



The Big Lie

The United Nations and the Palestinian Disinformation War

Uri Resnick

Being in a minority, even in a minority of one, did not make you mad. There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad.

—George Orwell, 1984

During the 1920s and 1930s in Germany, the Nazi party used the original “big lie” to whip up hatred against Jews by blaming them for World War I. This propaganda campaign against the Jews was a key element in the strategy to seize political power. The premise of the lie was stark in its simplicity: the enormity of the falsehood would facilitate its mass acceptance, since the large majority of disinterested people intrinsically assume that no one would dare distort the truth to such an extent.

Just as this mendacity worked in the decades leading up to World War II, the current global campaign to vilify Israel is working again. It is, moreover, succeeding with the complicity, at times tacit at others deliberate, of a plethora of United Nations (UN) agencies that are out-competing each other in the propagation of falsehoods carefully calculated to frame Israel for alleged crimes it hasn’t committed.

This disinformation campaign is doing enormous damage to Israel and to world Jewry. Yet if history is to serve as a guide—as prudent and informed observers must surely confirm it should—discrimination against Jews, individually or collectively, has in the past been a harbinger of broader dangers to free societies as a whole. That is what happened the last time people of good conscience and intent allowed themselves to be swayed by a big lie of these proportions. It is already again happening before our eyes in the wildfire spread of demonstrations of Hamas-flag-waving mobs in European and American cities and universities in tandem with the rapid disintegration of core principles of the rules-based order via the unwarranted and politicized proceedings in the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and International Criminal Court (ICC) against Israel, a democracy with a fiercely independent judiciary.

An Essay from The Caravan Notebook

Skeptics might argue that the 1930s are not the 2020s and that the threat posed to the Jews, Israel, and the West is of a different kind and scope today. In this regard, they could point to the very existence of Israel and the Israel Defense Forces, and Israel's military operations—obviously absent in 1930s Europe—as factors that undermine the comparison. Indeed, drawing overly simplistic historical parallels is always a precarious endeavor. Such skepticism should, however, be tempered when considering the role of Iran in orchestrating the “ring of fire” currently surrounding Israel, which includes Hamas, Hezbollah, the Houthis, and numerous militias in Syria and Iraq, coupled with its involvement in instigating and financing anti-Israel riots in Western cities, and determined sprint toward nuclear weapons capability. Differences aside, several factors are common to both the historical and current situations: a powerful state driven by a revolutionary ideology of global scope, expressly genocidal intent, and an array of revisionist, authoritarian great powers acting in concert with it as it fans the flames of a colossal slander campaign designed to dehumanize Jews, fray their legitimacy in the eyes of erstwhile allies, and leave them defenseless. Hamas's eliminationist agenda could not find a better patron—or a better vehicle for amplifying its disinformation than the abundant UN agencies deployed in the local arena.

The disinformation process is as simple as it is sinister, emulating the logic of money laundering: just as ill-attained funds are “laundered” by filtering them through a reputable source, so too are falsehoods legitimized by having them repeated by prestigious organizations. In this way, an aura of credibility is lent to the falsehoods, which then deters observers, fair-minded as many of them surely are, from challenging the provenance of the “factual record.” This is how patent falsehoods come to pollute the public discourse and make it virtually impossible to conduct a sensible dialogue, let alone deflect the baseless accusations leveled at Israel.

There is no room here to exhaustively dissect the monumental disinformation campaign that has been mounted against Israel by UN agencies—a worthy endeavor in its own right to be expanded upon elsewhere—but a number of key examples, coupled with glaringly untrue public statements by senior UN officials, suffice to demonstrate the problem. If a UN secretary-general and under-secretary-general can voice demonstrable lies,¹ vilifying a UN member state without being called to account, then just imagine how deep the metastasis of untruth at the anonymous working levels within the surfeit of UN agencies staffed primarily by people with an acute conflict of interest (in stark contravention of the requirements of neutrality and impartiality).² As both the ICJ and ICC have relied almost exclusively on the reports and statements of these UN agencies in grounding the gravest of charges alleged against Israel—genocide and famine—the unfairness and flawed nature of these proceedings is clear.

