violated by Israel. Decisions on the prohibition of genocide and crimes against humanity are still pending, although in the case of the former Provisional Measures have been issued in light of the “plausible” risk of genocide that was said to exist twelve months ago.

As a public university Trinity College Dublin has a duty to act within a strict due diligence framework, departing from a precautionary principle in assessing the risk of complicity in such grave violations of peremptory norms of international law as well as other breaches such as violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law, including the ongoing illegal occupation of Palestinian territories, the credible evidence as outlined by the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court in relation to the commission of war crimes and crimes against humanity as well as the plausible risk of a genocide as outlined in the three Provisional Measures orders of the International Court of Justice to date.

Accordingly, in order to avoid all risks of complicity in these breaches of peremptory norms of international law as well as of other norms of international humanitarian law and international

³³“UN experts warn international order on a knife’s edge, urge States to comply with ICJ Advisory Opinion” UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (at note 19).

human rights law, Trinity College Dublin should take effective measures, as other higher education institutions in Europe and beyond have done:

- Taking into account the International Court of Justice's finding of a broad range of serious breaches of the highest norms of public international law over a significant period of time;
- Given that Israeli universities as institutions have failed to make a meaningful contribution to halting these breaches and have on the contrary implemented the governmental policies that have resulted in said breaches;
- Taking into account also that Trinity College Dublin is both an organ of society and an organ of the State and is thus required not to render aid or assistance to maintain a situation that results in serious breaches of jus cogens norms;

Institutional cooperation with universities in Israel should not be initiated, and all existing institutional cooperation should be halted.

1.2 Trinity's policies and social responsibility

As indicated in the introduction, Trinity's responsibility to its community is not an abstract matter. Its decisions impact the lives of our students and their communities. The case of Palestine is exceptional because of the widespread denial by media, governments, and institutions about ethnic cleansing and genocide in Palestine. Centering lived experiences, however, almost always tells the true story of how oppressive regimes operate and the actual impact they have on individuals and communities. Some argue that Palestine is a distant problem, and that Trinity should not take positions for or against either side. However, as a public university and University of Sanctuary, Trinity has an obligation to its College community, and most especially to students who are directly impacted by the ongoing genocide and occupation in Palestine. Below we include quotes from some Palestinian students who volunteered to share their experiences at Trinity. We note that the students have chosen to stay anonymous, not only because they fear repercussions at Trinity or in their classrooms, but also from the Israeli state, which often targets Palestinians and activists who speak against the regime³⁴. We urge Trinity to consider the impact on the community and how we can meet our social responsibilities and duties of care to students and staff impacted.

"When I think of a sanctuary, I don't think of a place where your oppressor walks as freely as you do. I don't think of a place where they are welcomed like normal members of society. Most people wouldn't tolerate being around their bully, but we have to tolerate being around people who legitimise our rapists, torturers, the people who murdered and displaced our families? This doesn't sound like a sanctuary to me, it sounds more like the current prison we Palestinians live in. It's a dehumanising experience we are used to but should never have to accept." - Anonymous UG Student

³⁴ Speri, Alice. "Taking Sides': The International Activists for Palestine Israel Targets." Al Jazeera, <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2024/10/6/us-turkish-womans-killing-last-month-puts-a-spotlight-on-international-activists-efforts-to-expose-israeli-violence>. Accessed 4 Jan. 2025.

“Trinity these days serves as a reminder to me as a Palestinian of its complicity in the ongoing genocide in Palestine. My tuition fees are contributing to an institution that is supporting a genocide against my family. I see how efforts have been made to isolate me through a process called ‘academic freedom.’ Professors with academic and research ties to a genocidal entity teach us a revised version of our history and justify genocide through theology. All in all, Trinity’s investments and academic ties are causing me great distress as a student, it’s hard to ignore how these things are all related.” - Anonymous UG Student

“In Gaza, we have always known the cost of the boycott. Most universities and people around the world don’t observe it, so it cost us our homes over and over again. I love Trinity, but to be honest, it’s hard to feel comfortable with so many ties to the Zionist regime, I think for all of us impacted. Through boycotting, we are demanding dignity and justice for people under siege for years. Boycotting reminds the world that Gaza is still fighting for its legitimate human rights, and I think the least we can do is support them.” - Anonymous UG student

“It’s very strange to be at Trinity and sit through courses that have Zionists in it who talk about your history, experience, and your families as if they know better than you. I have had professors use the genocide as an example in our class and create something like a math problem out of it, as if no one in the room was experiencing it and without acknowledging the suffering that was taking place. That’s what we are to them, a math problem. That’s what BDS is for Trinity, a math problem. But for us it’s everything, life or death.” - Anonymous UG Student

The remainder of this section explores some key policy documents and statements which should be considered regarding Trinity’s social responsibility as a university in response to Israel’s genocidal assault on Gaza. In particular, it looks at Trinity’s role as a University of Sanctuary, our responsibility towards students and staff from an EDI (equality, diversity and inclusion) perspective, and our ethical responsibilities in relation to research and civic engagement.

1.2.1 Social responsibility of a university to its community

Societal responsibility at the core of Trinity’s Strategic Plan

In Trinity’s Strategic Plan 2020-2025³⁵ entitled ‘Community and Cohesion’, the university’s values are expressed as our ability to be ‘inquisitive, pioneering, responsible, inclusive and collaborative’. These values have never been more important than in the current global context. Over the last year, we have witnessed Israel perpetrate atrocities in Gaza which have been determined by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) as acts of genocide³⁶, we have watched Israel reinforce its oppressive occupation of Palestinian territories, which the ICJ has recognised

³⁵ Trinity College Dublin. *Strategy 2020—2025 - Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/strategy. Accessed 8 January 2025.

³⁶ International Court of Justice. “Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel).” *International Court of Justice, Summary 2024/1*, 26 January 2024. <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20240126-sum-01-00-en.pdf> Accessed 8 January 2025.

as unlawful³⁷, and we have seen Israel attack other countries in the region, resulting in carnage and war crimes³⁸ in Lebanon. In December 2024, detailed research was published by Amnesty International on Israel's Genocide Against Palestinians in Gaza³⁹, Human Rights Watch also published a comprehensive report on Israel's policy of Extermination and Acts of Genocide in Gaza⁴⁰, while Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) published their report on the Israeli onslaught on the civilian population and healthcare system in Gaza entitled Gaza: Life in a Death Trap⁴¹, their Secretary General concurring that 'genocide is taking place in Gaza'. As an institution it is therefore essential for Trinity to engage with, rather than avoid, these issues, to lead the way as a university that values human rights, and to be responsible in our research, teaching, and operational practices. The horrific situation in Gaza also requires us to demonstrate our commitment to inclusion and collaboration by providing sanctuary for Palestinian students and academics, and developing partnerships with higher education institutions in Palestine, particularly as all universities in Gaza have been targeted and destroyed by Israel, and thousands of Palestinian students and academics have been killed.

Such a stance aligns with Trinity's CORE Mission, expressed in its Strategic Plan, which emphasises **civic action** to promote a 'just and sustainable' society, within an **organisation** which values 'all members of our community', which supports **research** which 'benefits our students, Ireland, and the world' and thus must be cognisant of human rights and the need for responsible scholarship, linking to **education** for 'active citizenship' which emphasises our social responsibility as an institution.

A valuable aspect of Trinity's current Strategic Plan is its prioritisation of 'Research for Impact and Sustainability' which commits us, as a university, to 'align ourselves to the UN Sustainable Development Goals, significantly increasing the extent to which our research and teaching aligns with the aim of achieving a healthy and sustainable planet' (p. 19). In Gaza today, we see each one of the SDGs shattered by Israel's genocidal actions which have plunged the population into poverty and hunger, killed well over 100,000 people by conservative estimates⁴², many of them women and girls, devastated healthcare and education infrastructures, destroyed

³⁷ UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. "Experts hail ICJ declaration on illegality of Israel's presence in the occupied Palestinian territory as "historic" for Palestinians and international law" *UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Press Release*, 30 July, 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/07/experts-hail-ici-declaration-illegality-israels-presence-occupied> Accessed 8 January 2025.

³⁸ Amnesty International. "Lebanon: 'the Sky Rained Missiles': Israeli Airstrikes in Lebanon Must Be Investigated as War Crimes - Amnesty International." *Amnesty International*, 12 Dec. 2024, www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde18/8835/2024/en. Accessed 8 January 2025.

³⁹ Amnesty International. "Israel/Occupied Palestinian Territory: 'You Feel Like You Are Subhuman': Israel's Genocide Against Palestinians in Gaza - Amnesty International." *Amnesty International*, 15 Dec. 2024, www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/8668/2024/en. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁴⁰ Human Rights Watch. "Israel's Crime of Extermination, Acts of Genocide in Gaza." *Human Rights Watch*, 19 Dec. 2024, www.hrw.org/news/2024/12/19/israels-crime-extinction-acts-genocide-gaza. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁴¹ Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF). "MSF Report Exposes Israel's Campaign of Total Destruction | MSF." *Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) International*, www.msf.org/msf-report-exposes-israel%E2%80%99s-campaign-total-destruction. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁴² Sophia Stamatopoulou-Robbins, "The Human Toll: Indirect Deaths from War in Gaza and the West Bank, October 7, 2023 Forward". Watson Institute of International & Public Affairs; Brown University; Costs of War Project, October 7, 2024 https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2023/2024/Costs%20of%20War_Human%20Toll%20Since%20Oct%207.pdf. Accessed 7 January 2025

sanitation, energy and economic systems, exacerbated the inequality and injustice of decades of occupation, reduced cities and human settlements to rubble, caused extensive damage to Gaza's natural environment, annihilated peace, and made a mockery of the very concepts of inclusive societies and sustainable development. The Strategic Plan also notes that 'the UN SDGs include not only climate action and addressing poverty and hunger, but also relate to education, gender equality, peace and justice, and sustainable cities' (p. 34). The wide ranging reach of the SDGs must therefore be considered in our research and our other academic and professional activities.

Another priority in our Strategic Plan relates to 'community' and highlights Trinity's 'strong sense of ethics and societal responsibility' (p. 20). In the face of genocide occurring in real time in Gaza and Israeli oppression across the OPT, we must therefore be aware of our social responsibility, as academics and global citizens, to act ethically in support of human rights. It also means that the voices of Palestinian academics and students in Trinity must be heard and that we should put our commitment to equality, diversity and inclusion into action by providing sanctuary for Palestinian students and scholars (see Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3).

Civic engagement

Building on ideas of 'community' and 'civic action' which are prominent in the Strategic Plan, recent years have seen increasing emphasis on university civic engagement in Trinity. This is particularly evident in the College's new Civic Engagement for Societal Impact Action Plan 2024-2026⁴³. The Provost, in her introduction to this plan, emphasises how 'engagement with society is woven into the very fabric of university life', and reminds us that 'it is our responsibility to harness our collective expertise, engage profoundly with our diverse publics, and expand our local and global impact' (p. 2). She goes on to say that 'as a civically engaged university, Trinity actively strives to fulfil its social responsibilities by advancing knowledge for the public good' and to assert that 'we are a force for good in the world' (ibid). This is an important acknowledgement of our social responsibility as a university; indeed, the Civic Engagement Plan refers to our 'unwavering social responsibility' (p. 4). Again, this particularly resonant with regard to Palestine, as Trinity staff and students, we have an obligation to be socially engaged and to be that force for good, rather than (vocal or silent) apologists for genocide.

The imperative to act for justice is further evident in this Action Plan's commitment to civic engagement as a core Trinity value, envisioned thus:

"Our vision for a civically engaged university is centred on the conviction that education should empower individuals to become active contributors to a just, equitable, and sustainable world." (p. 20, emboldened in the original)

This Action Plan concludes with a telling quote from President Michael D. Higgins: 'Our universities are not just centres of learning; they are also institutions that nurture social engagement, critical thinking, and ethical values' (p.21). Given the courageous stance of Uachtaráin na hÉireann in relation to the current genocide in Gaza and his advocacy over many years for the rights of Palestinians, we should reflect on the meaning of social engagement with

⁴³ Trinity College Dublin. Civic Engagement for Societal Impact Action Plan 2024. Accessed 8 January 2025. <https://www.tcd.ie/civicengagement/assets/pdf/ac>

regard to Palestine. In this respect, we cannot abscond from our social responsibilities, not only as Trinity staff and students, but as global citizens and fellow human beings.

Trinity's position on Gaza

In her public statement on the war in Gaza on 1st May 2024⁴⁴, the Provost, condemning the 'continuing, ferocious and disproportionate onslaught in Gaza', said that 'the humanitarian crisis in Gaza and the dehumanisation of its people is obscene'. She also added that 'I fully endorse the International Court of Justice order that enjoins Israel from violating the Genocide Convention.' Considering the Provost's view of the university as a 'force for good', and aware of our 'unwavering social responsibility' in our engagement with society, locally and globally, it therefore stands to reason that we should make all efforts possible in support of the Palestinian people.

This means that we must reconsider our practices both in relation to investment and institutional connections. In her statement on Gaza, the Provost expressed a commitment to review Trinity's investment policies and financial links with Israel. Regarding research, she invoked Trinity's policy on academic freedom in relation to cutting ties with Israeli institutions, saying 'such decisions rest with each individual academic' (see Section 5 for analysis of this issue). However, given the complicity of Israeli higher education institutions in the political and military infrastructure, thoroughly documented by academics such as Maya Wind, any research links with Israeli universities appear to violate Trinity's CORE values, as articulated in our Strategic Plan, in particular, the alignment of our research and teaching with the UN SDGs.

The Provost's statement also outlined concrete steps which Trinity can take to respond to the needs of students and academics in Gaza whose institutions have been destroyed in the Israeli onslaught, pointing out that 'Trinity is a University of Sanctuary, and we can use this designation to find practical ways of providing educational support for Gaza'.

1.2.2 Our responsibilities as a University of Sanctuary

Sanctuary for Palestinian students and academics

In her statement in May, the Provost mentioned the provision of places on both undergraduate and postgraduate courses for students from Gaza. This appeared to reflect the mission of Trinity University of Sanctuary⁴⁵, according to which:

"Trinity commits to creating an inclusive environment, offering opportunities for education, and fostering a sense of belonging for displaced individuals seeking sanctuary in Ireland."

Up to thirteen scholarships were offered to students from Gaza, as reported by University Times on 26th August 2024⁴⁶. However, the vast majority of these students could not take up these

⁴⁴ Trinity College Dublin. *War in Gaza - Provost and President | Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/provost/news/news-articles/war-in-gaza. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁴⁵ Trinity College Dublin. *University of Sanctuary - Trinity Global | Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/global/university-of-sanctuary. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁴⁶ University Times. "Thirteen Scholarships Offered to Palestinian Students – but How Will They Get Out of Gaza?" *University Times*, 26 August 2024, <https://universitytimes.ie/2024/08/thirteen-scholarships-offered-to-palestinian-students-but-how-will-they-get-out-of-gaza/>

places in the Academic Year 2024/25 as they were unable to leave Gaza due to Israel's closure of all border crossings. While it is understood that these places have been deferred to next academic year, there is no guarantee that these students will survive and be able to take up their scholarships in AY 2025/2026. In the meantime, Trinity has received numerous requests from Palestinian students who could have accepted scholarships for AY 2024/25. These include students from Gaza whose education was interrupted by the war, but who had left Gaza before the border closure. Some of these prospective students already have strong family links to Ireland and may have dual Irish/Palestinian citizenship. However, these students may be excluded from applying for the existing University of Sanctuary scholarships⁴⁷ aimed at people in the international protection system, due to their citizenship status and/or the fact that applicants for these scholarships 'must have completed the Leaving Certificate examination and/or the QQI FETAC level 5/6 full award within the last two years'.

In addition, greater support for Palestinian academics is required, for example, in supporting researchers who have already been recruited to research positions in Trinity but who remain trapped in Gaza, as recently reported in the Irish media⁴⁸. A clearer commitment to enabling Palestinian scholars to access research roles in Trinity is also necessary, through international programmes such as Scholars at Risk⁴⁹ and other institutional efforts. This could offer opportunities for Palestinian academics, some of whom are already resident in Ireland, to continue their research, contribute to Trinity's scholarly output, and demonstrate our commitment to inclusivity.

The minimal response to the provision and delivery of places for Palestinian students, contrasts with Trinity's acceptance of students from Ukraine. It must be acknowledged that EU support was available in relation to Ukrainian students and that a sectoral response worked effectively in this case. However, lessons can be learned from the successful response to students affected by the war in Ukraine, for instance, Trinity should use its power to call on the HEA to adopt a sectoral approach to support Palestinian students.

Learning from other Universities of Sanctuary

University of Galway

Trinity's response could also be informed by the efforts of other universities in Ireland with regard to supporting Palestinian students. For example, the University of Galway⁵⁰ has, in line with the recommendation 5.5.2 of its Report on the review of links with Israeli and Palestinian institutions

[scholarships-offered-to-palestinian-students-but-how-will-they-get-out-of-gaza/](https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2024/jan/08/university-of-sanctuary-scholarships-offered-to-palestinian-students-but-how-will-they-get-out-of-gaza) Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁴⁷ Trinity College Dublin. *University of Sanctuary Scholarships - Study - Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/study/undergraduate/scholarships-funding/university-of-sanctuary. Accessed 8 January 2025

⁴⁸ Kelly, Keith. "Scientist Due to Start Work at Trinity Who Is Stuck in Gaza Pleads With Irish Government for Help." *TheJournal.ie*, 19 Dec. 2024, www.thejournal.ie/gaza-scientist-trinity-evacuation-6571042-Dec2024. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁴⁹ Scholars at Risk. "Scholars at Risk | Protecting Scholars and the Freedom to Think, Question, and Share Ideas." *Scholars at Risk*, www.scholarsatrisk.org. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁵⁰ University of Galway. *Israel-Palestine - University of Galway*. www.universityofgalway.ie/sanctuary/israel-palestine. Accessed 8 January 2025.

and industry⁵¹, committed to establishing for Academic Year 2025/26, 'a number of scholarships for Palestinian students at undergraduate level with an open call for applicants anticipated in Spring 2025'. In addition, it has committed to support a Palestinian student 'to pursue a PhD in Galway in the field of socioeconomic resilience in Palestine during Academic Year 2024/25'. While Trinity now offers a Sanctuary PhD Scholarship, provision of an additional PhD award specifically aimed at Palestinian applicants, similar to that offered by the University of Galway, could therefore be considered. Further undergraduate and postgraduate scholarships aimed specifically at Palestinian students could also be provided (Trinity does not offer scholarships for taught master's courses through its existing University of Sanctuary scholarship programme). The University of Galway has also 'commenced a process to identify and support a Palestinian academic to continue their academic career in Galway through the Scholars at Risk Programme' in response to recommendation 5.5.3 of its Review Report.

