

Written evidence submitted by War on Want (IPC0099)

War on Want's submission of evidence to the Inquiry of the UK Parliament's Foreign Affairs Select Committee into the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

War on Want is a movement of people working to end global poverty and human rights abuses. In partnership with social movements and trade unions in the Global South, including in the occupied Palestinian territory. We campaign in the UK to challenge human rights abusing corporations and governments, and to hold those responsible for inequality and poverty to account.

War on Want is submitting evidence because it considers that the UK government and corporations in the UK are contributing to instability in and around the occupied Palestinian territory, including by providing support to a state committing genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Summary

The UK government claims to adhere to and promote international law but has done so inconsistently with regards Israel and the Palestinians. Over decades, the UK has fuelled serious violations of international law by Israel, including the ongoing genocide and protracted illegal occupation, and helped shield Israel from accountability. The UK has not used its considerable leverage to prevent or end the genocide or to help bring about a ceasefire.

Please note that this submission should be read in conjunction with the joint submission by War on Want and Global Justice Now that focuses on trade.

What can – and should – the UK do, in cooperation with regional and international partners, to help bring about a ceasefire?

1. The needs for a ceasefire are huge, given the extraordinarily grave suffering of the Palestinians in Gaza and to achieve the release of the hostages from Israel as well as thousands of Palestinian detainees held arbitrarily by Israel for months and even years. The UK should be doing much more to help bring about a ceasefire by: a) leveraging its considerable influence over its closer ally, Israel; b) ensuring UK policies are informed by the understanding and articulation of injustices suffered by the people in the occupied Palestinian territory (oPt) and Israel not only on 7 October 2023, but before and since; c) ensuring UK policies are consistently in line with international law and justice; and d) working towards a wider settlement between Israel, the Palestinians and neighbouring countries rooted firmly in international law.

2. It is now somewhat misleading to refer to the need for a *ceasefire* in Gaza. The situation therein is less one of armed conflict but rather of a highly asymmetrical air and ground assault by a military superpower relentlessly attacking and to a large extent seeking to eradicate an impoverished, blockaded, forcibly displaced, almost entirely defenceless civilian population and its civilian infrastructure. War on Want, other human rights organisations, genocide scholars, international law scholars and UN bodies and officials have found Israel's conduct towards Gaza as constituting genocide, genocidal acts, extermination, or at least, in the January 2024 analysis of the International Court of Justice, "plausible" genocide. Israeli leaders and combatants have often referred to Palestinians in dehumanising ways and rejected the distinctions between combatants and non-combatants, between innocents and the guiltyⁱ. Similarly, Israeli leaders and others have wider objectives of (re)occupation and (re)settlement of Gazaⁱⁱ and also parts of Lebanonⁱⁱⁱ and Syria^{iv}. The UK government has been almost entirely silent on these drivers of the assault on Gaza. Without this

understanding, no lasting and just peace is possible. The UK government's refusal to recognise that a genocide is being perpetrated in Gaza exemplifies this failing (see paragraphs 16-18 below).

3. The UK should be prepared to recognise that the main reported blocker to a ceasefire deal is Israel, primarily its Prime Minister Netanyahu who has other objectives. As stated by the European Council on Foreign Relations, "Since the 7 October attacks, the Israeli government has repeatedly blocked the diplomatic route to a ceasefire in Gaza that would see Israeli hostages released." Also "Israeli prime minister Binyamin Netanyahu and his far-right coalition remain firmly opposed to any diplomatic track in Gaza. They have repeatedly blocked ceasefire negotiations brokered by the US, Qatar, and Egypt."^v Foreign Policy holds that this is at least in part because it endangers Netanyahu's political survival^{vi}. Netanyahu is regarded as paying lip service to the hostages while actively sabotaging chances of a deal, including by ordering provocative military actions at moments that negotiations have been advancing (e.g. in January 2024 when the three-stage hostage deal was gaining momentum, he authorized the assassination of Hamas deputy leader Saleh al-Aroui in Beirut— halting the talks; in early April 2024 when the US, Egypt, and Qatar made a breakthrough, an Israeli attack in northern Gaza killed three sons and four grandchildren of Hamas political chief Ismail Haniyeh, stalling negotiations). On multiple occasions Netanyahu has committed himself to a deal in private meetings with US President Biden or members of his team, only to move the goalposts publicly (notably in May and July 2024). The UK therefore needs to use its influence to push Netanyahu to accept rather than block a deal. It should extend those endeavours also to the US, even closer allies with Israel in the war on Gaza and its protracted and expanding illegal occupation of Palestinian territory. The US has repeatedly vetoed Gaza ceasefire resolutions – and some 50 other resolutions critical of Israel^{vii} - at the United Nations, undermining international consensus and momentum for such a deal.

