



THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE: UNRWA, HAMAS, AND ISLAMIC JIHAD

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE SECRET TIES BETWEEN
TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS AND THE UN'S LARGEST AID AGENCY

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ABOUT UN WATCH

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Executive Summary

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) is neither independent nor neutral. This report reveals how UNRWA's senior management not only employs individuals tied to Hamas terrorism but also allows terrorist groups like Hamas to influence and obstruct critical agency decisions and policies.

UNRWA is an anomaly. While it was created by the United Nations and has the “UN” initials in its title, it is essentially a Palestinian welfare organization that provides government-like services—health care, education, and some cash assistance—to Palestinians in need. As UNRWA's Commissioner-General readily admits, no other UN organization “has been geared to provide public-like services like UNRWA.”¹ In order to justify the “UN” initials in its name, UNRWA's Palestinian beneficiaries have been deemed “refugees” even though most don't qualify for refugee status under the 1951 Refugee Convention.²

The Agency has 30,000 employees, most of whom are “Palestine refugees.”³ UNRWA employs only 120 international staff, which equals a mere 0.4% of its entire workforce.⁴ All of UNRWA's operations on the ground are run by the Agency's local Palestinian staff. The school principals, teachers, administrators, social workers, health-care providers, and union heads are all local Palestinians. The role of the 120 international staff, including Commissioner-General Philippe Lazzarini, who is the public face of the Agency, is to fundraise for UNRWA and to preserve its public image. They have little influence over the Agency's day-to-day activities on the ground.

When UNRWA's most senior educators—like Fathi Al-Sharif in Lebanon and Suhail Al-Hindi in Gaza—are simultaneously UNRWA principals, heads of UNRWA teachers unions, and key figures in Hamas, it's clear who is really running the show. These are people who publicly proclaim their support for “the resistance,” organize school activities that incite children to violence, and obstruct efforts by UNRWA's international staff to discipline employees for neutrality violations. According to Israeli intelligence, more than 10% of UNRWA's senior educators in Gaza are members of the Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad terror groups.⁵

UNRWA's international staff, led by Lazzarini, spend much of their time trying to appease both the local terror groups calling the shots on the ground and UNRWA's Western supporters whose donations are necessary to fund UNRWA's operations. The end result of this appeasement is that Lazzarini and his colleagues knowingly allow Hamas and other terrorist groups to infiltrate UNRWA's employee base, indoctrinate impressionable Palestinian children to pursue a path of terrorism against Israelis and Jews, and install military infrastructure underneath or next to UNRWA facilities.

Once in a while, when UNRWA faces scrutiny and financial pressure from donors due to blatant neutrality violations by its staff, the international staff makes a show of enforcing neutrality. This is what led the UN to create a so-called Independent Review of UNRWA neutrality in January 2024 led by former French Foreign Minister Catherine Colonna.⁶ Since this Colonna Review published its report in April 2024, Lazzarini has been boasting to donors that “The Independent Review of UNRWA's

1 *Press Remarks by UNRWA Commissioner-General Philippe Lazzarini*, **UNRWA** (November 18, 2024), <https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/official-statements/press-remarks-unrwa-commissioner-general-philippe-lazzarini>.

2 Most of the 2.4 million “refugees” in Jordan, have Jordanian citizenship and thus are ineligible for UN refugee status, see *Where We Work*, **UNRWA** (Last visited December 5, 2024), <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan>. The 2.5 million “refugees” in the West Bank and Gaza already reside in Palestine and, therefore, are not refugees under international law.

3 *Working at UNRWA*, **UNRWA** (Last visited December 5, 2024), <https://www.unrwa.org/careers/working-unrwa>.

4 *Id.*

5 *Senior UNRWA educators in Gaza involved in terrorism*, **Government of Israel** (Last visited December 5, 2024), <https://govextra.gov.il/mda/unrwa-educators/unrwa-educators-and-their-involvement-in-terrorism/>.

6 UN Watch has exposed how that review wasn't actually independent as it was led by former French Foreign Minister Catherine Colonna, a major UNRWA supporter, and each of the three Scandinavian research groups involved in the review had a record of being anti-Israel and pro-UNRWA. See *Exposed: UNRWA's Rigged “Independent” Review*, **UN Watch** (April 15, 2024), <https://unwatch.org/exposed-unrwas-rigged-independent-review/>.

neutrality found that the Agency has a more robust approach to neutrality than comparable entities.”⁷

At the same time, when UNRWA belatedly attempted to discipline Fathi Al-Sharif in February 2024, despite his Hamas activities being widely publicized for years, including on Al-Sharif’s own Facebook page, UNRWA’s Lebanon Director Dorothee Klaus met severe resistance. The entire UNRWA system in Lebanon rallied behind Al-Sharif. Local terrorist leaders, working with the local UNRWA teachers union headed by Al-Sharif, orchestrated three months of massive protests, shutting down UNRWA’s Beirut headquarters, and making it impossible for UNRWA to operate.

Ultimately, Philippe Lazzarini flew to Beirut to negotiate a deal with the terrorists to get UNRWA’s Beirut headquarters re-opened. The local press reported that the deal was positive for Al-Sharif. Despite the overwhelming public evidence of Al-Sharif’s Hamas activities, UNRWA never fired Al-Sharif. Instead, Lazzarini maintained for months that Al-Sharif was suspended and under investigation, i.e., he continued to receive his UNRWA benefits. Eventually, on September 30, 2024, Al-Sharif was killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike. Thus, UNRWA may have a “robust neutrality approach,” but it is unwilling and unable to enforce it.

This report confirms that UNRWA is not an independent humanitarian agency because terrorist groups like Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), and others unduly influence UNRWA’s decisions. This report shows how UNRWA’s senior international officials and senior local staff routinely meet with terrorist groups in Lebanon and Gaza, mutually praise each other for “cooperation,” and see each other as “partners.” The terrorist groups frequently make demands of UNRWA and influence its decisions. Moreover, when the terrorists oppose an action by UNRWA like biometric refugee identification to ensure an accurate refugee count for financial assistance, a new ethics code that affirms LGBT rights, or suspension of employees for neutrality violations, these terrorist groups are able to foil implementation by UNRWA, often through threats.

In addition to the example above regarding Lazzarini’s meeting with terrorists about the Fathi Al-Sharif case, other examples in the report, include:

- Former Deputy Commissioner-General Leni Stenseth personally apologizing to Hamas Gaza Chief Yahya Sinwar for then-UNRWA Gaza Director Matthias Schmale’s admission that Israeli strikes in Gaza in May 2021 were “very precise.” Stenseth threw Schmale under the bus to appease Sinwar, calling his statement indefensible. She also thanked Sinwar “for his positivity and desire to continue cooperation in facilitating the agency’s work in the Gaza Strip.” (June 2021).
- Former UNRWA Lebanon and Gaza Director Matthias Schmale speaking at a Hamas rally alongside Hamas’s Ali Baraka who tells the crowd that donors must support UNRWA “until we return to Palestine.” Schmale thanked the terrorist groups “for their understanding” and reassured them that UNRWA is on their side. (August 2018).
- Former Commissioner-General Pierre Krahenbuhl secretly meeting with terrorist leaders from Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, emphasizing to these terrorist groups the “spirit of partnership” between them and UNRWA, inviting them to privately challenge any UNRWA decision which he could then change or “tear up,” and urging that their “discussions not be made public” so as to avoid harm to UNRWA’s “credibility.” (February 2017).

