



MANUFACTURING A MODERN BLOOD LIBEL

Genocide, Starvation, and the
Language of Dehumanization

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Foreword

On November 10, 2025, I met with the editorial board of *The New York Times*. Charges that Israel was intentionally starving the population of Gaza were rampant in the media. From the media, the accusations spread like contagion to decision makers, academics, and the general public.

The facts I presented debunking the starvation myth had a clearly unsettling effect on my interlocutors, the doyens of print-worthy journalism. Breaking their uncomfortable silence, one editor protested defensively in the face of my disruptive facts: “Everyone can’t be getting the story all wrong.”

I first pointed out that it was decidedly not “everyone.” Journalists such as Douglas Murray and experts on urban warfare such as John Spencer made thorough visits to Gaza and concluded that it was one of the most complex urban wars ever fought—and among the most moral and just—citing an unprecedentedly low rate of noncombatant casualties. Were their findings unworthy? What standard did the facts have to meet to make the story?

“The widespread perception of a policy of starvation may have had more to do with your own newspaper’s editorial policy of making defamatory charges against Israel than factual reporting,” I said to the editor.

For one egregious example of many, I pointed to the July 25, 2025, front page picture of 18-month-old baby Muhammad Zakariya

Ayyoub al-Matouq, whose bones were protruding from his spine. If a picture is worth a thousand words, this one said it all: that Israel is doing to Gaza what the Nazis did to the Jews during the Holocaust, portraying Israel as fascist and every other evil imaginable.

The caption and accompanying story indicated that the baby was the victim of Israel-induced hunger, while a subsequent investigation found that, in fact, cerebral palsy was responsible for his heart-wrenching condition. The baby's three-year-old brother, perfectly healthy, had been conveniently cropped out of the photograph—a brilliant piece of propaganda! This, I told *The New York Times*, was an act of political sabotage: **a blood libel against the State of Israel.**

The response from one of the senior editors was a rhetorical jab, asking whether I thought I was “making too much of a misappropriation.” No, I responded, for falsely accusing me of killing people is libel, not a “misappropriation.”

Words have meaning—or at least are supposed to. The opinion makers at America's venerable newspaper stuck to their narrative, and nothing would get in their way. As with classic antisemitism, its current mutation, anti-Zionism, disposes of facts, logic, and truth. I reminded the journalists that our meeting was taking place on the 50th anniversary of the 1975 United Nations “Zionism Is Racism” resolution. In a speech condemning the resolution, American UN Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan stated, “A great evil has been loosed upon the world. The abomination of antisemitism has been given the appearance of international sanction. What we have here is a lie—a political lie of a variety well known to the twentieth century.”

From the 20th century, we know that antisemitic incitement can turn deadly; so too in the 21st. False accusations of starvation and genocide are not confined to print or the ivory tower but have encouraged violence on our streets, from Boulder, Colorado, to Bondi Beach, Australia. On May 21, 2025, Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgrim, my dear Israeli Embassy staffers, were murdered in cold blood at the Capitol Jewish Museum in Washington, D.C. The assailant was steeped in the modern blood libel.

This booklet is not intended for the editors of *The New York Times* or their media comrades who spread lies about Israel like fertilizer on freshly cut grass. To them, and to others who revel in Israel-bashing, this booklet will matter little. Like Plato's cavemen, they will contin-

ue to mistake shadows for reality and refuse to let the light of the sun, the truth, upset them.

To those who have left the cave, or are at least willing to leave it and confront the blinding sunrays, this booklet is for you. Only those who have not fallen into the Orwellian trap of language inversion will benefit from its contents. A thorough read will return the words “genocide,” “starvation,” and “ethnic cleansing” to their genuine meaning. It will also demonstrate the distortion and cruelty deployed to demonize Israel and delegitimize its right to exist and defend itself against the barbarous ideology and terrorism of Hamas and other Iranian proxies.

This booklet undoubtedly comes with a limp. Long before the age of digital media and the information revolution, Jonathan Swift wrote, “Falsehood flies, and the Truth comes limping after it.” For over two years, libelous accusations against the world’s only Jewish state have flown as fast as the speed of sound. The lies cannot be retrieved or retracted, but the open and fair-minded among us can come forward, limping if necessary, and speak truth to the dizzying power of language abuse.

While reading this booklet, it will become clear that the war Israel conducted against Hamas was a morally just war. It was fought with ethical conduct befitting a liberal democracy that honors the rule of law. It is the duty of any sovereign nation to protect its people from a terrorist invasion and ensure that no such threat lies on its borders. Israel will not allow its enemies to project their designs of destruction onto the country, whose people’s only desire is security and peace.

The advocates for Israel’s demise and the ideologies that support them have been degraded but have not yet been defeated. If they could, they would use starvation and genocide to ethnically cleanse the Land of Israel of the people of Israel. That link between the land and the people is inextricable and will be defended with resolve and resilience.

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Executive Summary

On the holiday of Simchat Torah, which marks the annual celebration of the Torah reading cycle, Hamas invaded the State of Israel. Hamas terrorists, joined by Gazans not formally members of the terror organization, launched a cross-border assault and slaughtered over 1,200 Israelis and took 251 hostages—the equivalent of over 40,000 Americans killed and more than 8,500 taken hostage in a single day. That day, October 7, 2023, marked the deadliest attack on the Jewish people since the Holocaust.

Before Israel had a chance to count its dead, Western officials and activists across campuses and in city streets were calling for a ceasefire. Within a week, Israel stood accused of genocide.

The timing and extent of accusations of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and starvation demonstrate that the charges were driven by a predetermined and highly orchestrated political campaign rather than on-the-ground evidence. A factual assessment renders those charges false, proven by key findings in this report summarized in the table below.

GENOCIDE

- **Hamas-run Gaza Ministry of Health (MoH) data heavily relied upon by institutions and media outlets was unreliable**, conflating combatants and civilian deaths, including natural deaths, and displaying statistical impossibilities proving manipulation.
- Researchers estimate that, even when accepting Hamas-run MoH figures, Israel's combatant-to-noncombatant casualty ratio in Gaza (1:1.2–1:1.4) is **the lowest recorded in modern urban warfare**, lower than in U.S. operations in Iraq (1:3) or in Mosul (1:2.5).
- Israel implemented **unprecedented protective measures**: tens of millions of warning texts, tens of millions of phone calls, millions of air-dropped leaflets, evacuation corridors, humanitarian zones, and “roof-knocking” warnings.
- A number of scholars have **explicitly admitted to stretching and distorting the legal definition of genocide**, substituting rhetorical effect for legal and factual accuracy.

ETHNIC CLEANSING

- **Evacuations were temporary and legal**: Israel established humanitarian corridors, relocated Gazan civilians to safety, and subsequently allowed their return where feasible and safe, consistent with international law.
- **The goal of evacuation was protection**: Hamas's own data shows fatalities dropped 25% after the evacuation, demonstrating lifesaving intent.
- Damage to Gaza's infrastructure resulted from Hamas **weaponizing the civilian environment**.
- Compared to other urban wars against terrorist organizations in dense areas, the **level of damage is similar or, in some cases, lower**.

STARVATION

- Between October 2023 and October 2025, approximately 2.2 million tons of aid entered Gaza, including nearly 1.7 million tons of food, **amounting to roughly 3,000 kcal/capita/day on average, far exceeding the minimum international standard for war zones of 2,100 kcal/capita/day.**
- **The UN misreported the number of humanitarian aid trucks** entering Gaza by tens of thousands.
- **Hamas diverted up to 90% of aid,** generating \$500 million in revenue in a single year.
- Over a dozen “starvation” images used by major outlets such as CNN and *The New York Times* **were staged or omitted crucial context: Every subject had preexisting medical conditions unrelated to hunger.**

Table 1: Summary of Key Findings

This booklet assesses the evidentiary and methodological foundations of allegations of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and starvation. In the pages to come, you will learn that (1) Hamas’s military strategy is deliberately engineered to maximize civilian harm, and that (2) Hamas-generated data and/or an anti-Israel narrative—amplified uncritically or reinforced by UN agencies, laundered by media outlets, and legitimized by academics and NGOs—**manufactured a modern blood libel.**

The charges we dissect in this booklet are insidious—modern iterations of centuries-old antisemitic tropes created with a sinister political agenda in mind without regard for the facts.

Background



The Making of a Blood Libel

Antisemitism is not simply the hatred of Jews; it is the intellectual scaffolding that fuels, legitimizes, and perpetuates that hatred. It transforms an irrational prejudice into a moral imperative.¹ It is this transformation that distinguishes antisemitism from ordinary bigotry and that has made it, across centuries and civilizations, uniquely capable of mobilizing institutional power toward the destruction of Jewish life.

Antisemitism shape-shifts, with the prosecution resting and rising again in every generation, each time presenting new evidence yet reaching the same foregone conclusion. In an era where statehood and nationhood are inextricably linked, Jews are singled out as the only nation undeserving of self-determination: the nation once condemned for its religion, then its race, now its homeland. The Jewish national project is accused of the gravest sins in the modern political lexicon and language of liberalism and human rights.

In medieval Christendom, anti-Jewish animosity wore the vestments of theology. Jews were charged with ritual murder and host desecration, categorically depicted as diabolical. The Catholic Church burned the Talmud on the grounds that it subverted the Christian order.

In 19th- and 20th-century Europe, antisemitism adopted the vocabulary of eugenics, furnishing the pseudoscientific basis of Hitler's genocide. In the Soviet Union, Jews were vilified as capitalists and rootless cosmopolitans, an epithet stemming from Nazi Germany that dubs Jews as parasitic and incapable of being loyal citizens. Across much of the Arab world, Jews were subordinated, dispossessed, and, in many cases, exiled, driven in large part by their perceived ties to the Jewish homeland, Israel. Antisemitism undermines virtually every dimension of Jewish existence: religion, ethnicity, culture, and national identity. It is sustained by an edifice of myths, distortions, and preconceptions that both precede and enable discrimination and violence.

Blood libels are the most potent instrument in the antisemitic ecosystem. The medieval accusation that Jews murdered Christian children and used their blood for ritual purposes was false, yet it functioned as a recurring catalyst for mass violence against Jewish communities. The modern variant operates by the same logic: the accusation of genocide against the Jewish state. This charge was pivotal to global anti-Zionist propaganda campaigns waged by the USSR in the aftermath of the Six-Day War.²

Soviet agitprop portrayed Israel as synonymous with every conceivable malice: colonialism, racism, Nazism, fascism, apartheid. The USSR disseminated sensationalist fabrications, frequently amplifying Arab media sources, including explicit allegations of genocide. Soviet publications claimed that Israelis were sterilizing Arab women and deploying herbicides to annihilate entire Arab villages. Soviet media invoked what it described as a Zionist "criminal plan of liquidating the Palestinian people." A related theme, one that persists in anti-Israel propaganda to this day, was the accusation that the IDF deliberately targets Palestinian children for extermination.

All of this served a single purpose: to construct the image of Israel as inherently evil. Transmitted, refined, and institutionalized, it is what paved the way for today's college students to chant the annihilationist slogans "From the river to the sea" and "Globalize the intifada."

Antisemitism and its modern derivative, anti-Zionism, are projections. The same bodies that repeatedly indict Israel for alleged violations of international law remain conspicuously silent even as actual dictatorships, chief among them the Islamic Republic of Iran, slaughtered tens of thousands of dissidents.³ As Vasily Grossman writes in *Life and Fate*, those who accuse Jews of wrongdoing are more often than not guilty themselves.

One need not harbor personal animosity toward Jews to perpetuate antisemitism. The uncritical consumption and dissemination of blood libels, medieval or modern, renders one complicit.



Hamas: In Its Own Words

Hamas, or Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya, is a Sunni Islamist and Palestinian nationalist terrorist organization active in the Gaza Strip and Judea and Samaria. Its stated objective is to annihilate the state of Israel. Its goal is to create a theocratic Islamic Palestinian state not alongside Israel, but instead of Israel. Its charter calls for the killing of Jews, and Hamas leaders have emphasized that Christians are next in line for the taking. The movement is fundamentally antisemitic and anti-Western.⁴

Hamas was founded in Gaza in 1987 by Imam Ahmed Yassin as an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun), a transnational Sunni Islamist movement founded in Egypt in 1928. The Brotherhood is one of the oldest and most influential Islamist organizations in the world, with branches and affiliates operating across the Middle East, North Africa, and beyond. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain have designated the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization, and the United States has so far designated four of its affiliated chapters worldwide as terrorist organizations.

