UN Watch



SCHOOLS IN THE GRIP OF TERROR

HOW UNRWA ALLOWED HAMAS CHIEFS TO CONTROL ITS EDUCATION SYSTEM

September 2025

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How UNRWA Allowed Hamas Chiefs to Control its Education System

UN Watch

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This report was researched by UN Watch's Luis Pelaez and Walter Ben Artzi with assistance from UN Watch fellows and interns. The report was written by Legal Advisor Dina Rovner and edited by Executive Director Hillel Neuer.

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Executive Summary

"Most people who are engaged in underground organizations try not to have their involvement known publicly," said Stéphane Dujarric, spokesperson of United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, when asked why the UN employed for decades a Hamas terror chief who oversaw 2,000 teachers at UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.[1] Yet this report reveals that the opposite is true: Hamas terror chiefs held top positions within UNRWA's educational system despite publicly and repeatedly flaunting their support for and ties to Hamas and terrorism. UNRWA knew — and did nothing.

The UN agency that raises more than $1 billion annually from Western states with the promise to educate Palestinian children with values such as peace, tolerance, and universal human rights, instead has handed them over to the very operatives who recruit child soldiers, glorify suicide bombers, and preach the annihilation of a UN member state.

By knowingly employing Hamas terrorist leaders as school principals and teachers, and by allowing terror chiefs to head the unions that oversee thousands of their teachers, UNRWA didn't just tolerate extremism — the Western-funded UN agency institutionalized it, turning classrooms into incubators of hate.

Over its 75 years of existence, UNRWA has churned out thousands of jihadi terrorists. Some of the most infamous include the perpetrators of the 1972 Munich Massacre, or Mohammed Deif, the now-deceased commander of Hamas's Al-Qassam Brigades, one of the masterminds of the October 7th atrocities in Israel. This in itself should raise alarm bells for any donor that supports UNRWA out of genuine humanitarian concerns.

How is it that a so-called UN humanitarian agency has a track record for producing so many terrorists? This report tells the story of how Hamas took over the UNRWA staff unions that oversee thousands of teachers and school principals, and hijacked the agency's entire education system.

As we established in our previous report, *The Unholy Alliance: UNRWA, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad*,[2] UNRWA's operations on the ground are actually controlled by its local leaders, and not by the tiny handful of international staff such as Commissioner-General Philippe Lazzarini, who serves only as the public face, fundraiser, and advocate for UNRWA. Many of these local leaders, especially in Gaza and Lebanon, are Hamas members or leaders, while thousands of UNRWA's local employees are also active Hamas members. To put this in perspective, more than 99% of UNRWA's 30,000 employees are area staff — local Palestinian Arabs — while only 120 employees at the agency are international staff, funded by the United Nations in New York.[3] The Palestinian Arab local staff are the people who run all of UNRWA's services, including its education system.

This is exemplified by the contrast in how UNRWA in Gaza dealt with the cases of Matthias Schmale, a senior member of UNRWA's international staff who headed the agency's Gaza operation, and Suhail Al-Hindi, a senior Hamas official and former UNRWA union leader.

In May 2021, it took less than ten days for UNRWA's local leaders — Amir Al-Mishal, then head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, working together with his predecessor Suhail Al-Hindi — to get Matthias Schmale expelled from Gaza after he had appeared to make one remark supporting Israel in a media interview.

1 *UN Daily Press Briefing*, **UN WebTV** (September 30, 2024, Minute 30:13), https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k15/k151d5x2lm?kalturaStartTime=1813&config[playback]=%7B; Full Transcript available here, https://press.un.org/en/2024/db240930.doc.htm; *see also @UNWatch*, **X** (October 1, 2024, 5:30 PM), https://x.com/UNWatch/status/1841123436514394188.

2 *Report: "The Unholy Alliance: UNRWA, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad,"* **UN Watch** (January 7, 2025), https://unwatch.org/the-unholy-alliance-unrwa-hamas-and-islamic-jihad/.

3 *Working at UNRWA*, **UNRWA** (Last visited October 14, 2024), https://www.unrwa.org/careers/working-unrwa.

Yet, when Suhail Al-Hindi was publicly appearing with Hamas terrorist leaders for many years — while he was serving as an UNRWA school principal and as head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union — UNRWA failed to fire him. Moreover, after UNRWA temporarily suspended Al-Hindi in 2011 and Hamas orchestrated mass protests paralyzing UNRWA's services in Gaza, Al-Hindi successfully pressured UNRWA's top international management to agree not to discipline staff for "external activities" — *i.e.*, involvement with Hamas terror chiefs, the activities of which he had been accused.

Similarly, in Lebanon, UNRWA management failed to fire Fateh Sharif who had served for years simultaneously as the head of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union and as a senior leader of Hamas in Lebanon. Furthermore, recognizing that she has no control over the local staff, UNRWA Lebanon Director Dorothee Klaus departed Lebanon for her own safety on the day that UNRWA announced that it had suspended five of Sharif's UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union associates for neutrality violations related to their Hamas activity.

UNRWA's local leaders, like Al-Hindi and Al-Mishal in Gaza and Sharif and his colleagues in Lebanon view UNRWA as a political tool which "serves as an international witness to [Palestinian refugees'] displacement,"[4] and a "right for the Palestinians until they return to Palestine,"[5] *i.e.*, until they undo the imagined injustice of Israel's 1948 creation and replace it with a Palestinian state. At a December 2018 lecture about UNRWA, Al-Hindi himself said that UNRWA's activities and services have "a very significant and positive impact" on the Palestinian people and on ensuring that "the Palestinian right of return remains intact."[6] Thus, UNRWA's local employees, represented by their staff unions, completely reject the very notion of neutrality as an attack on "Palestinian identity" and a form of "political blackmail" by the international staff, to silence their incitement against Israel in order to appease donor states.[7]

When UNRWA's international representatives like Philippe Lazzarini and Pierre Krähenbühl state that UNRWA's role is to "act as a witness" to the "plight" or "injustice" of Palestinian refugees and insist that they will "defend" this aspect of UNRWA's mandate, they do so to placate these local leaders — the ones who truly control UNRWA's operations on the ground.[8] Adam Bouloukos, UNRWA's Director of Affairs in the West Bank, acknowledged in an April 2024 interview with the *Washington Post* that UNRWA is "never able to de-link service provision from the right of return."[9]

Thus, it is UNRWA's local Palestinian leadership who are calling the shots — people like Al-Hindi and Al-Mishal in Gaza, and Sharif and his colleagues in Lebanon — and not the other way around. If they reject the notion of UN neutrality, then UNRWA's international leaders can have "the most robust neutrality mechanisms of any similar organization"[10] — as Lazzarini likes to say — but they will never be able to implement these mechanisms on the ground.

Following the scandal over a 3,000-member UNRWA staff Telegram chat group that cheered the October 7th atrocities, exposed by UN Watch in January 2024, the UN created an "independent review" headed by former French foreign minister Catherine Colonna "to assess whether UNRWA is doing everything within its power to ensure neutrality and respond to allegations of serious neutrality breaches when they are made."

4 *Anger in the Palestinian Camps in Lebanon and the Teachers' Union rejects UNRWA's justifications*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (March 26, 2024), https://refugeesps.net/post/27308/غضب-في-المخيمات-الفلسطينية-بلبنان-واتحاد-المعلمين-يرفض-تبريرات-أونروا; English Translation: https://unwatch.org/unrwa-teachers-union-rally-for-accused-hamas-teachers/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/IdzXr.

5 *The UNRWA administration in Lebanon is facing a widespread angry protest movement... Will it respond to the demands?* **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (March 28, 2024), https://refugeesps.net/post/27321/إدارة-أونروا-في-لبنان-تواجه-حراكا-احتجاجيا-غاضبا-واسعا-فهل-تستجيب-للمطالب; English Translation: https://unwatch.org/lazzarini-suspends-unrwa-union-chief-for-hamas-ties-staff-rally-in-his-defense/; Archive link: https://archive.ph/iyt4Z.

6 *UNRWA and its role in serving refugees*, **Refugee Academy YouTube** (December 17, 2018), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-AApTUM5y-w.

7 *Id. See also UNRWA punishes its workers in Gaza for "national posts" on Facebook... and the employees' union threatens*, **Al Quds** (April 24, 2017), https://www.alquds.co.uk/الأونروا-تعاقب-عامليها-في-غزة-على/ ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/H47TD.

8 *See, e.g., Letter from the Commissioner-General to the President of the General Assembly*, **UNRWA** (February 22, 2024), https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/officiAl-statements/letter-commissioner-generAl-president-generAl-assembly; *@HillelNeuer*, **X** (April 1, 2024, 2:28 AM), https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1774579470793363964.

9 Claire Parker, *With UNRWA broke and under siege, West Bank refugees fear for the future*, **Washington Post** (April 8, 2024), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/04/04/unrwa-palestinian-west-bank-jerusalem/.

10 S*ee, e.g., QUO VADIS, EUROPA? Session IX: Europe between two wars. EU and the crisis in the Middle East*, **Commission Europa en Espana YouTube** (August 22, 2024), QUO VADIS, EUROPA? Session IX: Europe between two wars. EU and the crisis in the Middle East - YouTube.

The Colonna report, published on April 20, 2024, was extremely biased in favor of UNRWA and its staff, and was openly described by UNRWA officials as being designed to "reassure" the donor states — not to actually expose wrongdoing.[11]

Yet even the biased Colonna report expressly recognized that UNRWA staff unions are "politicized." The report found that "over the years, political factions have used UNRWA's staff unions to pressure the agency's leadership and influence decisions on service delivery or project implementation" and that "the politicization of staff unions is considered one of the most sensitive neutrality issues and needs to be addressed."[12] Nevertheless, as of August 2025, UNRWA had not completed implementation of a single Colonna recommendation related to the neutrality of staff unions.[13]

The case studies in this report confirm the Colonna findings, highlighting UNRWA's inability to enforce neutrality in both Gaza and Lebanon where senior UNRWA educators — Suhail Al-Hindi in Gaza and Fateh Sharif in Lebanon — simultaneously served as UNRWA school principals, heads of the local UNRWA staff unions, and Hamas terror chiefs. Likewise, this report reveals that their associates and successors at the respective UNRWA staff unions in Gaza and Lebanon are also Hamas terrorists.[14] Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh himself had praised the Palestinian unions for their "role in the path of jihad."[15]

These case studies show in detail how Hamas has hijacked UNRWA's education through its domination of the local UNRWA staff unions, particularly the teachers' sectors of the unions, enabling Hamas to control UNRWA schools — the physical facilities, teachers, and curriculum — including by preventing the agency from implementing changes to de-radicalize the curriculum, blocking efforts by UNRWA to discipline staff for inciting antisemitism and jihadi terrorism, and placing Hamas operatives in senior educator positions in schools.



Hamas distributes posters at UNRWA protests in Beirut.[16]

11 *Exposed: UNRWA's Rigged "Independent" Review*, **UN Watch** (April 15, 2024), https://unwatch.org/exposed-unrwas-rigged-independent-review/.

12 *Independent Review of Mechanisms and Procedures to Ensure Adherence by UNRWA to the Humanitarian Principle of Neutrality*, **Report to the UN Secretary-General** (April 20, 2024), https://www.un.org/unispal/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/unrwa_independent_review_on_neutrality.pdf.

13 *One Year On: Implementing the Colonna Report at UNRWA*, **UNRWA** (August 5, 2025), https://www.unrwa.org/resources/reports/one-year-implementing-colonna-report-unrwa-annual-report.

14 Likewise, their predecessors at the UNRWA staff unions were also Hamas members. For example, before becoming a Hamas government minister in 2006, Saeed Siam headed the Teachers' Sector for the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union for seven years. *See Saeed Siam*, **Vision for Political Development** (August 30, 2020), https://vision-pd.org/سعيد-صيام/ ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/BdHGL.

15 *Haniyeh praises the role of professional unions in protecting the national project*, **Palestinian Information Center** (May 17, 2010), https://palinfo.com/news/2010/05/17/235289/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/euBQo.

16 *How UNRWA funding crisis affects its most vulnerable fields of operation beyond Gaza*, **Arab News** (February 5, 2024), https://www.arabnews.com/node/2454636/middle-east; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/CgmHs.

This fact that Hamas infiltrated UNRWA's senior educator positions is corroborated by Israeli intelligence findings, based on Hamas membership lists and other documents found in Gaza, showing that over 15% of UNRWA's senior educators in Gaza, in 60 UNRWA institutions, are members of the Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad terrorist groups.[17]



As detailed in this report, following are some of the examples of how Hamas-controlled UNRWA staff unions, together with their former members who went on to overtly serve as senior Hamas leaders, repeatedly challenged or overturned decisions by UNRWA's international leadership.

- **April 2011:** UNRWA Gaza Staff Union headed by Suhail Al-Hindi vehemently opposed UNRWA management plan to introduce Holocaust education in schools. At his retirement party in April 2017, Al-Hindi was praised for successfully objecting to Holocaust education.
- **September to December 2011:** After UNRWA suspended Al-Hindi for participating in events alongside Hamas leaders, Al-Hindi led three months of paralyzing protests at the end of which he was reinstated, and UNRWA agreed not to discipline employees for "external activities," *i.e.*, the type of Hamas activities Al-Hindi engaged in.
- **January to February 2017:** UNRWA Spokesman Chris Gunness said that UNRWA is "tackling neutrality head on," touted a new employee training, and promised to discipline employees. Al Hindi and his UNRWA Gaza Staff Union vehemently objected, stating that "UNRWA's laws and neutrality will not come at the expense of employees' patriotism and Palestinian identity," and UNRWA employees refuse to participate in trainings.