The fact that Lazzarini has spent the last fourteen months since October 7, 2023, shirking any responsibility by UNRWA for the horrific atrocities perpetrated against Israelis by Hamas terrorists, including the involvement of UNRWA employees in those atrocities and in the ongoing hostilities in Gaza, shows that he is more focused on preserving UNRWA’s image than on ensuring its neutrality and independence. As the head of a UN agency obligated to the humanitarian principles of humanity, neu-

trality, impartiality, and independence, Lazzarini should swiftly take responsibility for any wrongdoing by his agency and its employees, act decisively to prevent future violations, and completely repudiate Hamas and its fellow Palestinian terrorist groups. Instead, he is constantly appeasing the terrorists. That says it all.

UNRWA’s failure to maintain neutrality, combined with its susceptibility to influence from terrorist groups, undermines its credibility as a humanitarian agency and perpetuates conflict in the region. It is time for donors to reconsider their support, dismantle the Agency, and seek alternative frameworks to provide effective aid to Palestinians in need.

⁷ *Statement by Philippe Lazzarini, UNRWA Commissioner-General at the Meeting of the Advisory Commission (ADCOM), UNRWA* (November 18, 2024), <https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/official-statements/statement-philippe-lazzarini-unrwa-commissioner-general-meeting-of-AdCom>.



Lazzarini Meets with Ali Ahmad Huwaidi

Lebanon, December 2021

On December 8, 2021, Ali Ahmad Huwaidi met with Philippe Lazzarini and Claudio Cordone at UNRWA's Beirut headquarters on the sidelines of Hamas's annual summit on UNRWA.²⁶ At this summit, leaders of various terrorist groups discuss how to manage UNRWA and align their goals with one another. The meetings are always attended by an UNRWA regional director who reads statements on behalf of the UNRWA Director-General. Ali Ahmad Huwaidi also regularly attends these meetings as he did in December 2021.²⁷

At the meeting with Lazzarini and Cordone, Huwaidi expressed concern about UNRWA's financial crisis and emphasized the need to pressure donors to continue funding UNRWA. He implied that should the funding dry up and UNRWA cease to exist this would lead to military confrontation which would end up costing donors more than the amount of their funding to UNRWA.

Who is Ali Ahmad Huwaidi?

Huwaidi is known for his participation in Abu Shaker Cubs, a group of UNRWA students who fought against Israel in the 1982 Lebanese War. He promotes the Hamas position that "the right of return" means return to the territory of the sovereign State of Israel and replacing it with a Palestinian state.²⁸ He is now Director General of the "302 Committee for the Defense of Refugee Rights," an UNRWA lobbying group in Lebanon whose main goal is to instill at UNRWA Hamas's "Right of Return through resistance" philosophy.²⁹



²⁶ Ali Huwaidi, **Facebook** (December 8, 2021), <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=327358939206144&set=pb.100057961200483.-2207520000>.

²⁷ Ali Huwaidi, **Facebook** (December 7, 2021), <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=326693175939387&set=pb.100057961200483.-2207520000&type=3>.

²⁸ Ali Huwaidi, *The right of return in Hamas's document*, **Al Buss** (May 16, 2017), https://www.albuss.net/2017/05/blog-post_529.html.

²⁹ *Association 302 to defend refugees*, **Facebook** (September 19, 2016), <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=864752456989833&set=pb.100067932875019.-2207520000/>

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 Mr. Jaber Suleiman Refugee Affairs Researcher The political dimension of UNRWA's future work	 Mr. Ali Huwaidi Director General of the 302nd Refugee Rights Advocacy Authority The international reality of UNRWA's work

What is the Joint Refugee Committee?

The Joint Refugee Committee is a consortium of local leaders who created a joint coordination body to engage with UNRWA.⁴¹ They organize protests and regularly meet with UNRWA officials to advocate on behalf of the groups they represent. The committee has on several occasions contested UNRWA's neutrality policies and strongly opposed disciplinary actions against employees based on these policies, stating that it will "confront in all possible ways this campaign" which is "in service of the Zionist enemy."⁴² The Committee has also demanded "an end to all forms of extortion to which they [UNRWA employees] are subjected under the slogan of neutrality."⁴³

In September 2023, one month before the October 7th attacks, this Committee published a statement vehemently rejecting UNRWA's new code of conduct due to provisions about gender equality and LGBT rights. The Committee opposed this change because it "flagrantly violates the feelings of refugees and employees, calls for vice, and belittles all the customs, traditions, struggle, and history of our Palestinian people." The Committee, along with the Gaza UNRWA Employees Union, stated that "the so-called gay rights are completely rejected and have no place in our Palestinian society."⁴⁴

Who is Mahmoud Khalaf?

Mahmoud Khalaf is a senior member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), coordinator of the Joint Refugee Committee, and a member of the leadership of the National and Islamic Forces.⁴⁵ The DFLP is a terrorist organization that split from the PFLP in 1969, It is best known for its terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians in the mid-1970s.⁴⁶ More recently, the DFLP took part in the October 7th attacks.⁴⁷ The National and Islamic Forces include terrorist groups such as Hamas, PIJ, and the PFLP.⁴⁸



Lazzarini Meets With Joint Refugee Committee

Gaza, February 2023

The Joint Refugee Committee met with Lazzarini and UNRWA Gaza Director Thomas White in February 2023, making various demands relating to UNRWA's services. The Committee emphasized the importance of "communication" with UNRWA "in order to resolve all pending issues in the service of the refugee community."⁴⁹

Lazzarini Meets With Joint Refugee Committee

Gaza, July 2023

In a July 2023 meeting with Lazzarini, the Joint Refugee Committee discussed the details of UNRWA's services including decisions affecting education and healthcare.⁵⁰ When Mahmoud Khalaf is absent during meetings between UNRWA and the Joint Refugee Committee, his deputy, Basil Al-Wahidi, takes his place.



41 *Joint Committee#*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (Last visited November 25, 2024), <https://refugeesps.net/hashtag/12629/الجنة-كارتشم-ال>.

42 See, e.g., *Joint Refugee Committee: UNRWA's Arrest of a Number of Employees is in Consistency with the Occupation*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (August 26, 2021), <https://refugeesps.net/post/18534/الجنة-كارتشم-ال-الجنة-كارتشم-ال-الجنة-كارتشم-ال>.

43 *The Joint Refugee Committee in Gaza directs an urgent appeal to the UNRWA Advisory Commission*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (June 14, 2022), <https://refugeesps.net/post/21350/الجنة-كارتشم-ال-الجنة-كارتشم-ال-الجنة-كارتشم-ال>.

