



THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE: UNRWA, HAMAS, AND ISLAMIC JIHAD

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

The Unholy Alliance: UNRWA, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad

**An investigation into the secret ties
between terrorist organizations and
the UN's largest aid agency**

ABOUT UN WATCH

Founded in 1993, UN Watch is a non-governmental organization based in Geneva, Switzerland that monitors the United Nations by the yardstick of its charter and protects human rights worldwide. For more information, please visit our website: www.unwatch.org.

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This report was researched by UN Watch Research Associate Luis Pelaez, with assistance from the following interns and fellows: Ethan Dayan, Mirjam Rocholl, and Alex Blecker. The report was written by Legal Advisor Dina Rovner and edited by Executive Director Hillel Neuer.

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Executive Summary	3
Philippe Lazzarini —UNRWA Commissioner-General (2019-present)	8
Pierre Krähenbühl —UNRWA Commissioner-General (2014–2019)	19
Claudio Cordone —UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon (2017–2022)	26
Dorothee Klaus —UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon (2023–present)	30
Gwyn Lewis —UNRWA Deputy Director of Programs in Lebanon (2015–2018)	33
Matthias Schmale —Various Positions Including UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon and Director of Operations in Gaza (2015–2021)	34
Hakam Shahwan —UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon (2016–2017)	38
Thomas White —UNRWA Gaza Director (2021–2024)	40
Munir Manna —Acting UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon (2023)	41
Ann Dismorr —UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon (2012–2015)	42
Leni Stenseth —UNRWA Deputy Commissioner-General (2020–2023)	42
UNRWA Regional Directors in Lebanon	
Muhammad Abu Attia —UNRWA Tyre Director	45
Ibrahim Al-Khatib —UNRWA Sidon Director	48
Hajj Fawzi Kassab —UNRWA Tyre Director	50

Executive Summary

This report reveals how UNRWA, despite its claims to be a humanitarian agency, has forged an unholy alliance with Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and other terrorist organizations. This secret relationship allows the terrorist organizations to significantly influence the policies and practices of a UN agency with 30,000 employees, and a \$1.5 billion annual budget that is funded primarily by Western states.

The report shows how UNRWA's international officials, and its senior local managers, routinely meet with terrorist groups in Lebanon and Gaza, mutually praise each other for "cooperation," and describe each other as "partners."

The terrorist groups frequently make demands of UNRWA and influence its decisions. Moreover, when the terrorists oppose specific actions by UNRWA—such as the introduction of biometric IDs for beneficiaries of UNRWA financial assistance, an ethics code affirming LGBT rights, or suspension of employees for promoting terrorism—the terrorist groups are often able to foil implementation, including by issuing threats.

Examples of the UNRWA-Terrorist Alliance

Examples of the UNRWA-terrorist alliance, documented in the report below with 68 photos obtained from open sources, include:

- UNRWA Commissioner-General **Philippe Lazzarini** made a deal with Jihadi terrorist groups, at a Beirut meeting in May 2024, by which UNRWA allowed Hamas leader **Fathi Al-Sharif** to remain as principal of a major UNRWA school, and as the head of the UNRWA Teachers Union. For years, Al-Sharif had openly glorified Hamas terrorist attacks, including on his Facebook page, and published photos of his fraternization with heads of terrorist organizations. Contrary to its claims of robust neutrality mechanisms, UNRWA for years allowed Al-Sharif to occupy a senior position overseeing thousands of UNRWA teachers and students. Only when a formal complaint was made to UNRWA by a government, in early 2024, did the agency give Al-Sharif a slap on the wrist by suspending him. Immediately, Hamas and other terrorist

groups responded by effectively shutting down UNRWA in Lebanon, mobilizing massive protests by UNRWA teachers and students. Three months into the shutdown, Lazzarini flew to Beirut and met with the alliance of terrorist organizations who were behind the strike. Local media reported on June 1, 2024, Lazzarini and the terrorist groups reached "understandings" that would lead to a "positive" result for Al-Sharif, and the strike was called off. On September 30, 2024, Al-Sharif was eliminated by an IDF missile. Hamas announced that indeed he had been their leader in Lebanon, and eulogized the senior UNRWA figure for his "Jihadi education."

- Former UNRWA Commissioner-General **Pierre Krähenbühl** met with terrorist leaders from Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, in February 2017, where he emphasized the "spirit of partnership" between them and UNRWA. He invited the terrorist leaders to privately challenge any UNRWA decision which he could then change or "tear up." The head of UNRWA urged the Jihadi terrorist groups to ensure that their "discussions not be made public" so as to avoid harm to UNRWA's "credibility." Mr. Krähenbühl, who was forced to leave UNRWA in 2019 due to a corruption and sexual abuse scandal, was this year absurdly appointed to head the International Red Cross, prompting a sharp protest by 17 members of the United States Senate.
- Likewise, in June 2022, current UNRWA chief Lazzarini stressed the importance of "partnership" with Gaza terrorist groups. He met regularly with Gaza terrorist groups under the umbrella of the "Joint Refugee Committee," which is headed by **Mahmoud Khalaf**, a member of the central committee of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), designated as a terrorist organization by the United States and the European Union.

- **Matthias Schmale**, the former UNRWA director in Lebanon, addressed a Hamas rally in August 2018 alongside **Ali Baraka**, one of six Hamas terrorist leaders indicted in September by the US Department of Justice, as the latter told the crowd that donor states 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. In October 2020, now serving as UNRWA Director in Gaza, Schmale met with the Joint Refugee Committee headed by DFLP official Mahmoud Khalaf, to discuss “the problem of forcibly dismissed employees.” In numerous such cases, local UNRWA staff suspended for links to terrorism were reinstated under pressure by the terrorist groups.
- Former Deputy Commissioner-General **Leni Stenseth** personally went to Gaza, in June 2021, to kowtow before **Yahya Sinwar**, the Hamas terror chief who masterminded the October 7th massacre. Hamas had been angry with UNRWA after its then Gaza Director Matthias Schmale, an ardent supporter of the Palestinian narrative, unwittingly admitted in a TV interview that Israeli strikes on Hamas, during the May 2021 war, were “very precise.” The interview was widely shared by supporters of Israel. Outraged, Hamas declared Schmale a persona non grata, and orchestrated mob protests to threaten him. Stenseth obediently removed Schmale from his post, throwing him under the bus to appease Sinwar, and called Schmale’s interview “indefensible.” She went to visit Sinwar in Gaza to personally thank him “for his positivity and desire to continue cooperation in facilitating the agency’s work in the Gaza Strip.” Stenseth is now Director-General of the foreign ministry of Norway, UNRWA’s most ardent state supporter. Stenseth uses her current position to fund groups that lobby for UNRWA, such as the Chr. Michelsen Institute, which was unethically chosen to conduct the “independent review” of UNRWA led by Catherine Colonna.
- UNRWA Lebanon Director **Dorothee Klaus** shared a stage with the leader of Hamas in Lebanon, Fathi Al-Sharif, who as noted above was also an UNRWA school principal and head of the UNRWA Teachers Union. At the event, before a cheering crowd, Al-Sharif proclaimed his support for “the resistance.” Ms. Klaus did not object.
- UNRWA managers have participated at an annual Hamas conference which discusses internal UNRWA affairs such as employee vacancies and UNRWA Teachers Union elections. At the 2021 conference, Hamas official **Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi** announced the launching of a joint committee to “supervise the relationship with UNRWA and ensure it implements its obligations.”
- In February 2018, former UNRWA Program Director in Lebanon **Gwyn Lewis** met with Hamas official Ahmad Fadl, and they agreed on “ongoing cooperation and coordination.”
- UNRWA regional directors routinely meet with local terrorist leaders for “cooperation and coordination.” At a November 2017 meeting, they told UNRWA’s Sidon Director **Fawzi Kassab** that UNRWA must exist until Palestinian refugees “return to their homes” and threatened that if donors do not continue funding UNRWA, the Palestinians will start a “popular revolution.”
- In January 2018, former UNRWA Lebanon Director **Claudio Cordone**, who also previously served as acting chief of Amnesty International, met with Hamas official **Ahmad Abd al-Hadi** who affirmed that terrorists support UNRWA because it “remains a living witness to the 1948 Nakba.” Likewise, in February 2022, Cordone visited Ain Al-Hilweh camp to meet with a coalition of terrorist groups, including Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Ansar Allah. Hamas official Al-Hadi was also present at this meeting. The terrorists told Cordone that the Palestinian issue in Lebanon is “a political issue and cannot be reduced to a humanitarian or security issue.” Contrary to what the world is told, UNRWA’s main purpose is not humanitarian aid, but rather to promote the narrative that Israel’s creation was an “injustice” and that the Palestinians will one day dismantle Israel.

