Israel’s Operation Swords of Iron Update
November 28, 2023

JINSA’s Israel at War webpage is a dedicated resource for analysis, commentary, webinars, and media coverage about the 10/7 attacks and the ensuing Israel-Hamas conflict. Yesterday, JINSA hosted a webinar with President and CEO Michael Makovsky, Editorial Board Member and Opinion Columnist at The Wall Street Journal Joseph Sternberg, and former president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews Jonathan Arkush to discuss Britain’s reactions to the Israel-Hamas war. An update with the latest information and analysis about the war is below.

Analysis

- During yesterday’s JINSA webinar on the British response to the Israel-Hamas war, Opinion Columnist at The Wall Street Journal Joseph Sternberg claimed that “the UK has ended up following the path that you’ve seen in other countries, which was characterized by initial support for Israel … followed by this steady watering down of this approach.”
  - Commenting on the political composition of anti-Israel movements in the West, Jonathan Arkush said, “as you’re seeing in the United States … you’ve got this far-left alliance with Islamists. Now, it’s an extremely bizarre alliance because pretty much everything that the far-left stands for is not allowed in any Islamic country.”

- By releasing women and children held hostage in Gaza in exchange for fighting pauses and the release of Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli jails, Hamas has forced Israel to choose between securing the safety of the most vulnerable hostages and maintaining its operational momentum against the terror group, underscoring why hostage-taking is a preferred and routine Hamas strategy.

- Hamas’s apparent violation of the temporary ceasefire by targeting Israeli troops with explosives and gunfire highlights the terror group’s desire to exploit the interruption in Israel’s military successes to gain operational advantage, as well as its disregard for the terms of any ceasefire deals and the law of armed conflict (LOAC).
  - Hamas also may cast blame for the attacks on another group or lone wolf actors in order to avoid accusations that it violated the ceasefire, allowing the group to continue reaping operational benefits from the pause or any prospective extensions of it.
  - Additionally, Hamas may be trying to goad Israel into a military response to the attacks in order to generate international criticism against Israel for ostensible violations of the ceasefire, despite Hamas having broken the ceasefire first.
After briefly pausing an escalation of naval harassment and attacks that began in the spring, Iran-linked groups have resumed targeting commercial ships and even launching direct attacks on U.S. naval vessels.

The two ballistic missiles that targeted the USS Mason in the Red Sea yesterday were likely the third Iran-backed attack against maritime targets in November and could signal the Iranian regime is seeking to exert alternative means of pressuring the United States and Israel amid the ceasefire with Gaza.

Last 24 Hours

Humanitarian Efforts

During the fourth round of swaps on the evening of November 27, Hamas released 11 Israeli hostages and Israel released 33 Palestinians from Israeli prisons.

All of the hostages that Hamas released were abducted from kibbutz Nir Oz on October 7, including members of the Cunio family Sharon Aloni Cunio, 34, Emma Cunio, 3, and Yuli Cunio, age 3; members of the Engel family Karina Engel-Bart, 51, Mika Engel, 18, and Yuval Engel, 11; members of the Calderon family Sahar Calderon, 16, and Erez Calderon, 12; members of the Yaakov family Or Yaakov, 16, and Yagil Yaakov, 13; and Eitan Yahalomi, 12.

The fathers of each family—David Cunio, Ronen Engel, Ofer Calderon, Yair Yaakov, and Ohad Yahalomi—are still being held hostage in Gaza.

No Americans were released in the tranche of hostages released on November 27.

The Palestinian prisoners that Israel released included 30 minors and three women, according to the Qatari foreign ministry.

On November 27, White House National Security Council spokesperson John Kirby said that an additional 20 Israeli women and children will be released during the two-day truce extension.

The forthcoming release of 20 hostages extends the truce by two days because Israel previously agreed to extend it by one day for every 10 hostages that Hamas releases.
According to Kirby, the delay in the planned November 27 hostage release was spurred by Hamas’s desire to release several children without their mothers.

Kirby said further that the United States would “hope to see the pause extended further,” contingent on Hamas releasing more hostages.

He reiterated that 200 aid trucks entered Gaza for the third consecutive day, totaling more than 2,000 since the Rafah crossing with Egypt opened on October 21.

U.S. President Joe Biden said in a statement on November 27 that he remains “deeply engaged” in continued hostage negotiations and that “the humanitarian pause has also enabled a significant surge in additional humanitarian assistance to the innocent civilians who are suffering across the Gaza Strip.”

