SUBMISSION TO THE JOINT OIREACHTAS COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS & TRADE BY ALAN SHATTER*

OBSERVATIONS, QUESTIONS & COMMENTARY ON THE DRAFT ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORY (PROHIBITION ON THE IMPORTATION OF GOODS) BILL 2025 - For brevity referenced as THE PIGS BILL 2025 as published by the Irish government in July 2025

INITIAL BULLET POINTS

*The Bill has no relevance to the Israel/ Gaza conflict as no Israelis/ Jews have resided in or produced any goods in Gaza since 2005 when Israel withdrew from Gaza.

*The Bill has no relevance to the release of Israeli hostages still held in Gaza nor to the Israel/ Gaza conflict ending despite contrary political posturing.

*The Bill has no relevance to a resolution of Israeli/ Palestinian conflict which requires a permanent end to all violence and terrorism, a reconciliation process, fundamental change in both Israeli and Palestinian political leadership, fresh elections, direct negotiations and mediation such as resulted in the Good Friday Agreement and a majority of Israelis and Palestinians favouring living side by side in permanent peace and security.

*The Bill has no relevance to the dedication of Iran and its terrorist proxies, Hamas, Hezbollah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Houthis and other Jihadist groups to Israel's destruction, nor to Iran's aspiration to develop nuclear weapons. The narrative of all of those campaigning to enact the Bill ignores this, as generally most favour Israel's destruction.

*The Bill has no relevance to Israel's continuing presence in the West Bank or East Jerusalem nor to ending extremist Palestinian terrorist attacks on Israelis in the West Bank and Israel, nor to ending Israeli extremist attacks on Palestinians in the West Bank.

*The Bill resembles the emperor with no clothes- it is celebrated by some, lacking in beneficial substance and is purely symbolic.

*The Bill's symbolism presents the Irish government, parliament and state as intent on targeting and discriminating against Jews and as antisemitic.

*The antisemitic symbolism of the Bill is reinforced by the fact that the Bill contains no penalising or boycott measures related to residents of any other "occupied" territory, for example Northern Cypress occupied by Turkey, Tibet occupied by China, parts of Ukraine occupied by Russia, the Western Sahara occupied by Morocco, etc.

*The Bill is the first initiative of any European government to enact legislation targeting and discriminating against Jews since the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945

*The Bill is perceived by anti Israeli pro Palestinian activists as a Trojan horse to demonise and delegitimise Israel and its enactment as a prelude to the

enactment of comprehensive BDS legislation in defiance of EU law with the added benefit of depicting to the Irish public the EU as an enemy of Ireland.

- * Enforcement of the Bills provisions at border locations between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland is entirely inconsistent with agreed post Brexit arrangements which facilitate free movement of goods on the island of Ireland.
- * The Bill, if enacted, will result in the State taking unilateral action in an area of exclusive EU competence, that is, exclusive competence in the areas of common commercial policy, international trade and the customs union, which include common rules for imports, and inevitably result in the Commission or another member state taking infringement proceedings against the State before the CJEU with possible serious financial consequences. This would be a very particular political embarrassment coinciding with Ireland's presidency of the EU in 2026. The Bills violation of EU law could also be successfully challenged by an affected party in private litigation with resulting damages.
- * The Bill conflicts with US Federal and State anti boycott laws with serious potential consequences for US companies located in Ireland and Irish companies doing business in and located in the US
- * The Bill, if enacted, will have a myriad of detrimental consequences and are many, as yet, unanswered questions as detailed below..
- 1. The STATED OBJECTIVE AND PURPOSE of the PIGS BILL: The Bills preamble depicts this as an Act to provide for compliance by the Irish State with its "international legal obligations as identified by the International Court of Justice in its advisory opinion of the 19th July 2024 to take steps to prevent trade relations that assist in the maintenance of the illegal situation created by Israel in the occupied Palestinian territories and for that purpose to prohibit the importation of goods originating in Israeli settlements located there".