- In February 2017, former UNRWA Lebanon Director **Hakam Shahwan** told terrorist leaders that UNRWA was “fully prepared” to have “a strong partnership mechanism” with them, so long as the partnership should not reach a stage “where some believe that we are partners in decision-making.”

Conclusions

This report reveals how UNRWA’s senior management not only knowingly employ individuals tied to Hamas terrorism, but also allow the terrorist groups to influence critical agency decisions and policies.

UNRWA is an anomaly. While it was created by the United Nations and has “UN” initials in its title, it is essentially a Palestinian-run organization whose purpose is to perpetuate Palestinians as refugees with the aim to one day dismantle Israel. For Palestinians young and old, UNRWA is about enshrining the “right of return,” which is to be achieved by “resistance.” Leaders of Palestinian factions, as well as students of UNRWA schools, openly point to the October 7th Hamas invasion and massacre of Israelis as an example of what they mean.

Funded almost entirely by Western countries, UNRWA acts as a state-like welfare agency providing dependent Palestinians with health care, education, and even cash assistance. 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 do not qualify for refugee status under the 1951 Refugee Convention.²

The Agency has 30,000 employees, more than 99% of whom are “Palestine refugees.”³ The Swiss head of UNRWA and the other international staff are those who represent and fundraise for the agency, but they amount to only 120 people, a mere

0.4% of UNRWA’s entire workforce.⁴ All of UNRWA operations on the ground are run by the agency’s local Palestinian staff. The regional directors, 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 UNRWA’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 school principals, heads of the UNRWA Teachers Union, as well as Hamas leaders, it is clear who is truly in control. These are people who publicly proclaim their support for “the resistance,” organize school activities that incite children to violence, and obstruct whatever minimal efforts are made by UNRWA international staff to discipline employees for promoting terrorism, downplayed as mere “neutrality violations.” According to Israeli intelligence, more than 10 percent 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 the local terror groups who are on the ground at UNRWA facilities. The end result 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 Jihadi terrorism against Israelis and Jews, and install military infrastructure underneath or next to UNRWA facilities.

Occasionally, when revelations of staff promotion of terrorism embarrass UNRWA and its Western donor states, the international staff make a show of “enforcing neutrality.” This is what caused UNRWA, in January 2024, to create a so-called “independent review” of UNRWA neutrality, a process which in

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 what the UN calls 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/>.

fact was rigged to provide a clean bill of health.⁶ Since the fraudulent report was published in April 2024, Lazzarini has been boasting to donors that “the Independent Review of UNRWA’s 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. As noted above, 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, making it impossible for UNRWA to operate. 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. UNRWA may have a “robust neutrality approach,” but it is unwilling and unable to enforce it.

The fact that Lazzarini has spent the last 14 months since October 7, 2023, shirking any responsibility by UNRWA for the 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, neutrality, and impartiality, 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 constantly works to appease the terrorists.

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. In the words of Swiss foreign minister Ignazio Cassis, UNRWA “supplies the ammunition to continue the conflict,” and “by supporting UNRWA, we keep the conflict alive. It’s a perverse logic.” It is time for donor states to put an end to this perverse logic, by dismantling UNRWA, and working together to provide alternative frameworks to help Palestinians build a better future for themselves and for the world.

6 UN Watch has exposed how the review was led by former French foreign minister Catherine Colonna, a partisan supporter of UNRWA, and how each of the three research groups conducting the review had long records of pro-UNRWA and anti-Israel activities. *See Exposed: UNRWA’s Rigged “Independent” Review*, **UN Watch** (April 15, 2024), <https://unwatch.org/exposed-unrwas-rigged-independent-review/>.

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>.

Examples of the UNRWA-Terrorist Alliance

1

Philippe Lazzarini

UNRWA Commissioner-General (2019-present)

Lazzarini Meets With Hamas Leader Hajj Izzat Mansour

Lebanon, March 2019

In March 2019, when current UNRWA Commissioner-General Philippe Lazzarini was serving as the UN Special Coordinator for Lebanon, he met with Hamas Leader in Baalbek Hajj Izzat Mansour.⁸ Mansour had previously met with UNRWA's local officials in Baalbek to discuss vacant teacher positions and call on UNRWA to quickly fill the vacancies, suggesting Hamas influence over UNRWA's hiring decisions.⁹



Who is Hajj Izzat Mansour?

Mansour is the head of Hamas in the Baalbek region of Lebanon. In 2010, he was targeted by Fatah in an explosives attack due to his more radical approach to Israel.¹⁰ He frequently represents Hamas at rallies and events,¹¹ where he delivers fiery speeches defending the right of return, praising Palestinian

factions for their “unity” and “resistance,” and inciting against the “Zionist enemy.”¹² He has also spoken at events held at UNRWA schools to express solidarity with Palestinian terrorists.¹³ After the Oct 7 Hamas attack, Mansour joined rallies in support of Hamas “victory” in Gaza.¹⁴

8 *Samer Issa Aljaleel*, **Facebook** (March 22, 2019), <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=2085616074807492&set=a.2085614998140933>.

9 *Ezat Mansour*, **Facebook** (September 7, 2017), <https://www.facebook.com/ezat.mansour.7/posts/pfbid0rsE8cyUmDR4jZefi56Hjpm1Wn7JjX1QL6ewjpnPKo3mskqnjsYmwCD5oonX6SjJl>.