17 *UNRWA Staff Involved*, **Government of Israel** (Last visited July 30, 2025), https://govextra.gov.il/mda/unrwa/unrwa/unrwa-staff-involved/; *see also Senior UNRWA educators in Gaza involved in terrorism*, **Government of Israel** (Last visited February 16, 2025), https://govextra.gov.il/mda/unrwa-educators/unrwa-educators-and-their-involvement-in-terrorism/.

- **July to October 2018:** Al-Hindi and Amir Al-Mishal, as heads of their respective unions, coordinated massive strikes against UNRWA over its firing of 1,000 contract workers due to funding cuts. The strikes, fully backed by Hamas, directly threatened UNRWA and shut down the UNRWA Gaza headquarters. In August, Matthias Schmale complained to the press, stating "I am the captain of the ship and I have 13,000 sailors, and they removed me from my command and confined me to the captain's room." By early October, most of UNRWA's international staff were evacuated for their safety. The dispute was ultimately resolved in November 2018 and Arab states increased their funding to UNRWA shortly thereafter.
- **May 2021:** Al-Mishal, as head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, successfully pressured UNRWA to reinstate 27 employees that had been dismissed.
- **May 2021:** In a TV interview, UNRWA Gaza Director Matthias Schmale acknowledged that Israeli missile strikes against Hamas in Gaza were "very precise." Immediately, Al-Hindi accused Schmale of committing "a great sin" that he "must atone for." Al-Mishal, as head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, led mass protests against Schmale, demanding his resignation. A few days later, Hamas successfully expelled Schmale from Gaza.
- **February 2023:** The Professional Unions Association, headed by Al-Hindi, instigated UNRWA teachers to join a strike "in solidarity with the righteous martyrs of Nablus." Although UNRWA management refused to authorize the strike, it appears that UNRWA teachers defied this decision and joined anyway.
- **March 2023:** Senior Hamas member and former UNRWA Gaza Staff Union leader Issam Al-Daalis facilitated UNRWA's hiring of Hamas government teachers who had resigned in order to work for UNRWA.
- **March to June 2023:** Hamas official Al-Daalis intervened with UNRWA's Gaza Director Thomas White to resolve an UNRWA dispute with the Contractors Union.
- **April 2023:** Under Al-Mishal, the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union rejected UNRWA management demands to implement a women's membership quota in the union.
- **March to September 2024:** In wake of paralyzing UNRWA protests in Lebanon in support of Fateh Sharif, the Hamas terror chief and head of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union, UNRWA decided only to suspend but not to fire him. In late May 2024, after UNRWA Commissioner-General Philippe Lazzarini flew into Lebanon and met with a coalition of terrorist groups in order to resolve the dispute, local Palestinian media reported that the matter was resolved positively for Sharif. UNRWA later insisted that Sharif was suspended and placed under investigation for months. Yet in spite of having all of the evidence of his terror ties, UNRWA never fired him.
- **October 2024 to March 2025:** UNRWA suspended five of Sharif's associates in the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union. This prompted the usual fierce opposition and protests from UNRWA staff. Despite clear and compelling evidence of their ties to and support for terrorism, it took nearly a year for UNRWA to fire them.

Gaza Takeover: Suhail Al-Hindi and the Hamas Capture of UNRWA

Part I of this report examines the case study of senior Hamas terrorist Suhail Al-Hindi to understand how Hamas took over UNRWA's education system in Gaza. The report reveals UNRWA's repeated capitulation to coordinated extortion tactics by Hamas and the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, focusing on UNRWA's longtime employment of Suhail Al-Hindi and his UNRWA-Hamas associates in Gaza.

From 2006 to 2017, Al-Hindi was both a Hamas leader and an UNRWA school principal and head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, overseeing 8,000 teachers and 220,000 students in 240 schools. Al-Hindi was forced to resign from UNRWA in 2017, after his election to the Hamas politburo that year was publicized, Israel officially complained, and media attention followed.

A few months after his resignation, Al-Hindi was already appearing at Hamas rallies alongside Hamas Gaza leader Yahya Sinwar. He went on to head the Hamas "March of Return" committee, a Hamas initiative billed as "peaceful protests" — but which in fact was designed to test and study Israeli defenses in preparation for the Hamas invasion which eventually took place on October 7th. In that capacity, Al-Hindi encouraged his massive network of UNRWA teachers and students to join the marches. In his public statements since at least April 2022, Al-Hindi foreshadowed the October 7th attack. And right after October 7th, the longtime UNRWA educator proudly celebrated the massacre as an unprecedented Hamas "achievement." Since October 7th, Al-Hindi has emerged as a key Hamas spokesperson and member of the Hamas ceasefire negotiating team.

Al-Hindi's Hamas membership was no secret. As is common knowledge in Gaza, his entire family is affiliated with Hamas. Al-Hindi himself has been involved with the terror group since its founding in 1987. Unsurprisingly, his rise to prominence in Hamas paralleled his rise at UNRWA. Although UNRWA was well aware of Al-Hindi's Hamas connections, it chose to ignore them. When Al-Hindi appeared at events with Hamas leaders and honored terrorists at school events, UNRWA did nothing.

2011: UNRWA Suspends Al-Hindi Over Hamas Ties, Backs Down Under Hamas Pressure

The only time that UNRWA attempted to fire Al-Hindi was in 2011, after he had appeared on stage with Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh. In response to UNRWA suspending him for three months, Al-Hindi orchestrated a three-month pressure campaign, shutting down UNRWA schools and services multiple times for extended periods and threatening UNRWA. At the end of the three months, not only was Al-Hindi back at work, but he had succeeded in pressuring UNRWA to cave in to his broader demand not to discipline any UNRWA employee for Hamas activities.[18] Al-Hindi continued to coordinate with Hamas to employ these kinds of extortionist pressure tactics, often threatening violence, to force UNRWA management to backtrack on decisions that Al-Hindi considered to be harmful to Palestinian rights or identity — particularly relating to Holocaust education and maps used in schools which claim all of sovereign Israel as Palestine. In early 2017, the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union led by Al-Hindi vehemently objected to UNRWA management's new neutrality policies and training and refused to implement them.

2017: Al-Hindi Forced to Resign

Al-Hindi was forced to resign in April 2017 only because of external pressure from Israel after his election to the Hamas Politburo became public. At his retirement ceremony, Al-Hindi's colleagues at the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union praised him for saying 'no' to Holocaust education in UNRWA schools; for refusing to change the eliminationist maps used in schools; and for "standing up to the Agency's policies against refugees and employees," *i.e.,* for ensuring UNRWA management would never enforce neutrality to stop employees from taking part in the Hamas terrorist group.[19]

18 *UNRWA and its Palestinian staff understanding*, **Al Jazeera** (December 12, 2011), https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2011/12/12/تفاهم-أونروا-وموظفيها-الفلسطينيين; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/QRCRa.

19 *Professional Unions Gathering - Gaza Governorates*, **Facebook** (May 4, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1034154790051554&set=a.101352179998491; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/6vx1z.

2017–2025: Al-Hindi Continues to Influence UNRWA

Notwithstanding his official retirement from UNRWA, Al-Hindi retained his position as head of the Gaza Professional Unions Assembly overseeing all of the professional unions in Gaza — including the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union — and thus he continued to influence UNRWA decisions. In that capacity, in August 2021, Al-Hindi vehemently protested UNRWA's disciplinary proceedings against some staff whose terror support on social media had been exposed by UN Watch.

Likewise, in February 2023, Al-Hindi's Professional Unions Assembly instigated UNRWA teachers and students to join a Hamas Ministry of Education strike in solidarity with West Bank terrorists following an Israeli raid. One year later, in January 2024, after UN Watch revealed that a 3,000-member UNRWA staff Telegram group cheered the October 7th atrocities and UNRWA came under pressure from some donors, Al-Hindi criticized the public outcry over neutrality violations at UNRWA. "The role of UNRWA is to serve the Palestinian people and not to level accusations at employees," said the Hamas Politburo member.[20]

After Al-Hindi officially left UNRWA in 2017, his successor as head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union was Amir Al-Mishal, an UNRWA accountant and Hamas member. He pledged to follow in Al-Hindi's footsteps, saying he would "not abandon our duty towards our national religious issues."[21] Al-Mishal used his UNRWA position to siphon UNRWA employee funds to Hamas.

For the next six years until Amir Al-Mishal retired in the summer of 2023 (just before October 7th), Al-Mishal and Al-Hindi together orchestrated numerous pressure campaigns against UNRWA to block implementation of any decisions they found objectionable. From July to November 2018, the two joined forces to stage massive protests and strikes over UNRWA's firing of 1,000 contract employees due to funding cuts. Major Hamas figures participated in these protests, including Mahmoud Al-Zahar who spoke to the protesters from inside an UNRWA building, and Ghazi Hamad who joined Al-Hindi in meeting with UNRWA's Matthias Schmale, in an attempt to resolve the dispute. The protests were so threatening that by early October 2018, most of UNRWA's international staff had to be evacuated for their safety.[22]

Hamas and Al-Hindi Cause UNRWA to Expel Their Gaza Director

In May 2021, the two joined forces again to condemn Matthias Schmale and demand his expulsion from Gaza over Schmale's remark on Israeli TV acknowledging that Israel's missile strikes in Gaza that month were "very precise." They prevailed. Within days, Hamas demanded Schmale's immediate removal from Gaza. Thus, Al-Hindi and Al-Mishal were able to force out a senior member of UNRWA's international staff. They also prevented UNRWA from enforcing discipline against UNRWA's local employees, including against Al-Hindi in 2011.

Other colleagues of Al-Hindi at the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union discussed in this report are Issam Al-Daalis, who later became the head of Hamas government administration in Gaza and was killed in an Israeli strike some time after October 7, 2023, and Ahmed Labad, who was one of 358 terrorists arrested by the IDF in its March 2024 raid on Shifa Hospital. Like Al-Hindi and Al-Mishal, Al-Daalis used his position to pressure UNRWA to submit to Hamas demands, including to hire Hamas government teachers who had resigned in order to work for UNRWA.[23] The union is currently headed by the Hamas-affiliated UNRWA orthodontist Mustafa Al-Ghoul who rejects UNRWA neutrality and supports Hamas.

20 *@paldf*, **X** (January 27, 2024, 7:00 PM), https://x.com/paldf/status/1751289084725559348?lang=ar; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/rcwYI;*Quds Network*, **Telegram** (January 27, 2024, 6:52 PM), https://t.me/QudsN/363436; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/d48HG.

21 *UNRWA Staff Club*, **Facebook** (May 4, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/lsucgaza/photos/t.616368920/1631121833594720/?type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/eO4D1.

22 *UNRWA pulls some staff from Gaza amid threats*, **CNN** (October 3, 2018), https://edition.cnn.com/2018/10/02/middleeast/unrwa-gaza-intl/index.html; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vwQZjKYI1cY; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uIyie6cJRj8.

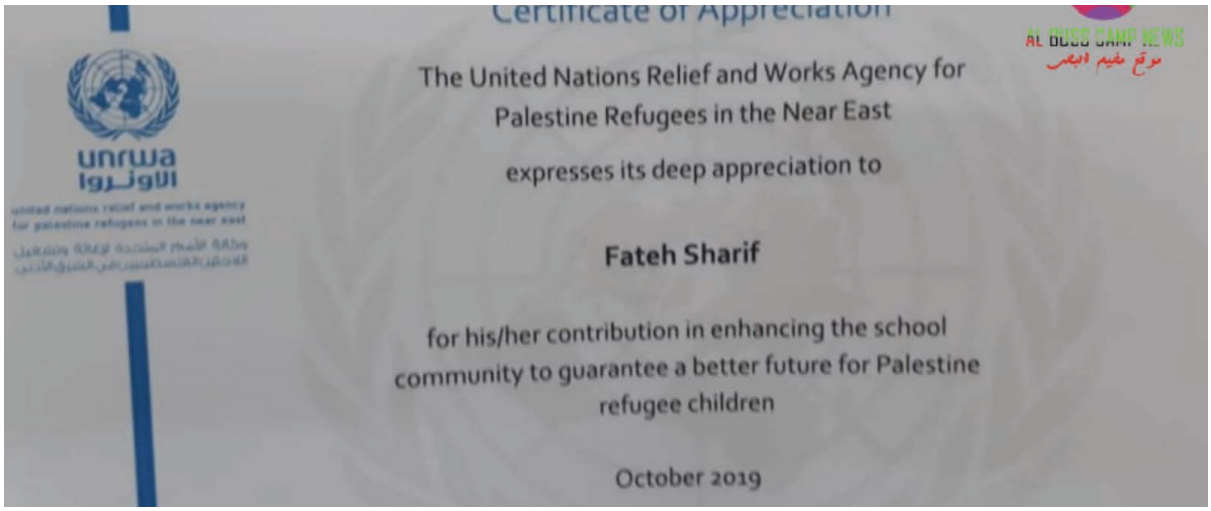
23 *An important decision from Al-Daalis regarding government teachers accepted for UNRWA jobs*, **Shehab News** (March 30, 2023), https://shehabnews.com/post/130412/قرار-مهم-من-الدعليس-حول-معلمي-الحكومة-المقبولين-بوظائف-أونروا; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ShXNE.

Lebanon Takeover: Fateh Sharif and the Hamas Capture of UNRWA

Part II of this report examines the case study of UNRWA Lebanon's employment of Hamas terrorists as educators, focusing on the case of Fateh Sharif (*a.k.a.* Fathi or "Abo Amin" Sharif) — the UNRWA school principal and Head of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union, who oversaw 39,000 students and 2,000 teachers in 64 schools — as well as his UNRWA associates in Lebanon. When Sharif was eliminated in a targeted Israeli strike on September 30, 2024, the Hamas terrorist group eulogized him as their leader in Lebanon.

