

# Israel's Siege of Gaza

January 2024

---



---

London | Washington



# Contents

01

**History of Israel's  
Siege of Gaza**

3

02

**Timeline of Besieged  
Cities in the Last 50 Years**

5

03

**Gaza Prior to  
7 October**

10

04

**Gaza Since  
7 October**

14

\*

**Footnotes**

17

01

[← BACK TO CONTENTS](#)

# History of Israel's Siege of Gaza



## 01

# History of Israel's Siege of Gaza

After the First Intifada, Israel began to impose restrictions on Gaza's residents by introducing a permit system that required Gazans to get difficult-to-obtain permits to work or travel through Israel or access the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

Since 1993, Israel has routinely used "closure" tactics on Gaza, at times barring all Palestinians in certain areas from leaving, sometimes for months at a time.<sup>2</sup>

In 1995, Israel built an electronic fence and concrete wall around the Gaza Strip, severely diminishing interactions between the split Palestinian territories.<sup>3</sup>

Following the Second Intifada, Israel cancelled many Palestinians' travel and work permits in Gaza, and significantly reduced the number of new permits issued.<sup>4</sup>

In 2001, Israel bombed and destroyed Gaza's airport, three years after it opened.<sup>5</sup>

In 2005, Israel removed around 8,000 Israeli settlers from illegal settlements inside the Gaza Strip, in what Israel called the "disengagement" from Gaza.<sup>6</sup> Israel claims that its occupation of Gaza ceased since it pulled its troops and settlers from the territory.<sup>7</sup> However, under international law, Gaza is defined as occupied territory since Israel has full military control over the strip.<sup>8</sup>

In 2006, Hamas won Gaza's elections and seized power in a violent conflict with its rival, Fatah, after Fatah had refused to accept the election result.<sup>9</sup> Since Hamas' rise to power in 2007, Israel has severely intensified its siege.<sup>10</sup>

The Israeli blockade of the occupied Gaza Strip, in its current form, has been in place since June 2007, when Israel imposed a land, sea and air blockade.<sup>11</sup> Israel controls Gaza's airspace and territorial waters, as well as two out of three border crossings.<sup>12</sup> The imposed blockade has cut off Palestinians from their main urban centre, Jerusalem, which hosts specialised hospitals, foreign consulates, banks and other vital services, including one of the holiest sites for all three Abrahamic faiths.<sup>13</sup>

Israel's blockade of Gaza reneges on the 1993 Oslo Accords, which stipulated that Israel must treat the Palestinian territories as one political entity, not as divided and separate territories.<sup>14</sup>

Israel's blockade also contravenes Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits collective punishment that prevents the realisation of a broad range of human rights.<sup>15</sup>

02

[← BACK TO CONTENTS](#)

# Timeline of Besieged Cities in the Last 50 Years



02

# Timeline of Besieged Cities in the Last 50 Years

## Timeline

1980

**Iran**

– length of siege: 10 months



From November 1980 to September 1981, Saddam Hussein's army besieged the Iranian island of Abadan.<sup>16</sup> The Iraqi army managed to surround Abadan on three sides and occupied a portion of the city.<sup>17</sup> However, they could not overcome Iranian resistance, and sections of the city still under Iranian control were resupplied and received reinforcements to replace losses, by boat and helicopter at night.<sup>18</sup> Abadan was largely in ruins in the aftermath of the siege, and 3,000 Iranians were killed.<sup>19</sup>

1982

**Beirut, Lebanon**

– length of siege: 2 months



In 1982, Israel laid siege to West Beirut for two months, where the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) were located. West Beirut was cut off by land, sea, and sky, all of which were controlled by the Israeli military, navy, and air force.<sup>20</sup> Israel blockaded and bombed the area, only ending the siege once PLO fighters left Lebanon.<sup>21</sup> The total Palestinian and Lebanese civilian casualties from Israel's invasion of Lebanon was almost 50,000, and a further 6,000 missing.<sup>22</sup>

1991

**Vukovar, Croatia**

– length of siege: 3 months



In 1991, the Croatian city of Vukovar was besieged by 40,000 Serbian forces for three months, defended by just 2,000 of the Croat national guard.<sup>23</sup> Hundreds of Croatian fighters were killed when Vukovar was taken, and tens of thousands of non-Serb inhabitants expelled. When it was finally returned to Croatia in 1998, the city was rebuilt.<sup>24</sup> Despite a deal between the Serbian forces and the Croatian government that Croat soldiers and civilians in the city would be evacuated, 261 men were taken from Vukovar's hospital. They were then taken in groups of between 10 and 12 to another site where they were shot and buried in a mass grave.<sup>25</sup>

## Timeline of Besieged Cities in the Last 50 Years continued...

1992

**Tkvarcheli, Georgia/Abkhazia**  
– length of siege: 11 months



In 1992, Georgian forces laid siege to the town of Tkvarcheli, which led to thousands of deaths.<sup>33</sup> Georgian forces shot down a Russian army helicopter reportedly evacuating Abkhaz civilians. Around 50-60 people were killed, including 25 children.<sup>34</sup> Russia kept the town supplied with food and medicine via helicopter despite the siege, although residents suffered from malnutrition and deprivation.<sup>35</sup> The residents of Tkvarcheli had to live without electricity for almost a year.<sup>36</sup>