As a case in point, consider the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), an organization whose reports are taken by many to be authoritative, and which have figured prominently in the proceedings launched against Israel. There is no room here to exhaustively elaborate on the sweeping bias and nonneutrality in OCHA's reporting when it comes to Israel,³ but one example suffices to illustrate. In early December 2023, OCHA reported

on 7,729 children who had allegedly been killed in Gaza since October 7, citing the Hamas Ministry of Health and Government Media Office as the sources.⁴ Six months later, the UN secretary-general issued a report revealing that the UN itself had been able to verify only 2,051 child fatalities in Gaza between October 7 and December 31, 2023, about a quarter of the number OCHA had reported in real time.⁵ OCHA never retracted the initial false report, nor the many other unsubstantiated reports that served to underpin South Africa’s appeal to the ICJ on the outrageous charge of alleged “genocide.”

All civilian casualties, notably children, are a tragic but unavoidable consequence of urban warfare. The point is not to minimize the tragedy of innocent lives lost. It is to draw attention to the systematic dissemination of exaggerated figures, which are presented as incontrovertibly true by UN agencies—primarily staffed by Palestinians with an acute conflict of interest—in order to exploit the UN aura of reliability. This is just one example of the disinformation warfare being waged in a calculated campaign to vilify Israel.

DISINFORMATION CONCERNING ALLEGATIONS OF FAMINE

This problem is not exclusive to the UN. Agencies that may perform professionally in other arenas have found themselves at times hijacked by biased stakeholders on the ground who skew reports that later obtain a stamp of professional approval from UN bodies.

For example, consider the reports of the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC), a non-UN organization that serves as the primary factual basis for the allegations concerning the deliberate inducement of famine in Gaza. In two reports, one in December 2023 and another in March 2024, the IPC fanned the flames of a “famine narrative,” stating in its March report that “famine is now projected and imminent in the North Gaza and Gaza Governorates and is expected to become manifest during the projection period from mid-March 2024 to May 2024.”⁶

The “findings” of these reports were repeated and amplified over the course of several months by numerous UN agencies. Subsequently, on May 20, in his statement announcing his application for arrest warrants against Israeli leaders, ICC chief prosecutor Karim Khan said: “Famine is present in some areas of Gaza and is imminent in other areas. As UN Secretary-General António Guterres warned more than two months ago, ‘1.1 million people in Gaza are facing catastrophic hunger—the highest number of people ever recorded—anywhere, anytime’ as a result of an ‘entirely manmade disaster.’”⁷

Strong words. Emotive language. Seemingly grounded in bedrock facts. Yet strikingly, unabashedly, false.

To grasp this, one need look no further than the subsequent June 25 report by the very same IPC, in which it admitted that the assumptions underpinning its March report were incorrect and that “the available evidence does not indicate that famine is occurring.”⁸ This belated

admission came in the wake of a detailed analysis of the previous reports, which showed them to have been drafted without transparency and with highly questionable methodology. In a stark departure from the IPC's professed commitment to "high standards of transparency and rigor," it had relied on an "Analysis Team" that included an array of agencies left shrouded in anonymity, in contrast with the transparency typical of IPC practice in other contexts.⁹

Any proper judicial process would have taken these shortcomings into account in determining whether these reports can serve as credible evidence. Yet it is precisely these reports that underpinned Khan's request to issue arrest warrants for Israel's democratic leaders.

DISINFORMATION CONCERNING THE SCOPE OF CIVILIAN DEATHS

Among the most appalling instances of anti-Israel "fakewashing" the "laundering" of disinformation through the prestige of respected agencies are demonstrably false statements that have been made by senior UN officials with regard to civilian casualties.