44 *Joint Refugee Committee: UNRWA code of conduct is a moral and value-based deterioration of the international system*, **Al-Hadaf News** (September 14, 2023), <https://hadfnews.ps/post/125084/الجنة-كارتشم-ال-الجنة-كارتشم-ال-الجنة-كارتشم-ال>.

45 *Mahmoud Khalaf: Vision for Political Development* (July 25, 2022), <https://vision-pd.org/ف-ل-خ-دوم-حم/>.

46 *Palestinian Terror Groups: The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)*, **Jewish Virtual Library** (last visited November 25, 2024), <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/democratic-front-for-the-liberation-of-palestine-dflp>.

47 *Beyond Hamas: Militant and Islamic Groups that Took Part in the October 7 Attack on Israel*, **Flashpoint** (October 18, 2023), <https://flashpoint.io/blog/israel-hamas-war-military-and-terrorist-groups/>.

48 *Statement of the National and Islamic Forces*, **Al Aqsa Intifada** (February 10, 2021), <https://web.archive.org/web/20060425165617/http://www.jmcc.org/banner/banner1/bayan/aqsbayan14.htm>.

49 *Joint Refugee Committee publishes details of its meeting with UNRWA Commissioner-General*, **motqdm.com** (February 9, 2023), <https://www.motqdm.com/2023/02/84.html>; *Joint Refugee Committee holds important meeting with UNRWA Commissioner-General*, **Ma'an News** (February 9, 2023), <https://www.maannews.net/news/2087126.html>.

50 *Gaza: Joint Committee discusses refugee issues with UNRWA Commissioner*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (July 25, 2023), <https://refugeesps.net/post/25590/الجنة-كارتشم-ال-الجنة-كارتشم-ال-الجنة-كارتشم-ال>.

Who is Basil Al-Wahidi?

Basil Al-Wahidi is a senior Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) member, and Khalaf's deputy in the Joint Refugee Committee.⁵¹ The PFLP is designated as a terrorist group by the United States, Japan, Canada, and the European Union. It is famous for a series of airplane hijackings in the 1960s and 70s, suicide bombings, and the assassination of Israeli Tourism Minister Rahavam Ze'evi in 2001.⁵² More recently, the PFLP participated in the October 7th attacks.⁵³



51 Al-Wahidi: UNRWA Advisory Commission meetings are important amid financial crisis, **Al-HADAF News** (June 20, 2023), <https://hadfnews.ps/post/120621/ال-واهي-يؤكد-ان-اجتماعات-ال-مجلس-ال-استشاري-مهمة>.

52 PFLP, DFLP, PFLP-GC, **Palestinian Leftists, CFR** (October 31, 2005), <https://www.cfr.org/background/pflp-dflp-pflp-gc-palestinian-leftists>.

53 PFLP involvement in the October 7 atrocities, **NGO Monitor** (January 30, 2024), <https://ngo-monitor.org/reports/pflp-involvement-in-the-october-7-atrocities/>.

2 Pierre Krähenbühl UNRWA Commissioner-General (2014-2019)

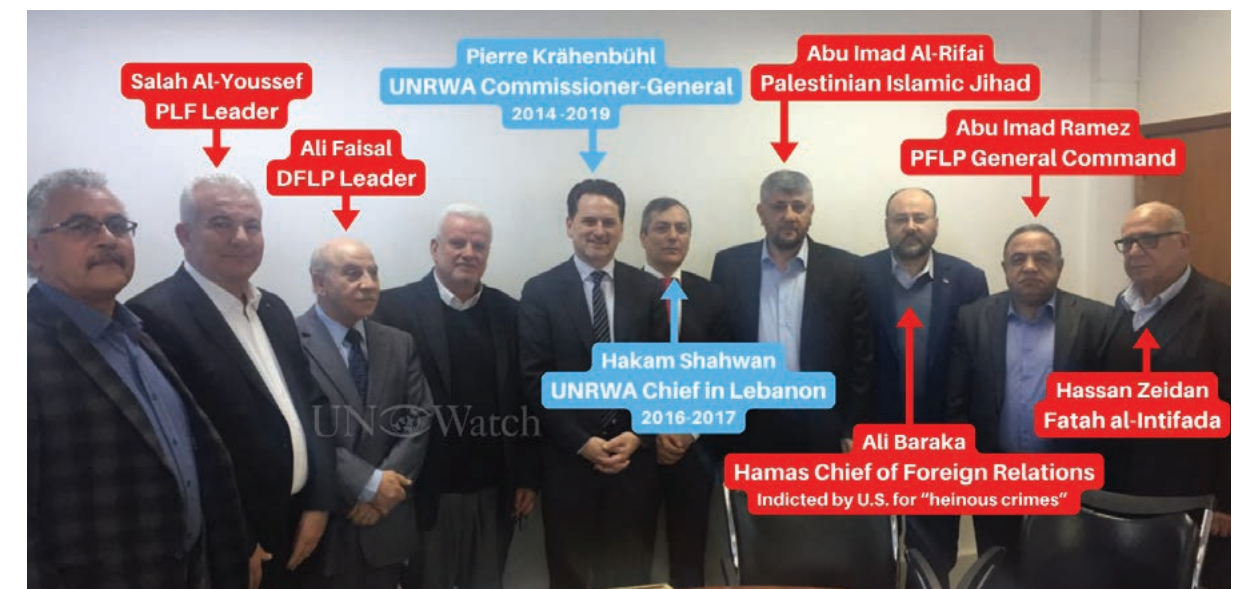
Krähenbühl Meets With Multiple Terrorist Leaders

Lebanon, February 2017

In February 2017, former UNRWA Commissioner-General, Pierre Krähenbühl, met with various terrorist leaders including Ali Baraka (Hamas), Abu Imad Al-Rifai (Palestinian Forces Alliance), Ali Faisal (DFLP), Salah Al-Youssef (PLF), Abu Imad Ramez (Popular Front - General Command), and Hassan Zeidan (Fatah al-Intifada).⁵⁴

In this meeting, Faction leaders urged Krähenbühl to enhance UNRWA services, maintain its mandate and address problems such as overcrowding in camps, unemployment, healthcare, education and housing. Krähenbühl asserted the necessity of continued coordination with the groups on a variety of issues and promised to continue holding as many meetings as they would like to ensure a “spirit of partnership.” He also requested that the partnership and meetings not be made public so as to not risk the “loss of trust between the funding countries and UNRWA, which may move towards reducing or stopping its funding.” Below is his full quote:

“I hope that the spirit of partnership will be in both directions, that is, if you have any criticisms, comments, concerns or any matters that you are not satisfied with regarding UNRWA, that we return and hold such meetings even if we meet a thousand times and if you challenge our decisions and if you tell us that we do not want this decision and criticize it, we may change it or tear it up, but that the spirit of partnership prevails among us in our meetings and not be public because this is a challenge to us and our credibility, and what is more dangerous is what this could constitute in terms of a loss of trust between the funding countries and UNRWA, which may move towards reducing or stopping its funding. The issue of your cooperation with us in security aspects and not allowing the closure of UNRWA institutions, facilities, schools or offices, lies in the partnership between us, and if we reach that, it means that we are united and no one can separate us.”



