

March 15, 2024

Executive Summary

I, Lee Mordechai, a historian by profession and an Israeli citizen, testify in this document to the horrible current situation in Gaza as events are unfolding. The enormous amount of evidence I have seen, much of it referenced later in this document, has been enough for me to believe that Israel is currently committing genocide against the Palestinian population in Gaza. The current war is ostensibly the Israeli reaction to the Hamas massacre of Oct. 7, 2023, a war crime and crime against humanity that was committed within the context of the longstanding conflict between Israelis and Palestinians that can be dated back to 1917 or 1948 (or other dates). In all cases, I do not believe that historical grievances and atrocities justify additional atrocities in the present. As such, I consider Israel's response to Hamas' actions on Oct. 7 utterly disproportionate.

The paragraphs of the executive summary contain the summary of much longer sections below, a paragraph for each section. Each section below includes several dozens of references that lead to the supporting evidence upon which I base my assessment.

Over the last five months, Israel has repeatedly massacred Palestinians in Gaza, resulting in the deaths of over 30,000 Palestinians – some 70% of whom are women and children – as of writing. Tens of thousands more have been injured. These numbers are probably an undercount considering Israel's deliberate destruction of Gaza's healthcare system, which is the single independent source of these numbers (which are also used by Israel, including its Prime Minister and the military).

Israel has actively attempted to cause the death of the civilian population of Gaza. This has been done through the destruction of institutions that support life – such as hospitals or aid agencies – as well as by strangling the Gaza Strip from its necessities: food, water and medicine. As a result, people in Gaza (mainly children) have already begun to die from starvation and dehydration. Because of the lack of medicine, difficult medical procedures such as amputations and caesareans are conducted with no anesthesia. Israel has gone further in attempting to destroy the fabric of Palestinian society by deliberately targeting cultural institutions such as universities, libraries, archives, religious buildings and historical sites.

Israeli discourse has de-humanized Palestinians to such an extent that the vast majority of Israeli Jews supports the aforementioned measures. Countless videos from the Gaza Strip uploaded by soldiers in the Israeli military attest to widespread abuse of Palestinians (including cruel violence and dehumanization), ubiquitous and normalized looting, and wanton destruction of all kinds of property with little consequences. This content is confirmed by Palestinian testimonials that depict the Palestinian experience of death, destruction and abuse during their detainment by Israeli security apparatus.

All the evidence I have seen strongly suggests that Israel's objective is to ethnically cleanse the Gaza Strip, whether in part or in total. Key members in Israel's government have made statements confirming this intent at different points throughout the war. Several of Israel's government ministries have planned or worked to facilitate such an end. Israel has been clearing significant parts of the Gaza strip by demolition and bulldozing, while also constructing Israeli military infrastructure and attempting to corral Palestinians in limited areas of the already densely populated Gaza Strip.

One of the purposes of the war, according to the Israeli government, is to release the hostages – over 130 of whom remain in Hamas' captivity. Here, too, the evidence suggests that a military operation is not the way to release them. To date Israel has released exactly three hostages through

military operations, while killing many others directly or indirectly through its actions. Israeli society is currently divided around the hostage issue, at least partially the result of the actions of the Israeli government.

The global attention to Gaza has drawn attention away from the West Bank. There, Israel's operations through its military or settlers since the beginning of the war has resulted in the killing of hundreds of Palestinians, the ethnic cleansing of at least 15 local communities, and a sharp increase in levels of violence and abuse by both the Israeli state and Jewish settlers.

All of the above has been made possible through the strong support of most mainstream media in Israel as well as the West, primarily in the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany. The pro-war campaign – supported by both the state and the mainstream media in these locations – has legitimized Israeli violence and actions, deflects attention away from many events in Gaza, and contributes to the de-humanization of Palestinians.

Preface

I, Lee Mordechai, a historian and an Israeli citizen, testify in this document, as events are unfolding, to the horrible situation in the Gaza Strip. I write my personal opinion out of a sense of double responsibility: as a citizen whose country is committing what I consider as grave crimes, and as an academic, who believes that after having dedicated my career to research I am obliged to speak up against injustice, especially when it is so close. I write also because of the disappointing general silence on this issue among many international and Israeli academic institutions, especially those that are well-positioned to comment on it. The relatively few of my colleagues who have bravely spoken out have been an inspiration.¹ I do not believe this document will convince many others to change their minds. Rather, I write this publicly to testify that during the war there were and remain Israeli voices who strongly dissented from Israel's actions.

The newest version of this document can be found on my [academia.edu](#) and [Twitter](#) pages, which also have an English version. Older versions appear on my Twitter page. I plan to continue to revise this document every few weeks. I include in this document a large number of references, especially of videos from Gaza, to convey and clarify the scale of this event and the frequency of the horrors that I describe.

Although I am neither a lawyer nor an expert on the subject, the evidence I have seen and describe below has been sufficient for me to believe that what Israel is currently doing to the Palestinian population in Gaza is a crime against humanity² that is consistent with the definition of genocide as I understand it.³ A recent (Jan. 26) International Court of Justice Order found that Israel's actions could plausibly be argued to be genocide,⁴ as experts have pointed out before⁵ and after⁶ the Order – including both action and intent.⁷ A federal judge in California ruled the Israel's actions are “plausibly” genocide.⁸ As of early March, Israel has not changed its conduct since the decision of the ICJ.⁹

On 7 October 2023, Hamas militants attacked Israel, killing about 1,200 people in Israel, most of whom were civilians, and taking about 250 people hostage to Gaza. These atrocities are war crimes and crimes against humanity. Many others have already written about these events in the international and Israeli media and I do not have much new to add on this matter. The horrible events of 7 October – themselves committed as part of a historical context that returns to the longstanding conflict between Israel and the Palestinians – initiated the current war that is the context for this document.

Despite Hamas' aforementioned atrocities, I believe Israel's response to the events of Oct. 7 over the past five months continues to be wholly disproportionate, immoral and criminal. My position on

¹ I chose to write this open statement about what is happening in Gaza having been inspired by John Mearsheimer's similar statement a few months ago. <https://mearsheimer.substack.com/p/death-and-destruction-in-gaza>. Additionally important in composing this document is the comprehensive and important South African Application instituting proceedings and Request for the indication of provisional measures to the International Court of Justice, from which I have traced some of the sources of information in this document (<https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20231228-app-01-00-en.pdf>).

² <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/crimes-against-humanity.shtml>

³ <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.shtml>

⁴ <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20240126-ord-01-00-en.pdf>

⁵ <https://time.com/6334409/is-whats-happening-gaza-genocide-experts/>

⁶ <https://www.justsecurity.org/91457/top-experts-views-of-intl-court-of-justice-ruling-on-israel-gaza-operations-south-africa-v-israel-genocide-convention-case/>

⁷ <https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.shtml>

⁸ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/feb/01/genocide-gaza-israel-california-court>. The court dismissed the case as the issue was outside its jurisdiction.

⁹ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/how-israel-defied-icj-provisional-measures>

these matters represents a tiny minority in Israeli society. In polls on this issue only 1.8% (October), 7% (December), and 3.2% (January) of Jewish Israelis believed the IDF (Israel Defense Forces) was using too much firepower in Gaza.¹⁰

My position is based on many pieces of evidence that I have collected particularly since late December 2023. In my analysis, I gave precedence to evidence provided by reputable institutions such as the United Nations, in particular its Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, which releases almost daily updates about the situation in Gaza, as well as reports by several humanitarian aid and human rights organizations. I have also made use of mainstream media outlets, particularly in cases of factual reporting (e.g. someone saying something). In cases of in-depth investigative reporting I have also used sources like the Israeli +972/Local Call Magazine. To support the evidence I have collected from these sources, I have used material from social media from both sides. I estimate that since the beginning of the war, I have read hundreds of articles – academic, those written by academics or journalists, and others. In addition, I have watched thousands of videos and images, mostly by Israelis from the Gaza Strip. Many of these include deeply disturbing content – violence, cruelty, de-humanization and their results. The best of my ability, I estimate that the vast majority of the information I have included is reliable, and I have repeatedly chosen not to include information from both sides I had doubts about. I include in this document many footnotes to the sources I have used, so that the interested reader would be able to evaluate my account themselves.

This document corresponds to an update and expansion of earlier versions of my understanding of the situation in early January, late January and mid-February 2024, following ideas and suggestions I have since received. The document's main purpose is still to state my opinion publicly out of a sense of commitment I have to human rights ideals. A secondary purpose is to preserve at least some of the evidence I have come across as I have been reading about the war. I hope readers find it useful to better understand the circumstances over these difficult days in the present and the future.

Context

Gaza itself is a tiny piece of land, consisting of some 365 square kilometers. Its population is about 2.3 million, making it one of the most densely populated areas on the planet.¹¹ Israel controls Gaza's borders, communications, electricity, water and even population registry.¹² The United Nations, human rights organizations, government ministries (including in the US and the UK) and legal scholars all saw Gaza as an occupied territory under the control of Israel even before the war.¹³ These features as well as Gaza's geography and demography exacerbate the crisis I outline below. Israel, already before the current war, has been described as an apartheid state by leading human rights organizations following serious and well documented reports (Human Rights Watch,¹⁴

¹⁰ https://social-sciences.tau.ac.il/sites/socsci.tau.ac.il/files/media_server/social/2023/Findings-November-2023-EN.pdf; <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israelis-say-amas-must-be-crushed-despite-gaza-casualties-un-rebuke-2023-12-13/>; <https://www.idi.org.il/articles/51742>; https://en-social-sciences.tau.ac.il/sites/socsci-english.tau.ac.il/files/media_server/social/peaceindex/2024-01-findings.pdf

¹¹ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-87>

¹² <https://features.qisha.org/gaza-up-close/>

¹³ Sanger, Andrew (2011). "The Contemporary Law of Blockade and the Gaza Freedom Flotilla". In M.N. Schmit, Louise Arimatsu; Tim McCormack (eds.). *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law 2010*. Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law. Vol. 13. Springer Science & Business Media. pp. 429-431.

¹⁴ <https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/04/27/threshold-crossed/israeli-authorities-and-crimes-apartheid-and-persecution>

Amnesty International¹⁵, and B'Tselem¹⁶). This has facilitated many of the policies and actions I discuss below.

The massacre of Palestinians

So far, Israel has killed over 31,490 Gazans – about 1.5 percent of the total population of Gaza.¹⁷ This death toll is conservative and will almost certainly increase.¹⁸ The number is accepted by Israeli officials.¹⁹ The number does not include about 7,000 missing people, many still buried under the rubble.²⁰ It also does not include any individuals whose death was not reported to Gaza's overwhelmed health ministry. According to the available public data, including data in Israel, about three quarters (c. 73%) of the deaths in Gaza are of women and children.²¹ As of mid February, over 12,300 children had already been killed.²² 73,439 people (about 3 percent of Gaza's population) have been injured.²³

Although the International Court of Justice Order that called upon Israel to take “all measures in its power” to prevent the killing of Palestinians on 26 Jan., as of writing Israel has continued to kill an average of over 100 Palestinians a day.²⁴ A panel of UN experts stated in February that arms exports to Israel are illegal and must stop immediately.²⁵

Israeli spokespersons themselves have estimated that two civilians have died for each Hamas militant, and stated that it is a justified ratio.²⁶ In reality, the ratio is likely far worse – with estimates that about 80-90 percent of deaths have been of civilians.²⁷ According to the key investigative report on the subject, Israel knows well the amount of civilians that will be hit by its attacks and proceeds to bomb buildings with little oversight, often through employing an artificial intelligence system (“The Gospel”).²⁸ About 40-45% of the air-to-ground munitions Israel has dropped on Gaza are unguided.²⁹ During the first six weeks of the war, Israel used 2,000 pound bombs in areas it designated safe for civilians in at least 208 occasions.³⁰ In addition, Israel has also used quadcopters to fire on civilians.³¹ In February, Amnesty International closely investigated four attacks that killed at least 95 civilians. All took place in the southern governorate that was supposed to be safe at the time, and Amnesty found no indication that the buildings were legitimate military objectives or that

¹⁵ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde15/5141/2022/en/>

¹⁶ <https://www.btselem.org/topic/apartheid>

¹⁷ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

¹⁸ <https://www.mekomit.co.il/%D7%9E%D7%A1%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%99-%D7%94%D7%94%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%92%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%91%D7%A2%D7%96%D7%94-%D7%9B%D7%A0%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%94-%D7%92%D7%91%D7%95%D7%94%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%A4%D7%99-%D7%A9%D7%9C%D7%95/>

¹⁹ <https://www.politico.eu/article/israels-netanyahu-says-he-will-defy-bidens-red-line-and-invade-rafah/> (at least 26,000 Palestinians killed as of early March); <https://www.mekomit.co.il/%D7%94%D7%A6%D7%91%D7%90-%D7%91%D7%93%D7%A7-%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%A6%D7%90-%D7%A9%D7%93%D7%99%D7%95%D7%95%D7%97%D7%99-%D7%94%D7%94%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%92%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%91%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%93-%D7%94%D7%91/> .

²⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/08/the-numbers-that-reveal-the-extent-of-the-destruction-in-gaza>

²¹ <https://apnews.com/article/israel-hamas-war-news-02-12-2024-4ade5edf47711c6b0c13d1380980de2b>

²² <https://apnews.com/article/israel-hamas-war-news-02-12-2024-4ade5edf47711c6b0c13d1380980de2b>

²³ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

²⁴ <https://twitter.com/ZachFoster/status/1758520277288341601>

²⁵ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/02/arms-exports-israel-must-stop-immediately-un-experts>

²⁶ <https://cnn.com/2023/12/05/middleeast/israel-hamas-military-civilian-ratio-killed-intl-hnk/index.html>

²⁷ See e.g. the considerably lower mortality estimate here (1,000-2,000 Hamas fighters in late November).

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/nov/26/idf-messaging-suggests-gaza-truce-unlikely-to-last-much-beyond-tuesday> ; also the ~70% of the dead were women and children, and it is likely that of the men who were killed some were not militants.

²⁸ <https://www.972mag.com/mass-assassination-factory-israel-calculated-bombing-gaza/>;

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/dec/01/the-gospel-how-israel-uses-ai-to-select-bombing-targets>

²⁹ <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/12/13/politics/intelligence-assessment-dumb-bombs-israel-gaza/index.html>

³⁰ <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/21/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-bomb-investigation.html> . For an example:

<https://www.cnn.com/videos/world/2024/02/23/gaza-atrocities-investigation-warehouse-attack-karadsheh-pkg-vpx.cnn>

³¹ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/war-gaza-israeli-quadcopters-hi-tech-weapon-menacing-palestinian-civilians>

people in the buildings were military targets.³² A former UN's Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights stated that the Israeli attack on Gaza has probably the highest kill rate of any military killing anybody since the Rwandan Genocide of 1994.³³

The rate of civilian deaths is shocking, particularly as it continues in real time. The UN Secretary General has stated that "We are witnessing a killing of civilians that is unparalleled and unprecedented in any conflict [in recent years]".³⁴ Since the beginning of the operation, Israel has killed an average of about 100 children per day. This number is greater than the number of children killed in conflict zones around the world over the past three years combined, and is far greater than the rate of children killed in other 21st century wars.³⁵ In October alone, the number of killed Gazan children was over 10 times more than the number of children killed in the entire first year of the Russia-Ukraine war.³⁶ As UNICEF's Executive Director put it, Gaza is "the most dangerous place in the world to be a child".³⁷ UNICEF estimated in early February that at least 17,000 children are unaccompanied or separated from their parents.³⁸ Children deaths are prominent in videos from Gaza, often filmed by their own families.³⁹ In late February, the head of MSF (Médecins Sans Frontières) stated in front of the UN Security Council that children as young as five told members of the organization that they would prefer to die than to continue to experience the displacement, fear and witnessing of the killing of their family members.⁴⁰ A Gazan journalist wrote an open letter to Israeli society in which he narrated a case of a 6 year old boy who lay down to sleep under a truck and turned blue from the cold. When a passer-by woke him up and asked him what was he doing, the boy responded that he wanted the truck to drive over him in the morning because his entire family had been killed. The boy died the same day from hypothermia.⁴¹

As of March 15, 168 UN staff members have been killed.⁴² 125 journalists and media workers have been killed, more than the entirety of journalists killed in World War II, and at a rate higher than any other conflict over the past century.⁴³ More than 100 university professors, including several leading Palestinian academics, have been killed.⁴⁴ At least 348 health workers have been killed.⁴⁵ Israel's attacks on hospitals have killed hundreds of Palestinians. More have died by lack of supplies⁴⁶ or forced evacuations, including four premature babies in intensive care after the IDF forced the nurse taking care of them to leave when IDF soldiers reached the hospital. The babies were left in their

³² <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/02/israel-opt-new-evidence-of-unlawful-israeli-attacks-in-gaza-causing-mass-civilian-casualties-amid-real-risk-of-genocide/>

³³ <https://twitter.com/OwenJones84/status/1760286175699272027> ; <https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/02/14/gaza-war-israel-civilian-deaths-urban-warfare-hamas/>

³⁴ https://twitter.com/UN_News_Centre/status/1726609880986083685

³⁵ <https://www.savethechildren.net/news/gaza-3195-children-killed-three-weeks-surpasses-annual-number-children-killed-conflict-zones>;

³⁶ <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/5903/Number-of-Gazan-children-killed-in-under-a-month-is-10-times-higher-than-that-of-Ukrainian-children-killed-in-entire-first-year-of-Russia%E2%80%99s-ongoing-war>.

³⁷ <https://www.unicef.org.uk/press-releases/statement-by-unicef-executive-director-catherine-russell-on-the-resumption-of-fighting-in-gaza/>

³⁸ <https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/stories-loss-and-grief-least-17000-children-are-estimated-be-unaccompanied-or>

³⁹ <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1760724513581584472>; <https://twitter.com/CensoredNws/status/1761662724331774349> ; <https://twitter.com/RamAbdu/status/1762531665958547626>

⁴⁰ <https://www.msf.org/msf-briefing-gaza-un-security-council>

⁴¹ <https://twitter.com/AGvanyahu/status/1763102777423659018/photo/1>

⁴² <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

⁴³ <https://cpi.org/2024/01/journalist-casualties-in-the-israel-gaza-conflict/>; <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/9/how-deadly-is-the-israel-gaza-war-for-journalists>; <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

⁴⁴ <https://www.ici-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20231228-app-01-00-en.pdf> (#90);

<https://twitter.com/Timesofgaza/status/1744041205938409756>; <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1743662116614070495> ; <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1745135460270096699>; <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/6108/Israel-kills-dozens-of-academics-destroys-every-university-in-the-Gaza-Strip> ; list with names at

<https://twitter.com/sawporg/status/1755224105249333643> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1760047560025317563>

⁴⁵ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

⁴⁶ <https://www.unrwa.org/resources/reports/unrwa-situation-report-80-situation-gaza-strip-and-west-bank-including-east-Jerusalem>

beds and later found during the ceasefire in late November in a state of decomposition as nobody cared for them.⁴⁷ The amount of Palestinian deaths has led to digging graves and mass graves everywhere.⁴⁸

Palestinian lives are incredibly cheap. In one case, a car with six civilians was attacked, killing four. A 15 year old girl called the Palestinian Red Crescent from the car, but was apparently killed during the conversation. Her cousin, a 6 year old girl, called again and stayed on the line, terrified and surrounded by her dead family members, for 3 hours. The Palestinian Red Crescent sent two paramedics to retrieve her, informing the IDF of their movement. All connections with the girl and the paramedics were lost, and 12 days later the girl's decomposing corpse was found in the car, while the paramedics were killed nearby when an IDF tank shot their ambulance.⁴⁹ In another case, IDF troops entered a family home and killed the two parents in sight of their children (aged 11, 9 and 5; the youngest, with cerebral palsy, lost his eye to a grenade the soldiers threw).⁵⁰ In a different case, the IDF sent a handcuffed prisoner to deliver a message to evacuate a hospital in Khan Younis, then shot him as he tried to walk outside the gate.⁵¹ The IDF subsequently bombed the hospital.⁵² An American doctor that returned from Gaza told the Los Angeles Times that during her time there "a handful of children" around 5-8 were brought to the emergency room, all of whom had single sniper shots to the head.⁵³ A detained Gazan had his hands zip-tied before driven over by an Israeli tank, potentially while he was still alive. An image of his mutilated corpse was shared on an Israeli telegram channel with a post stating that "You are going to love this!!!"⁵⁴ A human rights organization documented other occasions in which Israeli soldiers have deliberately driven over dozens of Palestinian civilians while they were alive.⁵⁵ In another case, an IDF soldier shot and killed a Palestinian man with special needs in front of his mother in a Gaza hospital after the man shouted in fear and did not keep quiet as the soldier commanded.⁵⁶ A different soldier killed an unarmed 73-year old Palestinian who signaled to him not to shoot. In response, the soldier's commander said "He signaled 'no no [with his hands]' and you took him down? Excellent".⁵⁷ There are many similar stories of IDF soldiers purposefully killing civilians.⁵⁸

In one particularly notable event, the "flour massacre", at least 118 civilians were killed and over 700 were injured as they attempted to get food from a convoy of lorries bringing in humanitarian aid.⁵⁹ Palestinians claimed that the IDF shot them,⁶⁰ while the IDF claimed that most casualties died because of overcrowdedness and the general mayhem in which the lorries run over the civilians.⁶¹ In both cases, the IDF is responsible for the deaths of civilians. The international media tended to confirm the Palestinian version of the story, partially because the IDF did not provide evidence to support their claims (an IDF video supposedly showing the event was clearly edited several times)

⁴⁷ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/12/03/gaza-premature-babies-dead-nasr/>

⁴⁸ <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1759600702886748387>

⁴⁹ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/2/10/body-of-6-year-old-killed-in-deliberate-israeli-fire-found-after-12-days>

⁵⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3RDXQapOtUg>

⁵¹ <https://theintercept.com/2024/02/14/gaza-nasser-hospital-evacuation-israel-prisoner/>

⁵² https://twitter.com/Ahmad_tibi/status/1758038092353503495

⁵³ <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2024-02-16/rafah-gaza-hospitals-surgery-israel-bombing-ground-offensive-children>

⁵⁴ <https://twitter.com/muhammadshahad2/status/1763469843070697726>; <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/war-gaza-israel-palestinian-ran-over-tank-images-suggest>

⁵⁵ <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/6202>; see also driving over Palestinian corpses: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/israel-soldier-boasted-running-over-dead-palestinian-man-tank>

⁵⁶ <https://www.itv.com/news/2024-03-01/he-didnt-understand-disabled-man-shot-dead-in-gaza-hospital-by-idf>

⁵⁷ <https://twitter.com/MatanGolanPhoto/status/1766586400558739508>

⁵⁸ <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1761163980947558806>

⁵⁹ <https://www.cnn.com/2024/03/08/middleeast/gaza-flour-massacre-idf-report-intl/index.html>

⁶⁰ <https://twitter.com/NaksBilal/status/1763188564823576868>; <https://twitter.com/idfonline/status/1763174751042695313>;

https://twitter.com/kaneez_e_zahrah/status/1763176424012230952;

⁶¹ <https://www.cnn.com/2024/03/08/middleeast/gaza-flour-massacre-idf-report-intl/index.html>

and testimonials from Gazans who experienced the massacre.⁶² UN experts and human rights organizations agree more strongly.⁶³ The director of the al-Awda hospital claimed that the vast majority of injuries who came to receive treatment after the event (142 of 176) suffered from gunshot wounds.⁶⁴ According to online sources and videos, Palestinians seeking food were shot in the same place on many occasions on the days before and after the “flour massacre”.⁶⁵ Israel’s National Security Minister praised the IDF soldiers for their conduct during the event.⁶⁶ International law stipulates that Israel is required to supply food and water in the areas where it is an occupying power.⁶⁷ Notably in this context, Israel and the United States were the only two countries who voted against declaring food as a human right in the United Nations in 2021.⁶⁸

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights reiterated that there is no safe space in Gaza.⁶⁹ There have been multiple mass graves where corpses of Palestinians have been deposited,⁷⁰ with additional decomposed corpses in the streets.⁷¹ Reports have “documented dozens of cases of field executions carried out by the Israeli army”.⁷² In one such event, on 19 Dec. IDF troops are said to have executed at least 19 unarmed Palestinian men in front of their family members.⁷³ In another, over 30 Palestinian corpses were found in black plastic bags, blindfolded and handcuffed.⁷⁴ Few of these cases have even been covered in Israeli media.⁷⁵

In a January poll, two thirds of Israelis preferred to continue the war in its current form of excessive bombardment and violence.⁷⁶ In a poll from February, about three quarters of Israeli Jews supported the continuation of the military operation to Rafah.⁷⁷

Causing the deaths of civilian populations

Israel has placed a stranglehold on the Palestinian population of Gaza since the beginning of the war. The amounts of food, fuel, medicine and water are extremely limited. The absence of supplies in Gaza – a siege – has been the stated policy of top Israeli officials since the beginning of the war.⁷⁸ Only about 20-30% of the 500 trucks necessary to supply Gaza for humanitarian causes are allowed

⁶² <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/2/29/dozens-killed-injured-by-israeli-fire-in-gaza-while-collecting-food-aid/>; <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-68445973> ; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/feb/29/gaza-aid-trucks-death-toll-explainer> ; https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2024/03/09/gaza-new-accounts-of-the-flour-massacre_6601904_4.html ; <https://www.972mag.com/gaza-aid-convoy-massacre-testimonies/> ;

⁶³ <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/6200> ; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/mar/05/un-experts-condemn-israeli-massacre-of-palestinians-collecting-flour>

⁶⁴ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1763221018103996559> ; <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-68445973>

⁶⁵ https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2024/03/09/gaza-new-accounts-of-the-flour-massacre_6601904_4.html ; <https://twitter.com/muhammadshehad2/status/1763651267237216587>

⁶⁶ <https://twitter.com/itamabengvir/status/1763196768458604583> . For the IDF’s own investigation, see: <https://www.ynet.co.il/news/article/b1dmqv6t>; for a critique, see: <https://www.mekomit.co.il/ps/132587/>

