

Israel's Violations of International Humanitarian Law in Palestine: "Crimes without Accountability"

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines Israel's violations of International Humanitarian Law in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT), particularly within the context of the 2023–2025 military operations in Gaza. This study uses a normative legal approach to review various recent reports, international legal instruments, and established rules included in the Geneva Conventions, the Rome Statute, and relevant sections of International Human Rights Law (IHRL). Much of the discussion focuses on allegations that Israel has deliberately targeted civilians, used disproportionate force, and restricted humanitarian aid, including the use of starvation as a method of warfare, which may constitute war crimes under Article 8(2)(b)(xxv) of the Rome Statute. The International Criminal Court (ICC) has recently released arrest warrants targeting Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Defense Minister Yoav Gallant, and several other Israeli authorities. Thereby intensifying the debate on criminal responsibility. It includes a thorough look at indicators that civilian food, water, and medicine were deliberately stopped for Gaza, which is documented by reports from the UN, humanitarian groups, and data from the WHO that point to essential services being disrupted and the start of famine. This study offers originality by analyzing the most recent phase of the Gaza conflict based on the latest evidence of the law and ICC proceedings and offers a new angle to the current discussions on accountability under international law. The paper further investigates Israel's military actions of occupation, displacing people and destroying civilian infrastructure which are against the fundamental rules of IHL known as distinction, proportionality, necessity and precaution. The paper also explores how reluctant international institutions are to respond to mass atrocity crimes and strongly urges more accountability. It claims that when violations aren't promptly handled by international law, they might cause the global legal system to lose credibility and result in more suffering in Gaza and beyond.

KEYWORDS: Israel Atrocity; Human Rights Violations; International Humanitarian Law; Genocide; War Crimes.



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I. INTRODUCTION

On 7 October 2023, in response to Hamas's alleged massacres, in which 1,200 Israelis were killed, coupled with an additional 250 abducted, Israel resorted to mass atrocity.¹ The aftermath of October 7, has been described as a humanitarian catastrophe. The armed conflict is deeply rooted in the history of Israel's occupation and the Palestinians' freedom struggle. Under international law, the occupying power must protect civilians, not target them or block aid. From 1967 to the present, Israel has, over more than five decades, sought to alter the legal and political status of the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) with the view of annexing them, either formally or in practice. Nevertheless, the United Nations has recognized the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination in these territories. Under international law, occupying foreign territory is proposed to be a temporal procedure and an occupying power cannot validly declare sovereignty over the territory it occupies.² Under international law, occupation of enemy territory is meant to be temporary and occupying powers may not rightfully claim sovereignty over territory they occupy. Based on the relevant provisions in the fourth Geneva Convention, first and second additional protocols, and the Rome Statute of the ICC. Israel's half-century occupation of Palestinian territory has been accompanied by recurring human rights violations and since the Hamas accusation of the October 7 massacre of 1,200 Israelis and a reasonable number of people being abducted. The number of Palestinians killed as a result of the ongoing Israeli assaults on the Gaza Strip has reportedly exceeded 44,758, with more than 105,834 injured since early October 2023.³

Israel's indiscriminate bombardment, including the launching of large-scale offensive operations on Hamas to retaliate for the alleged pogrom, resulted in 1,200 casualties and 250 hostages. As of May 2025, reports from Gaza's Ministry of Health and corroborated by international humanitarian organizations indicate that the Palestinian death toll has surpassed 54,000, with 121,950 others wounded, making it one of the deadliest assaults on a civilian

¹ Per Bauhn, "Just war, human shields, and the 2023–24 Gaza War" (2024) 30:5 Israel Affairs 863–878 at 863.

² Eugenia de Lacalle, *De facto and de jure annexation: a relevant distinction in international law?* Israel and Area C: a case study (Univesity of Brussel, 2019) at 15.

³ Xinhua, "Palestinian death toll in Gaza surpasses 41,000: health authorities" (10 September 2024), online: <<https://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202409/10/WS66e04b79a3103711928a738b.html>>.

population in modern conflict. Among those killed are least 7,148 women and at least 16,278 children have been killed, comprising over 60% of the total casualties, alongside 3,610 elderly persons. Additionally, 9,500 individuals remain trapped under rubble, unaccounted for. Having said that over 1.9 million people have been repeatedly displaced which constitutes almost the population of Gaza amidst worst humanitarian crisis that is deplorable.⁴ The overall Gazans' situation is engulfed by inhumane scenario, among whom a 14-year-old boy was severely burned by an Israeli airstrike, the 5,956 women and 10,627 children being slayed. This deliberate targeting of civilians and their objects amount to a serious violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, its Additional Protocols, particularly Article 51 (AP1), coupled with a grave breach of the universal declaration of Human Rights (1948), as well as Article 7, Article 23, and Article 24, which are provided in International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966). Israel's atrocity is not only limited to the above-cited international instrument but it also includes disregard and violation of the Convention on the Rights of Child.⁵ The United Nations and several humanitarian actors have also decried Israel's actions as breaches of the principles of proportionality, distinction, and necessity, amounting to war crimes and crimes against humanity, while the continued obstruction of humanitarian aid exacerbates Gaza's already dire humanitarian catastrophe.

It worthwhile to note that international humanitarian law (IHL) and international human rights law (IHRL) complement each other, rather than being standalone regimes, they strip in humanistic ethos with a common purpose of greater protection of the rights to life, liberty, and dignity of all individuals under all circumstances.⁶ Therefore, it is central to gauging Israel's mass atrocity through the vein of both the framework of human rights notions and international Humanitarian law's fabric. Normatively, international criminal responsibility formed the groundwork of this legal argumentative-

⁴ Abeer Salman et al, "Infected wounds, maggots and no escape. Gaza's humanitarian crisis hits new lows as sanitary conditions plummet" (9 September 2024), online: *CNN* <<https://www.cnn.com/2024/09/09/middleeast/gaza-humanitarian-crisis-sanitation-mime-intl>>.

⁵ Jeffrey Goldhagen et al, "Thirtieth anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child: advancing a child rights-based approach to child health and well-being" (2020) 4:1 *BMJ Paediatrics Open*, online: <<https://bmjpaedsopen.bmj.com/content/4/1/e000589>> at 2 & 3.