1993

**Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina**  
– length of siege: almost 4 years



In 1993, Serbian forces besieged Sarajevo for almost four years – the longest blockage on any capital city in modern history.<sup>28</sup> Over 11,000 people were killed, often deliberately targeted by Serbian bombs and snipers.<sup>29</sup> The city was eventually liberated with the help of the international community.<sup>30</sup> During the siege, food was reduced to 300 grams of food aid per day.<sup>31</sup> Bosnians were able to rely on their abundant rivers and lakes for water – in comparison, Gaza has almost no fresh water.<sup>32</sup>

1999

**Grozny, Russia/Chechnya**  
– length of siege: 1 month



Between late 1999 and early 2000, Russian forces besieged and attacked the Chechen capital, Grozny.<sup>37</sup> Russia's attacks devastated the city, which the UN said at the time was "the most destroyed city on Earth".<sup>38</sup>

2004

**Fallujah, Iraq**  
– length of siege: 1 month



Coalition forces besieged Fallujah twice in 2004.<sup>39</sup> 735 Iraqis were killed during the first siege in April, 60% of which were women, children, and the elderly.<sup>40</sup>

2007

**Nahr el-Bared Refugee Camp, Lebanon**  
– length of siege: 3 months



In 2007, Israel besieged the Palestinian refugee camp Nahr el-Bared in northern Lebanon for three months.<sup>41</sup> More than 20 civilians were killed, and the camp was completely destroyed. All the camp's residents were displaced, and only half of the camp has been rebuilt. Some of the camp's residents are still living in temporary accommodation.<sup>42</sup>

## Timeline of Besieged Cities in the Last 50 Years continued...

2007

### Gaza, Palestine

– length of siege: ongoing (16 years)



Gaza has been under military siege by Israel since 2007, with Israel cutting off all food, water, supplies, and fuel completely from 7 October 2023, with the exception of a short-lived humanitarian pause.<sup>43</sup>

- Residents are unable to leave except in specific circumstances, with many who need medical treatment abroad also denied visas.<sup>44</sup>
- Israel has prohibited many items from entering, including building materials.<sup>45</sup>
- A complete blockade has also been imposed during previous Israeli operations against Gaza.<sup>46</sup>
- Egypt has also closed the Rafah crossing for lengthy periods since Egypt's political unrest in 2014.<sup>47</sup>
- Gaza relies on hundreds of aid trucks entering per week in order to feed its population and provide fuel.<sup>48</sup>

2012

### Syria

– length of sieges: 2-6 years



The Assad regime besieged various parts of Syria between 2012 and 2018, where large numbers of rebels or a high Shia population is located. The Assad regime is accused of using “starve or surrender” tactics.<sup>49</sup>

Some of the longest sieges took place in:

- The city of Homs from 2012 to 2014.<sup>50</sup> The neighbourhood of al-Waer remained under siege for a further two years until 2016,<sup>51</sup> and Northern Homs for another four years until 2018.<sup>52</sup> Food shortages resulted in people searching under the rubble for old food or eating rotten food.<sup>53</sup> Two villages called Nubl and al-Zahra.<sup>54</sup> Over 1,000 people were killed by the regime's bombardments, over half of whom were civilians, and 100 were children.<sup>55</sup> At least 50 civilians died of hunger.<sup>56</sup>
- The city of Moadamiya from 2012 to 2016.<sup>57</sup> After a year, the regime had killed around 1,500 people.<sup>58</sup> After a brief pause, the regime besieged the city for another three years, and remaining residents became so desperate that they resorted to eating grass.<sup>59</sup>
- The town of Darayya from 2012 to 2016.<sup>60</sup> Throughout the siege, the UN was only able to provide humanitarian aid once.<sup>61</sup> Weeks of intense bombardment, including chemical weapon attacks such as napalm, eventually forced the rebels to surrender.<sup>62</sup>



## Timeline of Besieged Cities in the Last 50 Years continued...

**2016**

### Fallujah, Iraq – length of siege: 3 months



In 2016, Iraqi government forces besieged the city after it has been captured by Daesh in 2014.<sup>63</sup> Fallujah's residents starved, with some people forced to eat soups made from grass, and flat bread made from ground date seeds instead of flour. There was no rice, flour, or baby food in the city.<sup>64</sup> At least 140 people died from starvation or lack of medicine. One woman drowned herself and her children rather than starve to death.<sup>65</sup>

**2019**

### Burkina Faso – length of siege: ongoing (4 years)



Since 2019, several towns and villages have been under siege until today.<sup>66</sup> In many of the besieged areas, the armed group Ansaroul Islam had prohibited communities from farming or accessing pasturelands for livestock grazing, seriously affecting food security and livelihoods.<sup>67</sup> In Djibo, food shortages have become a grave issue, with residents resorting to eating wild leaves to sustain themselves.<sup>68</sup>