54 UNRWA Commissioner-General Pierre Krähenbühl: We will not abandon the Palestinians, **Al-Buss** (February 12, 2017), https://www.albuss.net/2017/02/blog-post_756.html.

Who is Ali Baraka?

Ali Baraka is the Head of Foreign Relations for Hamas and one of seven top Hamas leaders sanctioned by the U.S. and U.K. for “heinous crimes.”⁵⁵ Baraka managed Hamas ties with Tehran and other regimes including Syria and Iraq.⁵⁶ Days after the Hamas October 7th massacre, Baraka claimed that the group had been planning the attack for two years. “We made them think that Hamas was busy with governing Gaza, and that it wanted to focus on the 2.5 million Palestinians there, and has abandoned the resistance altogether. All the while, under the table, Hamas was preparing for this big attack,” said Baraka.⁵⁷



Who is Abu Imad Al-Rifai?

Abu Imad al-Rifai is the leader of Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) in Lebanon. PIJ is an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood and is funded by Iran. It has been designated a terrorist organization by the United States, the European Union, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand for countless suicide bombings and attacks.⁵⁸ The organization also participated in the October 7th atrocities. In 2003, Al-Rifai boasted about sending a wave of suicide bombers to Baghdad to kill American and British troops.⁵⁹



Who is Ali Faisal?

Ali Faisal joined the DFLP when it was founded in 1969 and quickly rose in the ranks to hold senior positions. In 1971, soon after joining the DFLP, Faisal also began working as a teacher at UNRWA's Al-Fidaa School where he continued to work until 1984.⁶⁰ As a senior DFLP member in the 1970s and 80s, Faisal oversaw some of the DFLP's largest terrorist attacks, including the 1974 Ma'alot massacre of 1974 in which 28 Israelis were killed. Faisal endorsed the wave of Palestinian terror attacks in 2015 and called a meeting to “build a unified resistance in the Gaza Strip to form a support for the intifada.”⁶¹ As noted above, the DFLP later participated in the October 7th attack.



Who is Salah Al-Youssef?

Salah Al-Youssef was the leader of the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) in Lebanon. After studying in UNRWA schools, he joined the PLF youth group when he was 12 years old and rose in the group's hierarchy to hold leadership positions. Al-Youssef opposed the Oslo Accords and supported resistance in all its forms.⁶² He died in 2022.⁶³ The PLF is likewise committed to armed resistance and has perpetrated a number of terrorist attacks, most notably the hijacking of the Achille Lauro Italian cruise ship in 1985.⁶⁴ The organization has since been designated as a terrorist group by the US, Canada, and Japan.⁶⁵



55 *Justice Department Announces Terrorism Charges Against Senior Leaders of Hamas*, **U.S. Department of Justice** (September 3, 2024), <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-announces-terrorism-charges-against-senior-leaders-hamas>;

Ali Abed Al Rahman Baraka, **Open Sanctions** (Last visited November 25, 2024), <https://www.opensanctions.org/entities/NK-dGrcKWVETgoZ8Hj22Hqpv6/>.

56 *Ali Baraka*, **Counter Extremism Project** (Last visited November 25, 2024), <https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/ali-baraka>.

57 *Hamas Explains How They Did It*, **Wall Street Journal** (October 11, 2023), <https://www.wsj.com/articles/ali-baraka-hamas-russia-today-interview-gaza-israel-59dff69>.

58 *Hamas and PIJ*, **Global Sanctions** (Last visited November 26, 2024), <https://globalsanctions.com/region/hamas-pij/>.

59 *Islamic Jihad Sends Suicide Bombers to Iraq*, **PBS** (March 30, 2003), https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/middle_east-jan-june03-islamicjihad_03-30; *Suicide bombers in Iraq: Islamic Jihad*, **Dawn** (March 31, 2003), <https://www.dawn.com/news/90386/suicide-bombers-in-iraq-islamic-jihad>.

60 *Ali Faisal*, **Vision for Political Development** (January 27, 2022), <https://vision-pd.org/لصيف-ي-ل-ع/>.

61 *Fadi Samir Alloun*, **Humanize Palestine** (Last visited November 26, 2024), <https://humanizepalestine.net/alloun/>.

62 *Salah Al-Youssef*, **Vision for Political Development** (December 16, 2020), <https://vision-pd.org/لصيف-ي-ل-ع-ا-ل-ص/>.

63 *The Palestine Liberation Front mourns its political bureau member, Salah Al-Yousef*, **Palestine News & Info Agency** (May 4, 2022), https://www.wafa.ps/pages/details/47144?_cf_chl_tk=0804BfJkS8UijKwvN4zoU5Ou0A6ywtDe8uOhSUhTXo-1732183192-1.0.1.1-vfzESJcCHB.PFwNZFXikYkee_xiNfkPbVMehWzeDGFm.

64 *Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)*, **Counter Terrorism Guide** (Last visited November 26, 2024), https://www.dni.gov/nctc/ftos/plf_fto.html.

65 *Id.*; *Currently listed entities*, **Public Safety Canada** (Last visited December 1, 2024); *Implementation of the Measures including the Freezing of Assets Against Terrorists and the Like*, **Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan** (Last visited December 1, 2024), <https://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2002/7/0705.html>.

Claudio Cordone Meets With Terrorist Leaders

Lebanon, 2017

In 2017, former UNRWA Lebanon Director Claudio Cordone and UNRWA Deputy Director of Programs Gwyn Lewis met with Ali Baraka (Hamas), Abu Imad Al-Rifai (Palestinian Islamic Jihad in Lebanon), Ali Faisal (DFLP), Rafiq Ramidh (Fatah al-Intifada), and Hassan Zeidan (Fatah al-Intifada).⁸³ Most of these terrorists were discussed above under Krähenbühl.



Claudio Cordone Meets With The DFLP's Ali Faisal

Lebanon, 2017

That year Cordone also met with the DFLP's Ali Faisal to discuss “all aspects of the services provided by UNRWA to Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and Palestinian refugees from Syria, including health, education, and relief.”⁸⁴



83 Meeting between UNRWA Director-General Cordone and Palestinian factions in Beirut, **Falestinona** (May 1, 2017), <https://www.falestinona.com/flst/Art/79426#gsc.tab=0>.

84 A delegation from the Democratic Front visited the Director of UNRWA in Lebanon and discussed with him the conditions of Palestinian refugees, **Al Manar** (November 30, 2017), <https://www.almanar.com.lb/2991877>.

Claudio Cordone Meets With Hamas's Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi

Lebanon, January 2018

In January 2018, Cordone met with Hamas's Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi. At the meeting, the terrorists “stressed their adherence to the agency and their support for the ‘Dignity is Priceless’ campaign because the agency remains a living witness to the 1948 Nakba.”⁸⁵

Who is Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi?