University College Cork

Similarly, in its Palestine Solidarity Response⁵² University College Cork (UCC) has committed to expanding its Sanctuary Scholarship programme and also to 'separately developing a model of humanitarian scholarships for those displaced seeking refuge (but not in direct provision)' which could provide additional opportunities for Palestinian students. It has also stated that it will support displaced Palestinian academics through the Scholars at Risk programme.

It is important to note how UCC's Emergency Response Working Group Report⁵³ emphasises the concept of solidarity in the actions it has proposed 'against the backdrop of critical and urgent need in Gaza and taking account of the University of Sanctuary framework'. In developing these supports for displaced Palestinians, UCC has committed to engagement with organisations in the community with relevant expertise and has recognised that working with 'the Palestinian community in Cork is very important to ensure that our response is appropriate and effective' (p. 4). This collaborative approach, particularly its valuing of the knowledge and experience of Palestinians in shaping the university's supports is something that should feature in Trinity's response. UCC's Emergency Response Working Group has also supported the idea that the university should 'leverage its role in the IUA to advocate comprehensive state supports for Palestinian students similar to those received by Ukrainian students' (pp. 5-6).

University of Sanctuary UK

University of Sanctuary in the UK has also been to the forefront in advocating for action within the higher education sector in response to the current destruction of the Palestinian education system. Together with the University of Leicester, the University of Sanctuary Steering Group in

⁵¹ University of Galway. *Report on the Review of Links with Israeli and Palestinian Institutions and Industry*, June 2024. <https://www.universityofgalway.ie/media/sanctuary/Final-Report-of-the-Working-Group-to-Review-Links-with-Israeli-and-Palestinian-Institutions-and-Industry-July-2024.pdf>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

⁵² University College Cork. "Palestine Solidarity Response | University College Cork." *University College Cork*, www.ucc.ie/en/global-engagement/palestine-response. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁵³ University College Cork. *Palestine Emergency Response Working Group Report to the President*, 4 September 2024.

<https://www.ucc.ie/en/media/support/globalengagement/PalestineEmergencyResponseWorkingGroupFinalReport.pdf> Accessed 8 January 2025.

the UK has compiled a resource document on Responding to the crisis in Palestine⁵⁴ (published in April 2024 with subsequent updates), providing information on scholarships for Palestinian students, distance learning and language support opportunities, fellowships for Palestinian academics, educational initiatives in collaboration with Palestinian institutions, online resources, trauma informed training, and links to relevant solidarity networks. This document highlights how, 'every university in Gaza has been destroyed or severely damaged, and, as of January 27th, 2024, the death count already included more than 90 professors, 4,237 students, and 231 teachers'. Over the last year, the number of educators and students killed in Gaza has further increased. This guidance document calls on Universities of Sanctuary in the UK to explore ways in which they can support on-campus scholarships and fellowships for Palestinian students, teachers, and academics, additional distance learning opportunities, and the building of institutional links to ensure 'the viability of the HE sector in the OPT (particularly Gaza) in the longer term.' The wide range of supports outlined in this resource document, could likewise guide Trinity University of Sanctuary to develop a more comprehensive response to educational support for Gaza.

1.2.3 EDI and our responsibilities towards students and staff

An inclusive environment for students and staff?

In addition to the handful of students who have been admitted through the University of Sanctuary initiative, the Trinity community also includes staff, academics, and students who identify as Palestinian and Lebanese. Due to historical and ongoing Israeli violence, these individuals may not be "identified" on an institutional level as such, yet they carry the trauma and suffering as a result of Israel's brutal attacks across the region. Ensuring that all students who have experienced conflict and trauma feel valued and not negated is of vital importance and should be part of the University of Sanctuary mission, as expressed in its core principles of 'learn, embed, and share.' In particular, the 'embed' principle, is defined by Trinity University of Sanctuary as: 'embedding concepts of welcome, safety and inclusion within College and the wider community. A sustainable culture of welcome should be established within the institution'.⁵⁵

However, Trinity Global, which also has responsibility for Trinity University Sanctuary in addition to its role in providing support for international students, has issued the following public statement through its Global Incident Response Unit⁵⁶ (web page last updated 25th November 2024) which is dismissive of Palestinian lives and at variance the position of the ICJ and other international bodies which have determined Israel's acts as genocidal:

"Many people in our College community are affected by global events, for example the war in Ukraine, human-caused and natural disasters and, most recently, the Hamas

⁵⁴ Universities of Sanctuary. "Guidance for Universities on Responding to the Crisis in Palestine - Universities of Sanctuary." *Universities of Sanctuary*, 24 May 2024, <https://universities.cityofsanctuary.org/2024/04/03/guidance-for-universities-on-responding-to-the-crisis-in-palestine>. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁵⁵ Trinity College Dublin. *Community Fund - Trinity Global | Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/global/university-of-sanctuary/community-fund. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁵⁶ Trinity College Dublin. *Incident Response Unit - Trinity Global | Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/global/incident-response-unit. Accessed 8 January 2025.

attacks and hostage-taking in Israel and the impact of the military response by Israel on the Palestinian population.”

The position expressed in this comment could cause additional trauma and alienation among Palestinian students and staff and appears out of line with the Provost’s statement of 1st May 2024. Furthermore, on this web page, the Global Incident Response Unit invokes ‘academic freedom’ as the only principle to consider in any institutional response, with little regard to Trinity’s commitment to social responsibility or ethical practice aligned to the UN SDGs. This statement by the Global Incident Response Unit is also notably different to Trinity’s prominent public support for Ukraine⁵⁷ following the full-scale Russian invasion in 2022.

Voices of students and staff affected by war and displacement

Disparities in Trinity’s response to Ukraine and to Palestine raise further issues in relation to the University’s commitment to Equality Diversity and Inclusion (EDI). This is expressed in its Equality Policy⁵⁸ (2016) which commits to ‘promoting equality in all aspects of its activity: employment, education and service provision’ (p. 5) and its Dignity and Respect Policy⁵⁹ (2023) which aims to ‘maintain a positive, safe environment for employees, students and other community members which is free from any form of negative treatment, including discrimination, bullying or any form of harassment’ (p. 6). The Trinity EDI ‘Equality Areas’ include ‘Ethnicity/Nationality’ with research in this area conducted by the Race and Ethnic Equality Working Group. This Working Group has identified in its report, The Trinity Tapestry⁶⁰ (2022), that:

“There is an opportunity for the College to reimagine its approaches to race, ethnicity, diversity and inclusion generally, so that it creates the spaces for stakeholders to engage with each other on issues of equality and ensure that the existence of these spaces to discuss issues such as privilege, racism, prejudice etc. are understood to be priorities” (p.38).

This report highlights a range of challenges facing students from ethnic minorities, including, for example, issues in relation to responding to concerns and providing support to students and staff regarding global incidents. Work done as part of the Trinity Inclusive Curriculum Project⁶¹ (part of EDI) has also highlighted the micro-aggressions and othering experienced by Black Muslim students in the College context, indicating that greater awareness and support for minority ethnic students is required. This points to the need, in the current context, to engage with students and staff directly affected by Israel’s assault on Gaza and Lebanon and its ongoing

⁵⁷ Trinity College Dublin. “Trinity Condemns Invasion of Ukraine.” *News & Events | Trinity College Dublin*, www.tcd.ie/news_events/articles/trinity-condemns-invasion-of-ukraine. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁵⁸ Trinity College Dublin. *Equality Policy - Equality, Diversity and Inclusion | Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/equality/trinity-edi/policy/equality-policy. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁵⁹ Trinity College Dublin. *Policies - Dignity, Respect, and Consent Service - Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/hr/dignity-and-respect/policies. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁶⁰ Trinity College Dublin. *The Trinity Tapestry: We Will Be One Trinity Community*. Racial and Ethnic Equality Working Group Report 2021/2022. <https://www.tcd.ie/media/tcd/equality/documents/tcd/The-Trinity-Tapestry---We-will-be-one-Trinity-community.pdf> Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁶¹ Trinity College Dublin. *Student Insights - Equality, Diversity and Inclusion | Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/equality/inclusive-curriculum/student-partner-programme/student-insights. Accessed 8 January 2025.

oppression of people across the OPT. Trinity therefore has a social responsibility to ensure that their experiences, opinions, and concerns are listened to and acted upon in the development of inclusive and equitable responses to the issues they face. Without such representation, any efforts to 'reimagine' Trinity as a community in which students and staff from minority ethnic backgrounds are genuinely heard, particularly those who have experienced the trauma of war, displacement, and ongoing fear for families and friends in places of conflict, seem meaningless and purely tokenistic.

1.2.4 Responsible research and ethical practice

Trinity's CORE values reflect the concept of Responsible Research and Innovation (RRI). RRI is now a prominent aspect of research practice, as recognised by the ERA-LEARN⁶² initiative which has provided guidance on responsible research within Horizon Europe and other research partnerships since 2009. Key elements of RRI⁶³ include equality and non-discrimination, ethics, inclusiveness and public engagement, and the UN SDGs and EC priorities.

Research Charter

Considering responsible research, three of the seven core principles identified in Trinity's Research Charter⁶⁴ are particularly important:

- 1) Cherishing academic freedom, diversity of scholarship and pursuit of truth.

The Research Charter states that this freedom 'brings with it the obligation to carry out research ethically and with integrity' (p. 3). This will be discussed more in Section 5.

- 4) Harnessing our collective expertise for the greater good.

This principle recognises the importance of multifaceted research to 'solve major societal challenges'. In this regard, the Charter sets a high-level goal for 'Trinity to be bold in defining and taking the lead in multidisciplinary initiatives or emerging fields of research that leverage our expertise for the long-term benefit of humanity' (p. 9). The question must therefore be asked, can research in collaboration with higher education institutions implicated in the Israeli state's genocidal assault on Gaza ever be to the benefit of humanity?

- 5) Broadening our local and global impact.

This principle considers the wide ranging impact of research which may be, for example, educational, economic, societal or cultural. It further emphasises the potential for research to have tangible benefits for the world we live in today. As the Research Charter expresses, this 'is important because impact is the way our research takes effect and changes the world for

⁶² ERA-LEARN. *Welcome to ERA-LEARN — ERA-LEARN*. www.era-learn.eu. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁶³ ERA-LEARN. *Responsible Research and Innovation — ERA-LEARN*. www.era-learn.eu/support-for-partnerships/governance-administration-legal-base/responsible-research-innovation. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁶⁴ Trinity College Dublin. *Our Charter - Trinity Research - Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/research/about/charter. Accessed 8 January 2025.

good' (p. 11). Again, considering research as a force for good in the world, questions must be asked regarding ties with institutions which are complicit in the ongoing genocide in Gaza.

Research ethics and integrity

Another key aspect of responsible research relates to ethics and integrity. In this regard, Trinity articulates its position on Research Ethics and Integrity⁶⁵ thus: 'all research we undertake has an ethical dimension and all researchers should reflect on the implications of their work – issues relating to human and animal welfare and dignity, but also the social and cultural impact of their research'.

Good Research Practice

The current Trinity Policy on Good Research Practice⁶⁶, published in February 2024, recognises that the principle of academic freedom 'must at all times be defended' although it also points out that 'good research practice may, in certain cases, place some limits on the nature of research being carried out' (p. 2). Guided by national and European policy in this field, it further advocates that 'research shall be conducted ethically and with integrity, and shall be founded upon the principles of honesty, reliability, objectivity, impartiality, independence, fairness, respect, accountability, open communication, compliance with duties of care, and responsibility for future generations of researchers' (p. 3).

This policy stresses dignity as the 'foundation of the ethical conduct of research at Trinity College Dublin' and how the principle of 'justice' is central in this regard (p. 10). This calls into question all decisions we make as researchers, not merely in relation to the design of specific projects, but in terms of who we collaborate with, which partners we engage with, and to what extent these ties can be considered ethical or just. Obviously, this has clear implications regarding institutional ties with Israel given its perpetration of injustice on a prolonged and staggering scale in the OPT, including its violation of all the UN SDGs in its current assault on Gaza (as highlighted in Section 2.2.1).

Ethics Policy

Beyond research-specific policies, if we look at overall university level policies, it is clear that Trinity's current Ethics Policy⁶⁷, published in May 2024, also recognises the concept of justice in how we ethically conduct our operations. This policy emphasises the 'University's commitment to the principles of natural justice, due process and to the protection of civil and human rights, and to sustainability' (p. 2). Furthermore, Section 5.1.7 of this policy, 'Freedom of Expression', states that 'the University promotes an environment of freedom of expression and

⁶⁵Trinity College Dublin. *Research Ethics and Integrity - Trinity Research - Trinity College Dublin*. www.tcd.ie/research/support/ethics-integrity.php. Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁶⁶ Trinity College Dublin. *Trinity Policy on Good Research Practice*, Version 1.1, 15 February 2024. https://www.tcd.ie/media/tcd/about/policies/pdfs/Policy-on-Good-Research-Practice_1.1.pdf Accessed 8 January 2025.

⁶⁷ Trinity College Dublin. *Ethics Policy*, Version 2.0, 23 May 2024. <https://www.tcd.ie/media/tcd/about/policies/pdfs/ethics-policy-May24.pdf> Accessed 8 January 2025.

intellectual enquiry and is committed to ensuring it is exercised in such a way as shall not interfere with the rights of others, or breach legislation' (p. 4).

These points are relevant to all university affairs, including research, and highlight the need to consider human rights in any discussion of academic freedom. They also demonstrate the need to be socially responsible in our research and all our activities, and to be cognisant of sustainability which, as Trinity's Strategic Plan reminds us, does not solely relate to environmental issues but to other fundamental aspects of humanity, including peace and justice. This approach resonates with efforts in other universities, such as UCC in its Palestine Solidarity Response,⁶⁸ to examine links with Israeli institutions and to 'ensure our international partnerships comply with ethical and human rights standards', a commitment which seems equally necessary and feasible in Trinity.

⁶⁸University College Cork. "Palestine Solidarity Response | University College Cork." *University College Cork*, www.ucc.ie/en/global-engagement/palestine-response. Accessed 8 January 2025.

Section 2: Palestinian and Israeli universities and research links

There is a long history of complicity between universities and state sponsored violence, and there is ample compelling evidence of the link between Israeli universities and direct participation in the colonisation, apartheid, occupation, and genocide in Palestine and most recently in Gaza. In recent years, some universities across the UK, Europe, and the US have had to contend with this past as students have highlighted the historical ties to slavery and colonialism. Although Ireland is a unique case in Europe as a country that experienced 800 years of British colonisation, Trinity has not been immune to these decolonial discourses, with a key example prompting renaming of the former Berkeley Library in a landmark decision by the college⁶⁹. Despite this progress on symbolic historical reparations against former key figures in the university, modern examples of tacit ties to colonialism continue to exist at our institution. The key example in this report is Israel where our university remains complicit in through its links with Israeli businesses and institutions.

It is important to note that similar institutional complicity was directly acknowledged at the onset of the invasion of Ukraine by Russia in 2022, where our university took decisive action to cut all ties following an EU sanction of Russia. Absent EU sanctions, in the 1980s Trinity has also acknowledged how universities can play a role in international oppression when it decided to respond to a boycott of the apartheid government of South Africa.

In this section we examine the reality of scholasticide in Palestine - the systemic denial of education to Palestinians and destruction of educational institutions in Gaza and the West Bank, which has accelerated beyond belief since October 7th, but which predates it by decades (2.1). We also outline how Israeli universities in general have repressed academic freedom and dissent for their own staff and students and how they serve to oppress Palestinian staff and students in particular (2.1). We then look at how Israeli universities have been key partners and participants in the destruction of all aspects of Palestinian society - again while this predates October 7, this participation in genocide has grown starker since then (2.2). We next examine specific institutions with which Trinity college has exchange links with - namely Hebrew University and Bar-Ilan University - and their ongoing participation in Israel's military machine (2.3). We extend this examination to universities and businesses with which Trinity has research links in order to demonstrate that their participation in Israeli war crimes is not some abstract connection but ongoing, concrete and egregious conduct within these institutions (2.4).

2.1 Scholasticide in Palestine

In 2008, Dr. Karma Nabulsi of the University of Oxford coined the term 'Scholasticide' to describe the targeting of schools and the Ministry of Education in Gaza by the Israeli regime. The term refers to the deliberate destruction of Palestine's education system and its ability to rebuild it⁷⁰. In more recent literature, the term has been expanded to describe how universities and international actors also participate in scholasticide in Palestine through the silencing of

⁶⁹ Denaming the Berkeley Library - The Library of Trinity College Dublin - Trinity College Dublin. <https://www.tcd.ie/library/about/denaming.php>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

⁷⁰ Desai, Chandni. "The War in Gaza Is Wiping out Palestine's Education and Knowledge Systems." The Conversation, 8 Feb. 2024, <http://theconversation.com/the-war-in-gaza-is-wiping-out-palestines-education-and-knowledge-systems-222055>.

Palestinian solidarity movements, the silencing of Palestinian and anti-Zionist academics, selective mutism on violence against Palestinians, and active support of complicit Israeli regimes through research links and professional networks.⁷¹

In the first four months of a now two-year long genocide, Israel destroyed **every** university in Gaza.⁷² Since the start of the 2023 genocide, hundreds of academics, students, researchers, and staff have been murdered in Gaza.⁷³ In the recent ICJ case, South Africa argued that Palestinian academics were being intentionally assassinated.⁷⁴ Scholasticide in Palestine, like its colonisation, has been a long process that is intimately tied to the Zionist project. Any attack on higher education must be of paramount concern to a University such as Trinity. The attack on Palestinian academics and university infrastructure has been sustained and unquestionably discriminatory.

United Nations Experts raised concerns of scholasticide in Gaza over 8 months ago.⁷⁵ Allegation of scholasticide at such high level are very serious and require all universities to (a) show global academic solidarity with Palestinian colleagues and (b) apply the precautionary principle by ceasing any and all ties that could plausibly contribute to such scholasticate (in the context of the larger finding of plausible genocide by the ICJ). In addition, Gazan academics have called on international colleagues to:

“support our steadfast attempts to defend and preserve our universities for the sake of the future of our people, and our ability to remain on our Palestinian land in Gaza. We built these universities from tents. And from tents, with the support of our friends, we will rebuild them once again”.⁷⁶

Attention has been rightly focused on the physical destruction of all the universities and almost every school in Gaza during the most recent Israeli assault in the OPT. Most recently, on 5 January 2025, the conference of the American Historical Association, the oldest academic association in the US, voted overwhelmingly to condemn Israeli scholasticide in Gaza.⁷⁷ However, scholasticide in Palestine far predates the current genocide. Palestinian educational

⁷¹ Hajir, Basma, and Mezna Qato. “Academia in a Time of Genocide: Scholasticidal Tendencies and Continuities.” *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, pp. 1–9. tandfonline.com (Atypon), <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2024.2445855>.