4. As stated by ECFR, "The Israeli right's vision of a Greater Israel threatens chances of resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict via the two-state solution. Their position will only lead to further instability." Israel has similarly repeatedly blocked initiatives to create a lasting peace based on international norms. For example, the day after the Arab League announced the Arab Peace Initiative^{viii} in March 2002 which would fully recognise Israel and normalise relations between it and the League's 22 members based on the 1967 borders, and which was supported by US President George W. Bush and UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, Israel launched a massive military operation across the occupied West Bank, killing some 500 Palestinians. The UK should be prepared to recognise and seek to address these blockages.

What can be learned from the record of UK Government policies to date?

5. The UK has consistently failed to hold Israel to account for its ongoing illegal occupation, system of apartheid against Palestinians and militarised violence against civilians. Political, diplomatic and trade relations have been normalised regardless of Israel's unlawful and discriminatory actions – as found consistently by UN bodies and human rights organisations - against Palestinians over decades. Since October 2023, senior UK political leaders have broadly replicated the narratives of Israel's political and military establishment, essentially that the killing of tens of thousands of Palestinians and the systematic destruction of life-sustaining infrastructure is the necessary and legitimate response of an innocent democracy acting in "self-defence". Labour's most senior officials both while in opposition and in government have repeatedly championed Israel's "right to defend itself" and its "right to self-defence". Rights by their very nature must be enjoyed by all, but War on Want is not aware of any statements made by UK leaders recognising the equivalent rights of Palestinians or indeed Lebanese, Syrians, Iranians or Yemenis who have all been attacked by Israeli forces.

6. Illustrations of the government's policies not being adequately informed by the correct understanding of events or international law include that when in opposition, the Prime Minister went as far as to support Israel's right to withhold power and water from Gaza^{ix}, despite it constituting the war crime of collective punishment and, in time given the severity and evolving severity of the already unlawful blockade, an act of genocide^x. Similarly, when in opposition, the Foreign Secretary went so far as to repeat claims that babies were raped^{xi} on 7 October 2023, despite the lack of evidence for this. Whilst the perpetrators of crimes carried out that day must be held to account, repeating false claims contributes to the spread of dangerous misinformation and risks incitement to further violence. It is to be remembered that both the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary have stated that they are Zionists, and it is notable that the Foreign Secretary's previous director of campaigns is David Mencer, now the official spokesman for Israel's Prime Minister Netanyahu for whom the International Criminal Court has issued arrest warrants concerning a series of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Such a level of partisanship does not lend itself towards the UK government being a trusted partner in conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

7. The deliberate killings of civilians and taking of hostages by Palestinian armed groups and other entities on 7 October 2023 are grave crimes which must end and the perpetrators be held to account. This must also hold for serious violations of international law which preceded the 7 October 2023 attacks as well as those committed thereafter. Statements by UK government leaders however have emphasised the recent and historical suffering of Israelis but not those of Palestinians. There has been an absence of articulated historical perspective for decades of suffering and war crimes suffered by generations of Palestinians. The scale of killings and forced displacement by Israel in 2023-25 eclipses even the Nakba, when more than 700,000 Palestinian people were forcibly expelled from their homes, lands, and property in Palestine between 1947-49. During the Nakba, as summarised by Palestinian human rights and civil society organisations^{xii}, Zionist militias destroyed 531 Palestinian villages, carried out more than 70 massacres and killed more than 15,000 Palestinians. Some two-thirds of the Palestinian people became refugees and have been denied their right of return ever since. War on Want reminds the government that the UK carries enormous responsibility for the historic, ongoing and future injustices suffered by the Palestinians due to the Balfour Declaration of 1917. Through the Balfour Declaration one nation (imperial/mandate Britain) promised another nation (the Jews) the land of a third nation (the Palestinians) at a time when 91 percent of the inhabitants were Palestinian Arabs and 9 percent were Jews^{xiii}. This triggered the settler colonisation and destruction of Palestine alongside the creation of Israel. The UK's lack of recognition of historic and ongoing Palestinian losses and its apparent acceptance that Israel should not be held accountable for them has enabled further Israeli violations and hampered global attempts for a ceasefire.