Al-Hadi has been the representative of Hamas's International Leadership in Lebanon since 2018. He has been affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood in Lebanon since 1990 and has held leadership positions in Hamas since 2003.⁸⁶ In his current position, Al-Hadi represents Hamas in countless high level meetings, including with ambassadors from Cuba,⁸⁷ the UN Envoy for Middle East peace,⁸⁸ and Iran's intelligence minister.⁸⁹



Claudio Cordone Meets With Hezbollah's Hassan Hoballah

Lebanon, August 2018

In August 2018, Cordone met with Hezbollah Political Council member, Hassan Hoballah, where they discussed the pressures UNRWA is under to cancel refugee status for those born after 1948. Hoballah stressed that “UNRWA is the only witness to the barbarism of the Zionist occupation since 1948” and accused the U.S. administration of trying to end UNRWA “in preparation for dropping the right of return of Palestinian refugees to their land, homes and homeland, Palestine.”⁹⁰

Who is Hassan Hoballah?

Hassan Hoballah is the Hezbollah official in charge of Palestinian relations. In a January 2024 interview, he revealed that Hamas fighters were “trained in Lebanon, Syria and Iran.” He also said that Hezbollah “has an alliance with the Palestinian resistance on every level” and therefore “aids the Palestinian resistance with everything it has,” including “weapons and training.”⁹¹

85 Cordone presents the most important developments related to the financial crisis that UNRWA is going through, **Palestine Refugees Portal** (January 25, 2018), <https://refugeesps.net/post/6743/كوردون-يشرح-وضع-اللاجئين-الذين-تحت-الحماية-في-لبنان-والذين-تحت-الحماية-في-لبنان-والذين-تحت-الحماية-في-لبنان>.

86 Ahmed Abdel Hadi, **Vision for Political Development** (April 12, 2022), <https://vision-pd.org/أحمد-عبد-الحادي-رؤيته-السياسية>.

87 Hamas delegation visits Cuba Ambassador to Lebanon, **Middle East Monitor** (February 25, 2023), <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20230225-hamas-delegation-visits-cuba-ambassador-to-lebanon/>.

88 Lebanon: Hamas representative meets UN peace envoy in Beirut, **The Palestinian Information Center** (November 10, 2022), https://english.palinfo.com/o_post/Lebanon-Hamas-representative-meets-UN-peace-envoy-in-Beirut/.

89 Iran's intel. Minister, Hamas delegation discuss Deal of the Century, **Mehr News Agency** (June 17, 2019), <https://en.mehrnews.com/news/146532/Iran-s-intel-minister-Hamas-delegation-discuss-Deal-of-the-Century>.

90 Cordone and Hassan Hoballah discuss the situation of the Palestinian camps, **Abed Khattar** (August 20, 2018), <https://www.abedkhattar.com/news/36006>.

91 Senior Hizbullah Official In Interview With Egyptian Website: Hamas Operatives “Were Trained In Lebanon, Syria And Iran,” **MEMRI** (January 9, 2024), <https://www.memri.org/reports/senior-hizbullah-official-interview-egyptian-website-hamas-operatives-were-trained-lebanon>.

4 Dorothee Klaus

UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon (2023–present)

Dorothee Klaus Meets DFLP Leaders

Lebanon, September 2023

The DFLP through its Department of UNRWA affairs has regular meetings with UNRWA’s Director in Lebanon. In September 2023, Current UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon, Dorothee Klaus, met with DFLP Leaders Arkan Badr (DFLP Deputy) and Ali Faisal (Deputy Secretary-General) (discussed above under Krähenbühl) who pressured UNRWA to increase funding and services for Palestinians in Lebanon. The DFLP affirmed “its adherence to UNRWA as one of the centers of the right of return.”⁹⁷



Who is Arkan Ahmed Badr?
 Arkan Badr is an UNRWA graduate, who joined the DFLP’s youth organization as a student in the 1980s. Over the years, he rose in the DLP leadership and became a member of the political bureau in 2019. In the 1980s and 90s, when the DFLP was carrying out devastating terror attacks against civilians, Badr was involved in recruiting students to the cause. He believes that “all of historical Palestine belongs to the Palestinian people,” endorses “the right of return of refugees to their homes and properties,” and calls for “dismantling the Zionist movement as a racist movement.”⁹⁸

97 *The Democratic Front reviews with the Director of UNRWA in Lebanon the reality of services and the conditions of Ain al-Hilweh Camp, Al Watan Voice* (September 28, 2023), <https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2023/09/28/1536638.html>.
 98 *Arkan Badr; Vision for Political Development* (February 13, 2023), <https://vision-pd.org/أردب-ن-الكرأ/>.

Dorothee Klaus Meets DFLP Leaders

Lebanon, December 2023

In December 2023, Klaus met with the same delegation headed by Badr. The DFLP delegation pressed to increase UNRWA’s budget for Lebanon and improve services. It also expressed its opposition to the biometric verification program.⁹⁹



Dorothee Klaus Meets with Head of Hamas in Lebanon, Fathi Al-Sharif

Lebanon, November 2023

In November 2023, Dorothee Klaus attended a meeting with Hamas Lebanon head Fathi Al-Sharif. At that meeting, Al-Sharif proclaimed his support for the resistance on video in front of Klaus and a cheering crowd.¹⁰⁰



99 *UNRWA Department - Democratic Front in Lebanon, Facebook* (December 4, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=332972426150213&set=pb.100083123749400-2207520000&type=3&locale=fr_FR.
 100 *Head of UNRWA’s Teachers Union in Lebanon proclaims his support for resistance after October 7, UN Watch YouTube* (November 8, 2023), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CQnTTIn3cfs>.

Dorothee Klaus Meets With DFLP Leaders

Lebanon, September 2024

In September 2024, Dorothee Klaus again met with Arkan Badr and his DFLP delegation. The delegation demanded educational and medical assistance, as well as a steep increase in cash assistance and compensation for all refugees in Palestinian camps. They also rejected the concept of biometric verification for beneficiaries of cash assistance.¹⁰¹



5 Gwyn Lewis

UNRWA Deputy Director of Programs in Lebanon (2015–2018)

Gwyn Lewis Meets With Hamas's Ahmad Fadl

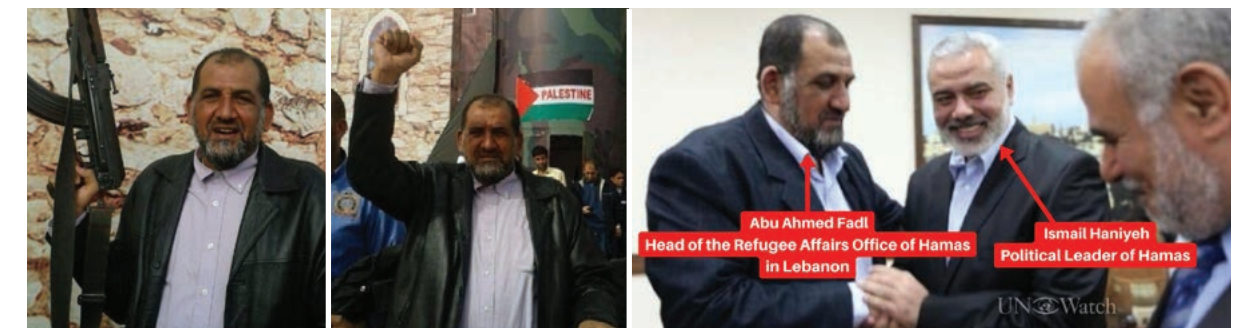
Lebanon, February 2018

In February 2018, Ahmed Fadl (Hamas) met with former UNRWA Deputy Director of Programs in Lebanon Gwyn Lewis,¹⁰² UNRWA Protection Unit head Matteo Benatti, and UNRWA Sidon Region Director Ibrahim Al-Khatib. They agreed on “ongoing cooperation and coordination.”¹⁰³



Who is Ahmed Fadl?