UN Secretary-General António Guterres claimed in a press conference on November 20, 2023, that "we are witnessing a killing of civilians that is unparalleled and unprecedented in any conflict since I have been Secretary-General," lending the prestige of his office to an ascertainably false claim.¹⁰ He has made repeated use of such hyperbole in subsequent months.

Guterres has been in office since January 1, 2017. Thanks to systematic data gathering of fatalities data in the field of conflict studies, Guterres's claim is easily refuted. One such database, widely used in empirical studies, is the Georeferenced Event Dataset (GED) project within the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, which for the period 2017–2023 reports the following cumulative fatalities data: Ethiopia, 322,794; Afghanistan, 136,223; Ukraine, 165,111; Syria, 82,947; Yemen, 45,916. Mexico's fatalities figure, primarily due to organized crime-related deaths, is 94,021.¹¹

The comparable GED figure for the relevant period for Israel is 23,992 and, after ten months of war, roughly 40,000. Neither the secretary-general nor any of the UN agencies reporting on the conflict have made allowance for combatant fatalities, thus ignoring the exceptionally low ratio of civilian to combatant fatalities in Gaza, as compared with other urban combat arenas in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere. But even setting aside the notoriously difficult problem of distinguishing civilian from combatant fatalities, especially in real time in the midst of a densely populated urban combat arena, the empirical data leave no doubt as to the grossly inaccurate impression lent by the secretary-general's hyperbolic statement, particularly given the absence of such exaggerated rhetoric with respect to other conflicts of greater magnitude.

DISINFORMATION COMPARING GAZA WITH CAMBODIA OF THE KHMER ROUGE

Not to be outdone, on February 14, in an interview with Sky News, UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Martin Griffiths stated that the humanitarian crisis in Gaza is worse than the “awful scenes” he witnessed during the “horrors” of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia in the 1970s.¹² Griffiths was apparently relying—as it dismayingly turns out, with good reason—on the general ignorance of viewers as to the magnitude of this monumental untruth. Though estimates have varied over the years, academic analyses of the casualties under the Khmer Rouge have converged on a lower bound of 1.2 million people and an upper bound of 2.8 million people, up to 25 percent of Cambodia’s civilian population.¹³ Over the years, the Documentation Center of Cambodia has mapped over 20,000 mass grave sites throughout Cambodia with approximately 1.3 million suspected victims of execution, virtually all of whom were civilians who were deliberately targeted.¹⁴ In contrast, fatalities in the Gaza war are estimated at about 40,000 casualties, of whom roughly half are combatants, constituting one of the lowest civilian to combatant ratios in the history of urban warfare, despite the uniquely difficult underground dimension due to Hamas’s vast tunnel network and deliberate efforts of Hamas to *increase* Palestinian casualties (as candidly admitted by Hamas leaders)¹⁵ as a means of eliciting international pressure on Israel. Griffiths exploited his venerable title to lend credibility to this outlandishly false comparison. He has neither retracted it, nor have any voices in the international community called on him, or the secretary-general, to do so. As a result, a falsehood of massive proportions is legitimized and “laundered.”

DISINFORMATION BY OMISSION

Beyond the propagation of outright falsehoods, Israel is relentlessly, if implicitly, maligned by UN agencies’ consistent *omission* of facts that would undermine this vitriolic narrative. Thus, since the October 7 atrocities, the UN has refrained from documenting and specifically reporting on Hamas tunnels (hundreds of kilometers of such tunnels have been discovered) or on the launch of thousands of rockets from populated areas in Gaza (over 19,000 rockets have been launched from Gaza against Israel since the war began). While reporting every claim of an Israeli strike as fact, the UN has kept silent on copiously documented practices by Hamas such as the seizing of aid or the extensive militarization of schools, hospitals, and humanitarian shelters.