At the start, the following facts are relevant:

(a) The ICJ imposed no legal obligations on the state. As stated in the preamble it simply delivered an "advisory opinion" in a deeply politicised case in which the ICJ judges delivered a variety of nuanced judgements. The "opinion" has no binding legal effect and created no "international legal obligations". It has simply been politically weaponised and does not require the enactment of the Bill. Hence no other European state has sought to enact a similar measure. It is EU law which imposes binding international legal obligations on the state with regard to trade and customs arrangements, not ICJ advisory opinions

- (b) Currently there are no trade relations involving "the State" that assist in the maintenance of what the preamble wrongly depicts as "the illegal situation created by Israel" etc. Even if such "illegal situation" depiction is accepted, there is nothing done nor has ever been done by "the State" to "assist" in maintaining it. "The State" as a State is engaged in no relevant "trade relations" that do so. To assert otherwise is totally false.
- (c) The Bill proposes to "prohibit the importation of goods originated" in Israeli settlements, such imports being depicted by the Bill as assisting "in the maintenance of the illegal situation created by Israel" that is, the continuing existence of such "settlements". However, the volume of the commercial imports so targeted is now known to be minimal. They factually have no relevance to the "maintenance" of any "settlements". Moreover, it is unclear what goods are originated save for some dates, avocados and olives. According to the Irish governments own figures the total value of commercial goods imported from the relevant territories in the period 2020-2024 was €685,000, including €214,000 worth of goods in 2024. It is unknown what goods so imported "originated" from Jews, Palestinians or from those of a variety of other backgrounds and religions. It is also unknown what such goods, such as souvenirs or religious items, are "imported" into Ireland by Irish and foreign tourists visiting Israel who return to reside in or visit Ireland as tourists.
- (d) Since publication of the Bill both the Taoiseach and the Tanaiste have publicly acknowledged that the Bill is merely symbolic and the Tanaiste has urged other EU states to replicate Ireland's symbolism. This is discussed next.

2. THE SYMBOLISM:

"originated in Israeli settlements" is a euphemism for goods "originated by Jews" who reside, work in or are present in locations the Bill specifies as the "Occupied Palestinian Territories", that is East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza. As detailed below, the Bills objective to target such Jews alone is flawed and, it in fact, targets and impacts others. But taking the targeting of such Jews as the primary intended objective, the symbolism is to demonise and penalise the presence of Jews where such presence offends the Irish government and allegedly according to the government, the Irish people, and to delegitimise Israel's presence in East Jerusalem.

The real symbolism is that the Bill, if enacted, will be the first legislative measure enacted by any European Parliament intentionally demonising, targeting and explicitly discriminating against Jews since the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945. In its essence the Bill is antisemitic and internationally depicts the Irish government and Parliament as promoting the enactment and enforcement of antisemitic Nazi copycat laws and a majority of the population as supportive of such laws. It is for that reason that other EU

states have so far resisted the Tanaiste's call that they enact similar legislation.

The PIGS Bill explicitly promotes that East Jerusalem and the West Bank, like many Muslim Arab states should be Judenrein, an objective for Europe Nazi Germany attempted to achieve. Entirely ignored is the 3,000 year Jewish historical connection with the land, its centrality in the Jewish religion, the location of the remains of the second Temple in East Jerusalem, the historical connection between Judaism and Christianity, Christian theology, recent Papal decrees, declarations and multiple Christian narratives and Jewish archeological remains going back millennia that have been discovered. Recent political history is also ignored. For example, the fact that the UN determined in 1947 that Jerusalem be a specially administered international city, that East Jerusalem was occupied from 1948-67 by Jordan and its Jewish population driven out, after 1948 Jews were excluded from access to East Jerusalem until Israel's victory in the Six Day War, during its occupation Jordan expropriated all Jewish property owned in East Jerusalem and that Jerusalem is now Israel's capital. Also ignored is that Israel's premier Ehud Olmert in 2008 discussions mediated by US President Bush offered Palestinian President Mohamed Abbas to divide Jerusalem into two Israeli and Palestinian controlled cities, and to relinquish Israeli sovereignty over the Temple Mount and the entire Old City. He proposed that the "Holy Basin" be overseen instead by a five-member, nonsovereign international trusteeship, comprising Israel, the PA, Jordan, the US and Saudi Arabia and that East Jerusalem be Palestine's capital city as part of a comprehensive settlement of the Israeli / Palestinian conflict that would have created an independent Palestinian state but Abbas rejected the offer. It was also proposed that Israel retain a small part of what is known as area C on the West Bank in return for the new Palestinian state receiving a portion of Israeli land. Discussions mediated by President Clinton between Israeli Premier Ehud Barak and Yasser Arafat in 20000 in which similar proposals were made which would have resulted in Arafat securing 98% of what he said he was seeking and the creation of a Palestinian state also failed because Arafat withheld his agreement.

