

**Doc 1 – email trail with attachment**

FW: Letter from Edinburgh Council Leader - Scottish Government's Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Against the State of Israel

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; on behalf of; First Minister  
FirstMinister@gov.scot

Central Correspondence Unit CentralCorrespondenceUnit@gov.scot

First Minister FirstMinister@gov.scot

Tue 30/09/2025 09:18

Grateful if a response can be drafted for the FM's signature please.

Thanks

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Office of the First Minister

Scottish Government

5TH floor/St Andrews House/Regent Road

Edinburgh EH1 3DG

Mobile [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] **On Behalf Of** Jane Meagher

**Sent:** 29 September 2025 15:41

**To:** First Minister

**Subject:** Letter from Edinburgh Council Leader - Scottish Government's Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Against the State of Israel

Good afternoon,

Please find attached a letter from Councillor Jane Meagher, Leader of the City of Edinburgh Council, for the attention of the First Minister.

Many thanks,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)] | Labour Group

City Chambers, High Street, Edinburgh, EH1 1YJ

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@edinburgh.gov.uk

**Attachment**

Rt Hon Mr John Swinney MSP  
First Minister  
Scottish Government  
St Andrew's House  
Regent Road  
Edinburgh  
EH1 3DG

**Date** 29 September 2025

Dear First Minister,

**Scottish Government's Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Against the State of Israel**

I note that the Scottish Government recently supported a call for boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against Israel, including an agreement to "immediately impose a package of boycotts, divestment and sanctions targeted at the state of Israel and at companies complicit in its military operations and its occupation of Palestine."

Given that the City of Edinburgh Council receives funding from the Scottish Government, there is concern about how any decision might affect any funds from the Scottish Government through the block grant, on how this money should be spent.

I note that previous attempts by the Council to adopt a local BDS policy against the Israeli Government have been deemed not competent due to section 17 of the Local Government Act 1988 which prevents local authorities and some other public bodies from taking non-commercial matters, including the location of any country or territory of the business activities or interests of contractors, into account in procurement or contract termination decisions.


I would draw attention to the Council's consistent support for action to end the genocide in Palestine, as far as our powers allow, as well as the Council's support for local authority devolution of potential supply and divestment decisions.

Further to this I seek clarity on if the Scottish Government position of BDS against Israel now places conditionalities on local authority spending to observe this position and request that you outline what additional legislative changes the Scottish Government will support and pursue to allow local authorities to legally adopt BDS policies should

they choose to. I would also appreciate guidance on how this affects Local Government Pension Investments.

I look forward to your reply.

Yours sincerely



Councillor Jane Meagher  
**Leader of the City of Edinburgh Council**

---

**Document 2 – email trail with attachment**

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]<[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot> **On Behalf Of** First Minister  
**Sent:** 30 September 2025 09:18  
**To:** Central Correspondence Unit <CentralCorrespondenceUnit@gov.scot>  
**Cc:** First Minister <FirstMinister@gov.scot>  
**Subject:** FW: Letter from Edinburgh Council Leader - Scottish Government's Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Against the State of Israel

Grateful if a response can be drafted for the FM's signature please.

Thanks

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Office of the First Minister

Scottish Government

5TH floor/St Andrews House/Regent Road

Edinburgh EH1 3DG

Mobile [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] **On Behalf Of** Jane Meagher  
**Sent:** 29 September 2025 15:41  
**To:** First Minister  
**Subject:** Letter from Edinburgh Council Leader - Scottish Government's Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Against the State of Israel

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Many thanks,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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City Chambers, High Street, Edinburgh, EH1 1YJ

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@edinburgh.gov.uk

**Attachment – letter 1**

Rt Hon Mr John Swinney MSP  
First Minister  
Scottish Government  
St Andrew's House  
Regent Road  
Edinburgh  
EH1 3DG

**Date** 29 September 2025

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**Scottish Government's Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Against the State of Israel**

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Thanks

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Middle East, North Africa and Latin America Policy Officer, International Division, External Affairs  
Directorate, The Scottish Government

( [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] | \* [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot> **On Behalf Of** First Minister

**Sent:** 20 October 2025 16:18

**To:** First Minister <FirstMinister@gov.scot>; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>;  
[redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted -  
s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>

**Cc:** Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture 2024 <CabSecCEAC@gov.scot>;  
Deputy First Minister and Cabinet Secretary for Economy & Gaelic <DFMCSEG@gov.scot>; David Barnes  
<David.Barnes@gov.scot>; Ewan Crawford <Ewan.Crawford@gov.scot>; Rachel Sunderland  
<Rachel.Sunderland@gov.scot>; John Primrose <John.Primrose@gov.scot>; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]  
<[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; Emily Mackintosh <Emily.Mackintosh@gov.scot>; Ross Ingebrigtsen  
<Ross.Ingebrigtsen@gov.scot>; Sean McGivern <Sean.McGivern@gov.scot>; Jack Middleton  
<Jack.Middleton@gov.scot>; Olaf Stando <Olaf.Stando@gov.scot>; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted -  
s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>

**Subject:** RE: letter following parliamentary vote for BDS policy

All

To follow up on the draft response to this letter – can I check who is leading? The FM’s box reopens  
Thursday so useful to send then if doable.

Many thanks,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**Private Secretary**

**Office of the First Minister**

**Mobile:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot> **On Behalf Of** First Minister

**Sent:** 10 October 2025 15:13

**To:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted -

s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>

**Cc:** First Minister <FirstMinister@gov.scot>; Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture 2024 <CabSecCEAC@gov.scot>; Deputy First Minister and Cabinet Secretary for Economy & Gaelic <DFMCSEG@gov.scot>; David Barnes <David.Barnes@gov.scot>; Ewan Crawford <Ewan.Crawford@gov.scot>; Rachel Sunderland <Rachel.Sunderland@gov.scot>; John Primrose <John.Primrose@gov.scot>; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; Emily Mackintosh <Emily.Mackintosh@gov.scot>; Ross Ingebrigtsen <Ross.Ingebrigtsen@gov.scot>; Sean McGivern <Sean.McGivern@gov.scot>; Jack Middleton <Jack.Middleton@gov.scot>; Olaf Stando <Olaf.Stando@gov.scot>; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>

**Subject:** FW: letter following parliamentary vote for BDS policy

All

To see the attached from Patrick Harvie MSP following on from FM's Gaza statement on 3 Sept – grateful if a response can be prepared please?

Many thanks,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**Private Secretary**

**Office of the First Minister**

**Mobile: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]**

**From:** Harvie P (Patrick), MSP <Patrick.Harvie.msp@parliament.scot>

**Sent:** 10 October 2025 15:00

**To:** First Minister <firstminister@gov.scot>

**Subject:** letter following parliamentary vote for BDS policy

Correspondence attached for the attention of the First Minister.

Kind regards,

Patrick Harvie

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**Patrick Harvie MSP for the Glasgow Region (he/him)**

patrick.harvie.msp@parliament.scot <http://twitter.com/patrickharvie>

0131 348 6360 | MG.18, The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh, EH99 1SP  
Glasgow Collective, 15 East Campbell Street, Glasgow G1 5DT

British Sign Language (BSL) users can get in touch using [contactSCOTLAND-BSL](#)

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## Two attached documents

### Document one – letter from Patrick Harvie

Patrick Harvie MSP  
Scottish Parliament MG.20  
Glasgow Collective 15  
East Campbell St  
G1 5DT  
e: [patrick.harvie.msp@parliament.scot](mailto:patrick.harvie.msp@parliament.scot)  
tel: 0141 552 6111

John Swinney MSP First Minister  
Scottish Government  
St Andrews House  
Edinburgh

10th October 2025

Dear First Minister,

As you know, tens of thousands of people have been slaughtered in Gaza by Israel over the past two years.

Palestinians have been starved and massacred in Gaza as part of a campaign of collective punishment and ethnic cleansing. While we can all welcome the recent developments which may offer a path toward a lasting peace, there remains an obligation on all of us to take action to end the occupation and achieve justice for Palestine.

On the 3rd September this year, I was delighted that your Government supported Green calls for boycotts, divestment and sanctions against the State of Israel and companies complicit in its military operations and its occupation of Palestine.

This was a truly historic moment. Both Edinburgh City Council and Shetland Islands Council have now followed suit, also backing calls for boycott, divestment and sanctions.

These votes could be the start of a new consensus across Scotland's local and national governments for real, practical and effective action against Israel's genocide. However, it is difficult to see what the Scottish Government has done differently since the vote.

The principle is simple. If a company is profiting from apartheid and genocide against Palestinians it should not be allowed to profit here in Scotland. And the Scottish Government must be doing everything it can to ensure that.

I appreciate that you have asked officials to examine the options for further action, but there remains a lack of clarity on some of the specific measures we have called for. Therefore, will you - as First Minister - commit to taking these first steps towards ensuring that no public money goes towards companies profiteering from Israel's genocide in Gaza?

- Confirm that Scottish Enterprise will not resume funding for companies that have armed Israel in the event of the current ceasefire holding. The arms that have been used in the genocide of the last two years were made over prior years and we should not be fuelling future conflict
- Repeal restrictions on local government set out in S17(5) of the Local Government Act 1988, that could prevent Councils from enacting BDS
- Urgently halt all Scottish Government grants to businesses headquartered in Israel or which have been identified by the UN as complicit in the occupation
- Issue guidance from the Scottish Government to businesses to cease all trade with Israel, in line with the similar position taken in March 2022 against Russia.

The UN committee of inquiry has been clear. Genocide had been inflicted. All countries, including Scotland, have an immediate obligation under the Genocide Convention to "prevent and punish the crime of genocide", employing all measures at their disposal to do so.

Yours, Patrick Harvie MSP

**Attachment two – draft reply to Patrick Harvie from FM**

**First Minister**

John Swinney MSP



**Scottish Go**  
Riaghaltas na h-Alba  
gov.scot

vernment

T: 0300 244 4000

October 2025

Thank you for your letter about my statement of 3 September 2025 regarding measures the Scottish Government will take to address the catastrophic humanitarian situation in Gaza.

Scottish Government ministers have from the beginning of the conflict called for a ceasefire and the unfettered access of humanitarian aid, and will continue to call for that. We have condemned the brutal actions of Hamas and called for all hostages to be released immediately and unconditionally. We have called upon the UK Government to end licenced arms exports to Israel, and for accountability for any war crimes or breaches of international humanitarian law.

I have been clear that I share the concern of other international leaders that genocide is unfolding in Gaza. In response to that, I announced a comprehensive package of economic and humanitarian measures, within the competence of our devolved powers, to Parliament on 3 September. The Scottish Government and its agencies are now implementing these measures.

I also called on the UK Government to take a range of reserved measures, including withdrawing from the UK/Israel Free Trade Agreement; to follow the example of Ireland and prohibit the import of goods produced in Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories; and to join South Africa's case at the International Court of Justice.

I have since called upon all sides to abide by the terms of the peace agreement so that desperately needed humanitarian aid can flow into Gaza and reconstruction can begin. While I welcomed the recent ceasefire, there are worrying signs that it may not hold putting at risk the vital humanitarian aid that Gazan people need to survive.

The Scottish Government will continue to advocate for peace, justice and human rights. I hope this reassures you that we are doing what we can to support a rapid resolution to the conflict and to alleviate the suffering of the most vulnerable.