⁶ Cordula Droegge, "The Interplay between International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law in Situations of Armed Conflict" (2007) 40:2 *Israel Law Review* 310-355 at 310,311.

doctrinal paper. The ICC's establishment of criminal liability is based on the principle of the perpetrator's moral culpability. Over time, the relationship between individual and collective criminal responsibility has evolved and become more clearly defined.⁷ Nonetheless, this paper subscribed to the assessment of Israel's affront of international humanitarian law and international human rights law rather than the philosophical point of what is criminal culpability. While numerous studies have devoted their focus on the Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories and the evident violation of both international humanitarian law (IHL) and international human rights law (IHRL), there remain a significant gap in assessing Israeli official accountability for war crime, crime against humanity and its genocidal intent, which are vividly proscribed in Rome Statute, Geneva conventions and Additional protocols.

In particular, Israel's reprisal on the Hamas October massacre, qualifying for the violation of Article 147 of fourth Geneva Convention (1949), Common Article 3 of fourth Geneva Convention, Article 2 of 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Genocide Convention), as well as Article 6, Article 7, and Article 8 of Rome Statute. The existing literatures have exhaustively grappled with the legal instruments, such as the Geneva Conventions, the Rome Statute and the subject matter jurisdiction of ICC, however, very few have turned the spotlight on the criminal culpability and the inertia of global institutions to ameliorate this catastrophe dehumanizing Gazans. Although, attention has been paid to the fundamental and operational principles of IHL, a detailed appraisal on Israel's military operations post-2023 and its incidental damage on the civilian population, facilities, safe zone, and humanitarian aid remains underexplored.

We seek to fill this gap by synchronizing both analysis on the ongoing violation and evaluation on *sine qua non* of holding Israel accountable for these breaches. At length, this study determines to address the question of what are the specific violations of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Human Rights law committed by Israel in Palestine, particularly in relation to the principles of proportionality, distinction, and necessity?, And

⁷ Muath Mohammed Alashqar, Asmar Abdul Rahim & Ahmad Shamsul Abd Aziz, "War Crimes in the Gaza Strip from 2008 to 2021: Individual Criminal Responsibility Under the Legal Framework of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court" (2023) 19:1 *Journal of International Studies* 61-93 at 61,73.

what is the role of international organizations and the global community in holding Israeli official accountable for breaches of IHL and IHRL, and why have enforcement mechanisms been insufficient? The research format of this paper is normative, resorting to the reports, journal articles, books, Geneva and Rome Statute. Primary data (report-based) collected from international Human Watch, Amnesty international and other UN-related organizations' reports and publications.

II. METHODS

The Methodology of this paper employs normative legal research, by analyzing primary and secondary sources. The study draws on a comparative analysis of the international treaties and conventions which include the Geneva Conventions, the Rome Statute, International Human Rights Law (IHRL), and the International Humanitarian Law (IHR). The Israel case will be analyzed with reference to primary legal instruments of the law of armed conflict that examine how Israeli actions during the Palestinian conflict were unlawful. In order to ensure that the study provides accurate and wide-ranging information, it will rely on reports of international organizations such as the United Nations, Human Rights Watch (HRW) and Amnesty International. It provides day to day documentation on the Israeli military operations, settlement expansions, and collective punishment tactics, alongside their impact on the Palestinian civilian population. Data from human rights organizations concerning current violations are also incorporated. Additionally, scholarly research articles selected for this paper will be sourced from reputable journals that address legal and humanitarian issues of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The use of legal texts, current data, and academic interpretations guarantee the comprehensive assessment of Israel's criminal responsibility. With the help of this approach, the study will identify aspects of violation, legal and human rights consequences of actions undertaken by Israel in Palestine systematically.

III. ISRAEL'S VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

Both the international humanitarian law (IHL) and international human rights law (IHRL) complement each other, rather than being standalone regimes, with the objectives stripped in a humanistic ethos based on the common purpose to guarantee greater protection of the rights to life, liberty and dignity of all human beings irrespective of circumstances.⁸ Israel has engaged in four major military operations: Operation Cast Lead (2009), Operation Pillar of Cloud (2012), Operation Protective Edge (2014), and Operation Guardian of the Walls (2021).⁹ All these four war crimes constituted a serious violation of international legal instruments, such as the Geneva Conventions, additional protocols, the Rome Statute, International Humanitarian Law, and Human Rights Law. But the most, recent massacre plundered by Israel in response to the October 7 Hamas attack, become deplorable by its nature and immeasurable incidental damage rooted in subtle deliberate killings. In his defense of Israel's disproportionate target in the vein of the so-called Just War theory, connecting it to moral responsibility, ICC Prosecutor Karim A. Khan has highlighted that there is evidence of "real criminality" by the top Israeli officials on civilian casualties and the humanitarian crisis in Gaza. This discovery is demonstrated by the continuing investigations and warrants of arrest issued by the ICC: In November 2024, the Court issued arrest warrants for Prime Minister Netanyahu and Defense Minister Gallant, accusing them of committing war crimes and crimes against humanity (the inquiry covers October 2023 through May 2024). The statement by Khan ascertains that the Court established that it had enough proof of the existence of accountability, despite Israel's objections to its jurisdiction.¹⁰ He further argued that had Hamas had an interest in protecting Palestinian non-combatant lives it would have surrendered.¹¹ In the lens of international humanitarian law or law of war, principles of proportionality, distinction, necessity, and precautionary

⁸ Air Cmde K Anantharaman, *International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Human Rights Law (IHRL) Violations Analysis and Recommendations for Services* (Thesis, National Defence College, 2017) Accepted: 2021-08-29T18:07:19Z.

⁹ Alashqar, Rahim & Aziz, "WAR CRIMES IN GAZA STRIP FROM YEAR 2008 2021", *supra* note 7.

¹⁰ ICC, "Statement of ICC Prosecutor Karim A.A. Khan KC on the issuance of arrest warrants in the Situation in the State of Palestine | International Criminal Court" (21 November 2024), online: <<https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/statement-icc-prosecutor-karim-aa-khan-kc-issuance-arrest-warrants-situation-state-palestine>>.