DISINFORMATION VIA THE MASS MEDIA

The abundant falsehoods, exaggerations, and deliberate omissions by UN agencies and officials have fueled an anti-Israel (and anti-Semitic) media frenzy on the mistaken view that the Gaza conflict exceeds other war zones in the magnitude of its fatalities, civilian and overall.¹⁶ This false narrative has been widely circulated, amplified by presumably well-meaning—but profoundly naïve—proponents of humanitarian values and the rules-based order, setting the stage for the absurd charges leveled at Israel by the ICJ and ICC.

Adding insult to injury, and apparently relying on the fact that most people are neither equipped nor inclined to verify the facts for themselves, some UN agencies have mounted a vigorous media campaign to discredit efforts to educate the public as to these agencies' own lapses. Thus, for example, the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) commissioner General Philippe Lazzarini on September 1, 2024, accused Israel of buying Google ads as part of a "defamation campaign" against UNRWA,¹⁷ following an article that appeared on the matter on the *Wired* website.¹⁸ The latter article referred to an Israeli government "website full of allegations,"¹⁹ which it cursorily dismissed as "disinformation" without sincerely engaging—or challenging—the bulk of its lengthy and dispassionately factual content. The headline was then picked up by Al Jazeera and numerous other websites.²⁰ The original article gave readers the impression that Israel was clearly at fault in the matter by noting that an appeal had been made to Google to disqualify the ads as contributing to "misinformation." Neither Lazzarini nor UNRWA ever provided any facts to back up their aspersions. Moreover, they didn't recant the accusations even after Google reinstated the ads on September 2, following an inquiry into the accusations raised by UNRWA sympathizers, which proved baseless. By that time, however, this latest volley in the agency's ongoing campaign to tarnish Israel's reputation had already served its role, truth be damned.

Thus, UNRWA has not only made a mockery of the principles of neutrality and impartiality by waging a protracted smear campaign against Israel and thus adopting an openly adversarial political role, they also have the effrontery—some might say chutzpah—to excoriate Israel for pointing this out.

DISINFORMATION AS LEGACY

Under the fog of receding history, people might lose that sense of historical perspective that can properly inform the present. Today, this problem is compounded due to engrained intellectual traditions that have relativized the concept of truth itself, producing a fertile intellectual landscape for the deliberate spread of falsehoods. Palestinian propagandists have skillfully exploited this environment, harnessing the UN's semblance of credibility by staffing its local agencies with individuals who have a vested interest in defaming Israel, thus meticulously generating a vast corpus of fraudulent anti-Israel reporting.

Yet, if the gravest excesses of the past are to be averted, it is vital to overcome this amnesiac inclination. All those Western public figures who today feel too intimidated by the swell of hatred toward Israel and Jews to speak up for the truth and to call out the massive UN disinformation campaign for what it is would do well to consider how their legacy will be judged in retrospect. All the more so for those who believe that multilateral institutions should play a positive, rather than malign, role in matters of global peace and security. It suffices to consider the ignominious demise of the League of Nations to understand what happens to international institutions when well-meaning, if desperately guileless, proponents cling to these organizations' formal trappings while turning a blind eye to their subversion. The many decent people in the democratic countries who let themselves be

swayed or intimidated into appeasement by Nazi propaganda in the 1930s undoubtedly believed at the time that they were doing the right and prudent thing.

They were to be proven conclusively and enduringly wrong.