⁶⁷ <https://guide-humanitarian-law.org/content/article/3/occupied-territory/>

⁶⁸ <https://press.un.org/en/2021/gashc4336.doc.htm>

⁶⁹ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-flash-update-82>

⁷⁰ <https://www.reuters.com/pictures/all-cemeteries-are-full-palestinians-buried-mass-grave-gaza-2023-11-22/>

⁷¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Poydd3EG_-8; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1761369042596647177>

⁷² <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/6058/Euro-Med-Monitor-sends-UN-rapporteurs.-ICC-Prosecutor-primary-report-documenting-dozens-of-field-execution-cases-in-Gaza>; <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/war-gaza-survivors-recount-harrowing-israeli-field-executions> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1745259688801816854>

⁷³ <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/unlawful-killings-in-gaza-city-ohchr-press-release/> ; <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/20/palestinians-accuse-israeli-forces-of-executing-19-civilians-in-gaza>

⁷⁴ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/2/1/palestinians-demand-international-inquiry-after-mass-grave-found-in-gaza>

⁷⁵ <https://www.ynet.co.il/yedioth/article/yokra13792905>; <https://www.ynet.co.il/news/article/syv8bslop>

⁷⁶ <https://www.idi.org.il/articles/52071>

⁷⁷ <https://www.idi.org.il/articles/53276>

⁷⁸ https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/defense-minister-announces-complete-siege-of-gaza-no-power-food-or-fuel/ ; <https://twitter.com/KnessetT/status/1716502486331113922>

in daily, and encounter multiple problems as they try to do so, including attacks by the IDF.⁷⁹ In the first two weeks of March, only half of the planned humanitarian missions to northern Gaza took place. The other half were denied by the IDF or postponed.⁸⁰ Since the beginning of the war Gaza has been experiencing a full electricity blackout.⁸¹ Fuel prices, for example, have increased by over 500 percent.⁸² In the northern parts of the Gaza strip in early February, the price of a bag of flour, 30 shekels (~\$8) before the war, reached 500-1000 shekels (~\$125-250), 15-30 times higher.⁸³ In late February, the price of a plate with some raw meat and rice reached \$95 according to social media,⁸⁴ while a nurse in Al-Shifa hospital claimed he had not eaten bread for 2 months during which he consumed animal feed.⁸⁵ At the same time, the UN's leading expert on the right to food described the circumstances as 'a situation of genocide', while the World Food Programme stated that "people are already dying from hunger-related causes".⁸⁶ As of mid-March, 31 people (of which 27 were children) in Gaza died of malnutrition or dehydration.⁸⁷ In this context, the High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy stated in front of the UN Security Council that "starvation is being used [by Israel] as a war arm".⁸⁸

As a result, the vast majority of Gaza's population is at risk of famine. Virtually all households are skipping meals every day, with 50-80% of households going entire days and nights without eating.⁸⁹ Some 90% of civilians in Gaza experience "high levels of acute food insecurity".⁹⁰ In late January the World Health Organization's Director-General noted the food shortages that result in medical staffs and patients receiving only one meal per day.⁹¹ Some 40% experience "emergency levels" and over 15% (378,000) experience catastrophic levels, namely "extreme lack of food, starvation and exhaustion of coping capacities".⁹² The Chief Economist of the World Food Program has stressed that "In my life, I've never seen anything like this in terms of severity, in terms of scale, and then in terms of speed."⁹³ A prominent scholar of famine and Executive Director of the World Peace Foundation stated that he had never seen the war crime of starvation perpetrated in such scale over the 40 years of his career⁹⁴ and that "The rigor, scale and speed of the destruction of the structures

⁷⁹ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>
<https://www.ochaopt.org/content/remarks-media-secretary-general> ; <https://edition.cnn.com/audio/podcasts/tug-of-war/episodes/0e6112dc-ae58-11ee-8bd1-6f9c6607fa1d> ; <https://jewishcurrents.org/israel-policy-starvation-gaza-aid>

⁸⁰ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-flash-update-140>

⁸¹ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

⁸² <https://docs.wfp.org/api/documents/WFP-0000154766/download/>

⁸³ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/magazine/2024-02-07/ty-article-magazine/.highlight/0000018d-8213-daa1-a9fd-e21b04660000> ; <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20231117-give-us-our-daily-bread-gaza-faces-flour-crisis>

⁸⁴ <https://twitter.com/HamzaAbuToha/status/1760588426103963720>

⁸⁵ <https://twitter.com/MiddleEastEye/status/1762736475957829852>

⁸⁶ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-68349031.amp> ; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/feb/27/un-israel-food-starvation-palestinians-war-crime-genocide>

⁸⁷ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

https://twitter.com/Sarah_Hassan94/status/1761372883278807170 ; <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1761322640935940449> ;

<https://twitter.com/RamAbdu/status/1762518985633890640> ; <https://twitter.com/muhammadshehad2/status/1762478847277084910> ;

https://twitter.com/save_children/status/1762543144061575626 ; <https://twitter.com/aliila2021/status/1762535516774302206> ;

https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/two-babies-starve-to-death-in-northern-gaza-hamas-health-ministry/ ;

<https://twitter.com/FranceskAlbs/status/1763466551968035006> ; <https://twitter.com/FranceskAlbs/status/1764689858067358154> ;

<https://twitter.com/QudsNen/status/1764728907578712177> ; <https://twitter.com/UNICEF/status/1764296731380920490> ;

<https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/6212/In-just-24-hours-two-children-and-an-elderly-man-starve-to-death-amid-rising-malnutrition-rates-in-Gaza>

⁸⁸ <https://apnews.com/video/europe-gaza-european-union-war-and-unrest-josep-borrell-63eebfe7f71f4ed881580913c51b7036>

⁸⁹ https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Gaza_Acute_Food_Insecurity_Nov2023_Feb2024.pdf ;

<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/01/world/middleeast/gaza-israel-hunger.html> ; <https://www.972mag.com/rafah-children-hunger-aid/>

⁹⁰ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-113> ;

<https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2023-12-21/ty-article/.premium/0000018c-8908-d60e-afdf-ed0e2bb70000>

⁹¹ <https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-on-gaza--the-who-executive-board--trans-fats-and-leprosy>

⁹² <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-113>

⁹³ <https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/gaza-is-starving>

⁹⁴ https://youtu.be/0pCgFZovlAw?si=mone7l85_SobAivS&t=875

necessary for survival, and enforcement of the siege, surpasses any other case of man-made famine in the last 75 years”.⁹⁵ An aid organization stated on CNN that Gaza was the fastest decline in nutritional status ever recorded in a human population.⁹⁶

Media coverage refers to people eating grass and drinking contaminated water or sea water.⁹⁷ A group of aid organizations that include UNICEF stated in late February that over 90% of children under the age of 5 in Gaza were facing “severe food poverty”. A similar percentage was suffering from infectious diseases, with 70% of them having diarrhoea over two weeks in February.⁹⁸ Images and videos from the strip appear to confirm these findings.⁹⁹ Despite this situation, IDF officers demanded a further lowering of the humanitarian aid to Gaza.¹⁰⁰ About 60 percent of Israeli Jews oppose humanitarian aid to Gaza, a stable figure over time.¹⁰¹ Jewish activists have completely blocked the entrance of aid to Gaza on several occasions in recent months.¹⁰² IDF soldiers recorded themselves destroying and burning food warehouses in Gaza.¹⁰³

In November, the average water supply per person in Gaza was between 1.5-1.8 liters daily (the minimum average volume of water for drinking and domestic hygiene should be 15 liters),¹⁰⁴ but this number decreased to less than one liter on average in February.¹⁰⁵ The lack of medical supplies has resulted in the conduction of medical operations, including C-sections and amputations, without anesthesia or blood supplies.¹⁰⁶ An online video shows a Gazan doctor who had to amputate his daughter’s foot on the dining table in their home without anesthesia.¹⁰⁷ A medical student at Al-Shifa hospital recounts how he had to stitch the face of a boy who was wounded in an Israeli bombardment for 3 hours in darkness and without anesthesia.¹⁰⁸ There are many similar stories. As a result of the lack of supplies, women who face postpartum bleeding as they give birth have underwent hysterotomies for lack of medicine and blood supply, preventing them from giving birth in the future.¹⁰⁹ Oxfam’s Middle East Regional Director stated that “Amongst the horror and carnage in Gaza, we are now at the abhorrent stage of babies dying because of diarrhoea and hypothermia. It is shattering that newborns are coming into the world and due to the apocalyptic conditions, stand little chance of survival.” In some cases, mothers had to give birth in classrooms full with 70 other

⁹⁵ <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/11/health/gaza-israel-hunger-starvation.html> ; <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/jan/31/israel-gaza-starvation-international-law> ; also <https://jewishcurrents.org/israel-policy-starvation-gaza-aid>

⁹⁶ <https://twitter.com/MedicalAidPal/status/1763172220900151317>

⁹⁷ <https://www.cnn.com/2024/01/30/middleeast/famine-looms-in-gaza-israel-war-intl/index.html> ; <https://www.haaretz.co.il/magazine/2024-02-07/ty-article-magazine/highlight/0000018d-8213-daa1-a9fd-e21b04660000>

⁹⁸ <https://www.nutritioncluster.net/sites/nutritioncluster.com/files/2024-02/GAZA-Nutrition-vulnerability-and-SitAn-v7.pdf> ; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2024/feb/20/middle-east-crisis-live-israel-gaza-yemen-houthi-lebanon-hague-court-justice?page=with:block-65d4650d8f08f68df4ca9a84&filterKeyEvents=false#liveblog-navigation>

⁹⁹ <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1750503719806923075> ; <https://twitter.com/NABEELRAJAB/status/1750017231197544706> ; <https://twitter.com/jakeshieldsajj/status/1751580352601309591>

¹⁰⁰ <https://news.walla.co.il/item/3633138>

¹⁰¹ <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2024-01-30/ty-article/.premium/a-new-low-the-israelis-advocating-to-starve-the-people-of-gaza/0000018d-5b42-d0fc-a9bd-5f5fc0740000> ; <https://www.idi.org.il/articles/52967>

¹⁰² <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-125>

¹⁰³ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1757406177883750809>

¹⁰⁴ <https://docs.wfp.org/api/documents/WFP-0000154766/download/>

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/feb/27/un-israel-food-starvation-palestinians-war-crime-genocide>

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/occupied-palestinian-territory/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-flash-update-32> ; <https://www.trtworld.com/middle-east/nightmarish-gazas-pregnant-women-endure-c-sections-without-anesthesia-15823792> ; <https://news.un.org/en/interview/2023/11/1143327> ; <https://healthnews.com/news/c-sections-are-performed-without-anesthesia-in-gaza/> ; https://www.juzoor.org/cached_uploads/download/2023/11/11/maternal-health-report-final-1699726911.pdf

¹⁰⁷ <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1746887014337671410>

¹⁰⁸ <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1763960723695185934>

¹⁰⁹ https://www.juzoor.org/cached_uploads/download/2023/11/11/maternal-health-report-final-1699726911.pdf

people, which the director described as “simply inhumane”.¹¹⁰ Miscarriages in Gaza have increased by 300% compared to the pre-war situation.¹¹¹

Gaza’s health system has all but collapsed, with only a third of Gaza’s hospitals and a quarter of its primary health centers still partially operational.¹¹² There are at least many hundreds of thousands of reported cases of diseases in Gaza so far.¹¹³ By December, over 100,000 cases of diarrhea have been reported, half of which are among children aged 5 or less (25 times the pre-war frequency).¹¹⁴ In a single week in mid-December, 3,200 cases of diarrhea were reported every day (compared to 2,000 per month before the war).¹¹⁵ On average, there is one shower in Gaza for every 4,500 people, and a toilet for every 220.¹¹⁶ Important public voices in Israel – such as a former general and head of Israel’s National Security Council and official wartime advisor to Israel’s Defense Minister¹¹⁷ – have spoken in favor of allowing diseases to decimate the civilian population in Gaza.¹¹⁸

Israel has systematically dismantled the health system in Gaza, making it inoperable. In late February, the head of MSF stated that “there is no health system to speak of left in Gaza”.¹¹⁹ Israel justified much of this by stating that the medical facilities were used for military purposes, but the head of MSF stated in late February that his organization has “seen zero independently verified evidence of this”.¹²⁰

As a result of the above, the chair of global public health at the University of Edinburgh has stated in December that “the world faces the prospect of almost a quarter of Gaza’s 2 million population - close to half a million human beings - dying within a year. These would be largely deaths from preventable health causes and the collapse of the medical system”.¹²¹ Other academics reached similar and more detailed conclusions.¹²²

Israeli discourse and de-humanization of Palestinians

Much of the above is made possible through the consistent de-humanization of Palestinians, fore and foremost those living in Gaza. This dehumanization has proceeded from the top of the Israeli state. Israel’s Prime Minister has described the conflict as “a struggle between the children of light and the children of darkness, between humanity and the law of the jungle”,¹²³ stated that “this war is civilization against barbarism”¹²⁴ and defined the war as a battle against the Biblical Amalek,¹²⁵ which the Bible directs to annihilate completely.¹²⁶ Israel’s President has stated that Israel did not distinguish between militants and civilians, “it’s an entire nation out there that is responsible”.¹²⁷ He

¹¹⁰ <https://www.oxfam.org/en/press-releases/babies-dying-preventable-causes-besieged-gaza-oxfam>

¹¹¹ <https://jezebel.com/miscarriages-in-gaza-have-increased-300-under-israeli-1851168680>

¹¹² <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

¹¹³ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

¹¹⁴ <https://www.who.int/news/item/21-12-2023-lethal-combination-of-hunger-and-disease-to-lead-to-more-deaths-in-gaza>

¹¹⁵ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-flash-update-86>

¹¹⁶ <https://www.who.int/news/item/21-12-2023-lethal-combination-of-hunger-and-disease-to-lead-to-more-deaths-in-gaza>; in early January in UNRWA shelters the ratio was 1 toilet for over 486 people. <https://www.unrwa.org/resources/reports/unrwa-situation-report-59-situation-gaza-strip-and-west-bank-including-east-jerusalem>

¹¹⁷ <https://www.ynet.co.il/news/article/r1zlcnoqa>

¹¹⁸ <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1001462900>

¹¹⁹ <https://www.msf.org/msf-briefing-gaza-un-security-council>

¹²⁰ <https://www.msf.org/msf-briefing-gaza-un-security-council>

¹²¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/dec/29/health-organisations-disease-gaza-population-outbreaks-conflict>

¹²² https://gaza-projections.org/gaza_projections_report.pdf

¹²³ <https://www.snopes.com/fact-check/children-post-deleted-netanyahu/>

¹²⁴ https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/netanyahu-to-dutch-leader-this-war-is-civilization-vs-barbarism/

¹²⁵ <https://www.maariv.co.il/news/politics/Article-1049593>; <https://www.npr.org/2023/11/07/1211133201/netanyahus-references-to-violent-biblical-passages-raise-alarm-among-critics>

¹²⁶ 1 Samuel 15.2-3.