⁷² Jebril, Mona. The role of world universities at times of war and crisis: widening participation and the reconstruction of higher education in the Gaza Strip (Occupied Palestinian Territories), 2024, <https://api.repository.cam.ac.uk/server/api/core/bitstreams/89d23142-f9da-41be-9c48-311aea4a6836/content>. Accessed 4 January 2024.

⁷³ How Israel Has Destroyed Gaza’s Schools and Universities | Israel-Palestine Conflict News | Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/24/how-israel-has-destroyed-gazas-schools-and-universities>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

⁷⁴ South Africa Submission - International Court of Justice | INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE. <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20231228-app-01-00-en.pdf> Accessed 4 Jan. 2025.

⁷⁵ “UN experts deeply concerned over scholasticide in Gaza” *UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Press Release*, 18 April, 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/04/un-experts-deeply-concerned-over-scholasticide-gaza>. Accessed 4 January 2025.

⁷⁶ *Gaza Academics and Administrators, 2024 in Jebril*, (at note 77), 2024 p.8.

⁷⁷ American Historical Association. “Resolution to oppose scholasticide in Gaza” *in Perspectives on History* 6 January, 2025 <https://www.historians.org/perspectives-article/resolution-for-consideration-at-the-january-2025-business-meeting/> accessed 9 January 2025

and cultural life has been subjected to several deliberate attacks over the years since the Nakba in 1948⁷⁸. At the creation of the state of Israel, “thousands of Palestinian books, libraries, manuscripts, archives, historical artifacts, photographs, and property were deliberately stolen, destroyed or damaged by Zionist militias financed by European states”⁷⁹. In 1948, Palestinian schools were destroyed or damaged, and in some cases appropriated by the Israeli state for other use⁸⁰. During the 1967 war and the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Israel deliberately targeted Palestinian universities and cultural sites⁸¹. Prior to this most recent destruction, Palestinians academics have been routinely prevented from attending conferences, international events, and even traveling within their own country⁸². Palestinian students and academics are routinely imprisoned and many remain imprisoned⁸³.

Describing the more recent scholasticide in Gaza, Desai states:

“Scholasticide is not an event. It’s part of a colonial continuum of attacking and destroying a people’s educational life, knowledge systems and plundering material culture and cultural heritage. The targeted killing of the educated class is intended to make it difficult for Palestinians to restore the political and socio-economic conditions needed to survive and rebuild Gaza. This systematic destruction is at the core of the settler colonial “logic of elimination”. It has also been applied to Indigenous Peoples in Canada, the United States and elsewhere. This logic drives a settler population to replace Indigenous peoples in their aim to establish a new society.”⁸⁴

In addition to this, over decades students have been abducted, injured and killed⁸⁵. Academics have been arrested. Recognition of professional degree programme qualifications have been halted. Some Palestinian third level colleges have been indefinitely closed (not including those physically destroyed in Gaza)⁸⁶. Al Quds University, with whom Trinity has an existing Institutional MOU, has faced detention of staff and students, including incarceration without charge; destruction of University property; and destruction of road access to the University

⁷⁸ About the Nakba - Question of Palestine. <https://www.un.org/unispal/about-the-nakba/>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

⁷⁹ Desai, Chandni. “The War in Gaza Is Wiping out Palestine’s Education and Knowledge Systems.” The Conversation, 8 Feb. 2024, <http://theconversation.com/the-war-in-gaza-is-wiping-out-palestines-education-and-knowledge-systems-222055>. Accessed 4 January 2025

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² Wind, Maya. Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom. Verso Books, 2024.

⁸³ Desai, Chandni. “The War in Gaza Is Wiping out Palestine’s Education and Knowledge Systems.” The Conversation, 8 Feb. 2024, <http://theconversation.com/the-war-in-gaza-is-wiping-out-palestines-education-and-knowledge-systems-222055>. Accessed 4 January 2025

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ Dader, Khalid, et al. “Topologies of scholasticide in Gaza: education in spaces of elimination.” *Fennia-International Journal of Geography* 202.1 (2024): 1-12.

⁸⁶ Riemer, Nick. “The attack on Palestinian Universities” *Jacobin*, 12 December 2018, <https://jacobin.com/2018/12/palestinian-universities-higher-eduction-israeli-violence>. Accessed 4 January 2025.

during this most recent genocide⁸⁷. In the landmark ICJ case by South Africa against Israel, Blinne Ní Ghralaigh, Irish human rights lawyer and legal representative for South Africa notes:

“Almost 90,000 Palestinian university students cannot attend university in Gaza. Over 60 per cent of schools, almost all universities and countless bookshops and libraries have been damaged and destroyed. Hundreds of teachers and academics have been killed, including deans of universities and leading Palestinian scholars. Obliterating the very future prospects of the future education of Gaza’s children and young people.”⁸⁸

Efforts to defend complicit Israeli institutions while ignoring the systematic destruction of Palestinian ones serve only the Zionist goal of cultural erasure and economic handicapping Palestinian futures through scholasticide. It is of particular importance for universities like Trinity, who portray to the international community that we are a University of Sanctuary and a ‘global’ university, to consider our roles in scholasticide in Palestine and what can be done to stop it. Ending complicity and normalisation efforts are two concrete ways Trinity can stop scholasticide in Palestine. Since 2000, Trinity researchers have co-authored only 11 papers with researchers based in Palestinian institutions compared to 589 with Israeli institutions. There are many complex reasons behind this inequality, but chief among them is the normalisation and complicity of European states and their institutions, like Trinity College in academic erasure.

2.2 Israeli universities’ complicity in occupation, apartheid and genocide in Palestine

“Israeli academic disciplines have developed in the service of the Israeli government and security state [and] continue to materially support state projects. Dominant paradigms in diverse disciplines are entangled with, and structurally complicit in sustaining, Israeli apartheid and military occupation, and their ongoing infringements of Palestinian human rights. Leading departments and scholars across disciplines have subordinated their intellectual inquiry to the requirements of the Israeli state”.⁸⁹

The deep and long standing involvement of Israeli universities in the Israeli state’s military occupation, illegal settlements, apartheid policies and war crimes has been comprehensively demonstrated, most recently by Maya Wind’s outstanding study.⁹⁰ These universities are not the liberal bastions of critical thinking that Western universities continue to pretend they are. They develop knowledge and technology, deliver training, provide ideological and material support and actively participate in Israel’s military and policing activities. All public universities participate in programmes that train soldiers, in collaboration with the Israeli military, Ministry of Defense and weapons manufacturers. Most work closely with the military and security services, as well as weapons manufacturers like Elbit Systems, Rafael and Israeli Aerospace Industries, to develop technology, equipment and expertise for military and policing. These are used to

⁸⁷ Browne, B. C., et al. *Al Quds University Human Rights Clinic Report for International Partners: Trinity College Dublin Recent Violations Report*, Al Quds University Human Rights Clinic & Community Action Centre, see annex to the submission of Dr Brendan Ciarán Browne to this Taskforce.

⁸⁸ South Africa Presents Its Case against Israel at the ICJ - YouTube.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4f_yoal4gx8. Accessed 4 Jan. 2025.

⁸⁹ Wind, Maya. *Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom*. Verso Books, 2024, p.23-24.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

violently maintain the occupation and in the commission of war crimes in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria. As Wind demonstrates, disciplines like Archaeology contribute to justifying and perpetuating land theft and expanding settlements, Legal Studies produces interpretations of international law that undermines its efforts to hold Israel accountable for its crimes, as well as legal justifications for collective punishment (a war crime), and Middle East Studies provides regional expertise and training to the security services to support their management of the illegal military occupation.

Not one Israeli university has taken an institutional stance in opposition to the destruction of Gaza's educational system or the mass slaughter and collective punishment of its civilian population. On the contrary, the Israeli Association of University Heads, representing nine Israeli universities, published a letter in November 2023 condemning the opposition to Israel's actions on campuses worldwide.⁹¹ Meanwhile, these same universities have provided moral and material support to the perpetuation of the genocide, "enlisting their institutes, resources, and courses to produce hasbara, state propaganda, to defend Israel from international criticism [...] training soldiers and developing weapons for the Israeli military [and] granting special benefits, scholarships and even course credit to reserve soldiers returning from the Gaza Strip."⁹² In November 2023, it was reported that around 30% of Israeli university students and thousands of faculty and university staff had been called up for reserve duty.⁹³ To give just one example of this ongoing support, Tel Aviv University has opened a "war room" to support students and academics serving as reservists and an "engineering war room" in which it developed the camera-mounted technology worn by canine units used in vicious attacks on civilians in Gaza, including the brutal mauling of a young man with Down syndrome in July 2024.⁹⁴

Beyond this, Israeli universities in association with the security services have consistently repressed dissenting opinions among both students and staff. This repression of academic freedom has existed before 7th October, but has gone into overdrive since. Palestinians face discrimination from the university system firstly by not being soldiers, who receive a raft of grants and preferential treatment from Israeli universities, preferential treatment which is accentuated in wartime. In addition, an informal but effective quota system exists for programmes like medicine, on top of the use of psychometric exams for entry into universities, which has been used to discriminate against Palestinian citizens of Israel⁹⁵

⁹¹ "A Letter from VERA – Association of University Heads, Israel." *Tel Aviv University*, 1 Nov. 2023, <https://english.tau.ac.il/news/vera-1-11-23>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

⁹² *Israel's Universities Are a Key Part of Its Apartheid Regime*. <https://jacobin.com/2024/02/israel-universities-palestine-apartheid-academia>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

⁹³ "Israeli universities step up to support students in reserves, war effort", *The Times of Israel*, 23 November 2023, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-universities-step-up-to-support-students-in-reserves-war-effort/>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

⁹⁴ "Tel Aviv University Developed Dog Cameras for Army Unit Linked to Gaza Attacks." *Middle East Eye*, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/tel-aviv-university-developed-dog-cameras-army-unit-linked-gaza-attacks>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

⁹⁵ Cook, Jonathan. 2008. "Academic freedom? Not for Arabs in Israel" *Electronic Intifada*. 4 March 2008. <https://electronicintifada.net/content/academic-freedom-not-arabs-israel/7398> Accessed 9 January 2025
Wind. p.154-155

Once within universities in Israel, Palestinian students commonly report feelings of suffocation, repression of Palestinian identity, and experiences of silencing on campuses.⁹⁶ Giving one example: when Palestinian students of Hebrew University protested the Havatzalot programme (Section 2.3), saying how threatening they found it, they faced sanctions from the Hebrew University and calls for criminal investigation from the Knesset.⁹⁷

This negation of academic freedom for Palestinian students in Israel has exploded since 7th October. A report by the human rights organisation Adalah in May 2024 described how.

"Palestinian students, citizens of Israel, have faced an unprecedented wave of disciplinary action from their universities and colleges targeting their freedom of speech and Palestinian identity. These efforts have been largely focused on the social media posts of Palestinian students, with those who openly reference or express their Palestinian-Arab heritage, religious beliefs or voice dissent over Israel's onslaught on Gaza becoming the targets of punitive campaigns initiated by right-wing campus organizations, in coordination with academic institutions."⁹⁸

The report goes on to instance how

- At least 36 Israeli universities and colleges have initiated disciplinary proceedings against students, mainly for social media postings
- 10 of these institutions referred students to the police
- In the cases represented by Adalah, almost half ended in suspension or expulsion
- Most cases involved expression of solidarity with the Gaza or citations from the Quran
- 79% of cases were filed against female students.

While Palestinian students are targeted in this manner, with the explicit endorsement of the Israeli Minister of Education, Israeli students have been free to post violent threats against Palestinians.⁹⁹

Nor are staff exempt from attack from universities. One particularly egregious example is that of Professor Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian, the Lawrence D. Biele Chair in Law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. After she circulated a petition calling for an end to the attack on Gaza, the rector and president of Hebrew University issued an open letter targeting her on 29th October 2023. This letter included the phrase "We are sorry and ashamed that the Hebrew University includes a faculty member like you. In light of your feelings, we believe that it is appropriate for you to consider leaving your position at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem."¹⁰⁰ This letter and its wide dissemination within Israel can be understood as incitement to violence

⁹⁶ Mansour, Lamma. 2024. 'Not ours': Palestinian Arab students' perceptions of the campus ethnonational climate in Israeli higher education. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 1–18.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2024.2328282>

⁹⁷ Wind. p53

⁹⁸ Adalah. 2024 "Repression of Palestinian Students in Israeli Universities and Colleges" 09/05/2024 <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/11116> Accessed 9 January 2025

⁹⁹ Neve Gordon and Penny Green. 2024. "Israel's Universities: The Crackdown" New York Review. <https://www.nybooks.com/online/2024/06/05/israel-universities-the-crackdown> Accessed 9 January 2025

¹⁰⁰ Scholars at Risk statement. <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-10-29-hebrew-university-of-jerusalem/> Accessed 9 January 2025

– both verbal and physical – against Professor Shalhoub-Kevorkian, who received many threats of violence, including death threats, as a result of the letter. The letter was followed up by suspension. On 18th April 2024 Professor Shalhoub-Kevorkian was arrested, strip-searched and charged with suspicion “of severe incitement against the State of Israel for statements made against Zionism and claims that Israel is currently committing genocide in Gaza.”¹⁰¹

These actions against a senior academic, a guest lecturer at Trinity College on two occasions, illustrate the systemic repression of dissent within Israeli academia. Other senior Israeli academics such as Professor Ilan Pappe and Professor Neve Gordon have been impelled to leave Israel precisely because of this repression of academic freedom. Those who oppose boycotting Israeli institutions sometimes cite the presence of dissident academics: we do not support these academics by supporting the institutions that repress them.

2.3 Trinity’s exchanges with complicit Israeli universities

The Israeli third-level education system consists of 10 universities and dozens of smaller academic or degree granting institutions. Of the 10 universities, Trinity currently has some form of ties to 6 of them: Bar-Ilan University, Hebrew University, Technion Institute, Ben Gurion University, Tel-Aviv University and the Holon Institute of Technology. Alongside this, Trinity has links, through Horizon Europe research projects, to six Israeli companies and research institutes (Teva Pharmaceuticals Industries, Agora P.S.V.D., Philips Medical Systems Technologies, Mofet Institute, KI Research Institute, Eshkol Innovation Agriculture). In comparison, Trinity has only one link to a Palestinian University, Al Quds University, located in the Occupied West Bank. Below we provide more detail (though far from a comprehensive list) on the specific ways that each of these institutions and companies are complicit in the Israeli state’s occupation, apartheid and genocide.

Several Trinity Departments and Schools have partnerships with Israeli universities, all of which have been built on stolen Palestinian land¹⁰²: the Department of Near and Middle East Studies with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the School of Religion, Theology and Peace Studies with Bar-Ilan University. Below we outline evidence for the complicity of both of these universities in Israel’s occupation, apartheid and genocide. Facilitating these exchanges normalises the actions of the Israeli regime, which have been deemed illegal under international law. Significantly, it also puts our students at direct risk of harm, most acutely by Israeli security forces. It also puts them at risk of complicity, and without knowledge of the ways in which these universities facilitate war crimes, students cannot make informed decisions about their exchange choices. Exchange programmes in disciplines such as Levantine archaeology and history cannot be disentangled from the historical and ongoing appropriation of Palestinian land and the erasure of Palestinian cultural memory. For example, archaeological specialists working at both of the universities with whom Trinity has current partnerships continue to work in tandem with the Israeli military in excavating sites in the OPT, leading to the harassment and

¹⁰¹ Neve Gordon and Penny Green. 2024. “Israel’s Universities: The Crackdown” New York Review. <https://www.nybooks.com/online/2024/06/05/israel-universities-the-crackdown> Accessed 9 January 2025

¹⁰² Wind, Maya. Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom. Verso Books, 2024.

dispossession of the local populace.¹⁰³ This activity has only intensified since the start of the recent genocide, with the approval in July 2024 of a bill in the Knesset that would extend the dominion of the Israeli Antiquities Authority over illegally occupied Palestinian territories in the West Bank.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Middle East Studies in Israel is deeply intertwined with the military and security services, producing racialised knowledge about the region's indigenous peoples and developing "at the intersection of Israeli academia, the military and the state."¹⁰⁵

Bar-Ilan University

Bar-Ilan University is built on stolen Palestinian land in historical Yaffa. Bar-Ilan runs hackathons aimed at enhancing Israel security systems in partnership with Elbit Systems¹⁰⁶ and the IDF.¹⁰⁷ Bar Ilan has participated in joint research with the IDF,¹⁰⁸ specifically in developing artificial intelligence¹⁰⁹ for unmanned combat vehicles in places like Gaza. The university also collaborates closely¹¹⁰ with the Shin Bet, Israel's security services that are notorious for inhumane acts against Palestinians. Shin Bet has been directly condemned by the UN Committee Against Torture¹¹¹ for its use of torture and other illegal violent interrogation tactics against Palestinians.

Hebrew University

Student exchange programs with Hebrew University in the past have provided a mechanism for students interested in studying Judaism or Hebrew to become immersed in the language, however, at the cost of complicity there are more ethical ways to provide similar experiences for students.

¹⁰³ Wind, Maya. *Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom*. Verso Books, 2024. Pp.24-35, esp. p.30.

¹⁰⁴ Bill P/2345/25; see Emek Shaveh [Position Paper: Proposed Amendments to the Antiquities Authority Law to Expand the Authority's Jurisdiction into the West Bank](#). Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

¹⁰⁵ Wind, Maya. *Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom*. Verso Books, 2024. Pp.24-35, esp. p.44-49.

¹⁰⁶ *Sign Up for the Biothon, the Biotech Hackathon | The Alexander Kofkin Faculty of Engineering*. <https://engineering.biu.ac.il/en/node/11810>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁰⁷ *The Faculty of Engineering's Annual Hackathon Is Almost Here! | The Alexander Kofkin Faculty of Engineering*. <https://engineering.biu.ac.il/en/node/11822>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁰⁸ Keller, Uri Jacobi. *Academic Boycott of Israel and the Complicity of Israeli Academic Institutions in Occupation of Palestinian Territories*. 23–24, Alternative Information Centre, Oct.