UNRWA Knew of Sharif's Terror Ties

Sharif's involvement in Hamas was no secret. For over a decade he had been publishing posts showing his Hamas ties on social media, as well as numerous photos of himself with terrorist leaders on a community website. Yet, instead of firing Sharif, UNRWA awarded him with a certificate of appreciation.



Moreover, on November 8, 2023, UNRWA Lebanon Director Dorothee Klaus herself appeared at an event next to Sharif as he effectively proclaimed his allegiance to Hamas: "We are with the resistance, and we support the resistance."[24] She said nothing.

2024: Under Pressure, UNRWA Finally Suspends Sharif

For many years, UNRWA took no action. This changed in late February 2024, after it apparently received an official complaint from the government of Israel and right after numerous donor states had frozen funding to UNRWA over its terror ties.[25] UNRWA then suspended Sharif for neutrality violations on account of his activities for Hamas following October 7th, but quickly relegated the case to the backburner.

Shortly after UNRWA suspended Sharif, the Colonna Report was published on April 20, 2024.[26] At a Geneva meeting of UNRWA's Advisory Commission on June 25, 2024, UN Watch hand-delivered to Lazzarini[27] a detailed dossier establishing the indisputable facts of Sharif's close connections to Hamas leaders and open support for Hamas on his social media.[28] When asked about the case at a UN press conference later that day,

24 *@HillelNeuer*, **X** (October 2, 2024, 7:24 AM), https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1841332604554858790.

25 *See Daily Press Briefing*, **UN YouTube** (September 30, 2024, Minute 29:05), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YlFnhNQsG3M; Full Transcript available here, https://press.un.org/en/2024/db240930.doc.htm.

26 *Final Report for the United Nations Secretary-General, Independent Review of Mechanisms and Procedures to Ensure Adherence by UNRWA to the Humanitarian Principle of Neutrality,* **Colonna Review** (April 20, 2024), https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/2024/04/unrwa_independent_review_on_neutrality.pdf.

27 *@UNWatch*, **X** (September 30, 2024, 7:29 PM), https://x.com/UNWatch/status/1840791185478058011.

28 *Contempt for Colonna: UNRWA Leaders Continue to Promote Terrorism*, **UN Watch** (June 20, 2024), https://unwatch.org/contempt-for-colonna-unrwa-leaders-continue-to-promote-terrorism-presented-to-parliament-of-the-netherlands-the-hague-20-june-2024/.

Lazzarini dismissed UN Watch's dossier as "completely wrong" and "deliberately dishonest."[29] He then stated that Sharif was under investigation and remained suspended. Contrary to this representation, one month later, at the end of July, Sharif was still posting on his Facebook page certificates of appreciation from his school's parents' association[30] and the test scores of his students,[31] indicating that he continued to be involved in school affairs.

Sharif Eliminated, Hamas Says He Was Their Lebanon Chief

Despite UNRWA's apparent inability over many months of "investigation" to determine whether Sharif was part of Hamas, the terrorist group itself acknowledged Sharif as one of its leaders right after he was killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike on September 30, 2024. Hamas published a statement calling Sharif "leader of the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas in Lebanon" and "a member of the movement's leadership abroad."[32]

Hamas also hailed Sharif for having "worked as a successful teacher and principal," and for having "contributed to building an educated generation committed to the resistance" and to "the struggle for the liberation of Palestine and a journey full of sacrifice, blood and sweat."[33]

In other words, a terrorist group openly praised a longtime UNRWA teacher, school principal, and head of 2,000 UNRWA teachers, for "building an educated generation" to support Hamas terrorism and atrocities. Hamas said the quiet part out loud: UN schools are being used by Hamas members, like Sharif, Al-Hindi, and their many colleagues exposed in this report, to teach Palestinian children to support terrorism, and to recruit youth to the Hamas ranks.

Astonishingly, however, UNRWA has never expressed any shock at this public acknowledgment that its top educators are terrorist leaders, and that UN schools are being used for "building an educated generation" that is "committed to the resistance," to "the struggle for the liberation of Palestine," and to "a journey full of sacrifice" and "blood."

The Hamas-controlled UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union similarly eulogized its "dear colleague" Sharif. saying that he "attained the honor of martyrdom," after "a life of boundless generosity," which he spent "in the service of education, and watering them with knowledge, culture, and imbuing within them the love of Palestine and [the duty to] defend it and its holy places."[34] In blatant violation of UN neutrality, the union also posted several videos of Sharif publicly endorsing "resistance."[35]

At his funeral, Sharif's body was wrapped in Hamas flags. Hamas's TV channel released a eulogy video with images of Sharif together with Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh walking around town with two Hamas bodyguards.[36] The video also shows Sharif leading students from an UNRWA school into a Hamas rally which he then conducts. It is abundantly clear from these images that everyone in UNRWA's Al-Buss neighborhood in Tyre, Lebanon, and everyone who worked with Sharif knew very well that he held a leadership role in Hamas.

Nevertheless, when questioned at a UN press conference in Geneva on the day Sharif was killed, as to why Sharif hadn't yet been fired, Lazzarini outrageously responded that "the investigation was still ongoing" into Sharif's Hamas ties.[37]

29 *UNRWA Press Conference*, **UNOG** (June 25, 2024, Minute 45:24), https://www.unognewsroom.org/story/en/2242/unrwa-press-conference-update-on-the-occupied-palestinian-territory-25-june-2024/6749; Transcript available here, https://www.unognewsroom.org/login?redirectUrl=/story/en/2242/unrwa-press-conference-update-on-the-occupied-palestinian-territory-25-june-2024; *see also @UNWatch*, **X** (June 26, 2024, 3:13 AM), https://x.com/UNWatch/status/1805756210412765599.

30 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (July 29, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02z26vosGVJxciqY3gJuBPd5gwANSP8NSzytvFqsaJxP4MqFH96hD6HzWedfm6a3m2l; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/3k6qG.

31 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (July 28, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0cgs1vJR15q3qrmg7RVUUHjPwoSuK8b9272YxCaWZVt4mUPCQpqbnzjmgUQ2cvV1pl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Cb8Fy.

32 *Hamas movement mourns the martyrs of Al-Buss Camp*, **Al-Buss** (September 30, 2024), https://www.albuss.net/2024/09/m.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Jb2F3.

33 *The Official Hamas Channel*, **Telegram** (September 30, 10:22 AM), https://t.me/c/1407249165/5846.

34 *What do we know about the Hamas leader hiding in Lebanon*, **Asharq Al-Awsat** (September 30, 2024), https://aawsat.com//العالم-العربي/5066274-ماذا-نعرف-عن-قيادي-حماس-المتخفي-في-لبنان؟; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/RYxDA.

35 *Ibrahim Merie*, **Facebook** (October 10, 2024, 4:04 PM), https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=972682521101028.

36 *Al-Aqsa TV*, **Telegram** (September 30, 2024, 5:16 PM), https://t.me/SerajSat/242472.

37 *UNRWA - Press Conference: Update on the Situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT)*, **UN Geneva** (September 30, 2024), https://www.unognewsroom.org/story/en/2367/update-on-the-situation-in-the-opt.

Secretary-General spokesperson Stéphane Dujarric rebuffed a similar question at a New York press briefing, saying that "most people who are engaged in underground organizations try not to have their involvement known publicly."[38] Yet the truth is the opposite: as this report shows in great detail, Sharif flaunted his Hamas affiliation. UNRWA Lebanon Director Dorothee Klaus even appeared with him at an event where he professed his loyalty to Hamas.

After Sharif, Hamas Continues to Dominate UNRWA Teachers' Union

Shortly after Sharif was killed, Lebanese and Palestinian news sources revealed that UNRWA had just suspended five additional employees who were close associates of Sharif, and who held leadership positions in the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union:[39]

- Ibrahim Merie, Sharif's replacement as head of the Teachers' Union
- Maher Twieh, head of the Teachers' Union's sectoral committee
- Hassan Al-Sayed, deputy head of the sectoral committee
- Osama Al-Ali, a member of the sectoral committee
- Wassim Yacoub, representative for the Union's Northern Region

Predictably, the Teachers' Union responded with a statement on October 15th accusing UNRWA of "leaking the news" about the suspensions, and holding it responsible for "any consequences" resulting from the "leaks." The Union also vehemently denied the allegations, claiming the suspensions were "a malicious decision that isn't justified by the laws of the United Nations."[40]

All of these senior UNRWA educators had openly supported Hamas terrorism, incited their students to hatred and violence, and/or participated in meetings with Hamas officials in Lebanon long before UNRWA suspended them. Moreover, following Sharif's death, they indicated their readiness to continue Sharif's mission of indoctrinating impressionable Palestinian children with Hamas ideology.

Just like with Sharif, UNRWA initially took no disciplinary action against these five employees — despite their long and public record of neutrality violations. UNRWA suspended Sharif in February 2024 only because of the pressure from Israel and Western donors who had frozen funds to the agency at that time. Similarly, UNRWA acted against these employees in October 2024 only because of their close connection to Sharif, and the public scandal from Hamas's open admission that Sharif had been the terror group's leader in Lebanon.

The pattern is clear: UNRWA turns a blind eye to its employees' ties to Hamas, and to their incitement to Hamas terrorism and antisemitism, unless forced to take action to avoid scandal and preserve its public image in Western countries that are the primary donors. Past examples show that in the rare cases when UNRWA does take disciplinary action against employees for neutrality violations, it faces fierce opposition from the local staff, including massive demonstrations, strikes that shut down UNRWA services, and threats to its international staff. This was the case with Suhail Al-Hindi in Gaza in 2011 and with Fateh Sharif in Lebanon in 2024. Ultimately, UNRWA has repeatedly made the decision to reinstate offenders, or to refrain from firing them.

38 *UN Daily Press Briefing*, **UN WebTV** (September 30, 2024, Minute 30:13), https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k15/k151d5x2lm?kalturaStartTime=1813&config[playback]=%7B; Full Transcript available here, https://press.un.org/en/2024/db240930.doc.htm; *see also @UNWatch*, **X** (October 1, 2024, 5:30 PM), https://x.com/UNWatch/status/1841123436514394188.

39 *Lebanon: UNRWA suspends teachers from work*, **Al-Araby Al-Jadeed** (December 26, 2024), https://www.alaraby.co.uk/society/-لبنان-أونروا-توقف-أساتذة-عن-العمل; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/bunMp; *UNRWA suspends 3 unionists from work*, **Al-Akhbar** (October 15, 2024), https://Al-akhbar.com/Community/385465; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ghTS8; *A number of UNRWA Teachers were arrested without a clear reason*, **Al-Buss** (October 15, 2024), https://www.albuss.net/2024/10/blog-post_15.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/4vTG9.

40 *Statement issued by the Teachers' Union in Lebanon*, **Al-Buss** (October 15, 2024), https://www.albuss.net/2024/10/blog-post_53.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/DmVV1.

UNRWA's international leaders know that they have no control over their local staff and, with the agency structured as it is, that they are powerless to enforce neutrality in the face of such opposition. It is not a coincidence that Dorothee Klaus left Lebanon the same day Sharif's associates were notified of their suspensions. Indeed, some even accused her for having exposed Sharif as a member of Hamas, thereby causing him to get killed in a targeted Israeli strike.[41] In reality, Dorothee Klaus and UNRWA never publicly acknowledged that Fateh Sharif was a member of Hamas, and their so-called "investigation" into his Hamas connections was officially still ongoing at the time of his death. Klaus's departure from the country at this critical juncture confirms that UNRWA's international staff fear the local employees who command influential positions within their communities.

Considering the clear public evidence of "neutrality violations" by these associates of Sharif in the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union, and given Lazzarini's insistence that UNRWA has "robust neutrality mechanisms," UNRWA's investigation should have been swift and decisive. Yet, for months the cases went nowhere, and Palestinians in Lebanon pressured UNRWA management to reinstate the teachers, just as they did with Fateh Sharif.

On February 4, 2025, a group claiming to speak for "broad segments of our Palestinian people in Lebanon" announced the creation of the "Higher Follow-up Committee to defend the suspended teachers at UNRWA." Its declared purpose was to lead protests against "the unjust UNRWA administration until it retracts its unfair decisions against teachers."[42] The next day, the group launched a major protest shutting down UNRWA's headquarters in Beirut for at least two days. The protest demanded the teachers be reinstated and that "UNRWA respect the patriotic sentiment of refugees."[43] The strikes continued first with the shutdown of all UNRWA administration offices in Lebanon and then with a comprehensive strike of all services except health and sanitation.[44] UNRWA's suspension of these teachers also featured prominently at Hamas's annual February 2025 symposium on UNRWA, at which UNRWA's approach to neutrality was heavily criticized.[45]

Palestinian media reports from the end of June 2025 suggest that at least four of these leaders of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union were ultimately fired. There has been no indication whether or not they are still receiving UNRWA benefits, including pensions. Given the extent and severity of their violations, it is incomprehensible that UNRWA took nearly a year to complete its investigation and take decisive action. Moreover, as shown in this report, there are numerous other UNRWA Lebanon teachers, including some involved with the Teachers' Union, who are affiliated with Hamas or publicly support Hamas — in complete violation of UNRWA's stated commitment to neutrality — and against whom UNRWA has failed to take any action.

41 *UNRWA suspends 3 unionists from work*, **Al-Akhbar** (October 15, 2024), https://Al-akhbar.com/Community/385465; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ghTS8.