¹¹ Dr Muhammad Fahim Khan, Nazir Ahmad & Shahid Matloob, "Humanitarian Crisis and International Response: "A Case Study of the Gaza Conflict Aftermath on October 7, 2023"" (2024) 7:2 Jahan-e-Tahqeeq 990-1014 at 991.

principles are fundamental and operational principles that cannot be compromised or traded off easily, most crucial when it costs more than the military advantage objective, which is to weaken the enemy strength. The killing of approximately 67,000 individuals, along with around 169,000 injured, raises serious concerns under IHL and IHRL protections during war and peacetime under the Geneva Conventions, its additional protocol, and the UN Universal Declaration on the Human Rights, surpassed the threshold of military necessity. An additional number of 43,500 of the slain have been identified, approximately 9,500 remained trapped beneath rubble in what humanitarian observers have described as a systematic targeting of protected civilian objects. The number of casualties consist of 20,000 children, 7,148 women while at least 3,610 elderly persons have also perished.¹²

In the lens of military necessity, the mass killing of civilians is clearly in contrast with IHL, during times of armed conflict, this concept is used as a standard to justify the use of armed force. To maintain a striking balance between military necessity and protecting humanity IHL governs by limiting the tactics and strategies employed in warfare. The concept of military necessity found its way through three guiding principles: distinction, precautions, and proportionality. According to Amnesty and UNOCHA in 2014, the Israel military applied the precautionary principle as they made a justifiable statement the “The Israeli military implemented measures to guarantee that civilians evacuated the targeted buildings prior to their demolition,” however in the UN 2015 report over 2,131 Palestinians’ lives have been claimed, in UNOCHA report 2014, over 11,231 injured, in the UN final result, amounting to 18,000 Gaza civilian home uninhabitable and over 37,650 partially damaged housing units.¹³ This ferocious act violation committed by Israel indistinctively violate article 38 that ensure the right to protection from armed conflicts, a framework of protection designed for children be it civilians, combatants, or even member of non-state armed groups, and Article 51, protection of the civilian population. Both these sequences of Israel unproportionate attack leading more incidental damages,

¹² Mondoweiss Palestine Bureau, “Israel’s Genocide Day 374: Israeli airstrike on Gaza hospital burns patients alive” (14 October 2024), online: *Mondoweiss* <<https://mondoweiss.net/2024/10/israels-genocide-day-374-israeli-airstrike-on-gaza-hospital-burns-patients-alive/>>.

¹³ United Nation Human Rights, “UN Commission finds war crimes and crimes against humanity in Israeli attacks on Gaza health facilities and treatment of detainees, hostages” (10 October 2024), online: *OHCHR* <<https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/10/un-commission-finds-war-crimes-and-crimes-against-humanity-israeli-attacks>>.

in disobedient to IHL poses failure to take into account only the steps truly needed to accomplish a legitimate military goal. In the recent UN commission report over 34,000 fatalities were estimated in Gaza, which includes both the data collected in May 2024, and that of April 30. Among whom 7,356 are children and 5,419 are women, submitted by Gaza Ministry of Health. The commission further disclosed the displacement of at least 1.9 million Palestinians and Israel continued obstruction of entry points into Gaza, which facilitate humanitarian suffering simultaneously.¹⁴

The law clearly forbids denying civilians food during armed conflict. Protection of civilians' life and health is stated in Article 54(1) of the 1977 Additional Protocol I and also prevents attacking or denying any source of food or water that people need to live.¹⁵ Because it is included in Additional Protocol II and the ICRC Customary Rules (Rule 53), this rule applies to all parties during both international and non-international wars.¹⁶ Like other international laws, Article 8(2)(b)(xxv) of the Rome Statute makes it a war crime to use starvation as a tactic by taking away what people need to survive.¹⁷ When food, fuel, water or medicine is denied to civilians on purpose as a military strategy, IHL forbids it as a way to cause starvation.

Government officials and investigators have disclosed evidence suggesting that high-ranking Israeli officials might be responsible for such cases. In November, the Pre-Trial Chamber of the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants for Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Defense Minister Yoav Gallant, concluding that they were implicated in war crimes and crimes against humanity.¹⁸ The Chamber's statement points out that from October 2023 to early 2024, these officials on purpose obstructed essential supplies for Gaza's population food, water, medicine, fuel and electricity by stopping humanitarian aid and assistance. The Chamber found that the aim

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ ICRC, *IHL Treaties - Additional Protocol (I) to the Geneva Conventions, 1977, 1978.*

¹⁶ ICRC, "Customer-IHL: Rules 51, Public and Private Property in Occupied Territory", online: <<https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/en/customary-ihl/v1/rule51>>.

¹⁷ ICC, *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, 2025.*

¹⁸ "Situation in the State of Palestine: ICC Pre-Trial Chamber I rejects the State of Israel's challenges to jurisdiction and issues warrants of arrest for Benjamin Netanyahu and Yoav Gallant", online: <<https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-state-palestine-icc-pre-trial-chamber-i-rejects-state-israels-challenges>>.

of these restrictions was not to help protect military operations but to meet wider aims of the war.¹⁹

Several humanitarian reports are documented a serious hunger crisis in Gaza. The Health Ministry and aid organizations in Gaza had already documented dozens of deaths of children as a result of malnutrition by April 2024. As an example, 32 individuals (primarily children) died at hospitals in Gaza due to malnutrition or dehydration in April 2024. By 2025 things were even more desperate: the World Health Organization estimated that nearly half a million Gaza residents were short of food, and children were dying and suffering because of the blockade.²⁰ A report on IPC (supported by 17 UN agencies) revealed that near 20 percent of Gazans experienced serious food insecurity, being on the brink of starvation. UNICEF and WHO have alerted that food, fuel, and medicine provision of the siege have restricted vulnerable groups (children, pregnant women and the elderly) to the point of famine.