10 *A bomb was thrown at the house of Hamas official Izzat Mansour in the Galilee camp in Baalbek*, **Palestine Dialogue Network** (February 1, 2010), <https://paldf.net/f/node/423209>.

11 *A mass march roams the Galilee camp on the seventh Friday*, **Falestinona** (August 30, 2019), <https://falestinona.com/flst/Art/130429#gsc.tab=0>; Popular delegations, party figures and scholars participate in the Galilee camp to honor the martyrs of the Islamic Jihad, **Group 194** (November 13, 2019), <https://group194.net/article/100568>.

12 *A mass march in Bekaa rejecting the deal of the century*, **Falestinona** (January 29, 2020), <https://falestinona.com/flst/Art/130429#gsc.tab=0>; Hamas and Jihad in Lebanon receive congratulations for the martyrs in the tunnels, **The Palestinian Information Center** (November 2, 2017), <https://palinfo.com/news/2017/11/02/22534/>.

13 *The Popular Committee in the Galilee Camp organizes as solidarity stand with prisoners*, **Falestinona** (May 2, 2017), <https://falestinona.com/flst/Art/79460#gsc.tab=0>.

14 *Izzat Mansour*, **Facebook** (October 13, 2023), [https://www.facebook.com/ezat.mansour.7/posts/pfbid02MnvzQhsImV5bTWNm25WL59cC6wBA2ePKxG82Gvp6AULpSBsDiffxGBs3GYJ3gw3GI?__cft__\[0\]=AZWimx8iNr214DTTR_3t2fLoN8iWjKcL_-FsR8uBq7njFtakjy1PvkRQwWv-xNZAFpkIb5KH6HIBdiL758M22MUMgZOQXnOrLUMpIK2Alwt9Tbftf1HQGzw7c3ePSg97YnKR5ZG9pVfKRvxDZZ3ayE6DDe5VjsjzQXbirw9_Sew&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R](https://www.facebook.com/ezat.mansour.7/posts/pfbid02MnvzQhsImV5bTWNm25WL59cC6wBA2ePKxG82Gvp6AULpSBsDiffxGBs3GYJ3gw3GI?__cft__[0]=AZWimx8iNr214DTTR_3t2fLoN8iWjKcL_-FsR8uBq7njFtakjy1PvkRQwWv-xNZAFpkIb5KH6HIBdiL758M22MUMgZOQXnOrLUMpIK2Alwt9Tbftf1HQGzw7c3ePSg97YnKR5ZG9pVfKRvxDZZ3ayE6DDe5VjsjzQXbirw9_Sew&__tn__=%2CO%2CP-R).



What is the Palestinian Joint Action Committee?

This Committee is a consortium of armed Palestinian groups in Lebanon, including the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), Ansar Allah, Popular Struggle Front, Vanguard of the Popular Liberation War, Saiqa Forces, and Asbat al-Ansar, a UN-designated terrorist group with links to Al-Qaeda. It was established as an initiative for Fatah and Hamas to put aside their differences and join forces in the face of U.S. action against UNRWA in order to ensure the continued existence of UNRWA and the preservation of the so-called “right of return.”²¹ The Committee is led by the domestic leaders of each terrorist group including Ali Faisal (DFLP), Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi (Hamas), Jamal Khattab (Palestinian Jihad), and Haitham Abdul Karim Al-Saadi (Asbat al-Ansar).

Who is Jamal Khattab?

Jamal Khattab is an UNRWA graduate who worked for UNRWA in different capacities, including as a financial officer from 1987 until at least 1994. At the same time, Khattab joined the Islamic Jihad (Mujahideen) Movement as a child in the 1970s, fought against Israel in the 1980s, rose in the ranks to the movement’s leadership committee in 1982, and became its first official in 1996. Thus, Khattab was active as a Palestinian Jihadi leader the entire time he was employed by UNRWA. Khattab was also secretary of the Palestinian Islamic Forces which includes groups such as Hamas, Ansar Allah, and Asbat al-Ansar. Khattab believes that “all of historical Palestine belongs to the Palestinian people” and that Palestinian refugees have a “right” to “return to their homes from which they were displaced.” He also believes that “the option of resistance is a duty to deal with the occupation, and liberation cannot be achieved without armed jihadist action.”²²

21 *Al-Nashra publishes details of the “Joint Palestinian Action Document” in Lebanon, El Nashra* (September 5, 2018), <https://www.elnashra.com/news/show/1239619/> “ةرشننللا”-رشنن-رشننللا.

22 *Jamal Khattab, Vision Center For Political Development* (September 11, 2023), <https://vision-pd.org/اباطخ-لامح/>.



Who is Hajj Abu Suleiman Al-Saadi?

Hajj Abu Suleiman Al-Saadi is an official for Asbat al-Ansar, a UN-designated terrorist group linked to al-Qaeda.²³ Asbat al-Ansar is also designated as a terrorist group by Bahrain, Canada, Kazakhstan, Russia, the UAE, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The goal of the group is “the establishment of a radical Islamic state in Lebanon.”²⁴ Hajj Abu Suleiman Al-Saadi appears as an official representative of the organization in various meetings with other terrorist groups.²⁵



23 *Asbat Al-Ansar*, **UN Security Council** (Last visited November 25, 2024), https://main.un.org/securitycouncil/en/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/entity/asbat-al-ansar.

24 *Currently listed entities*, **Canada** (November 25, 2024), <https://web.archive.org/web/20061119150657/http://www.psepc.gc.ca/prg/ns/le/cle-en.asp>.

25 *See, e.g., During his reception of “Asbat al-Ansar,” Al-Aina: The enemy’s targeting of our mujahideen is a desperate attempt to change the equation*, **Al-Watan** (March 2, 2020), <https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2020/03/02/1318949.html>; *The Islamic Group receives a delegation from the Islamic Ansar League*, **Racamp News** (August 13, 2023), https://www.racamp.net/2023/08/blog-post_74.html.



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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The reality of union work in UNRWA in Lebanon.



Professor Muhammad Al-Shuli

Head of the Civil Committees in the Palestinian
Camps and Gatherings in Lebanon The Local

Reality of UNRWA's Work in Lebanon



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



Lazzarini Meets With Palestinian Forces Alliance

Lebanon, December 2023

In December 2023, just two months after the October 7 attack, Lazzarini traveled to Ein el-Hilweh camp in Lebanon to meet with the “Palestinian Forces Alliance.”³⁰ During his visit, Lazzarini met with “representatives of the popular committees of the PLO factions, the Palestinian Forces Alliance, and the Islamic forces.”³¹ Hamas Political Relations Officer Khaled Zuaiter handed Lazzarini a memorandum on behalf of the Palestinian Forces Alliance stipulating their demands for increased financial assistance.³²

What is the Palestinian Forces Alliance?