42 *Statement issued by the Higher Follow-up Committee to defend teachers suspended from work at UNRWA*, **Al-Buss** (February 4, 2025), https://www.albuss.net/2025/02/blog-post_42.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/nZYmS.

43 *UNRWA headquarters closed for the second day in a row in protest against the arrest of 5 teachers*, **Al-Buss** (February 6, 2025), https://www.albuss.net/2025/02/5.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/M1QDw.

44 *Escalation of protest movements against the policy of the UNRWA Director in Lebanon*, **Al-Buss** (February 11, 2025), https://www.albuss.net/2025/02/blog-post_43.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/lKo4L; *A general strike in UNRWA schools and offices in Lebanon on Thursday in protest against the administration's intransigence*, **Al-Buss** (February 27, 2025), https://www.albuss.net/2025/02/blog-post_237.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/BG3jw.

45 *Arrest of Palestinian teachers in UNRWA: Targeting national identity and repercussions on education and refugees*, **Al-Buss** (February 19, 2025), https://www.albuss.net/2025/02/blog-post_66.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/PynwT.

Conclusion

In conclusion, UNRWA could be structured differently. No other UN relief agency in the world allows terrorist groups to dominate their management and employees. In Gaza, for example, if it wanted to, UNRWA could work to deradicalize the population, and ensure that they hire teachers and managers who oppose terrorism. UNRWA could choose to hire genuine peace activists in Gaza, such as Rami Aman, as their educators. Instead, however, UNRWA's education system is run by individuals who openly celebrate mass murder and pledge loyalty to Hamas — the organization that arrested and imprisoned Rami Aman. UNRWA has chosen its side.

This report demonstrates that UNRWA's problem is not a matter of isolated "neutrality breaches" or a handful of rogue employees. It is systemic. Hamas has captured UNRWA's staff unions, its schools, and its local leadership, turning what is supposed to be a humanitarian agency into a conveyor belt for indoctrination, recruitment, and terrorism. Donors who continue to fund UNRWA in its current form are not supporting peace or humanitarianism; they are sustaining a pipeline of hate.

If UNRWA's mandate is to continue, then its entire structure must be overhauled. Funding must be conditioned on genuine reforms: international control over hiring, strict vetting of all staff, the dissolution of politicized unions, and a complete reorientation of the agency's education system away from jihad and towards coexistence. Until such changes are implemented, the choice facing donor governments is stark: either uphold their values by insisting on real accountability, or else accept complicity in financing the next generation of Hamas terrorists. All evidence to date shows that UNRWA is unwilling or unable to make the necessary changes.

Part I:

Gaza Takeover: Suhail Al-Hindi and the Hamas Capture of UNRWA

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Introduction







Today, Suhail Al-Hindi is a senior Hamas leader residing in Turkey. Born July 4, 1964 in Gaza, Al-Hindi joined the Muslim Brotherhood as a student in 1981.[46] In 1987 he participated in Hamas's founding and has been an active member of the terrorist organization ever since. In the 80s and 90s, Al-Hindi was arrested multiple times for his Hamas activities. Over the years, Al-Hindi rose in the Hamas ranks to leadership positions. From 2004 to 2007, Al-Hindi served as head of the Hamas Administrative Body in the Jabalia Camp and deputy head of the Hamas Administrative Body in the Northern Gaza Strip. In 2006, he was elected to the Hamas Politburo, a position he holds to this day. From 2012 to 2015, Al-Hindi headed the Hamas Administrative Body in the Northern Gaza Strip, and in 2018, he was appointed to lead the Hamas "March of Return" committee.[47]

After completing his education at UNRWA schools in Gaza and a teaching certificate from an UNRWA-affiliated college in Ramallah, Al-Hindi joined UNRWA's staff as a teacher around 1988–1990, shortly after he helped found Hamas. In parallel with his rise in the Hamas ranks, Al-Hindi rose in UNRWA's ranks. In 2000, Al-Hindi became deputy chief of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union and, in 2003, he became chief of the Gaza Teachers' Sector

46 *Mapping Palestinian Politics: Suhail Al-Hindi*, **ECFR** (Last visited February 12, 2025), https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping_palestinian_politics/Suhail-Al-Hindi/.

47 *Suhail Al-Hindi*, **Vision for Political Development** (Last visited February 12, 2025), https://vision-pd.org/سهيل-الهندي/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/RMblU. *See also Suhail Ahmed Hassan Al-Hindi*, **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (November 27, 2012), https://web.archive.org/web/20130307103429/http://lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=1121&extra=news&type=91.

of the Union. In 2006 — the same year Al-Hindi was elected to the Hamas Politburo — he became an UNRWA school principal and head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, positions he held until he was forced to resign from UNRWA in 2017.[48]

In addition to these senior positions, Al-Hindi was also appointed to head the Professional Unions Assembly in 2007, a committee of all professional unions in Gaza (and not just those tied to UNRWA), and to head the General Conference of Employees' Unions in all five UNRWA regions in 2014.[49]

Al-Hindi's simultaneous election to the Hamas Politburo and as head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union was part of a larger pattern. Since its foundation in 1987, Hamas has controlled the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union.[50] Over the years, it has also dominated the teachers' seats in the union, guaranteeing Hamas effective control over UNRWA education in Gaza.[51] UNRWA's leadership should have been outraged that a terrorist group had infiltrated their school and services. That they were not speaks volumes about the organization.

Al-Hindi's family Facebook page, called "Al-Hindi Family Gathering,"[52] contains numerous photos of family members dressed as militants in Hamas uniform, holding weapons, and with Hamas flags, showing that the entire Al-Hindi extended family is affiliated with Hamas.







Members of Al-Hindi's family

48 *Suhail Al-Hindi*, **Vision for Political Development** (Last visited February 12, 2025), https://vision-pd.org/سهيل-الهندي/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/RMblU.

49 *Id.*

50 *Dr. Suhail Al-Hindi, Chairman of the UNRWA Staff Union in the Gaza Strip and Boys' Elementary School Principal is Elected to Hamas's New Gaza Political Bureau*, **MAITIC** (February 23, 2017), https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/21160/.

51 *See, e.g., Landslide victory for Hamas bloc in the UNRWA staff union elections*, **Palestinian Information Center** (September 18, 2012), https://english.palinfo.com/o_post/Landslide-victory-for-Hamas-bloc-in-the-UNRWA-staff-union-elections/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ltYKp; *Hamas affiliated list wins UNRWA elections*, **Andalou Agency** (September 18, 2012), https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/archive/-قائمة-مقربة-لحماس-تفوز-بانتخابات-الأونروا/334764 ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/umELz; *UNRWA staff union announces its new formation*, **Al Resalah** (March 5, 2011), https://alresalah.ps/post/29977/اتحاد-الموظفين-بوكالة-الغوث-يعلن-تشكيلته-الجديدة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/vpjMg.

52 *Al-Hindi Family Gathering Photos*, **Facebook** (Last visited February 12, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/alhindi10/photos; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Cy7vD.

In one photo, Al-Hindi is pictured giving an award to a young female family member covered from head to toe in a burka with only her eyes showing.[53]



At all times, UNRWA was fully aware of Al-Hindi's membership and leadership roles in Hamas, which were public knowledge in Gaza, where UNRWA employed 10,000–13,000 local Palestinians at any given time. In July 2001, Al-Hindi participated in a school honors' ceremony for top students with Hamas co-founder Ahmed Yassin where he glorified Palestinian "martyrs" who perpetrated suicide attacks against Israelis.[54] UNRWA took no serious action against Al-Hindi, even after receiving reports about it from external sources.[55] When, in August 2015, Al-Hindi gave out trophies and medals at a sports tournament hosted by his own UNRWA Gaza Staff Union in memory of Farid Muhammad Ahmed, an UNRWA teacher and Hamas operative killed in the 2014 Gaza war, UNRWA took no action.[56] As evidence that Ahmed was an important Hamas member, Hamas itself had already launched a sports tournament to commemorate him in February that year.[57] When Al-Hindi was rising in the Hamas ranks in Gaza, UNRWA likewise did nothing.

53 *Al-Hindi Family Gathering*, **Facebook** (August 8, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=285295408553397&set=pb.100081350588679.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/naoto.

54 *Thursday: A comprehensive strike in UNRWA schools in Gaza*, **Palestinian Information Center** (September 28, 2011), https://palinfo.com/news/2011/09/28/104748/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/f0fca; https://www.inn.co.il/news/187181; Lt. Col. (Res.) Nir Amran, *Time to End UNRWA Activity in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza*, **Institute for Zionist Strategies** (June 2015), https://izs.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/סיום-פעילות-אונרא.pdf.

55 James G. Lindsay, *Fixing UNRWA: Repairing the UN's Troubled System of Aid to Palestinian Refugees,* at note 30, **Washington Institute** (January 2009), https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/media/3434 ("In the end the teacher was given a written letter of censure").

56 *Arab Employees Union*, **Facebook** (August 2, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.665496303585495&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/pocip.

57 *The Launch of the martyr Farid Ahmed Sports Championship in Nuseirat*, **Palestinian Information Center** (February 25, 2015), https://palinfo.com/news/2015/02/25/45511/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/FL3o9.

2011: UNRWA Suspends Al-Hindi Over Hamas Ties, Backs Down Under Hamas Pressure

In September 2011, UNRWA finally took action against Al-Hindi for his Hamas activities after he had attended an event with Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh and because of his 2001 appearance with Ahmed Yassin.[58] Indeed, a year earlier, in May 2010, Al-Hindi had appeared on stage with Ismail Haniyeh at a Hamas event celebrating the importance of the professional unions in Gaza, including the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union.[59]



Haniyeh praised the fact that "Palestinian industrial union work has produced many martyrs and prisoners" giving the examples of Hamas co-founder Dr. Abdul Aziz Rantisi, senior Hamas official Ismail Abu Shanab, and Hamas leader Saeed Siam. Haniyeh also complimented the unions' "role in the path of jihad and creating a developed civilization [aligned with Islamic principles], against the backdrop of the siege imposed on the Palestinian people." Haniyeh promised the union members that he would "hold dedicated meetings with the relevant ministries and government agencies" to find solutions for any problems faced by the unions,[60] confirming that Hamas was directly involved in UNRWA matters.

In September 2011, UNRWA informed Al-Hindi that he would be suspended for three months without pay and threatened to fire him if he continued his Hamas activities.[61] According to Al-Hindi, UNRWA had actually approached him six months prior seeking to permanently dismiss him, but after lengthy internal consultations UNRWA management decided to suspend him for three months, warning that he would be dismissed if he continued his "external" activities.[62] Indeed, in March 2011, Al-Hindi had protested UNRWA's "policy of suspending any of the employees," calling it a "policy of entrapment and blackmail," and pledged to "stop this injustice against employees."[63]

58 *Thursday: A comprehensive strike in UNRWA schools in Gaza*, **Palestinian Information Center** (September 28, 2011), https://palinfo.com/news/2011/09/28/104748/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/f0fca. *Union of Trade Unions threatens to escalate against UNRWA*, **Al Resalah** (October 8, 2011), https://alresalah.ps/post/41365/اتحاد-النقابات-يهدد-بالتصعيد-ضد-الأونروا; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/wPjaT.

59 *Haniyeh praises the role of professional unions in protecting the national project*, **Palestinian Information Center** (May 17, 2010), https://palinfo.com/news/2010/05/17/235289/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/euBQo.

60 *Id.*

61 *Union of Trade Unions threatens to escalate against UNRWA*, **Al Resalah** (October 8, 2011), https://alresalah.ps/post/41365/-اتحاد-النقابات-يهدد-بالتصعيد-ضد-الأونروا; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/wPjaT.

62 *News: UNRWA suspends Al-Hindi from work*, **Paltimeps** (September 8, 2011), https://paltimeps.ps/post/3001/-الأونروا-توقف-الهندي-عن-العمل.

63 *UNRWA staff union announces a series of escalating measures*, **Al Resalah** (March 31, 2011), https://alresalah.ps/post/31711/-اتحاد-موظفي-الاونروا-يعلن-عن-سلسلة-اجراءات-تصعيدية .

UNRWA's announcement was immediately followed by a coordinated pressure campaign spearheaded by Al-Hindi, as head of the Hamas-controlled UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, and backed by Hamas.

Throughout Al-Hindi's three-month suspension period, the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union posted numerous letters on its website criticizing UNRWA, expressing solidarity with Al-Hindi, and announcing sit-ins, strikes, and other protest activities.[64] In one letter dated October 2, 2011, Issam Al-Daalis, then head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union's Teachers' Sector and later head of Hamas Government Administration in Gaza (killed in an Israeli airstrike after October 7th),[65] announced the cancellation of the annual Teachers' Day celebrations and a comprehensive strike and sit-in at UNRWA headquarters instead.[66] As a result of this pressure campaign, UNRWA schools and services were shut down multiple times for extended periods during the three-month suspension period, affecting education for 220,000 UNRWA students in 243 schools.