Rightly no one is proposing that Israel's 2 million non Jewish citizens should cease to reside or work in Israel. It is both antisemitic and racist to advocate that no Jewish person should reside or work in East Jerusalem or on the West Bank and that Jews who do should be penalised and their goods boycotted. The obsession of the government and members of the Houses of the Oireachtas in both promoting and prioritising such policy is deeply disturbing.

For the self appointed pro Palestinian activists, including some members of the Irish Parliament promoting the Bill, the additional symbolism is to

demonise and delegitimise the state of Israel. All such groups and many in Ireland's parliamentary opposition advocate for the application of BDS to everything Israeli and for the boycott and prohibition of importation into Ireland of all Israeli goods and services and all engagement with anything or anyone Israeli. Their objective is no two state solution but the Israeli state's replacement by a Palestinian state. The fate of Israel's population of 10 million people, 8 million of whom are Jewish being one half of the world's total Jewish population, should such state replace an Israeli state is of no concern to them. To them the barbaric genocidal atrocities of Hamas on October 7, 2023, were legitimate resistance to be celebrated. They are the same people who advocate boycotts of Israeli academia, products, pharmaceuticals, technology, universities, research institutions and who target companies that trade with Israeli companies and all artists and sports stars who perform in Israel and advocate Israel be banned from the Eurovision Song Contest and international sporting events. The symbolism of the Bills enactment is perceived by them as a first step in the enactment of comprehensive BDS legislation in defiance of European law or with the support of the EU, the latter being something the Tanaiste is currently shamelessly seeking for the PIGS Bill. The Bill will also be perceived by them as bolstering their existing campaign of harassing retail shops and abusing customers who purchase Israel originated goods, such as avocados, grapes, hummus and falafel. It is inevitable that the Bill will escalate harassment in shops that sell Israeli products. For them the Bill is merely a Trojan horse for further aggressive activism. That is why members of the committee and the Houses of the Oireachtas are being extensively lobbied to support the Bill and broaden its application to services

3. ISRAELI SETTLEMENT

Israeli settlement is defined by the Bill as "a city, village or industrial zone located in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem" the postal code of which is included in the EU "Notice to Importers 2021/C 323/03 published in the Official Journal of the European Union on the 3 August 2012." To date, the Foreign Affairs Committee has given no detailed attention to the postal codes and the locations they identify.

The substantial number of postal codes there listed detail locations from which goods are imported which do not qualify for the preferential treatment under EU law that applies to goods imported from locations within Israel's pre 1967 border. The Notice does not prohibit the importation of such goods, just denies them preferential treatment or exemption from customs duties.

The PIGS Bill confers on the Minister for Foreign Affairs & Trade in consultation with the Minister for Finance a discretion to ban goods

originating from all or some of the postal code locations. It details no criteria, principles or factors to apply to this discretionary exercise. As a consequence this provision is likely unconstitutional (See article 15.2.1). It is unknown will goods originating in all or only some designated postal codes be affected.

As Israel ceased to occupy Gaza in 2005 and Gaza had no Jewish resident population or Jewish originated goods to trade in 2012 nor since up to the present day, this provision starkly illustrates that the Bill has no relevance to Gaza nor to the current Israel/ Gaza conflict.