Yours sincerely

**JOHN SWINNEY**

**FIRST MINISTER**

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**Document 4 - letter to FM from member of public**

**From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]**

**Sent: 05 October 2025 21:05**

**To: Swinney J (John), MSP ; lord.provost@edinburgh.gov.uk; robert.aldridge@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.jane.meagher@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.danny.aston@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.alan.beal@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.fiona.bennett@edinburgh.gov.uk; steve.burgess@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.jack.caldwell@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.kate.campbell@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.christopher.cowdy@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.james.dalgleish@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.euan.davidson@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.sanne.dijkstra-downie@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.denis.dixon@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.katrina.faccenda@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.pauline.flannery@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.fiona.glasgow@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.margaret.graham@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.dan.heap@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.euan.hyslop@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.stephen.jenkinson@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.tim.jones@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.david.key@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.simita.kumar@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.kevin.lang@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.marie-clair.munro@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.finlay.mcfarlane@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.ross.mckenzie@edinburgh.gov.uk;**

cllr.alys.mumford@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.vicky.nicolson@edinburgh.gov.uk;  
cllr.kayleigh.oneill@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.ben.parker@edinburgh.gov.uk;  
cllr.tim.pogson@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.neil.ross@edinburgh.gov.uk;  
cllr.alex.staniforth@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.edward.thornley@edinburgh.gov.uk;  
cllr.norman.work@edinburgh.gov.uk; cllr.louise.young@edinburgh.gov.uk;  
cllr.lewis.younie@edinburgh.gov.uk [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]; SCSLondon@state.gov; edinburgh-  
info@state.gov; scotletters@dailymail.co.uk; scotexpress@express.co.uk; Scotland@sunday-  
times.co.uk; scottishsunletters@the-sun.co.uk

**Subject: The City of Edinburgh Council: Vote NO to Resolution That Covers up for Hamas Atrocities Against Palestinians and Israelis / Tell the TRUTH About the "Protesters"**

**CAUTION: This e-mail originated from outside of The Scottish Parliament. Do not click links or open attachments unless you recognise the sender and know the content is safe.**

cc:

President Trump  
Vice President Vance  
U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio  
Christians Untied for Israel  
His Majesty King Charles III  
Parliament of Scotland  
Press  
Prime Minister of Scotland  
U.S. Congress  
U.S. Consulate in Edinburgh  
Worldwide Leaders

True to form, 18-months after the start of this war and their nefarious propaganda campaign, Hamas finally admits that 72% of the fatalities are male terrorists [35a].

#### **HAMAS' GLOBAL SUBTERFUGE VIA CITY COUNCIL PROTESTS**

Hamas covers its atrocities against the Palestinian people (e.g., blocking safe passage corridors, hiding and firing weapons among civilians) [36-38] by sponsoring and supporting city council and worldwide protests on the Palestinians' behalf with the sole intent of delegitimizing Israel [39-41].

Donning the cloak of victimhood and resistance, Hamas's behavior is barbaric – igniting hatred and discrimination against Israel, worldwide Jewry, and democracy itself.

#### **ILLEGAL ENCAMPMENTS: INDEFENSIBLE**

Hamas supporters attempt to paint the illegal encampments as free speech. Nothing can be further from the truth. Participants in the illegal encampments violate civil rights by harassing, inciting violence, physically assaulting, vandalizing, destroying property, blocking entrances, and preventing free movement on campus for Jewish students and their allies. Not only are these illegal behaviors discriminatory, but they also are textbook examples of unprotected conduct since they create a hostile environment for Jewish students and their allies that would not be tolerated for any other group. Their behaviors, therefore, are indefensible according to civil rights laws, and we ask elected officials to fully prosecute those who violate these laws [42 Honorable City of Edinburgh Council,

We are your constituents, Europeans, Americans, and worldwide citizens who ask you to vote NO on the proposed anti-Israel resolution and NO to BDS, which are strategies to cover up Hamas atrocities against Palestinians and Israelis.

We have watched in horror as self-proclaimed 'protestors' have overtaken city councils, commissions, university campuses, and public and private spaces with misinformation, extremist ideology, and violent conduct that undermine our democratic way of life and our peaceful communities.

These people call themselves anti-Zionists and are part of a global hate movement stigmatizing Jews across the world and justifying violence against them. While Scotland's Jews are 0.1% of the Scottish population, hate crimes against Jewish people have risen by 100% since October 7, 2023 [1a].

At Edinburgh University, an anti-Zionist 'protester' slashed a Jewish student in the face with a box cutter while security failed to intervene [1b].

This letter shows that the only way to counter this hate movement is for you to distance yourselves from it and take a stand against it.

#### THE TRUTH ABOUT "PRO-PALESTINIAN" PROTESTERS

The protesters claim to be an anti-war movement to stop the "genocide, apartheid, and occupation" [1c] of the Palestinian people, but nothing can be further from the truth.

Edinburgh University Justice for Palestine Society (EUJPS) and similar groups (SPSC, SFoP, SCP, etc.) are funded by the Hamas terrorist organization [2-7a]. As a propaganda arm of Hamas, their sole purpose is to radicalize and misinform campuses and city councils and create a massive disinformation campaign to delegitimize Israel and promote the annihilation of the Jewish State [7b].

Their chant, "From the River to the Sea," clearly states their intention [8]. If you listen carefully, however, their violent intentions do not stop with Israel. They promote antisemitism and violence towards Jewish citizens in Scotland [8a] and the world over.

Their ultimate goal is to overturn democratic values. Just listen to their chant, "Death to America" [9-10]. Their philosophy is anchored in the Hamas Charter, which states in its introduction, "Israel will exist until Islam will obliterate it" and "Our struggle against the Jews is very great and very serious" [11]; and the radical Islamist Duaat entitled "How Islam will dominate the world" [12].

Pure logic and history upends the protesters' statements.

Only days after the heinous October 7 attacks on Israel, these protesters started their false accusations of "genocide" [13]. Here is the truth:

#### FALSE CLAIMS OF APARTHEID

Hamas' accusations of apartheid are false. Apartheid is defined as a system of legalized racial discrimination and segregation that deprives a racial group of their political and civil rights. In South Africa, for example, the white minority segregated Black Africans in housing, transportation, education, and stripped them of citizenship, and positions in government.

In Israel, all citizens whether Jewish, Arab, Armenian, Baha'i, Christian, Druze, Muslim, etc. have equal rights. They can live, work, and travel wherever they want and they are provided the same government services (e.g., health insurance, free public school, subsidized university education)

equally. They attend the same universities and have the same voting power and opportunities. In fact, they hold positions in all industries (e.g., law, medicine, politics) – including positions as judges and members of the Knesset. Israel is a multi-racial society where the Arab citizens have full rights. Inciting racism or discrimination in Israel is a criminal offense [14].

#### **FALSE CLAIMS OF COLONIALISM AND OCCUPATION**

Predating Islam, the Jewish people arrived and established the independent Land of Israel in the second millennium B.C.E. and lived there for more than 1,600 years. In succession, the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans conquered the land. Despite the efforts of Roman crusaders and some Muslims to make the country empty of Jews, thousands of Jews have lived for centuries in each of the holy cities of Jerusalem, Safad, Tiberius, and Hebron; and in Gaza, Rafah, Ashkelon, Caesarea, Jaffa, Acre, and Jericho. [15]. Moreover, archaeological evidence proves Jewish indigenously, with cities populated by a Jewish majority prior to the establishment of the modern state of Israel [16].

It is absurd to claim that the Jews who returned to Israel starting in the last decades of the 19th century were colonialists and imperialists. For whom were these idealists working? They were not planting the flag of the antisemitic regimes of Russia, Poland, and Lithuania; and they were kicked out of Yemen, Iraq, Turkey, and North Africa. In fact, these Jewish refugees had to overcome Turkish, British, and Pan-Arab imperialism to achieve self-determination. They were fleeing pogroms and persecution, and wanted nothing to do with the countries from which they fled. They did not come to the land with weapons to conquer, but with rakes and hoes to cultivate often swamp-infested land they purchased from absentee landlords. Years later, after the Holocaust, the state of Israel was defined and established by international law (1948). The Israelis were ecstatic to live peacefully among their neighbors within the meager boundaries they were allotted in 1948, when five Arab countries attacked Israel in the War of Independence. This war was one of many that Muslim extremists committed against the Jewish state to deny Israel's right to exist [17].

In 1967 Egypt, Syria, and Jordan started a war with Israel. Hafiz al-Assad ordered his Syrian soldiers to "strike the enemy's [civilian] settlements, turn them into dust, pave the Arab roads with the skulls of the Jews, and strike them without mercy" [18]. Miraculously, Israel won the war and gained territory in the Sinai, Golan Heights, West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. In 1982, Israel gave the Sinai to Egypt, which has created peace between the countries [19].

With similar hope, Israel left Gaza in 2005 as one of many gestures of peace with its Arab neighbors that have been met with violence [20]. This is worth repeating. Since 2005, Israel has NOT occupied Gaza. In response, Hamas overtook Gaza, slaughtered Palestinian leaders, created 450 miles of terror tunnels, launched over 30,000 rockets at Israel, and on October 7 perpetrated the most heinous attacks on the Jewish people since the Holocaust including the kidnapping of Israelis, Americans, and Foreign Nationals still missing today [21-22].

#### **FALSE CLAIMS THAT ISRAEL COMMITS GENOCIDE: HAMAS IS RESPONSIBLE FOR DEATHS OF PALESTINIANS**

Both Hamas and the protesters' accusations of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) are blatantly false. Numerous military leaders, including John Spencer (Former Chair of Urban Warfare Studies, WestPoint), testify that "Israel has implemented more measures to avoid civilian casualties than any other military in the history of war" including its use of precision weapons and the sending of leaflets, texts, and calls to Gazans ahead of airstrikes to provide time for them to evacuate targeted areas [23-25]. Sadly, terrorists boast of hiding among their own civilians to increase casualties [26].

Armies that fight defensive wars against terrorists in urban warfare generally have a civilian to casualty ratio of 4 to 60: 1; meaning 4 to 60 civilians are accidentally killed for every terrorist

eliminated. This was true for U.S. and coalition troops in Mosul (2016-2017) [27]. However, Israel's ratio is less than 1:1, meaning they have reduced civilian casualties more than four to sixtyfold by comparison [28]. While the loss of innocent life is tragic, according to international humanitarian law (Article 51) these deaths fall squarely on Hamas [29].

Hamas leaders have admitted that they lie about numbers of civilian casualties [30], and statistical analysis proves that the Ministry of Health numbers are misleading [31].

Moreover, Palestinian civilians attest to the fact that Hamas steals food from aid trucks and murders Palestinians trying to reach the aid [32-35].

**HAMAS ADMITS: NO GENOCIDE**

## **SUMMARY**

This document proves that anti-Zionism is a hate movement at its core and its claims aimed at Israel of apartheid, genocide, colonialism, and occupation - are patently FALSE.

After the barbaric attack on October 7th, Hamas is still holding hostages, committing acts of terrorism against civilians, and rebuilding its terror structure.

Allowing protesters like EUJPS, and groups like it (e.g., SPSC, SFoP, SCP, etc.), to hijack local city councils or any levels of government only rewards and emboldens Hamas, endangers Israel and global democracies, prevents the Gazans from taking responsibility to unlearn hate and choose healthy governance so that they become viable peace partners, and justifies hatred and violence against global Jewry.

The world is at an uncomfortable brink: Barbarism vs. Democracy. Rewarding barbarity and those who support it is a losing proposition.

**Bold leadership, not capitulation, is the only strategy to keep communities safe.**

We ask you to vote NO on this anti-Israel resolution that would perpetuate brutality against the Palestinians and Israelis alike. These strategies are designed by Hamas supporters to keep Hamas in power and continue to inflict carnage on the Palestinians and Israelis.

Please protect our community, democracy, and national security from this hate movement that misinforms and spreads terrorist propaganda and violence.

Sincerely,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

"I have decided to stick to love...Hate is too great a burden to bear." - Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"This is your democracy. Make it. Protect it. Pass it on."  
-Justice Thurgood Marshall

## References:

- 1a [https://cst.org.uk/research/cst-publications/antisemitic-incidents-2024?utm\\_source=chatgpt.com](https://cst.org.uk/research/cst-publications/antisemitic-incidents-2024?utm_source=chatgpt.com)
- 1b <https://www.thetimes.com/uk/scotland/article/edinburgh-campus-security-let-down-student-attacked-at-protest-gnthfxcg6#:~:text=On%20Wednesday%20McKenzie%20was%20jailed,the%20future%2C%E2%80%9D%20he%20added.>
- 1c “University of Georgia students challenging suspensions from pro-Palestine protests,” Fox 5 Atlanta, 30 July 2024.
- 2 <https://isgap.org/post/2024/05/for-immediate-release-new-comprehensive-research-reveals-amas-linked-funding-to-students-for-justice-in-palestine-and-groups-growing-web-of-influence-post-october-7/>
- 3 ISGAP, “New comprehensive research reveals Hamas-linked funding to Students for Justice in Palestine and groups growing web of influence post October 7th”
- 4 CAIR is Hamas: How the federal government proved that CAIR is a front for terrorism, Center for Security and Policy, 2016.
- 5 Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Congressional Testimony, Israel Imperiled: Threats to the Jewish state, 4-19-2016.
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Document 5 – email with FM letter

FW: Global Sumud Flotilla Captives

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; on behalf of; First Minister  
FirstMinister@gov.scot

To: Central Correspondence Unit CentralCorrespondenceUnit@gov.scot

Mon 06/10/2025 11:23

OR please

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Office of the First Minister

Scottish Government

5TH floor/St Andrews House/Regent Road

Edinburgh EH1 3DG

Mobile [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Sent: 06 October 2025 11:00

To: First Minister

Subject: Global Sumud Flotilla Captives

Dear First Minister,

Please, I reach out to you to act and do all that you can to safeguard the illegally kidnapped Global Sumud flotilla citizens from harm, including those Scottish, Irish, Welsh and English humanitarians. Put all pressure on the UK government to force the Israeli Government to immediately release them without further harm. They are being held captive as prisoners illegally under fabricated pretexts. Reports are coming through of them being beaten, deprived of food or water and in some cases being given tainted foodstuffs/water, subjected to physical, psychological and verbal abuse and even threats of sexual violence. They are innocent civilians!