Gazans complained about the negative impact of the strikes. Parents express concern about their children's education. One mother worried that children were "playing in the streets" instead of going to school. An eighth grader said the strikes were affecting his academic achievement.[67] In an internet forum, one Gazan criticized the shutdown of medical clinics and sanitation services "just to turn public opinion against the agency," particularly with the upcoming Eid holiday. He accused Al-Hindi of using the strikes for personal reasons to try to save face after being "embarrassed" by UNRWA.[68] Another member of the forum defended Al-Hindi, arguing that he had orchestrated the strikes, not for himself, but to protect "the job security of the agency's employees" which would be threatened if he didn't take action. This poster noted that Al-Hindi did not need the UNRWA job, as he could have "the best position in the government" whenever he left UNRWA, confirming that Al-Hindi's Hamas connections were well-known. Yet another forum member noted that if UNRWA were to suspend everyone "based on their national affiliation," then it would have no employees.[69]

While UNRWA's suspension of Al-Hindi was the immediate catalyst for the protests, the strikes represented a broader power struggle between UNRWA and Hamas in Gaza. Hamas had been critical of UNRWA for ignoring its authority and charged UNRWA with trying to create a "parallel authority."[70] Furthermore, Al-Hindi accused UNRWA of a "policy of oppression" and "intellectual terrorism." Among other things, he denounced UNRWA's proposed curriculum on Holocaust education and instructed teachers not to promote any activity that represents "an excoriation of patriotism"— a direct attack on UNRWA neutrality.[71] UNRWA gave in to Al-Hindi, according to various reports, and pulled back from teaching its students about the Holocaust.[72]

64 *See, e.g., Statement issued by the Workers' Sector regarding the decision to suspend the head of the Employees' Union*, **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (September 29, 2011), https://web.archive.org/web/20111002202749/http://lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=712&extra=news&type=114; *Statement No. 5: Our will will not be broken and our heads are high*, **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (October 1, 2011), https://web.archive.org/web/20111002202813/http://lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=717&extra=news&type=114; *Statement No. 6: Seize the opportunity, agency management,* **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (October 8, 2011), https://web.archive.org/web/20111009220204/http://lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=733&extra=news&type=114.

65 *Hamas informs families of its leaders of their deaths, who are they?* **Asharq Al-Awsat** (January 23, 2025), https://aawsat.com/العالم-العربي/5104053-حماس-تبلغ-عائلات-لقياديها-بمقتلهم-فمن-هم؟; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/JwUvb.

66 *World Teachers' Day!!! A cry in the face of injustice*, **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (October 2, 2011), https://web.archive.org/web/20111002202828/http://lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=720&extra=news&type=114.

67 *Gaza: Families of children in UNRWA schools are concerned about their future*, **Sama News** (September 30, 2011), https://samanews.ps/ar/post/106884/غزة-ذوو-الطلبة-في-مدارس-; original source **Wafa** (September 30, 2011); Archive Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20111002042502/http://www1.wafa.ps/arabic/index.php?action=detail&id=114298.

68 *Suhail Al-Hindi: UNRWA plans to dismiss 600 employees in all its areas of operation*, **Palestine Dialogue Network** (October 30, 2011), https://paldf.net/f/node/682619; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/vmRds.

69 *Id.*

70 *Teachers protest at U.N. agency in Hamas-run Gaza*, **Reuters** (October 5, 2011), https://www.reuters.com/article/world/teachers-protest-at-u-n-agency-in-hamas-run-gaza-idUSTRE79423R/.

71 *Palestinian Teacher: Between Gaza and the West Bank suffering in many ways*, **Raya Network** (October 5, 2011), https://www.raya.ps/news/529497.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/lnrYv.

72 *Why were Palestinians angry about UNRWA's changes to the education curriculum?* **Arabi 21** (April 18, 2017), https://arabi21.com/story/999082/لماذا-غضب-الفلسطينيون-من-تعديلات-أونروا-لمناهج-التعليم. ("Several years ago, controversy arose over its attempt to include the term "Holocaust" in the seventh-grade national education curriculum. However, UNRWA failed to implement this amendment due to public protests surrounding the decision"); *see also Teachers protest at U.N. agency in Hamas-run Gaza*, **Reuters** (October 5, 2011), https://www.reuters.com/article/world/teachers-protest-at-u-n-agency-in-hamas-run-gaza-idUSTRE79423R/ ("Hamas lawmakers often criticize UNRWA's education policies and some accuse it of trying to teach material that encourages normalization with Israel or educate pupils about the Holocaust. *UNRWA denies this is part of its curriculum*." (emphasis added)).

UN Workers "Adamantly Opposed" to Holocaust Education That will "Confuse the Thinking" of Children

BY ITAMAR MARCUS

United Nations Relief and Works Agency employees in Palestinian schools have announced their "adamant opposition" to teaching Palestinian children about "the Holocaust of the Jews." This announcement by the UNRWA Workers' Union was in response to UNRWA's decision to include Holocaust education in its curriculum in the topic of "human rights." According to the UNRWA Workers Union, teaching Palestinian children about the Holocaust will "confuse the thinking" of Palestinian children.

Palestinian Media Watch recently reported on opposition in the Palestinian Authority to teaching Palestinian children about the Holocaust.

The following is the article in the official PA daily:

Headline: "The [UNRWA Workers'] Union emphasized its opposition to teaching the Holocaust of the Jews as part of the curriculum in the [UNRWA] Agency's schools..."

"The [UNRWA] Workers' Union emphasized its adamant opposition to teaching the Holocaust of the Jews within the educational curriculum of UNRWA schools, as part of the topic of human rights. The union said,



According to the opinion of United Nations Relief and Works Agency employees in Palestinian schools teaching Palestinian children about the Holocaust will "confuse the thinking" of Palestinian children.

'We emphasize our adamant opposition to confusing the thinking of our students' by means of Holocaust studies in the human rights study curriculum, and emphasize study of the history of Palestine and the acts of massacre which have been carried out against Palestinians, the most recent of which was the war against Gaza.'

[Union chairman, Suheil] Al-Hindi, explained to France Press, that UNRWA 'approved teaching the Holocaust...' but [the teaching] has not yet started."
[Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, April 14, 2011]

May 2011 Jewish Voice article on Al-Hindi's campaign against Holocaust education.[73]

Al-Hindi also criticized UNRWA over quotas on teacher hiring, restrictions on promotions, and proposed reductions in direct assistance.[74]

In December 2011, after three months of protests, UNRWA Commissioner-General Filippo Grandi traveled to Gaza, following which Al-Hindi reported that "the Union had reached understandings through mediators," *i.e.* Hamas government officials — and then he reinstated Al-Hindi. UNRWA management further agreed, according to Al-Hindi, that it would "stop dismissing people based on their external activities, [*i.e.*, activities outside of UNRWA, including events with Hamas leaders like Ismail Haniyeh and Ahmed Yassin], until such time as clear standards are determined for this issue."[75] Effectively, UNRWA caved into the Hamas-controlled UNRWA Gaza Staff Union's demands.

73 *UN Workers "Adamantly Opposed" to Holocaust Education That Will "Confuse the Thinking" of Children,* **The Jewish Voice** (May 6, 2011), https://issuu.com/makf/docs/20110506-jewishvoice.

74 *Union of Trade Unions threatens to escalate against UNRWA,* **Al Resalah** (October 8, 2011), https://alresalah.ps/post/41365/-اتحاد-النقابات-يهدد-بالتصعيد-ضد-الأونروا; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/wPjaT.

75 *UNRWA and its Palestinian staff understanding,* **Al Jazeera** (December 12, 2011), https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2011/12/12/-تفاهم-أونروا-وموظفيها-الفلسطينيين; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/QRCRa.

Timeline of 2011 Al-Hindi Protests and Hamas Support

In September 2011, UNRWA informed Al-Hindi that he would be suspended for three months without pay and threatened to fire him if he continued his Hamas activities.[76]

- **September 8, 2011:** Al-Hindi threatened "escalatory measures against UNRWA" if it does not back down, explaining that Union pressure had worked against UNRWA in the past to prevent his suspension.[77]
- **September 8, 2011:** Hamas spokesman Taher Al-Nunu demanded UNRWA retract its suspension of Al-Hindi.[78]
- **September 18, 2011:** The UNRWA Gaza Staff Union organized a sit-in tent in front of UNRWA Gaza headquarters to protest the suspension, as well as a series of partial protests.[79]
- **September 18, 2011:** During the sit-in, Hamas Spokesman Mushir Al-Masri demanded UNRWA apologize "to the Palestinian people for insulting their symbols," referring to Ahmed Yassin, whose 2001 appearance with Al-Hindi, was one of the reasons for Al-Hindi's suspension.[80]
- **September 28, 2011:** The UNRWA Gaza Staff Union announced a one-day general strike in all UNRWA schools in Gaza, as well as strikes and sit-ins in UNRWA's other areas of operation, *i.e.,* Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and the West Bank.[81] Union spokesperson Youssef Hamdounah said that the Union intended to increase the "pressure on UNRWA management to retract its decision"[82] and will impose "more severe and harsh" measures.[83]
- **October 2, 2011:** Hamas spokesman Taher Al-Nunu issued another statement expressing "great concern" about UNRWA's suspension of Al-Hindi which he characterized as a "political decision." Al-Nunu accused UNRWA of violating neutrality and politicizing the agency by catering to "American-Israeli concepts."[84] Al-Nunu acknowledged Al-Hindi's participation in both the Ismail Haniyeh event and the earlier Ahmed Yassin event, but characterized these as "ordinary community union activities" that cannot be the basis for "punishing employees," and demanded UNRWA "reverse its decisions."[85] He emphasized that "UNRWA's role is a functional one towards the refugees until their return" and that it has no political "authority" over "Palestinian society."[86]
- **October 5, 2011:** UNRWA Gaza Staff Union held another general strike to protest Al-Hindi suspension shutting down all 243 schools in Gaza. Some 7,000 teachers were bused to UNRWA Gaza headquarters in Gaza City for a sit-in. In a speech, Al-Hindi declared that Palestinians consider UNRWA "a symbol of the cause of refugees" which "should be preserved until the Israeli occupation is removed."[87]

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76 *Union of Trade Unions threatens to escalate against UNRWA*, **Al Resalah** (October 8, 2011), https://alresalah.ps/post/41365/-اتحاد-النقابات-يهدد-بالتصعيد-ضد-الأونروا; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/wPjaT.

77 *Hindi News: The Employees Union will take escalatory measures against UNRWA,* **Palestine Today** (Sepember 8, 2011) https://paltoday.ps/ar/post/118123/خبر-الهندي-اتحاد-الموظفين-سيتخ ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/DfaXV; *Al-Aqsa is calling*, **Facebook** (September 8, 2011), https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=245947802114107&set=a.175347552507466; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/LAs3t.

78 *Id.*

79 *Al-Aqsa is calling*, **Facebook** (September 28, 2011), https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=254491607926393&set=a.175347552507466; Archive Link:

80 *Hamas accuses UNRWA of insulting Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and demands and apology*, **Al Watan Voice** (September 21, 2011), https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2011/09/21/192026.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/XNF7r.

81 *Thursday: A comprehensive strike in UNRWA schools in Gaza*, **Palestinian Information Center** (September 28, 2011), https://palinfo.com/news/2011/09/28/104748/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/f0fca.

82 *Al-Aqsa is calling*, **Facebook** (September 28, 2011), https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=254491607926393&set=a.175347552507466; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/XNF7r .

83 *Thursday: A comprehensive strike in UNRWA schools in Gaza*, **Palestinian Information Center** (September 28, 2011), https://palinfo.com/news/2011/09/28/104748/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/f0fca.

84 *Gaza accuses UNRWA of politicizing its decisions*, **Al Jazeera** (October 2, 2011), https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2011/10/2/غزة-تتهم-أونروا-بتسييس-قراراتها; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/95P2Q.

85 *Id.*

86 *Id.*

87 *Teachers protest at U.N. agency in Hamas-run Gaza*, **Reuters** (October 5, 2011), https://www.reuters.com/article/world/teachers-protest-at-u-n-agency-in-hamas-run-gaza-idUSTRE79423R/.

- **October 8, 2011:** The UNRWA Gaza Staff Union warned UNRWA that if the Al-Hindi suspension is not reversed by Monday (in two days), it "will be forced to take escalatory measures, strikes and closures that will affect all [UNRWA] institutions in the Gaza Strip."[88]
- **October 30, 2011:** The UNRWA Gaza Staff Union launched a general strike shutting down all UNRWA services in Gaza, including more than 240 schools with over 7,000 educational staff and 220,000 students. Al-Hindi insisted that the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union will "not allow UNRWA to practice its policy of intimidation against employees."[89]
- **October 30, 2011:** Hamas warned UNRWA against "continuing to suspend" Al-Hindi.[90]
- **December 12, 2011:** UNRWA agreed that "it would stop dismissing people on the basis of their external activities" (*i.e.*, including Hamas meetings) and Al-Hindi is back at work.[91]

88 *Union of Trade Unions threatens to escalate against UNRWA*, **Al Resalah** (October 8, 2011), https://alresalah.ps/post/41365/-اتحاد-النقابات-يهدد-بالتصعيد-ضد-الأونروا; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/wPjaT.

89 *UNRWA schools in Gaza go on strike*, **Al Alam** (October 30, 2011), https://www.alalam.ir/news/805034/-مدارس-الاونروا-في-غزة-تضرب-عن-العمل; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/3epPY.

90 *Id.*

91 *UNRWA and its Palestinian staff understanding*, **Al Jazeera** (December 12, 2011), https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2011/12/12/-تفاهم-أونروا-وموظفيها-الفلسطينيين; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/QRCRa.