¹²⁷ https://www.huffpost.com/entry/israel-gaza-isaac-herzog_n_65295ee8e4b03ea0c004e2a8

also personally wrote a message on an artillery shell to be shot into Gaza.¹²⁸ Israel's Minister of Defense has described the Palestinians in Gaza as "human animals". At least five other government ministers have made similar statements.¹²⁹ Israel's National Security minister told Border Police troops they should shoot terrorists even if the terrorists do not threaten them, against procedure.¹³⁰ The minister of Social Equality and Women's Advancement asserted that she was proud of the ruins in Gaza and that every baby there, even 80 years from now, will tell their grandchildren what the Jews did.¹³¹ A ruling party MP has stated on TV that he was told "it is clear that we need to destroy [or annihilate, depending on translation of להשמיד] all Gazans".¹³² Other politicians have done the same.¹³³ Institutionalized dehumanization was conducted as well. The IDF ran a Telegram channel ("72 Virgins – Uncensored") that propagandized Israeli audiences through explicit and uncensored "exclusive" videos and images that depicted killings and corpses in Gaza, using explicit language that also compared Gazans to cockroaches and rats.¹³⁴ IDF soldiers shared social media content that explicitly compared Gazans to the biblical Amalek (see above).¹³⁵ Other IDF soldiers opened a " Hamas Hunting Club", complete with a patch and logo, and filmed themselves holding it with Palestinian detainees in the background.¹³⁶ Other soldiers upload much revenge content and relate it to the destruction of the Gaza Strip, including the destruction they themselves caused.¹³⁷

In November, 90 Israeli doctors signed a letter calling to bomb hospitals in Gaza.¹³⁸ A popular singer used a long series of expletives against Gaza during a show for Israeli soldiers.¹³⁹ In early January, a long list of rabbis, academics and ten MPs have called for the cessation of all humanitarian aid to Gaza.¹⁴⁰ In February, a former senior Mossad figure and an important journalist agreed that children aged 5 and up in Gaza are not uninvolved in the conflict and therefore do not deserve humanitarian aid.¹⁴¹ An Israeli media outlet has also noted with glee that the number of deaths of "Arabs" in Gaza in the current war is higher than all previous wars.¹⁴² An Israeli Telegram channel with 127,000 followers shared the image of a Gazan child with cerebral palsy who starved to death as the sequel to the film E.T.¹⁴³ A rabbi at the head of a yeshiva for pre-military age men stated that according to Jewish law, all Gazans must be killed, including babies.¹⁴⁴

¹²⁸ <https://www.haaretz.com/opinion/2024-01-03/ty-article/.premium/a-munition-signed-by-israeli-president-could-hit-a-child/0000018c-cbc4-d4e1-ad8f-fff5a0c70000>

¹²⁹ <https://www.icj-cij.org/sites/default/files/case-related/192/192-20231228-app-01-00-en.pdf>, pp. 60-62.

¹³⁰ <https://www.ynet.co.il/news/article/bkxx1alft>

¹³¹ <https://twitter.com/GolanMay/status/1759675501424042329>; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1760354792663142557>

¹³² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WMxnNkQSfmQ>

¹³³ <https://twitter.com/AmirHetsroni/status/1743063371551822292> (speaker is Moshe Feiglin);

<https://www.ynet.co.il/news/article/syq0011n006>

¹³⁴ <https://www.haaretz.com/news/security/2023-12-12/ty-article/.premium/0000018c-3918-dc03-a9ec-3d7b95f80000>;

<https://www.haaretz.com/news/security/2024-02-04/ty-article/.premium/0000018d-7042-dd6e-a98d-f462d6a00000>

¹³⁵ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1762185882994425961>

¹³⁶ <https://twitter.com/RamAbdu/status/1765386577855791185>

¹³⁷ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1767900767313182897>

¹³⁸ <https://mondoweiss.net/2023/11/israeli-doctors-urge-the-bombing-of-gaza-hospitals/>

¹³⁹ <https://www.ice.co.il/social/news/article/988380> "Gaza, you daughter of a bitch, Gaza, you Black, you garbage can, Gaza, you whore..."

¹⁴⁰ <https://twitter.com/shilofreid/status/1742919348401135788>

¹⁴¹ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1757837275830907052>

¹⁴² https://twitter.com/itamar_green/status/1741504115874627765

¹⁴³ <https://twitter.com/CensoredMen/status/1765773664325075354>

¹⁴⁴ <https://www.ynet.co.il/news/article/sy3bfhu6p>

The dehumanization of Palestinians is now pervasive and obvious in countless videos¹⁴⁵ that present shooting civilians waving white flags,¹⁴⁶ abuse of individuals,¹⁴⁷ captives and corpses,¹⁴⁸ gleefully damaging or destroying houses¹⁴⁹, various structures and institutions,¹⁵⁰ religious sites¹⁵¹ and looting of personal belongings,¹⁵² as well as shooting local animals,¹⁵³ destroying private property¹⁵⁴ and defacing Palestinian symbols.¹⁵⁵ One such video, for example, shows tens of Palestinian captives from Gaza sitting in a bus tied up and with their eyes covered. An Israeli soldier then demands that they praise his family and state that they want to become slaves to his family “forever and ever”.¹⁵⁶ Another testimony of a Gazan doctor states that the detained director of Al-Shifa medical complex was made to crawl like an animal, had a chain placed around his neck and was told to eat from a bowl like a dog.¹⁵⁷ A Gazan detainee said that IDF soldiers placed women detainees from Gaza into the men’s section while being completely naked, and cut the hair of some of the women detainees.¹⁵⁸ Looting has become normalized¹⁵⁹ to the extent that one case was featured approvingly in a popular Friday evening news segment,¹⁶⁰ while a prominent Israeli journalist’s Telegram channel shared an image of a table full of money with the caption “The [IDF] paratroopers

¹⁴⁵ <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/videos-of-israeli-soldiers-acting-maliciously-emerge-amid-international-outcry-against-tactics-in-gaza> ; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1757920440155242710> ; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1761868392326148474> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1763708173905506449> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1763563991387746557> ; images at <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1764384165724598533>
¹⁴⁶ <https://twitter.com/middleeasteye/status/1744351540435935525> ; <https://twitter.com/muhammadshehad2/status/1750601287102542296> ; <https://twitter.com/RamAbdu/status/1749971465422745729>
¹⁴⁷ <https://www.mistaclim.org/he/post/%D7%94%D7%92%D7%99%D7%91%D7%95%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%A9%D7%9C%D7%A0%D7%95>
¹⁴⁸ Long list of videos at: <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1713533460290076817> , <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1744296383174025397> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1745427870216851736> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1747994879156793524> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1752258519900766489> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1755891061015064836> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1758617748383453638> ; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1758914324150538698> ; <https://twitter.com/angeloinchina/status/1759769783409738006> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1764778057364042167> ; <https://twitter.com/RamAbdu/status/1764759225241129162> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1765447101100785887> ; <https://www.bellingcat.com/news/2024/03/05/social-media-posts-show-off-blindfolded-and-bound-palestinian-detainees/> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1767223231549718862> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1768061335030444144>
¹⁴⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KiC4ApANLwg> ; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YiolU7WwpUQ> ; <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20240103-israeli-soldiers-invade-damaged-house-in-gaza-and-destroy-it/> ; <https://twitter.com/RamAbdu/status/1743665392722059344> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1748137507319939548> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1746581304999542901> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1751618405453422875> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1753158451734220834> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1756458915473105113> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1757155595877032104> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1757163079207358570> ; <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1760434485957390399> ; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1761849659671085212> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1761723209760608272> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1765297033093538206>
¹⁵⁰ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1742346460559995063> ; <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1743626241104543942> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1760038133872095300>
¹⁵¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=if_Z2ZeqrN8 ; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1754458148276990180> ; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1757054593656103198>
¹⁵² <https://reliefweb.int/report/occupied-palestinian-territory/amid-ongoing-genocide-gaza-systematic-israeli-theft-occurring-palestinian-civilian-homes-enar> ; <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/israel-palestine-war-gaza-singer-helpless-israeli-soldier-filmed-tiktok-his-guitar> ; <https://twitter.com/BChutzpah19416/status/1750186862579269867> ; written report that includes a soldier confessing to looting homes before demolishing them: <https://medium.com/@dillontelem/gaza-warzone-musings-a-soldiers-reflections-on-demolition-and-humanity-7d4eae313c00> ; <https://twitter.com/adinitay/status/1756791144111816917> ; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1757157210356936804> ; <https://twitter.com/QudsNen/status/1760426342753935765> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1761463006720926062> ; <https://twitter.com/QudsNen/status/1761815084081246331> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1762221066372485260>
¹⁵³ https://twitter.com/Sarah_Hassan94/status/1754620276271149451
¹⁵⁴ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/174813077873729911> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1761472312908320798> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1764773062908547579> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1765035342032142672>
¹⁵⁵ <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1742273606699106542> ; <https://twitter.com/QudsNen/status/1743712184725594564>
¹⁵⁶ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1752433175320478060>
¹⁵⁷ <https://twitter.com/adham922/status/175606805779245412>
¹⁵⁸ <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1756605167946899965>
¹⁵⁹ <https://www.mekomit.co.il/ps/132092/>
¹⁶⁰ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1756438313899024862>

hit the jackpot in Khan Younis”.¹⁶¹ A military doctor noted that looting had become “almost institutionalized”.¹⁶²

Many soldiers release humoristic videos about their experience and destruction in Gaza,¹⁶³ or content that ignores the war, such as conducting a yoga class in an abandoned home in Gaza,¹⁶⁴ or a soldier holding up a sign advertising a barber shop in Israel with corpses of dead Palestinians around him.¹⁶⁵ Other photos include soldiers posing near election banners for local (Israeli) politicians and restaurant chains “coming soon” to Gaza.¹⁶⁶ Recurring types of content include humorously presenting the lingerie of Gazan women¹⁶⁷ or posing with items (often toys) from abandoned Gazan houses.¹⁶⁸ *Ha’aretz*, the left-leaning Israel newspaper, covered the good food that IDF soldiers were eating in abandoned homes in Gaza at the same time as their displaced owners were starving.¹⁶⁹ The IDF has even brought influencers to mockingly “review” a “hotel” in Gaza.¹⁷⁰ Revenge is a recurring theme in many of these videos.¹⁷¹ More videos are covered by *The New York Times*¹⁷² and *CNN*.¹⁷³ In January alone, the IDF burned hundreds of houses and apartments in Gaza which Israeli soldiers temporarily occupied, without legal approval in a procedure that became normative.¹⁷⁴

Israeli demonstrators have repeatedly attempted to block humanitarian aid from entering Gaza, including holding a rave/protest just outside the border wall.¹⁷⁵ On one occasion, the IDF attacked a food convoy.¹⁷⁶ In late February and early March about half of the missions aimed at delivering aid

¹⁶¹ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1760599708857237838>

¹⁶² <https://www.ynet.co.il/yedioth/article/yokra13792905>

¹⁶³ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1745063720080793681>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1745491460525375587>; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1748075046294163757>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1746696846817325288>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1746685595366125951>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1745973511301026092>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1749272544975229438>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1749593678861984045>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1750782757326795020>; <https://twitter.com/NABEELRAJAB/status/1750228266193969448>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1750627849948532763>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1750540763413287350>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1749795644532035602>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1750197302579343870>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1753422534555427299>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1753536164085010674>; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1754091912040968444>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1754553057696784519>; a long list of additional videos here: <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1755973157515669708>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1757094979460067773>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1760040514915553463>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1759307381169701366>; <https://twitter.com/NaksBilal/status/1761825956950421858>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1761363322182516924>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1761360983174316281>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1762212629576069120>; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1762543392997703956>; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1766193632661447085>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1766178422361821416>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1766491956090155333>; more videos and images here:

