GAME OF THRONES
SEASON 1 TO 7
VIOLATIONS OF AND COMPLIANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

Data Analysis | March 2019

HBO and Australia’s Game of Thrones distribution partners were not involved in the analysis.
International humanitarian law (IHL) is a set of rules that seek to limit the effects of armed conflict. It protects people who are not or are no longer participating in hostilities and restricts the means and methods of warfare. There are consequences if the rules of war are broken. War crimes are documented and investigated by States and international courts, and individuals can be prosecuted for war crimes.

As the guardian and promoter of IHL, the International Committee of the Red Cross takes action to protect and assist victims of armed conflicts and other situations of violence, to foster respect for the law, and to guide the development of the law. National Societies, like Australian Red Cross, ensure respect for IHL by disseminating IHL and assisting their governments to disseminate IHL.

WHAT DID OUR EXPERT IHL VOLUNTEERS DO?
• Our volunteers reviewed the conduct of certain, key characters in each episode of the first seven seasons of Game of Thrones.
• They categorised potential violations of, and respect for, international humanitarian law (IHL, or the laws of war).
• They also identified other relevant conduct, such as examples of violence occurring outside the scope of armed conflict or examples of violence falling short of a violation of IHL.

HOW DID THE VOLUNTEERS DETERMINE WHICH VIOLATIONS AND COMPLIANCE TO MONITOR?
• IHL only applies during armed conflict (either an international or a non-international armed conflict).
• We developed a list of violations and compliance that are of the nature that would constitute violations in either context in accordance with customary international humanitarian law. The volunteers reviewed the conduct of key characters against this list.
• Volunteers also identified conduct that fell outside the scope of an armed conflict where it was considered particularly notable or egregious conduct.
## VIOLATIONS AND COMPLIANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VIOLATIONS</th>
<th>COMPLIANCE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declaring no quarter</td>
<td>Starvation of civilians as a method of warfare</td>
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<td>Displacement of civilian population</td>
<td>Subjecting detained persons/persons under the</td>
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<td>power of the adversary to medical or scientific experiments and seriously endangering their health</td>
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<td>Indiscriminate attack causing damage to civilian objects</td>
<td>Taking hostages</td>
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<td>Indiscriminate attack causing death or injury to civilians</td>
<td>Torture, cruel or inhuman treatment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Making civilian objects the object of attack</td>
<td>Use of biological weapons</td>
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<td>Making civilians not taking direct part in hostilities the object of attack</td>
<td>Use of chemical weapons</td>
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<td>VIOLATIONS</td>
<td>COMPLIANCE</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Making medical or religious personnel or objects the object of attack</td>
<td>Use of child soldiers</td>
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<td>Making religious or cultural objects the object of attack (provided that</td>
<td>Use of human shields</td>
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<td>they are not military objectives)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Passing judicial sentence / execution without previous judgment of a</td>
<td>Use of incendiary weapons against civilians, civilian objects, forests or</td>
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<tr>
<td>regularly constituted court</td>
<td>other plant cover</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perfidy</td>
<td>Use of means or methods of warfare that inflict superfluous injury or</td>
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<td></td>
<td>unnecessary suffering</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seizing property not required by military necessity</td>
<td>Wilful killing of those who are hors de combat, such as injured soldiers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or prisoners</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexual violence, including rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution</td>
<td>Wilful killing of those who are not participating in hostilities, such as</td>
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<tr>
<td>and enforced pregnancy</td>
<td>civilians, medical personnel or aid workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery</td>
<td>Wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health of a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>protected person or those who are hors de combat</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL VIOLATIONS 103*  **

**TOTAL COMPLIANCE 21*  **

* Includes both listed and non-listed characters, and only the listed violations and compliance of IHL that constitutes customary international humanitarian law.
Slavery is a grave violation of IHL, with the Night King turning an indeterminate number of civilian and combatant dead into Wights.

Torture, cruel or unusual punishment against a prisoner of war is a grave violation of IHL, and torture is widespread in Westeros. One of the worst examples is the torture of Theon Greyjoy by Ramsay Bolton that takes place over a number of episodes.

Daenerys Targaryen crucifies the 163 Masters of Meereen. Even though they are the bad guys they are still entitled to the protection of IHL, but Daenerys executes them without trial and does it in a way that likely constitutes torture, cruel or unusual punishment.