Subsequent Protests Orchestrated by Al-Hindi Against UNRWA Management

Following this success, Al-Hindi continued to employ these kinds of intimidation tactics against UNRWA, supported by local terrorist groups, when future disputes arose. For example, for a period of close to two months from December 2013 to January 2014, the Al-Hindi-led UNRWA Gaza Staff Union orchestrated paralyzing strikes against UNRWA to protest cuts to employees, salaries, and services.[92] At various points during this period, the union threatened to "escalate" the protests if UNRWA did not comply with its demands. It also warned against "taking arbitrary decisions against employees."[93]

On January 28, 2014, DFLP Secretary-General Qais Abdul Karim (Abu Layla) urged all Palestinian factions to keep up the pressure on UNRWA.[94] Two days later, on January 30, 2014, Al-Hindi announced that the protests were suspended because the union had reached a memorandum of understanding with UNRWA. UNRWA's Gaza Director Robert Turner said that UNRWA had agreed to provide at least 17,000 temporary jobs in 2014 (compared to 12,000 in 2013) due to a new grant from the European Union.[95]



Al-Hindi signed an MOU with UNRWA's then Gaza Director Robert Turner (January 2014).[96]

The following year, in 2015, Al-Hindi worked with the DFLP's Mahmoud Khalaf, head of the National and Islamic Forces — an umbrella group of local Gaza terrorist groups — to organize a sit-in in front of UNRWA Gaza Headquarters opposing UNRWA financial and employment cuts.

92 *Central Media of the Democratic Front - Damascus*, **Facebook** (January 2, 2014), https://www.facebook.com/dflpsy/posts/385959501540482?locale2=zh_CN&_rdr; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/CZDhU.

93 *Id.*

94 *Central Media of the Democratic Front - Damascus*, **Facebook** (February 2, 2014), https://www.facebook.com/dflpsy/posts/pfbid0G2ECpiTYeLyZT6xZiwTpHR5xjBv1rGgc2wPKJg2he3PF2LJ5xeoRfxtSEZKFkqZ4l; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/JfBl4.

95 *Id.*

96 *Arab Employees Union*, **Facebook** (January 27, 2014), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=401360789999049&set=pb.100003753954388.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/d5Tg2.



Al-Hindi speaking in front of the UNRWA Gaza headquarters with Khalaf on the left.



DFLP leader Khalaf, PFLP leader Jamil Mazhar, and others at a rally protesting a U.S. proposed UN resolution that would have condemned Hamas. Al-Hindi also appeared at the rally as a Hamas representative, but is not in this photo.[97]

97 *Gaza revolts in rejection of US project condemning resistance,* **Palestinian Information Center** (December 5, 2018), https://palinfo.com/news/2018/12/06/239372/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/TGds0.

Al-Hindi threatened that the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union would take "steps that everyone will see their effectiveness" should UNRWA postpone the opening of the school year due to its financial crisis.[98] Hamas representative Issam Adwan also joined the sit-in and demanded that UNRWA back down,[99] emphasizing that any reduction in UNRWA services would cause a "crisis in Gaza" and "create an inevitable explosion."[100] Ultimately, UNRWA management reached an agreement with the union on these issues.[101]

Likewise, in 2016, Al-Hindi spearheaded an UNRWA strike, backed by Khalaf's National and Islamic Forces, to protest UNRWA service cuts resulting in fewer hires and more temporary contracts. One photo from the protests shows Al-Hindi speaking at a rally in front of the UNRWA headquarters with Hamas's Sami Abu Zuhri behind him.[102]



Al-Hindi warned UNRWA not to take "unilateral steps against employees" and threatened "whoever lights the fire will get burned by it." He said that the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union was prepared to take "unprecedented measures" "regardless of the results and costs."[103] Following a strike at UNRWA Gaza headquarters and a general strike of all Gaza employees,[104] Al-Hindi called to increase pressure on UNRWA, announcing a "day of rage." The National and Islamic Forces (a terrorist coalition) stated "We fully support the demands of the UNRWA Employees Union and stand behind them until they obtain their just rights."[105] The strikes ended after UNRWA management "reached understandings" with the Hamas-controlled UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, caving to their demands.[106]

98 *Hundreds protest outside UNRWA headquarters in Gaza*, **Sama News** (August 17, 2015), https://samanews.ps/ar/post/245122/-المئات-يعتصمون-أمام-مقر-الأونروا-في-غزة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/sHuYB. *Anger in Gaza over UNRWA*, **Ma'an News** (June 15, 2015), https://www.maannews.net/news/782576.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/k58Po.

99 *Al-Hindi: 5 million Palestinians affected by the "refugee relief" crisis*, **Laji-net** (July 29, 2015), https://laji-net.net/portal/ar-LB/10/c/42002/شؤون-فلسطينية-ملايين-فلسطيني-يتضررون-من-أزمة-غوث-اللاجئين-الهندي5--/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/gCLIg.

100 *In numbers... What if UNRWA ended its work in the Gaza Strip*, **Al-Awda** (2015), https://www.alawda-pal.com/index.php?s=news&id=5910; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/lP4LJ.

101 *Talks with the UNRWA Commissioner-General*, **UNRWA TV YouTube** (September 15, 2015), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pGGjhbsyNzk&t=317s.

102 *Strike in UNRWA's main facilities next wednesday*, **Shehab News** (September 29, 2016), https://shehabnews.com/post/1694/-اضراب-في-مرافق-الاونروا-الرئيسية-الاربعاء-المقبل; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/5AHsC.

103 *Arab UNRWA workers strike in Gaza to protest cuts in services to refugees and staff*, **PLO** (September 5, 2016), https://www.plo.ps/ar/article/44738; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/5hYog.

104 *Strike Paralyzes UNRWA offices in Palestine*, **El Watan** (November 21, 2016), https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/1610886; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/XGCe3.

105 *Angry march by UNRWA employees in northern Gaza Strip*, **El Farra** (November 23, 2016), https://elfarra.ps/index.php/farra/1008062; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Q7U6x.

106 *Preliminary agreement to resolve the crisis between UNRWA and the Staff Union*, **Palestinian Information Center** (December 20, 2016), https://palinfo.com/news/2016/12/20/222652; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/lYyzm.



Al-Hindi speaking on October 26, 2016 in front of UNRWA Gaza headquarters,[107] *surrounded by leaders of the Muhjat Al-Quds Foundation, a U.S. sanctioned organization funded by Iran and linked to the PIJ.*[108]

The April 2024 Colonna Report acknowledged these kinds of coordinated pressure tactics as an "area of concern." The report stated that "neutrality-related issues persist," including "politicized staff unions making threats against UNRWA management and causing operational disruptions." The report concluded that "over the years, political factions have used UNRWA's staff unions to pressure the agency's leadership and influence decisions on service delivery or project implementation" and that "the politicization of staff unions is considered one of the most sensitive neutrality issues and needs to be addressed..."[109] More than one year later, on August 5, 2025, UNRWA published a progress report in which it admitted that UNRWA has yet to complete implementation of any of the recommendations related to neutrality of staff unions.[110]

107 *Rejecting American-Israeli blackmail and demanding better services for refugees*, **Arab 48** (June 18, 2018), https://www.arab48.com/فلسطينيات/أخبار/2018/06/18/رفض-الابتزاز-الأميركي-الإسرائيلي-والمطالبة-بتحسين-الخدمات-المقدمة-للاجئين; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/TXa4g.

108 *Counter Terrorism Designations*, **U.S. Department of the Treasury** (November 14, 2023), https://ofac.treasury.gov/recent-actions/20231114_33.

109 *Independent Review of Mechanisms and Procedures to Ensure Adherence by UNRWA to the Humanitarian Principle of Neutrality*, **Report to the UN Secretary-Genera**l (April 20, 2024), https://www.un.org/unispal/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/unrwa_independent_review_on_neutrality.pdf.

110 *One Year On: Implementing the Colonna Report at UNRWA*, **UNRWA** (August 5, 2025), https://www.unrwa.org/resources/reports/one-year-implementing-colonna-report-unrwa-annual-report.

2017: Israel Complains About Al-Hindi's Election to Hamas Politburo, UNRWA Denies the Allegations After "Due Diligence"

After more than 10 years of serving simultaneously as an UNRWA school principal, head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, and a member of the Hamas Politburo, Suhail Al-Hindi was forced to resign from UNRWA in April 2017. This resulted from a February 2017 complaint to UNRWA by the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the IDF's COGAT unit after Al-Hindi's secret election to the Hamas Politburo that month was publicized.[111] Notably, in that same election, Yahya Sinwar was elected as head of Hamas in Gaza.[112]



Shockingly, despite Al-Hindi's known history and leadership role with Hamas for years and UNRWA's own previous unsuccessful attempt in 2011 to fire Al-Hindi for his Hamas activities, UNRWA's first response to the Israeli complaint was to deny Al-Hindi's Hamas position. In a February 24, 2017 statement, UNRWA Spokesman Chris Gunness claimed that UNRWA had "neither uncovered nor received evidence to contradict the staff member's denial that he was elected to political office." The statement quoted Al-Hindi's own self-serving insistence that he has "no relation whatsoever with the issue."[113] Nevertheless, just three days later, on February 27, Gunness declared that UNRWA had suspended Al-Hindi pending an investigation after it had received "substantial information from a number of sources."[114]

Two months later, on April 22, 2017, Al-Hindi announced that he had resigned.[115] Both Al-Hindi and UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Secretary Yousef Hamdouna stressed that the resignation was voluntary. Hamdouna explained that Al-Hindi resigned out of consideration for "the interests of the refugees in the Gaza Strip" and that Al-Hindi had "decided to leave his position and serve the people elsewhere" — meaning in Hamas.[116] By choosing to resign instead of being fired, Al-Hindi retained his employee benefits, *i.e.*, his pension.[117] Today UNRWA claims on its

111 *@LTCPeterLerner*, **X** (February 26, 2017, 8:32 AM), https://x.com/LTCPeterLerner/status/835920425867673600; *UNRWA's Gaza union head, accused of Hamas ties, no longer employed by agency*, **Times of Israel** (April 23, 2017), https://www.timesofisrael.com/un-agency-no-longer-employing-gaza-staffer-accused-of-hamas-ties/.

112 *Read the names: Hamas announces the election of its political bureau in the Gaza Strip*, **Shehab News** (March 15, 2021), https://shehabnews.com/en/post/9110/Read-the-names-Hamas-announces-the-election-of-its-politicAl-bureau-for-the-Gaza-Strip; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Si3UR.

113 *Gaza neutrality issue*, **UNRWA** (February 24, 2017), https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/officiAl-statements/gaza-neutrality-issue.

114 *UN suspends Gaza staffer amid allegations of Hamas ties*, **AP** (February 26, 2017), https://apnews.com/generAl-news-a555d90827ee4282bb6384810acc516a.

115 *Suhail Al-Hindi resigns from the presidency of the UNRWA Staff Union in Gaza*, **Palestinian Information Center** (April 22, 2017), https://palinfo.com/news/2017/04/22/217351/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ak2a0.

116 *Id.*

117 *Id.*

website that it fired Al-Hindi.[118] However, at the time, UNRWA Spokesman Chris Gunness refused to clarify whether Al-Hindi quit or was fired, stating that UNRWA does not "discuss the terms of departure of individual staff members."[119] In his May 22, 2017 address to the Advisory Commission, UNRWA Commissioner-General Pierre Krähenbühl confirmed that two employees are "no longer staff members at UNRWA,"[120] leaving it open to interpretation as to whether they had resigned or were fired. In November 2017, he told the Advisory Commission that the two staff members had been "terminated."[121] However, in its 2017 Annual Report, UNRWA again resorted to vague and ambiguous terminology when it described the case as two staff members having been "separated" for engaging in "political activity incompatible with their obligations as UNRWA staff."[122]





Photos of Al-Hindi with Pierre Krähenbühl show they shared a longtime collegial relationship.[123]
(Annual ceremony to honor teachers, April 24, 2015)

118 *UNRWA: Claims Versus Facts*, **UNRWA** (December 2024), https://www.unrwa.org/unrwa-claims-versus-facts-february-2024.

119 *UNRWA Gaza staffer out after allegations of Hamas ties*, **AP** (April 22, 2017), https://apnews.com/generAl-news-bb906f71a51848aab969a39c942a7994.

120 *Statement of Commissioner-General Pierre Krahenbuhl to the UNRWA Advisory Commission*, **UNRWA** (May 22, 2017), https://www.un.org/unispal/document/statement-of-commissioner-generAl-krahenbuhl-to-the-unrwa-advisory-commission/.

121 *Statement by UNRWA Commissioner-General to the Advisory Commission*, **UNRWA** (November 13, 2017), https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/officiAl-statements/statement-unrwa-commissioner-generAl-advisory-commission.

122 *Annual operational report 2017*, **UNRWA** (2018), https://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/content/resources/2017_annual_operational_report_final_lr.pdf.

123 *Arab Employees Union*, **Facebook** (May 4, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=625483660920093&set=a.284154478386348; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/wxEtV. *UNRWA Staff Club*, **Facebook** (June 28, 2016), https://www.facebook.com/lsucgaza/posts/pfbid035SPBYZjd7AjyQhWijAxsqaVY3Aj8pq9Exakugxmsgdjs6auYBM5TkE8Vc25gDW5pl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/FVBAa.

Given the conflict between UNRWA's current position that it fired Al-Hindi, and Al-Hindi's position at the time that he voluntarily resigned while retaining his UNRWA benefits, it's not clear what really happened. It's also unclear what UNRWA meant by "fired" or "terminated." According to one Palestinian source, Al-Hindi was given a choice between "resignation and receiving his employee rights, or dismissal."[124] It appears that Al-Hindi chose to resign, but that UNRWA represents it as Al-Hindi having been fired since it gave him an ultimatum. In any event, even if one accepts at face value UNRWA's current stance that Al-Hindi was let go, this would only underscore UNRWA's complicity with Hamas — by refusing to unequivocally state that Al-Hindi was fired at the time of the event, UNRWA prioritized Hamas's honor and reputation over the truth.