**2022**

### Mariupol, Ukraine – length of siege: 2 months



Russian forces besieged and relentlessly attacked Mariupol for two months in 2022.<sup>69</sup> Strikes to infrastructure cut water and power supplies to parts of the city, and there were also food shortages.<sup>70</sup> Hospitals were also bombed.<sup>71</sup>

**2023**

### El-Obeid, Sudan – length of siege: 5 months

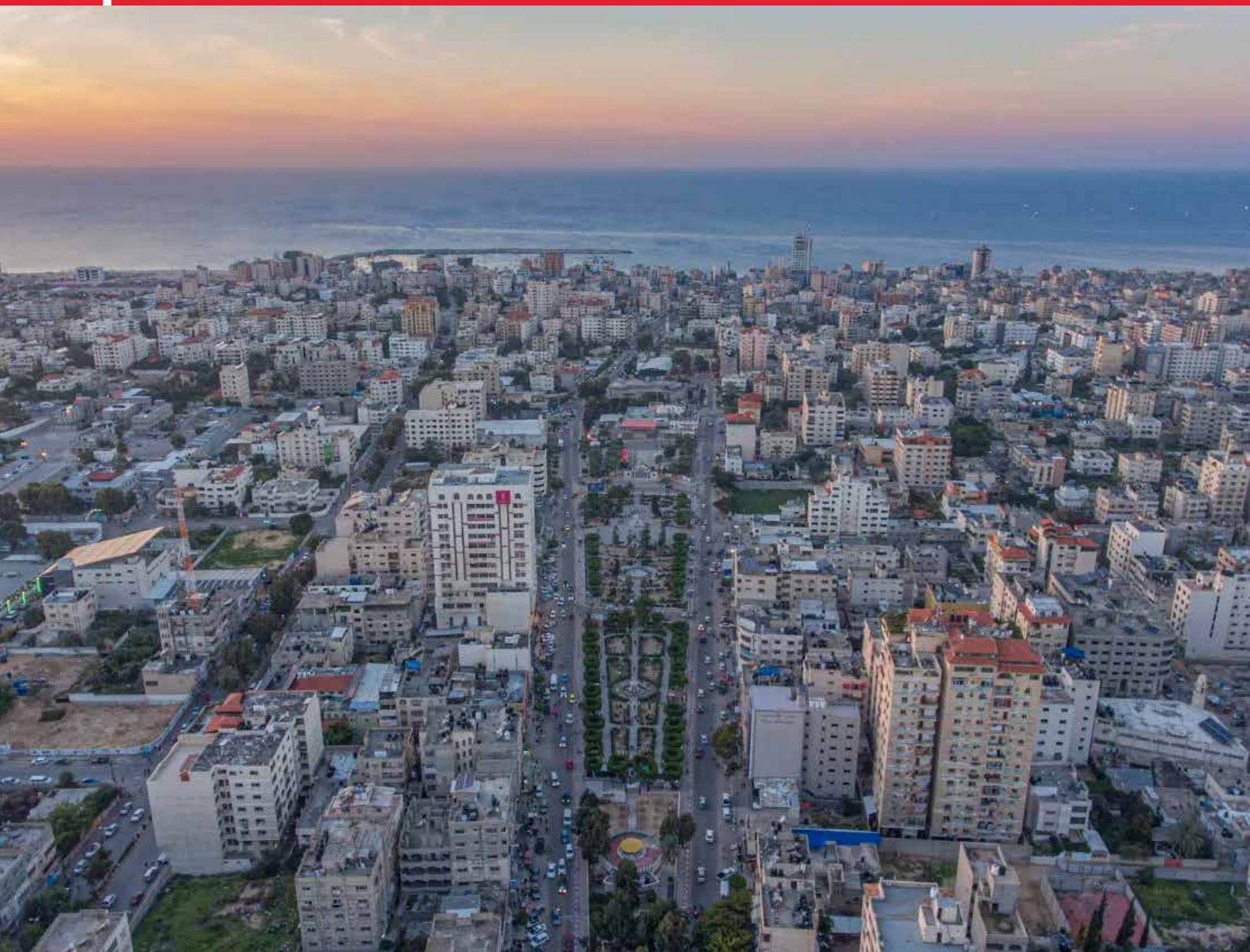


In 2023, the Sudanese city of el-Obeid was besieged for five months by the paramilitary group Rapid Support Forces (RSF).<sup>72</sup> Taps ran out of water, there were shortages of food, and fuel, with no electricity for over a month.<sup>73</sup> Healthcare facilities also shut down, and most of the population became unemployed.<sup>74</sup> The RSF also looted the World Food Programme's warehouses in el-Obeid, which were providing food assistance to over 4 million people.<sup>75</sup>

03

[← BACK TO CONTENTS](#)

# Gaza Prior to 7 October



## 03

# Gaza Prior to 7 October

Since the beginning of the siege, Israel has launched four protracted military assaults on Gaza prior to 7 October: in 2008, 2012, 2014, and 2021.<sup>80</sup> Each of these attacks has exacerbated Gaza's already dire situation. Thousands of Palestinians have been killed, including many children, and tens of thousands of homes, schools and office buildings have been destroyed.<sup>81</sup>

