

Israel's Violations of International Humanitarian Law

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[Initial work by Yanis Varoufakis \(former Finance Minister of Greece\) covers 7-14 October 2023.](#) This document is a revision and extension of his work. It is not an exhaustive list. Except where explicitly stated otherwise, all events cited herein occurred during the ongoing 2023 Israel-Hamas war that began on October 7.

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Introduction

"We did what we could. Remember us."

– The words of Dr. Mahmoud Abu Nujaila, written on a Gaza hospital white board; he was killed in an Israeli hospital strike (4 December 2023).

On 7 October 2023, Hamas launched an attack on Israel that resulted in the death of over 1,200 Israelis, of whom 800 were civilians, and the taking of 240 hostages. The attack was widely condemned. In the wake of this attack, Israel has been conducting a severe and indiscriminate bombardment of Gaza. The Gaza Strip is a narrow piece of land approximately 365 square kilometers and one of the most densely populated places in the world, home to about 2.3 million people, almost half of them children. As of 20 January 2024, the Palestinian death toll since 7 October 2023 is estimated at 24,900, about 70% of whom are women and children. During this extensive assault, Israel has consistently committed several war crimes and violations of international law. Alongside the death and destruction inflicted on Gaza, Israel has also imposed a brutal blockade of the Gaza Strip that prevents essential food, water, medicine, fuel, shelter, and other humanitarian imports from entering. Moreover, there is substantial evidence demonstrating the Israeli government's genocidal intent, corroborated by Israel's militaristic onslaught against the Palestinian people.

This document is a thorough, albeit non-exhaustive, compendium of Israel's violations of international law during the ongoing 2023 Israel-Hamas war, citing reputable journalistic sources and international organizations for evidence of these crimes. While the focus is mainly on Gaza, it includes crimes committed by Israel in the West Bank and Lebanon (330 and 25 civilians killed, respectively). The document's primary purpose is to serve as a ledger of Israel's crimes against the Palestinian people, and of the horrific and unacceptable suffering endured by the Palestinians. Furthermore, it is intended to educate people on the reality of the situation, with a focus on facts as opposed to speculation.

With the exception of a few salient instances, the events cited herein occurred between 7 October 2023 and 20 January 2024. However, it is important to note that the crisis did not begin on October 7, with Gaza being under a brutal and illegal siege since 2007, and undergoing periodic massacres (such as "Operation Cast Lead" and "Operation Protective Edge"), with almost 70% of the Gazan population being refugees or descendants of refugees from the 1948 ethnic cleansing of Palestinians (known as the Nakba). In enumerating the crimes committed by Israel, this document cites specific articles of the following international legal frameworks:

- The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court
- Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions
- The Fourth Geneva Convention
- Protocol III of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons

May this ledger of crimes echo the call for an international legal and humanitarian response, preserve the truth of Gaza's martyrdom, and invoke the lessons of "never again".

Violations of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court

1. Genocide (Article 6)

Genocidal intent: "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group"

- Israeli MP declares that Israel should "erase Gaza from the face of the Earth".
 - *Common Dreams*, ["Israeli MP Says It Clearly for World to Hear: 'Erase All of Gaza From the Face of the Earth'", 1 November 2023.](#)
- Israeli President Isaac Herzog holds all Palestinians responsible for the October 7 attack by Hamas, declaring war against all Palestinians: "It is an entire nation out there that is responsible. It is not true this rhetoric about civilians [being] not aware, not involved. It's absolutely not true. We are in a state of war against them."
 - *Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor*, ["Scholars' consensus: Genocide in Gaza marks turning point, Israel must be held accountable", 3 November 2023.](#)
 - *NBC News*, ["'Everybody is scared': As Gaza faces threat of ground invasion, tensions run high in Israel", 13 October 2023.](#)
- Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu promised to turn Gaza into a "deserted island".
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Fears of a ground invasion of Gaza grow as Israel vows 'mighty vengeance'", 7 October 2023.](#)
- Israeli Defense Minister Yoav Gallant grimly threatens that Gaza will "never go back to what it was", declaring to his troops that he has "released all restraints", a statement suggesting a broad and extreme assault on the Palestinian population.
 - *The Times of Israel*, ["Gallant: Israel moving to full offense, Gaza will never go back to what it once was", 10 October 2023.](#)
- Israeli Defense Minister Yoav Gallant stated, "I have ordered a complete siege on the Gaza Strip. There will be no electricity, no food, no fuel, everything is closed", a decision that knowingly endangers the lives of the entire civilian population of Gaza.
 - *The Times of Israel*, ["Defense minister announces 'complete siege' of Gaza: No power, food or fuel", 9 October 2023.](#)
- Israeli Defense Minister Yoav Gallant's statement "We are fighting human animals and we are acting accordingly" uses dehumanizing language that historically has been used

to justify extreme measures against an entire group.

- *The Times of Israel*, ["Defense minister announces 'complete siege' of Gaza: No power, food or fuel", 9 October 2023.](#)
- **Netanyahu, addressing the Knesset, said "You must remember what Amalek has done to you, says our Holy Bible — we do remember" (translated from Hebrew), referencing the first Book of Samuel in which the prophet Samuel tells King Saul "I will punish the Amalekites for what they did to Israel... Now go, attack the Amalekites and totally destroy all that belongs to them. Do not spare them; put to death men and women, children and infants, cattle and sheep, camels and donkeys" (1 Samuel 15:2-3). This invocation of the violent biblical passage is a rhetorical endorsement to kill all, including women and children, an act that implies a genocidal intent.**
 - *The New York Times*, ["'Erase Gaza': War Unleashes Incendiary Rhetoric in Israel", 15 November 2023.](#)
 - *NPR*, ["Netanyahu's references to violent biblical passages raise alarm among critics", 7 November 2023.](#)
- **Giora Eiland, former head of the Israeli National Security Council, wrote: "The state of Israel has no choice but to turn Gaza into a place that is temporarily or permanently impossible to live in... Creating a severe humanitarian crisis in Gaza is a necessary means to achieve the goal... Gaza will become a place where no human being can exist" (translated from Hebrew).**
 - *Ynet*, ["This is not revenge. It's either us or them" \(translated from Hebrew\), 10 October 2023.](#)
 - *Vox*, ["Palestinians fear they're being displaced permanently. Here's why that's logical.", 27 October 2023.](#)
 - *The Guardian*, ["Widespread destruction in Gaza puts concept of 'domicide' in focus", 7 December 2023.](#)
- **Dryor Edan, former Israeli ambassador to Italy, stated: "For us, there is a purpose: to destroy Gaza, to destroy the absolute evil"**
 - *The New Arab*, ["Israeli diplomat, politician call for 'complete destruction of Gaza' in live television rants", 27 October 2023.](#)
 - *Middle East Eye*, ["Former Israeli ambassador to Italy: 'The purpose is to destroy Gaza'" \(YouTube\), 30 October 2023.](#)
- **Dan Gillerman, former Israeli ambassador to the UN, said "I'm very puzzled by the constant concern, which the world and also Britain is showing for the Palestinian people and is actually showing for these horrible inhuman animals who have done the worst atrocities that this century has seen."**
 - *Middle East Eye*, ["Another senior Israeli calls Palestinians 'inhuman animals'", 26 October 2023.](#)
 - *Al Arabiya*, ["Former Israeli ambassador to UN calls Palestinians 'horrible, inhuman animals'", 26 October 2023.](#)

- **Nissim Vaturi, a member of the Israeli parliament for the ruling Likud party, called for "erasing the Gaza Strip from the face of the earth" (translated from Hebrew).**
 - *The Guardian*, ["Israel must stop weaponising the Holocaust", 24 October 2023.](#)
 - Nissim Vaturi on X (formerly Twitter), ["... Now we all have one common goal - erasing the Gaza Strip from the face of the earth...", 7 October 2023.](#)
- **Ariel Kallner, a member of parliament from Netanyahu's Likud party, wrote on social media after the Hamas attack: "Right now, one goal: Nakba! A Nakba that will overshadow the Nakba of 48. Nakba in Gaza and Nakba to anyone who dares to join!"**
 - [Screenshot of Ariel Kallner's Tweet on X \(formerly Twitter\), 17 October 2023.](#)
 - *AP News*, ["In Israel's call for mass evacuation, Palestinians hear echoes of their original catastrophic exodus", 13 October 2023.](#)
- **Israel's Minister of National Security Itamar Ben-Gvir said, "When we say that Hamas should be destroyed, it also means those who celebrate, those who support, and those who hand out candy — they're all terrorists, and they should also be destroyed", clearly targeting the broader population.**
 - *Middle East Monitor*, ["Anyone who supports Hamas should be eliminated: Israeli minister", 12 November 2023.](#)
 - *The Times of Israel*, ["'We should be worried': Israel faces peril at The Hague in Gaza 'genocide' case", 10 January 2024.](#)
- **Israel's Minister of Energy Israel Katz (now Minister of Foreign Affairs) declared "All the civilian population in Gaza is ordered to leave immediately. We will win. They will not receive a drop of water or a single battery until they leave the world." Such a decision collectively threatens the lives of the entire civilian population of Gaza.**
 - *The Guardian*, ["The brutality and inhumanity of Israel's assault on Gaza is no surprise. It's just what was promised", 13 January 2024.](#)
 - Israel Katz on X (formerly Twitter), ["... All the civilian population in gaza is ordered to leave immediately. We will win. They will not receive a drop of water or a single battery until they leave the world", 13 October 2023.](#)
- **Israel's Minister of Heritage Amichai Eliyahu suggested that dropping a nuclear bomb on Gaza is an option, and stated that "there is no such thing as uninvolved civilians in Gaza." This rhetoric reflects a disturbingly aggressive stance towards the Gazan people as a whole. Despite being suspended for his remarks about using nuclear bombs, as a government official, his statements raise grave concerns about genocidal sentiments within the Israeli government.**
 - *The Times of Israel*, ["Far-right minister says nuking Gaza an option, PM suspends him from cabinet meetings", 5 November 2023.](#)