It is an absolute disgrace that no public comment has been made by the Scottish and UK governments about the illegality of the Israeli navy and government's actions towards our citizens who were abducted in international waters whilst participating in a humanitarian mission to bring aid to the besieged people of Gaza. And there's been a shameful lack of action to intervene. Harm to one is a harm to all. Are our people so disposable that we stand by and just let the Israeli government act with impunity?

I appreciate the sanctions that the Scottish government have put in place to boycott and divest from Israel in protest to their criminal genocide of the Palestinian people but we need more action and not just words.

Please act. They need our help.

Let Gaza live.

Free Palestine.

Best wishes

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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Document 6 – email

FW: Urgent

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; on behalf of; First Minister  
FirstMinister@gov.scot

To: Central Correspondence Unit CentralCorrespondenceUnit@gov.scot

Tue 07/10/2025 08:45

OR please

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Office of the First Minister

Scottish Government

5TH floor/St Andrews House/Regent Road

Edinburgh EH1 3DG

Mobile [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

-----Original Message-----

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Sent: 06 October 2025 19:44

To: First Minister <firstminister@gov.scot>

Subject: Urgent

Hello Mr Swinney,

I am emailing as an extremely concerned Scottish citizen and also a consistent SNP voter and supporter. One of our fellow Scots, [redacted - s.38(1)(b)], has been declared missing. [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] stands with what I believe and hope to be the majority of Scottish citizens in supporting the rights of the Palestinian people. She participated in a legal humanitarian mission to break the illegal blockade of humanitarian aid to those suffering beyond imagination in Gaza. I urge you to demand her safe return, and to update the public on how you are responding to this urgent, emergency situation - many of whom are following this story closely and expect much more from our government we have voted to lead us!

I have always admired the way the Scottish National Party and their policies support the most vulnerable in our society and promote a diverse and inclusive Scotland. Now, the most vulnerable in our WORLD are living in an overpopulated strip in the middle east, being rained upon with bullets and bombs. I welcome your announcement to recognise the state of Palestine and suspend funding for arms firms supplying Israel, however I feel immense disappointment that this and our words are simply not enough. We must have a nationwide boycott of Israeli produce and an immediate cease of funding to companies who profit the Israeli economy and in turn, the genocide against the Palestinian people.

I am beginning to believe that the UK public are living under the dictatorship of an elite, rich cabal who cannot or will not stand up to Israel and support what is morally right.

I implore you to investigate and demand the release of Yvonne Ridley with urgency.

A concerned, angry, frustrated citizen,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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**Document 7 – email**

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**To:** First Minister FirstMinister@gov.scot

We are writing to you on behalf of the State Board of Administration of Florida (SBA). The SBA manages the Florida Retirement System pension fund, one of the largest public pension funds in the United States, on behalf of over one million members. The SBA is subject to Florida Statute 215.4725, which directs the SBA to compile and make available the “Scrutinized Companies or Other Entities that Boycott Israel List.”

On September 30, 2025, your entity was added to the “Scrutinized Companies or Other Entities that Boycott Israel” list as mandated by the amended Florida Statute, F.S. 215.4725. The SBA is now required to sell, redeem, divest, or withdraw all publicly traded securities of a company or other entity from the public fund within 12 months after the company or entity’s most recent appearance on the list. The Florida Department of Management Services (DMS) will also contact you regarding the possibility that your entity may be barred from future contracts or grants awarded by the state.

During the 2025 session, the Florida legislature and Governor DeSantis expanded section 215.4725, Florida Statutes regarding a boycott of Israel to include not just companies, but also other entities. The statute defines “Other Entity” to include, “an educational institution, a nonprofit organization, an agency, a local governmental entity or unit thereof, or a foreign government, including any of its public investment funds, public pension funds, sovereign wealth funds, or other government-sponsored investment funds.”

The SBA is required to provide you an opportunity to clarify your entity’s activities or policies with regard to Israel and advise you that your entity shall become subject to investment prohibition and divestment by the SBA unless your entity ceases the boycott activities within 90 days of receipt of this letter or clarifies that your activities do not meet the definition of a boycott under the law and covered in the Florida Statute, 215.4725

Please see the attached PDF File for additional details and contact information.

Thank you,

**Office of Investment Programs & Governance State Board of Administration of Florida**

**Please send your reply to: [Governance@sbafla.com](mailto:Governance@sbafla.com) This communication may contain confidential, proprietary, and/or privileged information. It is intended solely for the use of the addressee. If you are not the intended recipient, you are strictly prohibited from disclosing, copying, distributing or using any of this information. If you received this communication in error, please contact the sender immediately and destroy the material in its entirety, whether electronic or hard copy. Additionally, please note that Florida has a very broad public records law. This communication (including your email address, any attachments and other email contents) may be subject to disclosure to the public and media.**

**Attached letter**

**October 7, 2025 First Minister John Swinney MSP Government of Scotland Re: Boycott of Israel**

Dear John Swinney MSP:

We are writing to you on behalf of the State Board of Administration of Florida (SBA). The SBA manages the Florida Retirement System pension fund, one of the largest public pension funds in the United States, on behalf of over one million members. The SBA is subject to Florida Statute 215.4725, which directs the SBA to compile and make available the "Scrutinized Companies or Other Entities that Boycott Israel List."

On September 30, 2025, your entity was added to the "Scrutinized Companies or Other Entities that Boycott Israel" list as mandated by the amended Florida Statute, F.S. 215.4725. The SBA is now required to sell, redeem, divest, or withdraw all publicly traded securities of a company or other entity from the public fund within 12 months after the company or entity's most recent appearance on the list.

The Florida Department of Management Services (DMS) will also contact you regarding the possibility that your entity may be barred from future contracts or grants awarded by the state. During the 2025 session, the Florida legislature and Governor DeSantis expanded section 215.4725, Florida Statutes regarding a boycott of Israel to include not just companies, but also other entities.

The statute defines "Other Entity" to include, "an educational institution, a nonprofit organization, an agency, a local governmental entity or unit thereof, or a foreign government, including any of its public investment funds, public pension funds, sovereign wealth funds, or other government-sponsored investment funds."

The SBA is required to provide you an opportunity to clarify your entity's activities or policies with regard to Israel and advise you that your entity shall become subject to investment prohibition and divestment by the SBA unless your entity ceases the boycott activities within 90 days of receipt of this letter or clarifies that your activities do not meet the definition of a boycott under the law and covered in the Florida Statute, 215.4725, as noted below: "Boycott Israel" or "boycott of Israel" means refusing to deal, terminating business activities, or taking other actions to limit commercial relations with Israel, or persons or entities doing business in Israel or in Israeli-controlled territories, in a discriminatory manner.

A statement by a company, an educational institution, a nonprofit organization, an agency, a local governmental entity or unit thereof, or a foreign government that it is participating in a boycott of Israel, or that it has initiated a boycott in response to a October 7, 2025 request for a boycott of Israel or in compliance with, or in furtherance of, calls for a boycott of Israel, may be considered by the State Board of Administration to be evidence that a company or other entity is participating in a boycott of Israel. The term includes taking adverse action, including changes to published commercial financial ratings, risk ratings, and controversy ratings based on nonpecuniary factors, to inflict economic harm on Israel or persons or entities doing business in Israel or in Israeli-controlled territories.

The term includes trade practices that are prohibited by federal regulations issued in compliance with 50 U.S.C. s. 4842 and does not include trade practices that are preempted by federal law. As of July 1, 2025, the term "boycott of Israel" also includes an academic boycott of Israel in which an educational institution enacts or implements restrictive policies, or otherwise participates in activities having the object or effect of restricting ongoing or potential academic relationships, on the basis of ties to the State of Israel or its academic, educational, or research institutions, or by holding researchers, students, prospective students, guest lecturers, and artists-in-residence or institutions collectively liable for any alleged objectionable conduct by the State of Israel. An educational institution is deemed to have engaged in an academic boycott of Israel if any of its departments, centers, or other organs engages in a boycott, or, in the case of a foreign educational institution, if any faculty union recognized by that institution engages in a boycott.

You may find more information and a link to the Statute in its entirety on our website at: <https://www.sbafla.com/governance/global-governance-mandates/> We urge you to cease such activities before the end of 90 days, when investment prohibitions will become effective by statute. If

you have questions, please contact Michael McCauley, Senior Officer of Investment Programs & Governance, [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Sincerely, [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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**Document 8 – email**

**RE: Letter to Mothers against Genocide**

**From: John Swinney**

**Please prepare for my signature,**

**FM**

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**From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot> On Behalf Of First Minister**

**Sent: 17 October 2025 15:30**

**To: John Swinney <john.swinney@gov.scot>**

**Subject: Letter to Mothers against Genocide**

**FM**

**Please confirm if you are content for the undernoted response to be printed for you to sign personally.**

**Mothers Against Genocide Scotland  
mothersagainstgenocidescot@gmail.com**

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**October 2025**

Thank you for your kind invitation to attend your Memorial to The Children of Gaza. Please accept my most sincere apologies for not responding sooner. It is touching to see the dedication of Mothers Against Genocide Scotland, and the commitment to drawing attention to the people of Palestine and the innocent loss of life.

As I said in my statement to Parliament on 3 September, the situation in Gaza is a man-made humanitarian catastrophe. Tens of thousands of people in Gaza have been killed and many more have been maimed. Most of the strip lies in ruins, and famine now grips the population even while huge quantities of essential supplies lie waiting at the borders. You might find it of interest to read that statement here: [Situation in Gaza: First Minister's statement - 3 September 2025 - gov.scot](#).

On 9 October 2025, I called on all sides to abide by the terms of the peace agreement, for the release of hostages and for the immediate entry of humanitarian aid into Gaza. After more than two years of devastating brutality and loss of life, I know that this will be a moment of relief for many here in Scotland, and around the world.

As you may be aware, the Scottish Government has been contributing to humanitarian crises globally for many years. In 2017, we established the Humanitarian Emergency Fund (HEF) which provides a £1 million per annum budget to respond to humanitarian emergencies. This annual funding for humanitarian responses, and the £11.5m per annum also allocated for the Scottish Government's separate international development work in our partner countries (Malawi, Rwanda, Zambia and Pakistan), is funded from within our own budget. It is therefore additional to the contribution that Scotland already makes through its taxpayers to the UK Government's international development work delivered through the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office and other UK Government Departments.

Funds from the HEF are allocated to crises that meet a range of criteria, based on recommendations from the HEF Panel. The panel is made up of representatives from humanitarian aid organisations based in Scotland. The HEF Panel meets regularly to assess global crises and advise on how our funding would have the greatest impact. More information can be found here: [Humanitarian response - International development - gov.scot](#).

In relation to the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Gaza, since the outset of the current conflict, the Scottish Government has committed now £2.3m for Gaza and the wider Middle East. This includes £750k for UNRWA, £550k to the Disasters Emergency Committee Appeal, Mercy Corps and SCIAF (£250k total in November 2024, and £300k total announced 22 April 2025), and a £600K contribution to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)-led pooled funds for Gaza. This funding will provide life-saving health services, food and nutrition assistance, emergency shelter, water and sanitation, protection services, education support and cash for families, ensuring aid reaches those most at risk.

The Scottish Government will also provide £400,000 to Kids Operating Room to establish the Gaza HOPES Field Readiness Hub which will support a rapidly deplorable hospital in Gaza for provision of essential surgical, maternity and paediatric services, and facilitate the future recovery of the decimated healthcare sector through ongoing training of medical staff.

Scottish Government ministers have from the very beginning of the conflict, and will continue to, call for a ceasefire and the unfettered access of humanitarian aid. We have condemned the brutal actions of Hamas and called for all hostages to be released immediately and unconditionally. We have called upon the UK Government to end all licenced arms exports to Israel, and for accountability for any war crimes of breaches of international humanitarian law.