In 2015, the UN warned that conditions were deteriorating at such a rapid pace that Gaza could be uninhabitable by the year 2020.<sup>82</sup>

## Movement

Movement of people in and out of the Gaza Strip takes place through the Beit Hanoun crossing with Israel and the Rafah crossing with Egypt.<sup>83</sup>

Israel allows passage through the Beit Hanoun crossing only in "exceptional humanitarian cases, with an emphasis on urgent medical cases".<sup>84</sup> The number of exiting Palestinians via Beit Hanoun between 2010 and 2019 averaged 287 people a day, according to the UN.<sup>85</sup>

Since May 2018, the Egyptian-controlled Rafah crossing has opened on an irregular basis, recording a daily average of 213 exits in 2019.<sup>86</sup>

## Economy

Israel's siege on Gaza has devastated its economy and led to what the UN has called the "de-development" of the territory, a process by which development is not merely hindered but reversed.<sup>87</sup>

Both Israel and Egypt have kept their borders largely shut, which has deteriorated the already-weakened economic and humanitarian situation.<sup>88</sup>

Israel's assaults on Gaza also damage the economy. The UN estimates that the 2014 hostilities inflicted \$1.4bn in damages and \$1.7bn in economic losses to Gaza's economy.<sup>89</sup>

### In 2017:

- 80% of the population was dependent on international aid, mostly for food assistance.<sup>90</sup>
- 41% of Gazans were unemployed.<sup>91</sup>

### In 2020:

- 56% of Palestinians in Gaza were living in poverty.<sup>92</sup>
- 63% of Gaza's youth were unemployed.<sup>93</sup>

## Education

Power cuts have had a devastating effect on Gaza's students.<sup>94</sup>

- At school, blackouts mean that food rots, toilets are dirty, and there is no clean water for washing hands.<sup>95</sup>
- At home, students are forced to study by gas lamp or candlelight.<sup>96</sup> Many students in Gaza do not have their own computer or electronic device suitable for online learning.<sup>76</sup> Attending online classes or doing online research is made more difficult by power cuts and slow internet connection.<sup>77</sup>

## Gaza Prior to 7 October continued...

### Basic Utilities

The siege has led to shortages of basic items such as food and fuel.<sup>97</sup>

- In 2017, the Strip's only power plant shut down after it ran out of fuel. All fuel reserves since then have been donated by the UN.<sup>98</sup>

Israeli missile attacks and ground incursions have also damaged Gaza's pipelines and sewage treatment infrastructure.<sup>99</sup> As a result, sewage often seeps into drinking water, which has resulted in a sharp increase in waterborne disease.

- 95% of Gaza's water is unsafe for drinking, according to the UN.<sup>100</sup>
- Plans to improve Gaza's water quality have been thwarted by the ongoing power crisis, as water projects are among the largest consumers of electricity.<sup>101</sup>
- Without enough power to maintain existing water and sanitation systems, it is impossible to build new ones.
- Many homes in Gaza rely on electric pumps to push water to the top of buildings. Electricity outages result in no water access.<sup>102</sup>

Rebuilding homes destroyed in Israel's aggressions has been almost impossible because the siege prevents construction materials, such as steel and cement, from entering Gaza.<sup>103</sup>

### Health

Some of the worst affected by the siege are Palestinians with chronic illnesses.<sup>104</sup>

- 13% of Gazan children aged five or under suffered from chronic malnutrition.<sup>105</sup>
- Gaza is witnessing rising rates of diseases such as cardiovascular disease, type 1 diabetes, and cancers, amongst the youth.<sup>106</sup>
- In 2016, Israel approved less than 50 percent of requests to exit the Gaza Strip through the Beit Hanoun crossing for medical treatment abroad.<sup>107</sup>

- Patients who miss appointments must reschedule new ones and apply again for permits.
- Some patients died whilst awaiting permits to access outside medical treatment.<sup>108</sup>

Since the ongoing fuel in Gaza from 2017, Gaza's hospitals have been operating on a limited reserve of emergency fuel, donated most recently by the United Nations.<sup>109</sup> A number of health services have partially closed to cope with the fuel shortage.<sup>110</sup>

Gaza was also already experiencing chronic shortages of zero-stock drugs and medical disposables and operating using outdated medical equipment.<sup>111</sup> This makes the treatment of many conditions, including cancer chemotherapy, insufficient.

- In 2016, the World Health Organisation (WHO) reported that nearly 50% of Gaza's medical equipment is outdated and the average wait for spare parts is approximately five months.<sup>112</sup>
- Over 33% of essential 'zero-stock' drugs are chronically unavailable.<sup>113</sup>
- Over 30% of medical disposables are chronically unavailable.<sup>114</sup>

Palestinian medical professionals faced severe challenges in obtaining permits from Israeli officials to undertake specialist medical training outside of Gaza.<sup>115</sup>

The blockade and three Israeli military assaults have had a profound toll on mental health in Gaza.