Sexual violence, including rape, sexual slavery and enforced prostitution are the terrible and common practices of the Dothraki invaders, and a particularly serious example is the rape of women during an attack on a village in Lhazar by the Dothraki led by Khal Drogo.

At the Red Wedding, Walder Frey wilfully kills all associated with House Stark and their supporters, including those who are not participating in hostilities, in a horrifying attack.
BEST EXAMPLES OF COMPLIANCE

The protection of civilians when Tyrion Lannister talks Daenerys Targaryen out of using her Dragons on Kings Landing. Using the Dragons in such an attack would likely have inflicted indiscriminate violence, killing or wounding millions of civilians.

The provision of impartial medical assistance to wounded soldiers by Robb Stark.

The protection of civilians and the cessation of murder and provision of care to detainees by Tywin Lannister by putting a stop to the torture of the civilian and soldier detainees at Harrenhal who had been captured during the battle with the Starks.

Jon Snow protects Ygritte the Wildling from violence while she is detained by him, despite being ordered to kill her by Qhorin Halfhand.
Ramsay Snow is responsible for 17 IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- **torture**, cruel or inhuman treatment (six times);
- **perfidy** (four times);
- taking **hostages**;
- **wilful killing** of those who are hors de combat, such as injured soldiers or prisoners (twice);

**use of means or methods of warfare** that inflict superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering;

**sexual violence**, including rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution and enforced pregnancy (twice);

making civilians not taking direct part in hostilities the object of **attack**.
Daenerys had a total of 15 violations of IHL within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- **use of means or methods of warfare** that inflict superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering (that dragon fire...) (six times);
- **passing judicial sentence/execution** without previous judgment of a regularly constituted court (six times);
- **torture**, cruel and unusual punishment;
- **making civilian objects** the object of attack;
- **declaring** no quarter.

She also demonstrates compliance with IHL, including with the protection of civilians and targeting only military objectives in particular instances.
Roose Bolton is responsible for eight IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- **torture**, cruel or inhuman treatment (three times);
- **sexual violence**, including rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution and enforced pregnancy;
- **wilful killing** of those who are not participating in hostilities, such as civilians, medical personnel or aid workers;
- **perfidy**;
- **wilful killing** of those who are hors de combat, such as injured soldiers or prisoners;
- **use of means or methods of warfare** that inflict superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering.

He also demonstrates compliance with IHL by provision of adequate care to detainees/prisoners of war.
The Night King is responsible for six IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- slavery;
- use of child soldiers (twice);
- making civilians not taking direct part in hostilities the object of attack;
- making religious or cultural objects the object of attack;
- use of incendiary weapons against a civilian objects.

6 VIOLATIONS
The Sons of the Harpy (Mereen) are responsible for six IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- **Wilful killing** of those who are hors de combat, such as injured soldiers or prisoners;
- **Wilful killing** of those who are not participating in hostilities, such as civilians, medical personnel or aid workers;
- **Slavery**;
- **Indiscriminate attack** causing damage to civilian objects;
- **Indiscriminate attack** causing death or injury to civilians making civilians not taking direct part in hostilities the object of attack.
Jon Snow is responsible for six IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- the use of child soldiers (four times); and
- torture, cruel or inhuman treatment (twice).

He also demonstrates compliance with IHL, including:

- the protection of civilians;
- provision of adequate care to detainees/prisoners of war.
Euron Greyjoy had a total of five violations of IHL within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- **torture**, cruel or inhuman treatment (twice);
- **wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury** to body or health of a protected person or those who are hors de combat;
- **pillage**; and
- **taking hostages**.

A further example of conduct of note by Euron falling outside the scope of armed conflict is when he kills his brother, the purported King of the Iron Islands, by pushing him off a rope bridge.
Walder Frey is responsible for five IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- **wilful killing** of those who are not participating in hostilities, such as civilians, medical personnel or aid workers;
- **perfidy**;
- **wilful killing** of those who are hors de combat, such as injured soldiers or prisoners;
- **use of means or methods of warfare** that inflict superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering; and
- taking **hostages**.
Tywin Lannister is responsible for four IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- slavery;
- making civilians not taking direct part in hostilities the object of attack;
- wilful killing of those who are hors de combat, such as injured soldiers or prisoners;
- wilful killing of those who are not participating in hostilities, such as civilians, medical personnel or aid workers.