The Palestinian Forces Alliance is a coalition of armed groups that predates the “Palestinian Joint Action Committee” and includes the same terrorist groups except for Fatah/PLO forces. Despite infighting between the terror groups and Fatah, the Palestinian Forces Alliance and the Palestinian Joint Action Committee continue to work together on UNRWA issues.³³

Who is Khaled Zuaiter?

Khaled Zuaiter is the political official and leader of Hamas in the Ain al-Hilweh camp. Zuaiter is a public face representing Hamas in meetings with Hezbollah³⁴ and other officials to give “detailed explanations of the battle of al-Aqsa flood” and coordinate joint initiatives on UNRWA.³⁵

30 Lazzarini in Ain al-Hilweh, *Surrounded by two storms! The Gaza tragedy is at the forefront of the concerns of the camps’ refugees*, **Mustaqbal Web** (December 7, 2023), <https://mustaqbalweb.com/article/283820-ي-ف-ي-ن-ي-رازال-ال-غ-اسأم-مي-خ-ل-ي-ي-چ-ال-م-وه-م-د-ق-ت-ت-ذ-غ-اسأم>.

31 Lazzarini in Ein Al-Hilweh, **Saida City** (December 7, 2023), <https://archive.md/cPUFd>.

32 Hamas began forming its vanguard from the Ain al-Hilweh camp, a hotbed of armed gangs, **El Jarida** (December 2023), <https://eljarida.com/news/41285>.

33 Palestinian forces alliance affirms unity of position in confronting annexation conspiracy, **The Palestinian Information Center** (July 10, 2020), <https://palinfo.com/news/2020/07/10/12771/>.

34 Meeting between Hezbollah and Hamas in Sidon, To enhance security and stability in the camps, **Al Ahed News** (May 11, 2019), <https://www.alahednews.com.lb/fastnewsdetails.php?fstid=21773>.

35 A Hamas delegation visited Al-Maqdah in Ain al-Hilweh camp, **Ecco Watan** (December 30, 2023), <https://eccowatan.com/pages/42382>; Hamas visits the popular and democratic forces in Ein Al-Hilweh, **The Palestinian Information Center** (May 27, 2018), <https://palinfo.com/news/2018/05/27/255134/>.

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 UNRWA Gaza 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



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- 41 *Joint Committee#*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (Last visited November 25, 2024), <https://refugeesps.net/hashtag/12629/الجنة-كارتشملا>.
- 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-كارتشملا-الجنة-كارتشملا-الجنة-كارتشملا>.
- 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-كارتشملا-الجنة-كارتشملا-الجنة-كارتشملا>.
- 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-كارتشملا-الجنة-كارتشملا-الجنة-كارتشملا>.
- 45 *Mahmoud Khalaf, Vision for Political Development* (July 25, 2022), <https://vision-pd.org/دومحم/>.
- 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/aqsabayan14.htm>.



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.



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

50 *Gaza: Joint Committee discusses refugee issues with UNRWA Commissioner*, [Palestinian Refugees Portal](https://refugeesps.net/post/25590/) (July 25, 2023), <https://refugeesps.net/post/25590/> [نبيئج الالالالك شم-اورنوا-ض-وفم-عم-ش قان-ة-كرت شم-لا-ة-نجل-لا-ة-زع](https://refugeesps.net/post/25590/).

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/> عمزأل-ل-ظ-ي-ف-ةمهم-اورن-وال-ةل-كول-ةي-راشت-سال-ةن-ل-ل-اعامت-ج-ا-ي-دي-حول/

52 *PFLP, DFLP, PFLP-GC, Palestinian Leftists, CFR* (October 31, 2005), <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/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)

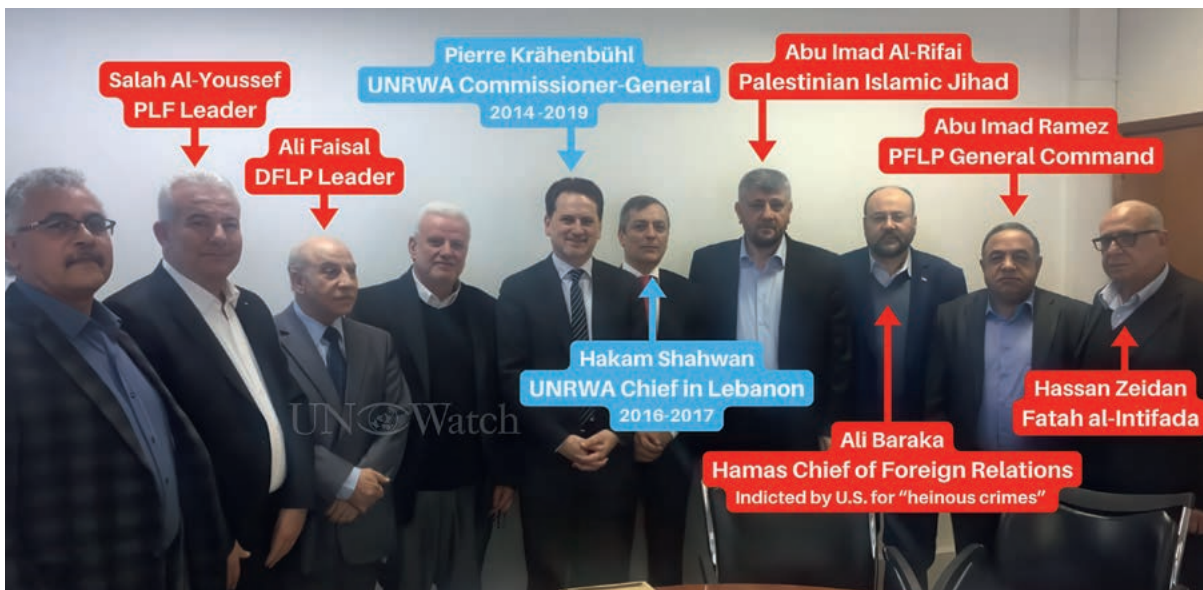
Krähenbühl Meets With Multiple Terrorist Leaders

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.” Here 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



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>.

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 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



60 Ali Faisal, **Vision for Political Development** (January 27, 2022), <https://vision-pd.org/للصيفي-علي-فaisal>.

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/فيسوي-الاحمالص/>.

63 *The Palestine Liberation Front mourns its political bureau member, Salah Al-Youssef*, **Palestine News & Info Agency** (May 4, 2022), https://www.wafa.ps/pages/details/47144?__cf_chl_tk=oO804BfJkS8UijKwvN4zoU5Ou0A6ywtDe8uOhSUhTXo-1732183192-1.0.1.1-vfzESJcCHB.PFwNZFXikYkee_x1NfkPbVMeHWzeDGFM.

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>.

Who is Abu Imad Ramez?