2009. <https://bdsmovement.net/files/2011/02/EOO23-24-Web.pdf>. Accessed 7 Jan 2025.

¹⁰⁹ 109. אילן, אוניברסיטת בר. "הרובוטים יפטרו במקום החילים". *הידען*, 7 June 2008,

<https://www.hayadan.org.il/robot-patrol-0806085>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025. Text translated from Hebrew to English using Google Translate.

¹¹⁰ אודות המדור לזרועות הביטחון | המדור לזרועות הביטחון. <https://mzb.biu.ac.il/about>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025. Text translated from Hebrew to English using Google Translate.

¹¹¹ "Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment."

OHCHR, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-against-torture-and-other-cruel-inhuman-or-degrading>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

Hebrew University is built on Palestinian land, but the newer Mount Scopus campus is partly built on illegally occupied land in East Jerusalem.¹¹² The university hosts the IDF's Havatzalot¹¹³ academic elite program which is designed to train future intelligence officers. They also host the highly secretive Talpiot military program,¹¹⁴ which combines military training with studies in math, physics and computer science. These subjects are explicitly chosen because of their strategic military use. The university also publicly boasts about providing 'diverse logistics equipment to several military units' since the invasion of Gaza began.¹¹⁵

2.4 Trinity's research links with complicit Israeli universities and businesses

According to public information available on the Horizon dashboard, Trinity currently participates in 11 ongoing projects with 10 different Israeli partners, both higher education institutions and private companies.¹¹⁶ Three of these projects will end in the first half of 2025 but three new agreements were signed in October and November 2024. In all three cases, the proposals appear to have been submitted and the subsequent grant agreements signed during the genocide. The projects Trinity is involved in are mostly health-related and are not in themselves unethical. However, collaboration with Israeli institutions which are complicit in apartheid, occupation and genocide is deeply problematic.

2.4.1 Research links with Israeli universities

As outlined above, Israeli universities deny complicity, legitimise human rights violations and violations of international law in Palestine and Lebanon, all with explicit support from institutions in Europe and America. We categorise this situation as exceptional due to the strength of ties between the EU and Israeli institutions as well as the deep, troubling history behind the creation of the state of Israel.¹¹⁷ For this reason, our research links are vital to maintaining the academic integrity of the institutions, regardless of the aims of the research.

Ben Gurion University of the Negev

¹¹² Lawyers, Concerned International. "Statement by Legal Scholars and International Lawyers Against Holding ESIL Forum at the Hebrew University in East Jerusalem." *Critical Legal Thinking*, 23 Nov. 2017, <https://criticallegalthinking.com/2017/11/23/statement-against-holding-esil-at-the-hebrew-university/>.

¹¹³ Kubovich, Yaniv. "Armed Forces Guarding Students: Israeli Army to Open Base in a University." *Haaretz*, 27 Mar. 2019. *Haaretz*, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2019-03-27/article/.premium/military-personnel-alongside-students-israeli-army-seeks-bases-in-universities/0000017f-edaf-ddba-a37f-efef71be0000>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹¹⁴ "Each Talpiot Graduate Can Make a 1% Difference in Battle" - Israel News - The Jerusalem Post. <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Secretive-Talpiot-program-helps-IDF-soldiers-stay-ahead-of-the-curve-449279>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹¹⁵ University Providing Support. <https://campaign.huji.ac.il/help-university-community>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹¹⁶ EU Funding & Tenders Portal. <https://ec.europa.eu/info/funding-tenders/opportunities/portal/screen/opportunities/horizon-dashboard>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹¹⁷ Wind, Maya. *Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom*. Verso Books, 2024

Trinity currently participates in three projects with Ben Gurion University (BGU) (R2D2-MH,¹¹⁸ eRaDicate,¹¹⁹ CARAMEL¹²⁰).

BGU hosts the Homeland Security Institute which is an open and active collaborator¹²¹ with the Israeli Ministry of Defence and Israeli military industry companies, such as Elbit Systems. Furthermore, the Israeli military is building a new campus next to BGU with the explicit aim to further ties between BGU and the military and “reinforce the army’s operational capabilities”.¹²²

Tel Aviv University

Trinity currently participates in one project (EXPERT)¹²³ with Tel-Aviv University (TAU). TAU has long and deep ties with problematic institutions which promote and profit from war crimes. TAU was built on lands which used to be the village of Al-Shaykh Muwannis in historic Yaffa, until the Palestinian population fled during the 1948 Nakba. TAU is actively involved in the training of officers¹²⁴ for the Israeli military through its Erez programme, which expedites degree courses for serving officers. The programme is reportedly worth US\$4 million over 3 years. Participation in the Academic Reserve programme involves training skilled graduates to work in the Israeli military, including legal teams to justify¹²⁵ the killing of civilians and targeting of civilian infrastructure.

The University has deep ties to the Israeli arms industry and a close relationship with Elbit Systems¹²⁶, one of Israel’s largest arms manufacturers. It hosts the Institute for National Security Studies, which has promoted the so-called Dahiya Doctrine¹²⁷ of disproportionate response

¹¹⁸ “Risk and Resilience in Developmental Diversity and Mental Health | R2D2-MH Project | Fact Sheet | HORIZON.” *CORDIS | European Commission*, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101057385>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹¹⁹ “Innovative Ligands for Nuclear Receptors to Eradicate Cancer Relapse. | eRaDicate Project | Fact Sheet | HORIZON.” *CORDIS | European Commission*, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101119427>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹²⁰ “CArdiovascular Risk Assessment in MEnopausal Women via Multimodal Data Analysis Enabling Personalized Prevention Strategies | CARAMEL Project | Fact Sheet | HORIZON.” *CORDIS | European Commission*, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101156210>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹²¹ *Homeland Security Institute - Collaborations*.

https://in.bgu.ac.il/en/hsi/Pages/international_collaborations.aspx. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹²² “Israeli Universities Attacking Campus Uprisings Uphold Israel’s Crimes Against Palestinians.” *BDS Movement*, 1 May 2024, <https://bdsmovement.net/news/israeli-universities-attacking-campus-uprisings-uphold-israels-crimes-against-palestinians>.

¹²³ “EXpanding Platforms for Efficacious mRNA Therapeutics | EXPERT Project | Fact Sheet | H2020.” *CORDIS | European Commission*, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/825828>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹²⁴ “Israeli Universities Are Assisting the Genocide. Canadian Universities Refuse to Cut Ties with Them.” *Mondoweiss*, 27 May 2024, <https://mondoweiss.net/2024/05/israeli-universities-are-assisting-the-genocide-canadian-universities-refuse-to-cut-ties-with-them/>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹²⁵ Barshad, Amos. “Israel’s Gabriella Blum Helped Write the Laws of Drone Warfare. Nearly Two Decades Later, She Has Regrets.” *The Intercept*, 7 Oct. 2018,

<https://theintercept.com/2018/10/07/israel-palestine-us-drone-strikes/>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹²⁶ “Academia, Weapons and Occupation: How Tel Aviv University Serves the Interests of the Israeli Military and Arms Industry.” *BDS Movement*, 4 May 2022, <https://bdsmovement.net/news/academia-weapons-and-occupation-how-tel-aviv-university-serves-interests-israeli-military-and>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹²⁷ Rogers, Paul. “Israel’s Use of Disproportionate Force Is a Long-Established Tactic – with a Clear Aim.” *The Guardian*, 5 Dec. 2023. *The Guardian*,

involving systematic targeting of civilian infrastructure. This is the exact doctrine implemented most recently in Gaza and in Lebanon. More recently it has deepened collaboration with the Israeli Air Force¹²⁸ to use scientific research to develop “operational concepts, combat doctrine, and power-building processes.”

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/dec/05/israel-disproportionate-force-tactic-infrastructure-economy-civilian-casualties>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹²⁸ TAU-IDF Establish Air and Space Power Center - Israel News - *The Jerusalem Post*. <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-691357>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

Technion Institute

Trinity participates in one project (IMPACTIVE¹²⁹) with Technion. Technion - Israel Institute of Technology has long collaborated with the Israeli military industry and promoted involvement with the Israeli military. It is a sponsor¹³⁰ of the Psagot "academic reserve" program which grants B.Sc. degrees in Software Engineering to candidates selected by the Israeli military. Its classes have included a marketing course¹³¹ titled 'Defense Strategy for International Markets,' which is targeted at promoting the international trade of Israeli arms. Professor Ilan Pappé writes that Technion academics were directly complicit in the ethnic cleansing in the Galilee and promoted the theft of Palestinian lands.¹³²

Technion has a long and deep involvement¹³³ with the Israeli military industry. It was involved in the development of remote control¹³⁴ technology for the Israeli military, including for armed vehicles and bulldozers. It worked on advanced vision and targeting technology¹³⁵ with Elbit Systems. Technion has also bolstered Israeli unmanned aerial vehicle¹³⁶ - UAV, or drone - technology, contributing to the development of stealth and spy technology.

Other examples include, "the Scream", a non-lethal acoustic weapon designed to emit unbearably high sound levels, capable of reaching up to 100 meters. Developed by Technion,¹³⁷ It is primarily used for crowd control, particularly in suppressing peaceful protests in the OPT. The device produces intense sound pulses that cause dizziness, nausea, and shock, with the

¹²⁹ "Innovative Mechanochemical Processes to Synthesize Green ACTIVE Pharmaceutical Ingredients. | IMPACTIVE Project | Fact Sheet | HORIZON." CORDIS | European Commission, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101057286>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

¹³⁰ *The Taub Faculty of Computer Science, Technion | 2023-2024 Computer Science - The Taub Faculty of Computer Science, Technion.* <https://undergraduate.cs.technion.ac.il/en/2023-2024-computer-science/>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹³¹ Magazine, +972. "Top Israeli University Marketing Country's Arms Industry to the World." +972 Magazine, 9 Mar. 2017, <https://www.972mag.com/top-israeli-university-marketing-countys-arms-industry-to-the-world/>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹³² Pappé, Ilan. *The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of the Palestinians in Israel*. Yale University Press, 2011. p.257.

¹³³ Aziz, Alan. *Israel Owes so Much to the Brilliance of the Technion*. <https://www.thejc.com/community/the-schmooze/israel-owes-so-much-to-the-brilliance-of-the-technion-a8h160xz>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹³⁴ *Israel Develops Giant Remote-Controlled Bulldozer - Taipei Times*. 1 Nov. 2003, <https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/world/archives/2003/11/01/2003074186>.

¹³⁵ *Elbit Systems and the Israel Institute of Technology (Technion) to Establish New Vision Systems Research Centre - Press Release*. 15 June 2008, <https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1027664/000091068008000462/f6k06152008.htm>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹³⁶ Silver, Charlotte. "Normalising Death: The Business of Drones." *Al Jazeera*, <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2012/12/7/normalising-death-the-business-of-drones>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹³⁷ Magazine, +972. "Top Israeli University Marketing Country's Arms Industry to the World." +972 Magazine, 9 Mar. 2017, <https://www.972mag.com/top-israeli-university-marketing-countys-arms-industry-to-the-world/>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

potential to induce heart attacks, severe fear, and irreversible hearing damage.¹³⁸ In 2020, it was also deployed by Israeli police against Israeli anti-government demonstrators in Tel Aviv.¹³⁹

Holon Institute of Technology (HIT)

Trinity participates in one project with Holon Institute of Technology (ENSURE-6G¹⁴⁰). The project was submitted and grant agreement signed during 2024 and started in January 2025. Holon Institute of Technology is materially supporting the ongoing genocide. The Institute's industrial design students, working with Israeli security forces, "have designed, developed and produced hundreds of items of combat equipment for the IDF's elite units, police officers and firefighters" aligned with IDF operational requirements¹⁴¹ and using advanced technology.¹⁴² They also raise funds to continue supplying the Israeli military with equipment.

2.4.2 Research links with Israeli industry

Below we outline Trinity's existing research links with Israeli industries and outline evidence of how these industries have been complicit in Israeli war crimes against Palestinians. While not all companies have been linked directly, all companies operate in the Israeli market, fueling its economy, and locate their local headquarters on stolen Palestinian land. Israeli firms are part of an apartheid system where discrimination against Palestinians in the workplace is also rampant and impossible to fully measure under the current Israeli regime¹⁴³.

Teva Pharmaceutical Industries: 1 current project - AIMS-2-TRIALS¹⁴⁴ (ends May 2025). TEVA is the biggest pharmaceutical company in Israel and one of the biggest manufacturers of generic drugs in the world. TEVA profit from the occupation¹⁴⁵ through access to a captive Palestinian market without customs or checkpoints and regulations that allow them not to amend products to sell them in the OPT, i.e., there is no requirement to label drugs in Arabic for the Palestinian market. Preferential regulations from the Israeli Ministry of Health also restrict access to generic drugs, ensuring Israeli companies like TEVA face no competition from

¹³⁸ "The Scream": Israel Blasts Protesters With Sonic Gun | WIRED. <https://archive.ph/bbPJ8>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹³⁹ Israeli Police Used Sound Cannon Against Anti-Overhaul Protesters, Violating Regulations - Israel News - Haaretz.Com. <https://archive.ph/43GNH>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁴⁰ "Evolution in Security and Privacy for 6G Networks | ENSURE-6G Project | Fact Sheet | HORIZON." CORDIS | European Commission, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101182933>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

¹⁴¹ "Tech Students Design Equipment for IDF, Emergency Services." The Jerusalem Post | JPost.Com, 21 Nov. 2023, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/article-774301>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

¹⁴² Holon Institute of Technology on LinkedIn: #industrialdesign. https://www.linkedin.com/posts/hitolon-institute-of-technology_industrialdesign-activity-7122595727117025282-vb87. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

¹⁴³ "Israel's Apartheid against Palestinians: A Cruel System of Domination and a Crime against Humanity." Amnesty International, 1 Feb. 2022, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/02/israels-apartheid-against-palestinians-a-cruel-system-of-domination-and-a-crime-against-humanity/>.

¹⁴⁴ "Autism Innovative Medicine Studies – 2 – Trials | AIMS-2-TRIALS Project | Fact Sheet | H2020." CORDIS | European Commission, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/777394>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁴⁵ Entities. "Who Profits - The Israeli Occupation Industry - Teva Pharmaceutical Industries." Who Profits - The Israeli Occupation Industry - Teva Pharmaceutical Industries, <https://www.whoprofits.org/companies/company/4212>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

cheaper manufacturers. Teva was reportedly considered for inclusion¹⁴⁶ on the UN “blacklist” of companies linked to Israeli settlements. However, following “significant political pushback from the US and Israeli governments, leading to multiple delays in its publication” Teva was not on the final list. There is reason to believe that it was removed due to political pressure. Teva has actively supported the IDF¹⁴⁷, including through charitable donations of medical supplies and equipment and was a participant in “Adopt-a-Battalion”, “an initiative fostering relationships between IDF soldiers and civilian supporters through financial donations and engagement activities.

Agora P.S.V.D.: 1 current project - DIGYMATEX¹⁴⁸ (ends Jan 2025). Agora Partners are a private Israeli research and innovation consultancy company. Agora are involved with the military in a variety of ways. They participate in several European funded projects, including ResponDrone¹⁴⁹, whose partners included Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI) and the Israeli Ministry of Defence. Agora’s clients include IAI and Elbit, two of Israel’s largest weapons manufacturers, as well as the Technion Institute.¹⁵⁰

Red Hat: 1 current collaboration - Red Hat Software Engineer Internship.¹⁵¹ In collaboration with Trinity’s School of Computer Science and Statistics Red Hat runs an internship programme. The internships are paid positions available from six to twelve months with the full-time extensions possible, and are offered in the areas of engineering, UX/UI, finance and technical support. Red Hat works extensively with the Israeli military, providing edge computing and software-based storage data centres to multiple units of the Israeli military, including the Israeli military Mamram Unit (abbreviation for Center of Computing and Information Systems) with whom it works in close partnership.¹⁵² Mamram also uses the company’s Red Hat Advanced Cluster Management and Red Hat Ansible Automation Platform for automation and accelerated endpoint deployment.¹⁵³ Red Hat has joint projects with Israeli military Computer Service and Cyber Defense divisions in the fields of Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning. The cloud is used for the development of multi-armed operational systems that allow information sharing

¹⁴⁶ KPMG. *Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd. Targeted Research*. 19 Dec. 2024, <https://www.sykehusinnkjop.no/4b01f0/siteassets/bilder/nyheter/2024/gransking-teva/kpmq-targeted-research-teva-december-2024.pdf>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁴⁷ KPMG. *Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd. Targeted Research*. 19 Dec. 2024, <https://www.sykehusinnkjop.no/4b01f0/siteassets/bilder/nyheter/2024/gransking-teva/kpmq-targeted-research-teva-december-2024.pdf>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁴⁸ “ESTABLISHING A COMPREHENSIVE UNDERSTANDING AND TAXONOMY OF CHILDREN’S DIGITAL MATURITY | DIGYMATEX Project | Fact Sheet | H2020.” *CORDIS | European Commission*, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/870578>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁴⁹ “NOVEL INTEGRATED SOLUTION OF OPERATING A FLEET OF DRONES WITH MULTIPLE SYNCHRONIZED MISSIONS FOR DISASTER RESPONSES | RESPONDROONE Project | Fact Sheet | H2020.” *CORDIS | European Commission*, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/833717>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁵⁰ “Homepage.” Agora, <https://agora-partners.com/>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁵¹ Red Hat Software Engineer Internship. <https://www.tcd.ie/scss/courses/undergraduate/internships-for-students/internship-roles/red-hat/>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁵² Red Hat upgrades IDF’s field applications of cloud and edge computing.’ *Edge Industry Review*, <https://www.edgeir.com/red-hat-upgrades-idfs-field-applications-of-cloud-and-edge-computing-20220508>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁵³ ‘Red Hat Shares - Edge Computing Security.’ <https://www.redhat.com/en/blog/red-hat-shares-edge-computing-security>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

between military divisions, including the Military Intelligence Directorate, the Israeli Air Force, the Ground Forces and the Navy.¹⁵⁴

For the following four partners, no specific evidence of complicity was found based on our initial research. However, all companies operating in Israel contribute to the Israeli economy and they and their employees pay taxes to the Israeli State. They are therefore included in the call to boycott Israeli organisations.