NOTES

1. As a single example, in a statement to the press on January 15, 2024, Secretary-General António Guterres stated that Gaza was undergoing “wholesale destruction and levels of civilian killings at a rate that is unprecedented during my years as Secretary-General. The vast majority of those killed are women and children. Nothing can justify the collective punishment of the Palestinian people.” António Guterres, “Secretary-General’s Statement to the Press—on the Middle East,” United Nations, January 15, 2024, <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/press-encounter/2024-01-15/secretary-generals-statement-the-press-the-middle-east>. This single statement contains three verifiably untrue factual assertions (even using data published by other UN agencies) and one unsubstantiated allegation. Neither at the time of the statement, nor since, has Gaza undergone “wholesale destruction.” On March 20, the UN Satellite Centre (UNOSAT) reported that “35% of all buildings in the Gaza Strip have been *damaged*.” UNOSAT, “35% of Buildings Affected in Gaza Strip,” United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), March 20, 2024, <https://unitar.org/about/news-stories/press/35-buildings-affected-gaza-strip>. For a sense of perspective, compare this with assessments that in the battle over Mosul (declared won on July 10, 2017, some six months *after* Guterres came into office), local officials estimated that “while eastern Mosul is half-destroyed . . . the destruction in the west is close to 99 percent.” Igor Kossov, “Mosul Is Completely Destroyed,” *The Atlantic*, July 10, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/07/mosul-iraq-abadi-isis-corruption/533067/>. No one denies that Gaza’s physical infrastructure has sustained damage. Wars—even the most justified and lawful—cause destruction. But the use of the emotive adjectives “wholesale” and “unprecedented” is at best misleading, and in its essence, misrepresentative of the truth. The same pertains to the allegation regarding casualties among women and children, with the UN itself admitting in May 2024 that its previous figures had been greatly inflated; see Gabriel Epstein, “Untangling the UN’s Gaza Fatality Data,” May 17, 2024, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, (<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/untangling-uns-gaza-fatality-data>). Moreover, imputing the imposition of “collective punishment” entails attribution of malign intent for which Guterres and other UN officials voicing similar rhetoric had absolutely no evidence or basis. Incendiary rhetoric containing unsubstantiated accusations may be a symptom of contemporary online discourse. But it has no place in the official statements of a UN secretary-general.
2. The problem of nonneutrality is particularly prevalent in the conduct of UNRWA, the UN’s refugee agency for the Palestinians. A detailed analysis of UNRWA’s official statements in the first half year since the October 7 atrocities has revealed that “more than 80 percent of reviewed statements violated neutrality or included tendentious language and unsubstantiated claims predominantly directed against Israel, while ignoring Hamas violations of the laws of war.” See Gregg Roman, “UNRWA Is Complicit in Terror; Disband It,” *Middle East Forum Observer*, August 7, 2024, <https://www.meforum.org/66018/unrwa-is-complicit-in-terror-disband-it>. The report itself can be accessed at <https://acrobat.adobe.com/id/urn:aaid:sc:US:8eca4358-1e11-4729-bde5-cabec3e6df42?viewer%21megaVerb=group-discover>.
3. “OCHA: Overview of Mandate Violations and Double Standards concerning Israel,” GovExtra, accessed September 12, 2024, <https://govextra.gov.il/mda/ocha/ocha/>.
4. “Hostilities in the Gaza Strip and Israel—Reported Impact | Day 64,” OCHA, December 9, 2023, <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/hostilities-gaza-strip-and-israel-reported-impact-day-64>.
5. António Guterres, *Children and Armed Conflict: Report of the Secretary-General*, June 23, 2024, <https://www.un.org/unispal/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/n2409507.pdf>, p. 15.
6. IPC Global Initiative, *Special Brief: The Gaza Strip*, March 18, 2024, https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Gaza_Strip_Acute_Food_Insecurity_Feb_July2024_Special_Brief.pdf, p. 40.