Abu Imad Ramez (aka Ramez Mustafa) is the Leader of the PFLP-General Command, a splinter group from the PFLP with links to Syria's deposed Bashar Assad, the Iranian regime, and Hezbollah. It is also a designated terrorist organization by the US, Canada, Japan and the EU.⁶⁶ It is responsible for a number of terrorist attacks, including the 1970 bombing of Swissair Flight SR330, killing all 47 passengers and crew.⁶⁷ More recently, Abu Imad has endorsed stabbing and shooting attacks on Israeli civilians in response to possible normalization between Israel and Saudi Arabia in 2020.⁶⁸ The PFLP-GC has also been fighting alongside Hamas since the 7th of October.⁶⁹



Who is Hassan Zeidan?

Hassan Zeidan is a leader of Fatah al-Intifada, a hard-line terrorist group that splintered off from the original Fatah party in 1983, believing in the “liberation of Palestine by both armed struggle and armed resistance.”⁷⁰ The group has vowed armed resistance alongside Hamas in Lebanon for years,⁷¹ and has been fighting alongside Hamas in Gaza since October 7th.⁷²



- 66 *Foreign Terrorist Organizations, U.S. Dep’t of State* (Last visited November 26, 2024), <https://www.state.gov/foreign-terrorist-organizations/>; *Currently Listed Entities, Public Safety Canada* (Last visited November 26, 2024), <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scr/cntr-trrrsm/lstd-ntts/crrnt-lstd-ntts-en.aspx#2042>; *Implementing of the Measures including the Freezing of the Assets against Terrorists and the Like, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan* (Last visited November 26, 2024), <https://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2002/7/0705.html>; *EU Terrorist List, European Council* (January 16, 2024), <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2024/01/16/eu-terrorist-list-council-lists-one-individual-in-response-to-the-7-october-attacks-in-israel/>.
- 67 *Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command (PFLP-GC), Counter Terrorism Guide* (Last visited November 26, 2024), https://www.dni.gov/nctc/ftos/pflp_gc_fto.html.
- 68 *Leader of the PFLP-GC to Mirat Al Jazeera, Mirat Al Jazeera* (March 2, 2020), <https://www.mirataljazeera.org/38659/ي-في-دي-داي-ق-ل-ال-38659>.
- 69 *Not only Hamas: Eight factions at war with Israel in Gaza, Newsweek* (November 7, 2023), <https://www.newsweek.com/not-only-hamas-eight-factions-war-israel-gaza-1841292>.
- 70 *Fatah al-Intifada in Syria Interview, Pundicity* (December 18, 2018), <https://aymennjawad.org/2018/12/fatah-al-intifada-in-syria-interview>.
- 71 *Hamas visits Fatah al-Intifada to emphasize adherence to resistance for liberation and return, laji-net* (October 4, 2013), <https://laji-net.net/portal/ar-LB/ار-ل-ب-ال-3/ار-ل-ب-ال-3/ار-ل-ب-ال-3>.
- 72 *What is the story of the new resistance factions that entered the fighting with Hamas, Mohamed Elbaz* (January 22, 2024), <https://www.dostor.org/4613701>.

Pierre Krähenbühl Meets With Hamas's Abdul Majeed Al-Awad

Lebanon, February 2019

On February 12, 2019, former UNRWA Commissioner-General Pierre Krähenbühl and former UNRWA Lebanon Director-General Claudio Cordone met with Hamas Political and Media Relations Officer in Lebanon Abdul Majeed Al-Awad during a visit

to UNRWA's Al-Qadisiyah School in the Rashidieh Camp near the city of Tyre in southern Lebanon. The subcommittee of the Palestinian factions, which includes the terrorist groups, submitted a memorandum to Krähenbühl demanding freedom of movement, public service improvements, and lifting restrictions on the types of building materials that can be imported.⁷³



73 Brigadier Tawfiq Abdullah receives UNRWA Commissioner-General Pierre Krähenbühl in Rashidieh Camp, *falestinona* (February 12, 2019), <https://falestinona.com/flst/Art/107476#gsc.tab=0>; UNRWA Commissioner-General Pierre Krähenbühl visits Rashidieh camp, *Al Buss* (February 12, 2019), https://www.albuss.net/2019/02/blog-post_187.html.

Who is Abdul Majeed Al-Awad?

Al-Awad was elected as the political official of the Hamas movement in the Tyre region in 2017.⁷⁴ Today, he is Hamas's political and media relations officer in Lebanon who joins Hamas delegations to meet with ambassadors from Iran,⁷⁵ Venezuela,⁷⁶ and Russia.⁷⁷ He is a key coordinator between Hamas and Hezbollah⁷⁸ and has been instrumental in their coordination since October 7th.⁷⁹



74 *Election of Abdul Majeed Al-Awad as the political officer of Hamas in the Tyre Region*, **Al Buss** (May 17, 2017), https://www.albuss.net/2017/05/blog-post_669.html.

75 *A Hamas delegation visited the Iranian Ambassador*, **NNA** (February 27, 2023), <https://www.nna-leb.gov.lb/ar/سايس/597691/م-دفو>.

76 *Venezuelan Ambassador meets Hamas: We support Palestinian people's Intifada*, **al-binaa** (November 4, 2015), <https://www.al-binaa.com/archives/article/77557>.

77 *Hamas representative discusses developments in the Palestinian issue with the Russian ambassador to Lebanon*, **Shehab News** (September 29, 2022), <https://shehabnews.com/post/108135/م-م-ل-ث-م-م>.

78 @DropSiteNews, **Twitter** (September 25, 2024), <https://x.com/DropSiteNews/status/1839032649052209366>.

79 *Will Hezbollah attack Israel? War looms on border with Lebanon*, **The Times** (November 1, 2023), <https://www.thetimes.com/world/us-world/article/israel-lebanon-hezbollah-attack-border-gaza-war-rkgv622>.



Pierre Krähenbühl Meets With Hamas and Other Terrorist Leaders

Lebanon, February 2019

That same day, Pierre Krähenbühl, Claudio Cordone, and staff officer Hakam Shahwan also met with Ayman Shana'a, Hamas Head of National Relations in Lebanon, Khaled Zuaiter, Hamas political relations officer (discussed above under Lazzarini), and Jamal Khattab, Sheikh of Islamic Jihad (Mujahideen) in Lebanon (discussed above under Lazzarini).

In the meeting, Shana'a stressed the importance of "considering the Palestinian factions as a basic partner for UNRWA in preserving the dignity of our people and our camps with all the meanings they symbolize." Considering the "Palestinian factions" — terrorist groups like Hamas, PIJ, and the PFLP — as "partners" with UNRWA shows how these terrorists view UNRWA as advancing their own agenda of violent resistance.⁸⁰

Who is Ayman Shana'a?

Shana'a, raised and taught in UNRWA schools, is the Head of National Relations for Hamas in Lebanon.⁸¹ Since October 7th, he has actively recruited hundreds of young people for Hamas military operations.⁸²



80 *Shana'a: The Palestinian issue is a political issue and preserving it is a moral and humanitarian duty*, **Al Buss** (February 12, 2019), https://www.albuss.net/2019/02/blog-post_544.html.

81 *Ayman Shana'a, Vision for Political Development* (November 22, 2022), <https://vision-pd.org/أية-رؤية-سياسية-لحماس/>.