This data is a clear indication of a humanitarian crisis that is intentional. Gaza has been nearly blocked off (since October 2023) and civilians can no longer access sufficient water, food, medical supplies and fuel. This blockade has rendered most people unable to survive due to destruction of essential infrastructure including bakeries, hospitals and water and sanitation facilities. (As an example, almost 9,000 children in Gaza were acutely malnourished at the beginning of 2025) In assigning food and relief as military leverage, Israel has contravened the rule of the IHL that the parties should permit and ensure the rapid and unobstructed delivery of humanitarian aid to civilians in need.²¹

By 2025, the situation had become more critical: the World Health Organization found that “close to half a million” people in Gaza did not have enough food to eat and children were suffering and dying as a result of the Israeli blockade.²² An IPC report backed by 17 UN organizations revealed that across Gaza, hunger was a significant problem for all and almost half a million

¹⁹ United Nation Human Rights, *supra* note 13.

²⁰ WHO Media Team et al, “Famine confirmed for first time in Gaza” (22 August 2025), online: <<https://www.who.int/news/item/22-08-2025-famine-confirmed-for-first-time-in-gaza>>.

²¹ OHCHR, “UN experts declare famine has spread throughout Gaza strip” (9 July 2024), online: *OHCHR* <<https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/07/un-experts-declare-famine-has-spread-throughout-gaza-strip>>.

²² WHO Media Team, “Health system at breaking point as hostilities further intensify in Gaza, WHO warns” (22 May 2025), online: <<https://www.who.int/news/item/22-05-2025-health-system-at-breaking-point-as-hostilities-further-intensify-who-warns>>.

Gazans (one fifth of the population) faced severe food insecurity, on the verge of starvation.²³ All in all, organizations like UNICEF and WHO have said the blockade in Gaza has left food, fuel and medical supplies in short supply, putting children, mothers and the elderly very close to starvation.

The human effect of these techniques has been very damaging. Since the beginning of October 2023, a blockade is in place and Israel has blocked all supplies, making it impossible for Gaza to get food, water, fuel or medicine, causing bakeries and hospitals to close down and prevent water desalination, sewage and power systems from working. IHL requires that parties give humanitarian aid to civilians, but the amount given has been very little and often tied to military terms. Statements say that there is nearly no food for ordinary people which is causing thousands of Gazans – pregnant women, babies and children to suffer serious health problems from the severe shortage. Safe water has become difficult to access in most Gaza households and almost 9,000 children suffered from acute malnutrition at the start of 2025.²⁴

None of these serious accusations have led to a criminal conviction in court. There has not been an attempt in international courts to prosecute 'starvation' as a single offense; the court proceedings at the ICC are still at the initial warrant level. Even so, witness testimonies, the intense siege of Gaza, poor relief efforts and rising deaths passed the ICC's requirement to conclude that war crimes have happened.²⁵ It is now considered by experts and officials that Israel's actions meet the requirements set by international law, although cases on the issue are still being tried in court.

On the other hand, the UN commission reiterated the October 7 Hamas pogrom of 1,200 individuals, 14,970 people injured, and at least 252 people abducted, including 90 women, 36 children, older people and members of

²³ IPC, "Gaza Strip: Acute Food Insecurity Situation for 1 April - 10 May 2025 and Projection for 11 May - 30 September 2025" (5 December 2025), online: <<https://www.ipcinfo.org/ipc-country-analysis/details-map/en/c/1159596/>>.

²⁴ Reliefweb, "Humanitarian Situation Update #284" (1 May 2025), online: <<https://reliefweb.int/report/occupied-palestinian-territory/humanitarian-situation-update-284-gaza-strip-enar>>.

²⁵ ICC, "Statement of ICC Prosecutor Karim A.A. Khan KC: Applications for arrest warrants in the situation in the State of Palestine" (20 May 2024), online: <<https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/statement-icc-prosecutor-karim-aa-khan-kc-applications-arrest-warrants-situation-state>>.

Israeli Security Forces.²⁶ In the premises of IHL, The ICRC has contempt Israeli settlement enterprise as it lack demonstration of *raison d'être* of the law of occupation, and ruled it a defile of article 49(6) of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.²⁷ Therefore, Israel obstruction of entrance for humanitarian aid, causing thousands of families in Gaza to undergo famine, and battling with food security in conjunction with, over 1.9 people million displaced with a plaque of humanitarian cataclysm constitute a crime again humanity. In the rebuttal of the so-called “humanitarian warfare” Israel framed it atrocity with, Revital Madar shed light on obscured and masked war crime committed horrendous and systematically, such as threats and acts of sexual violence such as sodomy and rape, forced nudity, and threats to assault female relatives of the victims, as revealed in testimonies.²⁸

Reflecting on the political atmosphere with fill of with fascistic orientation and projection of ethnic cleansing to facilitate illegal settlement of the Jewish population constructs Israel's manifestation of genocidal intent on Gazans. And taking into account to military invasion of Gaza as in South Africa's accusation at the International Court of Justice.²⁹ The accusation put forward by South Africa has its credibility in an escalation of Israel settler violations and IDF spatial attacks on the Gaza Strip. This slow-motion Genocide commenced In October 2023 Hamas attacked the Zionist project, additionally could be translated in the Prime Minister of Israel's statement on the Palestinian people. An ambiguous statement made him, ‘Israel says it will keep fighting until it achieves a ‘complete victory’ and neutralizes the threat from Hamas, but it has not explained how it plans to do so’. Israel portrayed every Gazan in the report and publication. According to Per Buhn's argumentative paper ‘party that unjustifiably initiates a war has the primary

²⁶ Matt Gluck, “UN Human Rights Council Releases Report on Israel-Hamas War International Law Violations” (12 June 2024), online: *Lawfare* <<https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/un-human-rights-council-releases-report-on-israel-hamas-war-international-law-violations>>.

²⁷ ICRC, “Israel and the occupied Palestinian territory: The law of occupation must be respected” (20 July 2024), online: <<https://www.icrc.org/en/statement/israel-and-occupied-palestinian-territory-law-occupation-must-be-respected>>.

²⁸ Revital Madar, “Beyond Male Israeli Soldiers, Palestinian Women, Rape, and War: Israeli State Sexual Violence against Palestinians” (2023) 9:1 *Conflict and Society* 72–88 at 73.