8. Tragically, the Palestinians of Gaza – four fifths of whom are refugees forcibly displaced since the Nakba - have endured multiple manifestations of military aggression from Israel in addition to the protracted unlawful blockade and even longer unlawful military occupation. These include but are not limited to: over 22 days in 2008/9, 1,410 Palestinians were killed by Israeli forces, the overwhelming majority of them civilians^{xiv}; at least 168 Palestinians were killed in Israel's attacks during one week in November 2012, the majority of them civilians^{xv}; over 51 days in 2014, Israeli forces killed 2,219 Palestinians in Gaza, 70 percent of them civilians^{xvi}; during the Great March of Return protests from 2018-2020, Israeli forces shot dead 217 Palestinian unarmed protestors as well as journalists and medics in Gaza^{xvii}. A UN Commission of Inquiry found "reasonable grounds to believe that Israeli snipers shot at journalists, health workers, children and persons with disabilities, knowing they were clearly recognizable as such"^{xviii}. These and other recent attacks by Israel on the Palestinians of Gaza, characterised by multiple suspected war crimes and crimes against humanity committed with impunity, are ignored by UK government leaders in their commentaries on the reality and causes of the current situations. The extraordinary impunity enjoyed by Israel's political and military leaders as well as other perpetrators of abuses has been far too inadequately challenged by UK leaders and has encouraged even more grave atrocities during 2023-5, many of them gleefully celebrated and filmed

by Israeli soldiers as they commit them^{xix}. The UK should have publicly acknowledged and stated commitment to address the many long-standing and deep-rooted injustices suffered by the Palestinians in Gaza and more widely, and more actively promoted the need for accountability.

9. Notwithstanding some criticisms presented above and further below, it is noted that the current UK government has made a number of modest but important policy shifts regarding Palestine and Israel: reversing the decision to stop funding UNRWA; dropping the challenge to the ICC's jurisdiction over alleged war crimes in the oPt; suspending some licences for arms transfers to Israel due to the clear risk that they might be used to commit or facilitate a serious violation of international humanitarian law (IHL); increasing verbal criticism of Israel for not allowing enough aid into Gaza; expressing concern at mistreatment of detainees^{xx}; and, amid the escalation in violent attacks by settlers (as well as Israel's armed forces) on Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, sanctioning three settlement "outposts" and four extremist settler organisations.

10. The shifts are welcome but fall far short of what is required to help bring about a ceasefire, let alone what the UK is obligated to do to end the genocide as well as the illegal occupation. The first two changes (re: UNRWA and the ICC) represent low-hanging fruit, halting dreadful, politically motivated policies of the previous government. The partial suspension represents fewer than 10 per cent of UK arms licences to Israel and exempts parts for F-35 bomber jets if transferred indirectly to Israel. Expressing concern about the blockade and urging Israel again and again to allow in much more aid is naïve as well as ineffective without leveraging the UK's influence or sanctioning officials responsible. Similarly, the handful of sentences uttered by UK government officials to date on the dramatic escalation in severity and scale of mistreatment of Palestinian detainees in Israeli custody – at least 54 of them dying in custody and many more being victims of enforced disappearance - fall short in terms of language used and have proven unable to influence patterns of abusive detention and chronic impunity without any material follow-up or sanction. More than 10,000 Palestinians are currently in prisons and detention centres of the occupying power, and several thousand at least are held without charge or trial^{xxi}. When in opposition, neither the Leader of the Opposition or Shadow Foreign Secretary made any public criticism of the widely reported abusive detention, despite War on Want briefing them in person on these issues at the time. There is no longer silence and a handful of critical sentences have been issued but are highly incommensurate with the scale of abuse. Again, the root cause of most if not all the arbitrary detention and abuse is Israel's unlawful occupation of Palestine, which the UK is failing to help end.

11. The UK does recognise the illegality of Israel's settlements in the occupied the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, but the handful of sanctions imposed on several "outposts" and extremist settler organisations impact only a tiny percentage of settlements and ignore the central role of the state of Israel and many senior officials for sustaining and expanding the illegal settler-colonial enterprise, providing infrastructure and funds for it, armed soldiers to protect them, and systematically failing to use legal or other means to deter the settlers. UK charities appear to continue to be allowed to raise funds for settler organisations^{xxii}. Even more strikingly, the UK Foreign Secretary's announcement^{xxiii} of these measures calls on Israel merely to stop settlement *expansion*, not to dismantle the whole settlement enterprise itself in line with the ICJ's July 2024 Advisory Opinion which reaffirmed the illegality of Israel's 57-year occupation and demanded that Israel ends it as rapidly as possible.