82 *In a Grim Palestinian Refugee Community People See Hope in Hamas*, **New York Times** (August 24, 2024), <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/08/24/world/middleeast/palestinian-refugees-hamas-lebanon.html>.

3 Claudio Cordone

UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon (2017–2022)

Claudio Cordone Meets With Terrorist Leaders

Lebanon, 2017

In 2017, former UNRWA Lebanon Director Claudio Cordone and former 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 Addresses UNRWA Graduation Ceremony with Hamas's Ali Baraka in Front Row

Lebanon, July 2018

In July 2018, Ali Baraka (discussed above under Krähenbühl) sat in the front row at an UNRWA graduation ceremony where Crodone addressed the audience.⁹²



Claudio Cordone Meets With Hamas and DFLP Leaders

Lebanon, May 2020

On May 9, 2020, Ali Faisal (DFLP) (discussed above under Krähenbühl) met with Claudio Cordone to secure more cash assistance for Palestinians in Lebanon.⁹³



⁹² UNRWA faces challenges in securing its basic services, **Abed Khattar** (July 14, 2018), <https://www.abedkhattar.com/news/34165>.

⁹³ The leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization factions participates with UNRWA in the opening of the quarantine center in Siblin related to the corona pandemic, **Al Buss** (May 9, 2024), https://www.albuss.net/2020/05/blog-post_88.html; **Ali Faisal**, **Facebook** (May 9, 2020), <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=2951130768299445&set=a.1115511475194726>.

A few days later, on May 13, 2020, the Palestinian Forces Alliance, including Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi (Hamas), attended a briefing by Claudio Cordone regarding UNRWA’s corona-related assistance. The Palestinian delegation criticized UNRWA’s proposed financial assistance because it did not cover individuals without identification documents.⁹⁴

Claudio Cordone Meets With Palestinian Forces Alliance

Lebanon, February 2022

On February 14, 2022, Claudio Cardone accompanied the head of the Lebanese-Palestinian Dialogue Committee, Basil Al-Hassan, and several government ministers to Ain al-Hilweh camp in Lebanon to reassure the factions that the “Lebanese government will do its utmost to enhance cooperation and coordination with the Palestinian forces.” Al-Hassan emphasized the need to “strengthen the

framework” of “cooperation and coordination with all concerned parties”—meaning both UNRWA and the terrorist factions—to aid the Palestinians in Lebanon and to “alleviate their suffering until their goals and legitimate national rights to return to their land and homeland are achieved.”⁹⁵

The “most important stop on the tour” was a meeting in Martyr Naji al-Ali Hall with members of the Palestinian Joint Action Committee in the Sidon area, which includes the Palestinian Forces Alliance headed by Hamas, the Islamic Forces, Ansar Allah, and others. Ayman Shana’a (Hamas) and Sheikh Jamal Khattab of Islamic Jihad (Mujahideen) (both discussed above under Lazzarini) were at the meeting as members of the Palestinian Alliance Forces. They stressed that “the issue of the Palestinian people in Lebanon is a political issue and cannot be reduced to a humanitarian or security issue.”⁹⁶



94 *Palestinian coalition factions meet UNRWA director*, **Athabat Network** (May 13, 2020), <https://athabat.net/article/173041>.

95 *Head of Lebanese-Palestinian Dialogue Committee inspects Ain al-Hilweh: Action plan and message to enhance cooperation*, **El Nashra** (February 14, 2022), <https://www.elnashra.com/news/show/1552966/لحل-ال-ني-ع-دق-فت-ي-ني-طس-ل-فل-ال-ي-ن-ان-ب-ل-ل-را-وح-ال-ة-ن-ج-ل-س-ي-ئ-ر>.

96 *Id.*

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/ردب-نكارأ/>.

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



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>.

5 Gwyn Lewis

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

Gwyn Lewis Meets With Hamas’s Ahmad Fadl

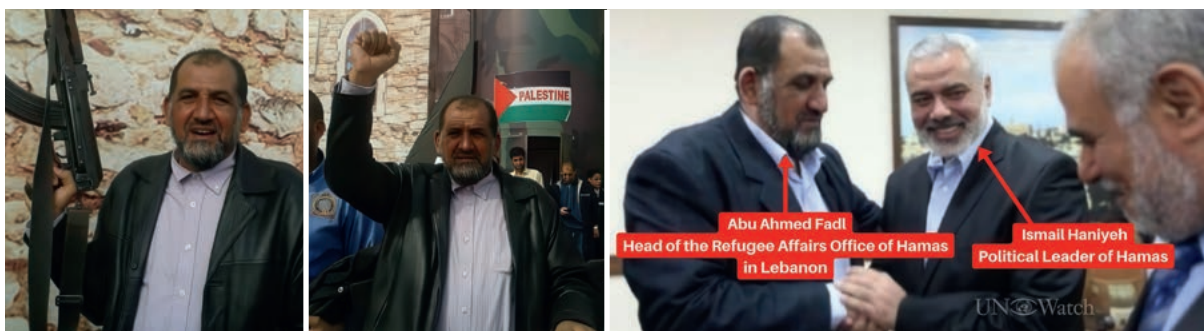
Lebanon, February 2018

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



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/انانبل-ي-ف-ني-ج-ال-ل-ا-ع-ض-وا-اورن-وال-ل-م-اع-ل-ري-دم-ل-ا-ع-م-ث-ح-ب-ت-س-ام-ح/3/راب-خ-أل-راب-خ-أل-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/209869س-ال-داهج-ل-ة-ك-رح-ي-س-وم-رم-اس-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>.

Matthias 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



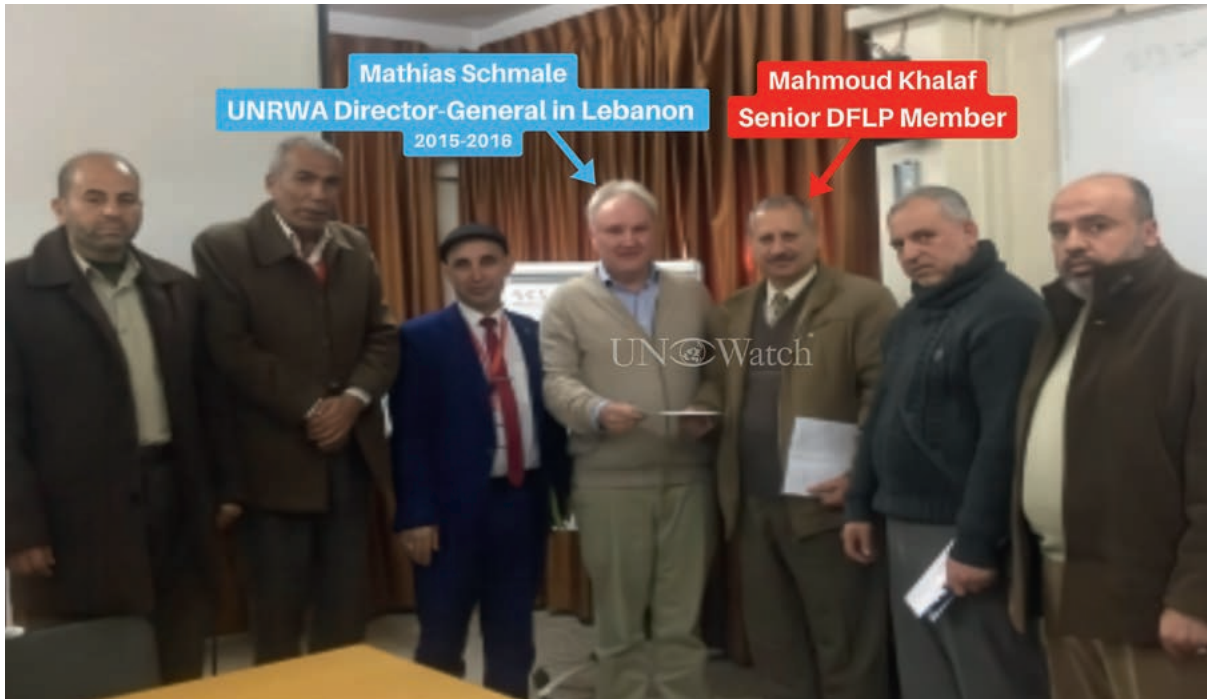
114 *Palestinian factions stage sit-in in Beirut against UNRWA decisions*, **Falestinona** (August 5, 2015), <https://www.falestinona.com/flst/Art/57909#gsc.tab=0>.