Biden added, “the United States has led the humanitarian response into Gaza—building on years of work as the largest funder of humanitarian assistance for the Palestinian people. We are taking full advantage of the pause in fighting to increase the amount of humanitarian aid moving into Gaza, and we will continue our efforts to build a future of peace and dignity for the Palestinian people.”

Israel’s Sheba Medical Center said on November 27 that it released former hostages 18-year-old Noga Weiss and her 53-year-old mother Shiri Weiss from the Edmond and Lily Safra Children’s Hospital, as well as 12-year-old Noam Avigdori, her 52-year-old mother Sharon Avigdori, Shoshan Haran and her daughter Adi Shoham, Shoham’s 8-year-old son Naveh, and 3-year-old daughter Yahel.

Hamas abducted each of them from Be’eri on October 7, including 9-year-old Emily Hand, who was also released from the hospital following her release from Gaza.

The daughter of 84-year-old Elma Avraham, who was released from Hamas captivity on November 26 and is currently in critical condition, said that the International Red Cross neglected her mother upon her release and refused to bring her essential medications.

On November 28, the Hamas-run Health Ministry in Gaza said that Shifa Hospital’s dialysis unit is reopened and treating patients. This follows Shifa’s earlier inability to accept patients amid the Israel-Hamas war.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), Shifa has 180 patients, including 22 on dialysis, and seven workers.

AFP reported on November 28, citing senior U.S. officials, that the United States is sending three military aircraft with humanitarian aid for Gaza to Egypt.

According to the report, the items include medical supplies, food, and items to prepare for cold winter weather, and will be taken into Gaza and dispersed by the United Nations.

Two further planeloads of U.S. humanitarian aid will arrive in the coming days, according to the report.

As of November 28, the Red Cross had not yet visited hostages in Gaza despite U.S. and Israeli insistence that the truce requires it.

The Red Cross has not confirmed that it is aware of these terms but said it is willing to do so if both sides consent. Hamas has not confirmed that it agreed to facilitate Red Cross visits to the hostages.
Attacks Against Israel

- At least **10,500** rockets, mortars, drones, and other projectiles have been fired from Gaza during the war.
  - There has not been rocket fire from Gaza since the night of November 24 and there were no recorded attacks from Lebanon or Syria over the last 24 hours.
- However, the IDF **said** on November 28 that three explosive devices detonated near Israeli forces in two locations in northern Gaza, violating the terms of the truce.
  - In one incident, assailants fired gunfire toward IDF troops, and troops returned fire. Several soldiers were lightly injured, and the IDF said that its soldiers were within the established ceasefire lines.

IDF Operations

- Other than the IDF returning fire against Hamas’s apparent ceasefire violations on November 28, there were no recorded IDF operations in Gaza, Lebanon, or Syria over the last 24 hours, as Israeli forces maintained their positions on the ground in Gaza.
- The IDF **conducted** overnight raids in the West Bank in the cities of Tubas and Hebron and the town of Dheisheh, arresting 13 terrorists.
  - During the operation, suspects threw rocks and Molotov cocktails, and one attempted to fire a shoulder-fired missile, requiring the IDF to respond with gunfire. At least three people were struck by the gunfire and are in unknown condition, though unverified Palestinian media reports indicated that all three were **killed**.
  - The IDF demolished the house of terrorist Daoud Faiz in the city of Ramallah during the operations. Faiz killed an Israeli soldier near the Israeli city of Modi’in in an August car ramming attack.
  - The IDF also confiscated incendiary materials, M-16 rifles, knives, and other weaponry during the raids.
Casualties and Hostages