²⁹ *Whither the Global Governance of Protecting Civilians? An Initial Assessment of the ICJ's Decision on South Africa v. Israel of 26 January 2024*, by Matthew Tentler & Joachim A Koops (Global Governance Institute, 14 February 2024) online: <<https://www.globalgovernance.eu/publications/whither-the-global-governance-of-protecting-civilians-an-initial-assessment-of-the-icjs-decision-on-south-africa-v-israel-of-26-january-2024>> [*Whither the Global Governance of Protecting Civilians?*].

moral responsibility for all acts of killing that take place in the war', advocating that Hamas should be held responsible while glorifying Israel's belligerent act in a fabric of combating "terrorists" cleared the genocidal intent of both Israel government and the advocates.³⁰

IV. SYSTEMATIC VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW IN PALESTINE

Israel's systematic violations of IHL and IHLR, including violence against civilians, forcible displacement, and blockades, reflect deliberate policies attributed to state and military authorities, which violate the Geneva Conventions and the ICCPR. in Palestine manifest through various dimensions, including the humanitarian crisis, the plight of refugees, and the effect of occupation on mental health and education. This is a crisis marked by seriously limited movement, provision of basic necessities and deterioration in the lives of Palestinians.

The humanitarian condition in Palestine is still very poor as it has been aggravated by the continuing occupation by the Israelis and the blockade of the Gaza Strip. It is reported by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) that the Gaza population requiring humanitarian aid is in excess of 2 million,³¹ many of whom are no longer able to obtain sufficient access to clean water, enough food, or medical care, though large numbers of Gazans are leaving, according to estimates by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Since 2007 the blockade has restricted the flow of goods and services to the point of being a humanitarian disaster. The healthcare system in Gaza is on the verge of collapse as two-thirds of required medicines and medical supplies are not available, said the World Health Organization (WHO), which added that it is violating the right to health, included in international human rights law. Led by the ongoing Israeli occupation, this challenged working landscape is characterized by broken healthcare provision, a stunted economy, and limited access to essential services, pushed into the stratosphere by the COVID-19 pandemic. The fragmented political landscape

³⁰ Bauhn, *supra* note 1.

³¹ OCHA, "Occupied Palestinian Territory" (1 May 2026), online: <<https://www.unocha.org/occupied-palestinian-territory>>.

and worsening socio-economic conditions significantly diminish the Palestinian health system's capacity to respond to emergencies, strengthening human rights violations during crises.³² At the same time, this already critical situation is further exacerbated by the lack of adequate infrastructure and resources necessary to comply with minimum standards of healthcare, housing, and education as required under international human rights conventions.

Another very important aspect of human rights violations in Palestine is about refugee crisis. Approximately 7 million Palestinian refugees, according to Smoum remain in precarious conditions without the fundamental right of return as recognized by international bodies.³³ The 1948 and 1967 and other conflicts have built the legal and humanitarian dilemma that continues today with widespread suffering and systemic violations of rights. Palestinian refugees have lacked international protections conventionally given to other refugees groups, thus making them vulnerable and marginalized. The problem of the refugee crisis without an appropriate answer is symptomatic of the broader issues related to human rights violations in a region.³⁴ Besides, occupation has an effect on mental health and educational opportunities for Palestinians. Helbich and Jabr agree that the continue occupation and accompanying violations of human rights make a large contribution to the mental health crisis among the Palestinians, and that this can be addressed only through the human rights perspective.³⁵ As is also true in the educational sector, restrictions on movement and services, such as the lack of ability to travel and access resources, hinder effective functioning of Palestinian universities and thereby deprive Palestinians of educational opportunities that reinforce cycles of oppression. Further, the systematic closure of educational

³² Fayez Azez Mahamid, Guido Veronese & Dana Bdier, "The Palestinian health-care providers' perceptions, challenges and human rights-related concerns during the COVID-19 pandemic" (2021) 15:4 *International Journal of Human Rights in Healthcare* 373-387 at 381.

³³ Lina Smoum, *Humanitarian Dilemmas for the Palestinian Refugees & the Question of Return* (thesis, Toronto Metropolitan University, 2008) at 2.

³⁴ Susan Akram, "Palestinian Refugees and Their Legal Status: Rights, Politics, and Implications for a Just Solution" (2002) 31:3 *Journal of Palestine Studies* 36 at 36.

³⁵ Maria Helbich & Samah Jabr, "Mental health under occupation: an analysis of the de-politicization of the mental health discourse in Palestine and a call for a human rights approach" (2021) 15:1 *International Journal of Human Rights in Healthcare* 4-16 at 4.

institutions and the control over digital resources is an exemplification of broader strategy of oppression that denies the rights of Palestinians.³⁶

Israel's military actions in the occupied territories have a huge impact on Palestinians everyday lives. Military operations have created difficulties of health crises and human rights violation according to Diab et al. (2018).³⁷ Infrastructure blockade and the military assaults have caused widespread destruction of infrastructure, limited access to healthcare, and a full-scale humanitarian crisis relegating the dignity and self-efficacy of the Palestinian people. The solutions to these problems will necessarily need a broad public health and human rights approach to restore dignity and enhance resilience among affected populations.

Palestinian women are particularly hard hit by the Israeli occupation as its wartime environment is militarized. In (2023), Cavazzoni et al. argue that Israeli military presence, coupled with associated violence, restricts women's mobility and access to and use of education and employment. It does not only curtail their freedoms but perpetuates cycles of poverty and dependency. That women in Palestine remain an extremely vulnerable group, and face continually the threat of violence against women, particularly in conflict zones, highlights the importance of adopting a gender-responsive approach in human rights advocacy that addresses the specific vulnerabilities women face.³⁸

International attention, and condemnation, have been directed toward how Israeli military treats Palestinian children. Viterbo (2021) draws out the legal and humanitarian consequences of Israeli military practices regarding the internment, torture, and abuse of minors, but without access to legal representation. International standards on the treatment of children are violated and a general culture of impunity is encouraged by these practices. Such violations on children have a tremendous effect on their psychological

³⁶ Matt Smith & Howard Scott, "Distance Education under Oppression: The Case of Palestinian Higher Education" (2023) 13:7 Education Sciences 729 at 3.