- **Philips Medical Systems Technologies:** one current project - SEARCH¹⁵⁵.
- **Mofet Institute:** one current project - ECS¹⁵⁶. The Mofet Institute is Israel's National Institute for Research and Development in Education and was established by the Ministry of Education.
- **KI Research Institute:** one current project - R2D2-MH¹⁵⁷. KI Research Institute focuses on computational health.
- **Eshkol Innovation Agriculture:** one current project - IMPRESS¹⁵⁸. Eshkol is a private plant technology research and innovation company.

In addition to these links with Israeli industry through collaboration in research projects, Trinity has confirmed that it has one Israeli supplier, **Enspire Science**. Enspire Science is an Israeli consultancy company employed by Trinity for Innovation and Research Proposal Development Services.¹⁵⁹ Following the encampment, Trinity advised that Enspire were under contract until March 2025 but did not clarify whether their services would be used subsequent to that date. Enspire provides services to numerous universities and companies in Israel and across Europe. It is unsurprising, then, to see from their website¹⁶⁰ that they provide services to the following Israeli universities known to be complicit in Israel's occupation, apartheid and genocide: Tel Aviv University, Technion, Holon Institute of Technology, Reichman University, Weizmann Institute of Science, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, The Open University of Israel, Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, University of Haifa and Bar-Ilan University. In addition, they provide services to Elbit Systems, one of Israel's largest weapons manufacturers that directly profits from the military occupation and the genocide in Gaza, where its weapons are used by the IDF to slaughter Palestinians.

¹⁵⁴ 'IBM.' Who Profits Research Centre. <https://www.whoprofits.org/companies/company/7236>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁵⁵ "Synthetic hEalthcare dAta goveRnanCe Hub | SEARCH Project | Fact Sheet | HORIZON." CORDIS | European Commission, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101172997>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁵⁶ "European Citizen Science | ECS Project | Fact Sheet | HORIZON." CORDIS | European Commission, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101058509>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁵⁷ "Risk and Resilience in Developmental Diversity and Mental Health | R2D2-MH Project | Fact Sheet | HORIZON." CORDIS | European Commission, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101057385>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁵⁸ "INNOVATIVE APPROACHES FOR MARINE AND FRESHWATER BASED INGREDIENTS TO DEVELOP SUSTAINABLE FOODS AND VALUE CHAINS | IMPRESS Project | Fact Sheet | HORIZON." CORDIS | European Commission, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/101084437>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁵⁹ *Contract award notice.* <https://irl.eu-supply.com/ctm/Supplier/PublicTenders/ViewNotice/258545>. Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

¹⁶⁰ *Customers | Enspire Science*, <https://enpire.science/customers/>, Accessed 8 Jan. 2025.

Section 3: What is the Academic Boycott of Israel?

In this section we outline what BDS is and the specific demands it makes for Israel to comply with international law (3.1). We then explain what the academic boycott involves - here we follow the guidelines of the Palestinian Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), the Palestinian civil society organisation leading the campaign (3.2). We reproduce PACBI's list of events and activities to boycott, as one of our recommendations is that Trinity follows their leadership on the issue (3.2). We then conclude with some comments on why boycott, and academic boycott in particular has been used in the case of Israel/Palestine and why it is an appropriate tactic in this exceptional case (3.3).

3.1 What is Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS)?

The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement - commonly referred to as BDS - is a non-violent movement led by Palestinian civil society groups that outlines how individuals and institutions around the world can end their unintended complicity in Israel's colonisation, occupation, apartheid and genocide in Palestine.¹⁶¹ This list of terms to describe what is happening in Palestine is not used lightly, and there is ample evidence to suggest that each of these terms, and more, can be applied to the ongoing atrocities in Palestine.

Boycotts involve "withdrawing support from Israel's apartheid regime, complicit Israeli sporting, cultural and academic institutions, and from all Israeli and international companies engaged in violations of Palestinian human rights." These can be group boycotts, institutional boycotts and individual boycotts when necessary. Individual boycotts only apply when individuals expressly support Zionist projects through promoting Israel or whitewashing Israeli war crimes¹⁶². Divestment campaigns "urge banks, local councils, churches, pension funds and universities to withdraw investments from the State of Israel and all Israeli and international companies that sustain Israeli apartheid."¹ Sanction campaigns "pressure governments to fulfil their legal obligations to end Israeli apartheid, and not aid or assist its maintenance, by banning business with illegal Israeli settlements, ending military trade and free-trade agreements, as well as suspending Israel's membership in international forums such as UN bodies and FIFA." Groups are called on to pressure their governments to enact these measures because economic pressure matters and limits a regime's ability to continue its war crimes.

To summarise, BDS outlines 3 key demands to urge Israel to comply with international law:

- 1) "Ending the occupation of all Arab lands and dismantling the wall"
- 2) "Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality"
- 3) "Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194"¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ "What is BDS?" BDS Movement, <https://bdsmovement.net/what-is-bds>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁶² "FAQs." BDS Movement, <https://bdsmovement.net/faqs>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁶³ "What is BDS?" BDS Movement, <https://bdsmovement.net/what-is-bds>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

3.2 The academic boycott and Palestinian demands

Relevant to universities, and Trinity specifically, is PACBI¹⁶⁴ - the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel - a Palestinian civil society organisation and founding member of the BDS movement. PACBI calls for an academic boycott of Israeli institutions because of their role in facilitating war crimes against Palestinians. Practically, academic boycotts are among the most useful boycotts because the Israeli academy actively participates in and upholds the unjust apartheid, colonial system¹⁶⁵. Importantly, this boycott honours and centres Palestinians in their struggle for liberation and centres the voices of those most affected by Israeli state violence.

Israeli academic institutions engage in perpetuating the militarism of the Israeli state, developing the legal, technological and ideological infrastructure of oppression, and racism and open support for the Israeli government apartheid policy and military occupation of Palestine. Universities and individuals outside of Israel can be made complicit through professional engagements, and universities in Europe and the Americas have played a particularly important role in legitimising Israeli academia despite decades of evidence of their unethical practices and origins¹⁶⁶. For example, Israel is a state that practices silencing dissent, violating not only academic freedom in Palestine but also in Israel¹⁶⁷. In the same vein, universities that comply with Israeli practices of silencing are welcomed into research groups and conferences, normalising and trivialising the violence against Palestinians. Because dissenters must fear not only professional, but legal and social repercussions, academic boycotts help provide them with a voice by indirectly demonstrating to their regime that oppressive actions are unacceptable to the international community.

Despite North American and European universities being historically part of the problem, PACBI provides clear guidelines on how academic institutions like Trinity College Dublin can be instrumental in remedying their role by legitimising a more humane discourse of justice, following decolonial theory and praxis. Academic boycotts send a clear message to powerful actors and institutions in Israeli society that anti-democratic and inhumane treatment of Palestinians is antithetical to the mission of the university and unacceptable to the international community. Responding to PACBI's academic and cultural boycott is one of the few tools our institution and individuals within our institution have at their disposal to end complicity with Israel's war crimes.

The PACBI guidelines on academic boycott¹⁶⁸ which we recommend that TCD follows, urges academic institutions:

¹⁶⁴ "Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel." BDS Movement, <https://bdsmovement.net/pacbi>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁶⁵ Wind, Maya. *Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom*. Verso Books, 2024.

¹⁶⁶ PACBI 2024; Wind, Maya. *Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom*. Verso Books, 2024.

¹⁶⁷ Wind, Maya. *Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom*. Verso Books, 2024.

¹⁶⁸ "PACBI Guidelines for the International Academic Boycott of Israel." BDS Movement, 16 July 2014, <https://bdsmovement.net/pacbi/academic-boycott-guidelines>

“to boycott and/or work towards the cancellation or annulment of events, activities, agreements, or projects involving Israeli academic institutions or that otherwise promote the normalization of Israel in the global academy, whitewash Israel’s violations of international law and Palestinian rights, or violate the BDS guidelines.”

They follow this up with a list of events and activities to be boycotted. We include their recommendations in full below as they offer a comprehensive answer to the frequent question: ‘what does academic boycott really involve?’.

PACBI Guidelines on Academic Boycott

“1. Academic events (such as conferences, symposia, workshops, book and museum exhibits) convened or co-sponsored by Israel, complicit Israeli institutions or their support and lobby groups in various countries. All such academic events, whether held in Israel or abroad, deserve to be boycotted on institutional grounds. These boycottable activities include panels and other activities sponsored or organized by Israeli academic bodies or associations at international conferences outside Israel. Importantly, they also include the convening in Israel of meetings of international bodies and associations.

The general principle is that an event or project carried out under the sponsorship/aegis of or in affiliation with or funding by an official Israeli body or a complicit institution (including lobby groups) constitutes complicity and therefore is deserving of boycott. The same may apply to support or sponsorship from non-Israeli institutions that serve Israeli propaganda purposes.

2. Research and development activities that fall into these broad categories:

(a) Among academic institutions – Institutional cooperation agreements with Israeli universities or research institutes. These agreements, concluded between international and Israeli academic institutions, typically involve the exchange of faculty and students and, more importantly, the conduct of joint research. Many of these schemes are sponsored and funded by the European Union (in the case of Europe), and independent and government foundations elsewhere.

(b) Among the Israeli government and other governments or foundations/ institutions. Researchers in such projects could be based at U.S., European or other universities.

(c) Among corporations and academic institutions – Research and development activities on behalf of international corporations involving contracts or other institutional agreements with departments or centers at Israeli universities.

The clearest example of academic complicity with Israel that is supported by governments is [Horizon 2020](#). Including Israel in this massive academic research project despite Israel’s persistent violations of the [human rights clause of the EU-Israel Association Agreement](#), the legal framework for Horizon and other EU-Israel schemes, is tantamount to whitewashing the long list of violations of human rights that Israel and its complicit universities have committed over the last decades.

Other examples include the United States-Israel Binational Science Foundation ([BSF](#)), an institution established by the US and Israeli governments in 1972 to sponsor research by Israelis and Americans, and the “[Eureka Initiative](#),” a European inter-governmental initiative set up in 1985 that includes Israel as the only non-European member. The Britain-Israel Research and Academic Exchange Partnership ([BIRAX](#)), a politically motivated project that aims to counter the growing support of the academic boycott of Israel among British academics and their unions is another example.

3. Funding from Israel or its lobby groups to academic activities/projects. All academic projects and activities funded, partially or fully, by Israel or any of its lobby groups are boycottable. Any international academic forum/project that accepts funding from Israel, its lobby groups or complicit institutions is conflicting with the Palestinian academic boycott of Israel.

Note: An Israeli academic is entitled, as a taxpayer, to receive funding from his/her government or institution in support of academic activities, such as attendance of international conferences and other academic events, so long as this is not conditioned upon serving Israel's policy interests in any way, such as public acknowledgement of this support by the organizers of the conference or activity/event. Mere affiliation of the academic to an Israeli institution does not subject the conference or activity to boycott.

4. Addresses and talks at international venues by, as well as debates with, Israeli state officials or official representatives of Israeli academic institutions such as presidents, rectors or deans.

5. Study abroad schemes in Israel for international students. These programs are usually housed at Israeli universities and are part of the Israeli propaganda effort, designed to give international students a “positive experience” of Israel, whitewashing its occupation and denial of Palestinian rights. Publicity and recruitment for these schemes through students' affairs offices or academic departments (such as Middle East and international studies centers) at universities abroad should come to an end.

6. Special academic honors or recognition granted to Israeli officials, representatives of Israeli academic institutions (such as the bestowal of honorary degrees and other awards) or to Israeli academic or research institutions. Such institutions and their official representatives are complicit and as such should be denied this recognition.

7. Normalization Projects. Academic activities and projects involving Palestinians and/or other Arabs on one side and Israelis on the other (whether bi- or multi- lateral) that are based on the false premise of symmetry/parity between the oppressors and the oppressed or that claim that both colonizers and colonized are equally responsible for the “conflict” are [intellectually dishonest and morally reprehensible forms of normalization](#) that ought to be boycotted. Far from challenging the unjust status quo, such projects contribute to its endurance. Examples include events, projects, or publications that are designed explicitly to bring together Palestinians/Arabs and Israelis so they can present their respective narratives or perspectives, or to work toward reconciliation without addressing the root causes of injustice and the requirements of justice. Other factors that PACBI takes into consideration in evaluating such activities and projects are the sources of funding, the design of the project or

event, the objectives of the sponsoring organization(s), the participants, and similar relevant factors.

Joint projects that meet the following two conditions are *not* considered forms of normalization and are therefore exempt from boycott:

- (a) the Israeli party in the project recognizes the comprehensive Palestinian rights under international law (corresponding to the 3 rights in the BDS call); and
- (b) the project/activity is one of "[co-resistance](#)" rather than co-existence.

Debates between Palestinians/Arabs and Israelis are also excluded from the boycott if organized without any cooperation with Israel, its lobby groups, or its complicit institutions.

Conditioning support for Palestinian academic institutions on their "partnership" with Israeli institutions is also a coercive form of normalization that is rejected by the BNC, including PACBI and the Palestinian Federation of Unions of University Professors and Employees (PFUUPE). It contributes to covering up the Israeli institutions' complicity and to enhancing their legitimacy as centers of excellence, instead of directly and independently strengthening the research capacity of Palestinian institutions.

International academics who insist on crossing the BDS "picket line" by pursuing activities with boycottable Israeli institutions and then visiting Palestinian institutions or groups for "balance," violate the boycott guidelines and contribute to the false perception of symmetry between the colonial oppressor and the colonized. The BNC (including PACBI) rejects this attempt at "[fig-leaving](#)" and does not welcome such visits to Palestinian institutions.

8. Institutional membership of Israeli associations in world bodies. Targeted and selective campaigns demanding the suspension of Israeli membership in international forums contribute towards pressuring Israel until it respects international law. Just as South Africa's membership was suspended in world academic--among other--bodies during apartheid, so must Israel's.

9. Publishing in or refereeing articles for academic journals based at Israeli universities or published in collaboration with Israeli institutions, or granting permission to reprint material published elsewhere in such Israel-based journals. These journals include those published by international associations but housed at Israeli universities. Efforts should be made to re-locate the editorial offices of these journals to universities outside Israel.

10. Serving as external reviewers for dissertations, writing recommendations or other forms of refereeing such as advising on hiring, promotion, tenure, and grant-making decisions at Israeli universities [3]. International academics who choose to review the academic work of faculty or students at Israeli universities *on a personal basis* are not conflicting with the boycott guidelines, so long as their names are not used by those universities in any way (to gain legitimacy). Accepting to be on a dissertation, referee or review committee appointed by or serving an Israeli university, however, directly conflicts with the institutional boycott of these universities, as it legitimates Israel's academic standing around the world. The boycott also applies to writing tenure or promotion recommendations addressed to university administrators. Furthermore, international faculty should not accept to

write recommendations for students hoping to pursue studies in Israel, as this facilitates the violation of guideline 11 below.

11. International students enrolling in or international faculty teaching or conducting research at degree or non-degree programs at an Israeli institution. If conducting research at Israeli facilities such as archives does not entail official affiliation with those facilities (e.g. in the form of a visiting position), then the activity is not subject to boycott.

12. All academic visits or fact-finding missions that receive funding from Israel, its complicit institutions or its international lobby groups. Israeli government funding or funding by Israeli lobby groups should be boycotted. On the other hand, balanced, independent fact-finding missions, even those that include meetings with complicit Israeli academic institutions, are not boycottable, provided that no institutional link (e.g., seminars, workshops, exhibits, etc.) of any sort is established with Israeli institutions.

The institutional boycott of Israeli academic institutions should continue until these institutions fulfill two basic conditions:

- a. **Recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people as enshrined in international law** (including the three basic rights outlined in the 2005 BDS Call) and
- b. **End all forms of complicity in violating Palestinian rights as stipulated in international law.** This complicity includes discriminatory policies and practices as well as diverse roles in planning, implementing and/or justifying Israel's human rights abuses and violations of international law."

3.3 Why use boycotts?

Palestinians have struggled for liberation long before Zionism and the establishment of Israel, but since 1948 a new form of settler colonialism, facilitated by the West (monetarily, socially and politically) has accelerated the erosion of Palestinian land, displacing Palestinians in the process.¹⁶⁹ This history has been accompanied by the slow creep of genocidal ideology against Palestinians, not only amongst Israeli society but also the international society who have normalised Palestinian suffering since 1948. In the absence of an international actor willing to bring justice for Palestinians or enforce international law, the broader international community has very few tools at their disposal to pressure the Israeli state to meet its legal and international obligations.

To put it simply, boycotts work because global collective action is a powerful tool that sends both symbolic and material messages to authoritarian regimes that their behaviour is not acceptable, and any links to the state and its many institutions threaten our ethical integrity. Other means are not at our disposal, making boycotts the ideal tool an institution can engage in.

¹⁶⁹ Said, Edward W. *The Question of Palestine*. Vintage, 1979; Khalidi, Rashid. *The hundred years' war on Palestine: A history of settler colonialism and resistance, 1917–2017*. Metropolitan Books, 2020.

Boycotts, as such, are a strategy or a tactic. They are not a principle or an ideology or a worldview. While there is a principle involved - the principle of not ignoring the one thing that the oppressed Palestinian people have consistently asked the international community to do to alleviate their oppression - to boycott Israel - the BDS campaign should correctly be seen as a tactic in service of a wider principle: adherence to international and human rights law. It is an appropriate tactic in this case as it has proven to be an effective and peaceful means to achieve social change in the past, and is currently displaying its effectiveness in the case of Israel/Palestine. As a tactic, it is also, as we argue in section 4, commensurate with the principle of academic freedom since it is a means of countering scholasticide in Israel/Palestine.

Arguments against boycotts tend to follow two strands. The first argues that the boycott disproportionately punishes innocent individuals in Israel, and the second argues that it limits dialogue in a manner that might hinder peace rather than achieve it. These arguments are ahistorical and unscholarly because they are not rooted in historical fact or the present reality for Palestinians. On individuals, PACBI specifically outlines that their calls for boycotts do not target individuals that are not directly complicit in Israeli state war crimes. A full economic and academic boycott does not target individuals, it targets a system. Individuals can be complicit by working through the system to reinforce it, and the goal of the boycott is to achieve systemic change so that individuals are not made complicit, knowingly and unknowingly.