Not only Jews, or Jewish Israelis "originate" goods within what the Bill depicts as Israeli settlements, but so do Israelis of other denominations and none and Palestinians. In prohibiting the importation of goods originating from or purchased in East Jerusalem, the Bill applies to goods sold by East Jerusalem's Israeli Arab inhabitants and traders, its Palestinian inhabitants and traders, goods manufactured by any East Jerusalem based business be it a business conducted by Jews alone, Jews and Muslims, Muslims alone, Jews and Christians, Christians alone or Jews, Christians and Muslims together or by any one else there of any background.

The Bills application to industrial zones illustrates appalling ignorance from a government that repetitively advocates a "two state solution" that requires engagement, dialogue, reconciliation and practical co-operation between Israelis and Palestinians not boycott and separation. Industrial parks on the West Bank, such as the Barkan Industrial Park, which I have visited, provide a workplace microcosm of the former. It includes about 120 business's and factories manufacturing plastics, metal work, food, textiles and more with a workforce of 20,000, half of whom are Palestinian. Other "settlement" locations where Israelis and Palestinians work together producing "goods" provide Palestinians with both employment and opportunities that the Palestine Authority has proven incapable of providing. Prohibiting the importation of such originating goods undermines the very positive engagement essential to achieve conflict resolution and is inimical to achieving any form of two state solution.

4. CUSTOMS

Under the Bill the customs service is required to enforce the prohibition on the importation of goods "originating in an Israeli settlement" pursuant to the Customs Act 2015. Such goods currently imported for commercial purposes, while minimal, are readily identifiable through EU required documentation identifying their origin to exclude them from preferential treatment. In 2024 goods to the value of €4.3 Billion were imported from Israel into Ireland which were entitled under EU law to preferential treatment. These goods are

essential to the Irish economy, employment and the operation of many US and some other multi- national companies located in Ireland. There is a risk that the enactment of the Bill will result in greater customs scrutiny causing delay of such imports while investigations are conducted to confirm the provenance/ origins of such goods. Should that occur it would not merely disrupt the business of such companies but should they co-operate in responding to queries by Irish customs they would be at risk of violating both US Federal and State anti boycott laws to their considerable detriment. Any assumption that confining the PIGS Bill to goods and excluding its application to services ensures US Irish located companies do not experience difficulties is wrong.

The PIGS Bill, linked to Ireland's Customs Act 2015, empowers Irish customs officers at points of entry into the Irish state to stop and search an individual's luggage, vehicle and person to ensure they are not importing the offending Jewish originated goods. Postal packages can also be opened and similarly checked. Individuals will be required to declare whether such goods are in their possession and goods so declared are to be confiscated. Concealing such goods, transporting them and taking possession of them within the state is also prohibited. Aiding and abetting another to import, conceal, transport or store settlement goods is also an offence. Customs officers will be enabled to seize and confiscate goods they consider settlement goods and to raid warehouses storing them and stores and restaurants selling them. Raids could also take place on hospitals, medical practices schools and houses of worship, including synagogues.

Under the customs legislation a customs officer will be entitled, if he so determines, to simply assume any goods being imported from Israel originated in an Israeli settlement and where such assumption is made, the onus falls on the individual or the importing company to establish that they did not do so.

For the ordinary traveller or tourist returning to or visiting Ireland having visited Israel the Bill creates particular difficulties. If found to have Israeli goods in their possession, the absence of documentary evidence of origin could result in the goods being confiscated or in a prosecution. It is not necessary that the imported goods travel directly from Israel to Ireland. They could simply be items possessed by an Irish resident or tourist visiting Ireland from any foreign state purchased on a visit to Israel or in a home state or received as a gift. For example a souvenir or religious memento or bracelet purchased in West Jerusalem or New York made in Israel.