³⁷ Marwan Diab et al, "Community Work in the Ongoing Crisis Context of Gaza: Integrating a Public Health and Human Rights Approach" (2018) 39:3 Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy 320-330 at 321.

³⁸ Federica Cavazzoni et al, "Critical consciousness from a Palestinian feminist, decolonial perspective: A collective exploratory inquiry" (2023) 33:4 Feminism & Psychology 451-470 at 453.

well-being, with consequences that extend to lifelong mental health issues, and interruptions of education.³⁹

Since 2006, the blockade imposed by Israel against the Gaza Strip represents a severe breach of human rights based on collective punishment against the Palestinian population. The blockade has decimated Gaza's economy, plunging its people into widespread poverty, unemployment, and a humanitarian crisis that touches every part of life for its residents. People and goods have been restricted from access of basic services like health care and education, or clean water. The United Nations has repeatedly lashed out at this blockade, saying that it amounts to collective punishment and compounds the suffering of civilians, especially at-risk populations like children and the elderly.⁴⁰

Systemic discrimination, which takes the forms of de-humanization of Palestinian citizens of Israel through economic inequality, social exclusion, and political disenfranchisement. Multiple types of discrimination experienced by Palestinian Arab women in Israel negatively affect their mental health and general well-being, according to research. The discrimination of these women in an institutional and interpersonal setting, increase the levels of the stress and mental health issues among them because of the segregation of their gender and ethnic discrimination. These are further echoed in disparities in access to resources, labor market opportunities and political representation, which both increase and perpetuate cycles of disadvantage for Palestinian's citizens within Israel.⁴¹

International politics, however, cannot be ignored in relation to the formation of the human rights framework in Palestine. The situation in Gaza during particularly in connection with the postwar situation which the COVID 19 pandemic has given Israel an opportunity to go further to an entrench itself in its settler colonial objectives as its pays little mind to the suffering of the Palestinian citizen in Gaza. The Intensification of military actions and

³⁹ Hedi Viterbo, *Problematizing Law, Rights, and Childhood in Israel/Palestine*, 1st edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021) at 1.

⁴⁰ Abdelrahman Alasttal et al, "The role of the United Nations in protecting the right to development in occupied Palestine" (2023) 31:1 Legality : Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum 138–156 at 140.

⁴¹ Nihaya Daoud et al, "Multiple forms of discrimination and postpartum depression among indigenous Palestinian-Arab, Jewish immigrants and non-immigrant Jewish mothers" (2019) 19 BMC Public Health 1741 at 2.

subsequent surveillance measures against Palestinians has been used as a pretext for the Human Rights Violations to extend from the pandemic. These actions have frequently triggered a tepid international community response, which has often been a function of political dynamics influencing the strength of organizations such as the United Nations in arguing for Palestinian rights. The lack of robust international intervention means that iniquitous policies and practices of oppression of Palestinians continue unchecked.⁴² The way the Israeli Palestinian conflict is depicted in international media helps to shape perceptions of the issue in general and therefore influence political action. The major media outlets that cover the Israeli actions in Gaza, the BBC and The New York Times, frame the stories in such a way that they can work to bias, leaving out recognition of Palestinian suffering and recognition of the validity of their right and justice claims. So much of this media representation can blunt public opinion and subsequently the political will to confront human rights abuses in Palestine.⁴³

V. INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY WITHIN ICC JURISDICTION

In international law, accountability applies to both individuals and states, regardless of diplomatic recognition. Both the Rome Statute and the Geneva Conventions provide responsibilities to all participants in an armed conflict. Based on this, individual criminal responsibility of Israeli officials in committing a breach to international humanitarian and human rights law is analyzed in this paper, in the understanding that state responsibility can also emerge as a result of the general principles of international law.

International criminal responsibility since its recognition in the international arena, has over time, made a fully developed framework for holding individuals accountable for crime through tribunals and other judicial methods. The international criminal law identifies four fundamental crimes,

⁴² Ghassan Abu-Sittah, "The Virus, the Settler, and the Siege: Gaza in the Age of Corona" (2020) 49:4 *Journal of Palestine Studies* 65–76 at 66.

⁴³ Mohammed Amer, "BBC and New York Times' Coverage of the May 2021 Israeli Onslaught on Gaza: A Critical Discourse Analysis" (2022) 12:5 *International Journal of English Linguistics* p1 at 1.

namely: genocide (often called “the crime of crimes”),⁴⁴ war crimes, crimes against humanity, and the crime of aggression are addressed under the Rome Statute, which holds individuals rather than states personally accountable for committing such atrocities. The Court thus aims to prosecute those responsible; both political and military leaders who committed IHL and human rights violations in times of conflict. Put emphasis on individualization rather than states, holding the person criminally responsible for their actions during conflicts. This notion of personal accountability in international law.⁴⁵ The International Criminal Court (ICC), which was established in 2002 under the Rome Statute, plays a pivotal role in this framework by prosecuting serious international crimes and aiming to deter future violations of human rights.⁴⁶ Individual criminal responsibility (ICR) in international law is *sui generis*, although it is partly modeled on domestic concepts of liability.

The criminal liability constitutes a relationship between individual and collective criminal responsibility founded in the moral culpability of the perpetrator.⁴⁷ Primary, only four categories of crimes are regulated in the Rome Statute, which covers crimes such as aggression, genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.⁴⁸ These four above-cited crimes, including crimes against United Nations and associated personnel are investigable and prosecutable event universally applicable treaty. However, there is a legal grey zone, which constitutes the subject-matter jurisdiction over a new phase of criminal perpetration. The trial of Lubanga at Rwanda court, and ICTYS case law formed a new legal engineering to address the discrepancies or leeway in cooperative criminal culpability. The UN conferred obligation on a state under sovereign power these perpetrators are to undertake the necessary and appropriate measures to apprehend , prosecute and trial by a competent

⁴⁴ Legal Information Institute, “Genocide”, online: *LII / Legal Information Institute* <<https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/genocide>>.

⁴⁵ Laura Ausserladscheider Jonas & Dire Tladi, “Individual Criminal Responsibility for the Financing of Entities Involved in Core Crimes: Aiding and Abetting” (2021) 54:1 Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa 58 pages-58 pages at 58.