- Substance abuse, suicide, domestic violence, depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) have increased among Gaza's adults.<sup>116</sup>
- Bed-wetting, low academic achievement, nightmares, fear, and anxiety have increased among Gaza's children.<sup>117</sup>
- There has also been a rise in somatoform disorders – a form of mental illness in which a patient complains of physical ailments, including pain and fatigue that have no apparent physical cause.<sup>118</sup>

## Gaza Prior to 7 October continued...

- Palestinians suffer the highest rates of mental disorders among all Eastern Mediterranean countries.<sup>119</sup>

However, doctors say that: “any effective therapy is pointless because of the blockade – that is the root cause”. “Nothing will help, except ending the blockade and giving dignity back to the people.”<sup>120</sup>

## Religious Sites

By blocking travel to East Jerusalem, Israel has cut off Christian and Muslim Gazans from accessing their holy sites.<sup>122</sup>

### Prohibited Items

Since the blockade began, Israel has sometimes restricted many goods from entering Gaza, including:

- Generators
- Fishing ropes
- Batteries
- Wheelchairs
- Lentils
- Pasta
- Tomato paste
- Juice
- Dry food
- Ginger
- Chocolate
- Electrical appliances such as fridges and washing machines
- Books
- Cutlery
- A4 paper
- Crayons
- Football balls
- Musical instruments.<sup>121</sup>

04

[← BACK TO CONTENTS](#)

# Gaza Since 7 October



## 04

# Gaza Since 7 October

Prior to 7 October, Gaza at least had sufficient basic necessities. Following 7 October, Israel terminated all supplies going into Gaza, including cutting off all water, food, and electricity.<sup>123</sup>

## Health

Since 7 October, Israel has killed over 19,968 Palestinians at the time of writing, however, more than 8,000 remain under the rubble, and are likely to have died.<sup>124</sup>

- It is highly likely that the decomposition of these bodies, due to the inability to bury the huge number of the dead, will result in other diseases such as blood-borne viruses and tuberculosis.<sup>125</sup>

Over 50,000 Palestinians have been injured since 7 October, with a high number of those facing disability from amputations or life changing injuries such as burns, blindness, and shrapnel wounds.<sup>126</sup>

- Many of those injured need medical treatment abroad which they do not have the permits to access.
- Others will require rehabilitation or be disabled for life, and Gaza's health system does not have the resources to support them, nor is it able to import them.

Additionally, thousands of Gazans are sick from other infectious diseases due to displacement and poor living conditions in makeshift camps. These diseases include bloody diarrhoea, jaundice, hepatitis, and respiratory infections.<sup>127</sup> The UN is worried that more people may end up dying from diseases than bombs.<sup>128</sup>

Due to Israel's attacks, all other health treatments have ceased, meaning Palestinians with other illnesses or health conditions, such as cancer, are unable to be treated.<sup>129</sup>

About 85% of Gaza's population is homeless, with many living in tents in unsanitary conditions, that are frequently flooded by rain.<sup>130</sup>

## Starvation and Dehydration

Israel has also used starvation and dehydration as a weapon of war through their blockade on food and water since 7 October.<sup>131</sup>

- The UN World Food Programme reported that 9 out of 10 households in northern Gaza, and 2 out of 3 households in southern Gaza, spent at least one full day and night without food.<sup>132</sup>
- By December, 48% of households in northern Gaza and 38% of displaced people in southern Gaza were experiencing "severe levels of hunger".<sup>133</sup>
- 96% of household water in Gaza is contaminated and not fit for human consumption.<sup>134</sup>
- Gaza's wastewater and desalination facilities were shut down in mid-October due to fuel and electricity shortages and have been largely inoperable since.<sup>135</sup>

The lack of fuel has also resulted in Gaza's bakeries shutting down and being unable to distribute bread. Gaza's wheat mill has also been unable to produce flour because of fuel shortages, preventing any locally produced flour.<sup>136</sup>

The sustained bombardment, coupled with fuel and water shortages and the displacement of more than 1.6 million people to southern Gaza, has made farming nearly impossible.<sup>137</sup> Crops are increasingly abandoned and damaged due to lack of fuel to pump water.

## Gaza since 7 October continued...

- Gaza is suffering from a daily loss of over US\$1.6 million in farm production.<sup>138</sup>
- The OCHA said livestock in northern Gaza are facing starvation due to the shortage of fodder and water.<sup>139</sup>

### Building Destruction

Nearly 40,000 buildings, or about 18% of Gaza's buildings are destroyed or damaged.<sup>140</sup> In some areas of northern Gaza, the scale of buildings destroyed is as high as 80%.