- *Al Jazeera*, ["Genocide in Gaza: A call to urgent global action", 12 November 2023.](#)
- **Israel's Minister of Heritage Amichai Eliyahu on Facebook: "The north of the Gaza Strip, more beautiful than ever. Blow up and flatten everything, delightful. After we are done, we allocate the lands of Gaza to the soldiers fighting and the settlers who lived in Gush Katif [an Israeli settlement]" (translated from Hebrew).**
 - Amichai Eliyahu on Facebook, ["The north of the Gaza Strip, more beautiful than ever" \(translated from Hebrew\), 1 November 2023.](#)
 - [Screenshot of Eliyahu's Facebook post, on X \(formerly Twitter\), 2 November 2023.](#)
 - *Morocco World News*, ["'More Beautiful Than Ever': Israeli Minister Delights in Gaza Genocide", 3 November 2023.](#)
- **Israel's Agriculture Minister Avi Dichter stated "We are now rolling out the Gaza Nakba". When pressed on his use of the word 'Nakba' to describe the IDF operation in Gaza, he reaffirmed: "Gaza Nakba 2023. That's how it'll end." (The Nakba refers to the 1948 ethnic cleansing of Palestinians.)**
 - *NBC News*, ["'Nakba 2023': Israel right-wing ministers' comments add fuel to Palestinian fears", 13 November 2023.](#)
 - *Haaretz*, ["'We're Rolling Out Nakba 2023,' Israeli Minister Says on Northern Gaza Strip Evacuation", 12 November 2023.](#)
 - *Middle East Eye*, ["Israeli minister admits of 'a Nakba of Gaza" \(YouTube\), 11 November 2023.](#)
- **Israel's Minister of Finance Bezalel Smotrich stated, "We need to deal a blow that hasn't been seen in 50 years and take down Gaza", targeting Gaza as a whole rather than Hamas.**
 - *AP News*, ["Israeli hostage crisis in Hamas-ruled Gaza becomes a political trap for Netanyahu", 8 October 2023.](#)
- **IDF company commander tells his subordinates "We did in Beit Hanoun what Simeon and Levi did in Shechem", and says the same should be done in all of Gaza. In the Bible, Simeon and Levi killed every man in Shechem (located in modern-day Nablus) in retribution for the rape of their sister Dinah. Then their brothers took the city's women and children captive, looted the city, and seized all their wealth (Genesis 34:25-29).**
 - *Middle East Monitor*, ["Israeli commander says Israel must do to Gaza what biblical Simeon and Levi did in Nablus", 20 December 2023.](#)
 - B.M. on X (formerly Twitter), ["IDF company commander tells his subordinates "We did in Beit Hanoun what Simeon & Levi did in Nablus". Says same should be done in all of Gaza", 19 December 2023.](#)
- **Israeli lawmaker Moshe Saada from Netanyahu's Likud party said, "in the kibbutzim they say, 'destroy them.' My friends at the prosecutor's office, who fought with me on political matters, in debates, tell me, 'Moshe, it is clear that all the Gazans need to be**

destroyed,' and these are statements I have never heard." He claims this proves that the right-wing was correct "all along" on the Palestinian issue.

- *Haaretz*, ["It's Clear to Everyone Gazans Must Be Destroyed, Israeli Lawmaker Says"](#), 3 January 2024.
- **UN experts cite "genocidal and dehumanising" rhetoric coming from the Israeli government.**
 - *United Nations*, ["Gaza: UN experts call on international community to prevent genocide against the Palestinian people"](#), 16 November 2023.

Article 6(a): "Killing members of the group"

- **As of 20 January 2024, Israeli forces have killed over 24,900 Palestinians in Gaza, most of whom are women and children (9,600 children and 6,750 women).**
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Israel-Gaza war in maps and charts: Live tracker"](#), 9 October 2023 (page regularly updated).
- **Between 7 October and 15 December 2023, Israeli forces had killed at least 18,000 Palestinians in Gaza, most of whom are women and children (7,700 children and 5,100 women).**
 - *United Nations OCHA*, ["Hostilities in the Gaza Strip and Israel - reported impact | Day 69"](#), 14 December 2023.
 - *CBC*, ["With its health infrastructure devastated and Israel's offensive widening, Gaza is losing track of its dead"](#), 15 December 2023.
 - *CNN*, ["Israeli soldier killed in Gaza combat, military says"](#), 15 December 2023.
 - *Reuters*, ["About 18,000 Palestinians killed in Israeli attacks on Gaza since october 7 - Gaza health ministry"](#), 10 December 2023.
- **Israeli forces inflict excessive child casualties by any humanitarian metric.**
 - *Defense for Children International - Palestine*, ["Year-in-review: Israeli forces carry out genocide against Palestinian children"](#), 14 December 2023.

Article 6(b): "Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group"

- **Kidnapping, stripping, beating, torturing, and humiliating of Palestinian civilians (non-combatants) detained without cause nor trial.**
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Israel/OPT: Horrifying cases of torture and degrading treatment of Palestinian detainees amid spike in arbitrary arrests"](#), 8 November 2023.
 - *BBC*, ["Gaza: Video appears to show Palestinian men stripped and detained by IDF"](#), 8 December 2023.
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Palestinians detained by Israel in Gaza blindfolded, stripped to underwear"](#), 8 December 2023.
 - *CNN*, ["Images from Gaza show Israeli soldiers detaining dozens of men stripped to underwear"](#), 8 December 2023.

- *Yahoo! News*, ["Dozens of Palestinian men stripped and detained by Israeli military inside Gaza", 8 December 2023.](#)

Article 6(c): "Deliberately inflicting on a group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part"

- **Imposition of a complete siege of the Gaza Strip, totally depriving Gazans of electricity, food, and fuel, and tightening even more the existing 16-year-old blockade thereof.**
 - *Sky News*, ["Israel imposes 'complete siege' of Gaza Strip and calls up 300,000 troops", 9 October 2023.](#)
 - *The Intercept*, ["Israel responds to Hamas Crimes by ordering mass war crimes in Gaza", 9 October 2023.](#)
 - *The Times of Israel*, ["Defense minister announces 'complete siege' of Gaza: No power, food or fuel", 9 October 2023.](#)
 - Tom Dannenbaum (legal scholar) on X (formerly Twitter), ["Gallant is ordering a massive war crime \(ICC 8\(2\)\(b\)\(xxv\)\)...", 9 October 2023.](#)
- **Israeli government shut off the pipes that supply Gaza with water. More than 96% of the water supply in Gaza is "unfit for human consumption." Most desalination facilities have been shut down due to the electricity cutoff, leaving about 600,000 people without clean water.**
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israeli Authorities' Cutting of Water Leading to Public Health Crisis in Gaza", 16 November 2023.](#)
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israel: Unlawful Gaza Blockade Deadly for Children", 18 October 2023.](#)

2. Crimes against humanity (Article 7)

Article 7(1)(d): "Deportation or forcible transfer of population"

- **Netanyahu's request to Ron Dermer (Minister of Strategic Affairs of Israel) to draw up a plan to "thin the population in Gaza to a minimum"**
 - *Israel Hayom*, ["The Prime Minister's plan for the citizens of the Gaza Strip: the direction - out" \(translated from Hebrew\), 30 November 2023.](#)
- **Netanyahu wants to "expel the surviving residents into neighboring countries"**
 - *The Nation*, ["Biden's Bear Hug of Netanyahu Is a Disaster", 4 December 2023.](#)

Article 7(1)(g): "Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity"

- **[pre-Oct 7] The use of rape and/or sexual torture against detained Palestinian civilians, including children.**

- *Defense for Children International - Palestine*, ["Israeli interrogator sexually assaults Palestinian child detainee"](#), 10 February 2021.
- Daniel J.N. Weishut, ["Sexual torture of Palestinian men by Israeli authorities"](#), 17 December 2015.