Hamas's ideological roots trace directly to the Brotherhood's founder, Hassan al-Banna. Al-Banna's vision centered on the revival of Islam and the establishment of a global caliphate—and championed violent jihad against Israel.⁵ Al-Banna, taking cues from Adolf Hitler, promoted the belief that Jews sought statehood not as a legitimate national homeland

but as a base for global domination. Like Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, he established a dedicated propaganda apparatus within the Brotherhood. Animating both al-Banna's and Hitler's worldviews was the same radical premise and strategy: Jews were the source of evil in the world, and to save it, their annihilation was required.⁶

As early as the 1930s, the Muslim Brotherhood sent delegations to Nazi gatherings. At a 1938 Cairo conference, it distributed translated excerpts of *Mein Kampf* and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.⁷

The original 1988 Hamas Charter codifies this ideology. It frames the conflict as a civilizational struggle between Islam and Judaism, consecrates Palestine as an exclusively Muslim land, portrays jihad as a religious duty, and categorically rejects any agreement recognizing Israel's existence. The Charter opens with a quotation attributed to al-Banna: "Israel will arise and continue to exist until Islam obliterates it, just as it obliterated those that came before it."⁸ For Hamas, "there is no solution to the Palestinian problem except by jihad." Its 2017 re-drafted constitution, which many in the West deemed "moderated," did not supersede the original or forgo any of the terror group's motives.⁹

The Brotherhood's ideological lineage is not merely historical. Israeli forces in Gaza have recently recovered Nazi-inspired materials among Hamas operatives' belongings, including annotated Arabic translations of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.¹⁰ A book titled *The End of the Jews* circulated regularly among students in Gaza.¹¹

In 2005, Israel gave its Palestinian neighbors a chance at independence, which included the Palestinian demand that Jews be excluded. Consequently, Israel unilaterally withdrew from the Gaza Strip, displacing its own citizens and ceding full control to the Palestinians. Following this withdrawal, Hamas won a plurality of votes in the Palestinian Authority's 2006 elections, staged a violent military coup, and assumed civil and military control of the Strip.

In the years since, Gaza has devolved into an authoritarian theocracy. Every dimension of civic life was subordinated to Hamas's military and theological objectives. Hamas imposed strict Islamist social codes, suppressed political dissent through arbitrary detention and torture, and violently crushed rival factions. The organization embedded its military infrastructure within civilian neighborhoods, effectively conscripting the civilian population in its operations. In-

ternational aid intended for civilian welfare was routinely diverted to fund Hamas operations and enrich its politburo. Hamas built a jihadist army of tens of thousands of fighters, organized into brigades and battalions, armed with tens of thousands of projectiles, drones, RPGs, rockets, and anti-tank missiles, and supported by aerial, munitions production, and naval commando units.¹²

Hamas-controlled education and media indoctrinated successive generations of Gazan youth, glorifying martyrdom, disseminating antisemitic ideology, and normalizing violence against Israeli civilians.¹³ Coexistence with Israel has never been a consideration.



October 7, 2023

In the early hours of October 7, 2023, approximately 3,000 heavily armed Hamas terrorists invaded Israel. They were joined by an additional 2,000 individuals—fighters from other terrorist organizations, such as Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), as well as Gazan civilians—who participated in the assault, engaging in acts of murder, sexual violence, mutilation, looting, and abduction. Simultaneously, thousands of rockets were fired at the Israeli population beginning at 6:29 a.m. Twenty-six localities were attacked simultaneously.

The scale of the atrocities was staggering. More than 1,200 people were murdered, including infants, children, women, the elderly, and hundreds attending the Nova music festival near Kibbutz Re'im.¹⁴ Upward of 3,000 were wounded. Two hundred fifty-one Israelis from all walks of life were kidnapped and taken to Gaza as hostages, among them infants, children, and elderly civilians.

Hamas's preparation for the October 7 invasion was meticulously planned over years. The terror group utilized reports from Palestinian laborers who worked inside Israel, detailed maps of communities and military bases, aerial imagery, and extensive open-source intelligence.¹⁵ Documents recovered from the bodies of terrorists confirmed that their operational objective was a genocidal act of mass murder. One document labeled "Top Secret" stated, "The goal is to achieve as many human casualties as possible and to seize hostages."¹⁶

The leader of Hamas in Gaza at the time, Yahya Sinwar, confirmed this intent: “From us here in Gaza they will never get anything but guns and fire. They will never get anything but death and killing.”¹⁷

Deputy chairman Khalil al-Hayya declared, “The deadliest slaughter of Jews in a single day since the Holocaust was a ‘military accomplishment’ and ‘a source of pride for our people... to be passed down from generation to generation.’”¹⁸ Senior official Ghazi Hamad added, “There will be a second, a third, a fourth, because we have the determination, the resolve, and the capabilities to fight.”¹⁹

Hamas leaders and Palestinian civilians in Gaza and Judea and Samaria publicly celebrated the massacre and expressed broad support for it.²⁰ Released hostages recalled being accosted and punched by crowds of Gazans chanting “Yahud, Yahud,” Arabic for “Jew, Jew.”

Among captured materials was a “Fighter’s Guidebook – Jihad Version,” providing instructions on abducting and executing anyone deemed a threat while using hostages as human shields.²¹ Terrorists were explicitly instructed to document their actions for psychological warfare and propaganda. Sinwar demanded footage of beheadings, executions, and dismemberment to maximize terror and psychological trauma.²²

In response to Hamas’s attack, the State of Israel embarked on a just war with clear objectives: dismantle Hamas’s rule, destroy its military capabilities, and secure the return of all hostages.



Operational Realities of Urban Warfare

Any moral or legal assessment of war must be grounded in the operational realities under which it is fought. Israel’s war in Gaza was fought in one of the most densely populated areas in

the world. The constraints of urban warfare intensify exponentially when an adversary deliberately embeds itself within civilian populations and infrastructure. Terrorist organizations exploit civilians as force multipliers; civilian casualties advance terrorist objectives. The more civilian casualties, the more international pressure Israel faces as real-time media coverage and grievance narratives mount. Hamas, then, lands on fertile ground for further terrorist recruitment and international apologetics.

Hamás's Human Shield Doctrine

Hamás's Urban Warfare Manual was recovered by the IDF in 2014. It instructs fighters to exploit civilian populations to constrain IDF operations:²³

“The soldiers and commanders (of the IDF) must limit their use of weapons and tactics that lead to the harm and unnecessary loss of people and [destruction of] civilian facilities. It is difficult for them to get the most use out of their firearms, especially of supporting fire... the presence of civilians creates many pockets of resistance against advancing [IDF] troops.”

The manual explicitly acknowledges the strategic value of destroying civilian infrastructure:

“The destruction of civilian homes: This increases the hatred of the citizens toward the attackers [the IDF] and increases their gathering [support] around the city defenders (resistance forces [i.e., Hamas]).”

Senior Hamas official Fathi Hammad stated publicly that Gaza's civilians are instruments of the “industry of death”: “This is why they have formed human shields of the women, the children, the elderly, and the mujahideen, in order to challenge the Zionist.” He went on to say that while “we desire death, they [Israelis] desire life.”²⁴

Operational Conditions

Tunnel networks:

An estimated 1,000 kilometers of subterranean military infrastructure, comprising thousands of access shafts,²⁵ run beneath hospitals, schools, kindergartens, children's bedrooms, and residential buildings in Gaza.²⁶ Senior Hamas official Mousa Abu Marzouk stated that the tunnels were built to protect Hamas fighters, not Gaza's civilians.²⁷

Embedded military infrastructure:

Command centers, weapons depots, rocket-launch sites, and stores of ammunition are located inside Gaza's hospitals, schools, kindergartens, bedrooms, mosques, humanitarian and UN facilities, and civilian homes.²⁸

Combatant concealment:

Hamas terrorists donned civilian clothing and blended into the population, making it difficult for the IDF to distinguish them from noncombatants.²⁹

Booby-trapped infrastructure:

One IDF division identified more than 96,000 structures across the Gaza Strip that were booby-trapped or suspected of being booby-trapped, including approximately 14,000 in Rafah alone, some arranged in interconnected chains of more than 30 buildings.³⁰ From March to October 2025, more than 60% of fallen Israeli soldiers were killed by explosive devices. Hamas operatives planted explosive devices, rigging civilian homes, roads, schoolbags, children's toys, closets, and tunnel shafts.³¹

Exploitation of humanitarian zones:

Hamas refused to designate a single safety zone and exploited Israel-declared humanitarian zones as shelter for operatives and senior leaders, including Mohammed Deif.³² Hamas launched rockets into Israel from these areas.³³

Sabotage of evacuations:

Hamas actively obstructed civilian evacuations through gunfire, disinformation campaigns, and the blocking of escape routes.³⁴

These operational realities meant that even after an area of territory was cleared, terrorists could reappear at any moment through tunnels or concealed access points. Hamas effectively weaponized the Gazan terrain, erasing any distinction between civilian and military infrastructure.

The aforementioned and following context is all but absent from the reporting and commentary of UN agencies, human rights organizations, and most international media outlets.

- UN reporting contains only references to casualties, damage assessments, humanitarian aid, health, and “displacement” in Gaza, while the grave crimes committed by Hamas are underplayed or ignored.
- A study of 2,533 BBC headlines (October 7, 2023–October 7, 2025) found:³⁵
 - Only one headline mentioned Hamas war crimes, compared with 45 that mentioned “Israeli war crimes.”
 - Just 11% of those headlines held Hamas accountable.
 - The headlines almost always referred to the operatives as “militants” or “gunmen,” not terrorists.
 - Only one headline noted Hamas’s public executions.
- Analysis of 647 *New York Times* headlines regarding the Gazan population from the first seven months of the war showed:³⁶
 - Only two criticizing Hamas.
 - Thirty-three criticizing both sides.
 - Four hundred seventy-nine criticizing Israel.
 - In the NYT’s “Top News” section, ~60% criticized Israel, and only 3% criticized Hamas.

Part I: Genocide

Genocide has a precise legal definition under the 1948 UN Convention: “Acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such.”³⁷ The central threshold is the existence of specific intent (*dolus specialis*), a proven plan or policy to destroy a group as a group, not merely to defeat its leadership or destroy its military capabilities. To meet the legal threshold for genocide, genocidal intent must be the only reasonable inference that can be drawn from the commission of the prohibited acts, and it must also be conclusively established. Civilian harm, even when severe, does not constitute genocide unless it forms part of a policy’s explicit objective to destroy a protected group.

In 2024, South Africa brought an allegation of genocide by Israel to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) with the clear purpose of putting Israel on the defensive. Tal Becker, Israel’s lead attorney in the Hague, captured the outrageous nature of the charge in his opening statement before the court:

“The attempt to weaponize the term ‘genocide’ against Israel in the present context does more than tell the court a grossly distorted story, and it does more than empty the word of its unique force and special meaning. It subverts the object and purpose of the convention itself, with ramifications for all states seeking to defend themselves against those who demonstrate total disdain for life and for the law.”³⁸

The mere filing of the case achieved its intended political goals: generating global headlines that charged Israel with the highest order of crime in international law before any evidence had even been adjudicated.



1.1 The Numbers Game

The genocide allegation primarily rests on casualty data produced by Hamas-run entities. A three-stage data-laundering pipeline lends credence to this propaganda.

- **Stage 1 – Fabrication:** Hamas-run entities—the Gaza MoH and the Government Media Office (GMO)—produce fictitious claims and distorted figures. The MoH and the GMO are effectively Hamas propaganda arms.³⁹
- **Stage 2 – Laundering:** UN agencies, such as its Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), cite Hamas’s claims using language that lends them credibility; for example, “according to the Gaza Ministry of Health.”
- **Stage 3 – Amplification:** Media outlets and global actors relay UN reports as independent findings, confidently attributing claims to “the UN” without disclosing their origin in Hamas-produced data. Some dispense with the intermediary altogether, citing Hamas directly.