The Scottish Government has repeatedly called for the UK Government to recognise the State of Palestine to break the political impasse that has condemned Israelis and the Palestinians to successive cycles of violence.

I have therefore welcomed the intent behind the UK Government's recent decision. I am, however, clear that recognition of a Palestinian state should be irreversible. It should not have been conditional and must be backed by sanctions against Israel if the violence continues.

Recognition is only the first step and should offer hope to Palestinians that a just and durable political solution is possible and would allow Israel and Gaza to move towards long term peace and stability

which is in the interests of all parties. Both I and the Cabinet Secretary for Constitution, External Affairs and Culture made this position clear on 3 September in the Scottish Parliament.

While it may seem a distant prospect, the Scottish Government continues to support the UK and EU positions of a two-state solution that respects the human rights of everyone in the region to ensure that a secure Israel can live peacefully alongside a viable and sovereign Palestinian state. Only through such an outcome can the cycle of violence that is killing and injuring so many innocent civilians be ended.

**JOHN SWINNEY MSP**

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**Document 9**

**FW: Meeting request - Edinburgh Gaza Genocide Emergency Committee EGGEC**

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; **on behalf of; First Minister FirstMinister@gov.scot** **TO:** Central Correspondence Unit CentralCorrespondenceUnit@gov.scot

**Diary please**

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)] | **Diary Manager to the First Minister**

**Office of the First Minister of Scotland**

**5<sup>th</sup> Floor | St Andrews House | Regent Road | Edinburgh | EH1 3DG |**

**From:** Edinburgh Gaza Genocide Emergency Committee EGGEC < [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@outlook.com>

**Sent:** 28 October 2025 09:45

**To:** Swinney J (John), MSP <John.Swinney.msp@parliament.scot>

**Subject:** Meeting request

Dear First Minister of Scotland Mr John Swinney,

Edinburgh Gaza Genocide Emergency Committee (EGGEC) is an emergency committee which came to being as a response of a coalition of organisations in Oct 2023 as a response to the horrors which we witnessed in Gaza.

EGGEC is pleased with the steps that you personally as the First Minister of Scotland has taken in the recent weeks: recognising the genocide in Gaza, recognising the state of Palestine and that under your leadership the Scottish government adopted the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions on Israel.

We wish to embark on a new mission and we can see the potential in working with the Scottish government to achieve BDS.

We would welcome a meeting with yourself and ministers of the Scottish government as we move into the post ceasefire stage.

We look forwards to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Kind regards,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Secretary

Edinburgh Gaza Genocide Emergency Committee (EGGEC)

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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#### **Document 10**

#### **Position clarification**

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**To:** Deputy First Minister and Cabinet Secretary for Economy & Gaelic

**Wed 29/10/2025 02:07**

#### **Position clarification**

**I would like to clarify my position on BDS and blanket boycotts. I no longer support the BDS campaign and blanket boycotts due to concerns about antisemitism.**

**I support boycotts of companies that operate in the occupied territories and/or have contracts with the IDF and/or have stated support for the Gaza war and/or have supported the IDF during this and past Israel-Palestine wars and/or supporting the occupation of Palestinian territories.**

**On 22 August 2025 14:32:42 BST, [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] wrote:**

**A 59-page report from the body says more than 500,000 people in Gaza are facing "starvation, destitution and death"**

**David Miliband says "without decisive political action, humanitarian aid alone cannot stem the tide of this deepening catastrophe".**

**What will you do now? The SNP have done absolutely nothing to stop this. They are complicit in the starvation.**

**The ridiculous distraction of airdrops and pauses is an insult to life itself. They have done nothing.**

**Ignore the IDF and Israel denying this. The evidence is overwhelming. They are starving Palestinians.**

**Now is the time for the SNP to do the numerous things I have written about before such as stopping government grants to organisations that support and/or arm israel, boycotting Israeli products and**

services, banning the sale of Israeli products and services, banning the sale of Israeli settlement goods and services, implementing BDS across Scotland, etc. It must end. The complicity of the Scottish government must end.

And we must expel Israeli government workers, ministers, diplomats, former and current IDF members.

Its time for Scotland to take more action on the genocide against Palestinians. One action that should be taken is the arresting of former and current IDF members in Scotland. We must follow Belgiums example, arrest IDF members.

We have an obligation to arrest those who have participated or are complicit in genocide. This is not negotiable. This is legally mandated. We know a genocide is happening in Gaza. This is the widely understood and respected position from various organisations, lawyers, human rights experts, humanitarian workers, journalists, the UN, etc.

We should also refer them to the ICC. There are various ways to find these people. Organisations such as the Hind Rajab foundation and the Global Legal Action Network (GLAN) are greatly helpful in documenting those who have participated or have been complicit in genocide and bringing justice.

If you believe in justice for all, please take action on this. War criminals can't get away with it any longer. We need justice now. We need the UK, Welsh, and Northern Irish Governments to also take up this position, so please put maximum pressure on them!

Just look at the poor innocent child on bbc news at one 22/08/2025. She is so malnourished and weak that she cant move. Her skin is tight to her bones. Is this not war crimes? She is just one of countless malnourished children, women, pregnant women, babies, men, boys, girls.

The double standard over Israels conduct is shocking.

Save the Children UK says that in the first two weeks of August, 61% of pregnant women and new mothers screened at their clinics have been found to be malnourished - nearly seven times higher than the rate in the first two weeks of March (9%), before aid and goods were almost completely cut off.

Mercy Corps says the confirmation of famine is "the direct result of months of deliberate restrictions on aid, the destruction of Gaza's food, health, and water systems, and relentless bombardment".

The organisation says it has enough life-saving aid to help 160,000 people - but it has been blocked for months.

"What's missing is not the ability to respond, but the political will to allow it."

Christian Aid's Katie Roxburgh says her colleagues have described family members passing out from fatigue, with malnutrition causing their hair to fall out in clumps.

She says it's "unconscionable that we are now seeing the start of military operations to take over a city in the grip of famine".

-----Original Message-----

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**Sent:** 20 September 2025 03:14

**To:** Swinney J (John), MSP <John.Swinney.msp@parliament.scot>

**Subject:** PALESTINE

Dear Mr Swinney,

I have a question for you. After only weeks of boycotting Isreal you attended a state banquet hosting Donald Trump the very man who is enabling the ongoing genocide in Gaza ? As First Minister you are supposed to lead the Scottish people by example. I found your attendance contradictory to your 'apparent' stance.

Yours faithfully,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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**Document 12**

**Gaza**

**First Minister**

**Mon 22/09/2025 00:55**

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Dear First Minister

The recent UN report proclaiming the Netanyahu regime's actions against the Palestinians a genocide is largely for the benefit of those national leaders and other politicians whom have chosen deliberately to ignore and failed to act on what their eyes and ears have been telling them repeatedly for many months.

That Trump, as he has been throughout, remains resolute in backing Netanyahu's genocide to the abominable, despicably immoral, and flagrantly illegal end could not be clearer after America's Gaza-ceasefire veto in the UNSC and its labelling of the UN report as slanderous and morally bankrupt.

The horrific, unavoidable truth is that Netanyahu and Trump are monsters, who intend to continue the destruction, enforced starvation, torture, and mass murder in both Gaza and the West Bank, crushing and forever ruining the lives of 5 million Palestinians. The inhumanity of these crimes is so shocking as to be beyond description, and the magnitude of this Netanyahu-Trump engineered murderous catastrophe is something far worse than merely mind-boggling.

America's latest UNSC veto and slamming of the UN report turns many speculations into the facts they were from the beginning of Trump's presidency:

Ceasefire negotiations have been a deliberate sham to buy time, distract attention, and conceal genocidal intent. Trump's numerous assertions, like Biden's before him, of a ceasefire being close were knowingly and deliberately misleading. Israeli-American GHF aid stations were not designed to alleviate hunger but to herd like cattle starving Palestinian civilians into specific and often deadly areas. Through UNSC vetoes, Trump has deliberately crippled the UN's ability to interfere with the genocide in Gaza and the illegal and violent settlement expansion in the West Bank. The Netanyahu regime has traded the lives of the Israeli hostages to complete the genocide. Defence arrangements between America and Qatar are dangerously unreliable for the Qataris, who have worked tirelessly to achieve a ceasefire; others with similar defence arrangements should consider them questionable, if not meaningless.

The UN has delivered its damning report. Gaza City is being razed, forcing half the population of one million to flee to nowhere while the remainder prefer death to leaving their homes. Access to food, water, shelter, and medical care remain artificially non-existent. Israel's starvation policy has killed hundreds and will kill thousands more; children, pregnant women, and the elderly are the most vulnerable and die more quickly. The IDF continues to fire on and kill Palestinian aid seekers, whom are made desperate by starvation.

Though the real figures are likely astronomically higher, officially there are 64,000 dead and 160,000 injured, 75% are children, women, and the elderly. Of the 400 deaths from starvation, 130 are children. In Gaza, extreme food insecurity has been inflicted on 2.1 million people: 500,000 are in catastrophic situations. Of the 7,000 Palestinians summarily imprisoned, 1,400 are children and 1,150 are women; all of these face horrific abuse, including assault, sexual violence, lack of medical care and hygiene, inadequate food and water, and no contact with family; 53 detainees have died abuse-related deaths while in custody.

In Gaza, 92% of dwellings have been destroyed or damaged; 70% of all other buildings have been destroyed or damaged. Some 1.9 million people in Gaza are internally displaced and will never be allowed to return home.

None of any of these deliberately, knowingly, strategically inflicted atrocities on innocent men, women, and children paints a picture of war; regarded in their obscene totality, these crimes upon crimes upon crimes scream nothing other than ethnic cleansing, genocide, the Netanyahu regime's unfathomable criminal disregard for human life, Trump's facilitation of and collaboration in genocide, and the very deliberate, obdurate, cowardly, and indefensible inaction of Western leaders, who, even now when the atrocities are spilling out at fever pitch and there is barely anything left to salvage, do nothing but repeatedly mouth clichés and prevaricate endlessly.

The new foreign relations currency under Trump's brutish global reach is compliance and obsequiousness extracted through tariffs and economic sanctions, or the threat of escalations thereof; Western leaders continue to behave in line with Trump and Netanyahu's expectations regarding the

genocide, regardless that doing so means, without any slither of doubt, the ruination of 5 million Palestinian lives and the eradication of any hope of there ever being a Palestinian State.

Apart from the West, most of the world's nations have officially recognised Palestine for years. For these same parties to now recognise Palestine is nothing but a step long overdue, and on its own will do nothing to end the genocide, save the Palestinian State, and free the Israeli hostages. Gallant and others have already come out to proclaim there will be neither a Two State solution nor a Palestinian State.

Trump's abrupt termination of American global beneficence and protection against American-defined bogey States, as well his bludgeoning tariff-and-sanction diplomacy, has left America's traditional Western allies and economic partners, after decades-long dependence on American initiatives and decision making, off balance, wary of incurring Trump's wrath, and unable to think and act independently outside of American and Trumpian paradigms.

Nowhere is this clearer than in Western leaders' obstinate refusal to take immediate and decisive action to stop the genocide in Gaza and the West Bank, despite their responsibilities under the Genocide Convention. As well as helping ensure the fruition of the Netanyahu regime's, Trump-sponsored genocide, this current brand of servile impotence is inviting into being a world order driven by war criminals, disproportionately powerful and dangerous buffoons, and the cruelest and most inhumane of tyrants.

Signs of the latter are evident wherever one might cast their gaze: Amidst the criminally inflicted death and destruction all around them, for example, Smotrich gloats publicly of the coming real estate windfalls after Gaza is cleansed of Palestinians, while Ben-Gvir promises to build apartments by the seaside as reward for Israeli police, whom daily do his genocidal bidding against innocent civilians in Gaza and the West Bank. Simultaneously in America, Trump busies himself with arranging a further US \$6 billion in military aid to Israel, which will keep the genocide on track by allowing the IDF to maintain peak lethality, while also enabling it to continue its attacks on neighbouring States critical of the destruction and slaughter in Gaza. Even with the Netanyahu regime's genocidal intent crystal clear, as is Trump's knowing collaboration, there are no blanket bans on weapons sales to Israel, no economic sanctions, and no diplomatic distancing; similarly, there has been barely a murmur of protest against Trump's role in underpinning Netanyahu's monstrous mission.