Logically, this will have a negative impact on the Israeli academy and the economy by limiting its ability to carry out its genocidal project against Palestinians. However, this should be the goal of every actor in this international system during humanitarian crises. Arguments that focus on the economic harm to the oppressor only serve to uphold the status quo and ignore the utility and strategic relevance of a boycott to achieving justice in Palestine. Balancing gestures that try to argue both sides, or rush to defend the actions of the Israeli state, "contribute to the false perception of symmetry between the colonial oppressor and the colonized."¹⁷⁰

Without justice there can never be lasting peace. Unequal power dynamics have consistently characterised negotiations between colonised people and their colonisers, serving the goals of the oppressor rather than responding to the oppression of indigenous groups. This trend is one that has characterised Palestinian history in recent decades,¹⁷¹ and in order to break this cycle with Palestine, it is important that discourses around peace only begin once the violent occupation ends and reparations begin. Boycotts are simply the first step in providing symbolic and material solidarity with Palestinians. It does not limit discussions with Israel forever unconditionally, and instead aims to bring an end to the Israeli occupation and foster negotiations that will ensure lasting peace and justice for Palestine.

Section 4: Academic Freedom and the Academic Boycott

"Academic boycotts are not in themselves violations of academic freedom; rather, they can be considered legitimate tactical responses to conditions that are fundamentally incompatible with the mission of higher education. The freedom to

¹⁷⁰ "PACBI Guidelines for the International Cultural Boycott of Israel." *BDS Movement*, 16 July 2014, <https://bdsmovement.net/paci/cultural-boycott-guidelines>.

¹⁷¹ Browne, Brendan Ciarán. "Disrupting settler-colonialism or enforcing the liberal 'peace'? Transitional (in) justice in Palestine-Israel." *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies* 20.1 (2021): 1-27.

produce and exchange knowledge depends upon the guarantee of other basic freedoms, including the rights to life, liberty, security of person, and freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention; the rights to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; the right to hold opinions without interference.”¹⁷²

This section looks at how and when academic freedom is compatible with academic boycott. It firstly examines definitions of academic freedom – drawing from the 1997 Universities Act, 2010 College Statutes and Trinity’s 2010 policy on academic freedom – to argue that academic freedom has been understood as carrying responsibilities and that it has been taken to mean primarily freedom to speak, research and publish. The freedom to associate with regimes conducting gross human rights abuses is not mentioned in any of these accounts for good reason (4.1). It then argues that academic boycott directed at institutions participating in a genocidal regime committing scholasticide is one of these exceptional cases in which it is correct to apply academic boycott (4.2). Finally this section examines three key arguments of those opposing the academic boycott of Israel – that it impedes dialogue, that it impedes the autonomy of researchers and academic units, and that it causes reputational damage (4.3).

Academic freedom has always had its limitations – for instance, Holocaust denial is rightly understood to be outside the limits of academic freedom. There is in other words, always an ethical limitation to academic freedom which academics freely accept. Similarly in certain exceptional political situations in the past, such as South Africa, or the invasion of Ukraine, universities and academics have accepted and indeed promoted academic boycott, arguing that it is compatible with academic freedom.

As we have previously noted “Academic freedom, like clean air or happy children, is something everybody supports. As such, it is a near meaningless aspiration in the abstract. It is when we approach the question as to what academic freedom means in specific concrete situations that the problems proliferate.”¹⁷³

The section will look at these problems – the question of where academic freedom, exchange and dialogue lies. It does so with reference to demands of PACBI, who have laid down the key principles of academic boycott of Israel (3.2).

4.1 Academic freedom: a definition

The Statutes of Trinity College briefly discuss academic freedom. In it, academic freedom is understood to be enjoyed both by individual academics and the academic institution. It also states that other members of staff may also enjoy academic freedom, and that there are duties and responsibilities attendant on these freedoms.

The full section reads.

“(1) Pursuant to the Act of 1997 and otherwise, College guarantees to respect, defend and vindicate the traditional principles of academic freedom and freedom of expression.

¹⁷² Association of American University Presidents (AAUP).2024. *Statement on Academic Boycott* .<https://www.aaup.org/report/statement-academic-boycotts>. Accessed 5 Jan 2025

¹⁷³ Landy David, Ronit Lentin, and Conor McCarthy. 2020. *Enforcing Silence: Academic Freedom, Palestine and the Criticism of Israel*. London: Bloomsbury.p.1

(2) Academic members of staff shall enjoy such freedoms in particular in the discharge of their academic functions, and in related participation both in the life of the Community and in society at large. (3) In accordance with its long-established autonomy, College shall enjoy such freedoms in the conduct and regulation of its affairs. (4) Board may provide in a Schedule that such freedoms may also be exercised in other fashions, in other contexts, and/or by other members of staff. (5) Since such freedoms are fundamental to the pursuit of knowledge and the advancement of truth, they shall be enjoyed and exercised with integrity and with due regard to their concomitant duties and responsibilities.”¹⁷⁴

Thus, academic freedom includes the autonomy of Trinity College to make its own decisions in regulating its conduct. The principle of academic freedom, importantly, covers the freedom not to associate with institutions, both for individual academics and for institutions. This freedom was reiterated by a spokesperson for the Department of Further and Higher Education, Research, Innovation and Science who, when asked about the boycott of Israeli academic institutions, said Irish universities are “academically independent and are entitled to manage their own affairs including their engagements with other research organisations and the [EU] framework programme.”¹⁷⁵

This freedom is not limited to individual academics or Trinity as a whole. Section 4 provides for the possibility whereby it can cover non-academic members of staff. This is especially important when thinking of the freedom of non-academic staff to not engage in contacts with regimes they may find morally reprehensible. The final section is equally important, expressing that there are duties and responsibilities attendant on this freedom, both for individuals and the institution.

Trinity’s 2010 policy on academic freedom, which expands on this short definition, focuses on the rights that academics have to speak without fear that their opinions or ideas will be censured. It sees the main threats to such freedom as being forms of bureaucratic channelling of research; namely performance measurements, funding mechanisms, fixed-term contracts, and strategic research parameters.¹⁷⁶ In this, they are following the 1997 Universities Act which understands academic freedom in terms of the freedom for academics to express ideas and opinions and pursue lines of research. As this act states:

“a member of the academic staff of a university shall have the freedom, within the law, in his or her teaching, research and any other activities either in or outside the university, to question and test received wisdom, to put forward new ideas and to state controversial or unpopular opinions and shall not be disadvantaged, or subject to less favourable treatment by the university, for the exercise of that freedom.”¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ TCD. 2010a. *The 2010 Consolidated Statutes of Trinity College Dublin and of the University of Dublin*: p211 <https://www.tcd.ie/registrar/assets/documents/statutes/2010-statutes-151117-updated-1.920KB.pdf>

¹⁷⁵ Matthews, David. 2024. “Academic boycotts over Gaza war jeopardise Israel’s place in Horizon Europe.” *Science/Business* 23 May 2024. <https://sciencebusiness.net/news/universities/academic-boycotts-over-gaza-war-jeopardise-israels-place-horizon-europe>. Accessed 5 Jan 2025.

¹⁷⁶ TCD. 2010b. *Policy on Academic Freedom*.

<https://www.tcd.ie/media/tcd/about/policies/pdfs/Academic-Freedom-2010.pdf>

¹⁷⁷ Universities Act 1997. Section 14

<https://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1997/act/24/section/14/enacted/en/html> Accessed 8 Jan 2025

It is important to note that the freedom to associate with regimes violating fundamental human rights is not mentioned in any of these documents. While this is an aspect of academic freedom, it is very much secondary to the main concerns of academic freedom - the freedom to speak, research and publish without repercussions. This secondary nature could be seen, for example, in the lack of reaction by Irish or other European academics to the cutting of ties with Russia. Limitations on which countries we do research with obviously has some effect on the type of research we do, but far less effect, as Trinity's policy on academic freedom recognises, than other forms of bureaucratic channelling of research. In addition, academic freedom entails a degree of autonomy by academic institutions to decide for themselves which institutions they associate with. In the next subsection we examine some of the duties and responsibilities that the exercise of academic freedom needs to take into account.

4.2 What are the tests of academic boycott?

That there are limitations to academic freedom is obvious to anybody who has sought ethical clearance for a research project. But how does this relate to academic boycott? Specifically, in which cases are academic boycotts understood to be acceptable?

The Association of American University Presidents (AAUP) statement of 2024, quoted above, offers an expansive understanding of the circumstances in which academic boycotts are permissible. As with PACBI, it states that academic boycott should be directed at institutions rather than individuals, and should be directed specifically at "institutions of higher education that themselves violate academic freedom or the fundamental rights upon which academic freedom depends" ¹⁷⁸ This submission has already demonstrated how Israeli institutions are both participants in scholasticide and the denial of fundamental rights to Palestinians, as well as repressing academic freedom in themselves. Thus, by this definition, academic boycott against Israeli institutions is a legitimate stance.

This statement has been questioned as offering too expansive a legitimisation of academic boycott. This is understandable; the ideal of the universality of scientific and scholarly discourse is both important and attractive to academics. However, no principle can be an inviolable imperative, since there is always the possibility of conflict with other principles. At the same time, it's recognised that only exceptional circumstances, such as the violation of other at least equally important principles, could justify its breach.

But exceptional circumstances do occur. The long-running academic boycott of South Africa was widely seen as justified both outside and within that country. In 1998, all Serbian universities were suspended from CRE, the Association of European Universities, and more recently there was the systemic Europe-wide boycott of Russian academic institutions over the invasion of Ukraine. It is reasonable to argue that there are likewise, exceptional circumstances regarding Israel and its academic institutions. Israel is similar to South Africa in terms of its apartheid nature, similar to Russia in terms of its illegal invasions of neighbouring countries, and uniquely exceptional in terms of its genocidal policy in Gaza.

¹⁷⁸ Association of American University Presidents (AAUP).2024. *Statement on Academic Boycott* .<https://www.aaup.org/report/statement-academic-boycotts>. Accessed 5 Jan 2025

Even those who have argued against academic boycotts in the past accept that there are conditions in which it is acceptable. A good example of this is Rodin and Yudkin's (2011) argument against academic boycott, particularly in the case of Israel. In their paper they outlined conditions for supporting academic boycott and it is useful to examine these conditions from boycott opponents. "The three tests are that the boycott be likely to succeed, that it be necessary, and that it be an exceptional response to a grave moral evil." (Rodin and Yudkin 2011: 473)¹⁷⁹. We believe that the boycott of Israeli academia satisfies each of these conditions. Taking them separately:

1. A boycott must have a reasonable prospect of success. Otherwise the negatives of boycott produce no positive outcome. The boycott of Israel has already passed this test. It has had major effects on Israeli academia and has been the subject of several scare pieces in the Israeli press (Kashti 2024). It's reasonable to predict that it will have increasing effects, and that this boycott of elite institutions in Israel will have serious knock-on effects on Israel itself and its capacity to continue its policy of genocide. Indeed, this is already the conclusion of the Israeli Ministry of Intelligence which in 2024 argued that academic boycotts in Europe "pose risks to Israel's scientific-technological position in the world, and in the long run could lead to damage to national security and the strength of Israel's economy"¹⁸⁰

2. A boycott is only permissible if it is necessary. The authors define necessary as, 'An act is necessary in the relevant sense if there is no other course of action that could be reasonably expected to bring about the desired results with fewer moral costs.'¹⁸¹ While the authors suggest acts of moral suasion or finger-wagging at conferences as examples of better actions, these have been long tried and have been proven to be completely unsuccessful in the case of Israel. They also suggest government actions as alternatives, yet there is no reason to think that broad economic sanctions will not have an even more harmful effect. Of all the forms of boycott, boycott of academic institutions is the one least likely to have a harmful effect on vulnerable people, especially when compared to a boycott of agricultural goods. No academic is going to lose their jobs in Israel over a boycott of Israeli institutions; at most, the opportunities for career advancement internationally for some academics based in Israel may be affected. It is thus the form of boycott – as seen from the reaction from the Israeli government and related institutions – that has the greatest effect, for the least amount of harm.

3. A boycott must be an exceptional response to a grave moral evil. The exceptional nature of boycott should be stressed; it should never be applied willy-nilly to all cases of moral evil. Rodin and Yudkin argue that "boycotts are justifiable only in the face of abuses that 'shock the conscience of mankind,'" ruling out cases of military occupation

¹⁷⁹ Rodin, David, and Michael Yudkin. 2011. "Academic Boycotts". *Journal of Political Philosophy* 19(4): 465-485; p473

¹⁸⁰ Quoted in Matthews, David. 2024. "Academic boycotts over Gaza war jeopardise Israel's place in Horizon Europe." *Science/Business* 23 May 2024.

<https://sciencebusiness.net/news/universities/academic-boycotts-over-gaza-war-jeopardise-israels-place-horizon-europe>. Accessed 5 Jan. 2025.

¹⁸¹ Rodin, David, and Michael Yudkin. 2011. "Academic Boycotts". *Journal of Political Philosophy* 19(4): 465-485: p474

that don't involve massacres and ruling in cases of genocide.¹⁸² Whether such an argument, made presumably to exclude Israel, was true in 2011, it cannot reasonably be argued that it is true now. The genocidal campaign in Gaza, the intensification of violence in the West Bank, and the invasions of Syria and Lebanon have all created exceptional circumstances and has produced one of the gravest moral evils of the time.

There are reasonable questions asked by those wary of boycotts, along the lines of 'will we end up boycotting everyone?' 'If we start boycotting, are we on a slippery slope?' It is our argument that boycott must remain an exceptional response, not to be haphazardly applied to every social situation with which one disagrees. The situation in Israel/Palestine is however an exceptional one in which boycott is more than justified, in terms of the moral evil, in terms of the limited moral harms and in terms of the likely success of this measure. Furthermore, rather than contradicting the principles of academic freedom, by targeting institutions participating in the degradation of academic freedoms to the extent that we can talk of scholasticide in Israel/Palestine, academic boycott is complementary to academic freedom.

4.3 Arguments against the academic boycott of Israel

In this section, we look at some key arguments against academic boycott. We do so as we want to begin a dialogue with people who have raised them in good faith. These arguments include the value of dialogue, the autonomy of individual researchers and academic units, and reputational risks of academic boycott.

4.3.1 The value of academic dialogue and exchange.

One argument that we have encountered regularly is that progressive social change can come through academic dialogue and exchange. While sometimes the case, and superficially an attractive and plausible argument in the case of Israel, the argument has grown threadbare after several decades. In the first place, there is a difference between dialogue between people and academic scientific collaboration, which customarily does not prioritise or even involve political discussion. It should also be noted that boycotters do not want to stop talking to Israeli academics. Far from it, those supporting boycott have been happy to talk, to debate, to discuss with Israeli colleagues in the past, and will in the future – the boycott on academic collaboration does not affect this. What we do not want is business as usual.

After decades of full Israeli participation in academic collaborative exercises, in exchanges and research programmes, decades in which the situation in Israel/Palestine has steadily worsened, decades that have led to the genocidal assault on Gaza, the onus is surely on those who argue

¹⁸² Rodin, David, and Michael Yudkin. 2011. "Academic Boycotts". *Journal of Political Philosophy* 19(4): 465-485.: p476

the benefits of academic links for improving Israeli society to prove their point. We fear they will find it impossible. Scientific collaboration with Israel has not slowed the illiberalisation of Israeli society, the expansion of illegal settlements or led Israeli civil society to demand an end to violations of Palestinian human rights. Nor, considering the true nature of Israeli universities as laboratories of war, should we expect it to. The image that Israeli universities show to some outsiders (though not to their own society when vying for military contracts) as bastions of liberalism has, as we discussed in section 3, well and truly been shattered. Even collaboration on research that could be socially beneficial has had the effect of normalising decades of occupation and apartheid.

So in the case of dialogue, BDS is not about closing down discussions; it is about accountability for, and ending complicity in, violations of a people's rights. At the same time, the boycott exists because dialogue is not enough, and does not tackle the asymmetrical status quo. As Martin Luther King wrote in his 'Letter from a Birmingham Jail'¹⁸³, "it is an historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily." The idea that boycott, as opposed to some undefined 'dialogue', is unhelpful or counterproductive is often based on the suggestion that BDS only strengthens the 'Israeli right'. However, this presupposes an alternative, credible 'Israeli left', which opposes the genocide, but which unfortunately does not exist. In the end, while we mightn't expect much from dialogue presently, it should continue, especially as it is not contrary to a policy of BDS.

4.3.2 The rights of individual academics and academic units to pursue contacts

While we understand that individuals and institutions have the right and indeed duty to curtail contacts with academic institutions participating in scholasticide and genocide, what of the countervailing rights of academics and academic units to pursue links.

Firstly, nobody is suggesting individual academics should be prevented from going to Israel if they want, or collaborating with those working in Israeli institutions and so on. Legally, it is their right to do so. However, as with the previous boycott of South Africa, we would argue that they should not be offered college assistance in pursuing these links, because they should not be implicating the entirety of Trinity College in their activities. This is no longer a matter of personal autonomy, but has repercussions for others in their academic units and in college as a whole. This is especially important when we consider the rights of other staff, e.g. those in administrative roles that might be obliged to support research projects with Israeli partners and not be given the same choice academics are given. Their rights must also be protected.

The MOUs and exchange programmes that Trinity has with Hebrew University and Bar-Ilan have been raised, and in section 3.2 we discussed the nature of these institutions. As with individual academics, it has been argued that academic units should have autonomy in deciding who they link with. Normally this is the case, but when we are talking about institutions within a genocidal regime, these links implicate Trinity as a whole. This can be seen in terms of reputational damage, in terms of staff within those academic units that have serious moral issues with these links, or in terms of safety risks for our student body in going to Israel and in bringing over Israeli students who have participated in genocide (roughly 30% of Israeli students were

¹⁸³ Letter from a Birmingham Jail [King, Jr.].

https://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html. Accessed 3 Jan. 2025.

called up to the attack on Gaza). In the situation we are in now, where exchange programmes have stopped, and where the possibility of having exchanges with other countries exists, it would not be too difficult to continue this curtailing of links with Israeli institutions. It's a case where academic autonomy directly faces the responsibilities of academics to their colleagues in Trinity, apart from their responsibilities to the community of scholars in Palestine.

4.3.3 Reputational risk from academic boycott

The argument that Trinity college might face reputational damage from instituting a full boycott of Israeli universities is a valid one, though overplayed. The argument here is that there could be a reputational risk due to slander and pushback, not necessarily from Israelis, but also from American Zionists that might harm Trinity. In response, we note that Zionists over the past year have resembled the boy who cried wolf. They have issued dire warnings and direct threats to institution after institution of the terrible consequences that would ensue if they criticised or acted against Israel, yet nothing has happened.