Article 7(1)(h): "Persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender as defined in paragraph 3, or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law, in connection with any act referred to in this paragraph or any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court"

- [pre-Oct 7] Israel commits the crime of persecution against the Palestinians through measures such as imposing severe restrictions on construction and development, disconnecting communities from essential services, and facilitating or condoning violence by settlers.
 - *B'Tselem*, ["The pogroms are working - the transfer is already happening"](#), 18 September 2023.
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution"](#), 27 April 2021.

Article 7(1)(j): "The crime of apartheid"

- [pre-Oct 7] Multiple reputable human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International, B'Tselem, Human Rights Watch, and the United Nations, detail with evidence how Israel's policy, governance, and behavior amount to the crime of apartheid against the Palestinians.
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Israel's apartheid against Palestinians: a cruel system of domination and a crime against humanity"](#), 1 February 2022.
 - [Full document \(280 pages\)](#)
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution"](#), 27 April 2021.
 - *B'Tselem*, ["This is apartheid: The Israeli regime promotes and perpetuates Jewish supremacy between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River"](#), 12 January 2021.
- [pre-Oct 7] Israel's systematic segregation, denial of rights, and imposed living conditions on Palestinians in the Occupied Territories amount to the crime of apartheid.
 - *United Nations OHCHR*, ["A/78/545: Situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967"](#), 20 October 2023.

3. War crimes (Article 8)

Article 8(2)(a)(i): "Wilful killing"

- **Israel's targeting of several family homes, killing entire families including children, e.g. "In Khan Younis, an Israeli attack targeted the Abu Daqqa family house, killing eighteen members, including women and children."**
 - *Al-Haq*, "[Palestinian Organizations Call from the International Community to Stop Israel's Reprisal against Palestinian Civilians](#)", 8 October 2023.
 - *Le Monde*, "[In Gaza, entire families destroyed by Israeli bombing: 'My son, my niece and another child are still under the rubble'](#)", 12 October 2023.

Article 8(2)(a)(ii): "Torture or inhuman treatment, including biological experiments"

- **Kidnapping, stripping, beating, torturing, and humiliating of Palestinian civilians (non-combatants) detained without cause nor trial.**
 - *Amnesty International*, "[Israel/OPT: Horrifying cases of torture and degrading treatment of Palestinian detainees amid spike in arbitrary arrests](#)", 8 November 2023.
 - *BBC*, "[Gaza: Video appears to show Palestinian men stripped and detained by IDF](#)", 8 December 2023.
 - *Al Jazeera*, "[Palestinians detained by Israel in Gaza blindfolded, stripped to underwear](#)", 8 December 2023.
 - *CNN*, "[Images from Gaza show Israeli soldiers detaining dozens of men stripped to underwear](#)", 8 December 2023.
 - *Yahoo! News*, "[Dozens of Palestinian men stripped and detained by Israeli military inside Gaza](#)", 8 December 2023.
- **Severe psychological suffering inflicted on Palestinians who, every night, without electricity, fear for their lives as bombings continue**
 - *The Guardian*, "[Gaza diary: 'We survived another night. Every inch of my body aches- lack of sleep is torture'](#)", 13 October 2023.

Article 8(2)(a)(iii): "Wilfully causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or health"

- **Combined effect of the partial blockade, the total block of Gaza and the war on the mental health of children: "children who survive wars do not emerge unscathed and can pay a high price psychologically, emotionally, or behaviourally... 95 percent of children from the Gaza Strip showed symptoms of anxiety, depression and trauma."**
 - *Al Jazeera*, "[How the Israel war, blockade affect mental health of Palestinian children](#)", 12 October 2023.

Article 8(2)(a)(iv): "Extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly"

- **From 7 to 12 October 2023, "Israeli raids have destroyed thousands of housing units, and private and public properties"**

- *Al-Haq*, ["Days 5-6: Following Genocidal Statements, Israel Escalates Attacks on Gaza's Civilian Population Through Killing, Starvation and Cutting Off Vital Supplies"](#), 12 October 2023.
- **Settler violence in the West Bank against Palestinian property: "They've destroyed 3,000-plus olive trees during the crucial harvest season"**
 - *PBS*, ["Israeli settler attacks on West Bank Palestinians have escalated since Oct. 7, UN says"](#), 20 November 2023.

Article 8(2)(a)(vi): "Wilfully depriving a prisoner of war or other protected person of the rights of fair and regular trial"

- **Israeli forces use "detention without charge or trial that can be renewed indefinitely" against Palestinian civilians.**
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Israel/OPT: Horrifying cases of torture and degrading treatment of Palestinian detainees amid spike in arbitrary arrests"](#), 8 November 2023.
- **In the West Bank (where there is no war), Israeli forces have arrested over 3,000 Palestinians since 7 Oct 2023, "and a record high number were being held without charge or trial".**
 - *Reuters*, ["UN rights office 'seriously concerned' about Israel's increased arrest of Palestinians"](#), 1 December 2023.
 - *United Nations OHCHR*, ["UN Human Rights Office - OPT: Dramatic rise in detention of Palestinians across occupied West Bank"](#), 1 December 2023.

Article 8(2)(a)(vii): "Unlawful deportation or transfer or unlawful confinement"

- **Israel ordered the evacuation of "1.1 million Palestinians in Gaza" with only 24 hours' notice, "after which the Israeli military will 'continue to operate significantly in Gaza City'".**
 - *Al-Haq*, ["URGENT: Israel's Evacuation Order to 1.1 Million Palestinians in Gaza is Direct Forcible Transfer, Urgent Intervention is Needed"](#), 13 October 2023.
- **Oct 13: Over 423,000 Palestinians "forced to flee their homes in Gaza due to the continuous and heavy indiscriminate Israeli strikes".**
 - *Al-Haq*, ["URGENT: Israel's Evacuation Order to 1.1 Million Palestinians in Gaza is Direct Forcible Transfer, Urgent Intervention is Needed"](#), 13 October 2023.
- **Dec 6: "almost 1.9 million people in Gaza, or nearly 85 per cent of the population, were estimated to be internally displaced"**
 - *United Nations OCHA*, ["Hostilities in the Gaza Strip and Israel | Flash Update #61"](#), 6 December 2023.

Article 8(2)(b)(i): "Intentionally directing attacks against the civilian population as such or against individual civilians not taking direct part in hostilities"

- **Israeli forces execute civilians, including women and children, "execution-style", "point-blank", while they sheltered in Shadia Abu Ghazala School in northern Gaza.**
 - *Common Dreams*, ["Witnesses Say IDF Troops 'Executed' Women and Children in Gaza School", 13 December 2023.](#)
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Civilians sheltering inside a Gaza school killed execution-style", 13 December 2023.](#)
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Displaced people 'killed point-blank' in Gaza school" \(YouTube\), 13 December 2023.](#)
- **The targeting and killing of entire families in their homes. "There was no warning shot, no text message, nothing. All of a sudden, a bomb fell, then two"**
 - *Le Monde*, ["In Gaza, entire families destroyed by Israeli bombing: 'My son, my niece and another child are still under the rubble'", 12 October 2023.](#)
 - *Al-Haq*, ["Palestinian Organizations Call from the International Community to Stop Israel's Reprisal against Palestinian Civilians", 8 October 2023.](#)
- **Israel's expanded authorization for bombing non-military targets and the anticipated civilian casualties demonstrates intentional attacks against the civilian population; "Everything is intentional. We know exactly how much collateral damage there is in every home."**
 - *+972 Magazine*, ["A mass assassination factory': Inside Israel's calculated bombing of Gaza", 30 November 2023.](#)
- **IDF continues to direct attacks against and kill civilians in the West Bank, where there is no war and no Hamas; OCHA reports that 331 Palestinians, including 84 children, have been killed in the West Bank from 7 Oct 2023 to 10 Jan 2024, marking 2023 as the deadliest year for Palestinians since the UN began recording casualties in 2005..**
 - *UNRWA*, ["UNRWA Situation Report #63 on the situation in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem", 11 January 2024.](#)
 - *The New Arab*, ["Israeli forces kill three teenage Palestinian cousins near West Bank settlement", 13 January 2024.](#)
 - *The Guardian*, ["West Bank videos show Israeli troops killing teenager and driving over man's body", 10 January 2024.](#)
 - *AP News*, ["Video appears to show the Israeli army shot 3 Palestinians, killing 1, without provocation", 10 January 2024.](#)
 - *AP News*, ["Israeli military opens probe after videos show Israeli forces killing 2 Palestinians at close range", 15 December 2023.](#)
 - *The Times of Israel*, ["IDF opens probe of troops filmed shooting dead already-neutralized Palestinian suspect", 16 December 2023.](#)

- Reuters, ["Israeli troops kill 12 Palestinians, desecrate West Bank mosque", 15 December 2023.](#)
- **An Israeli strike on a civilian car, driving on a common civilian road from south Lebanon to Beirut, kills three girls (aged 14, 12, and 10) and their grandmother. There was apparently "no evidence of a military target in the vicinity."**
 - Human Rights Watch, ["Lebanon: Israeli Strike an Apparent War Crime", 14 November 2023.](#)
- **A Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) shelter in Gaza was struck by an Israeli tank shell, resulting in the death of a five-year-old girl and the injury of three others. Prior to the incident, MSF had notified Israeli forces that the shelter was housing MSF staff and their families.**
 - Médecins Sans Frontières, ["Gaza: MSF condemns strike on shelter that killed staff member's five-year-old daughter", 9 January 2024.](#)