In the absence of conflict many Irish pilgrims each year visit both East and West Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, visit holy sites, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in East Jerusalem and purchase goods of

remembrance of their visit. Many such purchases are made in the Israeli Arab markets of East Jerusalem. Under the Bill anything so purchased in East Jerusalem can be confiscated by customs and if concealed / imported can result in criminal prosecution. Goods purchased in all the other locations would have the same consequences if manufactured in an "Israeli settlement" as defined by the Bill.In the context of US Federal and state laws should a US tourist or company executive visiting Ireland co-operate with Irish customs by declaring the presence in luggage of any goods originating in an Israeli settlement he or she could be legally penalised in the US under anti boycott co-operation laws. The goods concerned could be a simple kippah (scull cap) worn by an orthodox Jewish visitor to Ireland.

Draconian penalties apply to those who break this proposed law. A summary "importation" conviction before a District Judge can result in a fine of up to €5,000. Such fine and/ or up to 12 months imprisonment can result from transporting, taking possession of or concealing settlement goods. A conviction on indictment, before a judge and jury, depending on the value of the relevant goods can result in a fine of up to €125,000 and / or up to 5 years imprisonment. There are also circumstances in which the fine can be substantially larger than €250,000.

It is unclear what, if anything, our customs authorities intend to do to enforce this law, if enacted. It may, like the Health (Family Planning) Act 1980, be another "Irish Solution to an Irish Problem" and entirely ignored by customs, regarded as unenforceable and never enforced. It may be this is understood by at least some in government. It may truly just be antisemitic and anti Israeli symbolism to politically appease anti Israel activists.

If enforcement is intended, the committee should engage with the customs authorities to ascertain the steps proposed, the cost of such enforcement, the nature of the bureaucracy involved, the personnel to be deployed, the arrangements to be made at points of entry into the state, in particular airports, ports and across the border areas between the Republic and Northern Ireland and the likely resultant queues and delays in airports and ports that passengers will experience. The committee need also address the North/ South dimension in the context of the Bill detrimentally impacting on ameliorating post Brexit arrangements agreed with the UK and the EU.

If enforcement is intended, among the many questions requiring answer that the committee should explore are the following:

Will there be created a special Irish customs unit similar to Nazi stormtroopers to detect and confiscate criminalised Jewish produced "settlement" goods?

Will travellers/ visitors/ tourists to Ireland/ be profiled to ensure all Jewish entrants into Ireland and non Jewish travellers returning from the Holy Land

are questioned and luggage searched, with members of Ireland's Jewish community and Irish Christian groups supportive of Israel specifically targeted?

Will a customs data base profiling the Irish Jewish community and Israelis living in Ireland be created to facilitate detection of possible offenders? Will those entering and leaving a synagogue be the subject of questioning and search to ensure nothing in their possession or worn originated or was purchased in East Jerusalem or the West Bank from someone Jewish or of other background resident or working in a designated postal location? Will Irish synagogues be raided to check the provenance of items of religious significance such as Sefer Torahs or prayer books?

On the understanding that anyone who arrives in Ireland from anywhere may have visited Israel at some time and purchased some such goods or received them as a gift or could be importing them into Ireland from any location, will every traveller into Ireland have to sign a declaration that they have no such goods and be subject to a discretionary search? How much bureaucracy and what costs will be incurred in processing such declarations and will they be investigated to check their veracity? Will Rabbis returning to or visiting Ireland be a particular target? Will Jewish religious items such as a kippah, talis, siddur or Haggadah automatically generate suspicion?

Will a kippah wearing traveller arriving in Ireland have to prove the kippah's provenance?

Will there be raids on Irish retail outlets to check the origin of goods being sold and signs posted warning shoppers to not purchase tainted Jewish goods?

Will particular products like Israeli wine, dates, avocados, hummus, tehina, olives, grapes, figs, citrus fruits, etc be specific targets and suspect? Will it be illegal to import into or sell in Ireland any tech or medical equipment any part of which "originated" in or was invented or produced in East Jerusalem or in the West Bank by a Jewish person resident or working there or Jewish owned company located there?

Could an Irish citizen returning to Ireland having having had a pacemaker inserted in Israel following a cardiac incident be arrested for its importation because it originated in an operation conducted by surgeon resident on the West Bank or East Jerusalem?