115 *Popular Committee For Refugees - Al Maghazi Camp's Post*, **Facebook** (June 24, 2020), https://www.facebook.com/Maghazirefugeecamp/posts/pfbid0321ja7NxMVQR9FwA1Ms6qYu6ZqLgnKaxE4a9HND2mYYdmvLLHd6vTTaMwaiCZCjt6l?locale=ar_AR.

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



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 Shawan to the factions, *Al Buss* (February 16, 2017), https://www.albuss.net/2017/02/blog-post_502.html.

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, Manna, 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, falesstinona* (September 5, 2022), <https://falesstinona.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>.

10 Ann Dismorr

UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon (2012–2015)

Ann Dismorr Meets With Hamas Lebanon Head Fathi Al-Sharif

Lebanon, September 2013

In September 2013, former UNRWA Director-General in Lebanon Ann Dismorr met with Hamas leader and head of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers Union Fathi Al-Sharif at a ceremony in his school.¹²³



11 Leni Stenseth

UNRWA Deputy Commissioner-General (2020–2023)

Leni Stenseth Pledges Allegiance to Hamas Gaza Chief Yahya Sinwar

Gaza, June 2021

On June 2, 2021, UNRWA Deputy Commissioner-General Leni Stenseth met with Hamas Gaza chief Yahya Sinwar to denounce recent statements made by then-UNRWA Gaza Director Mathias Schmale and his deputy in a TV interview where they stated that IDF strikes on military installations in Gaza during the May 2021 conflict were “very precise.”¹²⁴

While condemning Schmale’s remarks, described as a “dangerous transgression,”¹²⁵ Sinwar stressed “the pride of our people in general, and its factions, especially Hamas, in particular, in the positive and constructive relationship with UNRWA and the historical role it played in strengthening the steadfastness of our people and establishing their rights.” He further emphasized Hamas’s keenness to “continue cooperation with UNRWA and facilitate its mission.”¹²⁶

During the meeting, Stenseth apologized for Schmale’s statements as completely indefensible. She thanked Sinwar “for his positivity and desire to continue cooperation in facilitating the agency’s work in the Gaza Strip.” The meeting concluded with both parties stressing the need for “direct communication and dialogue” and “cooperation.”¹²⁷

123 Abo Amin Sharif, **Facebook** (September 10, 2013), <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=145203329023027&set=pb.100006000814550-.2207520000&type=3>.

124 Sinwar meets UNRWA Deputy Commissioner-General Leni Stenseth, **The Palestinian Information Center** (June 2, 2021), <https://palinfo.com/news/2021/06/02/244610/>.

125 UNRWA Deputy Commissioner-General to Sinwar: We understand Palestinian anger, **Al Mayadeen** (June 3, 2021), https://www.almayadeen.net/news/politics/1485823/نائب-ال-م-ال-ل-اورن-وأل-م-ال-ل-ض-وف-م-ال-ب-ان-ان-1485823?utm_campaign=nabdapp.com&utm_medium=referral&utm_source=nabdapp.com&ocid=Nabd_App.

126 *Id.*

127 *Id.*

12 UNRWA Regional Directors in Lebanon

Regional directors are the operational leaders of UNRWA in the field and are the individuals on the ground who actually run UNRWA. These regional directors all have close partnerships with local terrorist leaders. They are the ones who facilitate the meetings between these terrorist leaders and UNRWA's international staff.

UNRWA Regional Directors Meet Hamas Leader Ali Baraka

Lebanon, December 2014

In December 2014, all of UNRWA's regional directors in Lebanon met Hamas Leader Ali Baraka to congratulate him on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the launch of the Hamas Movement and to stress "the importance of cooperation and coordination." Present at the meeting were, Muhammad Khaled (Director of the Beirut Region), Ibrahim Al-Khatib (Director of the Sidon Region), Fawzi Kassab (Director of the Tyre Region), and Ahmad Moh (Director of the Bekaa Region).¹²⁸



128 Baraka receives a delegation from UNRWA, *Al Watan Voice* (December 16, 2014), <https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2014/12/16/634444.html>.

UNRWA Regional Directors Participate in Annual Hamas UNRWA Summit

Hamas holds a yearly summit along with other terrorist groups to discuss UNRWA affairs such as vacancies and elections to the UNRWA Teachers Union.¹²⁹ Every year UNRWA regional directors attend this summit and deliver remarks on behalf of the UNRWA Director General in Lebanon. In 2021, UNRWA Sidon Director Ibrahim Al-Khatib delivered remarks on behalf of Claudio Cardone as he has been doing for every Director General since at least 2018.¹³⁰

At the 2021 conference, Hamas Lebanon representative Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi (discussed above under Cordone) also delivered a speech on the vision of the Palestinian Forces Alliance—an alliance of several terrorist groups including Hamas, PIJ, and Ansar Allah. He stated that he launched a joint committee to “supervise the relationship with UNRWA and ensure it implements its obligations.” During the meeting, the PIJ representative in Lebanon Ihsan Ataya noted that “UNRWA is a living international witness to the refugee issue and must be preserved.”¹³¹

Who are the UNRWA Regional Directors?

- Muhammad Abu Attia, UNRWA Tyre Director
- Ibrahim Al-Khatib, UNRWA Sidon Director
- Hajj Fawzi Kassab
UNRWA Tyre Director



129 Hamas organizes a symposium on UNRWA and the Palestinian community in Lebanon, **The Palestinian Information Center** (December 7, 2021), <https://palinfo.com/news/2021/12/07/77410/>.