Article 8(2)(b)(ii): "Intentionally directing attacks against civilian objects, that is, objects which are not military objectives"

- **"Israeli warplanes carried out dozens of airstrikes, destroying two houses in Beit Lahiya owned by the Nsair and Al-Bes families... They also targeted residential areas in Jabaliya, Al-Tawam, Al-Amoudi, and Al-Karama neighborhoods"**
 - Al-Haq, ["Days 5-6: Following Genocidal Statements, Israel Escalates Attacks on Gaza's Civilian Population Through Killing, Starvation and Cutting Off Vital Supplies", 12 October 2023.](#)
- **Israel has repeatedly attacked, sometimes completely destroying, hospitals, schools, churches, and mosques.**
 - Human Rights Watch, ["Gaza: Unlawful Israeli Hospital Strikes Worsen Health Crisis", 14 November 2023.](#)
 - Al Jazeera, ["Israeli forces close in on al-Shifa Hospital, trapping thousands", 11 November 2023.](#)
 - United Nations OHCHR, ["Gaza: UN experts decry bombing of hospitals and schools as crimes against humanity, call for prevention of genocide", 19 October 2023.](#)
 - Al Jazeera, ["Israel bombs Greek Orthodox Gaza church sheltering displaced people", 20 October 2023.](#)
 - Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor, ["In total violation of the rules of war, Israel targets dozens of mosques, churches in Gaza", 9 November 2023.](#)
 - Al Jazeera, ["Israel ramps up attacks in Gaza, striking schools, hospitals and mosques", 4 November 2023.](#)
 - CNN, ["Video shows dozens of bodies after alleged attack at UN-run school in Gaza", 19 November 2023.](#)
- **As of 8 November 2023: "Attacks by Israel on targets within Gaza have destroyed or damaged 45 percent of all housing units in the Gaza strip"**
 - United Nations OHCHR, ["Gaza: Destroying civilian housing and infrastructure is an international crime, warns UN expert", 8 November 2023.](#)

- **As of 15 December 2023: "Over 60% of Gaza's housing units reportedly destroyed or damaged; 352 education facilities reportedly damaged; 11 bakeries reportedly destroyed; 22 hospitals and 52 healthcare centres out of service; 102 ambulances damaged; 20 WASH facilities damaged; at least 3 churches and 110 mosques damaged"**
 - *United Nations OCHA*, ["Hostilities in the Gaza Strip and Israel - reported impact | Day 70", 15 December 2023.](#)
- **The excessive and extreme damage to civilian objects, and the lack of care to avoid destroying civilian objects at such a massive scale, indicates a pattern of intentionally directing attacks at civilian objects.**
 - *B'Tselem*, ["Israel is not fighting against Hamas but against civilians, implementing a criminal policy of bombings", 5 December 2023.](#)
 - *Reuters*, ["Nearly a fifth of Gaza's buildings destroyed or damaged: UN estimate", 12 December 2023.](#)
- **During an Israeli raid in the occupied West Bank city of Jenin, Israeli bulldozers leveled the streets "with armoured bulldozers for several days – during daylight hours and through the night."**
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Palestinians flee as Israel raids Jenin camp in occupied West Bank", 11 November 2023.](#)

Article 8(2)(b)(iii): "Intentionally directing attacks against personnel, installations, material, units or vehicles involved in a humanitarian assistance or peacekeeping mission in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, as long as they are entitled to the protection given to civilians or civilian objects under the international law of armed conflict"

- **Numerous incidents in which Israel killed humanitarian personnel, including members of the UNRWA, even while they were not in active combat zones.**
 - *Reuters*, ["Eleven workers with UN refugee agency, five IFRC members killed in Gaza", 11 October 2023.](#)
 - *United Nations OCHA*, ["Hostilities in the Gaza Strip and Israel | Flash Update #7", 13 October 2023.](#)
 - *Reuters*, ["U.N. observes minute's silence for 101 staff killed in Gaza", 13 November 2023.](#)
- **"More than 130 UNRWA staff are confirmed killed in bombardments, most with their families; the number might rise by the time you read this... Nearly 90 UNRWA premises, including schools, have been hit or impacted by munitions, killing over 270 internally displaced people".**
 - *UNRWA*, ["Letter from UNRWA Commissioner-General Philippe Lazzarini to the UN General Assembly President Mr. Dennis Francis", 7 December 2023.](#)
- **Israel repeatedly targets the Al-Amal Hospital Compound resulting in the partial destruction of the headquarters of the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS), killing 7**

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), including a 5-day old baby, and injuring 11. The PRCs headquarters houses over 14,000 IDPs.

- *Palestinian Red Crescent Society*, ["PRCS Expresses Deep Concern over the Repeated Targeting of Al-Amal Hospital Compound by Israeli Occupation Forces, and Calls on the International Community to Provide Urgent Protection"](#), 4 January 2024.
- *IFRC*, ["Statement: IFRC condemns the attacks on Al-Amal Hospital and urges increased respect for the protective Red Crescent emblem"](#), 5 January 2024.

Article 8(2)(b)(iv): "Intentionally launching an attack in the knowledge that such attack will cause incidental loss of life or injury to civilians or damage to civilian objects or widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment which would be clearly excessive in relation to the concrete and direct overall military advantage anticipated"

- **Tremendous civilian casualties, including women and children, as Israel launched thousands of bombardments in densely populated civilian areas. At least 17,700 Palestinians killed, over 48,000 wounded (as of Dec 9).**
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Damning evidence of war crimes as Israeli attacks wipe out entire families in Gaza"](#), 20 October 2023.
 - *The Washington Post*, ["Gaza reports more than 11,100 killed. That's one out of every 200 people"](#), 13 November 2023.
 - *Reuters*, ["Death toll in Gaza from Israeli attacks rises to 17,700 - Health Ministry in Gaza"](#), 9 December 2023.
- **Most of the Palestinians killed by Israel are women and children, not combatants (as of Nov 3).**
 - *World Health Organization*, ["Women and newborns bearing the brunt of the conflict in Gaza, UN agencies warn"](#), 3 November 2023.
- **Israeli warplanes carried out dozens of airstrikes, alongside "intense shelling by field artillery and naval vessels in Gaza District, targeting residential neighborhoods", resulting in 78 Palestinians killed.**
 - *Al-Haq*, ["Days 5-6: Following Genocidal Statements, Israel Escalates Attacks on Gaza's Civilian Population Through Killing, Starvation and Cutting Off Vital Supplies"](#), 12 October 2023.

Article 8(2)(b)(vi): "Killing or wounding a combatant who, having laid down his arms or having no longer means of defence, has surrendered at discretion"

- **The Israeli hostages who were mistakenly killed by the IDF were holding up white flags, a universal sign of surrender by international law.**
 - *Haaretz*, ["Preliminary IDF Report: Hostages Killed by Soldiers Waved White Flag, One Yelled for Help in Hebrew"](#), 16 December 2023.

- *The Times of Israel*, ["Initial IDF probe: 3 hostages were shirtless, waving white flag when troops shot them"](#), 16 December 2023.
- *Al Jazeera*, ["Israeli captives mistakenly killed in Gaza held white flag, official says"](#), 16 December 2023.
- *Reuters*, ["Israeli hostages killed in Gaza were holding white flag, official says"](#), 16 December 2023.
- *The Independent*, ["Israeli hostages mistakenly killed by IDF in Gaza were holding makeshift white flag, officials say"](#), 16 December 2023.

Article 8(2)(b)(ix): "Intentionally directing attacks against buildings dedicated to religion, education, art, science or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not military objectives"

- **"The Israeli bombardment has rendered the Beit Hanoun hospital inoperative and damaged Al-Shifa hospital's neonatal unit."**
 - *France 24*, ["Gaza hospitals overwhelmed by air strikes and siege: doctors"](#), 10 October 2023.
- **Israel bombs universities in Gaza, inflicting severe destruction to the educational infrastructure.**
 - *Dawn*, ["They're coming for us all: Israel's assault on Gaza's education"](#), 7 November 2023.
 - *Jordan News*, ["Israel flattens Al Azhar University in Gaza"](#), 4 November 2023.
 - *NBC News*, ["Israel targets the Islamic University of Gaza claiming it is used by Hamas for training and arms production"](#), 11 October 2023.
 - *The Wall Street Journal*, ["Watch: Israel Strikes the Islamic University of Gaza"](#), 11 October 2023.
- **Israel has repeatedly attacked, sometimes completely destroying, hospitals, schools, churches, and mosques.**
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Gaza: Unlawful Israeli Hospital Strikes Worsen Health Crisis"](#), 14 November 2023.
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Israeli forces close in on al-Shifa Hospital, trapping thousands"](#), 11 November 2023.
 - *United Nations OHCHR*, ["Gaza: UN experts decry bombing of hospitals and schools as crimes against humanity, call for prevention of genocide"](#), 19 October 2023.
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Israel bombs Greek Orthodox Gaza church sheltering displaced people"](#), 20 October 2023.
 - *Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor*, ["In total violation of the rules of war, Israel targets dozens of mosques, churches in Gaza"](#), 9 November 2023.
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Israel ramps up attacks in Gaza, striking schools, hospitals and mosques"](#), 4 November 2023.
 - *CNN*, ["Video shows dozens of bodies after alleged attack at UN-run school in Gaza"](#), 19 November 2023.
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["UN-run school shelters in Gaza are under attack by Israeli forces"](#), 11 December 2023.
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Israeli forces blow up UNRWA school in northern Gaza"](#), 12 December 2023.