Hamas has a well-documented record of falsifying casualty figures. During Operation Cast Lead (2008), Hamas claimed approximately 1,300 people had been killed, with only 48 of them fighters, implying 95% had been civilians. Israel identified at least 709 Hamas

operatives and additional fighters from other groups among a total of 1,166 fatalities. Hamas later admitted losing 600–700 fighters, confirming Israel’s figures. A similar pattern was repeated in Operation Protective Edge (2014) and Operation Guardian of the Walls (2021).⁴⁰

Since October 7, Hamas-run MoH has released 12 official casualty lists.⁴¹ These lists provide no causes or dates of death, locations, or identification of combatants. Nor do they differentiate among natural deaths, IDF-caused deaths, and deaths from internal violence. **All fatalities are attributed to Israel, and all are presented as civilians.**

Hamas explicitly instructed operatives and Gazan civilians to maintain this presentation:

“Do not publish information or images of resistance victims, and do not provide any details regarding the circumstances or locations of their deaths... Refer to anyone killed or becoming a martyr as a civilian from Gaza or Palestine... always remember to add ‘innocent civilian’ when describing those killed in Israeli attacks on Gaza.”⁴²

Before October 7, approximately 6,000 Gazans died of natural causes annually, according to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics.⁴³ This means that over a two-year war, **at least 11,000–12,000 natural deaths were deliberately misclassified as Israeli-caused fatalities.**

Hamas’s MoH was forced to acknowledge the retroactive removal of some natural-death cases from its records only after outside analysts detected the deletions.⁴⁴ Its lists even included cancer patients receiving medical treatment in Israel and those who had passed away several years earlier, cases of which the MoH was fully aware.⁴⁵

Reported Casualties (Cumulative) as of 20 August 2025

Palestinians*

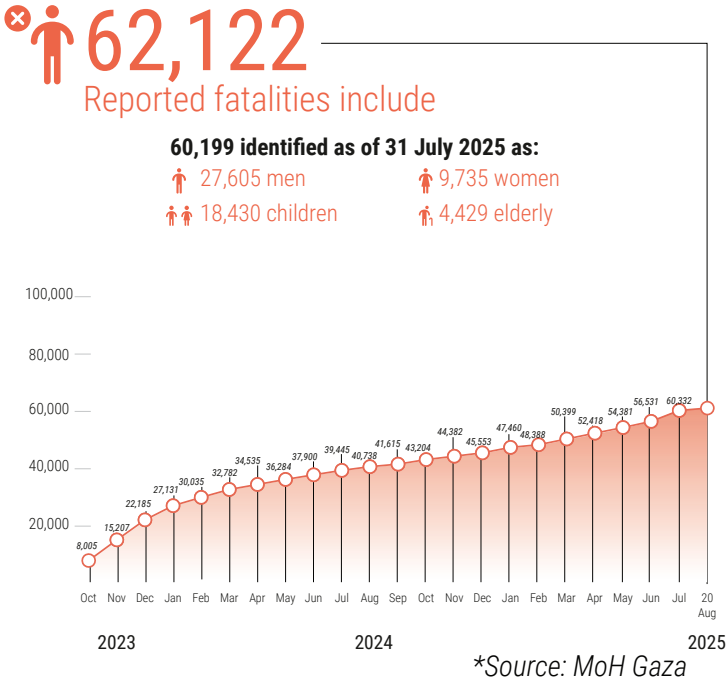


Figure 1: A screenshot of a graph from the UN website illustrating the UN’s reliance on Hamas Ministry of Health figures, **which present all casualties as civilians harmed in Israeli attacks.**

Source: MoH Gaza, UN OCHA, Reported Impact Snapshot: Gaza Strip, August 20, 2025.

Statistical Anomalies and Manipulation

Until December 2, 2023, the casualties reported by the MoH had not been identified by name or ID number, yet the records were presented as a complete, authoritative count. Those records included the widely circulated claim that about 70% of those killed were women and children. This figure was based on statistical manipulation and unverifiable data. **The data exhibits patterns that cannot be naturally explained**, as noted by Professor Abraham Wyner, a world-renowned expert in statistical learning and applied data analysis. Below is his analysis of the period between the start of the ground operation in northern Gaza and the first ceasefire.⁴⁶

- ***Implausibly uniform daily totals:*** The MoH reported daily casualties consistently ranging between 200 and 300 deaths per day. Such minimal variance is unprecedented in urban combat. Some days should have seen totals twice the average; others, half or less.

Total vs Date Reported 2023

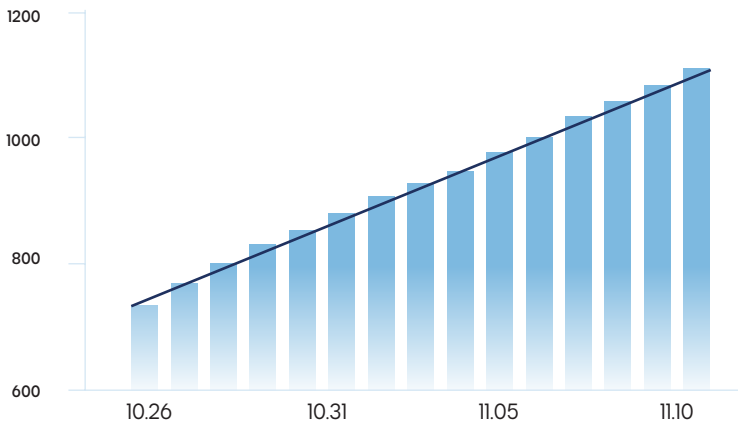


Figure 2: Implausibly uniform daily fatality counts between the beginning of the ground invasion and the first ceasefire.

Source: Abraham Wyner, "How the Gaza Ministry of Health Fakes Casualty Numbers," *Tablet Magazine*, March 7, 2024.

- ***The absence of correlation between the reported numbers of women and children killed contradicts basic operational logic:*** Women and children share the same homes, evacuation routes, and shelters. A genuine casualty dataset would therefore reflect a strong positive correlation between their daily fatality figures. The MoH data exhibits no such correlation.

Daily Women vs. Daily Children

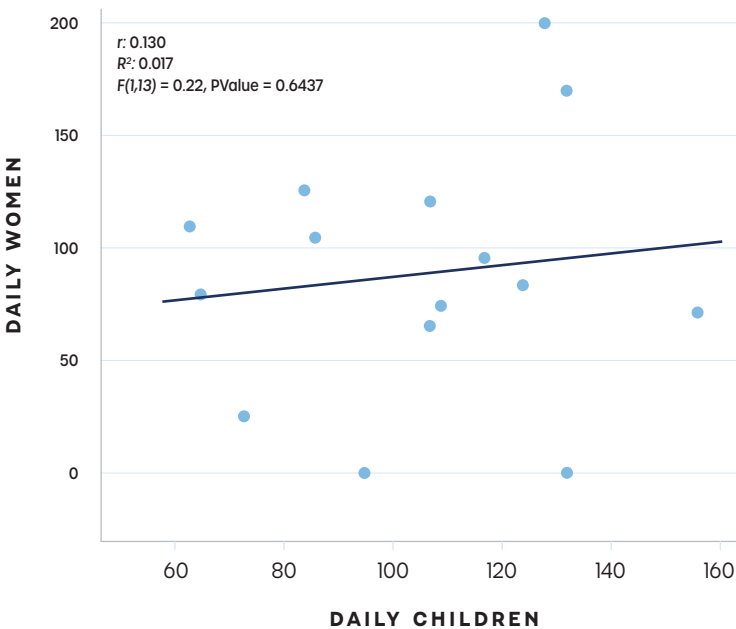


Figure 3: A lack of correlation between the reported numbers of women and child casualties.

Source: Abraham Wyner, "How the Gaza Ministry of Health Fakes Casualty Numbers," *Tablet Magazine*, March 7, 2024.

- ***Negative correlation between male and female fatalities:*** We would expect the daily deaths of women and children to rise and fall in tandem with male fatalities. This is because heavier attacks would affect all groups. Instead, MoH data shows that

on days when reported male deaths increased, reported female deaths decreased, and vice versa. This inverse pattern is statistically improbable.

Daily Men vs. Daily Women

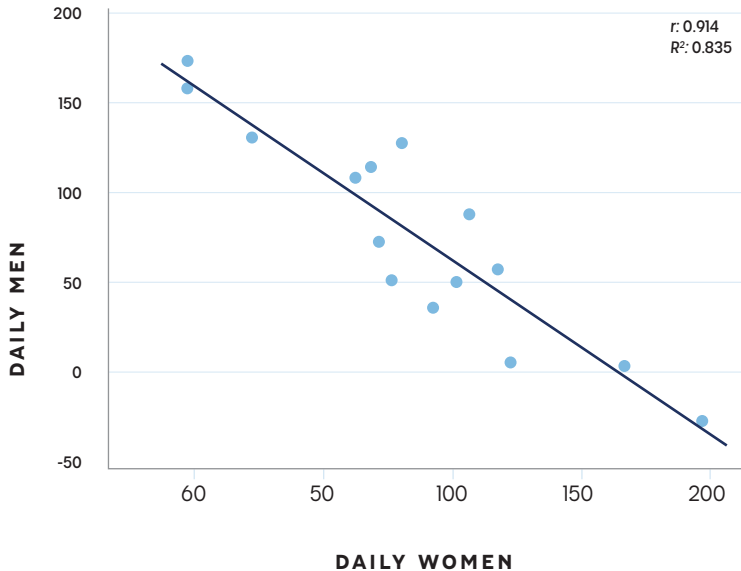


Figure 4: A negative correlation between reported female and male casualties.

Source: Abraham Wyner, “How the Gaza Ministry of Health Fakes Casualty Numbers,” *Tablet Magazine*, March 7, 2024.

- **Artificial demographic allocation:** Cumulatively, these patterns strongly indicate that daily totals were set arbitrarily, with roughly 70% assigned to women and children and the remainder to men.

Reliance on Government Media Office Reports

After November 2, 2023, the casualty reporting methodology changed, as the MoH began incorporating figures from the GMO.⁴⁷ Under this approach, quotas of women and minors were filled based on “reliable

media reports,” which had inflated the reported deaths of women and children. By mid-March 2024, entries derived from these media-based sources accounted for 62% of all recorded casualties.⁴⁸

- On December 11, the GMO’s tally omitted **1,381 men while adding 1,851 women and 3,673 children.**⁴⁹
- From December 11, 2023, to March 23, 2024, the MoH’s own data counted approximately 52% men. The GMO reports incorporated during the same period counted **only 8% men.**⁵⁰
- On May 6, when the UN dropped GMO figures and reported solely based on MoH data, the proportion of women and children **fell from 69% to 52% overnight.**⁵¹ The prior 70% figure had been streamlined and, even after the correction, was continuously amplified.⁵²

Artificial Inflation of Women and Children Casualties

The share of women and children among reported casualties was inflated, as indicated by sudden and statistically implausible spikes relative to their share of the population.⁵³

- **March 2024:** Within one week, the MoH reported a 32% increase in daily deaths, with children accounting for **52.5% of the increase—twice the previous proportion.**
- **October 19, 2023:** Over two days, a 26% rise in casualties was reported, of which **85% were children.**
- **October 26, 2023:** Four hundred eighty-one additional deaths were reported, but women and children listed totaled **626, exceeding 100% of the daily increase.**
- **November 11, 2023:** **Ninety-nine percent** of the total increase in newly reported deaths were women and children.
- **December 5, 2023:** **More than 100%** of the total increase in newly reported deaths were women and children.

Removal of “Validated” Names

In March 2025, the MoH released an updated casualty list. Researchers found that **3,400 names from previous lists had been omitted;**

those reported deaths had never occurred.⁵⁴ The MoH was forced to acknowledge that 3,952 “validated” names had been removed over the course of the conflict. A comprehensive study found that, in fact, **at least 6,394 names were removed over time.**⁵⁶

Many of the names removed by the Hamas-run MoH belonged to individuals whose deaths were highly certain, including family members of senior figures, military operatives, journalists, and medical personnel associated with Hamas.⁵⁷ Social media posts document funerals of Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad fighters whose names are absent from the MoH lists.⁵⁸ These omissions served to preserve the narrative of civilian casualties while masking the deaths of Hamas members.