Western leaders have been lied to by Netanyahu and Trump about the genocidal intentions driving Israel's war of destruction and wholesale starvation and murder of innocent civilians. They have allowed themselves to be too easily manipulated by Netanyahu and Trump and led by the nose down the path of complicity in genocide; by now, this should be decipherable even to the least astute.

It is universally accepted that only fools repeat the same mistakes again and again. In recognising Palestine and doing nothing little other than that has grave material consequences for Israel, such as arms embargoes and economic sanctions, will have Western leaders rushing headlong into committing yet another in a series of catastrophic miscalculations that have helped the Netanyahu regime bring the Palestinian people, their homes, and their State somewhere dangerously close to extinction.

Yours sincerely

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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**Document 13**

RE: Letter to the First Minister from the Scottish Artists Union

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] Waugh [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot

To: First Minister FirstMinister@gov.scot

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; Rachel Sunderland Rachel.Sunderland@gov.scot

Wed 24/09/2025 10:08

Hi [redacted - s.38(1)(b)],

I hope that you are well. Thank you for highlighting this, I have added to copy our colleagues in Culture too.

Thanks

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Middle East, North Africa and Latin America Policy Officer, International Division, External Affairs Directorate, The Scottish Government

( [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] | \* [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] On Behalf Of First Minister

Sent: 23 September 2025 15:09

To: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] ; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] ; [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Cc: First Minister

Subject: FW: Letter to the First Minister from the Scottish Artists Union

Importance: High

Hello all,

Will be processed on MiCase but FYI for the Gaza FMQ brief this week in case raised please?

Many thanks,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Private Secretary

Office of the First Minister

Mobile: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

From: president@artistsunion.scot <president@artistsunion.scot>

Sent: 23 September 2025 12:39

To: First Minister <firstminister@gov.scot>

Subject: Letter to the First Minister from the Scottish Artists Union

Importance: High

Good afternoon,

Please find attached a letter for the attention of the First Minister.

Kind Regards,

Executive Committee of the Scottish Artists Union

Care and Solidarity for all,

Tamara Rogovic (she/her)

President

Scottish Artists Union | Aonadh Luchd-ealain na h-Alba

Web: [www.artistsunion.scot](http://www.artistsunion.scot) | FB: Scottish Artists Union | Instagram: [artistsunion.scot](https://www.instagram.com/artistsunion.scot)

**Attached letter**

Attention:

The Rt Hon John Swinney MSP

First Minister of Scotland The Scottish Government

St Andrew's House Regent Road

Edinburgh EH1 3DG

September 18 th , 2025

Dear First Minister John Swinney,

We are writing to you as the Executive Committee of the Scottish Artists' Union, on behalf of our members. We appreciate your leadership in publicly recognising that genocide is taking place in Gaza.

Your recent statement has offered moral clarity at a time when many in Scotland's cultural and civic life are looking to the government for principled advocacy. SAU members, artists and cultural workers across Scotland, are profoundly concerned by the continuing catastrophic devastation in Gaza.

United Nations agencies, international humanitarian organisations, and Scottish TUC have documented, and brought attention to, Israel's systematic violations of international law, including: the mass indiscriminate killing of civilians; repeated forced displacement of people and ethnic cleansing; the deliberate decimation of infrastructure including food production, farms and water supply (ecocide) and housing (urbicide); the blocking of food aid and medical supplies leading to a man-made famine and unimaginable suffering – especially impacting babies and children; the targeted attacks on medical workers and journalists; torture of political prisoners; all of the conditions of genocide; and the erasure of educational facilities and the destruction of cultural heritage (scholasticide). We are also deeply concerned about the silencing of Palestinian cultural voices.

We draw particular attention to the story of Fatma Hassona, a 25-year-old photographer, poet, journalist and musician, who was killed with her family in what appears to be a targeted attack. Fatma Hassona is featured in the film *Put Your Soul on Your Hand and Walk*, by filmmaker Sepideh Farsi, which was screened as part of the ACID programme at Cannes Film Festival. Fatma Hassona's story exemplifies the tragedy of disappearing Palestinian cultural voices as a result of the genocide, and the urgent need for international solidarity. Words on their own are not enough in the face of such violence. Scotland's cultural community needs its government to back up moral leadership with practical steps - making sure public policy, funding, and international engagement show real commitment to justice and solidarity with the people of Gaza and the West Bank.

In this context, the Scottish Artists Union asks that the Scottish Government:

Support the proposal put forward by Ross Greer MSP in solidarity with Palestine - which was published on the 7 th of August 2025.

Endorse PACBI (the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel).

Uphold the right to peaceful protest, recognising it as a cornerstone of democracy in Scotland.

Defend the right of artists to speak freely, ensuring that visual artists, musicians, writers, performers, filmmakers and cultural workers are able to condemn genocide, war crimes, torture and apartheid without fear of censorship or reprisal.

We acknowledge the important continued advocacy that you and former First Minister Humza Yousaf, and many SNP MSPs and MPs, have demonstrated for Palestinian rights over many years – particularly more recently in cross-party solidarity with the Scottish & UK Greens, Jeremy Corbyn and Zarah Sultana (and colleagues), and individual MSPs and MPs from Labour, Liberal Democrats and Conservatives. We sincerely hope that the Scottish Government will now take the necessary and immediate steps to strengthen Scotland's stance for justice and human rights.

Thank you for your consideration of this letter, and for your continuing leadership on these matters of international concern.

Yours sincerely, Scottish Artists Union Executive Committee.

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## Document 14

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

To: First Minister [FirstMinister@gov.scot](mailto:FirstMinister@gov.scot), [john.swinney.msp@parliament.scot](mailto:john.swinney.msp@parliament.scot)

Cc: [kate.forbes.msp@parliament.scot](mailto:kate.forbes.msp@parliament.scot); [ivan.mckee.msp@parliament.scot](mailto:ivan.mckee.msp@parliament.scot);  
[patrick.harvie.msp@parliament.scot](mailto:patrick.harvie.msp@parliament.scot); [lorna.slater.msp@parliament.scot](mailto:lorna.slater.msp@parliament.scot);

Fri 05/09/2025 08:21

THANK YOU, SCOTLAND

Dear First Minister and Scottish Government,

Thank you for your courageous decision to pause new public funding for arms companies linked to Israeli military operations in Gaza, your historic vote supporting a full boycott, and for raising the Palestinian flag in solidarity. This is true leadership in a dark time.

BRAVO in the face of England!

To protect Gaza's civilians, genocide must be acknowledged openly and clearly. The risk of use of arms for war crimes—and thus complicity—was formally established when the International Court of Justice (ICJ) accepted South Africa's genocide case against Israel in January 2024. No arms licence can or should be granted where there is any risk that the arms may be used to commit war crimes.

Key facts and challenging questions:

Since October 2023, over 60,000 Palestinian civilians—including many children—have died under siege and blockade described by the UN as “man-made mass starvation”.

How can Scotland continue to allow arms licences or funding while massive civilian suffering continues?

Israel has dropped the equivalent of around eight atomic bombs on Gaza since October 2023—much of which destroyed entire neighbourhoods and vital infrastructure.

How can the world stand by while Gaza suffers the devastation comparable to multiple atomic bombings?

The ICJ accepted South Africa's case in January 2024, issuing binding provisional measures to prevent genocidal acts, yet Israel continues violations; the case remains ongoing.

Given this, will Scotland immediately revoke all existing arms licences linked to Israel until firms prove zero involvement in war crimes?

What if existing licences help conclude and complete genocide?

On 31 August 2025, the Association of Genocide Scholars publicly declared Israeli policies meet genocide criteria, reaffirming the risks highlighted by the ICJ.

Will Scotland close licensing loopholes and deny all licences where any risk of use of arms for war crimes exists?

Israeli officials openly confirm continued siege, bombardment, and blocking of aid—resulting in mass civilian death.

Is Scotland prepared to call this what it is—genocide—and act with zero tolerance for complicity?

Some arms firms licensed by Scotland, notably Elbit Systems, reportedly use horrific tactics such as playing fake sounds of human suffering to lure rescuers—only to kill them.

How can such weapons ever be justified—should Scotland ban all dealings with companies engaging in these crimes?

How can these arms usage be fair or justified if this is a “war of goodwill”?

Under the Genocide Convention and Responsibility to Protect (R2P), Scotland is legally obliged to stop genocide by all means, including supporting military intervention if peaceful methods fail, as ICJ rulings reaffirm.

Will Scotland lead in demanding military protection for Gaza and pressure the UK government to follow?

Thank you sincerely for your leadership. But this moment demands honesty and urgency—revoke every licence linked to this risk, halt funding to complicit firms, and escalate calls for real protection.

With profound gratitude and hope for justice,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

References:

Reuters, "How many Palestinians has Israel's Gaza offensive killed?" (July 2024)

LSHTM, "Gaza: 64,000 deaths due to violence..." (Jan 2025)

Wikipedia, "Casualties of the Gaza war" (Aug 2025)

Wikipedia, "South Africa's genocide case against Israel" (Jan 2024)

UN ICJ Provisional Measures (Jan-May 2024)

The Conversation, "ICJ delay and genocide risk in Gaza" (Aug 2025)

SETA, "Deadly AI Algorithms in Gaza war" (Feb 2025)

Al Jazeera, "Israeli arms tested on Palestinians" (Nov 2023)

Human Rights Watch, "Gaza: World Court Orders Israel to Prevent Genocide" (Jan 2024)

European University Institute, "Significance of ICJ South Africa v Israel" (Mar 2024)

Euro-Med Monitor. "Israel has dropped the equivalent of two nuclear bombs on Gaza, with estimates now around eight." (Nov 2023-Apr 2025)

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## Document 15

End all contracts and funding for existing apprenticeships. Boycott Israel fully

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

To: First Minister FirstMinister@gov.scot

Fri 05/09/2025 13:54

I welcome the Scottish governments recent boycott announcement but it isn't a boycott if it isn't a total boycott.

funding for apprenticeships at arms manufacturers trading with Israel continuing so that existing

training can be completed must be stopped. International law and our obligations must be prioritised. Any existing contracts must end too.

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**Document 16**

FW: Israel Is Ethnically Cleansing Gaza City

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; on behalf of; First Minister <FirstMinister@gov.scot>

Central Correspondence Unit <CentralCorrespondenceUnit@gov.scot>

Wed 10/09/2025 10:28

OR please

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Office of the First Minister

Scottish Government

5TH floor/St Andrews House/Regent Road

Edinburgh EH1 3DG

Mobile [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Sent: 10 September 2025 10:22

To: First Minister

Subject: Israel Is Ethnically Cleansing Gaza City

Dear Mr Swinney

On the morning of September 9, 2025, Israel dropped forced displacement leaflets over the heads of the 1 million Palestinians still living in Gaza City. The leaflets ordered every resident to leave and move south to al-Mawasi—an area already overcrowded and still deadly under Israel's bombing campaign.

With the forced displacement of Gaza City, nearly 2 million Palestinians are being forced into just 3% of Gaza's land—a deliberate attempt to suffocate and trap the population into a corner of an already besieged strip.

Gaza City is in stage 5 famine, engineered by Israel through its blockade. Residents are frail, malnourished, and injured, and many are already permanently displaced from their homes, living in tents. For countless families, movement south is simply not possible.

In the past week alone, Israel has destroyed 30 multi-story buildings in Gaza City, bombed tent camps, a university, and school shelters. Israel has offered no evidence that Hamas was operating from these buildings.

Israel has openly stated its goal: to flatten Gaza City, just as it did to Rafah and the north of Gaza. This is ethnic cleansing—a systematic campaign to ensure Palestinians can never return to their homes.

“This is about ethnic cleansing. This is about creating conditions that make impossible the survival of a group. That’s the language of Article III of the Genocide Convention, the third of five acts of violence, that along with intention, constitute genocide. Israel has been carrying out that genocide by creating conditions that make it impossible for Palestinians to survive in Gaza.” – Phyllis Bennis, Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies

You have an obligation and responsibility to act.