Will the open border between Northern Ireland and the Republic, maintained with great difficulty and EU co-operation after the implementation of Brexit, now be disrupted by the Republic's customs officers stopping vehicles to detect whether Jewish contaminated goods originating from any of the offending postal code areas are being imported?

What costs will the customs service incur in enforcing the bill? What view does the European Commission take of the Bill?

What view does the Trump administration take of the Bill and how will it impact US multinational companies located in Ireland and Irish companies doing business in the US?

5. ORIGINATING

The PIGS Bill contains no definition of "originating", a word open to broad application. It clearly applies to dates and avocados grown on the West Bank or any item purchased from a Jewish trader there or any trader in East Jerusalem. As presented it seems it also may apply to any goods invented by an individual in what is designated an Israeli settlement whether manufactured there or not. So a life saving medical device or pharmaceutical product originally invented by a resident of East Jerusalem or a person whose laboratory is located there, manufactured in the US or somewhere in Europe could classify as prohibited goods.

Goods in the PIGS Bill are said to include "both materials and products ... and things of every kind whether animate or inanimate". Within the category of "things of every kind" it seems that a movie or documentary filmed in East Jerusalem may fall foul of this law as "originating" there and be confiscated if imported into Ireland. If broadcast or streamed from outside Ireland and accessed in Ireland it may criminalise the viewer as an illegal importer. A particularly interesting question is how that may apply should the nightly news contain actuality filmed in Jerusalem, the West Bank or Gaza. Will it be legally sound provided no Jewish person resident there features, is interviewed or among the TV station or streaming crew? Certainly any reporter returning from there who brings a souvenir home to Ireland will have to ensure its pedigree and provenance is known and be able to confirm it is as a minimum Jew free. An underground industry in Jew free certification may perhaps emerge? But as explained earlier it is not only Jewish originated goods that the Bill impacts.

6. THE EU

There is a fiction that while EU law renders it illegal for the Bill to include services, no difficulty arises with goods. As is clear from the leaked October 2024 opinion of the Attorney General he believes that provisions such as those contained in the Bill likely violate EU law and the EUs exclusive international trade and customs competences, that is the EUs common commercial policy and Ireland's obligations as a member of the economic and customs union. With regard to the government proposing a measure such as the PIGS Bill, he details the "risks". The cabinet knows that the Bill

likely violates EU law but for political reasons is ploughing on regardless of consequences so upon the Bill being impugned by the EU, it can wash its hands of it, say it did its best, applaud the Bills malign "symbolism" and scapegoat the EU. The "consequences" could result in the State being ultimately fined to the detriment of taxpayers.

In so far as it is contended that Ireland can lawfully enact the Bill due to an EU "public policy exemption" this ground, according to EU case law, can only be relied upon in very exceptional and narrow circumstances where there is "a genuine and sufficiently serious threat to the requirements of public policy affecting one of the fundamental interests of society". It cannot be credibly suggested that the import into the state of €685,000 of goods over a five year period, largely consisting of dates, olives and avocados or the importation into the state by an individual tourist of a souvenir or religious item purchased in East Jerusalem constitutes such threat within the State. Additionally, the EU, Israel and Ireland are all members of the WTO and GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade). Unilateral action by Ireland of the nature contemplated would be a breach of Ireland's obligations under GATT and would be inconsistent with the EU's obligations thereunder. These are all issues, the committee should not ignore.

With regard to EU law and the GATT I have had sight of the detailed submission of the Ireland Israel Alliance and the UK Lawyers for Israel dated the 8th July 2025 and agree entirely with its content.

7. THE US.

There are 970 US companies in Ireland, employing 378,000 people directly and indirectly and spending more than €41 billion in the Irish economy annually according to the US-Ireland Business Report 2024: Building Ireland's Transatlantic Impact(American Chamber of Commerce).