Hamas’s strategy for maximizing the narrative around civilian casualties extended beyond simply manipulating the list of reported deaths. They went as far as making up casualty numbers entirely and manufacturing the stories behind those numbers. In this sense, Hamas routinely published both manipulated data and full-blown disinformation.

Case Study: The Al-Ahli Hospital Explosion

On October 17, 2023, an explosion struck Al-Ahli Hospital in Gaza City. Hamas immediately claimed an Israeli airstrike had killed 471, later inflating the figure to over 500.⁵⁹ UN Secretary-General António Guterres condemned the strike while implying Israel was responsible for it.⁶⁰ *The New York Times* subsequently published a story with the headline “Israeli Strike Kills Hundreds in Hospital, Palestinian Officials Say.”⁶¹

The Facts

- The explosion was caused not by an IDF strike but by **a rocket fired by Palestinian Islamic Jihad.**⁶²
- The death toll was grossly inflated; credible assessments placed it between 10 and 50, or at the low end of 100–300.⁶³
- Even after its falsehoods were exposed, the MoH kept all 471 fabricated fatalities on its official list of Israeli-caused deaths.⁶⁴
- The World Health Organization (WHO) continued to document the same figure in its surveillance system.⁶⁵ The WHO

director-general cited the inflated figure in a Security Council briefing, stating that the WHO had “verified 516 attacks on health facilities... resulting in 765 deaths”⁶⁶—a tally that still included the fabricated 471 deaths. Even without an explicit accusation, the broader context ensures any listener associates these deaths with Israeli aggression.

In another instance, on October 13, 2023, media outlets reported 70 fatalities from an alleged Israeli strike on a civilian evacuation convoy.⁶⁷ In reality, Hamas attacked the convoys that were evacuating in accordance with IDF orders, sending people to safety. Yet, the fatalities were falsely attributed to Israel.⁶⁸

Journalistic Credibility

Many intellectuals, media outlets, and human rights organizations relied on fundamentally unreliable reporting in their assessments of the war. That coverage cannot be considered credible for three central reasons:

1. Hamas operatives posed as journalists.

The IDF recovered extensive evidence—interrogations, personnel files, salary records, phone data, training documentation—confirming that Al Jazeera journalists were active operatives in Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. As part of their terrorist activity, their role was to disseminate propaganda; their media positions provided an ideal platform.⁶⁹ Their reports were amplified in the global media.⁷⁰

Of 266 individuals labeled journalists who were killed, at least 157 (60%) were confirmed members of or affiliated with terrorist organizations. As for the remaining 109, the possibility of affiliation has not been ruled out.^{71*}

* Israel has been harshly criticized for restricting journalists’ entry into Gaza. Yet the operational reality of the war makes such restrictions unavoidable, nor are they different from those in other territories in a red zone. Gaza is a small, densely populated territory crisscrossed by more than 1,000 kilometers of tunnels, with no rear area and no safe zone; in effect, the entire strip functions as a red zone. For this reason, the IDF permits controlled, single-day embedded visits, a policy consistent with those employed by other militaries operating in active combat zones. It is as nonsensical as it is striking that Israel is simultaneously accused of deliberately killing journalists and condemned for not allowing them onto the battlefield.

2. Al Jazeera served as Hamas's propaganda apparatus.

Discovered documents demonstrated long-standing media coordination. Hamas provided editorial guidelines and coverage directives to Al Jazeera.⁷² Al Jazeera is an arm of Qatar, a country that has served as the primary international benefactor of Hamas for decades, hosting the organization's politburo and providing billions of dollars in financial support.

Al Jazeera's ideological orientation is also rooted in Qatar's intimate relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood; the network was founded in 1996 with significant involvement from Brotherhood-affiliated journalists and has long served as a platform for Brotherhood-aligned perspectives. Amid accusations that it promotes extremist or destabilizing narratives, several Gulf States have blocked, restricted, or banned Al Jazeera's broadcasts and websites within their territories.⁷³ From 2023–2025, Al Jazeera was a key source of reporting from within the Gaza Strip. Consequently, its editorially compromised coverage formed the foundation upon which global media narratives were constructed.

3. Hamas suppresses independent reporting that does not align with its narrative.

Former AP correspondent Matti Friedman described the mechanism:⁷⁴

"I was the first staffer to erase information from the story, because we were threatened by Hamas... We had a detail in a story. The detail was a crucial one. It was that Hamas fighters were dressed as civilians and were being counted as civilians in the death toll... from that point in time, the AP, like all its sister organizations, collaborates with Hamas censorship in Gaza.

Since 2008, certainly since 2014... the press has not been covering Gaza, the press has been essentially an amplifier for one of the most poisonous ideologies on Earth. Hamas has figured out how to make the press amplify its messaging rather than covering Hamas."



1.2 Combatant-to-Noncombatant Casualty Ratios

Even accepting Hamas’s own figures, the result is unmistakable: Israel’s conduct reflects one of the highest moral standards ever demonstrated in urban warfare.

As of December 3, 2025, Hamas reported 70,117 fatalities.⁷⁵ According to an analytical decomposition, researchers found the following:⁷⁶

Category	Estimated Figure
Hamas-reported total fatalities	70,117
<i>Less: Natural deaths</i> ⁷⁷	-11,000 to -12,000
<i>Less: Errors and anomalies (1–2% margin)</i> ⁷⁸	-1,000
Adjusted subtotal	~57,000
<i>Less: Non-Israel-related causes (Hamas executions, misfires, internal violence)</i> ⁷⁹	-3,000 to -4,000
Adjusted total war deaths	~54,000
IDF-estimated combatants killed ⁸⁰	25,000

Table 2: Analytical Decomposition of Reported Fatalities

First calculation (using MoH data with requisite adjustments):

Twenty-five thousand combatants relative to ~54,000 total war deaths yields a combatant-to-noncombatant ratio of approximately **1:1.2, roughly one terrorist for every 1.2 civilian fatalities.**

Second calculation (accounting for Hamas’s omission of combatants):

Hamás’s own demographic data reveals a more than **3:1 excess ratio of males of combat age**: By November 10, 2025, approximately 32,000 men age 18–59 were listed as killed, compared with about 10,000 women in the same age group.⁸¹ This represents more than 22,000 excess fighting-age males, a pattern that strongly indicates large-scale targeting of combatants rather than civilians by the IDF.

The category of fighting-age males must also include teenage boys who actively participated in Hamas’s military operations. A conservative estimate suggests that an additional 2,000 teenage males should be included. Hamas recruits boys age 16 and above into its military wing and routinely deploys unaffiliated minors—boys age 15–17, sometimes as young as 11–14. They conduct operational roles, from delivering messages and ammunition to assessing damage and serving as auxiliaries in combat.⁸² The demographic data reveals a significant gap in the mortality rate between boys and girls in the 15–17 age group, with roughly 2,000 additional excess deaths of teenage males.⁸³

Proportional Distribution of Gaza Fatalities by Age and Gender vs. Total

Population, October 7, 2023 - November 10, 2025

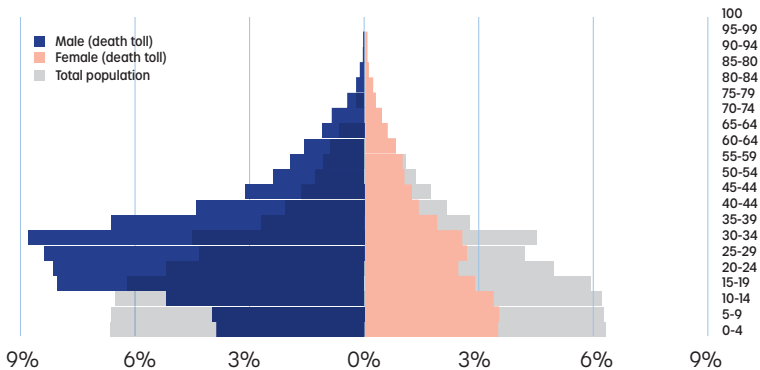


Figure 5: Distribution of reported Gaza fatalities by age and gender compared with the overall population structure, October 7, 2023–November 10, 2025.

Source: Gaza Ministry of Health data; visualization by Gabriel Epstein.⁸⁴

The above data points to approximately 24,000 excess deaths among fighting-age males. While one could theoretically claim all of those males were combatants, a more cautious estimate would suggest a slightly lower number to account for civilian casualties within that demographic. Moreover, it is known that Hamas consistently omits a portion of its operatives from casualty lists. In addition, there are credible indications supporting the IDF's estimate of approximately 25,000 combatant fatalities. Reconciling these figures leads to the conclusion that many Hamas terrorists are not listed among the reported dead. Researchers estimate that roughly 7,000 combatants were killed whose deaths were not reported. Adding this estimate to the death toll establishes a total of approximately 61,000 fatalities, of which ~25,000 were combatants, **a ratio of roughly 1:1.4, or one terrorist for every 1.4 civilian fatalities.**

For comparison, U.S. operations in Iraq (2003) and Mosul (2016–2017) produced estimated combatant-to-noncombatant ratios of roughly 1:3 and 1:2.5, respectively.⁸⁵ These figures themselves are considered low, as experts estimate that civilians typically account for 80%–90% of casualties in modern warfare, roughly a 1:9 ratio.⁸⁶ **By contrast, Israel's military campaign in Gaza yielded an estimated combatant-to-noncombatant ratio of approximately 1:1.2 to 1:1.4, indicating historically low relative civilian casualties and the low ratio recorded in any comparable modern urban conflict.**

Manipulation of Combatant Fatality Data

Throughout the war, as shown above, many media outlets did not even attempt to distinguish how many of the reported deaths were of Hamas terrorists. Instead, they lumped all fatalities published by Hamas into a single undifferentiated category. Some media outlets claimed that the IDF had killed approximately 8,900 Hamas terrorists.⁸⁷ Beyond the fact that the IDF has categorically denied this number—stating that such claims “are not only false but also reflect a fundamental lack of military understanding”⁸⁸—multiple independent indicators show that the actual number of Hamas terrorists killed is significantly higher.

The figure of 8,900 refers only to terrorists whose identities were individually confirmed by name at that point, as the article itself notes. It cannot possibly represent the total number of terrorists killed.

Those omitted from this account include:

- **Tunnel casualties:** Operatives buried in tunnels whose remains could not be recovered or identified.
- **Unidentified battlefield kills:** Fighters eliminated in ground engagements or airstrikes who cannot be identified through any means.
- **New recruits:** Operatives recruited during the fighting who had not yet appeared in IDF databases.
- **Unidentified Hamas operatives:** Hamas members whose identities are not known to Israeli intelligence.
- **Non-Hamas/PIJ factions:** Operatives from the Nasser Salah al-Din Brigades, the Mujahideen Brigades, the PFLP, and other terrorist groups.

Using this number as the basis for casualty ratios is a **deliberate manipulation** aimed at inflating the reported percentage of civilian deaths. Moreover, it misclassifies combatants as civilians.

Manufacturing the “83% Civilian Death Rate”

These outlets compounded the distortion by calculating the combatant-to-noncombatant ratio based on Hamas’s total reported death toll (52,928 as of May 14, 2025) without excluding:

- **Natural deaths** unrelated to the conflict.
- **Fatalities caused by Hamas itself** (executions, misfires, internal violence).

This methodological flaw enabled *The Guardian*, for example, to produce the false headline “Israeli military’s own data indicates civilian death rate of 83% in Gaza war.” The goal appears to be inflating the numbers until they can claim a **1:9 combatant-to-noncombatant ratio**, a figure that would support portraying Israel as committing genocide.

Independent Corroboration of Israel’s Combatant Estimates

Israel’s assessment that 25,000 terrorists were killed is supported by **U.S. intelligence sources and by Hamas’s own admission.**⁸⁹

- **U.S. intelligence (early 2025):** U.S. intelligence indicates that Hamas re-recruited **10,000–15,000 operatives**, with a **similar number killed** during the same period.⁹⁰
 - The U.S. estimate refers only to Hamas and excludes other terrorist groups. Palestinian Islamic Jihad alone had approximately **13,000 operatives** before the war;⁹¹ a proportional estimate adds at least **4,000–5,000** additional operatives killed across all non-Hamas factions. This brings the total close to the IDF’s estimate at the time (January 2025).⁹²
- **U.S. intelligence (early 2024):** U.S. intelligence assessed that Israel had already eliminated **20%–30% of Hamas’s operatives**.⁹³
 - This means that at least 7,000 Hamas operatives were killed before operations in Rafah and Jabaliya.
- **Hamas’s own admission (February 2024):** Hamas acknowledged that **6,000 of its fighters** had been killed only four months into the war.⁹⁴

Debunking the “100,000 Deaths” Claim

Flawed statistics suggest that the true death toll in Gaza stands around 100,000. This claim alleges that many deaths went unrecorded, but it does not hold for a simple reason that is consistently ignored: Over the course of two years, Gaza residents had multiple channels, including online forms, by phone, and via local authorities, to report deaths without providing the presence of a body.⁹⁵

Incentives Favoring Overreporting

Families of the deceased had strong financial and institutional incentives to report deaths.