⁴⁶ Hudjolly Hudjolly, “The Role of International Criminal Court in Prosecuting Crimes against Humanity” (2023) 1:03 West Science Law and Human Rights 115-121 at 116.

⁴⁷ Gerhard Werle, “Individual Criminal Responsibility in Article 25 ICC Statute” (2007) 5:4 Journal of International Criminal Justice 953-975 at 54.

⁴⁸ Mohamed Badar, “From the Nuremberg Charter to the Rome Statute: Defining the Elements of Crimes against Humanity” (2004) 5:1 San Diego International Law Journal 73-144 at 112.

national court.⁴⁹ This means, what act is criminalized by UN or either its sub-organs must be governed in municipal law to protect the global peace and security and minimize violation of IHL and IHRL in both peacetime and wartime. In Israel expansion of the definition of legitimate military target with the approval of the legal institution that include the object that are allegedly use for dual purpose, is lynch by the so-called just or humanitarian war. In practicing the notion, the Israeli military force resort to indiscriminate attack on both civilian objects and evading a humanitarian protected zones.

These violations are manifested through systematic sexualized torture and violence against Palestinians during their detention, deprivation of basic necessities essential for the fulfillment of their human rights, and inadequate measures to ensure civilians evacuated buildings prior to bombings.⁵⁰ Sexual violation on women in Gaza as a gender-based violation proscribe in collective punishment waged on the Gaza population in a nature of siege depriving the population of access to their vital needs, which includes food, services, people and even communication, was a severe constrained on freedom.⁵¹ Israel carried this blockage in the border control, airspace, marine and telecommunication media. Israel's actions in Gaza have reached the threshold of crimes against humanity, particularly concerning the status and treatment of protected persons, in Fourth Geneva convention article 27, the protected persons ruled in article 27 are entitled, in all circumstances, for the person, their dignity, family rights, religious beliefs and practices, as well as their traditions and customs. This is clothed with humane treatment. The collective punishment has outweighed the advantage of military necessity and contravened both functional and operational principles of war. The ongoing Israeli occupation characterized by broken healthcare provision, stunted economy and restricted access to essential services, combined with fragmented political landscape and worse socio-economic conditions that diminish the Palestinian health system's capacity in time of emergencies ingrained in

⁴⁹ Ashley Joy Stein, "Reforming the Sentencing Regime for the Most Serious Crimes of Concern: The International Criminal Court Through the Lens of the Lubanga Trial" (2014) 39:1 Brooklyn Journal of International Law 521-562 at 562.

⁵⁰ Hamza Salman & Noor Shuhadawati Binti Mohamad Amin, "Rights of Prisoners Under International Humanitarian Law: A Case Study of Palestinian Prisoners in Israeli Prisons" (2021) 29:2 IIUM Law Journal 85-113 at 113.

⁵¹ Ferdoos Abed-Rabo Al Issa & Elizabeth Beck, "Sexual Violence as a War Weapon in Conflict Zones: Palestinian Women's Experience Visiting Loved Ones in Prisons and Jails" (2021) 36:2 Affilia 167-181 at 2.

persistent human rights violations. Including the lack of proper infrastructure and resource to live a dignified life has per se met the standard of Article 7, which are severe deprivation, singling out an individual or group based on their membership in a particular political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, or religious community, gender underlie this conduct.⁵²

The recent action taken by the International Criminal Court (ICC) against Israeli leaders, particularly Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Defense Minister Yoav Gallant, the slow-motion or the political interests of the “giants” control the wheels of ICC subject matter jurisdiction. The Israeli prime minister’s war crimes assimilate that of Hitler’s or the Nazi Holocaust. Individual criminal responsibility for war crimes is modeled on participation, such as direct commission, joint commission, ordering, instigation, and aiding/abetting. The ICC has unveiled an inquiry into war crimes committed by Netanyahu, and separately Gallant faces an arrest warrant for alleged war crimes and disease to humanity during military operations in Gaza. This allegation lending to the four phases of Israel’s operation in Palestinian territories, Operation Cast Lead (2009), Operation Pillar of Cloud (2012), Operation Protective Edge (2014), and Operation Guardian of the Walls (2021) constitute an enormous violation of Geneva conventions. Chief Prosecutor Karim Khan has said that there is evidence of “real criminality” by these incumbents about actions resulting in civilian casualties and humanitarian crises in the Gaza Strip.⁵³ Despite, Israel's opposition to the subject matter jurisdiction of ICC and others due to not being a signatory to the Rome Statute, and justifying that Israel’s nationals are not subject to court. Israel further argues that the alleged human rights and international humanitarian law violations should be addressed within the framework of the principle of complementarity, as outlined in Article 17 of the Rome Statute. ICC debunked all these pretexts put forward by Israel's high officials, with

⁵² Dr Ramly Makhoulf, “The legal status of Palestinian prisoners in occupation prisons and the guarantees of their international protection” (2023) 56 *The International and Political Journal* 403–424 at 403.

⁵³ Eric Pichet, “Colonisation des territoires palestiniens : quelles conséquences peut entraîner l’ouverture de l’enquête de la CPI ?” (17 March 2021), online: *The Conversation (French edition)* <<https://theconversation.com/colonisation-des-territoires-palestiniens-queelles-consequences-peut-entraîner-louverture-de-lenquete-de-la-cpi-156890>>.

amicus curiae submissions from groups such as the International Commission of Jurists that were filled over the ICC jurisdiction contention.⁵⁴

The ICC has the jurisdiction to prosecute crimes committed within the territory of the member state, which includes the Occupied Palestinian territories and the nationals of Israel are less significant for that purpose. Reiterating the individual criminal or the joint crime responsibility, the atrocity done in the Gaza strip rested fully on the high officials, emanating from the International Criminal Tribunal of Former Yugoslavia application of the doctrine of joint criminal enterprise (JCE), leading to development and significant understanding collective criminal responsibility in international law in respect to the high-ranking official implicated in war crimes. This uniqueness which was engineered in Tadic's case, is comparably crucial in the ICC standard of Israel's official alleged war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity of bombardment of protected civilian objects, invading safety zones, and mass atrocity of non-combatant Palestinians.⁵⁵