- **"Among the buildings destroyed or partially destroyed are the main Palestinian court in Gaza, known as the Justice Palace, the Palestinian Legislative Council complex, 339 education facilities and 167 places of worship, while 26 of the territory's 35 hospitals are not functioning."**
 - *The Guardian*, ["Widespread destruction in Gaza puts concept of 'domicide' in focus"](#), 7 December 2023.

Article 8(2)(b)(xii): "Declaring that no quarter will be given"

- **Israel's ambassador to the UN: "The era of reasoning with these savages is over... Now is the time to obliterate Hamas terror infrastructure, to completely erase it"**
 - *Reuters*, ["Israel UN envoy decries 'war crimes,' UN Security Council meets"](#), 8 October 2023.
- **Netanyahu: "All the places which Hamas is deployed, hiding in, and operating from... we will turn them into rubble. I say to the residents of Gaza: Leave now because we will operate forcefully everywhere" (translated from Hebrew)**
 - *Israel Hayom*, ["'Leave now': Netanyahu's warning to Gazans"](#), 8 October 2023.

Article 8(2)(b)(xxiv): "Intentionally directing attacks against buildings, material, medical units and transport, and personnel using the distinctive emblems of the Geneva Conventions in conformity with international law"

- **In multiple attacks, Israel targeted ambulances bearing the distinctive crescent emblem of the Palestine Red Crescent Society, killing patients and paramedics.**
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Gaza: Israeli Ambulance Strike Apparently Unlawful"](#), 7 November 2023.
 - *Palestinian Red Crescent Society's* statement on X (formerly Twitter), ["PRCS Statement on The Israeli Occupation Forces shelling of the Ambulance Convoy transporting the injured from the aggression on #Gaza towards Rafah crossing border on November 3rd 2023."](#), 3 November 2023.
 - *CNN*, ["4 Palestinian paramedics killed Wednesday in strikes and shelling on Gaza"](#), 11 October 2023.
- **UNRWA reported: "a school bearing blue and white UN markings being blown up by the IDF in Beit Hanoun, northern Gaza. 156 incidents impacting UNRWA premises and people inside them have been recorded since the beginning of hostilities (some with multiple incidents impacting the same location)"**
 - *UNRWA*, ["UNRWA Situation Report #52 on the situation in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem"](#), 14 December 2023.
- **On 10 January 2024 Israeli forces directly targeted a Palestinian Red Crescent Society ambulance vehicle, resulting in 6 killed, including 4 EMS crew members. The ambulance had a visible red crescent emblem, which is a protected emblem under the Geneva Conventions.**

- *Palestinian Red Crescent Society*, ["The Palestine Red Crescent Society \(PRCS\) is shocked and saddened with the killing of their 4 medical team members and 2 transported injuries in Gaza Strip", 10 January 2024.](#)
- *IFRC*, ["Statement: The IFRC condemns the killing of four members of Palestine Red Crescent Society in Gaza", 11 January 2024.](#)

Article 8(2)(b)(xxv): "Intentionally using starvation of civilians as a method of warfare by depriving them of objects indispensable to their survival, including wilfully impeding relief supplies as provided for under the Geneva Conventions"

- **Israel cuts off all food, water, and electricity to Gaza; "Imposing a total closure of the Strip amounts to a collective punishment of an unprecedented scale... All crossings between Gaza and Israel have been closed since Friday, 6 October. Since then, no people or goods have left or entered Gaza via Israel, including medical patients in need of urgent medical care unavailable in Gaza."**
 - *Al-Haq*, ["Urgent: Israel Announces Total Warfare on Gaza's Civilian Population, Employing Starvation as a Weapon", 9 October 2023.](#)
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israel: Immediately Restore Electricity, Water, Aid to Gaza", 21 October 2023.](#)
 - *Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor*, ["Israel is Waging an Extensive War of Starvation against Gaza's Civilian Population", 5 November 2023.](#)
- **Israel blocks aid from Egypt to Gaza, e.g. by bombing the Rafah crossing (the only entry point into Gaza that Israel does not control), rendering the entry point "inoperable due to the Israeli attacks", or by "[refusing] to allow fuel onto the scarce aid trucks entering via Egypt".**
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["On Egypt-Gaza border, blocked aid waits to reach Palestinians", 19 October 2023.](#)
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["'Bodies all around' as Israeli air raids hit homes in Khan Younis and Rafah", 17 October 2023.](#)
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Gaza's Blocked Relief: Israeli Government Continues to Obstruct Desperately Needed Humanitarian Aid", 30 October 2023.](#)
 - *Reuters*, ["Egypt says 'Israeli obstacles' impeding aid delivery to Gaza", 28 October 2023.](#)

Violations of [Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions](#)

1. Protection of medical units (Article 12)

[Article 12\(1\)](#): "Medical units shall be respected and protected at all times and shall not be the object of attack."

- **"Israel 'directly targeted a Palestinian Red Crescent ambulance in northern Gaza' on Wednesday, killing paramedics Khalil Al-Sharif, Yasser Al-Masri and Ahmed Dahman"**
 - CNN, ["4 Palestinian paramedics killed Wednesday in strikes and shelling on Gaza"](#), 11 October 2023.
- **Israel repeatedly attacks ambulances and medical units.**
 - Human Rights Watch, ["Gaza: Israeli Ambulance Strike Apparently Unlawful"](#), 7 November 2023.
 - Reuters, ["Israel strikes ambulance near Gaza hospital, 15 reported killed"](#), 3 November 2023.
- **Israeli forces detain and beat a paramedic.**
 - United Nations OCHA, ["Hostilities in the Gaza Strip and Israel | Flash Update #65"](#), 10 December 2023.
- **"Israeli forces shot several medical personnel in Gaza... while they were trying to reach the ministry warehouses to get medical supplies for hospitals."**
 - Al Jazeera, ["Israel-Hamas war: List of key events, day 66"](#), 11 December 2023.
- **WHO reported: "at least 521 people, including 16 medical workers, have been killed in 137 'attacks on health care' in Gaza as of November 12... as of November 10, 18 out of 36 hospitals and 46 out of 72 primary care clinics were forced to shut down. The forced closure of these facilities stems from damage caused by attacks as well as the lack of electricity and fuel."**
 - Human Rights Watch, ["Gaza: Unlawful Israeli Hospital Strikes Worsen Health Crisis"](#), 14 November 2023.
- **The Nasser Hospital Complex has been repeatedly targeted by bombings, inflicting severe damage to the building and medical infrastructure, and killing children. Tanks shelled the maternity ward.**
 - ABC News, ["12-year-old girl killed at Gaza hospital weeks after she said, 'I only want ... the war to end'"](#), 18 December 2023.
 - Al Jazeera, ["'Bloodbath': Israel continues to target Gaza hospitals and civilians"](#), 18 December 2023.
- **Israel attacks several hospitals (al-Shifa, Kamal Adwan, Nasser, al-Awda), and strips and detains medical staff for hours.**

- *Middle East Eye*, ["War on Gaza: Israel kills 26 at al-Shifa hospital as shipping giants swerve Red Sea", 18 December 2023.](#)
- **On 10 January 2024 Israeli forces directly targeted a Palestinian Red Crescent Society ambulance vehicle, resulting in 6 killed, including 4 EMS crew members. The ambulance had a visible red crescent emblem, which is a protected emblem under the Geneva Conventions.**
 - *Palestinian Red Crescent Society*, ["The Palestine Red Crescent Society \(PRCS\) is shocked and saddened with the killing of their 4 medical team members and 2 transported injuries in Gaza Strip", 10 January 2024.](#)
 - *IFRC*, ["Statement: The IFRC condemns the killing of four members of Palestine Red Crescent Society in Gaza", 11 January 2024.](#)

2. Protection of civilian medical and religious personnel (Article 15)

Article 15(4): "Civilian medical personnel shall have access to any place where their services are essential, subject to such supervisory and safety measures as the relevant Party to the conflict may deem necessary."