- Compensation programs **provided financial assistance for widows and orphans**.⁹⁶
- Repeated Ministry calls **urged residents to report “martyrs,” even if no body had been found, and “missing persons.”**⁹⁷
- A senior MoH official admitted that some deaths were reported specifically to obtain benefits.⁹⁸

Hamas's MoH denotes the scope of family-based reporting.

- **More than 17,000 deaths were reported through** family notifications.⁹⁹
- **Over 13,000 deaths were verified** by a judicial committee.¹⁰⁰
- An analysis of 1,968 additional deaths recorded between the ceasefire and November 11, 2025, shows that more than 60% were not based on recovered bodies but on prior family reports.¹⁰¹

The above confirms that Hamas's casualty figures **already include** large numbers of deaths for which no bodies were found. In addition, **nearly 80%** of deaths reported through the family-reporting mechanism occurred during the first six months of the war. As the conflict progressed, a growing share of fatalities was recorded directly by hospitals and morgues. This trend runs counter to claims of a large-scale undercount of deaths.¹⁰²



1.3 Civilian Protection Measures

According to a report by a delegation of senior U.S. generals, admirals, and military legal experts, the IDF adopted extensive civilian protection measures that imposed significant operational costs, increased risks to its own forces, and constrained maneuver and strike operations.¹⁰³ As urban warfare expert John Spencer has argued, **“Israel has implemented more precautions to prevent civilian harm than any military in history.”**¹⁰⁴

Another delegation of senior commanders and officers from militaries around the world—including the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Finland, Japan, and others—visited Israel during the war to study the operational experience the IDF accumulated in its campaign against Hamas, particularly its methods for minimizing civilian casualties while confronting a terrorist organization embedded within civilian populations.¹⁰⁵ These visits of senior officials did not prevent some of their countries from harshly condemning Israel during the war. The hypocrisy is worthy of note.

Documented Measures

Mass warnings:

These included tens of millions of warning texts (with geographic segmentation), tens of millions of prerecorded phone calls to specific buildings, millions of air-dropped leaflets detailing safe evacuation routes, and frequently updated maps of safe zones.¹⁰⁶

Operational sacrifice:

Warnings consistently forfeited the element of surprise. High-value targets were repeatedly lost because senior Hamas commanders fled following civilian notices. Strikes were delayed hours or days to allow building evacuations.¹⁰⁷

Roof-knocking:

Precise, nonlethal warning strikes signaled imminent action, a practice developed by Israel and used by no other army.¹⁰⁸

Humanitarian corridors and evacuation zones:

Israel established humanitarian zones and operated continuous humanitarian corridors with defined no-fire windows. Color-coded maps and phone notifications guided millions of civilians.¹⁰⁹ Numerous battle plans were partially or fully altered to account for civilian movement, causing significant delays. Many terrorists escaped because Israel allowed civilians to evacuate in an organized manner.

An army seeking to destroy a population would not warn it in advance, cancel strikes due to civilian presence, endanger its own soldiers to minimize civilian casualties, and facilitate the delivery of millions of tons of aid to the very population it was allegedly trying to eliminate.



1.4 Institutional Propagandists

The aforementioned allegations did not achieve global currency through Hamas's efforts alone. They required institutional legitimization, a process by which fabricated data and distorted narratives were absorbed, repackaged, and disseminated by actors whose authority the international community treats as presumptive. Senior UN officials, special rapporteurs, and commission chairs have served as force multipliers for Hamas's information campaign, lending it the imprimatur of international law and human rights. Their pronouncements were then treated as dispositive by journalists, lawmakers, and courts.

The following cases illustrate the scope of this institutional failure.

Andrew Gilmour, former UN Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights

Andrew Gilmour, former UN assistant secretary-general for human rights, fully adopted the distorted information disseminated by Hamas. That information presented all 25,000 deaths in Gaza at the time of reporting as those of civilians killed by Israeli military action. He compounded this falsehood by claiming that Israel's actions constituted "probably the highest kill rate of any military killing anybody since the Rwandan genocide of 1994."¹¹⁰ Gilmore's citation not only relied on unreliable data from MoH, but also, historical comparisons contradict the claim. For example, during the First Congo War (1996), approximately 250,000 civilians and 15,000 combatants were killed in seven months, producing a combatant-to-noncombatant ratio of roughly 1:17.¹¹¹ In the Second Congo War (1998–2001), there were approximately 350,000 combat deaths, and 5.4 million total deaths from famine and disease over the following decade.¹¹²

Francesca Albanese, UN Special Rapporteur for the "Occupied Palestinian Territories"

UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese has echoed Gilmore's fabrication and demonstrated a pattern of deep bias and direct engagement with terrorist organizations that disqualifies her from impartial adjudication.¹¹³ She participated in a Hamas-organized conference, described

Hamas’s demands as “very reasonable,” appeared on a panel alongside Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal, and told assembled terrorists they had “a right to resist.”¹¹⁴ Albanese has spread fictitious casualty figures, explicitly accused Israel of committing genocide, endorsed a tweet comparing Israel’s prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, to Hitler, compared Israel to Nazi Germany, and described the killing of October 7 mastermind, Yahya Sinwar, as “quite inhumane.”¹¹⁵ She also falsely alleged that a Gazan doctor was raped to death in Israeli custody.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, she said that the international community “should start thinking of 680,000” as the real death toll in Gaza, including the extraordinary claim that 380,000 of those killed were children under the age of five.¹¹⁷

Albanese’s conduct resulted in unprecedented institutional consequences. In July 2025, Secretary of State Marco Rubio sanctioned her—the first UN official in U.S. history to receive such a designation—citing her antisemitism, support for terrorism, and contempt for the West.¹¹⁸ Georgetown University subsequently removed her affiliation, though she continued falsely presenting herself as a Georgetown scholar on official UN pages.¹¹⁹ Hamas officials have publicly praised her work as objective and professional.¹²⁰

The UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the "Occupied Palestinian Territory," including East Jerusalem, and Israel

On September 16, 2025, the UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and Israel—also known as the Pillay Commission—submitted a report accusing Israel of genocide.¹²¹ The Commission’s report lacks factual foundation and is marred by flawed legal analysis.¹²² A striking example of the report’s falsehoods appears in the opening sentence of the chapter titled “Summary of factual findings”: “On 7 October 2023, Israel launched its military offensive in Gaza, which included airstrikes and ground operations.”¹²³ This is a blatant inversion of reality, as it was Hamas that launched a genocidal attack against Israel on that day.

This commission, established in 2021, is unprecedented: a permanent, open-ended body with no sunset clause, with an unlimited mandate to examine any matter—past, present, or future—relating to Israel.¹²⁴ Its chair, Navi Pillay, has repeatedly labeled Israel an

apartheid state, called for sanctions, convened the 2009 Durban II Conference (boycotted by most democratic states), and provided Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad an international platform for antisemitic rhetoric.¹²⁵

Systemic UN Bias: Quantitative Evidence

The UN Voting Record: An Institutional Pattern

- 2015–2024: The UN General Assembly adopted **173 resolutions against Israel versus 80 against all other countries combined**.¹²⁶
- 2025: Fifteen resolutions on Israel were adopted versus 11 on the rest of the world.¹²⁷
- Since 2006: The Human Rights Council has adopted **112 resolutions against Israel** versus 45 against Syria, 16 against Iran, 11 against Russia, and four against Venezuela.¹²⁸
- Israel is the only country with a **permanent agenda item** (Item 7) at every Human Rights Council session, which has served as a platform for a wide range of allegations of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and starvation, while human rights abuses by other member countries are largely ignored.¹²⁹

UNRWA-Hamas Nexus

- **At least 12% of UNRWA employees in Gaza are members of Hamas or other terrorist organizations**; some assessments place the figure as high as 49%.¹³⁰
- Of 546 principals and deputy principals in UNRWA schools, **at least 80 (~15%) are members of terrorist organizations**.¹³¹
- At least 12 UNRWA employees actively participated in the October 7 attacks.¹³²

Media Coverage

- In the **first nine** months after October 7, *The New York Times* published **6,656 articles on Gaza**, compared to:¹³³
 - 80 on the U.S.-led campaign against ISIS in Mosul (where 15,000–20,000 were killed).

- 198 on the war in Tigray (where ~600,000 were killed in one year).
- 5,434 on the first 13 years of the Syrian civil war (where over 500,000 were killed and 12 million displaced).
- The Associated Press assigns **more full-time reporters to Israel alone than to all of sub-Saharan Africa combined.**¹³⁴
- The ongoing Sudan civil war receives nowhere near the level of attention that Israel’s war against Hamas has drawn; it neither attracted the same gravity of media coverage nor the same degree of condemnation and engagement from human rights organizations.¹³⁵
 - The civil war in Sudan has already claimed an estimated 400,000 lives, with millions displaced and facing real famine.¹³⁶
 - The Yale School of Public Health described the killing velocity in Sudan as comparable only to the Rwandan genocide: “More people may have died in the past week there than in the entire Gaza war.”¹³⁷

The Academy

An array of academics—scholars who have weaponized their platforms for anti-Israel activism—have supplied the intellectual ammunition for the modern blood libel. While the specific charge may vary, the rhetorical mechanisms are strikingly consistent. Rather than pursuing truth through disciplined and balanced inquiry, they engage in what is often called “knowledge production,” the use of ideological frameworks to predetermine conclusions and then marshal facts selectively to support them.

Some academics have been caught red-handed, conceding that the accusation of, for example, genocide is rhetorically necessary even if legally or factually disputable because the moral force of the word advances a broader political objective. Despite their admission, they continue to propagate the charge. Scholarship thus ceases to function as a site of scrutiny and instead becomes an engine for fueling the modern blood libel.

Three principal mechanisms recur:

1. Framework over facts:

Scholarly conclusions are derived from frameworks—decolonialism, settler colonialism, identity politics, racism, imperialism, and oppressor/oppressed binaries, among others—and “facts” are filtered to fit the model.

Those “facts” are cherry-picked and distorted, as we’ve described throughout this booklet. Scholars of different disciplines take preexisting or invented frameworks and impose them on Israel to wield a charge that appears to come from a specific node of expertise, including Holocaust studies. The result is all but a form of scholarship wielded for activist purposes and is ultimately false.

- Former Stockton University Professor of Holocaust and Genocide Studies Raz Segal argued that by comparing the atrocities against Jews during the Holocaust to the October 7 attack by Hamas on Israeli civilians, Israel was weaponizing the Holocaust to justify its genocide and war crimes against Palestinians. He also suggested Israel was demonizing Palestinians in the same way that Nazis did to Jews, to justify their genocide. He wrote, “The fantasy of ‘fighting Nazis’ drives such explicit language, because the image of Nazis is one of ‘pure, unadulterated evil,’ which removes all laws and restrictions in the fight against it. Perpetrators of genocide always see their victims as evil and themselves as righteous. This is, indeed, how Nazis saw Jews.”¹³⁸
- Professor of International Studies and Globalization John Collins at St. Lawrence University said, “Faculty colleagues: If you think ‘decolonization’ is fine for your syllabus, your curriculum, or your classroom, but not for actual colonized people in Palestine, then you’ve never understood decolonization. Please stop using the term until you educate yourself.”¹³⁹

This form of scholar activism has been normalized and propagated under the banner of revolutionary praxis, the notion that knowledge

must serve a cause, which tends to be radical. Revolutionary praxis has laid the intellectual foreground for justifying Hamas and demonizing Israel. In this framework, knowledge is not something to be discovered and scrutinized, but produced in service of political or social change. From this paradigm emerges a culture in which students are compelled to justify accusations of genocide and starvation regardless of the facts, because “liberation” from so-called oppression and resistance to so-called occupation by all means necessary takes precedence over on-the-ground realities.

