



HOUSE OF COMMONS

LONDON SW1A 0AA

Hamish Falconer MP
Minister for Middle East, North Africa, Afghanistan and Pakistan
Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office

25 September 2025

Dear Hamish,

The UK has a long and proud history at the vanguard of international law, being a founding member of the International Criminal Court, the European Convention on Human Rights, and the United Nations System.

I welcome the Government's recognition of the State of Palestine on 21 September 2025 alongside our allies including France, Canada, Portugal, and Australia.

As Israel's war in Gaza continues to tear lives apart and numerous human rights organisations and international authorities warn that Israel has violated international law, I urge the Government to hold fast to the rules-based international order. I spoke on this in Parliament:

What happened on 7 October was inhumane: Hamas are terrorists and the hostages must be returned immediately and safely.

Israel is behaving insufferably and what the Israeli Government are doing is unacceptable. The International Criminal Court has indicted Israeli leaders for the war crime of starvation. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Israeli Government are guilty of violating articles of the fourth Geneva convention.

Will the Government do all that they can to support British prosecutors and our British courts to arrest war criminals and hold them to account?

I call on the Government to consider the following set of measures to support the rules-based international order.

1. Monitor and publish war crimes

International courts hold people and countries to account for war crimes through due process and evidence. But evidence can be difficult to collect in a warzone, and this is especially true in Gaza, where Israel bars entry to journalists and others.

The UK has military assets in the region, and should use these to monitor Israeli military activity, document violations, and report wrongdoing to international courts and the international community.

Justice and accountability in Gaza are impossible in the absence of transparency and evidence - the UK must do all it can to support this.

2. Support the ICC and ICJ

The UK should provide enhanced support to the International Criminal Court (ICC) and International Court of Justice (ICJ).

The UK should share intelligence with them. Both courts are investigating Israel for war crimes, a process which requires high-quality evidence, which the UK likely already holds, and has the capacity to obtain more of.

Just as vital, the UK should also provide stronger moral and diplomatic support to enable them to simply do their job. Both courts have been subject to fierce pushback, at times including threats, interference, and sanctions, including by the United States, Israel, and the previous UK Government.

International courts must be given the space to act independently without fear or favour, and the UK must be at the forefront of supporting this.

3. Total arms embargo

The UK has suspended approximately 30 arms export licences to Israel, but there are approximately 320 further licences for arms that continue to be exported to Israel.

The Government argues that these further exports are not, or could not, be used in the war in Gaza or in war crimes.

However, the nature of the arms trade means that it cannot be assured that these arms are not used in some way to aid Israel's war, and therefore to ultimately support violations of international law.

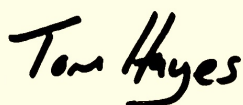
Moreover, these additional exports constitute a significant additional unutilised pressure point, which could incentivise Israel to stop harming civilians and bring the war to an end.

These exports also include essential F-35 parts - jets which have been known to bomb Gaza. According to some estimates, the UK supplies 15% of the value of every F-35 jet, and these jets simply cannot fly without UK parts.

As I urged in one of my previous letters to you, the UK could lobby the US to introduce an end-use restriction on all the parts the UK supplies, prohibiting those parts from being included in planes manufactured for Israel, or supplied as spare parts to Israel.

With over 60,000 dead, we cannot afford to leave any options on the table - we must pull all levers at our disposal to bring this catastrophic war to an end, and to stand up loudly and strongly for the rules-based international order that is essential to peace and prosperity here in the UK and across the world.

With kind regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Tom Hayes". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

Tom Hayes MP
Labour Member of Parliament for Bournemouth East