<https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1766912143444656544>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1767985211747270834>

¹⁶⁴ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1749956154975744455>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1753536576791970148>; <https://twitter.com/EmilioMorenatti/status/1759669676810904020>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1766582097404137482>

¹⁶⁵ <https://twitter.com/Mistaclim/status/1755129771825000637>

¹⁶⁶ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1760407071747719357>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1761039679212671105>

¹⁶⁷ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1760359033095991623>; <https://twitter.com/OwenJones84/status/1760640827720638639>; <https://twitter.com/wattheactualfug/status/1760775215418634685>; https://twitter.com/bernstein_ariel/status/1761809205147717664; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1762207301920776365>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1762201439785410805>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1763708246227865971>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1763708570514657704>; <https://twitter.com/Mistaclim/status/1764883823857218031>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1765392369531187549>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1766016416371630284>

¹⁶⁸ <https://twitter.com/grapesofwhat/status/1761332020402118799>; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1762556002711289987>; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1763682787054211217>

¹⁶⁹ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/food/2024-02-13/ty-article-magazine/.premium/0000018d-82c5-d6dc-ab9f-cffd1ebc0000>

¹⁷⁰ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1743296706576269446>;

<https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1739728935779234254>

¹⁷¹ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1750219568428036237>;

<https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1756652152607457781>

¹⁷² <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/06/world/middleeast/israel-idf-soldiers-war-social-media-video.html>

¹⁷³ <https://twitter.com/amanpour/status/1758204651927744784>

¹⁷⁴ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2024-01-31/ty-article/.premium/0000018d-5fea-d9df-a9cd-7ffe4e820000>;

<https://twitter.com/OmerArvili/status/1753754952155934999>

¹⁷⁵ <https://twitter.com/LowkeyOnline/status/1757326323712774650>;

<https://twitter.com/loffredojeremy/status/1762480372963508266>

¹⁷⁶ <https://palestine.un.org/en/259747-food-convoy-waiting-move-northern-gaza-was-hit-israeli-naval-gunfire>

to areas in the north part of the Gaza Strip were denied access by Israeli authorities.¹⁷⁷ On 29 February, the IDF shot starving Gazans who came to take food from an aid convoy, killing over 100 and injuring over 700 more.¹⁷⁸ In response, Israel's Minister of National Security called to "completely support" all IDF troops while also calling for stopping all humanitarian aid to Gazans.¹⁷⁹ When the IDF transferred about 70 Gazan orphans to the West Bank as a gesture of good will to Germany, it was harshly criticized by both politicians and the government.¹⁸⁰

Thousands of Palestinians have been detained and moved to camps within Israel.¹⁸¹ Many of these Palestinians (as much as 85-90% according to Israeli media) are arrested without any concrete connection to Hamas.¹⁸² The conditions throughout the process of arrest and detainment are appalling, as a released Gazan poet has recently narrated in detail.¹⁸³ Many others have shared similar stories, including on the torture they experienced.¹⁸⁴ Online videos provide more evidence.¹⁸⁵ In one, a Gazan doctor who was detained by Israel said that he was held for 45 days, throughout which he was blindfolded and handcuffed, with his legs tied in clamps in what amounts to torture. He was subsequently released.¹⁸⁶ To date, at least 8 Palestinian prisoners and captives have died in Israeli jails since the beginning of the war,¹⁸⁷ where conditions are appalling as well.¹⁸⁸ The IDF has admitted that additional detained Palestinians from Gaza have died but refused to supply additional details,¹⁸⁹ until in early March *Ha'aretz* revealed that 27 Gazans died in IDF detention camps.¹⁹⁰ The IDF refused to answer whether it opened Military Police investigations for the deaths of Gazan captives.¹⁹¹ According to a law amendment that was passed after the beginning of the war, Israel can now hold "illegal fighters" as detainees for up to 45 days without a warrant or notifying their families, and putting a detainee in contact with their lawyer can be delayed for up to 75 days (or half a year, if a judge approves).¹⁹² The same law was used, for example, to detain and imprison an 82-year old woman with Alzheimer disease for almost two months.¹⁹³ The number of women detained in

¹⁷⁷ <https://twitter.com/UNRWA/status/1759993361702748380> ; <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-flash-update-140>

¹⁷⁸ <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2024/02/29/world/middleeast/gaza-aid-trucks-map.html>

¹⁷⁹ <https://twitter.com/itamarbengvir/status/1763196768458604583>

¹⁸⁰ <https://www.inn.co.il/flushes/981582> ; https://www.mako.co.il/news-diplomatic/2024_q1/Article-ad64e47a0ed2e81026.htm ; <https://www.zman.co.il/newsletter/2024-03-12/> ; <https://www.jdn.co.il/news/2157725/> ; <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2024-03-12/ty-article/.premium/0000018e-3344-d5ad-addf-7f5518fc0000> ; <https://chabad.info/news/war/1063572/> ; <https://news.walla.co.il/item/3649971> ; <https://www.haaretz.co.il/magazine/on-the-line/2024-03-13/ty-article/.highlight/0000018e-32df-d897-a58f-b7dfad0b0000>

¹⁸¹ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/12/09/gaza-civilians-detained-israel/> ; <https://twitter.com/YinonMagal/status/1754505872753979498> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1755342772670804416> ; <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/03/world/middleeast/unrwa-gaza-detention-israel.html>

¹⁸² <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2023-12-10/ty-article/.premium/0000018c-542b-df2f-adac-fe2f4bf80000>

¹⁸³ <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/01/01/a-palestinian-poets-perilous-journey-out-of-gaza>

¹⁸⁴ <https://www.mekomit.co.il/20-%d7%a9%d7%a2%d7%95%d7%aa-%d7%a2%d7%9c-%d7%94%d7%91%d7%a8%d7%9b%d7%99%d7%99%d7%9d-%d7%9e%d7%99-%d7%a9%d7%96%d7%96-%d7%9e%d7%95%d6%bc%d7%9b%d6%b6%d6%bc%d7%94-%d7%90%d7%96%d7%a8%d7%97%d7%99%d7%9d/> ; <https://twitter.com/QudsNen/status/1747273886264443173> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1756754492790349978> ; <https://twitter.com/marwasfi/status/1762590590737207562>

¹⁸⁵ https://twitter.com/brown_johnbrown/status/1743021596682371453 ; <https://twitter.com/Mistaclim/status/1753512387322474545> ; <https://twitter.com/NourNaim88/status/1753044873974849578> ; <https://twitter.com/arixegal/status/1759978751524212926>

¹⁸⁶ <https://twitter.com/ReneeLevant/status/1754269959927079245>

¹⁸⁷ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2023-12-06/ty-article-magazine/.premium/0000018c-3b9b-d11b-a3bf-ffb16d80000> ; <https://twitter.com/KhalilAsslan/status/1741926482463633866> ; <https://twitter.com/MustafaBarghou1/status/1761325667252092984>

¹⁸⁸ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2024-03-07/ty-article/.premium/0000018e-1240-df16-a58e-1ffedcf70000>

¹⁸⁹ <https://www.mekomit.co.il/20-%D7%A9%D7%A2%D7%95%D7%AA-%D7%A2%D7%9C-%D7%94%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%9B%D7%99%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%9E%D7%99-%D7%A9%D7%96%D7%96-%D7%9E%D7%95%D6%BC%D7%9B%D6%B6%D6%BC%D7%94-%D7%90%D7%96%D7%A8%D7%97%D7%99%D7%9D/>

¹⁹⁰ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2024-03-07/ty-article/.premium/0000018e-1240-df16-a58e-1ffedcf70000>

¹⁹¹ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2024-01-02/ty-article/.premium/0000018c-c6e1-d6c4-ab8d-e7f5fd670000>

¹⁹² <https://www.mekomit.co.il/20-%d7%a9%d7%a2%d7%95%d7%aa-%d7%a2%d7%9c-%d7%94%d7%91%d7%a8%d7%9b%d7%99%d7%99%d7%9d-%d7%9e%d7%99-%d7%a9%d7%96%d7%96-%d7%9e%d7%95%d6%bc%d7%9b%d6%b6%d6%bc%d7%94-%d7%90%d7%96%d7%a8%d7%97%d7%99%d7%9d/>

¹⁹³ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2024-02-01/ty-article/.premium/0000018d-5f18-d0af-a3af-7fbcea840000>

Gaza (and the West Bank) since Oct. 7 has been in the hundreds. In mid-February, a panel of experts appointed by the UN's Human Rights Council found evidence for egregious human rights violations, including keeping Gazan women in a cage in the rain and cold, without food, sexual assault against detained women including rape in two cases, and threats of rape and sexual violence, as well as uploading pictures of female detainees in degrading circumstances.¹⁹⁴ One Palestinian woman has spoken about the sexual, emotional and physical abuse she has experienced for over a month in which she was detained.¹⁹⁵ An UNRWA report based on over a hundred interviews with released detainees contained many gruesome details, such as a Gazan law student who was beaten so badly that his genitals turned blue and his urine continued to contain blood for weeks. He was forced to sleep naked in the open air, next to a fan blowing cold air, and played music so loudly that his ears bled.¹⁹⁶ A BBC investigative report in mid-March found that the IDF beat, humiliated and detained for days dozens of Gaza medical staff from Nasser hospital. The UK foreign secretary said that the report was "very disturbing".¹⁹⁷

Ethnic cleansing

Ethnic cleansing is openly discussed in Israeli discourse, including by ministers in the ruling government. This includes the ministers of Finance,¹⁹⁸ National Security,¹⁹⁹ the former minister of Information²⁰⁰ and a former Minister of Justice.²⁰¹ Israel MPs have also participated in the discussion.²⁰² A Israeli government plan proposal to repopulate all Gazans to the Sinai Peninsula (part of Egypt) has been leaked.²⁰³ Israel has also attempted to get the US to pressure Egypt into accepting Gazan refugees,²⁰⁴ and has attempted to convince several countries including Congo to accept Palestinian refugees.²⁰⁵ Other locations members of Israel government suggested as potential resettlement locations include Saudi Arabia, Jordan, the European Union and Chile.²⁰⁶ According to Israeli media, Chad and Rwanda have expressed interest to accept tens of thousands of Palestinians in exchange for generous financial support that included military support.²⁰⁷ In mid-February a local human rights organization revealed that Egypt was building a high-security area for the reception of Palestinian refugees.²⁰⁸

The absence of clear war goals or a clear end game to the war has allowed many Israelis to support the resettling of Gaza with Jewish settlements after the war.²⁰⁹ Over 30 right-wing organizations have supported this goal in a late January conference.²¹⁰ A total of 11 ministers and 15 MPs (of a total of 120) participated in the conference.²¹¹ Several IDF soldiers have stated their will to resettle

¹⁹⁴ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/02/israelopt-un-experts-appalled-reported-human-rights-violations-against>

¹⁹⁵ <https://twitter.com/MiddleEastEye/status/1762502752184467495>

¹⁹⁶ <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/03/world/middleeast/unrwa-gaza-detention-israel.html>

¹⁹⁷ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-68513408>; <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-68546268>

¹⁹⁸ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/ministers-call-for-resettling-gazas-palestinians-building-settlements-in-strip/>

¹⁹⁹ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/ministers-call-for-resettling-gazas-palestinians-building-settlements-in-strip/>

²⁰⁰ <https://www.hidabroot.org/article/1187840>

²⁰¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JEu-dQWOIL4>

²⁰² <https://twitter.com/tzvisuccot/status/1754822778950148138>

²⁰³ <https://www.mekomit.co.il/%d7%94%d7%9e%d7%a1%d7%9e%d7%9a-%d7%94%d7%9e%d7%9c%d7%90-%d7%a9%d7%9c-%d7%9e%d7%a9%d7%a8%d7%93-%d7%94%d7%9e%d7%95%d7%93%d7%99%d7%a2%d7%99%d7%9f-%d7%9b%d7%99%d7%91%d7%95%d7%a9-%d7%a2%d7%96%d7%94-%d7%95/>

²⁰⁴ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2023/12/21/biden-netanyahu-dispute-palestinian-state/>

²⁰⁵ https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/israeli-officials-said-in-talks-with-congo-others-on-taking-in-gaza-emigrants/

²⁰⁶ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/01/04/gaza-displaced-civilians-resettlement-israel/>

²⁰⁷ <https://www.zman.co.il/453910/popup/>

²⁰⁸ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/war-gaza-egypt-building-buffer-zone-palestinian-refugees>