He also demonstrates compliance with IHL by providing adequate care to detainees/prisoners of war. Other conduct of note outside the scope of armed conflict includes ordering attacks on civilians.
Tyrion Lannister is responsible for four IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- **use of means or methods of warfare** that inflict superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering;
- **use of incendiary weapons** against civilians, civilian objects, forests or other plant cover;
- **sexual violence**, including rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution and enforced pregnancy;
- **perfidy**.

He also demonstrates compliance with IHL by protecting civilians from attack.
Joffrey Baratheon is responsible for three IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- **torture**, cruel or inhuman treatment;
- **wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury** to body or health of a protected person or those who are hors de combat; and
- **wilful killing** of those who are hors de combat, such as injured soldiers or prisoners.

Further examples of conduct of note by Joffrey include:

- **ordering that children be killed**;
- **murderous conduct** by the City Watch ordered by Joffrey.
Mance Rayder is responsible for three IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- making civilians not taking direct part in hostilities the object of attack (twice); and
- declaring no quarter.
Cersei Lannister had a total of three violations of IHL within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- Taking hostages;
- Wilful killing of those who are hors de combat, such as injured soldiers or prisoners; and
- Perfidy.

She also had several other examples of conduct of note falling outside the scope of armed conflict, including:

- The attempted murder of Brandon Stark;
- The mistreatment of Queen Margeary; and
- The use of wildfire to kill Margaery Tyrell and others and destroy the Great Sept of Baelor.
Khal Drogo is responsible for three IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- **sexual violence**, including rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution and enforced pregnancy;
- **making civilians** not taking direct part in hostilities the **object of attack**;
- **wilful killing** of those who are not participating in hostilities, such as civilians, medical personnel or aid workers.

Further examples of conduct of note by Drogo include:

- his **rape** of Daenerys Targaryen when they are first wed; and
- **killing** a wine seller who attempted to kill Daenerys.
Jaime Lannister commits two IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

wilful killing of those who are not participating in hostilities, such as civilians, medical personnel or aid workers; and

pillage.

He also demonstrates compliance with IHL when he provides adequate care to detainees/prisoners of war.
Sansa Stark is responsible for two IHL violations within the parameters of the data analysis, namely:

- torture, cruel or inhuman treatment; and
- passing judicial sentence/execution without previous judgment of a regularly constituted court.
Robb Stark is responsible for one IHL violation within the parameters of the data analysis, namely taking hostages.

He also demonstrates seven instances of compliance with IHL, including:

- provision of adequate care to detainees/prisoners of war (six times);
- targeting only combatants.
Stannis Baratheon is responsible for one IHL violation within the parameters of the data analysis, namely use of means or methods of warfare that inflict superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering. He also demonstrates compliance with IHL by providing adequate care to detainees/prisoners of war.

Further examples of conduct of note by Stannis include:

- burning his daughter alive;
- supporting human sacrifices.
Yara Greyjoy is responsible for one IHL violation within the parameters of the data analysis, namely wilful killing of those who are hors de combat, such as injured soldiers or prisoners.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Violations</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RAMSAY BOLTON</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAENERYS TARGARYEN</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROOSE BOLTON</td>
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<td>JON SNOW</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>NIGHT KING</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>THE SONS OF THE HARPY (MEREEN)</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>EURON GREYJOY</td>
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<tr>
<td>WALDER FREY</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>TYWIN LANNISTER</td>
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<tr>
<td>TYRION LANNISTER</td>
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<tr>
<td>JOFFREY BARATHEON</td>
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<tr>
<td>MANCE RAYDER</td>
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<td>CERSEI LANNISTER</td>
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<tr>
<td>KHAL DROGO</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAIME LANNISTER</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>CATELYN STARK</td>
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<td>SANSA STARK</td>
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<td>ARYA STARK</td>
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<td>THEON GREYJOY</td>
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<td>ROBB STARK</td>
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<td>STANNIS BARATHEON</td>
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<td>YARA GREYJOY</td>
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<td>LORD VARYS</td>
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<td>BRIENNE OF TARTH</td>
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