- **Israeli forces repeatedly block ambulances from reaching besieged hospitals and the wounded who need immediate medical treatment. According to the PRCS, there have been over 143 such incidents against them from 7 Oct 2023 to 7 Jan 2024.**
 - *Palestinian Red Crescent Society*, ["Palestine Red Crescent Society Response Report As of Saturday, October 7th 2023, 18:00 PM until Monday, January 15, 2024, 24:00 AM", 15 January 2024.](#)
 - *Middle East Eye*, ["Israel-Palestine: Israeli forces block ambulances from reaching besieged hospitals in Jenin", 14 December 2023.](#)
 - *El País*, ["Jenin, a West Bank war zone: Drones, snipers, shelling and surrounded hospitals", 3 December 2023.](#)
 - *Médecins Sans Frontières*, ["Israeli forces must stop attacks on medical care in Jenin", 9 November 2023.](#)

3. Quarter (Article 40)

Article 40: "It is prohibited to order that there shall be no survivors, to threaten an adversary therewith or to conduct hostilities on this basis."

- **Israel's ambassador to the UN: "The era of reasoning with these savages is over... Now is the time to obliterate Hamas terror infrastructure, to completely erase it"**
 - *Reuters*, ["Israel UN envoy decries 'war crimes,' UN Security Council meets", 8 October 2023.](#)

4. Safeguard of an enemy hors de combat (Article 41)

Article 41(1): "A person who is recognized or who, in the circumstances, should be recognized to be 'hors de combat' shall not be made the object of attack." (and **Article 41(1)(b)** specifies that a person is hors de combat if "he clearly expresses an intention to surrender")

- **The Israeli hostages who were mistakenly killed by the IDF were holding up white flags, a universal sign of surrender by international law.**
 - *Haaretz*, ["Preliminary IDF Report: Hostages Killed by Soldiers Waved White Flag, One Yelled for Help in Hebrew"](#), 16 December 2023.
 - *The Times of Israel*, ["Initial IDF probe: 3 hostages were shirtless, waving white flag when troops shot them"](#), 16 December 2023.
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Israeli captives mistakenly killed in Gaza held white flag, official says"](#), 16 December 2023.
 - *Reuters*, ["Israeli hostages killed in Gaza were holding white flag, official says"](#), 16 December 2023.
 - *The Independent*, ["Israeli hostages mistakenly killed by IDF in Gaza were holding makeshift white flag, officials say"](#), 16 December 2023.
- **An Israeli sniper shot dead a Palestinian woman whose grandson was holding a white flag as they attempted to flee from Gaza City along an evacuation route which had been declared safe. Video footage clearly shows that the woman was part of a group of civilians waving many white flags.**
 - *Common Dreams*, ["Video Shows IDF Allegedly Killing Palestinian Woman With Child Waving White Flag"](#), 10 January 2024.
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Shot in 'cold blood': Killing of Palestinian grandmother sparks outcry"](#), 13 January 2024.
 - *Middle East Eye*, ["Exclusive: Gaza grandmother gunned down by Israeli sniper as child waved white flag"](#), 10 January 2024.

5. Protection of the civilian population (Article 51)

Article 51(2): "The civilian population as such, as well as individual civilians, shall not be the object of attack. Acts or threats of violence the primary purpose of which is to spread terror among the civilian population are prohibited."

- **Israeli forces execute civilians, including women and children, "execution-style", "point-blank", while they sheltered in Shadia Abu Ghazala School in northern Gaza.**
 - *Common Dreams*, ["Witnesses Say IDF Troops 'Executed' Women and Children in Gaza School"](#), 13 December 2023.
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Civilians sheltering inside a Gaza school killed execution-style"](#), 13 December 2023.
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Displaced people 'killed point-blank' in Gaza school" \(YouTube\)](#), 13 December 2023.

Article 51(4): "Indiscriminate attacks are prohibited. Indiscriminate attacks are: (a) those which are not directed at a specific military objective; (b) those which employ a method or means of combat which cannot be directed at a specific military objective; or (c) those which employ a method or means of combat the effects of which cannot be limited as required by this Protocol; and consequently, in each such case, are of a nature to strike military objectives and civilians or civilian objects without distinction."

- "Israeli attacks violated international humanitarian law, including by failing to take feasible precautions to spare civilians, or by carrying out indiscriminate attacks that failed to distinguish between civilians and military objectives"
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Damning evidence of war crimes as Israeli attacks wipe out entire families in Gaza", 20 October 2023.](#)

Article 51(5)(b): "an attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated."

- Israel's methods are, beyond reasonable doubt, expected to cause excessive incidental loss of civilian life; "In Gaza, one of the world's most densely populated places, 155mm artillery shells are inherently indiscriminate."
 - *ReliefWeb*, ["Joint open letter on transfer of 155mm artillery shells to Israel", 13 November 2023.](#)

6. General protection of civilian objects (Article 52)

Article 52(1): "Civilian objects shall not be the object of attack or of reprisals. Civilian objects are all objects which are not military objectives as defined in paragraph 2."

- Israel conducts direct or indiscriminate airstrikes on civilian objects.
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Israel/OPT: US-made munitions used in two Israeli airstrikes in Gaza killed 43 civilians", 5 December 2023.](#)

Article 52(2): "Attacks shall be limited strictly to military objectives. In so far as objects are concerned, military objectives are limited to those objects which by their nature, location, purpose or use make an effective contribution to military action and whose total or partial destruction, capture or neutralization, in the circumstances ruling at the time, offers a definite military advantage."

- **Israel does not precisely target military objectives but rather seeks to damage civilian infrastructure:** "Israeli army spokesman Daniel Hagari admitted freely that the emphasis of the heavy bombardment of the besieged coastal enclave 'is on damage and not accuracy'".
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Even refugee camps aren't safe from Israeli bombs in Gaza", 17 October 2023.](#)
 - *The Guardian*, ["'We're focused on maximum damage': ground offensive into Gaza seems imminent", 10 October 2023.](#)
 - *Common Dreams*, ["Israeli Army Official Admits Gaza Bombing Campaign Is Focused on 'Damage and Not on Accuracy'", 10 October 2023.](#)

7. Protection of cultural objects and of places of worship (Article 53)

Article 53(a): "[it is prohibited] to commit any acts of hostility directed against the historic monuments, works of art or places of worship which constitute the cultural or spiritual heritage of peoples"

- **Israel bombs numerous cultural/historical heritage sites, churches, and mosques.**
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["'We were baptised here and we will die here': Gaza's oldest church bombed", 20 October 2023.](#)
 - *Reuters*, ["Orthodox church says it was hit by Israeli air strike in Gaza", 20 October 2023.](#)
 - *WYPR*, ["Israeli strike leaves Gaza's oldest mosque in ruins", 9 December 2023.](#)
 - *NPR*, ["More than 100 Gaza heritage sites have been damaged or destroyed by Israeli attacks", 3 December 2023.](#)
- **More than 100 Gazan heritage sites have been damaged or destroyed since the beginning of the conflict. "The casualties include the Great Omari Mosque, one of the most important and ancient mosques in historical Palestine; the Church of Saint Porphyrius, thought to be the third oldest church in the entire world; a 2,000-year-old Roman cemetery in northern Gaza excavated only last year; and the Rafah Museum"**
 - *NPR*, ["More than 100 Gaza heritage sites have been damaged or destroyed by Israeli attacks", 3 December 2023.](#)
 - *Heritage for Peace*, ["Report on the Impact of the Recent War in 2023 on the Cultural Heritage in Gaza Strip - Palestine", 7 November 2023.](#)

8. Protection of objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population (Article 54)

Article 54(1): "Starvation of civilians as a method of warfare is prohibited"

- **"Israeli officials have made public statements expressing their aim to deprive civilians in Gaza of food, water, and fuel", and have acted on these statements by indeed cutting off food, water, and fuel to Gaza, resulting in a food crisis for the Palestinian civilian population.**
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israel: Starvation Used as Weapon of War in Gaza", 18 December 2023.](#)

Article 54(2): "It is prohibited to attack, destroy, remove or render useless objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population, such as foodstuffs, agricultural areas for the production of foodstuffs, crops, livestock, drinking water installations and supplies and irrigation works, for the specific purpose of denying them for their sustenance value to the civilian population or to the adverse Party, whatever the motive, whether in order to starve out civilians, to cause them to move away, or for any other motive."

- **"Israeli forces are deliberately blocking the delivery of water, food, and fuel, while willfully impeding humanitarian assistance, apparently razing agricultural areas, and depriving the civilian population of objects indispensable to their survival."**
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israel: Starvation Used as Weapon of War in Gaza", 18 December 2023.](#)
- **Since October 7, Israeli forces have destroyed approximately 22% of Gaza's agricultural land (as of December 12), including orchards, greenhouses, and farmland in northern Gaza. Even during the truce that began on November 24, Israeli forces continued this destruction.**
 - *The France 24 Observers*, ["In Gaza, 'an estimated 22% of agricultural land' has been destroyed since the start of the conflict", 12 December 2023.](#)
 - *L'Orient Today*, ["Israeli army bulldozed agricultural land during truce, HRW reports", 4 December 2023.](#)
- **Israel bombs Gaza's only operating wheat mill.**
 - *Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor*, ["Israel bombs Gaza's only operating wheat mill, intensifying its war of starvation against Palestinian civilians", 15 November 2023.](#)

9. Protection of the natural environment (Article 55)

Article 55(1): "Care shall be taken in warfare to protect the natural environment against widespread, long-term and severe damage. This protection includes a prohibition of the use of methods or means of warfare which are intended or may be expected to cause such damage to the natural environment and thereby to prejudice the health or survival of the population."