I urge you to:

- Impose full, comprehensive sanctions on Israel.
- Enforce a complete two-way trade embargo, ending all import and export activity.
- Immediately end all arms sales and intelligence cooperation.
- Ensure unimpeded access for aid and humanitarian organisations, and suspend GHF’s deadly “aid” sites.
- Unrecognise Israel

Your Constituent,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Ceres, Fife

**Sent from Outlook for Android**

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**Document 17**

FW: Reply from a Jewish Constituent

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; on behalf of; First Minister  
FirstMinister@gov.scot

Central Correspondence Unit CentralCorrespondenceUnit@gov.scot

OR please

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Office of the First Minister  
Scottish Government  
5TH floor/St Andrews House/Regent Road  
Edinburgh EH1 3DG  
Mobile [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] On Behalf Of Swinney J (John), MSP  
**Sent:** 11 September 2025 06:55  
**To:** First Minister  
**Subject:** FW: Reply from a Jewish Constituent

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]  
Personal Assistant to John Swinney  
First Minister of Scotland and Member of the Scottish Parliament for Perthshire North  
T: 0131 348 5717 M: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]



The Scottish Parliament  
Pàrlamaid na h-Alba

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]  
**Sent:** 10 September 2025 16:41  
**To:** Swinney J (John), MSP <John.Swinney.msp@parliament.scot>  
**Cc:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]  
**Subject:** Reply from a Jewish Constituent

Dear John Swinney,

Thankyou for taking the time to write to members of the Scottish Jewish communities. I have a reply to your letter, which I have attached and would be grateful if you could respond to/ let me know that you have read it.

Yours sincerely,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**ATTACHED LETTER**

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

10th September 2025

Dear John Swinney,

Thankyou for taking the time to write to the Jewish Communities across Scotland. Speaking as a 2nd generation German Jew, born in Scotland, who's grandparents fled the Nazis, I would like to assure you that not all of us lie awake at night worrying about antisemitism, although it has certainly increased since Israel's onslaught on Gaza, making all of us less safe. For this I would hold Israel responsible.

While Israel has succeeded in making Jews less safe around the world, it is their relentless and despicable acts of genocide that they continue to inflict on the entire Palestinian population that keeps me awake at night. People's lives, homes, and culture, are being obliterated in real time, while we watch on helpless as our own government continues to fund the atrocities. I applaud the recent move by the Scottish parliament to boycott Israeli goods. At the same time I can see that the SNP seems nervous of being accused of being antisemitic. But I would urge you to stand strong, and not let 'harmful forces that seek to cause division' that you mention, turn this decision into some kind of 'antisemitic' stand. It is an insidious attempt to deflect from the real horrors of what Israel, backed by the US, and UK government is currently inflicting.

To stand up to these forces, is not antisemitic, but is pro humanitarian, ethical, and moral. Do not be deflected by the weaponisation of 'antisemitism', as a tool to quell citizens and policy makers from taking rightful action required to stop Israel carrying out genocidal crimes. The prospects for joy and happiness for the year ahead do not look very likely, unless there is a strong challenge to the forces that enable this suffering to continue. Antisemitism must be challenged at all times, but not when it is singled out above other forms of oppression and discrimination for what is increasingly becoming clear are disingenuous reasons.

Yours sincerely,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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**Document 18**

FW: Israel's genocide and divestment at the University of Edinburgh

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; on behalf of; First Minister  
FirstMinister@gov.scot

To: Central Correspondence Unit CentralCorrespondenceUnit@gov.scot

OR please

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Office of the First Minister

Scottish Government

5TH floor/St Andrews House/Regent Road

Edinburgh EH1 3DG

Mobile [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] On Behalf Of Swinney J (John), MSP**

**Sent: 11 September 2025 19:09**

**To: First Minister**

**Subject: FW: Israel's genocide and divestment at the University of Edinburgh**

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**Personal Assistant to John Swinney**

**First Minister of Scotland and Member of the Scottish Parliament for Perthshire North**

**T: 0131 348 5717 M: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]**



The Scottish Parliament  
Pàrlamaid na h-Alba

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] >

Sent: 11 September 2025 18:42

To: Adam G (George), MSP <George.Adam.msp@parliament.scot>; Adam K (Karen), MSP <Karen.Adam.MSP@Parliament.scot>; Adamson C (Clare), MSP <Clare.Adamson.msp@parliament.scot>; Allan A (Alasdair), MSP <Alasdair.Allan.msp@parliament.scot>; Arthur T (Tom), MSP <Tom.Arthur.msp@parliament.scot>; Beattie C (Colin), MSP <Colin.Beattie.msp@parliament.scot>; Brown KJ (Keith), MSP <Keith.Brown.msp@parliament.scot>; Brown S (Siobhian), MSP <Siobhian.Brown.MSP@Parliament.scot>; Coffey W (Willie), MSP <Willie.Coffey.msp@parliament.scot>; Constance A (Angela), MSP <Angela.Constance.msp@parliament.scot>; Dey G (Graeme), MSP <Graeme.Dey.msp@parliament.scot>; Doris B (Bob), MSP <Bob.Doris.msp@parliament.scot>; Dornan J (James), MSP <James.Dornan.msp@parliament.scot>; Dunbar J (Jackie), MSP <Jackie.Dunbar.MSP@Parliament.scot>; Ewing A (Annabelle), MSP <Annabelle.Ewing.msp@parliament.scot>; Fairlie J (Jim), MSP <Jim.Fairlie.MSP@Parliament.scot>; FitzPatrick J (Joe), MSP <Joe.FitzPatrick.msp@parliament.scot>; Forbes K (Kate), MSP <Kate.Forbes.msp@parliament.scot>; Gilruth J (Jenny), MSP <Jenny.Gilruth.msp@parliament.scot>; Gougeon M (Mairi), MSP <Mairi.Gougeon.msp@parliament.scot>; Grahame C (Christine), MSP <Christine.Grahame.msp@parliament.scot>; Gray N (Neil), MSP <Neil.Gray.MSP@Parliament.scot>; Harper E (Emma), MSP <Emma.Harper.msp@parliament.scot>; Haughey C (Clare), MSP <Clare.Haughey.msp@parliament.scot>; Hepburn J (Jamie), MSP <Jamie.Hepburn.msp@parliament.scot>; Hyslop F (Fiona), MSP <Fiona.Hyslop.msp@parliament.scot>; Kidd B (Bill), MSP <Bill.Kidd.msp@parliament.scot>; Lochhead R (Richard), MSP <Richard.Lochhead.msp@parliament.scot>; MacDonald G (Gordon), MSP <Gordon.MacDonald.msp@parliament.scot>; MacGregor F (Fulton), MSP <Fulton.MacGregor.msp@parliament.scot>; Mackay R (Rona), MSP <Rona.Mackay.msp@parliament.scot>; Macpherson B (Ben), MSP <Ben.Macpherson.msp@parliament.scot>; Maguire R (Ruth), MSP <Ruth.Maguire.msp@parliament.scot>; Martin G (Gillian), MSP <Gillian.Martin.msp@parliament.scot>; Matheson M (Michael), MSP <Michael.Matheson.msp@parliament.scot>; McAllan M (Màiri), MSP <Mairi.McAllan.MSP@Parliament.scot>; McKee I (Ivan), MSP <Ivan.McKee.msp@parliament.scot>; McLennan P (Paul), MSP <Paul.McLennan.MSP@Parliament.scot>; McMillan SM (Stuart), MSP <Stuart.McMillan.msp@parliament.scot>; McNair M (Marie), MSP <Marie.McNair.MSP@Parliament.scot>; Minto J (Jenni), MSP <Jenni.Minto.MSP@Parliament.scot>; Nicoll A (Audrey), MSP <Audrey.Nicoll.MSP@Parliament.scot>; Robertson A (Angus), MSP <Angus.Robertson.MSP@Parliament.scot>; dundee@shona.robison.scot; Roddick E (Emma), MSP <Emma.Roddick.MSP@Parliament.scot>; Somerville S (Shirley-Anne), MSP <Shirley-Anne.Somerville.msp@parliament.scot>; Stewart K (Kaukab), MSP <Kaukab.Stewart.MSP@Parliament.scot>; Stewart K (Kevin), MSP <Kevin.Stewart.msp@parliament.scot>; Sturgeon N (Nicola), MSP

<Nicola.Sturgeon.msp@parliament.scot>; Swinney J (John), MSP <John.Swinney.msp@parliament.scot>

Cc: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Subject: Israel's genocide and divestment at the University of Edinburgh

Dear MSPs,

My name is Nicola Perugini and I am a Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Edinburgh and legal and policy advisor to the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Palestine.

I am writing on behalf of the University of Edinburgh Student Staff Assembly (UoESSA), a collective forum of students and staff united to hold the University accountable to its ethical, social, and legal responsibilities. As I write this, the Gaza Strip is being devastated by Israel's famine-inducing siege and final assault on Gaza City in what many fear is a campaign of ethnic cleansing.

We warmly welcome your call on the Scottish and UK governments to impose boycotts, divestment, and sanctions against the State of Israel and complicit corporations, and we write to urge your support for action at the University of Edinburgh, where a broad divestment movement has been underway in the last two years.

Over this period, students and staff at Edinburgh have built an unprecedented, multiethnic and multireligious coalition calling for full divestment from companies complicit in Israel's military operations and occupation of Palestine. This movement has drawn endorsement from over 600 staff, 13 staff networks, the Academic Senate, UCU Edinburgh, the Research and Engagement Working Group on Edinburgh's Historical Links to African Enslavement and Colonialism, Jewish University Staff in Scotland, and 97% of the Student Council. The Edinburgh University Justice for Palestine Society's petition for divestment has been signed by more than 3,000 students, staff, alumni, and community members, and our current petition to University Court, in which we ask for an urgent divestment vote, has already gathered over 1,400 signatures and will remain open until the end of next week. These numbers reflect a clear democratic consensus within our university: the leadership must act in line with its ethical commitments and international human rights standards.

In June 2024 the leadership froze further purchases of Alphabet and Amazon stock, acknowledging the role of these corporations in violations of international law and directly supporting with AI technologies Israel's targeting operations in Gaza. However, by retaining existing holdings—and maintaining direct investments in Microsoft, Meta, and other companies providing targeting technologies used by the Israeli army in atrocities perpetrated in Gaza—the University remains entangled in genocide and crimes against humanity. In June 2025, UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese identified the University of Edinburgh as one of the UK's most heavily invested universities in companies enabling Israel's violations of international humanitarian law and the 1948 Genocide Convention. The University's Race Review (July 2025) likewise recommended full divestment as a matter of justice and accountability.

We therefore respectfully ask you to urge the University's senior leadership to align with the Scottish Government's September 2025 decision to pause public funding for companies supplying the Israeli military, and to extend this principle to Edinburgh's own investment portfolio as a preliminary step in the cessation of harm that our university is perpetrating against Palestinians. Specifically, we ask that you call on the University to immediately divest from Alphabet, Amazon, Microsoft, and Meta, whose AI technologies are directly enabling the Israeli military's targeting of civilians in Gaza (see our petition for evidence of these companies' role in Gaza). To continue investing in these companies makes our University—which receives public funding from the Scottish government—complicit in atrocities the international community has recognised as crimes against humanity and genocide.

The University leadership has the power to act now to prevent further complicity in mass atrocities. Your political initiative at the national level strengthens our efforts to hold our institutions accountable.

We would be very grateful if you could act together to ensure the University of Edinburgh meets its ethical responsibilities in this historic moment.

We sent this invitation to urgent action also to the Education, Children, and Young People Committee. Please could you make sure it is considered?

Yours sincerely,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

The University of Edinburgh is a charitable body, registered in Scotland, with registration number SC005336. Is e buidheann carthannais a th' ann an Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann, clàraichte an Alba, àireamh clàraidh SC005336.

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#### **Document 19**

Support boycotts of Israel

From: [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

To: First Minister FirstMinister@gov.scot

Sat 20/09/2025 00:46

Support boycotts of Israel

Universities UK, the article says, "do not endorse blanket academic boycotts" as this represents "an infringement of academic freedom".

these comments are seemingly about the specific academic boycott of Israel. But that boycott unambiguously targets Israel's higher education institutions, not the academics who work there.

Support and encourage boycotts of Israel, including academic boycotts. We cant afford to have this misunderstanding. Government support will grow the boycott movement and have dialogue about the misunderstanding.

---

#### **Document 20 – letter from to PM**

**Rt Hon John Swinney MSP**

First Minister of Scotland

**Rt Hon Sir Keir Starmer KCB KC MP**

Prime Minister

10 Downing Street  
SW1A 2AA

I am writing to express my deepening concern over the worsening humanitarian crisis in Gaza. Just yesterday, I received a first-hand account of the situation from Mr James Elder,

UNICEF's global spokesperson. He described the particularly devastating impact on children — over 50,000 of whom have now been killed or injured. Nearly all have been displaced, many multiple times, and countless others have been orphaned. Those children who survive but have been injured, then face the agonies of either treatment without pain relief, or no treatment being available at all in Gaza. Nor can they leave Gaza for treatment.