- Over 1,200 people in Israel have been killed, and another 6,900 have been injured in the war.
  - 392 Israeli soldiers have been killed.
  - 77 IDF soldiers have been killed during ground combat in Gaza so far.
  - Numerous foreign nationals have been killed in the war, including at least 31 American nationals, 34 Thai nationals, 39 French nationals, 19 Russian nationals, 12 British nationals, 10 Nepalese nationals, 9 Argentinian nationals, 6 Canadian nationals, 4 Philippines nationals, 4 Austrian nationals, 4 Romanian nationals, 4 Portuguese nationals, 4 Chinese nationals, 3 Brazilian nationals, 3 Belarusian nationals, 3 Italian nationals, 3 Peruvian nationals, a Cambodian national, an Irish national, a Spanish national, an Australian national, an Azeri national, a Honduran national, a Swiss national, and a Turkish national.
- According to unverified figures from the Hamas-controlled Gaza Health Ministry, 14,854 people have been killed in Gaza, and approximately 36,000 have been injured during the war.
  - On October 25, President Biden cautioned against trusting Gaza Health Ministry casualty figures, stating: “I have no notion that the Palestinians are telling the truth about how many people are killed ... I have no confidence in the number that the Palestinians are using.”
- According to the Palestinian Authority-run Palestinian Ministry of Health, 241 people have been killed, and an additional 2,850 have been wounded in the West Bank.
- The IDF claims that it has killed at least 1,500 infiltrators from Gaza since the start of the war.
- According to the IDF, terrorists in Gaza currently hold 173 individuals as hostages.
  - So far, 69 hostages in Gaza have been released, one has been rescued by the IDF, and four have been found dead.
  - Many of the hostages have foreign nationalities, including at least 10 American nationals, 6 German nationals, 15 Thai nationals, 4 Portuguese nationals, 3 British nationals, 2 Italian nationals, 4 Romanian nationals, and 2 Mexican nationals.
  - Thus far, 17 Thai nationals, 6 Argentinian nationals, 3 French nationals, 2 German nationals, 1 Russian national, 1 Filipino national, and 1 American national have been released.
- Hamas’s leader in Gaza, Yahya Sinwar, visited several of the Israeli hostages held by Hamas in an underground tunnel while they were in captivity, according to a November 27 report from Israel’s Channel 12 that Israeli officials confirmed.
  - Sinwar reportedly told the hostages that they were safe with Hamas and did not need to fear. Sinwar’s brother, senior Hamas operative Mahmoud Sinwar, also reportedly met with hostages.
Iranian Involvement and Response

- During On November 27, two ballistic missiles were launched at the USS Mason from Houthi-controlled territories in Yemen, landing roughly ten miles from the ship, according to a U.S. Central Command statement.
  - The USS Mason had been responding to a distress call from the Israel-linked tanker Central Park after attackers, who the Pentagon initially assessed to be Somali and not the Houthis, seized it.
- Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi will not travel to Turkey on November 28, according to Turkey’s official state media, despite the visit previously having been announced earlier this month by Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

U.S. and International Response

- According to November 28 reports, Mossad head David Barnea is in the Qatari capital, Doha—his third trip to Qatar since the war began—to meet with CIA director Bill Burns and Qatari officials. Barnea previously hosted Qatari officials in Israel.
  - The discussions will focus on facilitating the forthcoming release of 20 additional hostages and possibly extending the length of the temporary truce to secure the release of more hostages, particularly all women and children.
  - Barnea also seeks to set the stage for future deals to secure the release of men and possibly soldiers held hostage in Gaza.
- In response to a reporter’s question about whether the United States would consider conditioning aid to Israel on its operations in Gaza, White House National Security Council spokesperson John Kirby echoed President Biden’s statements on November 25 that the prospect of doing so is a “worthwhile thought.”
- Reuters reported on November 27, citing a senior State Department official, that Secretary of State Antony Blinken will visit Israel, the West Bank, and the United Arab Emirates this week.
  - According to the official, Blinken “will stress the need to sustain the increased flow of humanitarian assistance to Gaza, secure the release of all hostages and improve protections for civilians in Gaza” during his visits.
- Pentagon spokesperson Brig. Gen. Pat Ryder told reporters on November 27 that though the United States does not believe the war will become a regional conflict, Ryder cautioned that “tensions are high, and it’s something that we’re taking seriously and attempting to ensure does not happen.”
- A group of at least 10 Senators—including Sens. Richard Blumenthal (D-CT), Brian Schatz (D-HI), Chris Van Hollen (D-MD), Tammy Duckworth (D-IL), and Bernie Sanders (I-VT)—met with senior IDF officials in Washington for nearly two hours on November 27 to discuss the war.
  - Senator Schatz described the meeting as “extremely frank” and added, “we just want to be assured that they are abiding by American values as they try to dismantle Hamas, and we all conveyed that collectively and clearly. I do believe they heard us, but obviously we have a long way to go.”
  - The meeting, which was organized by Senator Duckworth, reportedly included discussions of humanitarian issues and civilian casualties in the Gaza Strip.
Foreign ministers from 42 European and Middle Eastern countries met in Barcelona, Spain, on November 27 to discuss the war, and the attendees reportedly agreed on the necessity of a two-state solution.