7. "Statement of ICC Prosecutor Karim A.A. Khan KC: Applications for Arrest Warrants in the Situation in the State of Palestine," International Criminal Court, May 20, 2024, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/statement-icc-prosecutor-karim-aa-khan-kc-applications-arrest-warrants-situation-state>.
8. Integrated Food Security Phase Classification Famine Review Committee, *Gaza Strip, June 2024*, https://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Famine_Review_Committee_Report_Gaza_June2024.pdf, p. 2.
9. See Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Transparency and Methodology Issues in the IPC Special Brief of 18 March 2024," May 29, 2024, <https://www.gov.il/en/pages/transparency-and-methodology-issues-in-the-ipc-special-brief-of-18-march-2024>.
10. António Guterres, "Secretary-General's Press Conference on UNEP Emissions Gap Report Launch," United Nations, November 20, 2023, <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/press-encounter/2023-11-20/secretary-generals-press-conference-unep-emissions-gap-report-launch>.
11. See Shawn Davies, Garoun Engström, Therese Pettersson, and Magnus Öberg, "UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset (GED) Global Version 24.1," UCDP, accessed September 12, 2024, https://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/index.html#ged_global. For the codebook, see Stina Högladh, *UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset Codebook Version 24.1*, 2024, <https://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/ged/ged241.pdf>.
12. Adam Arnold, "'Gaza Is Worst Humanitarian Crisis I Have Seen in 50 Years,' Top UN Official Says," Sky News, February 14, 2024, <https://news.sky.com/story/gaza-is-worst-humanitarian-crisis-i-have-seen-in-50-years-top-un-official-tells-sky-news-13071666>.
13. Patrick Heuveline, "The Boundaries of Genocide: Quantifying the Uncertainty of the Death Toll during the Pol Pot Regime (1975–1979)," *Population Studies* 69, No. 2 (2015): 201–218.
14. Craig Etcheson, *Mapping Project 1999, Mass Graves Study, 1999*, https://d.dccam.org/Projects/Maps/Mass_Graves_Study.htm.
15. Summer Said and Rory Jones, "Gaza Chief's Brutal Calculation: Civilian Bloodshed Will Help Hamas," *Wall Street Journal*, June 10, 2024, <https://www.wsj.com/world/middle-east/gaza-chiefs-brutal-calculation-civilian-bloodshed-will-help-hamas-626720e7>.
16. The explosion at Al-Ahli Hospital on October 17, 2023, caused by a misfired Palestinian rocket, provides a vivid example of this dynamic, with initial reports, including by UN agencies, sparking a wave of media reports that repeated Hamas's inflated casualty figures and falsely accused Israel of the attack. See "Israeli Air Raid on Al-Ahli Arab Hospital Kills 500, Gaza Officials," Al Jazeera, October 17, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2023/10/17/photos-an-israeli-air-raid-on-al-ahli-arab-hospital-kills-an-estimated-500>; "Al-Ahli Hospital in Gaza Hit with Direct Israeli Strike," *Palestine Chronicle*, October 15, 2023, <https://www.palestinechronicle.com/al-ahli-hospital-in-gaza-hit-with-direct-israeli-strike-photos-video/>. Even after compelling evidence came out, including forensic analysis by numerous independent experts and recordings of Palestinian militants implicating them in the attack—evidence that normally and properly would have laid the issue to rest—respected news agencies continued to report on the event in a manner that, while allowing for the possibility of a Palestinian rocket misfire, continued to leave a question mark hovering over Israel's alleged responsibility, thus playing into the hands of Hamas's media strategy of obfuscating the truth. See, for example, Paul Brown, Joshua Cheetham, Sean Seddon, and Daniele Palumbo, "Gaza Hospital: What Video, Pictures and Other Evidence Tell Us about Al-Ahli Hospital Blast," BBC, October 20, 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-67144061>; Manisha Ganguly, Emma Graham-Harrison, Elena Morresi, Ashley Kirk, and Lucy Swan, "Al-Ahli Arab Hospital: Piecing Together What Happened as Israel Insists Militant Rocket to Blame," *Guardian*, October 18, 2023, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/oct/18/al-ahli-arab-hospital-piecing-together-what-happened-as-israel-insists-militant-rocket-to-blame>; Liselotte Mas, Thomas Eydoux, Le Monde's video investigation team, Elisa Bellanger, and Marceau Bretonnier, "Explosion à l'hôpital Al-Ahli à Gaza: ce que montre l'analyse détaillée des images," *Le Monde*, October 19, 2023, updated October 23, 2023, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2023/10/19/explosion-a-l-hopital-al-ahli-a-gaza-ce-que-montre-l-analyse-detaillee-des-images_6195448_3210.html.
17. Philippe Lazzarini, "The Spread of Misinformation & Disinformation Continues to Be Used as a Weapon in the War in #Gaza," UNRWA, September 1, 2024, <https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/official-statements/spread-misinformation-disinformation-continues-be-used-weapon-war-gaza>.