Over 42% of all housing units have been destroyed or damaged.<sup>141</sup>

None of the rubble can be cleared, nor any buildings rebuilt, due to the continuing bombardment and blockade on essential building materials.<sup>142</sup>

### Environmental Damage

The use of white phosphorus and other chemical weapons in Gaza can burn fields, turn soil infertile, and remain in the air for years – causing long term environmental damage.<sup>143</sup>

Israel's recent tactic of flooding Gaza's tunnels with seawater will pollute soil and groundwater with sea water.<sup>144</sup> This pollution will also damage Gaza's freshwater supply, infrastructure, and crops, with devastating ecological effects.<sup>145</sup> The seawater will also contain untreated wastewater, which will also pollute Gaza's water.<sup>146</sup>

### Education

In addition to the number of students and teachers killed in Israel's attacks, all education in Gaza has ceased since the bombardment.<sup>147</sup>

Over 70% of Gaza's education infrastructure has been damaged, including 352 school buildings and 3 universities.<sup>148</sup>

There was already a shortage of classrooms in Gaza before the conflict. Many schools operated double shifts, where a set of buildings hosts one 'school' in the mornings and another cohort of students in the afternoon – so damage to a single building can mean two schools can no longer operate.<sup>150</sup>

In schools that are still standing, desperate people have been using wooden chairs and benches to make fires for cooking because there is no gas.<sup>151</sup>

### Hospitals

Due to Israel's attacks, 26 of Gaza's 35 hospitals are non-functional because of damage sustained during the Israeli assault or the lack of power.<sup>152</sup> Only one of the remaining functional hospitals is in northern Gaza.

74 health facilities have been destroyed or damaged and hundreds of healthcare workers and hospital staff have been killed.<sup>153</sup>



# Footnotes

- <sup>1-4</sup> ‘Gaza Strip: A beginner’s guide to an enclave under blockade’ *Al Jazeera* (14 March 2021) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/14/a-guide-to-the-gaza-strip>
- <sup>5</sup> ‘Analysis: The military logic behind Israel’s ‘total’ Gaza siege’ *Al Jazeera* (21 October 2023) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2023/10/21/analysis-the-military-logic-behind-israels-total-gaza-siege>
- <sup>6-15</sup> ‘Gaza Strip: A beginner’s guide to an enclave under blockade’ *Al Jazeera*
- <sup>16-19</sup> ‘IRAN-IRAQ FIGHTING FLARES UP’ *The New York Times* (28 September 1981) available at <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/28/world/iran-iraq-fighting-flares-up.html>
- <sup>20</sup> ‘Timeline: 1982 Siege of Beirut’ *NPR* (28 October 2007) available at <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=12744311>
- <sup>21</sup> ‘The War in Lebanon’ *MERIP* (September/October 1982) available at <https://merip.org/1982/09/the-war-in-lebanon/>
- <sup>22</sup> ‘The 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon: the casualties’ *Race & Class* (April 1983) vol. 24, no. 4, available at <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/030639688302400404>
- <sup>23-27</sup> ‘Vukovar at 30: How ‘Croatia’s Stalingrad’ still casts a long shadow’ *EuroNews* (18 November 2021) available at <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2021/11/18/croatia-s-stalingrad-how-the-massacre-at-vukovar-still-casts-a-long-shadow-19-years-on>
- <sup>28</sup> ‘Bosnian War: Looking back at the long siege of Sarajevo, 30 years on’ *France24* (6 April 2022) available at <https://www.france24.com/en/tv-shows/focus/20220406-bosnian-war-looking-back-at-the-long-siege-of-sarajevo-30-years-on>
- <sup>29</sup> ‘How the siege of Sarajevo changed war reporting’ *Al Jazeera* (19 April 2021) <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2021/4/19/how-the-siege-of-sarajevo-changed-journalism>
- <sup>30</sup> ‘Bosnian War: Looking back at the long siege of Sarajevo, 30 years on’ *France24*
- <sup>31-32</sup> ‘Analysis: The military logic behind Israel’s ‘total’ Gaza siege’ *Al Jazeera*
- <sup>33-36</sup> ‘Georgia/Abkhazia: VIOLATIONS OF THE LAWS OF WAR AND RUSSIA’S ROLE IN THE CONFLICT’ Human Rights Watch (March 1995) available at <https://www.hrw.org/reports/1995/Georgia2.htm>
- <sup>37-38</sup> ‘Analysis: Is Russia repeating mistakes of past wars in Ukraine?’ *Al Jazeera* (5 March 2022) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/3/5/analysis-is-russia-repeating-mistakes-of-past-wars-in-ukraine>
- <sup>39-40</sup> ‘Seven years after sieges, Fallujah struggles’ *Al Jazeera* (4 January 2012) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2012/1/4/seven-years-after-sieges-fallujah-struggles>
- <sup>41-42</sup> ‘The failed reconstruction of Lebanon’s Nahr al-Bared Palestinian camp’ *The New Arab* (11 June 2019) available at <https://www.newarab.com/analysis/failed-reconstruction-lebanons-nahr-al-bared-palestinian-camp>
- <sup>43</sup> ‘Crisis in Gaza: why food, water and power are running out’ *The Guardian* (17 October 2023) available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/oct/17/crisis-gaza-why-food-water-power-running-out>
- <sup>44-47</sup> ‘Gaza Strip: A beginner’s guide to an enclave under blockade’ *Al Jazeera*
- <sup>48</sup> ‘Crisis in Gaza: why food, water and power are running out’ *The Guardian*
- <sup>49</sup> ‘Syria war: Deal reached to end siege on Homs’ al-Waer’ *Al Jazeera* (1 September 2016) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/9/1/syria-war-deal-reached-to-end-siege-on-homs-al-waer>
- <sup>50</sup> ‘Syrian city of Homs shows signs of life amid moonscape of devastation’ *The Guardian* (31 July 2014) available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/31-sp-homs-syria-life-devastation-residents-rebel-assyad-forces>
- <sup>51</sup> ‘Rebels agree withdrawal deal for enclave near Syria’s Homs’ *Reuters* (2 May 2018) available at <https://www.reuters.com/>