Upon his resignation, the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union lauded Al-Hindi in several Facebook posts. In one April 22, 2017 post, Ahmed Labad, a colleague of Al-Hindi's from the Union (discussed later in this report), admired Al-Hindi for his readiness to confront UNRWA management in the face of attempts to reduce UNRWA services and "tamper with the culture of the Palestinian refugee." The statement pointed to Al-Hindi's refusal to change the map of Palestine or to allow Holocaust education as especially noteworthy achievements.[125] In another post on April 23, 2017, the Union itself praised Al-Hindi for his 27 years of service "defending the rights of employees," his "loyalty to his people and the homeland," and his "giving, work, steadfastness, and perseverance."[126] The Union wished him success in his "new position," (*i.e.*, with Hamas) and called on him to "continue his great efforts in serving the sons of our Palestinian people until the liberation of our land from the filth of the occupiers..."[127]

This praise of the senior Hamas terrorist was repeated on May 4, 2017, when the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union honored Al-Hindi for his career at UNRWA, in an official ceremony attended by a number of other terrorists.[128]



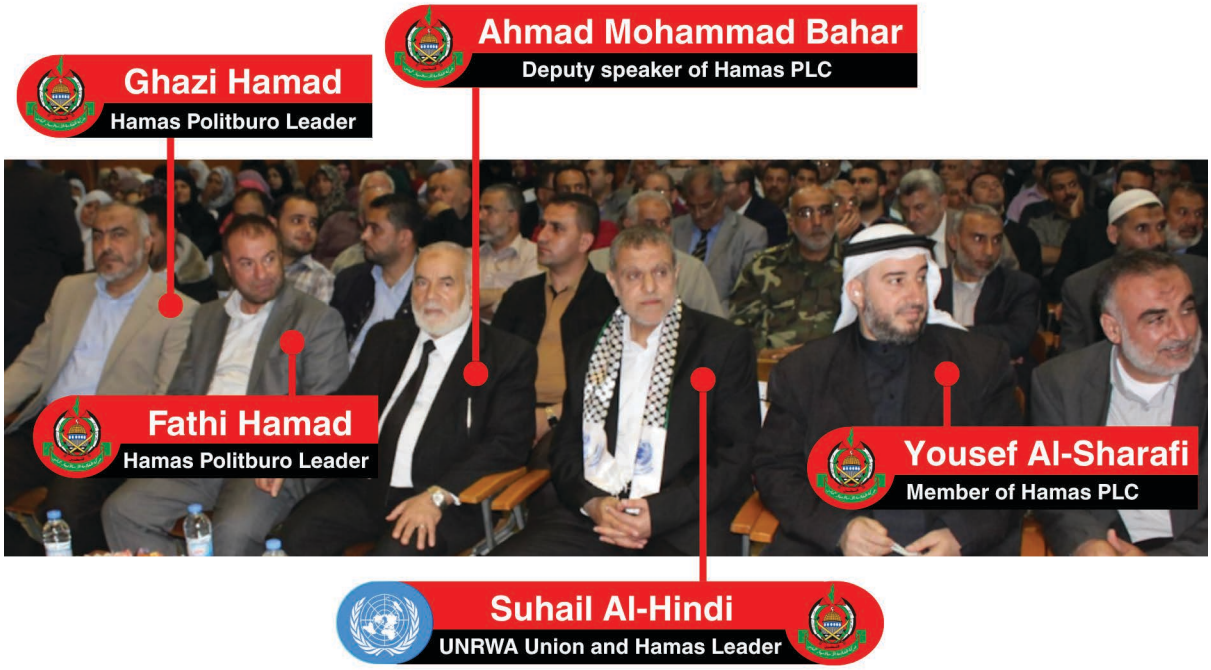
124 *UNRWA punishes its workers in Gaza for "patriotic posts" on Facebook... and the employees' union threatens*, **Al Quds** (April 24, 2017),https://www.alquds.co.uk/الأونروا-تعاقب-عامليها-في-غزة-على/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/H47TD.

125 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (April 22, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid02YoXef6t8ctRyae61dMDep86DBeWAzqyBWUN5nhH1zkzVEYnJUXHPwUYpBRrnM8xtl&id=100012822816444; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/celsz.

126 *Professional Unions Gathering - Gaza Governorates*, **Facebook** (April 23, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1025955377538162&set=a.101352179998491; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/jwYxq.

127 *Id.*; *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (April 23, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid026zTqFQWKfPcqU7bTkYsDjcmTerPkPgeJK8HoEVDJBYU39CwUo3UzXuwQTcZovdtvl&id=100012822816444; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ZNmbG.

128 *Professional Unions Gathering - Gaza Governorates*, **Facebook** (May 4, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/naqabatgaza/posts/pfbid0uL94LHBUpGCJADaEEYn4aiCPRTMz5cG3C6kEDF6PRXQGvxiWXN86ViHmX8aGQUQcl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/MvIDV.



Hamas leaders in this photo (left to right): Ghazi Hamad, Fathi Hamad, Ahmad Mohammad Bahar, Suhail Al-Hindi, Yousef Al-Sharafi (wearing Keffiyeh).

Speakers at the event extolled Al-Hindi for standing up to UNRWA management and "defending refugees and employees." Hamas leader Ahmed Bahar especially praised Al-Hindi for refusing to include Holocaust education in the Palestinian curriculum. PFLP leader Jamil Mazhar, speaking on behalf of the National and Islamic Factions (a terrorist coalition), honored Al-Hindi as "a fighter who devoted his professional life to serving our Palestinian people, serving Palestinian refugees, and serving employees at UNRWA." Al-Hindi's successor as head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union also praised Al-Hindi for "standing up to the Agency's policies against refugees and employees."[129]

Just six months later, in October 2017, Al-Hindi was already appearing at important Hamas events on stage alongside Hamas Gaza chief Yahya Sinwar. The below photos show Al-Hindi next to Sinwar at a gathering of Gaza "trade union elites." The Facebook post describes Al-Hindi as the "leader of the trade union coalition," meaning that even after he left UNRWA, he continued to hold a position of influence over the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union.[130]

129 *Professional Unions Gathering - Gaza Governorates*, **Facebook** (May 4, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1034154790051554&set=a.101352179998491; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/6vx1z.

130 *Democratic Nursing Gathering*, **Facebook** (October 25, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid0zPTsBtHoiDWNfPojHG8fv7PSRnYWyC8qtrjFuN5mSXDKsgk4MniVg1cM234sHCYCl&id=1757794934453661; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Ft3ak.



At the same time as the Al-Hindi case, UNRWA was facing increasing pressure from donors to comprehensively address staff neutrality violations due to reports by UN Watch exposing antisemitic and terror-supporting UNRWA staff Facebook posts. In two statements on February 4, 2017, UNRWA pushed back against the criticism that it was not doing enough to preserve neutrality.[131] UNRWA Spokesman Chris Gunness insisted that UNRWA was "tackling neutrality head on," particularly touting its new social media training. What Gunness did not say was that the social media training encouraged staff to "limit their online exposure" by "taking advantage of privacy and other settings," thus avoiding the root problem.[132] Gunness also asserted that UNRWA takes "disciplinary action where appropriate."



Photos of posters opposing neutrality from April 2017 protests.

131 *Statement on Neutrality*, **UNRWA** (February 4, 2017), https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/officiAl-statements/statement-neutrality; *Statement by Chris Gunness about article in BILD published on 3 February 2017*, **UNRWA** (February 4, 2017), https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/officiAl-statements/statement-chris-gunness-about-article-bild-published-3-february-2017.

132 *Social media & neutrality training for managers and supervisors*, **UNRWA** (2017), https://www.unwatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/UNRWA-sociAl-media-training.pdf.

These public statements by management for the benefit of UNRWA's donors are in stark contrast to the position of the local UNRWA staff unions and their employees in the field. One of the local UNRWA staff unions expressly rejected the new neutrality training workshops, stating that the employees' "affiliation is to our Palestinian cause and sacred soil, and expressing our sentiments and emotions on this matter."[133] The UNRWA Gaza Union, still headed by Al-Hindi, stressed that "UNRWA's laws and neutrality will not come at the expense of employees' patriotism and Palestinian identity."[134] According to Palestinian media, UNRWA employees complained that the policy resulted in them being excessively monitored.[135] Given this response, it is not surprising that the United States Government Accountability Office found in a 2018 study that UNRWA teachers had not cooperated with new training on complementary teaching material to replace problematic content in UNRWA textbooks. The study found that "staff refused to attend training and workshops."[136]

Thus, it's clear that when the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union objects to new policies by UNRWA management to enforce neutrality or de-radicalize the curriculum, whether with regard to Holocaust education, complementary teaching materials, or social media training, the Hamas-controlled Staff Union's decision will ultimately prevail. The only reason UNRWA succeeded in ousting Al-Hindi in 2017 is because of the public scandal at the time and because it gave Al-Hindi the option to resign while retaining his employee benefits.

133 *Voice of the Arab Workers Union - West Bank*, **Facebook** (January 30, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1241751959249687&set=pb.100071652870432.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/0lhoc.

134 *UNRWA punishes its workers in Gaza for "national posts" on Facebook... and the employees' union threatens*, **Al Quds** (April 24, 2017), https://www.alquds.co.uk/الأونروا-تعاقب-عامليها-في-غزة-على/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/H47TD. *See also UNRWA Staff Union escalates, first and foremost curricula, academic formation, and neutrality*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (August 22, 2017), https://refugeesps.net/post/5084/اتحاد-موظفي-الأونروا-ي-صع-د-وفي-اهم-قد-مة-المناهج-والتشكيلات-الدراسية-والحيادي-ة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/NXO3v.

135 *UNRWA to its employees: No posting, liking or even talking via private messages about political issues*, **Al-Hadaf** (April 22, 2017), https://hadfnews.ps/post/27934/الأونروا-لموظفيها-ممنوع-النشر-أو-الإعجاب-أو-حتى-الحديث-عبر-الرسائل-ال; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Yorar.

136 *State Has Taken Actions to Address Potentially Problematic Textbook Content but Should Improve Its Reporting to Congress*, at p. 16, **United States Government Accountability Office** (June 2019), https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-19-448.pdf.

2017–2025: Al-Hindi Reveals Himself as Hamas Terror Chief

1. Al-Hindi Leads Hamas "March of Return", Precursor to October 7th

After leaving UNRWA, Al-Hindi went on to chair the Hamas committee in charge of the "March of Return",[137] the precursor to October 7th.[138] As early as July 2017, Al-Hindi had threatened to use this kind of tactic to pressure Israel. Arabic-language media reported on July 18, 2017, that Al-Hindi "sent a message to the Zionist occupation" that "if the siege continues, we will take our families to the border and tear it out, whatever happens, let the occupation and those besieging Gaza bear the responsibility."[139]

Al-Hindi's public statements after March 2018 also confirm his leadership role in the "March of Return". For example:

- **September 19, 2018:** Al-Hindi threatened UNRWA that if the "siege" continues, referring to the Israeli blockade of Gaza, he will move all UNRWA schools and students to the border as part of the "March of Return". Al-Hindi said: "We will send a strong message to all those besieging Gaza, and we will take all means to force them to give in and lift the siege."[140] This further confirmed that Al-Hindi continued to have power over UNRWA even after he left the agency's employ.

- **December 28, 2018:** Al-Hindi said: "The return marches will continue until their goals are achieved. The occupation does not understand the language of understanding and violates all agreements, Gaza defends the Arab and Islamic nations with blood."[141]

- **December 16, 2019:** Al-Hindi described the "March of Return" as "a national struggle tool" which "will continue until their goals are achieved, most notably establishing the right of return for all of Palestine and breaking the siege on Gaza." He added that "continuous evaluations are being conducted regarding the return marches" to assess the best way to proceed.[142]

Although portrayed as peaceful civilian protests along the Gaza border fence, the "March of Return" was orchestrated by Hamas, whose fighters — acting under cover of a smokescreen created by burning tires — led violent confrontations against the IDF along the fence, planting IEDs, shooting, and cutting holes in the fence. Hamas leaders themselves admitted Hamas involvement in the violence.

- **May 13, 2018:** Senior Hamas official Mahmoud Al-Zahar confirmed this was not a peaceful protest. He said that calling it "peaceful resistance" is "to deceive the public" but "this deception does not fool the Palestinian public."[143]

137 *Official reveals the fate of the "Return Marches" in light of the state of emergency due to the spread of Corona*, **Al Watan** (March 6, 2020), https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/content/print/1319985.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/aUniL.

138 *How Hamas Built an Army*, **Washington Institute** (January 2, 2024), https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/how-hamas-built-army.

139 *Professional unions warn of Abbas's decisions against Gaza*, **Seraj TV** (July 18, 2017), https://seraj.tv/post/13638/"-تحذر-من-"النقابات-المهنية-قرارات-عباس-ضد-غزة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/rTGyd.

140 *Suhail Al-Hindi: A plan to move schools and refugee camps to the Gaza border*, **Al Quds News** (September 19, 2018), https://alqudsnews.net/post/131032/سهيل-الهندي-مخطط-لنقل-المدارس-; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/KYjO3.

141 *Al Hindi: The return marches will continue until their goals are achieved*, **Saman News** (December 28, 2018), https://samanews.ps/ar/post/360677/الهندي-مسيرات-العودة-مستمرة-حتى-تحقيق-أهدافها; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/uIWvW.

142 *Factions move to organize return marches on national occasions in Gaza*, **Arabi 21** (December 16, 2019), https://arabi21.com/story/1230288/توجه-فصائلي-لتنظيم-مسيرات-العودة-بالمناسبات-الوطنية-بغزة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/zL0iG.