12. The UK has significant influence it has largely failed to deploy not only to help bring about a ceasefire, but to prevent and then stop genocide, end the unlawful occupation and pave the way for a just and lasting peace. The UK is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, has the world's sixth largest economy and is a major military power and arms producer. Bilateral UK-Israel trade is worth up to £7 billion a year, and the UK is Israel's fifth largest export market. In the midst of Israel's genocide, in July 2024 the UK embassy to Israel and the Department of Business and Trade

showcased opportunities for UK companies to invest in large-scale Israeli infrastructure projects. The UK continues to import goods produced in the illegal settlements and to allow financial institutions to invest in companies involved in the settlement businesses. As mentioned, in line with the Advisory Opinion it should have been taking concrete steps to stop aiding and abetting the unlawful occupation – simultaneously signalling that the assault on Gaza must stop – but, six months later, appears to have taken no action at all. Aside from belatedly suspending fewer than 10 percent of its arms licences to Israel, the UK is continuing business as usual with Israel, despite the multiple atrocities being committed with impunity.

13. According to research by the Don't Buy Into Occupation Coalition^{xxiv}, which War on Want is a member of, UK-headquartered financial institutions are financially supporting 58 companies known to be involved in the illegal Israeli settlements. The financial institutions provide \$49 billion in loans and underwriting, and \$45 billion in bonds and shareholdings to those companies. HSBC, Barclays, Legal and General, and Standard Chartered are found to be the most complicit in aiding and abetting settlement businesses. In line with the Advisory Opinion, the UK government should have prohibited economic and financial support from the UK for companies perpetuating the unlawful occupation and also prohibited imports, marketing and sales by companies operating in the oPt. Further, the UK should have imposed sanctions, including asset freezes, on Israeli individuals and entities, including businesses and financial institutions, directly involved in the unlawful occupation and apartheid regime as well as on any foreign or domestic entities and individuals subject to their jurisdiction that supply goods and services that may aid, assist or enable occupation and apartheid.

14. As documented by War on Want with the Palestine Solidarity Campaign and Campaign Against Arms Trade, Barclays Bank is one of the financial institutions not only fuelling and profiting from Israel's illegal settlement enterprise and apartheid, but also financially supporting nine UK-based arms companies supplying arms, military components and technology to Israel for its overwhelmingly unlawful military attacks on Palestinians without any apparent discouragement or sanction from the UK government. Our latest research^{xxv} found that Barclays has substantially increased the level of its financial ties with these nine companies, despite the enormous gravity of military attacks, killings and unlawfulness. Barclays now holds over \$2.5 billion/£2 billion in shares of eight of the nine companies whose weapons, components, and military technology have been used in Israel's unlawful violence against Palestinians. Barclays also provides over \$7.6 billion/£6.1 billion in loans and underwriting to seven of these companies. UN rights experts^{xxvi} including the Working Group on Business and Human Rights called in June 2024 for financial institutions to cease their support for arms companies supplying Israel with weaponry to commit war crimes. This call was made in addition to calls from the UN Human Rights Council as well as UN rights experts on states and arms companies to supplying Israel with arms. It is a tragedy that the UK government has not ceased all arms transfers to Israel and has taken no steps to prohibit financial support to arms companies supplying Israel.

15. The UK continues to provide Israel with military support and arms supplies. This is despite the arrest of Israel's Prime Minister and former Defence Minister being actively sought by the ICC for a series of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and an ever-increasing catalogue of authoritative findings that Israel is committing the act of extermination and genocide^{xxvii}. The UK is still providing surveillance to Israel, primarily via its Shadow R1 aircraft overflying Gaza and plays a major role in the airbridge^{xxviii} resupplying Israel with vast amounts of weaponry to continue operations across the oPt, Lebanon, Syria and beyond. The UK should have turned off these and other taps of military support for Israel or at the very least threatened to do so without substantial improvements in conduct. War on Want has coordinated a number of open letters to the UK government concerning Israel's unlawful military operations in Gaza, the West Bank, Lebanon and Syria and the UK's failure to uphold obligations in domestic and international law not to support them. The UK government should be consistently equal in its condemnation of international law violations, whoever the perpetrators and victims.