- **Israel severely destroys thousands of olive trees, damaging the environmental (and agricultural) infrastructure in Gaza, the West Bank, and Lebanon.**
 - *PBS*, ["Israeli settler attacks on West Bank Palestinians have escalated since Oct. 7, UN says", 20 November 2023.](#)
 - *Reuters*, ["Lebanon says fires destroy 40,000 olive trees, blames Israeli shelling", 2 November 2023.](#)
- **Israel threatens Gaza's freshwater supply, damaging and polluting its water resources and environment, e.g. by flooding underwater tunnels with seawater.**
 - *The New Arab*, ["Israel begins pumping water into Gaza tunnels, 'constituting possible war crime'", 13 December 2023.](#)
 - *The Times of Israel*, ["Flooding Hamas tunnels could harm Gaza's freshwater for generations, warns academic", 5 December 2023.](#)
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Is Israel's Gaza bombing also a war on the climate?", 5 December 2023.](#)

10. Precautions in attack (Article 57)

Article 57(2)(a)(iii): "refrain from deciding to launch any attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated"

- **Israel repeatedly launched attacks which were expected to cause excessive civilian casualties and damage to civilian objects, as they were targeted at civilian infrastructure.**
 - *Vox*, ["Israel hits civilian infrastructure as ceasefire calls grow", 5 November 2023.](#)
- **As of 15 December 2023: "Over 60% of Gaza's housing units reportedly destroyed or damaged; 352 education facilities reportedly damaged; 11 bakeries reportedly destroyed; 22 hospitals and 52 healthcare centres out of service; 102 ambulances damaged; 20 WASH facilities damaged; at least 3 churches and 110 mosques damaged"**
 - *United Nations OCHA*, ["Hostilities in the Gaza Strip and Israel - reported impact | Day 70", 15 December 2023.](#)
- **Tremendous civilian casualties, including women and children, as Israel launched thousands of bombardments in densely populated civilian areas. At least 17,700 Palestinians killed, over 48,000 wounded (as of Dec 9).**
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Damning evidence of war crimes as Israeli attacks wipe out entire families in Gaza", 20 October 2023.](#)
 - *The Washington Post*, ["Gaza reports more than 11,100 killed. That's one out of every 200 people", 13 November 2023.](#)

- *Reuters*, ["Death toll in Gaza from Israeli attacks rises to 17,700 - Health Ministry in Gaza", 9 December 2023.](#)
- **Most of the Palestinians killed by Israel are women and children, not combatants (as of Dec 19).**
 - *United Nations*, ["'Ten weeks of hell' for children in Gaza: UNICEF", 19 December 2023.](#)
 - *World Health Organization*, ["Women and newborns bearing the brunt of the conflict in Gaza, UN agencies warn", 3 November 2023.](#)
- **Israeli warplanes carried out dozens of airstrikes, alongside "intense shelling by fired artillery and naval vessels in Gaza District, targeting residential neighborhoods", resulting in 78 Palestinians killed.**
 - *Al-Haq*, ["Days 5-6: Following Genocidal Statements, Israel Escalates Attacks on Gaza's Civilian Population Through Killing, Starvation and Cutting Off Vital Supplies", 12 October 2023.](#)
- **The excessive and extreme damage to civilian objects, which is not commensurate with the size of the military target, and the lack of care to avoid destroying civilian objects at such a massive scale, indicates a failure to avoid excessive damage to civilian objects.**
 - *B'Tselem*, ["Israel is not fighting against Hamas but against civilians, implementing a criminal policy of bombings", 5 December 2023.](#)
 - *Reuters*, ["Nearly a fifth of Gaza's buildings destroyed or damaged: UN estimate", 12 December 2023.](#)
- **Israel drops a 2,000-pound bomb on the densely populated Jabalia refugee camp, killing over 100 civilians.**
 - *The New York Times*, ["Israel Used 2,000-Pound Bombs in Strike on Jabaliya, Analysis Shows", 3 November 2023.](#)
 - *AP News*, ["Israel's military campaign in Gaza seen as among the most destructive in history, experts say", 21 December 2023.](#)

11. Measures of protection for journalists (Article 79)

Article 79(2): "They [journalists] shall be protected as such under the Conventions and this Protocol, provided that they take no action adversely affecting their status as civilians, and without prejudice to the right of war correspondents accredited to the armed forces to the status provided for in Article 4 A (4) of the Third Convention."

- **Israeli soldiers knowingly and severely beat journalist Mustafa Haruf in East Jerusalem.**
 - *Haaretz*, ["Israeli Border Police Officers Filmed Attacking Arab Journalist in East Jerusalem", 15 December 2023.](#)

- *The Times of Israel*, ["Israeli troops filmed beating Palestinian photojournalist in East Jerusalem", 15 December 2023.](#)
- Ragip Soylu (journalist) on X (formerly Twitter), ["Israeli soldiers severely beat Palestinian Journalist Mustafa Haruf, who works for Turkish public agency Anadolu, and threaten him with live fire and in East Jerusalem. He is hospitalized with serious head injuries. All broadcasted live by CNNTurk", 15 December 2023.](#)
- **Israeli forces repeatedly kill and injure journalists and families of journalists.**
 - *Committee to Protect Journalists*, ["Attacks, arrests, threats, censorship: The high risks of reporting the Israel-Gaza war", 20 December 2023.](#)
 - *Reporters Without Borders*, ["Israel is eradicating journalism in Gaza, with ten reporters killed in three days, 48 since start of war", 22 November 2023.](#)
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Lebanon: Deadly Israeli attack on journalists must be investigated as a war crime", 7 December 2023.](#)
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israel: Strikes on Journalists in Lebanon Apparently Deliberate", 7 December 2023.](#)
- **Israeli airstrikes have been devastating for journalists; as of January 14, 82 journalists and media workers were confirmed dead, 16 journalists were reported injured, 3 journalists were reported missing, and 25 journalists were reported arrested.**
 - *Committee to Protect Journalists*, ["Journalist casualties in the Israel-Gaza war", 15 December 2023 \(page regularly updated\).](#)
- **Benny Gantz, a member of the Israeli war cabinet, said journalists who photographed the October 7 attack "should be treated as terrorists and hunted down."**
 - *The Guardian*, ["Israel-Hamas war is deadliest conflict on record for reporters, says watchdog", 21 November 2023.](#)
- **Israeli strikes deliberately target and kill journalists in south Lebanon: "Witness accounts and video and photo evidence that Human Rights Watch verified indicate that the journalists were well removed from ongoing hostilities, clearly identifiable as members of the media, and had been stationary for at least 75 minutes before they were hit by two consecutive strikes. Human Rights Watch found no evidence of a military target near the journalists' location."**
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israel: Strikes on Journalists in Lebanon Apparently Deliberate", 7 December 2023.](#)

Violations of the [Fourth Geneva Convention](#)

1. Hospital and safety zones and localities (Article 14)

[Article 14](#): "In time of peace, the High Contracting Parties and, after the outbreak of hostilities, the Parties thereto, may establish in their own territory and, if the need arises, in occupied areas, hospital and safety zones and localities so organized as to protect from the effects of war, wounded, sick and aged persons, children under fifteen, expectant mothers and mothers of children under seven. ..."

- The safety zones designated by Israel in southern Gaza did not protect children from the effects of war; Israel instructed the Palestinians to head south for the safety zone, then proceeded to bomb the area designated as a safety zone, killing and injuring civilians, including children.
 - *Al Jazeera*, "[Photos: Israel bombs Gaza areas it declared safe zones for Palestinians](#)", 9 December 2023.
 - *Reuters*, "[Gaza teenager sees family killed after seeking safety in south](#)", 23 October 2023.

2. Consignment of medical supplies, food and clothing (Article 23)

[Article 23](#): "Each High Contracting Party shall allow the free passage of all consignments of medical and hospital stores and objects necessary for religious worship intended only for civilians of another High Contracting Party, even if the latter is its adversary. ..."

- Israeli forces repeatedly block ambulances from reaching besieged hospitals and the wounded who need immediate medical treatment. According to the PRCS, there have been over 143 such incidents against them from 7 Oct 2023 to 7 Jan 2024.
 - *Palestinian Red Crescent Society*, "[Palestine Red Crescent Society Response Report As of Saturday, October 7th 2023, 18:00 PM until Monday, January 15, 2024, 24:00 AM](#)", 15 January 2024.
 - *Middle East Eye*, "[Israel-Palestine: Israeli forces block ambulances from reaching besieged hospitals in Jenin](#)", 14 December 2023.
 - *El País*, "[Jenin, a West Bank war zone: Drones, snipers, shelling and surrounded hospitals](#)", 3 December 2023.
 - *Médecins Sans Frontières*, "[Israeli forces must stop attacks on medical care in Jenin](#)", 9 November 2023.