Ahmed Fadl is the Hamas official in charge of refugee and labor affairs in Lebanon. He was also a friend of Ismail Haniyeh and took up arms for Hamas.¹⁰⁴ About the Hamas October 7th attack, Ahmed Fadl stated that the “bravery of the resistance opened the door to liberation and return.”¹⁰⁵



¹⁰¹ *The Refugee and Relief Agency Department in the Democratic Front Meets with the Director General of UNRWA Affairs in Lebanon*, Masar News (September 13, 2024), <https://masarnews.co/archives/193421>.

¹⁰² Gwyn Lewis also served as Director of UNRWA Affairs in the West Bank, and worked for OCHA, FAO, UNICEF, and the ICRC. Today she serves as the UN's Resident Coordinator in Bangladesh.

¹⁰³ *Tagging Ahmed Fadl and Ibrahim al-Khattib*, Facebook (February 28, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid02uXsj2xoHU2Yjk2HGdXnwVhpLtxvKsaGLG3GvBczXf37gDqw9Rv5AVaKRAsgTHgohl&id=100020920686910.

¹⁰⁴ *Professor Abu Ahmed Fadl in Gaza*, Saida Net (December 18, 2012), <https://www.saidanet.com/News-19195/>.

¹⁰⁵ *Ahmed Abu Fadl participating the Liberation Day*, Toyour El Bared (May 25, 2024), https://toyourbared.com/show_news/2262.

6 Matthias Schmale

Various Positions Including UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon and Director of Operations in Gaza (2015-2021)

Matthias Schmale Meets With Hamas's Ali Baraka

Lebanon, November 2015

In November 2015, former UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon Matthias Schmale met with Ali Baraka (Hamas) (discussed above under Krähenbühl). The Hamas delegation objected to UNRWA's decision to cut costs in education by combining classes as this resulted in teachers losing their jobs. The Hamas representatives stressed that UNRWA's job is to provide relief and employment to Palestinian refugees "until they return to their homes."¹⁰⁶



Matthias Schmale Meets With Hamas's Jihad Taha and Hajj Abu Samer Musa

Lebanon, May 2015

In May 2015, Schmale was also received by Hamas's Jihad Taha and Hajj Abu Samer Musa in Tyre. After the meeting, Schmale was taken on a tour which featured armed men dressed in civilian clothing.¹⁰⁷



¹⁰⁶ Hamas discusses refugee conditions in Lebanon with UNRWA Director-General, *laji-net* (November 6, 2015), <https://laji-net.net/portal/ar-LB/الرابخأل/3/c/ثحبت-سامح/3/ابخال/44934/>.

¹⁰⁷ UNRWA Director General in Lebanon visits Tyre area, *Al Watan Voice* (May 7, 2015), <https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2015/05/07/710476.html>.



Who is Jihad Taha?

Jihad Taha is an international spokesman for Hamas based in Lebanon and one of Hamas's top leaders. He is the most public face of Hamas in Lebanon, appearing in the media worldwide to provide updates on topics such as selecting Yahya Sinwar to succeed Ismail Haniyeh¹⁰⁸ and ongoing ceasefire negotiations.¹⁰⁹ On World Refugee Day (June 20, 2024), Taha stressed that "there will be no compromise on the right of all refugees from our people to return to their homes from which they were forcibly displaced, and our people will continue their comprehensive resistance until they seize all their rights and end the fascist Zionist occupation."¹¹⁰



Who is Hajj Abu Samer Musa?

Abu Samer Musa is a Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) official in Lebanon responsible for Palestinian relations. In October of 2024, Abu Samer Musa reiterated PIJ's commitment to violent resistance stating, "The martyrs are the most honorable of us all, and their pure, innocent blood will slap all those who conspire against our people and our nation, and the Islamic Jihad Movement will continue its role in the resistance."¹¹¹ At a ceremony honoring him, Abu Samer Musa stated "we will liberate our land from the river to the sea through resistance" and "negotiations do not succeed with the enemy."¹¹² Abu Samer Musa also describes the Hamas October 7 attack as a "miracle" and boasts that since that attack the PIJ and the Houthis in Yemen have had continuous communications, adding that "coordination is at its highest levels and matters are managed wisely."¹¹³



¹⁰⁸ Sky News, Facebook Reels (August 7, 2024), <https://www.facebook.com/reel/2074962019566807>.

¹⁰⁹ The Latest: Hamas says "positive response" from mediators to its ceasefire amendments, *AP* (July 6, 2024), <https://apnews.com/article/israel-hamas-gaza-latest-07-05-2024-661bb419e2d543537b5fd9d59c10861f>.

¹¹⁰ Hamas: The return of Palestinian refugees is an acquired right that will not lapse with the passage of time, *Quds Press* (June 20, 2024), <https://qudspress.com/139916/>.

¹¹¹ Abu Samer Musa: The Islamic Jihad movement continues its role in the resistance, *Al Quds News* (October 24, 2024), <https://alqudsnews.net/post/209869/س-ال-داهج-لا-ةكرح-سوم-رماس-وبأ>.

¹¹² Hajj Abu Samer Musa is honored at the Palestine Pavilion at the Hala book fair, *Al Buss* (December 5, 2021), https://www.albuss.net/2021/12/blog-post_84.html.

¹¹³ Islamic Jihad leader Abu Smaer Musa to La: Coordination between San'a and the resistance is at the highest levels, *La Media* (December 23, 2023), <https://cfca-ye.com/articles.php?lng=arabic&aid=12045>.

Mathias Schmale Speaks at Terrorist Rally Along With Hamas's Ali Baraka

Lebanon, August 2018

On August 5, 2018, terrorist groups organized a sit-in at UNRWA's Beirut headquarters to protest potential service cuts by UNRWA and to demand increased funding. Hamas's Ali Baraka (discussed above under Krähenbühl) delivered remarks on behalf of Hamas and the Palestinian Forces Alliance demanding that the international community support UNRWA "until we return to Palestine," adding "we want to return to Palestine, Galilee and Jerusalem."