## Footnotes continued...

- 52 [article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-homs-idUSKBN1I329Y/](https://www.wsj.com/articles/life-under-siege-in-homs-syria-1418992127)  
‘Syria Shattered: Life Under Siege’ *Wall Street Journal* (19 December 2014) available at <https://www.wsj.com/articles/life-under-siege-in-homs-syria-1418992127>
- 53 ‘Syria war: Deal reached to end siege on Homs’ al-Waer’ *Al Jazeera*
- 54-56 ‘Syria civil war: The untold story of the siege of two small Shia villages – and how the world turned a blind eye’ *The Independent* (22 February 2016) available at <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/nubl-zahra-a6889921.html>
- 57-59 ‘Moadamiya: Two Years of Siege and Starvation’ *The Atlantic Council* (5 February 2016) available at <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/syriasource/muadamiyat-al-sham-two-years-of-siege-and-starvation/>
- 60 ‘How significant is Darayya in the Syrian war?’ *BBC News* (27 August 2016) available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-37201560>
- 61-62 ‘Rebels to surrender Syrian town of Darayya to Assad’s forces’ *The Guardian* (25 August 2016) available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/25/rebels-to-surrender-syrian-town-of-darayya-to-assads-forces>
- 63-65 ‘Iraq: Fallujah Siege Starving Population’ Human Rights Watch (7 April 2016) available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/04/07/iraq-fallujah-siege-starving-population>
- 66-68 ‘Burkina Faso: Armed groups committing war crimes in besieged localities’ Amnesty International (2 November 2023) available at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2023/11/202715/>
- 69-71 ‘Mariupol: Key moments in the siege of the city’ *BBC News* (17 May 2022) available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-61179093>
- 72-75 ‘Sudan’s besieged el-Obeid running out of food, water and fuel’ *Middle East Eye* (30 June 2023) available at <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/sudan-besieged-obeid-running-out-food-water-fuel>
- 76-77 ‘Pupils struggle to learn at home in Gaza’ *The Electronic Intifada* (23 April 2020) available at <https://electronicintifada.net/content/pupils-struggle-learn-home-gaza/30046>
- 80-88 ‘Gaza Strip: A beginner’s guide to an enclave under blockade’ *Al Jazeera*
- 89 ‘A decade under siege: Gaza health sector nears collapse’ *Al Jazeera* (25 June 2017) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2017/6/25/a-decade-under-siege-gaza-health-sector-nears-collapse>
- 90-91 ‘GAZA SITUATION REPORT 197’ UNWRA (12 June 2017) available at <https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/emergency-reports/gaza-situation-report-197>
- 92-93 ‘On the occasion of the International Youth Day, the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) issues a press release demonstrating the situation of youth in the Palestinian society’ *PCBS* (12 August 2020) available at <https://www.pcbs.gov.ps/site/512/default.aspx?lang=en&ItemID=3787>
- 94 ‘Pupils struggle to learn at home in Gaza’ *The Electronic Intifada*
- 95-96 ‘Gaza Strip: A beginner’s guide to an enclave under blockade’ *Al Jazeera*
- 97-98 ‘Gaza’s only power plant runs out of fuel’ *Al Jazeera* (16 April 2017) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/4/16/gazas-only-power-plant-runs-out-of-fuel>
- 99-103 ‘Gaza Strip: A beginner’s guide to an enclave under blockade’ *Al Jazeera*
- 104-106 ‘Analysis: The military logic behind Israel’s ‘total’ Gaza siege’ *Al Jazeera*
- 107 ‘Gaza: ‘100,000 hours of isolation’’, *Al Jazeera* (1 February 2017) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2017/2/1/gaza-100000-hours-of-isolation>
- 108-120 ‘A decade under siege: Gaza health sector nears collapse’ *Al Jazeera*
- 121 ‘Partial List of Items Prohibited/Permitted into the Gaza Strip’ Gisha – Legal Center for Freedom of Movement’ (June 2010) available at [https://www.gisha.org/UserFiles/File/publications/Products060610\\_Eng%281%29.pdf](https://www.gisha.org/UserFiles/File/publications/Products060610_Eng%281%29.pdf)
- 122 ‘Gaza Strip: A beginner’s guide to an enclave under blockade’ *Al Jazeera*