16. Despite the growing consensus that Israel is perpetrating genocide against the Palestinians of Gaza, both the Prime Minister^{xxix} and Foreign Secretary^{xxx} have publicly rejected, in manners deemed by many to be inappropriate and offensive, the growing consensus that Israel is indeed perpetrating genocide. War on Want found David Lammy to be dismissive, misleading and incorrect in Parliament on 28 October 2024 when he said genocide is "largely used when millions of people lost their lives in crises like Rwanda, the Second World War, the Holocaust, and the way that they are used now undermines the seriousness of that term". Fewer than one million people were killed in the recognised genocide in Rwanda, and far fewer in the genocide in Srebrenica (for which Lammy also attended a commemoration), and the genocide of the Yazidi people. While the Genocide Convention does not require a threshold of killings for a genocide to have taken place, it is worth noting that far fewer Bosniaks (more than eight thousand) and Yazidis (some five thousand) were killed in those recognised genocides than Palestinians have been killed by Israel in Gaza.

17. According to the Genocide Convention, genocide is any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. Tragically, Israel's acts against Palestinians in Gaza do amount to genocide. Israel has killed more than 45,000 Palestinians in Gaza, including 16,000 children. Israel has repeatedly targeted life-sustaining and other civilian infrastructure, including health and water facilities, UN aid convoys, homes, shelters, bakeries and food warehouses. Israel has repeatedly blocked food, water and essential humanitarian and hygienic supplies from entering Gaza. Famine has spread at a globally unprecedented rate. Israel has destroyed all of Gaza's universities, many of its mosques, churches and cultural facilities, and almost half of Gaza's agricultural land and trees. Gaza has been made entirely unsuitable for sustaining human life. Northern Gaza, in the words of the UN's top humanitarian agencies, is now "apocalyptic" – and once again, Israel is acting with impunity. War on Want has encouraged supporters to write to the Foreign Secretary, pointing out these concerns and encouraging him to inform Parliament at the earliest opportunity, as required by the Ministerial Code, that he misled it. The failure to convey without favour understanding of history or international law, compassion for the victims or criticism of the perpetrators, weakens the UK's regional and global reputation and the rule of law worldwide.

18. The UK and other third states were put firmly on notice that a genocide was plausibly taking place when the ICJ announced provisional measures on this in January 2023. Previously, as summarised here by the International Commission of Jurists^{xxxi}, the ICJ spelled out in *Bosnia v. Serbia* that 'States with strong political links to the State concerned have a greater duty to use their influence in this regard, as the duty to prevent varies from State to State depending on its:

“...capacity to influence effectively the action of persons likely to commit, or already committing, genocide. This capacity itself depends, among other things, on the geographical distance of the State concerned from the scene of the events, and on the strength of the political links, as well as links of all other kinds, between the authorities of that State and the main actors in the events”.

The Court also held that, “if the State has available to it means likely to have a deterrent effect on those suspected of preparing genocide, or reasonably suspected of harbouring specific intent, it is under a duty to make such use of these means as the circumstances permit”. Third State responsibility may be incurred if a State manifestly fails to take all measures that are within its power to prevent acts of genocide, and that might contribute to preventing such acts.’ The UK may not only have failed to make use of its available means to bring about a ceasefire, but to have incurred state responsibility for having failed to take all such measures to prevent genocide.

How can the UK assure the resilience of efforts to bring about a lasting peace at a time of uncertainty caused by conflicts elsewhere and changes in leadership in the international community?

19. War on Want reiterates the need for the UK to adhere to international law, to strongly urge and use its influence to promote adherence to international law by its allies and all members of the international community. As many international law commentators have stated since October 2023, Israel's conduct against the Palestinians and seemingly unfettered military activities and settlement plans in neighbouring countries risks destroying the post-World War Two international order, due to the strong support of the US, the EU, UK and others of the global north and their double standards in contrast to, say, Russia's aggression against Ukraine and occupation of Ukrainian territory.

20. To those ends, War on Want strongly recommends that the UK Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister immediately take the following steps to end UK complicity in and help end Israel's genocide, war crimes and unlawful occupation:

- End all UK arms trade with Israel
- End UK military support for Israel's military operations in Gaza and Lebanon
- End UK trade deals with Israel
- Prohibit UK investment in and economic relations with companies working in Israel's illegal settlements, and aiding and abetting Israel's unlawful occupation
- Publicly call on Israel to withdraw fully from the oPt
- Commit to having Israel PM Netanyahu and former Defence Minister Gallant arrested if they step foot in the UK
- Publicly condemn widespread Israeli state and state-backed settler attacks on Palestinians in the West Bank, and impose sanctions on Israeli officials and individuals responsible and for the climate of impunity around them
- Publicly condemn Israel's widespread torture and ill-treatment of Palestinians in Israeli custody and impose sanctions on those responsible for these acts and the climate of impunity around them.