» The meeting was chaired by the EU’s foreign policy chief, Josep Borrell, and Jordanian Foreign Minister Ayman Safadi.

» Lebanese Foreign Minister Abdullah Bou Habib told reporters after the meeting, “I’m glad that the Europeans are interested in solving the problem of problem that is 75 years old. And they all agreed that Israel should not stay in the Gaza Strip, and that it and the West Bank are one and should continue to be one.”

Responding to alleged Israeli airstrikes on Syrian sites on November 26, a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesperson said in a November 27 statement that Israel’s “irresponsible actions” endanger the lives of “innocent people” in Syria, adding, “we are convinced that such a vicious practice is fraught with extremely dangerous consequences, especially in the context of a sharp aggravation of the situation in the zone of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the resulting increase in regional tension.”

Rising Antisemitism and Protests

» While meeting with X owner Elon Musk in Israel on November 27, Israeli President Isaac Herzog stated that Musk has “a huge role to play” in combating antisemitism, adding that “we need to fight [antisemitism] together, because under the platforms you lead, unfortunately, there is a harboring of a lot of old hate which is Jew hate, which is antisemitism.”

» On November 27, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at a Jewish community center in Montreal, Canada. No one was present at the time of the attack.

» On November 27, the city council of Oakland, California, passed a resolution supporting a congressional resolution calling for a permanent ceasefire and the unrestricted entry of humanitarian assistance into Gaza. The city council rejected an amendment that condemned killings and hostage-taking by Hamas on October 7.

» On November 27, Rep. David Valadao’s (CA-22) office in Hanford, California, was vandalized by anti-Israel protesters, who plastered posters that said, “Murdered by Israel,” and splattered fake blood on the building.

» On November 27, ‘Sex and the City’ star Cynthia Nixon joined activists outside of the White House who said they are going on a hunger strike to support Gaza.

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» Webinar: Britain’s Reaction to Israel-Hamas War, with JINSA President and CEO Michael Makovsky, Editorial Board Member and Opinion Columnist at The Wall Street Journal Joseph Sternberg, and former president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews Jonathan Arkush, November 27, 2023


» Ari Cicurel, First U.S. Strikes in Iraq Amid Iran-backed Escalation, November 22, 2023

» Zac Schildcrout, U.S. Iran Policy Unchanged Despite Iranian Involvement in 10/7, November 21, 2023
• Gabriel Noronha, *United States Permits Iran to Receive Billions in Iraqi Payments*, November 21, 2023

• Webinar: *War Update*, with JINSA Vice President for Policy Blaise Misztal, JINSA Distinguished Fellow IDF Major General (ret.) Yaakov Amidror, and JINSA Senior Vice President for Israeli Affairs IDF Major General (ret.) Yaacov Ayish, November 20, 2023

• Jacob Olidort and Yoni Tobin, *Israeli Precautions Save Palestinian Lives*, November 16, 2023

• Sander Gerber and Ezra Gontownik, “*The Palestinian Authority cannot govern Gaza*,” *Jerusalem Post*, November 13, 2023

• Ari Cicurel, *Iranian Regime Continues Escalation, Despite Limited U.S. Strikes*, November 9, 2023

• Webinar: *Hamas’s Assault and the Antisemitic Aftermath*, with Michael Makovsky, JINSA President and CEO, and Natan Sharansky, Chairman of The Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy and Former Deputy Prime Minister of Israel, November 8, 2023

• Michael Makovsky, “*Biden’s Iran policy needs to match post-10/7 realities*,” *The Hill*, November 7, 2023

• Webinar: *Hezbollah’s Escalation Dilemma*, with John Hannah, JINSA’s Randi & Charles Wax Senior Fellow; Hanin Ghaddar, Friedmann Senior Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy; IDF Lieutenant Colonel (Res.) Sarit Zehavi, founder and president of Alma; and Orna Mizrahi, senior researcher at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), November 7, 2023

• Yoni Tobin, *U.S. Aid to Gaza Almost Certain to End Up in Hamas Hands*, November 6, 2023

• Thomas Trask and Jacob Olidort, “*The Case for Upgrading Israel’s ‘Major Non-NATO Ally’ Status*,” *RealClearDefense*, November 6, 2023

• Yaakov Amidror, “*Initial Lessons From the October 2023 War*,” *Jerusalem Strategic Tribune*, November 1, 2023