Since 1977 US federal law bans US companies from complying with, furthering or supporting any boycott fostered or imposed by a foreign country, against a country which is not itself the object of any form of boycott by the U.S. There are also a myriad of State anti boycott laws. US laws not only prohibit active participation in any kind of boycott but also any compliance with or co-operation in its application. These laws are applicable to all US companies doing business in Ireland and Irish companies doing business in the US.

The Bill as published and also its suggested extension to services will create substantial difficulties in US / Ireland trade and trade relations and place any company located in Ireland doing business in the U.S in significant legal peril. This poses a direct threat to US companies located in Ireland both remaining and expanding their operations here and to Irish companies

engaging in business in the US. In the public interest the committee should explore this complex issue and its ramifications as part of its pre legislative scrutiny remit. Should it recommend that the Bill proceed and be extended to include services without doing so and also do so without comprehensively exploring the other consequences of the Bill with regard to EU law and the questions raised in this submission, it will flagrantly fail to honour its obligations to properly engage in pre- legislative scrutiny.

With regard to Ireland/ US trade and the application of US Federal and State anti boycott laws and Presidential decrees I refer the committee to the detailed memo prepared by US lawyers Alan Futerfas and Ellen Resnick of the 7th July 2025 which fully addresses important issues relating to the Bill not yet fully explored by the committee.

8. ORAL HEARING.

As the chairperson knows, I applied to participate in an oral hearing of this committee on this issue over a week ago. I did so because of the gravity of the road being travelled by the Bill, the unprecedented targeting of Jews by a parliament I was a member of for over 30 years, as a prominent member of Ireland's small Jewish community, knowing that since 2016 there has been no Jewish member of the Dáil to add insights and understanding to debate, my expertise in Israeli/ Palestinian relations and conflict and my engagement over many years with leaders on both sides of the conflict, my knowledge as a former long standing member of this committee and as its chair, my knowledge as a former minister who has visited the region many times, my love of our country Ireland and my concern as to the enormous damage that will be done to Ireland's international reputation should the PIGS Bill be enacted and become law. I also believe it essential to burst the bubble which has resulted in members of government boasting of instead of being ashamed of the Bills symbolism.

I again seek to participate in an oral hearing before this committee to further tease out with members the issues detailed by me herein. I note that to date the committee has arranged oral hearings to engage 7 individuals who advocate for the Bills enactment and extension to services, a number of whom represent or advise organisations which have for many years advocated boycotting everything and everybody connected to Israel and Department officials and declined to facilitate any oral hearing to engage others with a different view.

Hearing submissions from activists and academics with a history of campaigning for and/ or advocating boycotts of everything Israeli, including Israeli goods and services, and declining oral hearings sought by those who have a different view constitutes both gross discrimination and a gross violation of the committees remit and legislative obligations.

Finally, I note that to date in the committees limited public consideration of the Bill the total focus has been that the committee rapidly conclude its business and unanimously agree the Bill be extended to include services without the committee yet receiving or discussing the new expected advice from the Attorney General. Beyond seeking the Bills expansion all sides in the Dáil and Seanad present as anxious the Bill be enacted. One of the many things learnt from my many years as a TD is that where no serious parliamentary scrutiny of a Bill is undertaken and there is cross party consensus on a complex controversial issue, inevitably in time such consensus is proved wrong. I am respectfully suggesting to the committee it hasten slowly and undertake a more comprehensive and fairer pre legislative scrutiny process than currently appears intended and conduct a series of oral hearings to comprehensively address the issues it has ignored to date, many of which are detailed herein. Should the committee do so the only rational, common sense decision the committee could reach is that the government should not proceed to enact and implement the PIGS Bill.

*Alan Shatter

Former Minister for Justice, Equality & Defence; former chair of the Foreign Affairs committee: former member of the Justice & Defence Committee; former member of EU Council of Justice & Home Affairs Ministers and Council of EU Defence Ministers; chair of Magen David Adom Ireland; Board member of the independent Israel Council on Foreign Relations; regular commentator and author of articles relating to Israel/Palestinian relations & conflict, occasional lecturer, author and lawyer

8th July 2025