130 *Id.*; A discussion panel by Hamas Refugee Affairs on the UNRWA crisis and its impact on the reality of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, **Al Buss** (December 5, 2018), https://www.albuss.net/2018/12/blog-post_34.html.

131 Hamas organizes a symposium on UNRWA and the Palestinian community in Lebanon, **The Palestinian Information Center** (December 7, 2021), <https://palinfo.com/news/2021/12/07/77410/>.

12.1

Muhammad Abu Attia

UNRWA Tyre Director

Abu Attia Hosts Palestinian Forces Alliance

Lebanon, April 2021

In April 2021, Abu Attia hosted the leadership of the Palestinian Forces Alliance, a coalition of terrorist groups operating in Lebanon, and agreed “to continue communication, consultation, cooperation and coordination.”¹³²

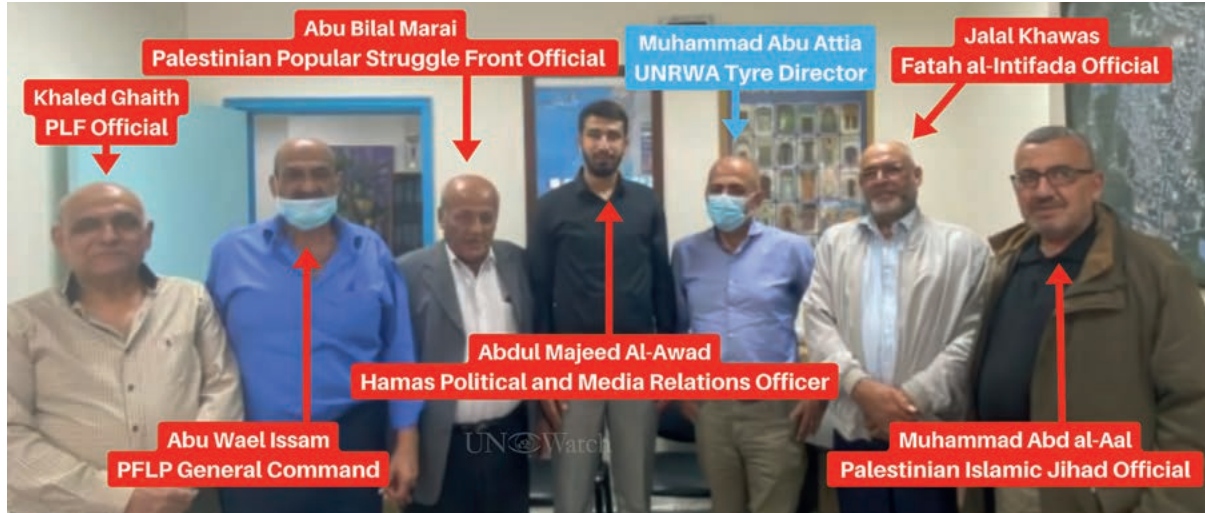


132 *Palestinian coalition leadership meets UNRWA Director in Tyre*, **Al Quds News** (April 28, 2021), <https://alqudsnews.net/post/167281/-ققت-لت-ن-ي-ط-س-ل-ف-ل-ف-ل-اح-ت-ل-ا-د-ا-ي-ق>.

Abu Attia Hosts Terrorist Leaders in His UNRWA Office

Lebanon, November 2021

In November 2021,¹³³ Abu Attia hosted senior members of multiple terrorist groups at his UNRWA office to discuss school and camp affairs. Members included Abdul Majeed Al-Awad (Hamas) (discussed above under Krähenbühl), Muhammad Abd al-Aal (PIJ),¹³⁴ Jalal Khawas (Fatah Intifada),¹³⁵ Abu Wael Issam (General Command),¹³⁶ Abu Bilal Marai (Nidal Front),¹³⁷ and Khaled Ghaith (Palestinian Liberation Front).¹³⁸



133 *Al-Tahaluf meets UNRWA director in Tyre and demands securing supplies and needs for students and schools, Al Quds News* (November 18, 2021), <https://alqudsnews.net/post/175143/ل-ف-اورن-وال-ري-دم-ي-قت-لي-ف-ل-احت-ل>.

134 *Public rally in support of prisoners in Al-Bass Camp, Al-Buss* (September 10, 2021), https://www.albuss.net/2021/09/blog-post_62.html.

135 *The Palestinian Forces Alliance in the sur region meets with MP Ali Khreisi, Burj al-Shamali Camp News* (August 11, 2023), <https://borjnews.wordpress.com/2023/08/11/ل-ل-ر-و-ص-ق-ط-ن-م-ي-ف-ن-ي-س-ط-س-ل-ل-اي-وق-ل-ل-ا-ف-ل-احت-ل>.

136 *The General Command is fixed on its position in Naameh, Janoubia* (June 22, 2024), <https://janoubia.com/2024/06/22/ل-ل-ع-ل-ة-د-ا-ي-ق-ل-ل>.

137 *Islamic Jihad and Nidal front discuss the conditions of refugees in the camps, Al-Somod* (August 2, 2022), <https://al-somod.com/post/48761>.

138 *Palestine Liberation Front visits Hezbollah in Tyre, Racamp* (November 28, 2022), https://www.racamp.net/2022/11/blog-post_531.html.

Abu Attia Meets with PIJ on UNRWA Cooperation

Lebanon, January 2022

In January 2022, Abu Attia met with Palestinian Islamic Jihad leader Jihad Muhammad to reassert “the need for cooperation between local forces and UNRWA.”¹³⁹

Who is Jihad Muhammad?

Jihad Muhammad is the official in charge of UNRWA Relations in Lebanon for the PIJ. He is a key advocate for the right of return, which he explains means eliminating the State of Israel—“their [refugees] return to their homes from which they were forcibly displaced and ending the Zionist occupation of all Palestinian lands from the sea to the river.”¹⁴⁰ He also called on Lazzarini to resign for describing the October 7th atrocities as a “massacre.”¹⁴¹



139 *Jihad Muhammad meets UNRWA Director in Tyre area and agreement on cooperation*, **Al Quds News** (January 21, 2022), <https://alqudsnews.net/post/177763/اورنوال-ري-يقتلي-دم-م-داهج>.

140 *Jihad Muhammad calls for shedding light on the ongoing suffering of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon*, **Al Quds News** (June 21, 2024), <https://alqudsnews.net/post/206048/عل-ء-ووضلال-طيل-لستل-وعددي-دم-م-داهج>.

141 *Jihad Muhammad: Lazzarini's statements condemning the resistance movements must be withdrawn immediately and he must submit his resignation*, **SHMS News Agency** (December 22, 2023), <https://shms.ps/post/186121/ت-الكرح-ةناداب-ي-ني-ززال-تاحي-رصت-دم-م-داهج>.

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



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

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-الغزالي-يؤكد-أن-الأطفال-الذين-يقتلون-لصالح-القضية-الوطنية-ليسوا-مقاتلين-مؤجرون>.

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/>.

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



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 Ansar Allah,¹⁴⁶ Abu Hassan Ghali (Hamas), and 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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