18. Paresh Dave, "Israel Is Buying Google Ads to Discredit the UN's Top Gaza Aid Agency," *Wired*, August 26, 2024, <https://www.wired.com/story/israel-unrwa-usa-hamas-google-search-ads/>.
19. "The UNRWA-Hamas Linkage," *GovExtra*, August 6, 2024, <https://govextra.gov.il/unrwa/unrwa/>.
20. "UNRWA Head Accuses Israel of Buying Google Ads to Block Donations to Agency," *Al Jazeera*, August 31, 2024, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/8/31/unrwa-head-accuses-israel-of-buying-google-ads-to-block-donations-to-agency/>; "'Israel' Is Buying Google Ads to Undermine UNRWA," *Al Mayadeen*, August 31, 2024, <https://english.almayadeen.net/in-pictures/israel-is-buying-google-ads-to-undermine-unrwa/>; DawnNews English, "Israel Accused of Using Google Ads to Undermine UN Body," YouTube video, 1:24, September 2, 2024, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vFRRDSZ8UdY>.



Here and in all Caravan pieces, the views expressed belong solely to the author and do not necessarily reflect the position of the Herbert and Jane Dwight Working Group on the Middle East and the Islamic World.



The publisher has made this work available under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial license 4.0. To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0>.

Copyright © 2024 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University

The views expressed in this essay are entirely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the staff, officers, or Board of Overseers of the Hoover Institution.

30 29 28 27 26 25 24 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



URI RESNICK

Uri Resnick is an Israeli diplomat currently serving as deputy director for foreign policy at Israel's National Security Council. He has served abroad and as policy advisor to Israel's foreign and defense ministers and is an associate at Hebrew University's Federmann Center for the Study of Rationality. He is the author of *Dynamics of Asymmetric Territorial Conflict* and numerous scholarly articles. Resnick holds a PhD in international relations.

About The Caravan Notebook

The Caravan Notebook is a platform for essays and podcasts that offer commentary on a variety of subjects, ranging from current events to cultural trends, and including topics that are too local or too specific from the larger questions addressed quarterly in *The Caravan*.

We draw on the membership of Hoover's Herbert and Jane Dwight Working Group on the Middle East and the Islamic World, and on colleagues elsewhere who work that same political and cultural landscape. Russell Berman chairs the project from which this effort originates.

The Herbert and Jane Dwight Working Group on the Middle East and the Islamic World

The Herbert and Jane Dwight Working Group on the Middle East and the Islamic World studies a range of political, social, and cultural problems in the region with the goal of informing American foreign policy choices and the wider public discussion. The working group draws on the intellectual resources of an array of scholars and practitioners from within the United States and abroad to foster the pursuit of modernity, to combat Islamist radicalism, to promote human flourishing, and to spread the rule of law, human rights, and democratic governance in Islamic lands—developments that are critical to the very order of the international system. The working group is chaired by Hoover fellow Russell Berman.

For more information about this Hoover Institution working group, visit us online at hoover.org/research-teams/middle-east-and-islamic-world-working-group.

Hoover Institution, Stanford University
434 Galvez Mall
Stanford, CA 94305-6003
650-723-1754

Hoover Institution in Washington
1399 New York Avenue NW, Suite 500
Washington, DC 20005
202-760-3200