Trinity College after the encampment, in the same way as the Irish government after announcing its support for South Africa's ICJ case, faced such an avalanche of invective. And it must be admitted that it wasn't pleasant to experience this. But this invective, these threats, didn't move beyond unpleasantness. This is because Israel and its supporters have been overwhelmed by criticism and actions, and so the targets change from day to day. Ireland's position as 'Israel's worst enemy', which we took over from South Africa or perhaps Norway, will presently belong to some other country that upholds international humanitarian law. As the Arab phrase has it, "The dogs bark but the caravan moves on."

With other academic institutions, as we discussed in section 4, curtailing ties with Israel, and with more to follow, the target of Israeli ire moves from place to place. Should the taskforce make recommendations to curtail ties as other colleges in Europe have already done, we can expect that we too will be a temporary target for a campaign of invective. In our experience, this will happen, irrespective of however mild the measures are - indeed we may have already experienced the worst of it. So while consideration should be given to how we respond to this inevitable invective, there is little reason for us to trim our policies in response to it.

We have mentioned but not stressed the reputational damage that comes from links with Israel, there is also the reputational benefits that will come from being seen to uphold human rights and value Palestinian lives. These exist, but we would hope that Trinity would be inspired not simply by reputational benefits but the intrinsic value of solidarity.

Section 5: Precedents for Academic Boycott

In this section we present evidence of historical and contemporary precedents for an academic boycott of Israel. Firstly, as noted above, Israel has been defined as an apartheid state by numerous human rights organisations, a finding supported by an ICJ advisory opinion¹⁸⁴ issued in July 2024. Trinity as a community and an institution played a leading role in opposing Apartheid South Africa, including through refusal of academic institutional relationships. We detail this role in Section 5.1 below, demonstrating that Trinity has the power to act in support of global justice and has adopted a principled position on such matters in the past. Secondly, although Israel have enjoyed unique impunity for their crimes over decades, the ongoing genocide and student protest movements have begun to shift attitudes. A growing number of universities have declared their intention to cut ties with Israel and several have published terms of reference, methods, findings and recommendations made by university committees established to review ties. We summarise those that we are aware of in Section 5.2 below. 5.2.1 provides an overview of declarations made in the past year, while 5.3 provides more detailed summaries of the reports of four committees that recommended cutting ties with Israeli institutions, from University of Galway (IE) (5.3.1), Ghent University (BE) (5.3.2), Tilburg University (NL) (5.3.3) and Erasmus University, Rotterdam (NL) (5.3.4). These demonstrate that it is feasible to cut ties with Israeli universities and other organisations and provide indications for processes that could be put in place for Trinity to do so. It is noteworthy that **no university that reviewed its partnerships with Israeli universities concluded that they should continue with those relationships**. All concluded that there was a high risk of complicity in human rights abuses through such partnerships. We outline the lessons for implementation in section 5.4

5.1 Trinity leadership in the boycott of Apartheid South Africa

Through almost three decades of intensive anti-Apartheid activism in Ireland, Trinity College played a special, central role in the movement. Campus hosted annual meetings of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement (IAAM), students and staff organised in both IAAM and College Anti-Apartheid society, and Trinity News provided thorough coverage of the anti-apartheid struggle. On top of this college community effort, the institution of the College itself, through the policy decisions made by the Board and Council, made Trinity College the leading example in setting anti-apartheid policies.

In 1971, students and staff expressed concern over College investment in Polaroid company stock. Polaroid was selling photo equipment to the government of Apartheid South Africa, used for creation of identification documents facilitating the apartheid. The year before, employees of Polaroid in the United States called for a boycott of Polaroid, which was the first anti-apartheid boycott of a U.S. corporation. In response to the concern of the College community, “[t]he Board agreed that it would not wish to invest in the shares of any firm which could be shown to have a substantial direct involvement in the supply of goods or services used directly in the enforcement of the Apartheid policy of the South African Government.”¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ *World Court Findings on Israeli Apartheid a Wake-Up Call* | Human Rights Watch. 19 Sept. 2024, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/09/19/world-court-findings-israeli-apartheid-wake-call>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁸⁵ Board minutes, 6 October, 1971

In October 1976 the Board accepted a recommendation from the Students' Union that vacancies for jobs in South Africa and enquiries about them should no longer be handled by the Careers and Appointments Office.¹⁸⁶

In 1979, upon recommendation from the registrar's report, the Board reaffirmed its policy in relation to investment in South Africa. "The Board's policy is not to invest in any company incorporated in South Africa, or in the shares of any firm which could be shown to have a substantial direct involvement in the supply of finance, goods or services used directly in the enforcement of apartheid policy of the South African Government, especially those associated with nuclear, military and police matters, or is a major provider of finance for the development of the country's economy and infrastructure."¹⁸⁷

In 1982, a South African academic from University of Witwatersrand was appointed external examiner in Physiology and Histology in Trinity College. In reaction to this appointment, Dean of Arts, Prof Kader Asmal stated that "... if College is to be consistent in the application of its policies, the decisions taken some years ago with regard to disinvestment in South Africa and with regard to job opportunities there, reiterated on a number of occasions, have clear implications for the present case and for the issue of academic relations with South Africa."¹⁸⁸

The result of this challenge was further elaboration of College position now explicitly speaking of academic ties, building upon previous Board policy instructions regarding investments and suggesting that the two are inseparable and are grounded in the same rationale of the nature of South African Apartheid state. "In the matter of principles involved in academic links with South Africa the Council resolved to elaborate the existing College position by affirming that there should be no formal institutional links between this University or College and any academic or state institution in the Republic of South Africa because of the unique system of that country which, without parallel elsewhere, had the effect of imposing a policy of apartheid on the organisation and educational affairs of its academic institutions."¹⁸⁹

This did not go unchallenged by the South African institutions, as the leadership of the University of Witwatersrand asked for reversal of the College policy. Council retained the previous position, on the grounds that any institutional ties to South African institutions would legitimise and normalise the regime. "Following discussion of the matter the Council reaffirmed its earlier decision as set out in Actum 87/C (12.5.82) in the context of recognising the efforts being made by individuals in South Africa to oppose the policies of apartheid in that stage and requested the Provost to write to the Vice-Chancellor and Principal of accordingly. The position of the Council remains therefore as [previous quote]".¹⁹⁰

Trinity College served as an example to other institutions in the State in this process. University College Dublin made their contribution to academic boycott in 1986, and the same year, the Department of Education stated its expectation of the third-level institutions in the state to cut ties: "It is existing Government policy that State Agencies, which for this purpose would include

¹⁸⁶ Board minutes, 21 October, 1976

¹⁸⁷ Board minutes, 4 July, 1979

¹⁸⁸ Dean of Arts (Humanities), Prof Kader Asmal, internal memorandum to Secretary, for Council, 22 April 1982, "Academic Links with South Africa"

¹⁸⁹ Council minutes, 12 May, 1982

¹⁹⁰ Council minutes, 2 November, 1982

the Universities and other third-level educational institutions, would not purchase goods of South African origin where they can be obtained from other sources. (...) The Government has made it clear that sporting organisations having contact with South Africa will lose State financial support. It would be expected that other bodies, including academic institutions, would have regard to government policy in their approach to dealings with South Africa.”¹⁹¹

The common thread in the development of Trinity College’s policy on Apartheid South Africa is the early recognition of the unique, internationally recognised Apartheid state apparatus permeating all spheres of society and life in South Africa. The specific aspects of the policy were detailed out by Board and Council as College faced specific interactions with South African institutions; yet, the main principle remained the same: “as a matter of community policy, College has decided not to aid or assist the perpetuation of apartheid.”¹⁹²

5.2 Universities that have cut ties with Israel since the genocide began

A growing number of universities or groups of universities have declared an intention to sever institutional ties with either specific or all Israeli universities:

- **University of Granada:** On 17 May 2024, University of Granada in Spain took measures “to contribute to bringing an end to the slaughter”, which included suspension of mobility programmes with Israeli institutions and bilateral agreements with Bar-Ilan and Tel Aviv universities, barring joining future cooperation with Israeli institutions, strengthening links with Palestinian academia, and suspending scientific and technical cooperation with Israeli institutions in European consortia.¹⁹³ Note. *The Administrative Litigation Court 3 of Granada temporarily suspended the implementation of the measure pertaining to existing European consortia but the measures remain in place.*¹⁹⁴
- **The Governing Board of the Conference of Rectors and Rectors of the Spanish Universities:** The Rectors of Spanish Universities on 9th of May, 2024 called for “review and, where appropriate, suspending collaboration agreements with Israeli institutions” by Spanish HEIs, and strengthening links with Palestinian academia.¹⁹⁵
- **Five Norwegian universities:** From December 2023 to March 2024, five Norwegian universities or faculties within them cut ties and agreements with Israeli universities: OsloMet University, the University of South Eastern Norway, the University of Bergen, the Bergen School of Architecture and Nord University.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Letter from the Department of Education to Seán MacBride, 24 March, 1986

¹⁹² Dean of Arts (Humanities), Prof Kader Asmal, internal memorandum to Secretary, for Council, 22 April 1982, “Academic Links with South Africa”

¹⁹³ “The UGR suspends its scientific, technical and mobility cooperation with Israeli universities and institutions.” *Universidad de Granada*, 28 May 2024, <https://www.ugr.es/en/about/news/ugr-suspends-cooperation-israeli-universities-and-institutions>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁹⁴ “Admin. Court Maintains Key Measures of University of Granada’s Suspension of Israeli Cooperation.” *Costa Tropical TV*. 20 July 2024, <https://costatropical.tv/court-maintains-key-measures-of-university-of-granadas-suspension-of-israeli-cooperation/>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁹⁵ “Comunicado de CRUE sobre la situación en la Franja de Gaza.” *CRUE*, 9 May 2024, <https://www.crue.org/2024/05/comunicado-de-crue-sobre-la-situacion-en-la-franja-de-gaza/>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁹⁶ “Why Five Institutions Suspended Ties with Israeli Universities.” *University World News*, <https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20240405121109461>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

- **Free University of Brussels:** Free University of Brussels (VUB) ethics committee reviewed research consortia activity where Israeli partners were involved. In the case of the Horizon Europe project MULTISPIN.AI, VUB submitted a withdrawal request to the European Commission, wishing to end their participation in this negatively assessed project. In the case of Ensure-6G, a project Trinity is also a partner on, the Israeli partner, Holon Institute of Technology was reportedly asked by the partners, on VUB's initiative, to leave the consortium, a request the EC appear to have turned down.¹⁹⁷
- **Dutch Royal Academy of Arts:** In May 2024, the Dutch Royal Academy of Arts decided to cut ties with the Israeli Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design. This institution produces uniforms for the Israeli armed forces, and cutting ties with Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design was also the initial step in the Norwegian universities' campaign cited above.¹⁹⁸
- **University of Johannesburg:** In March of 2011, University of Johannesburg cancelled their Memorandum of Understanding with Ben-Gurion University over significant evidence that BGU had research and other engagements supporting Israel's military, in particular in its occupation of Gaza.¹⁹⁹

5.3 Reports from other university committees on partnerships with Israel

Several more universities - University of Galway, Ghent University, Tilburg University and Erasmus University of Rotterdam - have already established committees or working groups to review links with Israel and published reports on their findings and recommendations. Below we summarise the context, process, key findings and recommendations of each. Where the committees provided specific frameworks or assessment models for reviewing partnerships we summarise these under tools that may be useful to review for implementation.

5.3.1 University of Galway

Context

- University of Galway established the working group for review of links with Israeli and Palestinian institutions and Industry in light of the continuing findings of the International Court of Justice in the context of Gaza. The working group produced the report with the goal of identifying and proposing "a phased approach to determining and implementing appropriate actions".²⁰⁰

Process

- The review of investments, suppliers, and academic links was performed using the following reference resources:
 1. United Nations (UN) Database Pursuant to Human Rights Council Resolution 31/36
 2. The Don't Buy Into Occupation (DBIO) list

¹⁹⁷ *VUB and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict* | Vrije Universiteit Brussel. <https://www.vub.be/en/vub-and-palestinian-israeli-conflict>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁹⁸ "Dutch Royal Academy of Art Cuts Ties With Israeli Art Institution Following Student Protests". Artnet, 13 May 2024, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/dutch-royal-academy-of-art-cuts-ties-with-israeli-school-2485623>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

¹⁹⁹ "UJ Cuts Ties with Israeli University." IOL, 23 March 2011, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/uj-cuts-ties-with-israeli-university-1046158>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

²⁰⁰ University of Galway. *Report on the Review of Links with Israeli and Palestinian Institutions and Industry*. June 2024. <https://www.universityofgalway.ie/media/sanctuary/Final-Report-of-the-Working-Group-to-Review-Links-with-Israeli-and-Palestinian-Institutions-and-Industry-July-2024.pdf>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

- 3. The Who Profits Research Centre list
- 4. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) list
- 5. Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) guidelines
- Originally, the suppliers and the investments were only cross-checked in reference 1 above, and further analysis was conducted adding lists 2-4.

Key Findings

- After analysing the institutional collaboration vetting procedures in universities, namely University of Ghent (which is the part of the same university alliance, ENLIGHT, as the University of Galway), and procurement policies in universities in Ireland, the working group supports the adoption of a human rights impact assessment tool.
- The working group performed a benchmarking review of other universities' positions and statements (focusing on IUA and ENLIGHT member institutions as perceived peers of University of Galway).
- The working group found no investments in Israeli companies. Israeli suppliers to the University were not found on the reference lists the working group was using. Two non-Israeli companies the University invests in, and eight non-Israeli companies the University has on its supplier list have been found on the reference lists.
- No institutional partnerships, Erasmus, international mobility or exchange agreements with Israeli HEIs have been found.
- The university was found to have received funding for research from one Israeli company, participated in 11 research consortia with Israeli institutions (HEIs and companies), and 210 publications with authors from the University had Israel-affiliated co-authors in the past 5 years.
- The working group looked into the devastating effects of Israeli aggression on the educational infrastructure, staff and students in Gaza.
- Finally, the working group recognised commitment to equality, diversity and inclusion in the university.

Recommendations

- It is recommended that the University expand on the current commitment to develop a Supply Chain Code of Conduct (SCCC) based on the revision of the current Supplier Charter. This would include the development of a Human Rights Policy (HRP) with an associated set of guidelines outlined in a Human Rights Impact Assessment (HRIA) which would be applied to the broad range of institutional relationships, business and research.
- As the University has no current investments in Israeli companies, it is recommended to maintain this position and prevent future investments in complicit organisations. For international companies found on reference lists the university has investments in, once the current contractual obligations are fulfilled, these investments should be analysed using HRIA outlined above. For Israeli suppliers, it is recommended to continue monitoring reference lists to make sure they are not included there in the future. For suppliers found on reference lists, the working group recommends adhering to contractual obligations, but future supplier contracts to be subject to SCCC outlined above.

- As the university has no partnerships, mobility programmes, or agreements with Israeli HEIs, it is recommended to maintain this position in the future. Furthermore, development of future partnerships is recommended to utilise HRP outlined above.
- The report recommends that, going forward, University of Galway does not accept funding for research services from Israeli and other complicit companies and institutions. In consortia, the University is recommended to promptly apply HRIA, and in case of negative human rights impact, explore options for discontinuing collaboration with Israeli partners. If that is not possible, withdrawal from the consortium is recommended. All future research consortia are to be treated through HRIA. The findings on research publications resulted in no recommendations as individual researchers' work is outside of PACBI guidelines.
- In response to the open call from Palestinian academics and submissions from the University community, the working group formulated a series of recommendations aimed at supporting the rebuilding of Palestinian education infrastructure. Namely:
 - Establishment of a strategic research and teaching fund for a 5-year period, to be designated for the development of academic links with Palestine.
 - Additional funding to be allocated for up to 10 University of Sanctuary scholarships annually for displaced Palestinian students, prioritising students displaced from Gaza.
 - Funding to be allocated for hosting up to 5 Palestinian Scholars at Risk, over the next 5 years.
- The report recommends the continuation of current measures to support diversity and inclusion for staff and students, as well as enhanced initiatives to create awareness of cultural, ethnic and religious diversity.

5.3.2 Ghent University

Context

- Ghent University's Committee on Human Rights Policy and Dual Use Research (CHRPDUR) were asked to evaluate the university's collaborations with Israeli partners. They assessed whether each academic partner was involved in human rights violations and made recommendations.²⁰¹

Process

- Following the Committee's recommendations in May 2024, the Rector of Ghent University stated that he would take the advice in full.²⁰²
- Ghent University provided an update in November 2024, according to which: It has taken steps to seek the removal of Israeli partners from consortia, a decision the EC will have final say on. If the Israeli partner cannot be removed, Ghent will leave the consortium.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Universiteit Gent. *Advice on Current Collaborations Between Ghent University and Israeli Entities*. 30 May 2024. <https://www.ugent.be/en/news-events/enclosures/chrpdur-advice-and-overview.pdf>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

²⁰² "Cooperation with Israeli Partners - Update 31 May 2024." *Universiteit Gent*, <https://www.ugent.be/en/news-events/cooperation-with-israeli-partners-update-31-may-2024>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

²⁰³ "Discontinuing Ongoing Collaborations Israeli Partners: Important Steps Taken." *Universiteit Gent*, <https://www.ugent.be/en/news-events/discontinuing-ongoing-collaborations-israeli-partners-update-2.htm>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

Key Findings

- Collaborations with Israeli government organisations run counter to the university's human rights policy, following ICJ rulings and evidence of serious human rights violations on Israel's part.
- There is a high risk Israeli university partners are involved in human rights violations due to the "high degree of interdependence between many of the Israeli academic institutions with which it cooperates, on the one hand, and the Israeli government, army and/or security services, on the other."
- Ghent University should not continue collaborations with institutions involved in the kinds of violation of human rights and international law taking place in Gaza.

Recommendations

- Discontinue collaborations with all Israeli university partners reviewed, where possible.
- Lobby for the suspension of Israel from European research and education funding programmes.
- Researchers wishing to enter new collaborations with Israeli partners must contact the Committee for advice.

5.3.3 Tilburg University

Context

- Tilburg University established an Advisory Committee on Collaborations to prepare a report on the university's collaborations with Israeli universities.²⁰⁴
- The committee was asked by the Executive Board to respond to the question: "Considering its academic and institutional values, what are the (moral) responsibilities of our university and what options for action follow from this in the context of the Israel-Gaza conflict?"
- The Committee presented findings and recommendations to the Executive Board, who are now deliberating on the recommendations.