- Former George Washington University Professor Lara Sheehi justified the June 2025 murder of Israeli embassy staffers Yaron Lischinsky and Sarah Milgrim. She dubbed the murder a political event. For her, Milgrim and Lischinsky were first and foremost “representatives of a genocidal colonial state” because Israel, she insists, is “a settler [colony] that was built on genocide, on land that was stolen.” She maintains that “the Zionist entity is a pariah state.” For her, justified violent resistance follows from that.¹⁴⁰

2. Institutional and peer pressure:

Academics increasingly face coordinated pressure campaigns from scholarly organizations and colleagues advancing explicit political agendas. Those who control departments, associations, and conferences work to ensure that only one viewpoint dominates, stacking faculties with ideological allies while marginalizing or driving out dissenting voices. As an academic climate grows more politicized, scholars tend to feel compelled to conform in order to preserve their positions and professional standing. Some ultimately capitulate, lending their names and credentials to open letters, resolutions, and professional condemnations that amplify a certain charge even when its underlying claims remain unproven.¹⁴¹

- In August 2025, the International Association of Genocide Scholars passed a resolution declaring Israel guilty of genocide, the “crime of crimes.” The IAGS presented the decision as though it reflected broad scholarly consensus. According to genocide scholar Sara Brown, the association departed from its usual practice of holding a virtual town hall to debate controversial measures. No such discussion took place. Furthermore, only 129 of approximately 500 members voted, yet the result was framed as representing the entire organization. Brown also objected to

the resolution's reliance on organizations that have deliberate anti-Israel bias and have stretched the definition of genocide to target Israel, including Amnesty International, as well as UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese. Once the resolution was passed, media outlets such as *The Guardian* and *The Washington Post* reported the vote as evidence that a credible scholarly body had reached a definitive conclusion, reinforcing the perception that an academic consensus had settled the matter.¹⁴²

- Reports revealed that the IAGS lacks a rigorous screening process, undermining its credibility entirely. The association enabled individuals to obtain voting rights immediately upon paying a \$30 fee, regardless of professional background. The ease of joining triggered a surge of applications from people who were not involved in scholarship whatsoever, including some under ludicrous names such as Adolf Hitler and Emperor Palpatine.¹⁴³

3. Stretching and Distorting Legal Definitions:

At an April 19, 2024, conference at the George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs, Brown University professor Adi Ophir suggested to fellow scholars that the word “genocide” cannot be used loosely when describing Israel’s military campaign in Gaza because of the term’s legal definition. He added that “dehumanization” should therefore be the preferred terminology. The panelist made a de facto acknowledgment that Israel’s military defense efforts do not meet the legal criteria for the term, and yet scholars in his orbit continue to falsely propagate the idea of Israel’s genocidal intent.¹⁴⁴

Academics stretch the legal definition of genocide, admitting that it does not meet the standard while continuing to publicly wield the accusation.

In an April 7, 2025, lecture on mass atrocities at the University of Maryland, Brown University Professor of Holocaust and Genocide Studies Omer Bartov deliberately stretched and desecrated the legal definition of genocide when discussing the Israel-Hamas war while simultaneously acknowledging that “genocide” is a legal term with a

specific meaning. He admitted that he insists on using the word “genocide” not because it is legally accurate but because it is **rhetorically necessary**, arguing that unless the term is invoked, suffering tends to be dismissed by audiences. Bartov further claimed that the distinction between genocide and war crimes is largely irrelevant and that the integrity of legal standards is superseded by the need to use persuasive language that raises broader awareness. In other words, Bartov’s own position is that even without consensus on what constitutes genocide, and even if the legal definition does not match what is occurring on the ground, the term should still be applied to the Gaza war because doing so persuades particular audiences to care about the issue.¹⁴⁵

These scholars make remarkable concessions, explicitly prioritizing **rhetorical effect over legal and factual accuracy** while using scholarly authority to advance a conclusion that the evidence does not compel.



1.5 Ethnic Cleansing

Ethnic cleansing is the deliberate policy of removing or expelling an ethnic, national, or religious population from a specific territory through coercive methods, intending to alter the territory’s demographic composition.¹⁴⁶ While not a distinct crime under international law, associated actions may constitute crimes against humanity or war crimes.

The accusation that Israel is engaged in ethnic cleansing rests on claims that Israel uprooted Gaza’s population by forcing civilians into humanitarian zones, rendered life unlivable through systematic destruction of infrastructure, restricted humanitarian aid, and imposed starvation.¹⁴⁷ Even voluntary emigration is recast as coerced displacement. Each premise is assessed below, while the claim of starvation is examined separately in the following chapter.

Comparative Urban Damage

Estimates suggest that more than 70% of Gaza has been damaged.¹⁴⁸ The claim that this represents unprecedented devastation is contradicted by the historical record of modern urban warfare against entrenched jihadist organizations.¹⁴⁹

Location/Conflict	Damage Level
Gaza Strip (2023–2025)	>70%
Marawi, Philippines (2017) ¹⁵⁰	~95% (main zones)
Raqqa, Syria ¹⁵¹	~80%
Mosul's Old City, Iraq ¹⁵²	>80%
Bayji/Al-Ba'aj, Iraq ¹⁵³	94% / 96%
Average across 16 Iraqi governorates ¹⁵⁴	~60%

Table 3: Comparative Infrastructure Damage in Modern Urban Warfare

None of the battles cited above involved 1,000 kilometers of tunnels beneath each respective city, a factor unique to Gaza that substantially increases the scope of necessary military operations. Gaza's destruction is consistent with the tragic, albeit foreseeable, consequences of fighting a terrorist organization embedded within dense urban terrain. In fact, there is no part of Gaza that is not dense urban terrain.

The widespread use of civilian infrastructure by Hamas for military and terrorist purposes rendered a vast number of sites legitimate military targets. By effectively weaponizing the civilian environment, Hamas blurred the distinction between civilian and military space. The resulting damage was therefore driven by genuine military necessity, not by an intent to inflict broad harm. According to the logic behind the ethnic cleansing accusation against Israel, any military campaign against a terrorist organization in an urban environment would inherently be considered ethnic cleansing.

The party that actively seeks such destruction and views it as strategically beneficial is Hamas, not Israel. As previously mentioned, its own combat doctrine states that the destruction of civilian homes is meant to “increase the hatred of the citizens” toward Israel and “increase their support” for Hamas. Destruction is therefore not a byproduct of the fighting but a deliberate tool to radicalize the population and consolidate Hamas's control over Gaza.¹⁵⁵

Civilian Evacuation

The evacuation of civilians from active combat zones is a well-established and effective practice in warfare.¹⁵⁶ International law permits and, in certain circumstances, requires the temporary evacuation of civilian populations from areas of active hostilities for their protection.¹⁵⁷ Israel acted in accordance with these obligations, facilitating evacuations through designated corridors with sufficient time for relocation to established humanitarian relief zones, where essential assistance was provided. Subsequently, Israel allowed civilians to return to areas from which they had been evacuated, except for limited zones from which Israel is seeking to withdraw gradually. Israel intends to transfer the responsibility of overseeing Gaza to the International Stabilization Force (ISF), in accordance with a U.S.-led agreement.

The evacuation of Gazans proved effective: For the safety of Gazan civilians, Israel relocated over one million residents from the Rafah area after providing due warning. Even according to Hamas's own MoH data, the number of fatalities declined by 25% following the evacuation despite the military operation in Rafah.¹⁵⁸

Any responsible authority that values civilian lives acts to evacuate them from danger. Israel did exactly that while evacuating its own citizens from border areas at the war's outset. The only genuine instance of permanent displacement in Gaza occurred in 2005, when Israel withdrew from the territory and forcibly displaced its own citizens. Hamas, by contrast, has always targeted civilian areas and actively sought to prevent Gaza's civilian population from evacuating to humanitarian areas.¹⁵⁹

Describing civilian evacuations from active combat zones as “forcible displacement” transforms humanitarian law into a shield for terrorism. It rewards terrorists for embedding themselves among civilians. It also creates a perverse incentive structure in which no democracy could fight urban warfare against a terror organization without being accused of a crime.

Part II: Starvation

The statistics cited to support claims of widespread starvation in Gaza lack a credible factual foundation. In reality, Israel facilitated the transfer of millions of tons of humanitarian aid—while its soldiers operated under active threat—to provide for Gaza’s civilian population.



2.1 Humanitarian Aid Distribution: Quantitative Record

Between October 2023 and October 2025, Israel facilitated the transfer of:¹⁶⁰

Category	Volume
Total humanitarian aid	~2.2 million tons
Food	>1.7 million tons*
Medical supplies	>50,000 tons
Water**	>60,000 tons
Gas	>30,000 tons

Table 4: Humanitarian Aid Facilitated into the Gaza Strip, October 2023–October 2025

***The 1.7 million tons of food delivered, equivalent to roughly 3,000 kilocalories per person per day on average, far exceeds the 2,100 kilocalories per capita per day considered the minimum international standard for war zones, debunking the charge that Israel orchestrated famine in Gaza.**

**Water was also supplied through four pipelines, three of which were from Israel, as well as desalination plants, pumping facilities, and other sources.

Additional measures Israel implemented included:

- A mass polio vaccination campaign in February 2025, for more than 600,000 Gazan children under the age of 10 (95% coverage), the third round since September.¹⁶¹
- Repairs to telecommunications networks, fiber-optic infrastructure, and water supply systems.
- Tens of thousands of medical evacuations through Israel for Gazans requiring urgent care.
- Fuel deliveries to hospital generators for life-support systems, surgeries, ICUs, and neonatal incubators.
- Repeated warnings that fuel would run out within hours never materialized.¹⁶² Hamas stole medical fuel and used it for terror purposes.¹⁶³



2.2 The Reporting Gap

The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) knowingly underreported humanitarian aid entering Gaza, excluding private-sector goods and aid from other countries and NGOs. **Over 15 months, the UN failed to report more than 14,000 aid trucks, equivalent to more than the average of three months' worth of humanitarian aid.**

The Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories (COGAT)/Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) Trucks Differences

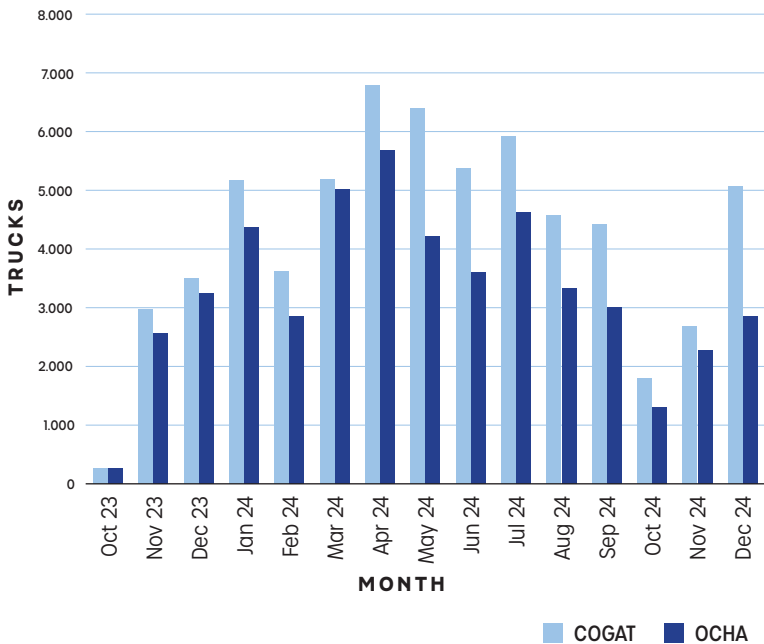


Figure 6: Humanitarian aid trucks entering Gaza (start of war–end of 2024), COGAT vs. OCHA data.