ⁱ [Application instituting proceedings and Request for provisional measures](#) p140-160

ⁱⁱ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/12-ministers-call-to-resettle-gaza-encourage-gazans-to-leave-at-jubilant-conference/>

ⁱⁱⁱ <https://www.timesofisrael.com/fringe-far-right-conference-to-advocate-occupation-and-settlement-of-south-lebanon/>

^{iv} <https://apnews.com/article/israel-syria-golan-heights-expansion-netanyahu-41341a9598e44afbdad77f1683c2407e>

^v <https://ecfr.eu/publication/dealing-with-trump-israel-and-hamas-the-path-to-peace-in-the-middle-east/?s=09>

^{vi} <https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/08/05/netanyahu-israel-hostage-deal-hopes-fading/>

^{vii} <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/49-times-us-has-used-veto-power-against-un-resolutions-israel>

^{viii} <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20210328-remembering-the-2002-arab-peace-initiative/>

^{ix} Israel 'has the right' to withhold power and water from Gaza, says Sir Keir Starmer - LBC

^x <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/12/19/israels-crime-extermination-acts-genocide-gaza>

^{xi} Israel-Gaza war: Forcing Gazans south must be done 'according to international law' - David Lammy

^{xii} <https://www.mezan.org/public/en/post/30384/Joint-Statement:-The-Nakba-at-72:-A-Legacy-of-Settler-Colonialism-&-Apartheid-over-the-Palestinian-People>

^{xiii} <https://balfourproject.org/the-balfour-declaration-and-its-consequences-avi-shlaim/>

^{xiv} <https://www.mezan.org/en/post/37814/Cast-Lead-Offensive-in-Numbers%3Cbr%3EStatistical-Report-on:->

[Persons-Killed-and-Property-Damaged-or-Destroyed-in-the-Gaza-Strip-by-the-Israeli-Occupation-Forces-%2827-December-2008-%E2%80%93-18-January-2009%29](#)

^{xv} <https://mezan.org/en/post/40187/Field-Report-on-Israel%E2%80%99s-Attacks-on-Gaza:-Violations-of-international-human-rights-and-international-humanitarian-law-committed-by-the-Israeli-occupation-forces-in-the-reporting-period,-14-November-2012-%E2%80%93-21-November-2012>

^{xvi} <https://www.mezan.org/public/en/post/46480/10-Years-Since-the-2014-War-on-Gaza:-Israel%E2%80%99s-Unchecked-Impunity-and-Lack-of-Accountability-Amid-Ongoing-Genocide>

^{xvii} [15952354571567.pdf](#)

^{xviii} <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2019/02/no-justification-israel-shoot-protesters-live-ammunition?LangID=E&NewsID=24226>

^{xix} <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2024/1/24/why-are-israeli-soldiers-sharing-snuff-videos-from-their-genocide-in-gaza>

^{xx} <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/foreign-secretary-statement-on-uk-policy-on-arms-export-licenses-to-israel>

^{xxi} <https://x.com/Addameer/status/1876563649340579966/photo/1>

^{xxii} <https://www.icjpalastine.com/2024/10/16/sanctions-authority-called-on-to-investigate-british-charities-with-financial-links-to-israeli-settlement-organisations-sanctioned-by-uk-government-israeli-ministers-must-face-sanctions-too/>

^{xxiii} <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-uk-sanctions-target-illegal-outposts-and-organisations-supporting-extremist-israeli-settlers-in-the-west-bank>

^{xxiv} <https://dontbuyintooccupation.org/>

^{xxv} <https://waronwant.org/news-analysis/barclays-bankrolling-genocide-apartheid>

^{xxvi} <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/06/states-and-companies-must-end-arms-transfers-israel-immediately-or-risk>

^{xxvii} **For example** <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/11/un-special-committee-finds-israels-warfare-methods-gaza-consistent-genocide>

^{xxviii} <https://www.aljazeera.com/program/newsfeed/2024/10/24/how-us-and-uk-military-airlifts-have-supported-israels-war-on-gaza>

^{xxix} https://www.thecanary.co/uk/analysis/2024/11/13/pmq-s-starmer-genocide/#google_vignette

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https://secure.waronwant.org/page/160318/action/1?ea_tracking_id=wowweb&utm_source=Web&utm_medium=WOW&utm_campaign=Y24AM_05.11.24

^{xxxi} <https://www.icj.org/resource/gaza-occupied-palestinian-territory-states-have-a-duty-to-prevent-genocide/>

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