Process

- **Initial question:** "are there systematic and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the country or area where the partner operates?"
- **Quick scan:** Having determined from ICJ and UN evidence that this is the case in Gaza, review of Israeli partnerships on the basis of 1) collaborative activities; 2) academic partners in Israel; 3) academic context for collaboration.
- The Committee adopted a moral action framework for their deliberations and argued that this permitted a more nuanced evaluation than taking "academic freedom" as the sole value to be considered. "Academic freedom is neither the highest goal of the university, nor is it an absolute value. In fact, it is better understood as an instrumental value than a value-in-itself, one that supports scholars in their quest for truth, veracity, and responsibility." (p.21)

²⁰⁴ Tilburg University Advisory Committee on Partnerships. *Advice. Israel-Gaza: Collaboration with Academic Partners*. 6 December 2024.

<https://www.tilburguniversity.edu/sites/default/files/download/Definitief%20Advies%20Engels.pdf>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

Key Findings

- ICJ and other UN bodies find “plausible evidence of gross and systematic violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms” in Gaza, directly involving the IDF.
- There are strong links between Tilburg’s Israeli partner universities and the IDF. Furthermore, “Witnesses and bystanders have morally important obligations, such as, for example, calling attention, bearing witness, protesting, questioning, entering into a critical conversation, or distancing themselves (symbolically).” (p.20) The committee finds that the Israeli partner universities do not take a critical stance towards the human rights violations.
- The university as a moral actor has an obligation to act based on these findings.
- Although the activities and projects on which Tilburg collaborates with Israeli partners are not considered at risk of violating human rights, “there is a high risk that the various partner institutions in Israel are involved in the current war and violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Gaza, in part because of the large and historically grown intertwining of Israeli universities with the government, army, intelligence services, and military industry in Israel in both education and research.” This leads to a high risk that academic partners in Israel contribute directly to human rights violations.

Recommendations

- Suspend, within the legal and administrative frameworks, the collaborative activities under investigation (outgoing student and staff exchanges, research collaborations)
- Apply the precautionary principle to future collaborations (research, education and business) with the potential to contribute to human rights violations. These should be submitted to the Committee for review.
- Create awareness among staff around potentially sensitive collaborations, ensure reflection prior to entering into new partnerships and embed normative assessment framework and governance structures for partnerships.

Note: the Committee distances itself from the practice of boycott on the basis that it connotes punishment and their process reviews each partnership individually. However, their findings on Israeli university involvement with the IDF and lack of criticism of IDF human rights violations apply to all Israeli universities.

Tools

The Committee has created a Human Rights Assessment Framework (Appendix 2 of the Report). On the basis of this the Committee will review “new and existing collaborations with external partners in situations and regarding issues where human rights may be at stake.” The process for review is as follows:

- **Request:** a request may be made, to include a Quick Scan on the part of the requester
- **Assessment:** if there are systemic human rights violations in the country where the partner operates, a full evaluation of the partner can be made based on 1) the collaborative activities (to be) engaged in; 2) the partner(s); 3) for a university partner the academic context for the collaboration. *The Committee provides further guidance on questions to address and potentially reliable sources to consult during the review.*
- **Advice:** the Committee will advise on continuing with the collaboration and any further recommended actions (the Executive Board will decide on implementation of advice).

5.3.4 Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR)

Context

- The EUR Executive Board established an Advisory Committee for Sensitive Collaborations (ACSC) to advise on collaborations between EUR and institutional partners in Israel and Palestine.
- The Committee is undertaking a mapping and review of partnerships. Due to the urgency of the situation it has issued provisional advice (detailed below).
- In an apparent bid to avoid allegations of bias, recommendations bizarrely refer to “Israel and/or Palestine” throughout. However, the Committee acknowledges that the situation in Israel and Palestine is different “given the grave damage to the academic sector in Gaza” and notes that any recommendations “are explicitly not intended to prevent efforts at supporting the rebuilding of the academic ecosystem in Gaza.”

Process

- The ACSC will continue to review institutional relationships with Israeli organisations using a Framework approved by the Executive Board and a Qualitative Assessment Model (both summarised below).

Key Findings

- Given the “armed conflict” and rulings by the ICJ there is serious risk of human rights violations in Israel and Palestine. This creates risks to academic institutions and communities including: “safety risks, knowledge security, academic freedom, reputational risks and the risk of becoming complicit in or subject to human rights violations.”

Recommendations

Based on the “precautionary principle”, while the Committee completes its assessment they recommend the university:

- Suspend outgoing staff and student mobility to Israel and/or Palestine
- Impose a “moratorium on all new institutional research and exchange collaborations with partners in Israel and Palestine” unless specifically reviewed by the Committee and approved by the Executive Board
- Request a Human Rights Impact Assessment related to Israel and Palestine from all relevant existing and new business partners.
- Advise individual academics not to engage in collaboration with institutional partners (e.g., PhD supervision, assessment, recruitment, editorships) without prior advice from the Committee or approval from the Dean.

Tools

- **Framework:**²⁰⁵ Terms of reference for the Committee, including how a request for advice is made and assessed, and how the Committee collates and assesses evidence

²⁰⁵ Erasmus University Rotterdam. *Framework Advisory Committee Sensitive Collaborations Version 1.0. 11 June 2024.* <https://www.eur.nl/en/media/2024-07-framework-acsc-2024-06-11>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

(including through dialogue, authoritative sources, policies and legal frameworks, and ethics, and how it communicates advice.

- **Qualitative Assessment Model:**²⁰⁶ Generic model for assessing sensitive collaborations across different contexts. It addresses the following core questions: 1) What are the risks? 2) Who is our partner? 3) What is the connection to the risks? 4) What is the effect of our actions? Categories and prompt questions are included for each:
 - **Risks:** human rights risks, risks of compromising university values, knowledge security risks, safety risks (including, for each, likelihood and severity).
 - **Partner assessment:** track record in human rights and fundamental values, track record in inclusion of marginalised groups, science for diplomacy (understood as using its scholarship and status to overcome the risks identified in the model), formal and informal viewpoints (concerning the risk).
 - **Connection of partner to risk:** direct involvement in risks, structural entanglement in risk, pertinence of specific collaboration to risk, degree of connection of university to risk via partnership.
 - **Effect of our actions:** direct societal impact, indirect societal impact, academic relevance.
- Relevant policies, sources and examples are also provided for each.
- Considering legal and reputational implications and possible risk mitigation measures is also recommended.

5.4 Lessons on implementation for Trinity

The review of precedents reveals the following, which we recommend Trinity be guided by in implementing a review of Israeli or other partners suspected of complicity in human rights violations:

- All universities who addressed the question of partnerships with Israel accepted that universities had some responsibility towards ethical or moral conduct (as Trinity also has in the past, in the case of Apartheid South Africa).
- All universities who reviewed their own partnerships with Israeli universities concluded those partners were complicit in human rights violations and recommended, where possible, to suspend relationships. This was the case even when the specific activities the partnership involved were not in themselves considered high risk.
- All accepted that Israeli partners in general could not be treated like any other partner and recommended that no future collaborations be entered into with Israeli partners without explicit advice from the relevant committees. There is evidence that the EC is refusing to cut Israeli partners out of collaborative project consortia even when other partners request it. This strengthens the need for an immediate moratorium on joining consortia with Israeli partners.
- All identified concrete guidelines for implementing a review of partnerships, including recommended processes by which requests for review could be submitted, assessed and advice issued. Most developed tools such as human rights impact assessments, models for assessing sensitive collaborations and recommendations for identifying credible sources of evidence, to streamline the process.

²⁰⁶ Erasmus University Rotterdam. *Qualitative Assessment Model Sensitive Collaborations Version 1.1*. 11 December 2024. <https://www.eur.nl/en/media/2024-11-20241112-acsc-qualitative-assessment-model-sensitive-collaborationsversiewebpage>. Accessed 7 Jan. 2025.

Addendum

Addendum to the original submission to the Task Force

This submission was originally made for the Task Force's deadline of Friday 10th January 2025. On Monday 20th January the Task Force notified the College community of an extension to the deadline for submissions until Friday 24th January. Due to several important new developments between these dates, we have updated our submission to address two of these issues.

- We draw attention to the Irish government's sudden and unexpected intention to adopt the highly controversial International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism, which has been widely weaponised to suppress pro-Palestinian speech, particularly within universities.
- We highlight why the temporary ceasefire in Gaza does not change or soften the rationale for boycott (including academic boycott), divestment, and sanctions against Israeli organisations (including universities).

The implications of these for Trinity are:

- 1) Trinity must protect freedom of speech and academic freedom by opposing any attempt by the Irish government or university sector to give force to the IHRA definition of antisemitism
- 2) Trinity must recognise the systemic and ongoing nature of Israel's occupation, apartheid and genocide as the basis for the legitimate calls for severing ties

The IHRA definition of antisemitism and threats to academic freedom

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) is an intergovernmental body whose purpose is 'to strengthen, advance and promote Holocaust education, research and remembrance'. The IHRA definition is meant to be used as a practical educational tool to raise awareness about antisemitism and its various manifestations, but in reality has been used as a political, legal and rhetorical weapon to attack and limit the academic and political freedom of anti-Zionist activists. The IHRA defines antisemitism as: "a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."²⁰⁷ While this definition appears a useful guide to understanding and combating antisemitism it also contains an extension with several points which conflate the criticism of the Israeli state and its practices with antisemitism, or open the door to such conflations. We list these below:

- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.

²⁰⁷ "What Is Antisemitism?" IHRA, <https://holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definition-antisemitism>. Accessed 23 Jan. 2025.

- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.

These aspects of the IHRA are being used to silence voices critical of the state of Israel and its well-documented practices of occupation, apartheid, and genocide, including within academic institutions and including when these critical voices are themselves Jewish as highlighted below. The deliberate conflation of the state of Israel - and by extension Zionist ideology - with the Jewish religion not only misunderstands Judaism (whose followers are not monolithic) but also actively suppresses a large number of anti-Zionist Jewish voices.

The IHRA definition has been widely denounced by various civil society organisations, including leading Jewish organisations like Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP). Even the legal scholar who drafted the IHRA definition has noted the way it has been used by states and far right politicians to silence speech.²⁰⁸ On the IHRA and its working definition to combat antisemitism, JVP note:

"As a definition, it does nothing to make Jewish people safer. It fails to capture or identify the true nature of antisemitism or its root causes, and is of no use in identifying the different forms that racism and antisemitism often take. In essence, it is not fit for purpose. Moreover, when applied in policy or legislation, it [violates our Constitutional right to free speech](#).

The controversial IHRA definition poses a direct [censorship threat to Palestinians](#) and Palestinian rights advocates. It can easily be used as a censorship tool that falsely conflates attempts to hold the Israeli government accountable with antisemitism. Indeed, the definition has already been used to silence human rights activists and academics, and many of its most vocal proponents openly praise how it targets Palestinian rights advocacy.²⁰⁹

In recent years, the IHRA definition of antisemitism has been used to delegitimise and silence Palestinian solidarity organisations, specifically within universities. In 2019, Kenneth Stern, one of the original drafters of the IHRA definition of antisemitism, released an opinion piece in *The Guardian* raising concerns about how right-wing US and Israeli organisations were weaponizing the definition and straying from its original intent²¹⁰. In demonstration of this, in 2023 The European Legal Support Centre and the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies released a report detailing four major consequences of adoption of the IHRA. This report was based on an examination of over 50 incidents where the IHRA definition was used to silence students and staff teaching or talking about Palestine in UK universities. Their findings suggest that the IHRA

²⁰⁸ Stern, Kenneth. 'I drafted the definition of antisemitism. Rightwing Jews are weaponizing it'. *The Guardian*, 13 Dec 2019.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/13/antisemitism-executive-order-trump-chilling-effect>

²⁰⁹ "Jewish Voice for Peace Opposes IHRA Definition of Antisemitism." JVP, 8 Feb. 2021, <https://www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org/2021/02/08/ihra/>. Accessed 23 Jan. 2025.

²¹⁰ "I drafted the definition of antisemitism. Rightwing Jews are weaponizing it." Kenneth Stern. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/13/antisemitism-executive-order-trump-chilling-effect>. Accessed 23 Jan. 2025

definition has:

- 1) been used to falsely accuse advocates of Palestinian human rights and critics of the Israeli state of antisemitism
- 2) resulted in unreasonable investigations and disciplinary proceedings of university staff and students and false accusations of antisemitism. The proceedings have caused harm to the wellbeing of academics and students, as well as reputational damage
- 3) complaints against advocates of Palestinian human rights and critics of the Israeli state have had an adverse effect on academic freedom, in some cases leading to the cancellation of academic events
- 4) the cases of accusations of antisemitism based on the IHRA are having “a chilling effect among staff and students, deterring individuals from speaking about or organising events that discuss Palestinian human rights and Palestinian self-determination out of fear that they will be subject to complaints, or else will face considerable bureaucratic hurdles and even costly legal action in order to allow events to take place.” (pg.6)²¹¹

In a separate report examining cases between 2017 and 2022 in Germany, Austria, and the UK, the European Legal Support Centre found two highly problematic patterns in which the IHRA definition was being used and implemented. First, they found that all of the individuals and organisations accused of violating the definition were advocating for Palestinian rights. Second, they found discrepancies between the IHRA’s own intent and implementation, where “although it is advertised and promoted as ‘non-legally binding,’ the definition is increasingly used by public and private bodies as if it was law. As a result, the IHRA definition chills free speech and curtails freedom of assembly, resulting in self-censorship of individuals afraid to face allegations of antisemitism.”²¹² For example, in 2024 in Germany, despite the opposition from legal experts, civil society groups, and prominent Jewish intellectuals, the Bundestag (lower house) passed a resolution adopting the IHRA definition and making public grants for cultural and science projects dependent on their adherence to the IHRA definition.²¹³ Amnesty International Germany raised serious concerns on the basis that “the resolution not only fails to achieve this goal [combating antisemitism], but also raises fears of serious violations of fundamental human rights and legal uncertainty.” Indeed, this shoddy resolution and its problematic implementation resulted in the unlawful termination of *Deutsche Welle* (DW) reporter Farah Maraqa and six other Arab-descent DW journalists on the basis of accusations of antisemitism using the IHRA

²¹¹ British Society for Middle Eastern Studies and the European Legal Support Centre. 2023. “Freedom of Speech and Academic Freedom in UK Higher Education: The Adverse Impact of the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism.” September.

<https://www.brismes.ac.uk/files/documents/Freedom%20of%20Speech%20and%20Academic%20Freedom%20in%20UK%20Higher%20Education-BRISMES-ELSC.pdf>. Accessed 23 Jan. 2025.

²¹² European Legal Support Centre. 2023. “Suppressing Palestinian Rights Advocacy through the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism.” June. https://res.cloudinary.com/elsc/images/v1685978238/The-Practice-of-Suppressing-Palestinian-Rights-Advocacy-FINAL-PP/The-Practice-of-Suppressing-Palestinian-Rights-Advocacy-FINAL-PP.pdf?_i=AA. Accessed 23 Jan. 2025.

²¹³ “Germany Passes Controversial Antisemitism Resolution – DW – 11/06/2024.” Dw.Com, <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-passes-controversial-antisemitism-resolution/a-70715643>. Accessed 23 Jan. 2025.

definition. However, the German courts ruled Maraqa's dismissal as "lawfully unjustified" and highlighted that their posts were not antisemitic and taken out of context.²¹⁴

Combating antisemitism remains a vitally important goal and endeavour, particularly in Europe, however, the IHRA definition not only fails to achieve this goal, but also actively promotes disinformation about antisemitism that is harmful for the Jewish community, and in particular for anti-Zionist Jews and Israelis. If we cannot accurately identify antisemitism, including distinguishing it from criticism of Israeli state practices, then we cannot combat it. The questionable implementation and weaponisation of the IHRA definition is further evidence of its lack of reliability. Efforts to limit the academic freedom of those experiencing genocide, apartheid, and occupation by exploiting the grievances of a historically marginalised group should be wholly rejected by institutions and governments who claim to uphold humanitarian, democratic values.

Where the IHRA definition and its widespread abuse seeks to limit academic freedom, PACBI explicitly seeks to promote academic freedom and combat years worth of attacks against the academic freedom of Palestinians and their allies by the state of Israel and its allies.

Why a ceasefire is not enough and why the boycott is still essential

After the initial Task Force submission deadline, a welcome **temporary** ceasefire deal was announced. This ceasefire will take place in 3 phases, leading to the release of Israeli hostages as well as Palestinian activists and ordinary people who have been detained without trial.²¹⁵ However, it is important to note that a ceasefire is not the end of the genocide, occupation or apartheid in Palestine and the need for an academic boycott remains as urgent as ever to pressure Israel to end its oppression and violence.

Since the announcement of the ceasefire deal, Israel has begun deadly raids in the West Bank,²¹⁶ signalling their intent to not only continue the genocide but to also extend it to the West Bank. Furthermore, Israel has indicated no clear plans to stop committing war crimes and instead appears to be emboldened by the change of tone in the new US administration. While a ceasefire brings a much-needed pause for Gazans who have been under siege for decades, and constant bombardment and displacement for 15 months, it is by no means a sign that Israel will start meeting its international obligations.

In order to end the systemic violence against Palestinians and international complicity with it, we must support Palestinians in their calls for liberation and self-determination by implementing the boycott. Palestinians have tried every channel available, and particularly all non-violent

²¹⁴ Alsaafin, Linah. "German Court Rules Palestinian Ex-DW Journalist Sacking Unlawful." *Al Jazeera*, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/5/german-court-rules-palestinian-ex-dw-journalist-sacking-unlawful>. Accessed 23 Jan. 2025.

²¹⁵ Staff, Al Jazeera. "Who Are the Palestinian Prisoners Released by Israel?" *Al Jazeera*, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/1/20/who-are-the-palestinian-prisoners-released-by-israel>. Accessed 23 Jan. 2025.

²¹⁶ Marsi, Stephen Quillen, Federica. "Israel Forcibly Evicts Thousands, Torches Homes during West Bank Assault." *Al Jazeera*, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/liveblog/2025/1/23/live-israeli-raid-forces-palestinians-to-flee-jenin-as-aid-flows-to-gaza>. Accessed 23 Jan. 2025.

options, but the state of Israel continues to commit violations against their human rights with impunity. The ceasefire should be used as an opportunity to send a resounding message to the state of Israel that their violations against international law are not endorsed by Trinity College rather than viewing it as a reason to delay further action. Time is of the essence for Palestinians, and Israel has already signalled no intention to stop its genocidal project.