²⁰⁹ https://www.mako.co.il/news-politics/2023_q4/Article-9f47fed9563eb81027.htm

²¹⁰ <https://twitter.com/AlonLeeGreen/status/1746855797328433438>

²¹¹ https://www.mako.co.il/news-politics/2024_q1/Article-7ce65d03aa05d81027.htm

Gaza while uniformed and within Gaza.²¹² Polls from February and March reveal that some 20% of Israeli Jews believe that Israel should resettle Gaza.²¹³ A video from late February shows an Israeli civilian tractor sowing fields within the Gaza strip as a “victory photo”.²¹⁴ In early March, Jewish activists were able to briefly enter the Gaza Strip in attempt to build a settlement there.²¹⁵ IDF soldiers appear to have constructed “the first synagogue in Khan Younis”,²¹⁶ another synagogue there,²¹⁷ as well as inaugurated a Torah scroll in three occasions (Sheikh Radwan in Gaza City, the Islamic University in Gaza, and Khan Younis).²¹⁸ One soldier filmed himself spray painting the Temple in Jerusalem on the ruins of a destroyed mosque in Gaza.²¹⁹ An IDF military “pizzeria” has allegedly opened in Khan Younis, and soldiers placed a sign of a fast food restaurant that might soon open in Gaza.²²⁰ Other soldiers hold a commercial sign of an American construction company from New Jersey (and an American flag) with the destroyed buildings of Gaza in the background.²²¹ Donna Italia (an international pizzeria chain) appears to have opened a pizzeria in a displaced family’s home in Khan Younis to support IDF troops.²²²

All the evidence I have seen indicates that Israel is systematically destroying Gaza to make it unlivable in the future. Israel is said to have dropped over 500 2,000-pound bombs within the densely populated urban area, despite the massive collateral damage these bombs cause (causing death or injury in a radius of up to 365 meters around the target). These bombs are four times heavier than the largest bombs the United States used when fighting ISIS in Mosul.²²³ Over 60 percent of Gaza’s housing units have been destroyed or damaged.²²⁴ As of mid-January experts estimate based on satellite imagery that between 142,900 to 176,900 buildings have been damaged.²²⁵ Israel has destroyed not only buildings whose connection to Hamas militants is weak,²²⁶ but also a long list of cultural institutions,²²⁷ historical and archaeological sites,²²⁸ dozens of governmental buildings (including the parliament²²⁹ and the main courthouse)²³⁰, religious buildings (over 223 mosques and 3 churches²³¹), universities (most or all universities in Gaza have been destroyed according to Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor),²³² hospitals,²³³ public libraries²³⁴ and

²¹² <https://twitter.com/Mistaclim/status/1746854844818681861>; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1745907053426565605>

²¹³ <https://www.inss.org.il/he/publication/swords-of-iron-14/>

²¹⁴ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1760758994350588388>

²¹⁵ <https://www.ynet.co.il/news/article/r11oner3a>

²¹⁶ <https://twitter.com/yanivkub/status/1742189448006127715>

²¹⁷ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1745979741931282775>

²¹⁸ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1743588216630919271> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1750793042850664750> ; <https://twitter.com/KhalilAsslan/status/1753364384800252200>

²¹⁹ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1756666882331988140>

²²⁰ <https://twitter.com/arixegal/status/1747704367145201666>

²²¹ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1759534834710352030>

²²² <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1753547113638604865> ; also <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1765450350549487672>

²²³ <https://www.cnn.com/gaza-israel-big-bombs/index.html>; <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/12/israel-opt-us-made-munitions-killed-43-civilians-in-two-documented-israeli-air-strikes-in-gaza-new-investigation/>

²²⁴ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

²²⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2024/jan/30/how-war-destroyed-gazas-neighbourhoods-visual-investigation>

²²⁶ <https://www.972mag.com/mass-assassination-factory-israel-calculated-bombing-gaza/>

²²⁷ E.g. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/israeli-army-says-it-struck-islamic-university-of-gaza/3015542>

²²⁸ <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-12-26/tv-article-magazine/premium/bombing-historical-sites-in-gaza-israel-is-destroying-everything-beautiful/0000018c-a565-df1f-a7bf-b7e53e8e0000>; <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2023/12/22/gaza-city-archives-among-heritage-sites-destroyed-in-israel-hamas-war> ; <https://www.unesco.org/en/gaza/assessment> ; <https://twitter.com/RamAbdu/status/1766458940118769799>

²²⁹ <https://www.wsj.com/world/middle-east/gaza-destruction-bombing-israel-aa528542>

²³⁰ <https://www.newarab.com/news/israel-destroys-gaza-courthouse-dozens-govt-buildings>

²³¹ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

²³² <https://twitter.com/PeruginiNic/status/1747730495482310771> ; <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/6108/Israel-kills-dozens-of-academics.-destroys-every-university-in-the-Gaza-Strip> ;

<https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/6163/Israel%E2%80%99s-demolition-of-educational-institutions.-cultural-objects-in-Gaza-is-additional-manifestation-of-genocide>

²³³ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1760766861279391872>

²³⁴ <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2023-12-12/gaza-library-bombing>; <https://lithub.com/gazas-main-public-library-has-been-destroyed/> ; <https://twitter.com/RamAbdu/status/1759474743189660011>

archives.²³⁵ Already in early December, Israeli attacks destroyed or damaged more than 100 heritage sites,²³⁶ including buildings from Gaza’s medieval, Byzantine and Roman periods. Soldiers have been filmed within a warehouse filled with antiquities, and there appears to have been a post by the director of the Israel Antiquities Authority that claimed that some of those antiquities were taken to Israel and presented in the Knesset (the post was later deleted).²³⁷ Over 60% of all school buildings have sustained damage.²³⁸ One IDF soldier claims his unit received orders to destroy the village of Khuza’a and uploaded a video showing that they accomplished the mission over two weeks.²³⁹ At least 16 cemeteries have been desecrated by the IDF, often by bulldozing.²⁴⁰ A video shows the results of such an operation, with corpses left scattered across the landscape.²⁴¹ An online video depicts the torching of the Shujjaiya neighborhood in a military operation.²⁴² The IDF further bulldozed broad areas in the Gaza strip.²⁴³ The amount of debris created by the destruction of residential areas (>8,000,000 metric tons) will take over 3 years to remove according to estimates.²⁴⁴

After two months of fighting, Israel had already caused more destruction in Gaza than Syria in Aleppo (2012-2016), Russia in Mariupol in 2022, or (proportionally) the Allied bombing of Germany in World War II,²⁴⁵ as well as the fights against ISIS in Mosul (2016-7) and Raqqa (2017).²⁴⁶ The destruction in Gaza has resulted in the displacement of some 75 percent of Gaza’s population.²⁴⁷

Evidence supports the conclusion that Israel is attempting to destroy all buildings inside the Gaza Strip within a kilometer of the Israel-Gaza fence to create a “buffer zone”.²⁴⁸ Such destruction has been described by the UN’s Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights as a “grave breach of the Fourth Geneva convention and a war crime”.²⁴⁹ In mid-February, Israeli media announced that the IDF was constructing a road to bisect the Gaza Strip, suggesting its plans for a long occupation.²⁵⁰ In early March, its construction was completed,²⁵¹ and it enables rapid movement and will be held by Israel for “at least another year” according to the IDF.²⁵²

Hostages

Within this context, the Israeli government has refrained from making serious moves to release the 134 Israeli hostages that remain in Gaza.²⁵³ To date, three hostages of some 240 hostages taken on

²³⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dCNftkL7cx4>

²³⁶ <https://www.npr.org/2023/12/03/1216200754/gaza-heritage-sites-destroyed-israel>, <https://www.heritageforpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Report-of-the-effects-of-the-last-war-of-2023-on-the-cultural-heritage-in-Gaza-Strip-Palestine-english.pdf>

²³⁷ <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20240122-israel-army-displays-artefacts-stolen-from-gaza-in-the-knesset/>; <https://twitter.com/EmekShavehHeb/status/1749030636529008651>

²³⁸ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

²³⁹ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1744195835577921772>

²⁴⁰ <https://www.cnn.com/2024/01/20/middleeast/israel-gaza-cemeteries-desecrated-investigation-intl-cmd/index.html> ;

<https://twitter.com/QudsNen/status/1749145986595713498>

²⁴¹ <https://twitter.com/RamAbdu/status/1743386378606412188>

²⁴² <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1767698980127838474>

²⁴³ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1750443193575886945>

²⁴⁴ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-flash-update-104>

²⁴⁵ <https://apnews.com/article/israel-gaza-bombs-destruction-death-toll-scope-419488c511f83c85baea22458472a796>

²⁴⁶ <https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/02/14/gaza-war-israel-civilian-deaths-urban-warfare-hamas/>

²⁴⁷ <https://twitter.com/UNHumanRights/status/1742863747683668418>; <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-160>

²⁴⁸ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1758376261628436523>

²⁴⁹ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/02/widespread-destruction-israeli-defence-forces-civilian-infrastructure-gaza>

²⁵⁰ <https://twitter.com/YairWallach/status/1759572148559962424>

²⁵¹ <https://news.sky.com/story/israel-completes-construction-of-road-which-cuts-across-gaza-strip-13089556>

²⁵² https://twitter.com/Doron_Kadosh/status/1762434310831796618

²⁵³ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-113>

October 7 have been released by military operations.²⁵⁴ The military operation that released two of them also killed some 100 Gazans.²⁵⁵ Three other Israeli hostages were killed by IDF forces within Gaza despite waving white flags and calling for help.²⁵⁶ Another was killed during an attempted rescue operation.²⁵⁷ Three others were supposedly killed by gas that the IDF flooded the tunnels with.²⁵⁸ In late February an Israeli report found that at least 10 hostages were killed by the IDF's actions, including a case where the IDF bombed a building that it suspected had a Israeli hostage.²⁵⁹

On the other hand, a temporary ceasefire has resulted in the release of 105 hostages.²⁶⁰ Instead of negotiating additional hostage releases, the Israeli government prefers to continue its military operation, despite the obvious risk to the hostages. Those hostages who have been released in the previous exchange have repeatedly stated that Israeli bombardments they experienced were among the most terrifying things they experienced during their captivity.²⁶¹ The spokesperson for the Likud, the largest party in the Israeli parliament, met the families of the hostages and warned them against pushing for an early election because "it will be bad for the hostages" and "in such a period [i.e. elections] a lot of filth will surface".²⁶² There is additional evidence that families of the hostages fear that if they speak up too loudly their family members might be pushed to the end of the list of hostages to be released.²⁶³ In mid-March, the chief of staff of the IDF unit responsible for the hostages resigned as he felt that Israel's political leadership was not interested in moving towards a deal.²⁶⁴

The West Bank

The West Bank has received less attention in media and public discourse. Nonetheless, the situation there has deteriorated quickly since the beginning of the war. At least 15 herding/Bedouin Palestinian settlements there have been abandoned after attacks by Israeli Jewish settlers (646 recorded since October 7).²⁶⁵ About 4,000 Palestinians have been displaced in the West Bank in 2023.²⁶⁶ Jewish settlers have killed several Palestinians, and have wounded, terrorized and abused others.²⁶⁷ A total of 418 Palestinians have been killed so far.²⁶⁸ Half the fatalities in the West Bank since the beginning of 2023 (four times higher than in 2022) were reported in operations that did not involve armed clashes. The deputy mayor of Jerusalem stated that Israeli police in Jerusalem used live ammunition and shot-to-kill rioters, killing five in early-mid October.²⁶⁹ Since October 7, 4,690 Palestinians have been injured in the West Bank.²⁷⁰ Several videos depict the killing of

²⁵⁴ <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-10-30/ty-article/.premium/israel-rescues-woman-soldier-kidnapped-to-gaza-by-hamas/0000018b-81cc-df47-a3df-ffcdcbcdc0000> ; <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/11/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-hostages-rescued.html>

²⁵⁵ <https://www.cnn.com/2024/02/12/middleeast/israel-airstrikes-rafah-ground-offensive-looms-intl-hnk/index.html>

²⁵⁶ <https://www.ft.com/content/2e299603-2fed-4855-9694-9801008c48dc>

²⁵⁷ <https://www.ynet.co.il/news/article/rjzpo117da>

²⁵⁸ <https://twitter.com/tomashinyu3/status/1747651031737979233>

²⁵⁹ <https://www.ha-makom.co.il/post/revital-host-idf>

²⁶⁰ <https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2023/12/world/hostage-israel-hamas-deal-dg/>

²⁶¹ <https://www.maariv.co.il/news/israel/Article-1061467>

²⁶² https://twitter.com/Bar_ShemUr/status/1757852992215056477

²⁶³ <https://www.ynet.co.il/news/article/bikutcon6>

²⁶⁴ <https://13tv.co.il/item/news/politics/security/sqpwv-903972705/>

²⁶⁵ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-flash-update-140> ;

<https://twitter.com/YehudaShaul/status/1758122975386014057>

²⁶⁶ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/about-4000-palestinians-displaced-west-bank-2023>

²⁶⁷ For example: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/2024/01/09/israel-settler-violence-qusra-west-bank/> ;

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2024/03/04/israel-west-bank-settlers-attacks-palestinians>

²⁶⁸ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-flash-update-140>

²⁶⁹ <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1754079208643420204>

²⁷⁰ <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-flash-update-140>

unarmed and unthreatening Palestinians.²⁷¹ When an Israeli police officer shot and killed a 12 year old boy who launched a firework, Israel's National Security minister commended him and said he should receive a medal.²⁷² Israeli troops disguised as medical workers and Muslim women have entered a hospital in the West Bank and killed three unarmed militants there in their beds as they slept, including one who was paralyzed for three months.²⁷³ Multiple videos present Israeli troops humiliating Palestinians,²⁷⁴ hitting them,²⁷⁵ destroying their property²⁷⁶ or public infrastructure,²⁷⁷ and defacing Palestinian symbols.²⁷⁸ One soldier shared an image in which he claimed to have stolen a bag full of money notes.²⁷⁹ Another shows a soldier celebrating his birthday(?) with balloons while a handcuffed and blindfolded Palestinian is lying on the ground behind him.²⁸⁰ One video showed Israeli forces kidnap or detain a Palestinian, dressed him in uniform, cuffed his hands and feet, and apparently used him as a human shield.²⁸¹ Like Gaza, here too there are video clips humiliating and de-humanizing Palestinians.²⁸² Other videos show settlers stealing Palestinian property.²⁸³ A *Wall Street Journal* investigative report found that after Oct. 7 Israeli settlers have rapidly built both illegal roads and settlements in the West Bank. The Israeli government refused to review the evidence the newspaper supplied.²⁸⁴

More Palestinians are being arrested in the West Bank. In the first month of fighting, over 2,200 Palestinians were arrested. Over 2,000 Palestinians were held in administrative detention, without charge or trial. These have been subjected to torture and degrading treatment, according to Amnesty.²⁸⁵ Online content affirms these claims.²⁸⁶ Many descriptions of released detainees refer to constant abuse by their prison staff.²⁸⁷ One recently said that daily, since Oct. 7 their guards require them to crawl while draped in an Israeli flag and kiss the Israeli flag, beating them if they refuse to do so. Food was thrown to the floor and stepped on.²⁸⁸

The media, propaganda and the war (disclaimer)²⁸⁹

For reasons of space this section will focus on Israeli and American media as well as other actions of the Israeli state to limit public discourse.