## Footnotes continued...

- 123 ‘Bloody diarrhea, jaundice, hepatitis: Thousands fall ill in war-ravaged Gaza amid spike in infectious diseases’ *CNN* (12 December 2023) available at <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/12/12/middleeast/gaza-diseases-spread-what-we-know-intl/index.html#:~:text=Other%20diseases%2C%20including%20blood%2Dborne,amid%20the%20war%20in%20Gaza>.
- 124 ‘Israel-Gaza war in maps and charts: Live tracker’ *Al Jazeera* (19 December 2023) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/longform/2023/10/9/israel-hamas-war-in-maps-and-charts-live-tracker>
- 125 ‘As dead bodies remain scattered in streets and under rubble, a new health disaster looms over Gaza’ Euro-Med Human Rights Monitor (18 November 2023) available at <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/5959/As-dead-bodies-remain-scattered-in-streets-and-under-rubble,-a-new-health-disaster-looms-over-Gaza>
- 126 ‘No safe place in Gaza as people are crushed by continuous bombing’ *Medecins Sans Frontieres* (19 December 2023) available at <https://www.msf.org/no-safe-place-gaza-people-are-crushed-continuous-bombing>
- 127-128 ‘Bloody diarrhea, jaundice, hepatitis: Thousands fall ill in war-ravaged Gaza amid spike in infectious diseases’ *CNN*
- 129 ‘Out of medicines, care: Gaza’s cancer patients face death amid Israel war’ *Al Jazeera* (14 November 2023) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/14/out-of-medicines-care-gazas-cancer-patients-face-death-amid-israel-war>
- 130 ‘Gaza a ‘living hell’ after heavy winter rains drench makeshift tents’ *The Guardian* (13 December 2023) available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/dec/13/gaza-a-living-hell-after-heavy-winter-rains-drench-makeshift-tents>
- 131-133 ‘Israel: Starvation Used as Weapon of War in Gaza’ Human Rights Watch (18 December 2023) available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/12/18/israel-starvation-used-weapon-war-gaza#:~:text=Since%20Hamas%2Dled%20fighters%20attacked,of%20food%2C%20water%20and%20fuel%20%E2%80%93>
- 134 ‘Gaza’s limited water access, mapped’ *CNN* (18 October 2023) available at <https://edition.cnn.com/2023/10/18/middleeast/gaza-water-access-supply-mapped-dg/index.html>
- 135-139 ‘Israel: Starvation Used as Weapon of War in Gaza’ Human Rights
- 140-141 ‘Nearly a fifth of Gaza’s buildings destroyed or damaged: UN estimate’ *Reuters* (12 December 2023) available at [https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/nearly-fifth-gazas-buildings-destroyed-or-damaged-un-estimate-2023-12-12/#:~:text=Nearly%20a%20fifth%20of%20Gaza's%20buildings%20destroyed%20or%20damaged%3A%20UN%20estimate,-Reuters&text=GENEVA%2C%20Dec%2012%20\(Reuters\),U.N.%20assessment%20showed%20on%20Tuesday](https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/nearly-fifth-gazas-buildings-destroyed-or-damaged-un-estimate-2023-12-12/#:~:text=Nearly%20a%20fifth%20of%20Gaza's%20buildings%20destroyed%20or%20damaged%3A%20UN%20estimate,-Reuters&text=GENEVA%2C%20Dec%2012%20(Reuters),U.N.%20assessment%20showed%20on%20Tuesday).
- 142 ‘Gaza recycles rubble as Israel upholds ban on construction goods’ *Al Jazeera* (17 June 2021) available at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/6/17/gaza-recycles-rubble-as-israel-upholds-ban-on-construction-goods>
- 143 ‘Perhaps Lawful, but Awful: The Environmental Impacts of the Israel-Hamas War’ *The Lawfare Institute* (1 December 2023) available at <https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/perhaps-lawful-but-awful-the-environmental-impacts-of-the-israel-hamas-war#:~:text=7%2C%20it%20was%20reported%20that,in%20the%20air%20for%20years>.
- 144-146 ‘Israel-Palestine war: What will be the impact of flooding Gaza’s tunnels with seawater?’ *Middle East Eye* (14 December 2023) available at <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/israel-palestine-war-what-impact-flooding-gaza-tunnel-seawater>

## Footnotes continued...

- 147-151 ‘War’s toll on education in Gaza casts shadow over children’s future’ *The Guardian* (18 December 2023) available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/dec/18/wars-toll-on-education-in-gaza-casts-shadow-over-childrens-future#:~:text=By%20mid%2DDecember%2C%20352%20school,schools%20run%20by%20local%20authorities>.
- 152 ‘Israel’s war on hospitals in Gaza’ *The New Arab*, available at <https://www.newarab.com/analysis/israels-war-hospitals-gaza>
- 153 ‘Data reveals more than half of Gaza’s hospitals are no longer operational’ *Sky News* (8 December 2023) available at <https://news.sky.com/story/data-reveals-more-than-half-of-gazas-hospitals-are-no-longer-operational-13025116#:~:text=Sky%20News-,Data%20reveals%20more%20than%20half%20of%20-Gaza’s%20hospitals%20are%20no,Sky%20News’%20analysis%20of%20data>.