As you will be aware, for the past three months, the blockade on humanitarian aid has left Gazans without access to food, clean water, or medical supplies — the most basic necessities for survival. Children are bearing the brunt of this suffering, with families forced to spend their days desperately searching for food and water. For women and children, that search for food and water is particularly dangerous, resulting in men overwhelmingly having to undertake these searches for their families. Water desalination plants require electricity to operate, yet power in Gaza remains severely restricted by Israel. The lack of clean drinking water has caused a dramatic increase in waterborne diseases such as diarrhea, hepatitis A, and hepatitis E and health officials are concerned that the stalled sewage systems could lead to cholera or typhoid outbreaks if conditions persist.

In its Joint statement delivered by Ambassador Barbara Woodward, UK Permanent

Representative to the UN, on behalf of Denmark, France, Greece, Slovenia and the United Kingdom on 13 May 2025 ("Humanitarian aid must never be used as a political tool or military tactic"), the UK government set out its position that "International law requires Israel to allow and facilitate the safe, rapid and unimpeded passage of humanitarian aid and ensure that basic services are provided for all Gazan civilians. This applies to all armed conflicts around the world Gaza is not an exception."

The United Nations and other established humanitarian organisations must be granted safe and unrestricted access throughout Gaza, and water supplies must be restored. While I commend the actions taken so far by various actors to promote a ceasefire and improve humanitarian access, these efforts have not yet brought about meaningful change. The UK Government has repeatedly stated that it "will not hesitate to take further action, including targeted sanctions," should humanitarian conditions fail to improve. As the crisis worsens daily, I urge you to now take that decisive action including, as we have repeatedly advocated, a ban on all licenced arms exports from the United Kingdom to Israel.

Since the outset of this conflict, the Scottish Government has consistently called on the UK Government to establish a resettlement scheme for Palestinians wishing to seek refuge in the UK. We have also urged the UK Government to implement a visa application process that can be accessed from within Gaza, or alternatively, to facilitate the safe transfer of individuals likely to be eligible to come to the UK under existing visa routes such as Family Reunion or Student visas to the nearest Visa Application Centre, avoiding perilous journeys via unofficial routes. These steps are particularly urgent for those with family in the UK and for Palestinian human rights defenders. While the Scottish Government lacks the powers to establish such a resettlement scheme independently, we continue to urge the UK Government to act on this issue.

Israel's blockade of Gaza has done nothing to achieve its primary objective of freeing the hostages so cruelly held by Hamas terrorists since October 2023. We therefore continue to call on the UK Government to redouble efforts, including in concert with the international community, to achieve a permanent ceasefire and for a significant scaling up of humanitarian aid to Gaza.

The healthcare system in Gaza is now on the brink of collapse. Surgeons in Gaza are working around the clock under impossible conditions, without adequate equipment or medical supplies, and with interrupted or no energy and electricity supplies in the hospital. As well as those children who have been injured through being bombed and shot by Israel, there are also those children with chronic illnesses like cancer and diabetes who have had their treatments suspended.

The World Health Organization has identified 2,000 children in urgent need of evacuation from Gaza for life-saving medical care. UNICEF has specifically requested that 20 of these children and their carers be brought to Scotland for medical treatment.

Scotland's world-class National Health service stands ready to play its full part in the treatment of injured and ill children from Gaza. A precedent has already been set: in May, the UK Government supported the evacuation of two children through Project Pure Hope, with temporary visas to enter the UK for specialist medical care having been granted.

I now ask for your support in facilitating this vital work, to similarly enable children to come to Scotland for medical treatment from Gaza. I hope that officials from both our governments can collaborate to ensure that visas and other required supports are swiftly granted, in line with UK immigration rules, so that Scotland can offer the care these children urgently need.

I urgently await your affirmative response.

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**Document 21 – letter to FM from member of public**

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**Sent:** 13 August 2025 16:59

**To:** First Minister

**Subject:** Reflecting the Scottish electorates desires

First Minister John Swinney,

To the Right Honourable First Minister of Scotland Mr John Swinney,

If self-determination is good for the Scottish, how can it be bad for the Palestinians ? Please help them Mr Swinney, please be the voice Scotland needs and deserves on the international stage. Help end this genocide and help the Palestinians live a simple dignified existence free from persecution. These are my words, the rest, except the conclusion, is a form letter but it does state well the terrible plight of those in Gaza and beyond. I voted Yes in 2014 and knew it wouldn't make Scotland wealthier or a paradise (although it is in many respects already), I voted Yes for pride in my nation and people and although small we are giants in some ways. The Tories moved right and were voted out, Labour moved right and were voted out and now the SNP dominate, Scotland has always leaned "left" and it is better to live a moral life poor but proud than live in wealth and shame.

After almost 2 years, I welcome the acknowledgement by the Scottish Government of the genocide carried out by Israel against the Palestinians in Gaza. The genocide has so far claimed the lives of at least 60,000 Palestinians, with the actual figure likely to be

much higher, with Israel now weaponising starvation of children, women and men to further devastate the Palestinians in Gaza.

I ask that the Scottish Government take action in line with its obligations under international law to ensure it is not complicit, and to prevent and punish the crime of genocide being carried out by the state of Israel, as a matter of urgency.

I ask the Scottish Government:

1. Make a statement condemning the genocide, calling for sanctions against the state of Israel, and formally supporting South Africa's case at the International Court of Justice (ICJ).
2. Invite the Ambassador of the Republic of South Africa to Bute House to discuss how the Scottish Government can support the efforts of those governments, including Spain, Belgium, and Ireland, that have joined South Africa's case against Israel.
3. Launch a comprehensive review of Scottish Government ties to the state of Israel and an immediate plan of action to ensure Scottish public bodies and businesses are not complicit in the genocide. These may include freezing all engagement with Israeli government officials, stopping all trade partnerships, stopping all Scottish Government funding of arms companies, Scottish local authority pension fund divestment, provision of clear guidance around procurement, cultural boycott, and support for businesses to adapt and remove links with Israel.

The demonstrations and actions that have taken place across Scottish communities over the last two years show that we are people who stand firmly and steadfastly against the worst crimes against humanity. It is time our government reflected this.

At the risk of melodrama, for the love of mercy, compassion and humanity please take actions now will shape how history judges Scotland, its people and its leadership.

Thank you.

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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**Document 22 – Letter to FM**

[redacted – s.36(2)]

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**Document 23 – letter from FM to Patrick Harvie MSP**

Rt Hon John Swinney MSP

An Fhior I-Jrr John Swinney BPA

First Minister of Scotland Am Prìomh Mhinistear

St Andrew's House, Regent Road, Edinburgh EH1 3DG  
Taigh Naomh Anndrais, Rathad Regent, Dbn Éideann EH1 3DG

Patrick Harvie  
MSP By Email

Scottish  
Government  
Riagha[*tas na In-*  
Alba

November 2025

Thank you for your letter about my statement of 3 September 2025 regarding measures the Scottish Government will take to address the catastrophic humanitarian situation in Gaza.

Since the beginning of the conflict Scottish Government Ministers have called for a ceasefire and the unfettered access of humanitarian aid, and will continue to call for that. We have condemned the brutal actions of Hamas and called for all hostages to be released immediately and unconditionally. We have called upon the UK Government to end licenced arms exports to Israel, and for accountability for any war crimes or breaches of international humanitarian law.

I have been clear that I share the concern of other international leaders that genocide is unfolding in Gaza. In response to that, I announced a comprehensive package of economic and humanitarian measures, within the competence of our devolved powers, to Parliament on 3 September. The Scottish Government and its agencies are now implementing these measures.

I also called on the UK Government to take a range of reserved measures, including withdrawing from the UK/Israel Free Trade Agreement; to follow the example of Ireland and prohibit the import of goods produced in Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories; and to join South Africa's case at the International Court of Justice.

I have since called upon all sides to abide by the terms of the peace agreement so that desperately needed humanitarian aid can flow into Gaza and reconstruction can begin. While I welcomed the recent ceasefire, there are worrying signs that it may not hold putting at risk the vital humanitarian aid that Gazan people need to survive,

The Scottish Government will continue to advocate for peace, justice and human rights. I hope this reassures you that we are doing what we can to support a rapid resolution to the conflict and to alleviate the suffering of the most vulnerable.

## JOHN SWINNEY MSP

Scottish Ministers, special advisers and the Permanent Secretary are covered by the terms of the Lobbying (Scotland) Act 2016. See [www.lobbyingscot](http://www.lobbyingscot)

Tha Ministearan na h-Alba, an luchd-comhairleachaidh s  nraichte agus an R  naire Maireannach fo chumhachan Achd Coiteachaidh (Alba) 2016. Faicibh [www.lobbying.scot](http://www.lobbying.scot)

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### Document 24 - email to FM

Email from [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; on behalf of; First Minister FirstMinister@gov.scot to CCU

OR please

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]  
Office of the First Minister  
Scottish Government  
5TH floor/St Andrews House/Regent Road  
Edinburgh EH1 3DG  
Mobile [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]  
**Sent:** 24 August 2025 14:36  
**To:** First Minister  
**Subject:** Gaza and Donald Trump

John Swinney,  
First Minister  
St. Andrew's House  
Regent Rd  
Edinburgh EH1 3DG  
24/08/25

Dear Mr Swinney,

I believe that, in your recent meeting with Donald Trump, you spoke of how the situation in Gaza was a source of "heartbreak" in Scotland, and you urged the president to use his influence with the Israeli government to secure a ceasefire and deliver humanitarian aid. As Donald Trump trumpets his supposed reputation of 'ending wars', his attention should be drawn to the fact that ending the war in Gaza – which is something the whole world is

calling for – would immeasurably increase his right to the title of **THE GREAT MAN WHO ENDS WARS** and will improve his chances of gaining a Nobel Peace Prize – no end. Trump has also recently been quoted as saying he “wanted to be assured of a place in Heaven”. Ending the devastation in Gaza would be a huge step towards this (possibly). Having met Trump recently, you have direct access to him, and I appeal to you to use that line of communication to point out to him that his lasting legacy as a President of the US, will be tarnished if he does not end the catastrophic situation in Gaza. [It is also possible that approaching Melania Trump directly (who is supposedly concerned to protect Trump’s legacy, and has history of intervening in a humanitarian fashion on other occasions), might be a fruitful avenue if more direct routes to the president fail.]

If such an appeal does not work – you were quoted recently in the press as saying that you were considering boycotting Israel. Could you then proceed to calling a press conference to make a categorical statement that the Scottish Government is now boycotting Israel because they continue to commit acts against humanity – such as genocide and ethnic cleansing.

I realise that the Scottish Government is constrained because the British Government makes decisions on trade, foreign policy etc. However, even although such a statement would not have much power, and would possibly merely be symbolic, I believe it would represent the opinion of most Scots who are horrified by the events we see unfolding on our screens every day, in Gaza.

Moreover, such a statement could possibly shame the British government into stopping using the Air Force to spy for Israel, stop supplying arms, suspend trade with Israel etc. A motion could be tabled in the House of Commons by the SNP to this effect. Furthermore, you could possibly contact the leaders of Wales and Ireland to stand in solidarity with you. Then you could contact other western countries in ‘a coalition of the willing’ to boycott Israel. Your initial decision might lead to a domino effect. Please act now. Time is running out.

Best wishes

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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**Document 25 – LETTER TO FM**

**Email from [redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; on behalf of; First Minister FirstMinister@gov.scot to CCU**

OR please

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]  
Office of the First Minister  
Scottish Government  
5TH floor/St Andrews House/Regent Road  
Edinburgh EH1 3DG  
Mobile [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**Sent:** 24 August 2025 04:29

**To:** First Minister

**Subject:** Gaza

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

Dear First Minister

Thank you for your Department's recent replies to my recent letters regarding Gaza. Your stated standpoints are most certainly reasonable; nevertheless, the situation in Gaza and the West Bank are so inexcusably dire and deteriorating every moment of every day that exhortations to National leaders and other politicians to act to end the genocide in Palestine remain vital. With due respect, I ask and say the following:

When in God's name will Western leaders take some coordinated concrete action to try to stop Netanyahu from completing his premeditated, planned-at-every-step-of-the-way genocide? Recognition of a Palestinian State is not enough on its own to change anything on the ground. Economic sanctions and cutting diplomatic ties, at the very least, are called for. Global populations are screaming out to the hitherto deaf ears of Western leaders to act. How dare they continue to do almost nothing?