²⁷¹ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1746987605034447294>

²⁷² <https://twitter.com/Kahlissee/status/1767976353532383504> ; <https://twitter.com/itamarbengvir/status/1767860298432528673> ; <https://twitter.com/origivati/status/1767806214254002619>

²⁷³ <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israeli-forces-kill-3-gunmen-west-bank-hospital-army-says-2024-01-30/>

²⁷⁴ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1741445118333222937> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1748100280560845092> ; <https://twitter.com/Mistaclim/status/1747358396519493874> ; <https://twitter.com/Mistaclim/status/1751689800254476390> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1760462497943839127> ; <https://twitter.com/ireallyhateyou/status/1765200009580925182>

²⁷⁵ <https://twitter.com/AdameMedia/status/1761508331598848224>

²⁷⁶ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1743038305581593033> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1756688401233817855>

²⁷⁷ <https://twitter.com/QudsNen/status/1751125745701671025>

²⁷⁸ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1768010284860416327>

²⁷⁹ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1756695309239939117>

²⁸⁰ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1758619734809928130>

²⁸¹ <https://twitter.com/TameeOliveFern/status/1752615765092815206>

²⁸² <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1756696385510883830> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1756697908907233406> ;

<https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1765313264324333905> ; <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1765436458108653778> ;

<https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1765673191521874004>

²⁸³ <https://twitter.com/Mistaclim/status/1753732272816029757>

²⁸⁴ <https://www.wsi.com/video/series/in-depth-features/visual-evidence-shows-illegal-settler-construction-in-west-bank-surgin/BF11225B-45A7-430A-A39C-48336B5B8286>

²⁸⁵ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/11/israel-opt-horrifying-cases-of-torture-and-degrading-treatment-of-palestinian-detainees-amid-spike-in-arbitrary-arrests/>

²⁸⁶ <https://twitter.com/ytirawi/status/1761463527489900685>

²⁸⁷ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/law/2023-12-30/ty-article/0000018c-b51e-d45c-a98e-bf5e7a340000>

²⁸⁸ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2024-01-02/ty-article/premium/0000018c-c6e5-d6c4-ab8d-e7f561840000>

²⁸⁹ Because of the nature of the evidence, this section includes discourse to a greater extent than the rest of this document. The truth is also considerably less clear. I nonetheless did my best to present the evidence in a critical manner. Feedback would be welcome.

Introduction: propaganda, sometimes known as public diplomacy, aims to disseminate information to influence public perception. Such propaganda may convey facts, lies or anything in between. States and other actors in the 21st century commonly employ propaganda. The propaganda of the Israeli state is often called hasbara.²⁹⁰

The current war has been enabled and facilitated by massive media efforts to shape discourse in Israel as well as in the West – in countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany. *The Intercept*, for example, has highlighted how Israel repeatedly “chooses an issue and demands global attention to its agenda at the expense of any other matter”.²⁹¹ Israel otherwise keeps a tight control over media and its reporting in support of its own propaganda. For example, the IDF’s censor declared early in the war a ban on reporting on 8 subjects without approving them first. This censorship applies to both Israeli journalists and their foreign counterparts, who have to sign a document that they will comply with the censor to get a visa as a journalist in the country.²⁹² *CNN*, for example, has admitted that it runs all its Gaza coverage through its Jerusalem bureau, itself monitored by the censor.²⁹³ At the same time, Israel also strongly limits the boundaries of acceptable public discourse. Israeli police has been repressing anti-war protests since the beginning of the war, often with excessive violence.²⁹⁴ Palestinian citizens of Israel were not allowed to protest early during the war with the support of Israel’s Supreme Court,²⁹⁵ a situation that has only partially improved subsequently. Israel has similarly obstructed external official investigations into the Oct. 7 atrocities, for example one led by the UN Human Rights Council.²⁹⁶

Israeli discourse almost uniformly ignores Palestinian voices. There is almost no attention to the experiences of Gazans or the horrors of war.²⁹⁷ Instead, the dominant perspective provided to the Israeli public is the official account of the IDF’s spokesperson which is rarely challenged despite many examples of falsehoods and misrepresentations of reality by the IDF in the war.²⁹⁸ For example, despite Israeli claims to have killed large amounts of Hamas militants (10,000-13,000 as of late February-early March),²⁹⁹ the number has not been challenged in Israeli media, while a *BBC* examination found almost no evidence for this in hundreds of IDF videos, and little support for the number in the IDF’s own reporting.³⁰⁰ In Israeli media, the deaths of civilians in Gaza are minimized while the destruction is sanitized through images of buildings destroyed from far away. Most Israeli media has not covered the atrocities and war crimes conducted by Israeli soldiers in Gaza, and the ones that have done so did it only months after the beginning of the war. The main challenges to

²⁹⁰

https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%94%D7%AA%D7%A2%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%9C%D7%94_%D7%94%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%AA

²⁹¹ <https://theintercept.com/2024/02/07/gaza-israel-netanyahu-propaganda-lies-palestinians/>

²⁹² <https://theintercept.com/2023/12/23/israel-military-idf-media-censor/>

²⁹³ <https://www.salon.com/2024/01/05/cnn-admits-it-runs-all-gaza-coverage-through-bureau-monitored-by-israeli-military-censor-partner/>; <https://theintercept.com/2024/01/04/cnn-israel-gaza-idf-reporting/>

²⁹⁴ <https://www.972mag.com/israel-police-repression-protests-gaza/>

²⁹⁵ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/law/2023-11-16/tv-article/.premium/0000018b-d84e-dffa-adeb-fe4e97f50000;>

<https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/law/2023-11-08/tv-article/.premium/0000018b-af66-dedf-adab-ef76b2400000;>

<https://13tv.co.il/item/news/domestic/crime-and-justice/war-protest-903791798/>

²⁹⁶ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/government-forbids-doctors-from-speaking-to-un-group-investigating-oct-7-atrocities/>

²⁹⁷ <https://hazmanhazeh.org.il/dehumanization-by-disregard/>; <https://www.the7eye.org.il/503665> ;

<https://www.kikar.co.il/journalism/s6bo7x>

²⁹⁸ <https://www.the7eye.org.il/501228> ; <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/television/tv-review/2024-01-16/tv-article/.highlight/0000018d-10f6-d71c-ad9f-53f6b2c90000>

²⁹⁹ <https://www.israelhayom.co.il/news/defense/article/15395367>; <https://www.ynet.co.il/blogs/118daysofwar/article/sksjxiv9a> ;

<https://www.politico.eu/article/israels-netanyahu-says-he-will-defy-bidens-red-line-and-invade-rafah/>

³⁰⁰ The BBC found that only one of the 280 videos that the IDF uploaded to its website until 27 February showed what appeared as dead bodies of Hamas militants. The IDF referred in 160 posts to specified numbers of Hamas militants killed, reaching a total of 714. Other references were vague and therefore difficult to count. See <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-68387864>

dominant Israeli narrative in Hebrew language discourse come from independent media such as *+972 Magazine* and *The Seventh Eye*, which nonetheless have very limited reach and resources,³⁰¹ as well as NGOs such as B'Tselem and Gisha.³⁰²

Israeli media's pro-war position is rationalized, justified and widely accepted. The new CEO of Channel 13 told his employees in mid-March that they should unite the nation by entertainment and Israeli hasbara (i.e. public diplomacy/propaganda).³⁰³ An important Israeli journalist has stated that he believes that journalism should be used to bolster Israeli morale during the war.³⁰⁴ Accordingly, Israeli media amplifies pro-war voices – seen to support the state's goals – while silencing others. Israeli journalists avoided reporting on friendly fire casualties in the IDF.³⁰⁵ The Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* (considered to be leftist by Israeli standards), for example, waited for five months until it called for a ceasefire,³⁰⁶ despite overwhelming evidence for the humanitarian costs of the war, widespread acknowledgement that the Israeli Prime Minister was prolonging the war for his own personal interests, and the apparent inability of the IDF to reach its military objectives. In another example, when an Israeli director won a prize for a film and discussed Israeli apartheid in his victory speech, the Israeli Channel 11 described it as antisemitic³⁰⁷ while *Ha'aretz* featured no less than four pieces against him.³⁰⁸ A Palestinian citizen of Israel who wrote an op-ed in the newspaper was not allowed to use the term 'Palestinian' to refer to Israeli citizens – and the editorial staff changed it to the socially acceptable 'Arabs'.³⁰⁹ The Israeli Channel 14 has presented especially egregious examples of promoting fake news and reiterating false claims. In one case, for example, a popular anchor discussed in depth a supposed *The Atlantic* piece about the events of Oct. 7, aiming to absolve the Israeli Prime Minister from responsibility. A brief subsequent investigation revealed that the *Atlantic* piece never existed.³¹⁰ In a different case the channel televised an interview with an IDF officer who openly lied about atrocities in the Gaza envelope well after those atrocities had been shown to be false in Israeli media.³¹¹

Part of Israel's propaganda is institutionalized through the state apparatus.³¹² Despite the real horrors of the Hamas attacks on Oct. 7, Israeli officials repeatedly shared content that was soon disproved as unreliable or outright fake. Most Israeli media chose not to inform the public that these stories had been refuted.³¹³ In a conversation with US President Joe Biden, the Israeli Prime Minister himself has stated falsehoods such as that Hamas “took dozens of children, bound them up, burned them and executed them.”³¹⁴ His wife wrote to Jill Biden a story about a hostage held by Hamas who gave birth in Gaza, a story supported by the Israeli state and media that was subsequently proved as

³⁰¹ <https://www.972mag.com/>; <https://www.the7eye.org.il/>

³⁰² https://www.btselem.org/hebrew/press_releases/20231010_revenge_policy_in_motion_israel_committing_war_crimes_in_gaza; <https://gisha.org/targeting-civilians-is-a-war-crime/>

³⁰³ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/media/2024-03-13/ty-article/.premium/0000018e-38a2-d21d-a3ef-3be6160f0000>

³⁰⁴ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/2024-01-14/ty-article-opinion/.premium/0000018d-0361-d832-a59d-17f7e2e50000>; also <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/media/2023-12-27/ty-article-magazine/.premium/0000018c-a5c7-d97c-a9ec-bfc6d6d00000>

³⁰⁵ <https://www.the7eye.org.il/503392>

³⁰⁶ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/editorial-articles/2024-03-01/ty-article-opinion/0000018d-f607-da4e-adbf-f6bf17c30000>

³⁰⁷ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/media/2024-02-26/ty-article/.premium/0000018d-e6ee-d7f4-a3dd-e6ee92270000>

³⁰⁸ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/opinion/2024-02-28/ty-article-opinion/.premium/0000018d-ef8e-d1e0-a1dd-ffffe46f0000>;

<https://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/2024-02-28/ty-article-opinion/.premium/0000018d-eedc-d7f4-a3dd-eedcb0040000>;

<https://www.haaretz.co.il/opinions/2024-03-05/ty-article-opinion/.premium/0000018e-0b2c-d9cb-afdf-0bbc88e20000>;

<https://www.haaretz.co.il/gallery/opinion/2024-03-04/ty-article/.premium/0000018e-0a17-d9cb-afdf-0a9f2b770000>

³⁰⁹ Discussion of her speaking in another podcast at: <https://youtu.be/WHCMVqN0re0?si=PIZXwSpzeJ4boVYR&t=2430>

³¹⁰ <https://twitter.com/FakeReporter/status/1761696937256853788>

³¹¹ <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2024-01-21/ty-article/.premium/0000018d-2bb4-daf5-a1bf-aff41ac80000>

³¹² <https://theintercept.com/2024/02/07/gaza-israel-netanyahu-propaganda-lies-palestinians/>