The discrepancy between the UN’s reporting and the actual figures persisted throughout the war. For example, between mid-May and early September, a further **13,000 aid trucks were omitted from UN records.**

COGAT/OCHA Trucks Differences

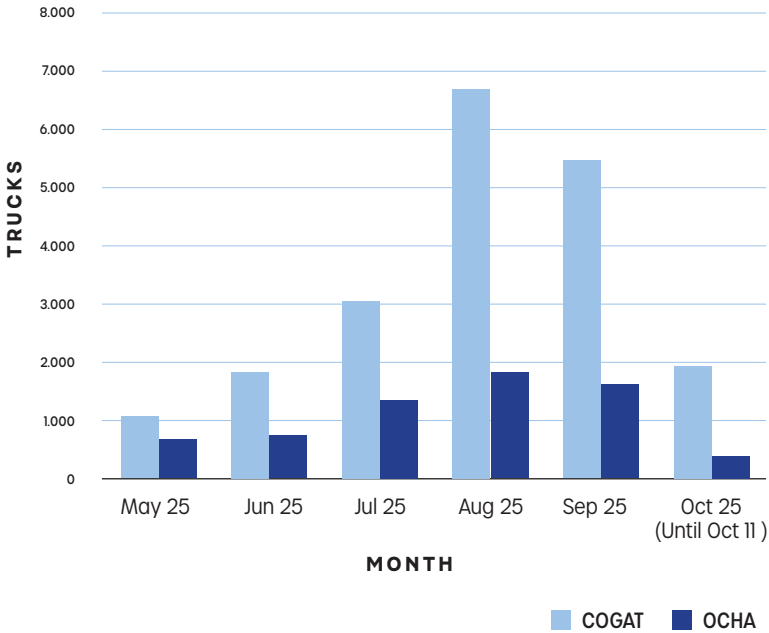


Figure 7: Humanitarian aid trucks entering Gaza (mid-May and early September 2025), COGAT vs. OCHA data.

The Pattern of Distortion

When examining the reports in real time, it becomes clear that the distortion was even more severe than the reporting gap analyzed above. Consider the example of May 2024. Following Israel’s Rafah operation, OCHA claimed aid had “dropped by 67 percent.”¹⁶⁴ Media outlets amplified this as fact.¹⁶⁵ **In reality, the amount of aid entering Gaza actually increased.** After some time, the UN issued a partial retroactive correction to the data, though it never publicly acknowledged that a correction had been made.

COGAT/OCHA Trucks Differences

May 2024

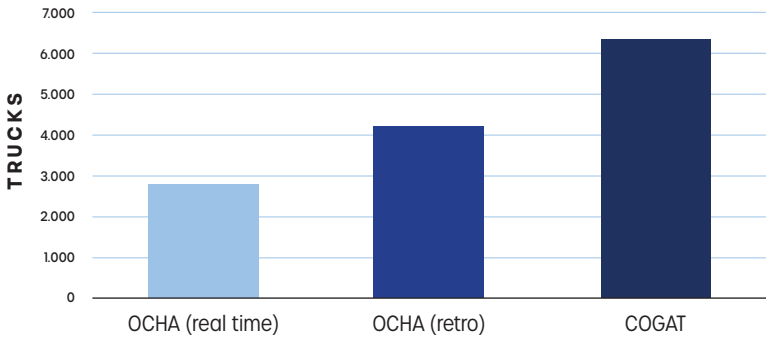


Figure 8: Humanitarian aid trucks entering Gaza (May 2024), COGAT vs. OCHA, comparing real-time reporting and retroactively corrected data.

OCHA’s real-time report for May 2024 cited **2,790 trucks**;¹⁶⁶ it was later revised to **4,202**.¹⁶⁷ The actual number was **6,389**.¹⁶⁸ The gap between the published figure and reality was nearly two and a half times.

The UN manufactured a humanitarian crisis that never occurred.

In real time, OCHA issued incomplete and false reports that were treated as fact. Later, figures were “corrected”—again, misleadingly. By then, the false numbers had already fueled the famine narrative.

The UN knew its data was inaccurate, as acknowledged in fine print at the bottom of published graphs: It was subject to retroactive revisions and excluded multiple categories of aid.¹⁶⁹ This caveat was never highlighted.

Throughout the war, this pattern repeated itself: OCHA issued incomplete and false reports in real time that were then treated as fact. Later, the figures were “corrected,” yet again in a misleading and partial manner. Below, for example, are the data reported from May 2024 to September 2024.

COGAT/OCHA Trucks Differences

May 2024 to September 2024

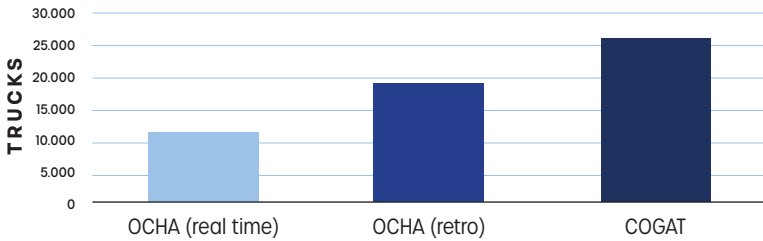


Figure 9: Humanitarian aid trucks entering Gaza (May 2024), COGAT vs. OCHA, comparing real-time reporting and retroactively corrected data.

The 500-Truck Myth

The construction of this false starvation narrative extended beyond misreporting the amount of humanitarian aid that entered Gaza. It also relied on fabricating the threshold of aid purportedly required. The basic humanitarian standard in war zones is 2,100 kilocalories per capita per day.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, a fundamentally different demand was imposed on Israel, constituting a double standard.

- UN agencies and humanitarian NGOs insisted that Israel must facilitate sending 500 trucks per day into Gaza to prevent famine and a humanitarian crisis.
 - This demand was first articulated by UN Secretary-General António Guterres on October 27, 2023,¹⁷¹ and was subsequently echoed by UN agencies, humanitarian organizations,¹⁷² and international media until it became the de facto standard imposed on Israel.¹⁷³
- The 500-truck figure was premised on the claim that Gaza needed to return to pre-war volumes of incoming goods: “About 500 trucks per day were crossing into Gaza before the hostilities began.”¹⁷⁴
 - According to Guterres, before the war, an average of approximately 500 trucks per day entered Gaza, of which—depending on the source—only 150–180, or at most 300, carried food.

- A review of UN’s own data reveals that before the war—when, according to the UN, there was no hunger—an average of just **73** food trucks entered Gaza per day.¹⁷⁵
 - Despite this, UN agencies and aid organizations claimed that anything less than 500 trucks daily (or 300, depending on whether the reports bothered to distinguish between food trucks and trucks carrying other types of aid) would result in famine.

Various human rights organizations and media outlets relied on another false claim regarding the scale of local food production in Gaza before the war. An Amnesty International report asserted that 44% of Gaza’s food consumption came from domestic production and that the destruction of those sources contributed to famine. This figure is incorrect: It relies on a nontransparent Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics calculation measuring expenditures on imported versus domestically produced food, not caloric consumption. A proper analysis, accounting for the substantial caloric share provided by UNRWA and the WFP (which together accounted for 40% of total calorie intake), indicates that local agriculture supplied no more than roughly 12% of total caloric consumption prior to the war, before deducting exports.¹⁷⁶

When incorporating corrected data on local production and pre-war truck volumes, the number of trucks per day required to maintain Gazans’ pre-war caloric intake is **82**.¹⁷⁷ **Israel facilitated the entry of approximately 1.5 times the required number of trucks on average.**



2.3 The Integrated Food Security Phase Classification and Famine Review Committee Famine Declaration

On August 22, 2025, the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) and its Famine Review Committee declared famine (IPC Phase 5) in the Gaza Governorate. **The declaration’s conclusions**

contradict the facts and reflect repeated methodological flaws and tendentious reporting.

Mortality Rate Discrepancies

- From the August 22 declaration through the October 10 cease-fire, roughly 10,000 starvation deaths would have been expected under actual famine conditions. **Only 192 were reported by Hamas, just 2% of the expected figure.**¹⁷⁸
- Had the IPC's 2023–2024 projections materialized, **124,458 Gazans would have died of starvation by January 17, 2025.** This did not occur.¹⁷⁹ Even using OCHA figures relying on Hamas data, only 461 malnutrition-related cases were reported up to October 7, 2025.¹⁸⁰
- According to the MoH, Gaza's annualized malnutrition mortality rate (between October 2023 and August 2025) was **7.9 per 100,000.** The United States' rate in 2023 was **6.8 per 100,000.**¹⁸¹

The IPC's Double Standard

- In Sudan, Phase 5 was declared at Zamzam camp based on a documented mortality rate of 1.9 per 10,000 per day. Had Gaza experienced that rate, **more than 163,000 Gazans would have died by January 2025.**
- In Yemen's Hudaydah province (never designated Phase 5), the child mortality rate of 1.03 per 10,000 per day would have resulted in **the death of more than 11,500 Gazan children under five by January 2025.**
- In Gaza, the IPC **did not find any nontraumatic deaths linked to hunger or malnutrition, yet declared Phase 5.**¹⁸²

Methodological Failures

- **Altered measurement criteria:** The IPC substituted the established 30% weight-for-height z-score (WHZ) threshold with a 15% mid-upper arm circumference (MUAC) threshold. MUAC identifies more than six times as many cases as WHZ, dramatically overstating malnutrition.

- ***Ignored the absence of malnutrition mortality:*** Under IPC standards, a true famine in Gaza City would result in 100–200 deaths per day. No such mortality was observed.
- ***Selective and misleading data:*** The report’s annex tables did not match the charts in the main text and showed no rise in malnutrition during July. Moreover, they contradicted the full July dataset published by the Global Nutrition Cluster (GNC), which placed malnutrition rates well below the 15% MUAC threshold. After exposing the discrepancies, the FRC admitted to relying on a different “full” dataset—data clearly marred by methodological violations and near-falsification.
- ***Omitted contradictory surveys:*** The IPC conducted two surveys and discarded the one showing lower malnutrition rates, which is scientifically indefensible, as documented by the Network Contagion Research Institute at Rutgers University.
- ***Underestimated food entering Gaza:*** The IPC used imprecise language and miscalculated the caloric content of incoming aid.¹⁸³



2.4 Visual Disinformation

International media circulated images of malnourished children as alleged victims of Israeli starvation. In over a dozen cases, the children suffered from serious, unrelated medical conditions. As one analyst testified:

“It took minutes and required nothing more than a computer with a stable internet connection. We simply ran the story subjects’ names through Google Translate to get the Arabic spelling, then searched those names in Arabic-language media. Even a quick scan of the results revealed that many of these children suffer from muscle atrophy, head injuries, or other serious medical conditions.”¹⁸⁴

Examples of Documented Images

- **Cases: Muhammad Zakariya Ayyoub al-Matouq (18 months):** Published by *The New York Times*, BBC, CNN, Sky News, *The Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, and *The Times*. Investigation revealed Muhammad was born with cerebral palsy and hypoxemia. An unpublished photo showed his mother and healthy three-year-old brother.¹⁸⁵



Figure 10: Muhammad Zakariya Ayyoub al-Matouq, as published in *The New York Times* (January 25, 2025).

- **Osama al-Raqab (5 years old):** The photo went viral as evidence of starvation. He suffers from a serious genetic disease unrelated to the war. On June 12, 2025, Israel coordinated his exit from Gaza to Italy for treatment.¹⁸⁶
- **Staged “empty pot” photographs:** German newspapers *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Bild* revealed Hamas-staged photos showing Gazans posing with empty pots for cameras rather than waiting for food. One of the photographers was employed by a Turkish news agency and frequently posts anti-Israel content.¹⁸⁷



Figure 11: Osama al-Raqab, as documented in the media (right) and as documented following COGAT's exposure of the story (left).

Dieser Gaza-Fotograf inszeniert die Hamas-Propaganda



Figure 12: A photographer stages a scene of Gazans appearing to beg for food, as reported by *Bild* (August 5, 2025).

UN's Inflammatory Statements

The false and fabricated information that flooded the public sphere, together with misleading imagery and an unprecedented level of media coverage, was accompanied by inflammatory and unfounded statements by senior UN officials. A distinct example of senior UN officials exploiting their positions is the briefing given by the UN secretary-general to journalists on March 18, 2024, in which he stated:

- “More than half of all Palestinians in Gaza—1.1 million people—have completely exhausted their food supplies and are facing catastrophic hunger... This is the highest number of people facing catastrophic hunger ever recorded by the Integrated Food Security Classification system anywhere, anytime... This is an entirely man-made disaster.”¹⁸⁸

The UN secretary-general's manipulative and misleading statements paint an entirely false picture, and this is without even addressing the fact that there was no actual catastrophic hunger in Gaza, as the above analysis clearly demonstrates.