The way the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is depicted in international media helps to shape perceptions of the issue in general and therefore influence political action. The major media outlets that cover the Israeli actions in Gaza, the BBC and The New York Times, frame the stories in such a way that they can work to bias, leaving out recognition of Palestinian suffering and recognition of the validity of their right and justice claims. So much of this media representation can blunt public opinion and subsequently the political will to confront human rights abuses in Palestine.⁵⁶ The situation vis à vis Israeli leaders is analogous to other cases of ICC scrutiny of leaders, particularly so in Africa. Arrest warrants against some of Africa's leaders have been issued for war crimes including Sudanese President Omar al Bashir and Libyan leader Mu'ammarr Gaddafi. They have also sparked wide debate on selectivity and bias within the ICC: those who criticize the ICC say that leaders of African countries are unfairly put on trial, compared to the leaders of other countries. 6 Proponents argue, however, that these decisions are necessary to uphold international law

⁵⁴ Kevin Jon Heller, "The Shadow Side of Complementarity: The Effect of Article 17 of the Rome Statute on National Due Process" (2006) 17:3 Crim Law Forum 255-280 at 255.

⁵⁵ Pearce Clancy & Richard Falk, "The ICC and Palestine: Breakthrough and End of the Road?" (2021) 50:3(199) Journal of Palestine Studies 56-68 at 61.

⁵⁶ Wael F Al-Sarraj & Heba M Lubbad, *Bias Detection of Palestinian/Israeli Conflict in Western Media: A Sentiment Analysis Experimental Study* (IEEE, 2018).

and prevent impunity for serious crimes and varying responses to these cases from the international community indicate geopolitical interests. For instance, while in many African countries their leaders were affiliated with ICC proceedings, the United States has strongly opposed ICC action against their allies such as Israel. That inconsistency calls into question whether justice and accountability as we know them under international law are universal.⁵⁷ In the face of Justice and this Accountability, the pursuit of justice through the ICC is necessary not as much to help particular individuals to be held to account as it is for the sustenance of international norms around the lack of impunity. Serious allegations regarding starvation of civilians, deliberate attacks on civilian infrastructure, and the like, that, in certain circumstances, would constitute war crimes under IHL and IHRL.

As an international court, the ICC's role here is to see that certain acts are not unpunished so that world peace and security are maintained, and if arrest warrants are issued and implemented, it would signal a large step toward accountability of high-ranking officials in conflict situations. This could lead to future cases with leaders from many nations who violate the same way.⁵⁸ The implications of these proceedings are far-reaching beyond the holding of any individual to account, these proceedings send an important deterrent signal that no leader is above the law. It is noteworthy, that global politics shape our ICC and its signatories to depict Israel's war crimes in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. This includes how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is depicted in international media, helping to shape perceptions of the issue in general and influencing political action. International response is also influenced by the media coverage. Research indicates that mainstream Western sources (e.g. BBC, CNN, The New York Times) tend to present the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in such a way that minimizes the suffering of Palestinians. As an example, one study of 14,000 news article revealed that the Western media tended to describe Israeli victims as recognizable individuals, but Palestinians as unnamed groups. That study also found that journalists often produced a false balance by mentioning the October 7 Israeli deaths

⁵⁷ Nwafor Ndubuisi & Mukoro Benjamin Onoriode, "ICC and Afrocentrism: The Laws, Politics and Biases in Global Criminal Justice" (2018) 6:1 *Groningen Journal of International Law* 146-160 at 150.

⁵⁸ Manuel J Ventura, "Prosecuting Starvation under International Criminal Law: Exploring the Legal Possibilities" (2019) 17:4 *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 781-814 at 813.

repeatedly even when there were no new Israeli deaths. These kinds of reporting can distort the popular opinion and, by extension, the international pressure to act on alleged abuses. In other words, bias in media narratives may contribute to muted public outcry over Palestinian hardships, affecting political will to enforce human rights norms.⁵⁹ Besides, news outlets seated at the core of representation that blunt public opinion and subsequently, the political will to confront human rights abuses in Palestine.⁶⁰

VI. CONCLUSION

International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law have been subject to serious and repeated violations in the Israel–Palestine conflict. As of mid-2025, over 54,000 Palestinians (including a high proportion of women and children) have been killed in Gaza, and nearly two million displaced. The nearly complete Israeli blockade has paralyzed the civilian infrastructure of Gaza: the UN estimates that nearly 94 percent of its hospitals are out of commission. Such acts are an obvious breach of the Fourth Geneva Convention and other treaties. Deliberate targeting of civilians and their supplies - such as cutting off food, fuel, water and medicine - violates customary IHL (Additional Protocol I, Art. 54) and amounts to war crimes. Since these actions were committed as a planned action and not as a coincidence in war, they may also amount to crimes against humanity and even fulfill the legal meaning of genocide. Nevertheless to a large extent Israeli leaders have escaped justice. The ICC has recently issued arrest warrants for Prime Minister Netanyahu and Defense Minister Gallant due to their actions in Gaza. More broadly, the international response to date has been weak, undermining the integrity of the legal system. Notably, evidence points out that it is not mere isolated failures but calculated breaches of IHL principles. The paper's core argument is that Israeli authorities intentionally violated the principles of distinction, proportionality and necessity provided in IHL (not merely incidental violations). It is, however, important to hold individual

⁵⁹ Bedoor AlShebli, Bruno Gabriel Salvador Casara & Anne Maass, "Media Coverage of War Victims: Journalistic Biases in Reporting on Israel and Gaza" (25 February 2026), online: <<http://arxiv.org/abs/2510.06453>> arXiv:2510.06453 [cs].

⁶⁰ Thomas Obel Hansen, "Opportunities and Challenges Seeking Accountability for War Crimes in Palestine under the ICC Regime" (16 May 2018) Rochester, NY, online: <<https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3179480>>.

perpetrators (policymakers and commanders) responsible. The international community should implement the current laws in full to bring justice and prevent further violations rather than create a precedent that can allow heinous abuses without reprisals - such as endorsing the ICC mandate. Prompt accountability is crucial to the rule of law and to reducing the humanitarian disaster in Gaza.

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