³¹³ For two exceptions to this rule: <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2023-12-03/ty-article-magazine/.premium/0000018c-2036-d21c-abae-76be08fe0000>; https://twitter.com/moshe_aryeh/status/1750418165736100294

³¹⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rq5hTirpL9s>

fake.³¹⁵ The IDF accepted and claimed to have verified evidence of beheaded babies, later found out to be false.³¹⁶ Other stories such as putting a baby in the oven or cutting a baby out of his mother's belly and stabbing it, were all promoted by the media and/or the IDF,³¹⁷ yet found out to be fake as well. Other stories during the war, such as the Israeli claim that the central Hamas bunker is located under al-Shifa hospital, were found to be false.³¹⁸ Moreover, Israeli media has revealed that the IDF has conducted a covert campaign aimed at influencing Israeli citizens during the beginning of the war. As part of this campaign, the military opened and operated a Telegram channel that shared exclusive explicit content from IDF sources that showed the abuse and dehumanization of Palestinians, mostly within a Gaza context.³¹⁹

In American media, several studies and experts have pointed out that there has been a pervasive bias against Palestinians for a century.³²⁰ For example, a survey of the American media's coverage of Palestinians found that only a tiny minority (less than 2%) of editorials, columns and guest opinion pieces that discussed Palestine in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* (between 1970-2019) were written by Palestinians.³²¹ The media coverage of the beginning of the war remained strongly pro-Israeli.³²² For example, an investigation by *The Guardian* demonstrated that *CNN's* coverage is heavily biased towards Israel,³²³ a critique that surfaced within the channel as well.³²⁴ Similarly, a study by *The Intercept* found that already early in the war, the coverage of Palestinians in top newspapers in the United States decreased as the number of Palestinian deaths increased. Strong emotional words were disproportionately used to describe Israeli deaths and not Palestinian ones.³²⁵ The selection of language to blur Israeli responsibility and preserve its image has been long documented and continues throughout the war.³²⁶

American media has also largely avoided investigations of events that could make Israel appear negatively. The media watchdog group *FAIR* pointed out that US media shields its audience from reports of Israeli friendly fire incidents in the Oct. 7 attacks – reports that had been widely covered in Israeli media.³²⁷ Notably, Ronen Bergman, a journalist working for both the Israeli *Yediot Ahronot* and *The New York Times*, has investigated these incidents in his *Yediot Ahronot* publications but not

³¹⁵ <https://news.walla.co.il/item/3623538> ; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LScqOF48h34> ; <https://www.maariv.co.il/news/health/Article-1067610> ; investigation here: <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-12-04/ty-article-magazine/.premium/hamas-committed-documented-atrocities-but-a-few-false-stories-feed-the-deniers/0000018c-34f3-da74-afce-b5f8e24f0000>

³¹⁶ <https://twitter.com/i/broadcasts/1MYGNorgjgJLw> ; <https://theintercept.com/2024/02/07/gaza-israel-netanyahu-propaganda-lies-palestinians/>

³¹⁷ <https://twitter.com/Israel/status/1717553687025815817> ; <https://www.mako.co.il/culture-articles/Article-cdbeed08ded1b81027.htm> ; <https://www.news1.co.il/Archive/001-D-475197-00.html> ; <https://www.maariv.co.il/news/israel/Article-1043930> ; <https://twitter.com/IDF/status/1716462311370633484>

³¹⁸ <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/17/us/politics/israel-al-shifa-hospital-hamas-evidence.html> ; <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/12/21/al-shifa-hospital-gaza-hamas-israel/> ; <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/security/2024-01-16/ty-article-magazine/.premium/0000018c-e8c1-d765-ab9d-f8fd29800000> ; <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/security/2024-02-04/ty-article/.premium/0000018d-7042-dd6e-a98d-f462d6a00000> ;

³²⁰ Many references here: <https://palestine.beehiiv.com/p/new-york-times-complicit-plausible-genocide> ;

<https://newrepublic.com/article/171286/new-york-times-israel-coverage-history-netanyahu>

³²¹ <https://www.972mag.com/us-media-palestinians>. The Nation included a higher ratio (10.5%); the New Republic had no pieces authored by Palestinians.

³²² <https://www.columnblog.com/p/massacred-vs-left-to-die-documenting>

³²³ <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2024/feb/04/cnn-staff-pro-israel-bias>

³²⁴ <https://theintercept.com/2024/03/01/cnn-christiane-amanpour-israel-gaza-coverage/>

³²⁵ <https://theintercept.com/2024/01/09/newspapers-israel-palestine-bias-new-york-times/>

³²⁶ <https://palestine.beehiiv.com/p/new-york-times-complicit-plausible-genocide> ;

<https://twitter.com/AssalRad/status/1763453379811098672> ; <https://twitter.com/AssalRad/status/1764012307385053635> ;

<https://twitter.com/AssalRad/status/1764815517548994866> ; <https://twitter.com/AssalRad/status/1764752005673984066> ;

<https://twitter.com/AssalRad/status/1763254348942037335> ; <https://twitter.com/AssalRad/status/1762992473067130934> ;

<https://twitter.com/AssalRad/status/1761979317779824767> ; <https://twitter.com/AssalRad/status/1767686506939068845> ; the author of these tweets includes many other examples.

³²⁷ <https://fair.org/home/shielding-us-public-from-israeli-reports-of-friendly-fire-on-october-7/> ; also

<https://theintercept.com/2024/02/27/zaka-october-7-israel-hamas-new-york-times/>

in his *New York Times* ones.³²⁸ *The New York Times* has briefly or not covered other negative stories on Israel such as Israel's targeting policy, its responsibility in starving Palestinians, or its torturing of detainees.³²⁹ Instead, a major story covering Hamas' mass rape during Oct. 7 in *The New York Times* received inordinate resources – including the funding to conduct 150 interviews³³⁰ – and was solicited by the paper itself. Inexplicably, the story was given to a former Israeli intelligence officer with no former reporting experience, who also liked a tweet that called upon Israel to “turn the [Gaza] strip into a slaughterhouse”.³³¹ After its release, independent media as well as *The Intercept* found a long list of fundamental problems with the account.³³²

The treatment of UNRWA as a case of media misrepresentation

One example of the actions of Israel's media strategy is the treatment of UNRWA, the UN body responsible for the support of Palestinian refugees. The same day after the ICJ found that it was plausible that Israel was committing genocide in Gaza (Jan. 26), Israel asserted that 12 UNRWA employees participated in the Oct. 7 attacks against Israel.³³³ Almost immediately, 16 of UNRWA's donors – western countries – declared they would suspend their funding of UNRWA.³³⁴ Israeli and Western media followed the UNRWA story with coverage and discussions, burying the much more substantial ICJ story. Although Israel has not released any publicly available evidence to support these claims to date,³³⁵ a story in the British Channel 4 revealed the document Israel supposedly sent UNRWA's donor countries. The document itself was extremely brief. Containing no actual evidence, it includes a single line about each of the 12 UNRWA employees that were supposed perpetrators.³³⁶ A different intelligence dossier released by Israel contains no evidence either.³³⁷ To date, the head of UNRWA has stated that despite multiple requests Israel has not shared any details of the allegation with him or his organization.³³⁸ Other claims made by Israel were never made to UNRWA but directly to the media.³³⁹ An assessment by the US' national intelligence council assessed the involvement of a handful of UNRWA workers in the Oct. 7 events “with low confidence”.³⁴⁰ The weak evidence supporting the Israeli claim has led to several of the countries that stopped funding to resume it by early March.³⁴¹ Other countries were planning to do so as well.³⁴² According to UNRWA's own leaked report, Israel pressured Gazan employees of UNRWA to falsely state that UNRWA has links to Hamas

³²⁸ <https://fair.org/home/shielding-us-public-from-israeli-reports-of-friendly-fire-on-october-7/>

³²⁹ <https://palestine.beehiiv.com/p/new-york-times-complicit-plausible-genocide>

³³⁰ <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/28/world/middleeast/oct-7-attacks-hamas-israel-sexual-violence.html>

³³¹ <https://theintercept.com/2024/02/28/new-york-times-anat-schwartz-october-7/>. Her partner's nephew worked with her, as well as a veteran reporter who was responsible for the framing.

³³² <https://theintercept.com/2024/02/28/new-york-times-anat-schwartz-october-7/>; <https://theintercept.com/2024/03/04/nyt-october-7-sexual-violence-kibbutz-beeri/>; <https://www.npr.org/2024/03/06/1236130609/new-york-times-hamas-attacks-israel-palestine>; <https://jacobin.com/2024/02/new-york-times-anti-palestinian-bias>

³³³ <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/26/world/middleeast/un-aid-israel-oct-7-attacks.html>

³³⁴ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/mar/01/unrwa-funding-pause-employees-october-7-hamas-attack-claims-no-evidence-un>

³³⁵ But see this video (originally reported on by *The Washington Post*) that allegedly shows an UNRWA worker taking the body of an Israeli on Oct. 7: <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-presents-video-allegedly-showing-un-aid-worker-taking-body-israeli-oct-7-2024-02-17/>

³³⁶ <https://twitter.com/DrSakriKaia/status/1754685268454785074>

³³⁷ <https://www.scribd.com/document/702738861/Swords-of-Iron-UNRWA-Hamas-Relations>; survey of how the media has treated Israel's claims here: <https://responsiblestatecraft.org/unwra-hamas-israel/>

³³⁸ <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2024-02-20/ty-article-magazine/.premium/unrwa-chief-waiting-for-israels-evidence-on-hamas-infiltration-of-gaza-employees/0000018d-c5fc-db3b-a9cf-cdfdf5a0000>; <https://twitter.com/UNLazarini/status/1760764594644013287>

³³⁹ <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/unrwa-claims-versus-facts-press-release-26feb2024/>

³⁴⁰ <https://www.wsi.com/world/middle-east/u-s-finds-claims-that-u-n-aid-agency-staff-took-part-in-hamas-attack-credible-957b747e>

³⁴¹ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-68518468>; <https://twitter.com/Kahlissee/status/1763587426163798282>;

<https://www.reuters.com/world/unrwa-donors-likely-resume-funding-soon-norway-says-2024-03-06/>;

<https://www.reuters.com/world/eu-holds-back-part-unrwa-payment-boosts-palestinian-aid-2024-03-01/>

³⁴² <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/war-gaza-uk-unrwa-plan-place-resume-funding>; <https://www.smh.com.au/world/middle-east/us-french-military-shoot-down-houthi-drones-after-attack-on-carrier-warships-20240310-p5fb5h.html>; https://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/en/news/20240228_10/

and that its staff took part in the Oct. 7 attacks. The employees were severely beaten, tortured and were threatened that their family members would be harmed.³⁴³

Israeli officials have long stated that they want to shut UNRWA down.³⁴⁴ Israel has recently stated again this aim,³⁴⁵ suggesting that it has been weaponizing its recent allegations for this purpose. In the recent war Israel and Israeli media state or insinuate there is a connection between UNRWA and Hamas, but Israeli media fails to independently evaluate the claims by the IDF, or mention facts such as that UNRWA is very frequently audited within the UN,³⁴⁶ or notify its audience that all UNRWA employees had been approved by Israel and re-approved every year, and that UNRWA screens all its employees against the UN Security Council sanctions list twice a year.³⁴⁷ UNRWA also fired several employees who were found to be linked to Hamas in the past.³⁴⁸ Moreover, the closure of UNRWA would massively exacerbate the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, while discussions in Israeli media include no clear plan for providing alternative aid to Gazans.

As I hope to have demonstrated through the evidence above, the situation in Gaza is a horrible catastrophe that continues to unfold daily in front of our eyes. The least I can do is to gather the evidence and speak up now.

Do not go gentle into that good night \ Dylan Thomas

Do not go gentle into that good night,
Old age should burn and rave at close of day;
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

Though wise men at their end know dark is right,
Because their words had forked no lightning they
Do not go gentle into that good night.

Good men, the last wave by, crying how bright
Their frail deeds might have danced in a green bay,
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

Wild men who caught and sang the sun in flight,
And learn, too late, they grieved it on its way,
Do not go gentle into that good night.

Grave men, near death, who see with blinding sight
Blind eyes could blaze like meteors and be gay,
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

And you, my father, there on the sad height,
Curse, bless, me now with your fierce tears, I pray.
Do not go gentle into that good night.
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

³⁴³ https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/unrwa-report-says-israel-coerced-some-agency-employees-to-falsely-admit-hamas-links/

³⁴⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h0bMANfCOBQ> ; <https://jewishcurrents.org/the-campaign-to-abolish-unrwa>

³⁴⁵ <https://www.kikar.co.il/israel-news/sa71dg> ; <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/2024-03-11/ty-article/.premium/0000018e-2dbc-d468-a9ff-2fbdafa0000>

³⁴⁶ <https://www.unrwa.org/who-we-are/frequently-asked-questions> [under oversight of UNRWA spending]; https://youtu.be/LA_xtBh3eLw?si=DXUkq3gct46VbE9O&t=445

³⁴⁷ <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/unrwa-claims-versus-facts-press-release-26feb2024/> ; <https://jewishcurrents.org/the-campaign-to-abolish-unrwa>

³⁴⁸ <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/10/world/middleeast/unrwa-hamas-gaza.html>