For context, during historical famines: in China between 1959 and 1961, 15 million–50 million people died of hunger;¹⁸⁹ in Ethiopia in 1984, 7.5 million faced famine and 300,000 died;¹⁹⁰ and in Yemen in 2016, 220,000 died of starvation, including 90,000 children.¹⁹¹ Yet the UN secretary-general presented Gaza as experiencing the largest catastrophic hunger ever recorded. This description was subsequently cited by the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Karim Khan, in connection with the tendentious arrest warrants sought against Israel's prime minister and minister of defense.^{192*}

In another case, UN undersecretary-general for humanitarian affairs Tom Fletcher, in a BBC interview on May 20, 2025, claimed that “14,000 babies will die in the next 48 hours unless we can reach them.”¹⁹³ When asked how he arrived at that figure, he referred vaguely to “strong teams on the ground” but provided no actual data. Needless to say, this completely fabricated scenario never occurred.

**The Wall Street Journal* recently reported that “the Qatari government—which was sheltering Hamas terrorists—promised to ‘look after’ Mr. Khan if he moved against Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.” In 2024, the paper warned that Mr. Khan's conduct had placed the ICC's targeting of Israel “under a cloud”—and now, with this evidence out in the open, “it's raining.”¹⁹⁴



2.5 Obstacles to Aid Distribution

One of the claims raised as a cause and proof of famine is that humanitarian aid to Gaza was suspended from early March 2025 to May 19, 2025. This claim does not align with the facts or with the humanitarian needs of the Gaza Strip.

- Prior to the suspension of aid deliveries, as part of the cease-fire agreement, over 25,000 trucks carrying humanitarian aid entered Gaza, an average of 4,200 trucks per week (between January 19 and March 1, 2025), well above the number needed to sustain Gaza's population during the temporary suspension that followed the ceasefire.

Along with allegations of aid suspension, UN agencies and various humanitarian organizations repeatedly accused Israel of creating obstacles to the distribution of humanitarian aid. Even when Hamas rocket fire and attacks on the Kerem Shalom crossing in May 2024 killed four Israeli soldiers and caused its closure,¹⁹⁵ these facts were absent from statements by UN Secretary-General Guterres regarding the crossing closures.¹⁹⁶ Neither was Hamas even mentioned once in OCHA's monthly report.¹⁹⁷

The claim that Israel created obstacles to distribution reflects a fundamental misunderstanding of the aid mechanism. Land-based distributors bring trucks to Israel crossings for contraband inspection. After the trucks pass inspection and enter Gaza, the same organizations that delivered the aid at the border are responsible for aid collection and distribution. The bottlenecks occurred after entry, not at the crossings.

- Throughout the war, Israel demonstrated the ability to facilitate the entry of 4,200 trucks per week into Gaza without limiting volume.
- UN agencies refused to cooperate and distribute the quantities of aid they themselves had demanded from Israel.
- Over 900 trucks, including some carrying food for infants, were left standing inside Gaza awaiting aid collection and distribution during the period following May 2025.¹⁹⁸
- Even after Israel introduced additional humanitarian corridors

and unilateral daily humanitarian pauses on July 27, 2025, UN agencies still failed to distribute aid at the scale of which they were capable.¹⁹⁹

- Between May 19, 2025, and September 2025, only 30% of the aid entering Gaza was distributed by the UN, rendering it effectively irrelevant as an aid distributor.²⁰⁰
- The UN played both sides, claiming there was insufficient aid while refusing to cooperate with distribution at the quantities it demanded.



Figure 13: Humanitarian aid awaiting collection and distribution by UN agencies in Gaza.



2.6 Aid Diversion

The core challenge in addressing the humanitarian situation is the systematic diversion of aid by Hamas for military, political, and economic purposes.²⁰¹

As early as November 2023, USAID’s inspector general identified Gaza as a high-risk area “for the potential diversion and misuse of U.S.-funded assistance,” stressing that its investigative priority was ensuring aid did not reach Hamas.²⁰²

The Scale of Diversion

- Israeli intelligence assessments estimate that **Hamas has diverted up to 90% of humanitarian aid entering Gaza.**
- The UN publicized its own data that corroborated Israel’s intelligence assessments. According to the UN, **over 90% of humanitarian aid was not reaching its intended destination.** This confirms a systemic breakdown and a resulting large-scale diversion of aid.²⁰³
- Hamas generated roughly **\$500 million in revenue in one year** from the diversion of humanitarian aid, the largest single source of income in Gaza.
- Hamas deliberately hoarded tons of infant formula and nutritional shakes for children.²⁰⁴
- Methods of diversion included physical takeover, taxes and fees on aid goods, smuggling operations, and infiltration of aid organizations and distribution systems.²⁰⁵
- Internal Hamas documents reveal control, coercion, and surveillance of humanitarian organizations through an intrusive “guarantor” mechanism requiring Hamas liaisons to be placed in senior positions at NGOs.²⁰⁶ These practices were integral to Hamas’s broader strategy to weaponize humanitarian aid before October 7 and even more intensively in its aftermath.

UN reports on Gaza’s humanitarian situation and the media coverage citing them make no mention of Hamas, the organization that looted and confiscated aid, sold stolen aid to civilians, charged fees for freely provided humanitarian assistance, and deliberately hoarded children’s nutrition supplements. Moreover, some media outlets and UN officials denied that diversion occurred.²⁰⁷



2.7 The Gaza Humanitarian Foundation

**With the enactment of President Donald Trump’s 20-point plan and the erection of the International Stabilization Force, the GHF has been disbanded.*

The Gaza Humanitarian Foundation (GHF) was established in February 2025 as part of broader efforts to bypass Hamas’s diversion apparatus and deliver food directly to civilians through secure mechanisms. **One hundred percent of GHF trucks delivered aid directly to civilians.** The UN refused any cooperation and participated in a Hamas-linked campaign to delegitimize GHF distribution centers, portraying nearly all Gaza casualties as civilians and claiming they occurred exclusively at GHF aid sites.²⁰⁸

Despite claims that the GHF had become Gaza’s “primary food distribution model,”²⁰⁹ most food entering the Gaza Strip continued to flow through the preexisting UN-led distribution system and NGOs. In areas where the GHF did not establish distribution centers, this system remained in place under the UN Logistics Cluster, meaning that the UN’s own dysfunction unnecessarily constrained aid delivery and harmed Gaza’s civilian population.

Hamas viewed the GHF as a direct threat because it:

- a. Cut Hamas off from supply chains enabling population control.
- b. Broke the “fear barrier” as Gazans increasingly approached distribution centers.
- c. Substantially reduced Hamas’s revenue from the taxation and sale of aid.

Hamas did everything in its power to disrupt the GHF’s operations to regain control over humanitarian supply routes by:

- a. Sabotaging aid distribution centers by attacking Gazans seeking aid and targeting local GHF staff.
- b. Spreading disinformation to undermine the system.
- c. Using clans as civilian proxies to reassert control over aid delivery routes.

Examples of Hamas's Campaign Against the GHF

- Drone footage captured a Hamas terrorist firing at civilians approaching a distribution center.²¹⁰
- Audio recordings of Gaza residents describe Hamas obstruction: “The people who fired were Hamas terrorists. They don’t want the people to receive aid; they want to foil the plan so that the aid will go to them.”²¹¹
- On July 23, the IDF identified a projectile launched from Khan Yunis toward GHF distribution sites in Rafah.²¹²
- On June 11, 2025, Hamas’s Sahm unit ambushed a bus transporting 28 GHF aid workers, killing at least 12. Wounded survivors were taken to Nasser Hospital, where Hamas guards prevented them from receiving medical treatment and publicly accused them of being American spies. The sister of one victim, Osama Al-Masakhhal, published a post explicitly blaming Hamas’s Sahm unit, emphasizing that her brother worked solely to provide bread for his family.²¹³
- The Palestinian Authority’s newspaper reported that Hamas death squads were shooting civilians near GHF sites.²¹⁴

OCHA issued daily reports of mass casualties at food distribution centers, including the claim that “since the establishment of a militarized distribution system in the Gaza Strip on 27 May and as of 18 August, at least 1,889 people... were killed while seeking food in Gaza... most of whom appear to have been killed by the Israeli military.”²¹⁵ **This claim is false.** Civilian food-distribution points were rebranded as a “militarized distribution system,” and deaths were invented and attributed to Israel.

Examples of Debunked Incidents

- June 1, 2025: Media falsely reported that 31 were killed and 170 wounded by Israel near a distribution center.²¹⁶ Several outlets issued corrections, but the initial reports had already caused lasting harm.²¹⁷
- June 11–12: Reports said gunfire had killed residents at a distribution center, but the center was closed that day due to an operations suspension.²¹⁸

- June 14: Reports said 15 had been killed at a distribution center, but no centers were open that day.²¹⁹
- Hamas sources claimed a boy was killed by the IDF at a GHF site. The boy, Abdul Rahim Muhammad Hamden, age 8, was found alive, hiding with his mother, and safely extracted from Gaza.²²⁰

By October 7, 2025, the BBC had published 33 headlines highlighting civilian deaths in food lines attributed to Israeli forces, compared with only two on Hamas attacks on aid workers and none on Hamas attacks against Gazan civilians.²²¹ Meanwhile, the GHF delivered **more than 187 million meals directly to civilians**, a figure the UN entirely ignored.²²² The GHF repeatedly offered to partner with the UN and WFP, adapting its operations to facilitate collaboration, but the UN refused.

Conclusion

What has unfolded since October 7, 2023, is not merely a war of rockets and ground maneuvers. It is a war over language, legal standards, and moral authority. The accusations against Israel of genocide and starvation are the output of a coordinated ecosystem: a terrorist organization manufacturing data and narratives, international institutions laundering them, media outlets amplifying them, and academic and activist communities consuming them without scrutiny. More than a failure of information, it is a failure of judgment and an abdication of responsibility by society's most influential actors.

The charge of genocide was launched within days of Hamas's massacre on October 7, before any meaningful military response had begun. It relied on selectively quoted rhetoric, raw casualty totals supplied by Hamas, and the erasure of Hamas's own genocidal intent. Israel was accused of genocide while conducting one of the most restrained urban campaigns in modern history, issuing mass evacuation warnings, opening humanitarian corridors, and choosing a costly ground operation precisely to reduce civilian harm. Researchers estimate that, even accepting MoH figures, Israel achieved the lowest combatant-to-noncombatant casualty ratio in modern urban warfare. Genocide, deliberately stretched and emptied of its legal meaning, became a demonizing slogan rather than a legitimate charge.

The charge of ethnic cleansing reframed temporary evacuations from active combat zones—standard practice under the Law of Armed Conflict—as evidence of permanent expulsion. The fact that civilians were directed southward for their protection, that Israel repeatedly facilitated returns, and that no policy of permanent displacement was ever articulated or implemented was simply omitted.

The charge of starvation was issued despite the absence of famine. It was based on fabricated data, even as Israel facilitated millions of tons of aid. Hamas's diversion of that aid, generating roughly half a billion dollars in revenue, was downplayed or ignored. Starvation was attributed to Israel not because civilians were being starved, but because civilian suffering was strategically repurposed into proof of criminal intent.

These accusations employ the same techniques: conflation of civilians and combatants, erasure of Hamas's human-shield strategy, uncritical acceptance of data produced by a genocidal terrorist organization, the dissemination of distorted data and information, and application of moral and legal double standards.

When institutions tasked with protecting human rights abandon methodological rigor, when journalists outsource verification to terrorists, and when legal terms of the gravest weight are emptied of meaning for political effect, the damage extends beyond Israel. The human rights framework itself is degraded, transformed from a shield for the vulnerable into a cudgel wielded against those deemed ideologically expendable.

Historically, misinformation about Jewish people has always had the same trajectory: accusation, amplification, dehumanization, political organization, orchestration, and then violence. The blood libel never required truth to be lethal—it required only repetition and acceptance by authorities whom people trusted. The accusations examined in this report are their modern equivalent, and the consequences, if left unchallenged, will be the same.

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