The West has been played and pulled by the nose into complicity by Netanyahu and Biden then Trump from the earliest times. Almost every human being on the planet understands Netanyahu et al intend to obliterate the Palestinian presence in Gaza and the West Bank; no atrocity, including starving innocent civilians to death, is out of bounds. That 83% of all casualties are innocent civilians tells all too clearly that Israel is not fighting a war against Hamas; it is perpetrating a very deliberate genocide.

The West proffers one lame excuse after another for doing nothing to stop the illegal inhumanity inflicted daily, incessantly by the IDF on Palestinian civilians. Western leaders have kept silent about American sponsorship of Israel's abattoir-like, industrial-scale slaughter of defenceless human beings. The gravest of insults to 5 million Palestinians and the billions demanding an end to the slaughter is that Western nations continue to conduct trade, financial, and other affairs as usual with Israel. As well as a travesty against the Genocide Convention, this is an utter obscenity.

Damningly, these same leaders have not even had the moral fortitude to stand up for and stand with the ICJ and ICC against the attacks and sanctions levelled against them and their staff by America for the express purpose of protecting Netanyahu and other Israeli powerbrokers against prosecution for war crimes and crimes against humanity. This inaction is intolerable and inexcusable, and it adds yet another terrible dimension to all the illegal manmade catastrophes inflicted on the Palestinian people.

Those still sufficiently naive to hinge any hope of an enduring ceasefire to bring an end to Palestinians' unimaginable suffering misunderstand a simple, irreducible fact: A deliberate genocide cannot be negotiated away, especially when it is supported by American arms, finances, and protection. Netanyahu has been granted free rein to do as he pleases, regardless of how hideous and illegal under international law, by Trump and those still supplying arms and other forms of support. This tramples on every precept of decency and legitimacy in the most sickening manner.

Collaborative and coordinated international action that is concrete, such as diplomatic distancing and imposing economic sanctions, not impotent words and symbolic gestures, is the only hope for saving the Palestinians from interminable atrocities inflicted to erase their presence and any signs of its prior existence from Gaza and the West Bank. For as long as Western leaders continue to do nothing materially

significant to stop Netanyahu's genocide and challenge America's involvement in it, they will remain accomplices in mass murder and ethnic cleansing.

Many Western leaders may not yet have accepted Netanyahu, his right wing extremist cohorts, and the IDF have stooped to levels of illegal barbarity that evoke powerful reminders of Nazi Germany in their mission to obliterate the Palestinian people and destroy every remnant of physical evidence they ever existed in Gaza and the West Bank, but the majority of the world's population sees and understands this all too clearly through what is happening.

Given that most Western leaders, with either direct material assistance or obscene silence and inaction, have played a significant role in helping Netanyahu along the way to achieve his genocidal objectives, it is up to them now to play major and immediate roles in stopping this wholesale displacement and mass murder of innocent Palestinians. If this genocide is allowed to happen there will be no winners, only death and catastrophic losses; no-one, not even most of the current crop of Western leaders, will go on unscathed. These officials appear to be among the very few on Earth unable to apprehend that they must act now.

Yours sincerely

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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**Document 26 – letter to FM**

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**Sent:** 24 August 2025 16:20

**To:** First Minister

**Cc:** Shirley-Anne Somerville MSP

**Subject:** Scottish Government obligations

Dear First Minister,

Time is running out, as you will be aware, children and adults in Gaza, Palestine are at stage 5 famine levels, their bodies are shutting down. Babies, children and adults are being starved, killed and all are being terrorised by the occupying IDF forces and its mercenaries. I ask that my government take immediate action.

After almost 2 years, I welcome the acknowledgement by the Scottish Government of the genocide carried out by Israel against the Palestinians in Gaza. The genocide has so far claimed the lives of at least 60,000 Palestinians, with the actual figure likely to be much higher, with Israel now weaponising starvation of children, women and men to further devastate the Palestinians in Gaza.

I ask that the Scottish Government take action in line with its obligations under international law to ensure it is not complicit, and to prevent and punish the crime of genocide being carried out by the state of Israel, as a matter of urgency.

I ask the Scottish Government:

1. Make a statement condemning the genocide, calling for sanctions against the state of Israel, and formally supporting South Africa's case at the International Court of Justice (ICJ).
2. Invite the Ambassador of the Republic of South Africa to Bute House to discuss how the Scottish Government can support the efforts of those governments, including Spain, Belgium, and Ireland, that have joined South Africa's case against Israel.
3. Launch a comprehensive review of Scottish Government ties to the state of Israel and an immediate plan of action to ensure Scottish public bodies and businesses are not complicit in the genocide. These may include freezing all engagement with Israeli government officials, stopping all trade partnerships, stopping all Scottish Government funding of arms companies, Scottish local authority pension fund divestment, provision of clear guidance around procurement, cultural boycott, and support for businesses to adapt and remove links with Israel.

The demonstrations and actions that have taken place across Scottish communities over the last two years show that we are people who stand firmly and steadfastly against the worst crimes against humanity. It is time our government reflected this.

My MSP, Shirley-Anne Somerville is CC'd.

I look forward to your reply.

Kind regards,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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## Document 27

**From:** [redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**Sent:** 25 August 2025 20:03

**To:** John.Swinney.msp@parliament.scot; First Minister

**Subject:** 160 Scots (and growing) demand: End lip service, act on Gaza now

### **Glasgow Community members concerned with the situation in Gaza and the Scottish Government's Response**

**25 August 2025**

**John Swinney**

First Minister of Scotland

Dear Mr Swinney,

We write as over **160 members of our community**, people who span the political spectrum, and many of whom have never before taken part in organised activism. What unites us is profound disgust at Scotland's leading politicians who continue to pay lip service to peace and international law while doing nothing of substance. The atrocities in Gaza are no longer distant

reports—they are streamed into our homes daily, and the world will judge those who looked away.

On **25 August**, Israel bombed the Nasser Hospital in Khan Younis—first striking operating rooms and hospital staff, then striking again as rescuers and journalists rushed to help. At least 20 people were killed, including five journalists, their deaths captured on live broadcast. Days earlier, the UN declared an official **famine in Gaza City**, the first such designation in the Middle East under international standards, with children already starving to death at a rate of dozens per day. These crimes are systematic and intentional.

In the face of such horror, **gestures are not enough**. Scotland cannot continue to issue statements of concern while its public institutions remain entangled with companies and practices that profit from or enable this destruction. Words without action make us complicit.

We therefore demand that the Scottish Government take **immediate, concrete measures**, using every power at its disposal:

1. **Divestment and Ethical Investment:** Direct all Scottish public bodies—local government pension schemes, the Scottish Parliamentary Pension Scheme, universities, and other agencies—to divest from arms manufacturers and companies complicit in Israel’s assault on Gaza.
2. **Enable Ethical Procurement:** Reform contracting rules so that Scottish councils and public bodies can legally refuse contracts with companies implicated in the occupation and bombardment. Use every devolved lever available to prioritise ethical suppliers.
3. **Oppose the UK’s Anti-Boycott Bill:** Publicly and robustly reject Westminster’s attempt to gag Scottish institutions from pursuing ethical investment and procurement. Defend Scotland’s right to align public spending with human rights.
4. **Recognition and Moral Leadership:** Declare Scotland’s recognition of the State of Palestine and call clearly for a full arms embargo. Foreign affairs may be reserved, but moral leadership is not. Scotland’s stance can galvanise international solidarity just as Ireland has begun to.
5. **Mobilise Humanitarian Solidarity:** Establish a Scottish-coordinated humanitarian fund, working with NGOs, faith groups, and universities, to channel aid directly to Gaza’s hospitals and starving families.

Mr Swinney, this letter does not come from party activists or political insiders. It comes from ordinary Scots who are sickened by our government’s failure to act decisively in the face of atrocity. History will remember who enabled these crimes through cowardice and inaction. Scotland must now choose whether it stands with international law and humanity—or with silence and complicity.

We urge you to act with courage.

Yours sincerely,

**Community members from Glasgow concerned with the humanitarian crisis in Gaza**

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

**Document 28 – letter to FM**

FW: Gaza - Israel committing Genocide

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)] <[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]@gov.scot>; on behalf of; First Minister  
<FirstMinister@gov.scot>

Central Correspondence Unit <CentralCorrespondenceUnit@gov.scot>

**Wed 27/08/2025 10:05**

Dear Mr Swinney,

Any nation state committing genocide is unconscionable. All nations should clearly take all possible measures to deter and prevent such atrocities. The UK government seems to be dragging its feet in respect of its responsibilities to do so in the case of Israel's genocidal actions in Gaza.

In the face of the UK government's failure to act, it is particularly important that the Scottish parliament does all it can.

Therefore, please follow the measures that have been put forward by Amnesty International, and ensure that no public money is awarded to companies manufacturing and supplying arms and their components which fuel Israel's genocide in Gaza.

Please urge the UK Government to immediately suspend all UK arms exports to Israel, and to impose strict economic sanctions.

Further, with regard to Israel's continued defiance of UN rulings in the West Bank, please require public bodies to ensure they do not procure from companies doing business with illegal Israeli settlements, and please urge the UK Government to implement a ban on trade with illegal Israeli settlements.

Thank you for your attention.

Yours sincerely,

[redacted - s.38(1)(b)]

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**Document 29 – letter from FM to Edinburgh City Council Leader**

Rt Hon John Swinney MSP  
An Fhior Urr John Swinney BPA

First Minister of Scotland Am Prìomh Mhinistear

Scottish Government  
Riaghaltos no h-  
Alba

St Andrew's House, Regent Road, Edinburgh EH1 3DG  
Taigh Naomh Anndrais, Rathad Regent, D1)n  
Éideann EH1 3DG

Our Reference: 202500487064

10 November 2025



Thank you for your letter of 29 September in relation to the situation in Israel and Palestine.

As I said in my statement to Parliament on 3 September, the situation in Gaza is a manmade humanitarian catastrophe. Tens of thousands of people in Gaza have been killed and many more have been maimed. Most of the strip lies in ruins, and famine now grips the population even while huge quantities of essential supplies lie waiting at the borders.

Additionally, on 9 October 2025, I called on all sides to abide by the terms of the peace agreement, for the release of hostages and for the immediate entry of humanitarian aid into Gaza. After more than two years of devastating brutality and loss of life, I know that this will be a moment of relief for many here in Scotland, and around the world.

Scottish Government ministers have from the very beginning of the conflict, and will continue to, call for a ceasefire and the unfettered access of humanitarian aid. We have condemned the brutal actions of Hamas and called for all hostages to be released immediately and unconditionally. We have called upon the UK Government to end all licensed arms exports to Israel, and for accountability for any war crimes of breaches of international humanitarian law,

On 3 September I announced measures which the Scottish Government is taking within its powers in response to this.

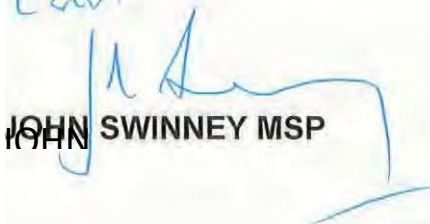
This includes a pause on new awards of grants to, or investments in, companies involved in the design, production, supply, and support of military equipment, technologies and services whose products or services are provided to specific identified countries, where there is plausible evidence of genocide being committed by that country. This includes Israel.

I also instructed relevant Scottish Government delivery bodies to not provide support facilitating trade between Scotland and Israel, where possible. The full detail of my statement at [Meeting of the Parliament: 03/09/2025 | Scottish Parliament Website](#)

Scottish Ministers, special advisers and the permanent Secretary are covered by the terms of the Lobbying (Scotland) Act 2016. See [www.lobbying.scot](http://www.lobbying.scot)

Tha Ministearan na h-Alba, an luchd-comhairleachaidh sànrachta agt\_JS an Rbnaire  
Maireannach fo chumhachan Achd Coiteachaidh (Alba) 2016. Faicibh [www.lobbying.scot](http://www.lobbying.scot)

On the other issues you raise, Local Government Pension Scheme investment  
decisions are entirely a matter for the pension committees of the funds, and  
compliance with relevant statutes by the council you lead are matters for you, not  
the Scottish Government.

Lead  
  
JOHN SWINNEY MSP