3. Prohibition of corporal punishment, torture, etc. (Article 32)

Article 32: "The High Contracting Parties specifically agree that each of them is prohibited from taking any measure of such a character as to cause the physical suffering or extermination of protected persons in their hands. This prohibition applies not only to murder, torture, corporal punishment, mutilation and medical or scientific experiments not necessitated by the medical treatment of a protected person, but also to any other measures of brutality whether applied by civilian or military agents."

- **Israeli forces forcibly detained Palestinian civilians and severely beat them.**
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Israel/OPT: Horrifying cases of torture and degrading treatment of Palestinian detainees amid spike in arbitrary arrests"](#), 8 November 2023.
- **"[T]housands of Gaza laborers were subjected to horrific forms of torture by Israeli forces during their four-week detention, which resulted in the death of at least one of them."**
 - *Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor*, ["Tortured to Death: Horrific Testimonies of Gazan Workers Held in Israel"](#), 3 November 2023.
- **Israeli military rounded up hundreds of Palestinians and subjected them to physically painful and humiliating punishment; "We were treated like cattle, they even wrote numbers on our hands".**
 - *AP News*, ["Hungry, thirsty and humiliated: Israel's mass arrest campaign sows fear in northern Gaza"](#), 14 December 2023.
- **Palestinians detained by Israeli forces are repeatedly subjected to brutal and inhumane treatment, and sometimes death. "Some were stripped naked, blindfolded and restrained for long hours with handcuffs and with their legs tied, while Israeli soldiers stepped on their heads and backs, were spat at, slammed against walls, threatened, insulted, humiliated and in some cases subjected to sexual and gender-based violence," reported the OHCHR.**
 - *United Nations OHCHR*, ["UN Human Rights Office – OPT: Disturbing reports from the north of Gaza of mass detentions, ill-treatment and enforced disappearances of possibly thousands of Palestinians"](#), 16 December 2023.
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Urgently investigate inhumane treatment and enforced disappearance of Palestinians detainees from Gaza"](#), 20 December 2023.
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israel: Gaza Workers Held Incommunicado for Weeks"](#), 3 January 2024.
 - *Reuters*, ["UN report deplores 'rapid deterioration' of rights in West Bank"](#), 28 December 2023.
 - *+972 Magazine*, ["Inside Israel's torture camp for Gaza detainees"](#), 5 January 2024.

- *Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor*, ["New Guantánamo': Euro-Med Monitor calls for international probe into Israel's torture and murder of Gaza detainees", 18 December 2023.](#)
- *Al-Haq*, ["Urgent Call for Independent Investigation Amidst Persistent Reports of Torture, Enforced Disappearance, and Another Palestinian 'Death' in Israeli Custody", 4 January 2024.](#)

4. Individual responsibility, collective penalties, pillage, reprisals (Article 33)

Article 33: "No protected person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed. Collective penalties and likewise all measures of intimidation or of terrorism are prohibited. ..."

- **Israel's total blocking of food, water, and electricity from Gaza, citing the October 7 attack as the reason, amounts to collective punishment of the Palestinian people, as it is inflicting severe suffering on the vast civilian population for actions committed by Hamas.**
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israeli Authorities' Cutting of Water Leading to Public Health Crisis in Gaza", 16 November 2023.](#)
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Israel/OPT: Israel must lift illegal and inhumane blockade on Gaza as power plant runs out of fuel", 12 October 2023.](#)
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Starvation used as a 'weapon of war' in Gaza amid Israeli siege: Oxfam", 25 October 2023.](#)
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Is Israeli bombing of Gaza a violation of international laws?", 12 October 2023.](#)
 - *Reuters*, ["Living conditions in Gaza turning grim under Israeli siege", 2 November 2023.](#)
- **Israel's siege on Gaza described by international community and reputable organizations as characteristic of collective punishment.**
 - *United Nations*, ["Civilians in Gaza Must Not Be Collectively Punished for Atrocities Committed by Hamas, Speakers Tell Security Council, Urging Ceasefire", 30 October 2023.](#)
 - *Al Jazeera*, ["Israel cannot carry out 'collective punishment' of people in Gaza: Lavrov", 10 December 2023.](#)
 - *Reuters*, ["Russia calls for international monitoring mission in Gaza", 10 December 2023.](#)
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Damning evidence of war crimes as Israeli attacks wipe out entire families in Gaza", 20 October 2023.](#)

5. Food and medical supplies for the population (Article 55)

Article 55: "To the fullest extent of the means available to it, the Occupying Power has the duty of ensuring the food and medical supplies of the population; it should, in particular, bring in the necessary foodstuffs, medical stores and other articles if the resources of the occupied territory are inadequate. ..."

- **Due to the Israeli bombardment, in just 12 days after a humanitarian pause, Gaza's food security drastically worsened: severe hunger rose from 38% to 56%, nearly all IDP households reported inadequate food, and reliance on extreme coping strategies surged from 82% to 96%. Thus, Israel has failed to ensure sufficient food supplies for the Palestinian people.**
 - *UN World Food Programme*, ["WFP-Food Security Update – For Internally Displaced Populations in Southern Gaza Strip", 14 December 2023.](#)
 - *United Nations*, ["Desperate, hungry, terrified': Gazans stopping aid trucks in search of food", 14 December 2023.](#)
 - *United Nations OCHA*, ["Humanitarian Coordinator Lynn Hastings briefs the press in Geneva", 13 December 2023.](#)
- **Israeli government shut off the pipes that supply Gaza with water. More than 96% of the water supply in Gaza is "unfit for human consumption." Most desalination facilities have been shut down due to the electricity cutoff, leaving about 600,000 people without clean water.**
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israeli Authorities' Cutting of Water Leading to Public Health Crisis in Gaza", 16 November 2023.](#)
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israel: Unlawful Gaza Blockade Deadly for Children", 18 October 2023.](#)
- **Israel is actively blocking food and aid from entering Gaza; "Since October 7 the Israeli government has cut water and electricity from its territory, closed its truck crossing with Gaza, and obstructed the delivery of relief supplies to the enclave's 2.2 million people, nearly half of whom are children... Israel has refused to allow fuel onto the scarce aid trucks entering via Egypt, even though it's needed to power hospital generators, ambulances, and water pumps. Israeli officials have declared that no aid will enter Gaza from Israel".**
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Gaza's Blocked Relief: Israeli Government Continues to Obstruct Desperately Needed Humanitarian Aid", 30 October 2023.](#)
 - *Reuters*, ["Israel refuses request to bring food, medical supplies into Gaza -Palestinian PLO official", 10 October 2023.](#)

6. Hygiene and public health (Article 56)

Article 56: "To the fullest extent of the means available to it, the Occupying Power has the duty of ensuring and maintaining, with the cooperation of national and local authorities, the medical and hospital establishments and services, public health and hygiene in the occupied territory, with particular reference to the adoption and application of the prophylactic and preventive measures

necessary to combat the spread of contagious diseases and epidemics. Medical personnel of all categories shall be allowed to carry out their duties. ..."

- **The fuel cutoff in Gaza has halted desalination and waste collection, escalating the spread of bacterial infections and disease. "In health facilities, damaged water and sanitation systems, and dwindling cleaning supplies have made it almost impossible to maintain basic infection prevention and control measures." Israel has failed to ensure public health and hygiene.**
 - *World Health Organization, "[Risk of disease spread soars in Gaza as health facilities, water and sanitation systems disrupted](#)", 8 November 2023.*

7. Treatment of detainees (Article 76)

Article 76: "... Protected persons who are detained shall have the right to be visited by delegates of the Protecting Power and of the International Committee of the Red Cross, in accordance with the provisions of Article 143. ..."

- **Israeli authorities have denied the International Committee of the Red Cross access to visit any of the Palestinian detainees held in Israeli places of detention since 7 October 2023 (as of 10 January 2024).**
 - *ICRC, "[Israel and the Occupied Territories: Rising violence in the West Bank may have irreversible consequences for communities](#)", 31 October 2023.*
 - *Amnesty International, "[Israel/OPT: Horrifying cases of torture and degrading treatment of Palestinian detainees amid spike in arbitrary arrests](#)", 8 November 2023.*
 - *The New Arab, "['We don't want to receive them as martyrs': The Red Cross is failing in its duty to Palestinian prisoners](#)", 10 January 2024.*

Violations of [Protocol III of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons](#)

1. Protection of civilians and civilian objects (Article 2)

[Article 2\(2\)](#): "It is prohibited in all circumstances to make any military objective located within a concentration of civilians the object of attack by air-delivered incendiary weapons."

- Israel uses artillery-fired white phosphorus (an incendiary) in Gaza and Lebanon in an "indiscriminate" manner, injuring civilians and damaging civilian objects.
 - *Human Rights Watch*, ["Israel: White Phosphorus Used in Gaza, Lebanon", 12 October 2023.](#)
 - *Amnesty International*, ["Lebanon: Evidence of Israel's unlawful use of white phosphorus in southern Lebanon as cross-border hostilities escalate", 31 October 2023.](#)
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 - [Full document \(280 pages\)](#)
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