Schmale also spoke to thank the terrorist groups "for their understanding of the issue and taking to the streets to express their demands" and to reassure them that UNRWA is on their side. "UNRWA will remain the living witness to the issue of Palestinian refugees," he said.¹¹⁴



Mathias Schmale Meets with DFLP's Mahmoud Khalaf

Gaza, June 2020

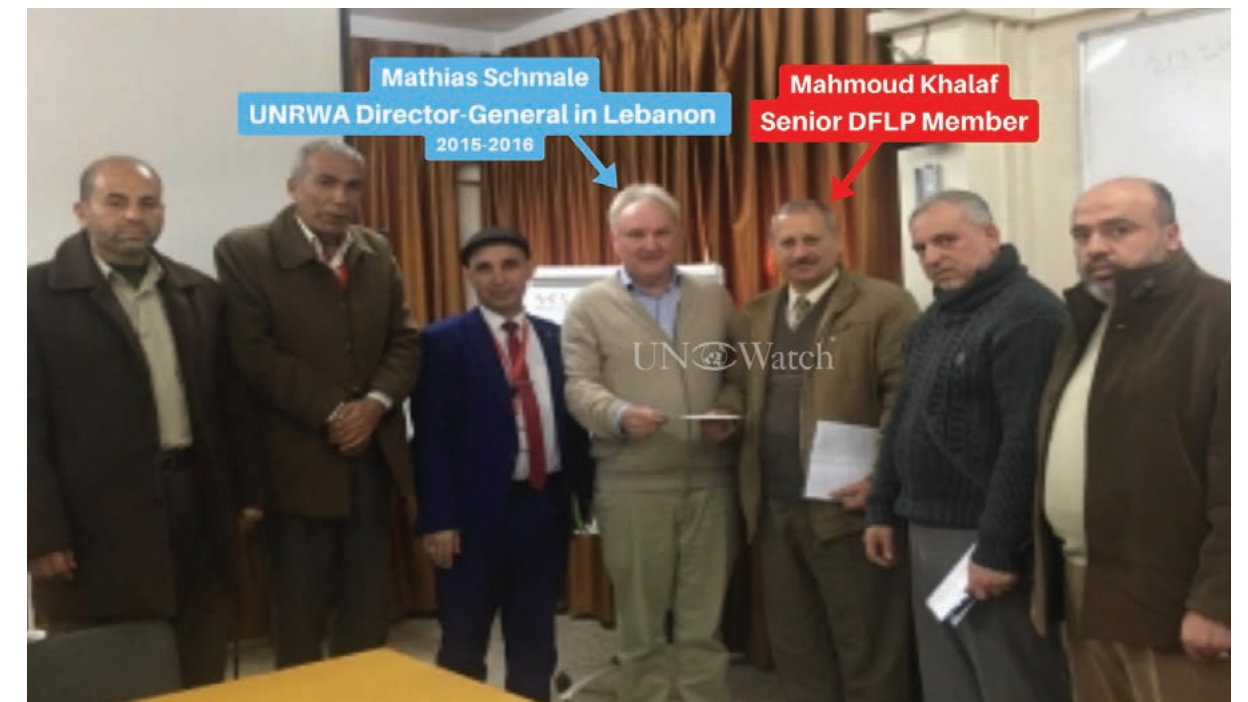
In October 2020, in his capacity as UNRWA Gaza Director, Schmale met with Mahmoud Khalaf (DFLP) (discussed above under Lazzarini) and his colleagues in the Joint Refugee Committee to discuss UNRWA's activities in Gaza. At the meeting, Schmale stressed the importance of keeping UNRWA "as a living witness to the Palestinian refugee issue." The Committee made various demands on UNRWA regarding employee hiring.¹¹⁵



Mathias Schmale Meets with DFLP's Mahmoud Khalaf

Gaza, October 2020

In October 2020, Schmale again met with Khalaf (DFLP) (discussed above under Lazzarini) and his colleagues in the Joint Refugee Committee to discuss UNRWA's activities in Gaza. The Committee submitted a memorandum criticizing UNRWA's services and seeking to resolve "the problem of forcibly dismissed employees," i.e., employees subjected to disciplinary proceedings.¹¹⁶



114 *Palestinian factions stage sit-in in Beirut against UNRWA decisions*, **Falestinona** (August 5, 2015), <https://www.falestinona.com/flst/Art/57909#gsc.tab=0>.

115 *Popular Committee For Refugees - Al Maghazi Camp's Post*, **Facebook** (June 24, 2020), https://www.facebook.com/Maghazirefugeecamp/posts/pfbid032ija7NxMVQr9FwA1Ms6qYu6ZqLgnKaxE4a9HND2mYYdmvLLHd6vTTaMwaiCZCjt6l?locale=ar_AR.

116 *Gaza: Joint Refugee Committee holds meeting with Schmale to discuss UNRWA's services*, **alhourriah** (October 13, 2020), <http://www.alhourriah.ps/article/65133>.

7 Hakam Shahwan UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon (2016–2017)

Hakam Shahwan Meets With Hamas’s Jihad Taha and Hajj Abu Samer Musa

Lebanon, November 2016

In November 2016, former Director-General of UNRWA in Lebanon, Hakam Shahwan visited Rashidieh camp in Tyre to discuss issues facing Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. During the visit, he met with Hamas’s Jihad Taha and Hajj Abu Samer Musa (both discussed above under Schmale).¹¹⁷



117 UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon visits Rashidieh camp, *Al Watan Voice* (November 3, 2016), <https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2016/11/03/986084.html>.

Hakam Shahwan, Gwyn Lewis and Pierre Krähenbühl Host Terrorist Leaders at UNRWA’s Beirut Headquarters

Lebanon, February 2017

On February 14, 2017, Hakam Shahwan, Gwyn Lewis, and Pierre Krähenbühl hosted leaders of various terrorist groups at the UNRWA headquarters in Beirut. At the meeting, Shahwan told the terrorist leaders that “the main message” he wishes to convey while touring the camps and meeting the various terrorist factions is that UNRWA is “fully prepared to have a strong partnership mechanism between us and them, but the rule is that this partnership should not reach a stage where some believe that we are partners in decision-making...”¹¹⁸

Shahwan confirms a “strong partnership mechanism” between these terrorist groups and UNRWA. At the same time, he is keenly aware of the optics of this partnership for international donors and therefore asserts that they can not allow donors to “believe” that UNRWA and the terrorist groups “are partners in decision-making.” Following this introduction, Shahwan listed a variety of projects that UNRWA and the terrorist groups had jointly agreed to implement.



118 UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon Hakam Shahwan to the factions, *Al Buss* (February 16, 2017), https://www.albuss.net/2017/02/blog-post_502.html.

8 Thomas White

UNRWA Gaza Director (2021–2024)

Thomas White Meets with DFLP's Mahmoud Khalaf

Gaza, August 2022

Thomas White meets with the Joint Refugee Committee in Gaza regularly, sometimes alongside Philippe Lazzarini. As noted above under Lazzarini, the committee is headed by DFLP member, Mahmoud Khalaf (discussed above under Lazzarini) who also coordinates the National and Islamic Forces, which include terrorist groups such as Hamas, PIJ, and PFLP.

In an August 2022 meeting, White assured the Joint Refugee Committee that UNRWA would add an additional 60,000 Gazans as UNRWA beneficiaries within the next year, including newborns and spouses. The Committee reiterated the need for UNRWA to hire more staff.¹¹⁹



Thomas White Meets with DFLP's Mahmoud Khalaf

Gaza, December 2022

In a December 2022 meeting White and the Joint Refugee Committee discussed a number of issues affecting the refugees, including the need to hire more employees. At the end of the meeting, “the importance of joint work and cooperation between UNRWA and the Joint Refugee Committee was emphasized.”¹²⁰

119 Important Meeting Between the Joint Refugee Committee and The Director of UNRWA in the Gaza Strip, *Alghad* (August 3, 2022), <https://www.alghad.tv/الاجتماع-مع-مدير-الجنة-اللاجئين-في-قطاع-غزة>.

120 Gaza: Joint Committee Discusses Refugee Issues with UNRWA Director of Operations, *Palestinian Refugees Portal* (December 28, 2022), <https://refugeesps.net/post/23478/اورنوا-تاي-لم-ع-ري-دم-ع-م-ني-ج-ال-ال-اي-اض-ق-ش-ق-انت-ة-ك-رت-ش-م-ال-ة-ن-ج-ل-ل-ة-ز-غ>.

9 Munir Manna

Acting UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon (2023)

Munir Manna Meets Hamas's Khaled Zuaiter

Lebanon, September 2022

In September 2022 Manna met with Hamas Political Relations Officer, Khaled Zuaiter (discussed above under Lazzarini) during a visit to Ain al-Hilweh camp.¹²¹



Munir Manna Receives Award From Hamas Head in Lebanon Fathi Al-Sharif

Lebanon, February 2023

In February 2023, Munir Manna, former acting Director-General of UNRWA in Lebanon, received an award from Hamas Lebanon Chief and UNRWA Principal Fathi Al-Sharif and his colleagues at the UNRWA Teachers Union.¹²²

121 The political leadership in Sidon region meets with the Director of UNRWA Affairs in Lebanon during his visit to Ain al-Hilweh, *falestinona* (September 5, 2022), <https://falestinona.com/flst/Art/172974#gsc.tab=0>.

122 Abo Amin Sharif, *Facebook* (February 10, 2023), <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2127817460761594&set=pb.100006000814550.-2207520000&type=3>.

12.2 Ibrahim Al-Khatib

UNRWA Sidon Director

Ibrahim Al-Khatib Meets Senior Hamas Leaders

Lebanon, 2013 and 2015

As far back as 2013, Al-Khatib was attending meetings with the senior Hamas leadership in Lebanon.¹⁴² In May 2015, Al-Khatib represented UNRWA as its Sidon Director at a Hamas meeting.¹⁴³ Since then, Al-Khatib attends Hamas's yearly summit on UNRWA where he speaks as the Sidon regional officer and delivers statements on behalf of the UNRWA country director.¹⁴⁴



Ibrahim Al-Khatib Meets With Hamas Liaison Ahmed Fadl Taha

Lebanon, December 2017

In December 2017, Al-Khatib met with Hamas Liaison Ahmed Fadl Taha (discussed above under Lewis) to discuss living conditions for UNRWA refugees in Lebanon.¹⁴⁵



¹⁴² *Hamas receives UNRWA director in Sidon*, **Al Quds News** (October 24, 2013), <https://alqudsnews.net/post/46022/لبنان-تستضيف-مدير-الونروا-في-صيدا>.

¹⁴³ *Baraka: Palestinians are not mercenaries and our children are martyrdom projects to fight the Zionist enemy only*, **Al Quds News** (May 20, 2015), <https://alqudsnews.net/post/74616/باركا-الونروا-ليست-مشاركون-بل-مشاركون-في-مشاريع-الاستشهاد-لقتل-العدو-الاصري>.

¹⁴⁴ *Hamas Seminar in Lebanon: Warning of the Danger of the UNRWA Crisis and its Future*, **The Palestinian Information Center** (December 7, 2022), <https://palinfo.com/news/2022/12/07/300414/>.

¹⁴⁵ *Al Tayri Neighborhood tagging Fadl Taha*, **Facebook** (December 18, 2017), <https://www.facebook.com/hayeltere/photos/pb.100079862213682.-2207520000/1280428292102504/?type=3>.

12.3 Hajj Fawzi Kassab UNRWA Tyre Director

Hajj Fawzi Kassab Attends Iftar Holiday Meal with Terrorist Leaders

Lebanon, July 2015

In July 2015, Kassab attended an Iftar holiday meal at the home of Jamal Suleiman, the Houthi Secretary-General in Lebanon. Also in attendance were Ahmed Suleiman (Houthis),¹⁴⁶ Abu Hassan Ghali (Hamas), Radwan Marai (PLF), showing the close relationship between Kassab and the terrorist groups.¹⁴⁷



146 *Ansar Allah movement - Islamic resistance in the Embassy of the State of Palestine*, **Al Buss** (August 7, 2018), https://www.albuss.net/2018/08/blog-post_66.html.

147 *Secretary-General of the Ansar Allah movement in Lebanon, Hajj Jamal Suleiman, at an Iftar banquet at his home in Mieh Mieh*, **Al Buss** (July 14, 2015), https://www.albuss.net/2015/07/blog-post_587.html.

Hajj Fawzi Kassab Meets Hamas Leader Abdul Majeed Al-Awad

Lebanon, October 2017

In October 2017, Kassab met with Hamas Leader in Tyre Abdul Majeed Al-Awad (discussed above under Krähenbühl) and “agreed on the need for continuous coordination” between UNRWA and Hamas.¹⁴⁸



Hajj Fawzi Kassab Hosts Palestine Liberation Front

Lebanon, November 2017

Kassab hosted two meetings at his office with the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) (discussed above under Krähenbühl)—in January and November 2017.¹⁴⁹ At the November meeting which focused on UNRWA’s liquidity crisis, Kassab was also joined by fellow UNRWA camp director Raef Ahmad. At that meeting, the PLF representative emphasized that donors must continue to fund UNRWA until the refugees “return to their homes.” He pressed the UNRWA representatives to threaten the donors by stating that “any attempt to liquidate UNRWA is tantamount to declaring a systematic political war and punitive measures against refugees” and that this would lead to “popular revolution” by the Palestinians.¹⁵⁰



148 *Hamas visits UNRWA in pictures*, **Al Buss** (October 26, 2017), https://www.albuss.net/2017/10/blog-post_663.html.

149 *The Palestine Liberation Front meets with the Director of the Tyre Region at UNRWA, Fawzi Kassab*, **Al Buss** (January 4, 2017), https://www.albuss.net/2017/01/blog-post_96.html; *The Palestine Liberation Front meets with the UNRWA Director in the Tyre area*, **Al Buss** (November 25, 2017), https://www.albuss.net/2017/11/blog-post_778.html#google_vignette.

150 *The Palestine Liberation Front meets with the UNRWA Director in the Tyre area*, **Al Buss** (November 25, 2017), https://www.albuss.net/2017/11/blog-post_778.html#google_vignette.

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