143 *Senior Hamas Official Mahmoud Al-Zahhar on Gaza Protests: This Is Not Peaceful Resistance, It Is Supported by Our Weapons*, **MEMRI** (May 13, 2018), https://www.memri.org/tv/senior-hamas-officiAl-mahmoud-zahhar-on-gaza-protests-this-is-not-peaceful-resistance.

- **May 16, 2018:** Hamas Gaza leader Yahya Sinwar admitted Hamas involvement, claiming that Hamas members "temporarily abandoned the means of armed struggle" and joined the marches.[144]
- **May 16, 2018:** Hamas Politburo member Salah Al-Barwail admitted that most of the "March of Return" fatalities were Hamas militants — "50 [out of 62] of the martyrs in the recent battle were from Hamas. Before that, at least 50% of the martyrs were from Hamas."[145]

As evidence of Al-Hindi's ongoing influence at UNRWA, on January 23, 2018, the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union announced that they would participate in the Great "March of Return" the following week to protest U.S. funding cuts under President Trump.[146]



January 2018 protests against U.S. funding cuts.

On January 27, 2018, the Union announced a teachers' strike for the following Monday (January 29th) to protest President Trump's funding cuts to UNRWA. The Union stated that this was "just the first salvo of our rage" and implied that the next step would be participating in "return marches towards the borders to demand our right to return to Palestine."[147]

144 *Hamas Leader in Gaza Yahya Sinwar: Our People Took Off Their Military Uniforms And Joined The Marches; We Decided To Turn The Bodies Of Our Women And Children Into A Dam Blocking Arab Collapse*, **MEMRI** (May 16, 2018), https://www.memri.org/tv/hamas-leader-yahya-sinwar-our-people-took-off-their-uniforms-and-joined-the-marces.

145 *Hamas Political Bureau Member Salah Al-Bardawil: 50 of the Martyrs Killed in Gaza were from Hamas, 12 Regular People*, **MEMRI** (May 16, 2018), https://www.memri.org/tv/hamas-politburo-member-bardawil-fifty-martyrs-were-hamas-members.

146 *UNRWA employees union sit-in and calls for Great March of Return next week*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (January 23, 2018), https://refugeesps.net/post/6729/اعتصام-اتحاد-موظفي-الأونروا-ودعوات-لمسيرة-العودة-الك-برى-الأسبوع-القادم; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/1bVE4.

147 *On the day of the Great March, no school for UNRWA students in the Gaza Strip*, **Palestinian Refugees Protal** (January 27, 2018), https://refugeesps.net/post/6760/يوم-المسيرة-الك-برى-لا-دوام-لطلبة-مدارس-الأونروا-في-قطاع-غزة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/HOzjS.







Photos from January 2018 protests against U.S. suspension of aid to UNRWA with posters saying "employees rights are not negotiable."[148]

On February 25, 2018, this UNRWA union published a notice for teachers and students informing them of a series of UNRWA marches and sit-ins beginning on February 27th and ending with "a large crowd at our borders."[149] On September 17, 2018, the Union published another notice calling for students and teachers to abandon school to join the border marches as a matter of "national duty, and a duty as a union [member]."[150] UNRWA allowed this to happen.

148 *Photos: Thousands of UNRWA employees, including the Agency's director of operations, demonstrate today in rejection of the US decision,* **Sama News** (January 29, 2018), https://samanews.ps/ar/post/326556/صور-الآلاف-من-موظفي-أونروا-بمشاركة-مدير-عمليات-الوكالة-يتظاهرون-اليوم-رفضا-للقرار-الأمريكي; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/NamaY.

149 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (February 25, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=417894141981343&set=pb.100012822816444.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/FggXp.

150 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (September 17, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=543016579469098&set=pb.100012822816444.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/xEUOc.



UNRWA Union leader participating in "March of Return" with his family (March 30, 2018).[151]

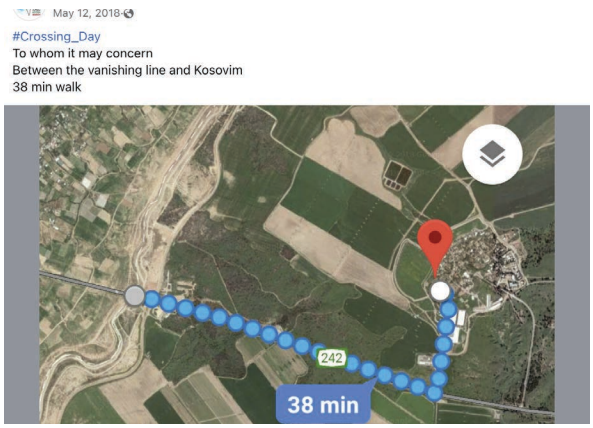
The "March of Return" had the same goal as October 7th: to breach the border fence, invade Israeli communities, and slaughter Israelis. It enabled Hamas to test Israel's defenses, find its weaknesses, and fine-tune its plans for the invasion and assault on October 7th. Below are examples of "March of Return" plans and strategies that were perfected for use on October 7th.

- Campaign organizer Ahmad Abu Ratima expressly stated on his Facebook page that the goal was to breach the fence and invade Israel. He told his followers on WhatsApp that "Within ten minutes, all the returning [marchers] will be in the very heart of the [Israeli] settlement of Sderot, and then the weapons of the occupation will be completely useless."[152]
- The "March of Return" Facebook page advised marchers in advance of May 14, 2018, (*a.k.a.* Palestinian Nakba Day, also dubbed "Breach Day") to "enter [the Israeli territories] in large groups numbering dozens, hundreds or even thousands, and surprise the [Israeli] soldiers by coming from unexpected [directions]. They must make sure to remain in large groups, numbering thousands, and reach the nearest inhabited location inside our occupied 1948 territories." This Facebook page also posted maps and aerial photos showing directions and distances to nearby Israeli communities.[153]

151 *Abo Firas H. Lubbad*, **Facebook** (March 30, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10215529142443253&set=pcb.10215529153123520; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/q6dFG.

152 *The 'Great Return March' Campaign: An Initiative Sponsored By Hamas, Whose Goal Was To Breach The Border Fence, Penetrate Israeli Territory*, **MEMRI** (May 18, 2018), https://www.memri.org/reports/great-return-march-campaign-initiative-sponsored-hamas-whose-goAl-was-breach-border-fence#_ednref9.

153 *Id.*

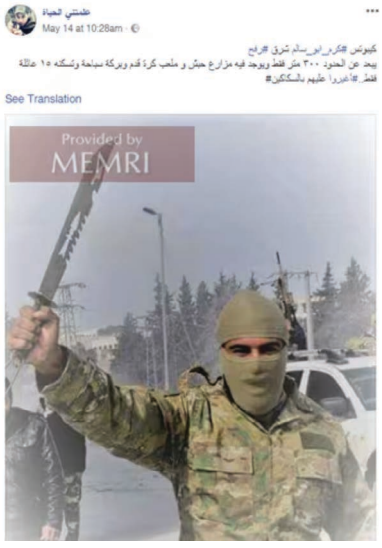




Individual Gazans likewise posted maps of the Israeli border communities and excitedly boasted of their plans to invade these towns. One Gazan referred to Be'eri as a "fat fish" and "one of the richest settlements" with "some 900 settlers." Another wrote that Sderot is "only 700 meters east of [the Palestinian town of] Beit Hanoun" and urged to "murder, slaughter, burn and never show them any mercy." Yet another Gazan wrote about Kibbutz Kerem Shalom: "It has turkey pens, a football field and a pool, [although] it houses only 15 families. Pounce on them with knives."[154]







154 *Id.*

- One Facebook page posted a leaflet in Arabic and Hebrew warning Israeli residents of the Gaza border communities to evacuate — "Your only way to survive is to go back to your country of origin, for we are returning"; "Oh Jew, you do not belong here... [you have] no state here, only fear and terror."[155]



- Hamas formed specific units to manage various aspects of the border breach, including a fence-cutting unit and a border-storming unit. Video footage of the fence-cutting unit showed one of its members rallying the group to march into Israel and "ignite a revolution against the Zionist enemy" which "is destined for perdition." He proclaimed that "we are about to liberate our blessed Palestinian land, which was plundered from us by the enemy by force, and from which the enemy will be driven out by force alone," adding "let our blood be shed."[156]



Notably, the UN and several large NGOs falsely portrayed the Great "March of Return" as a peaceful assembly, while turning a blind eye to its violent and murderous goals as detailed above, and as demonstrated when the border was finally breached on October 7th by Hamas and its supporters, with the ensuing mass

155 *Id.*
156 *Id.*

killing and atrocities perpetrated against Israeli families in the nearby villages. For example, in April 2018, Amnesty International egged on the violent riots with their live coverage.[157] Human Rights Watch, citing sources that referred to "the peaceful Great March of Return,"[158] published an analysis that whitewashed the Hamas-led violent maneuver[159] and posted tweets effectively denying Israel's right to defend its border.[160] Likewise, in 2019, the UN Human Rights Council produced a report that gave a free pass to Hamas's organization of the violent border riots and rewarded its cynical use of civilians as human shields.[161]

2. Al-Hindi's Role in October 7th and Subsequent Hamas Activities







157 *@HillelNeuer*, **X** (April 13, 2018, 3:14 PM), https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/984766825312538624; *@HillelNeuer*, **X** (September 21, 2022, 2:47 AM), https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1572371832283533314; *NGO Statements to the UNHRC Following the Gaza "March of Return" Riots*, **NGO Monitor** (May 22, 2018), https://ngo-monitor.org/reports/ngo-statements-to-the-unhrc-following-the-gaza-march-of-return-riots/.

158 *Human Rights Watch on Violent Hamas Border Riot: Promoting Terrorist Propaganda at Expense of Human Rights*, **NGO Monitor** (April 3, 2018), https://ngo-monitor.org/reports/hrw-promoting-terrorist-propaganda-at-expense-of-human-rights/.

159 *Israel: Gaza Killings Unlawful, Calculated*, **Human Rights Watch** (April 3, 2018), https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/04/03/israel-gaza-killings-unlawful-calculated.

160 *The Gaza Riots and HRW's Immoral Anti-Israel Obsession on Twitter*, **NGO Monitor** (May 29, 2018), https://ngo-monitor.org/reports/the-gaza-riots-and-hrws-immoral-anti-israel-obsession-on-twitter/.

161 *Breaking: UN Watch rejects findings of report by UN Commission of Inquiry on Gaza Violence*, **UN Watch** (March 4, 2019), https://unwatch.org/breaking-un-watch-rejects-findings-todays-report-un-commission-inquiry-gaza-violence/.

Foreshadowing and Celebrating October 7th

As a senior Hamas leader and a longtime member of the Hamas Politburo, Suhail Al-Hindi presumably knew in advance about the October 7th attack which required extensive preparation and planning. Indeed, his Hamas committee was briefed on it in advance.[162] Furthermore, in the period leading up to October 7th, he often spoke of a major upcoming battle. In response to ongoing violence in Jerusalem and the West Bank, Al-Hindi stressed that they are not alone and Gaza would join the fight. For example:

- **April 16, 2022:** "The battle is coming and there is a large number of resistance members to defend Jerusalem and protect Al-Aqsa." (*Paltimeps*).[163]
- **February 19, 2023:** "The Jerusalem axis is making progress and shining, and all Arab and Islamic peoples will participate in the coming battle." (*Al-Aqsa Voice*).[164]
- **March 8, 2023:** "The hands of the resistance in the 1948 occupied territories, in Jerusalem, the West Bank, and in Gaza will all be united soon in facing our occupier."; "Those who threaten to wipe out Huwwara in the West Bank will be the ones who are wiped out. This is a promise from the Gaza resistance." (*Mondoweiss*).[165]
- **July 2, 2023:** "This is a clear message to the enemy: We are preparing, and Allah willing, we are on the cusp of a battle that will be the decisive battle between us and the enemy." (*Mayadeen TV*).[166]





- **September 3, 2023:** "The Palestinian resistance is closely monitoring developments in the scene and following the situation on the ground, whether in Gaza, the West Bank or occupied Jerusalem. It is its right and the right of the Palestinian people to use all available means to resist the Israeli occupation, which is committing violations on all levels." (*Al-Araby Al-Jadeed*).[167]
- **September 13, 2023:** "Resistance in all its forms is the most effective means to liberate the land and expel the occupation. The West Bank is following the path of Gaza and is igniting resistance in the face of the Zionist occupier... The next stage will witness an imminent victory for our Palestinian people in the West Bank." (*Al-Aqsa TV*).[168]

162 *@HillelNeuer*, **X** (May 19, 2025, 10:06 AM), https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1924360966558630076.

163 *Al-Hindi: The resistance in Gaza is ready to fight a new battle in defense of Al-Aqsa*, **Paltimeps** (April 16, 2022), https://paltimeps.ps/post/326660/الهندي-المقاومة-بغزة-مستعدة-لخوض-معركة-من-جديد-دفاعا-عن-الأقصى; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/I8bVP.

164 *Al-Hindi to Al-Aqsa Voice: The enemy is playing with fire that will destroy its entity*, **Al-Aqsa Voice** (February 19, 2023), https://alaqsavoice.ps/print/213723; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/GJ8P5.

165 *Gaza reacts to Israeli West Bank onslaught and PA complicity*, **Mondoweiss** (March 8, 2023), https://mondoweiss.net/2023/03/gaza-reacts-to-israeli-west-bank-onslaught-and-pa-complicity/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/LXrIy.

166 *Children Visit Hamas Weapons Expo In Gaza, Pose For Photos With Weapons And Fighters; Hamas Political Bureau Member Suhail Al-Hindi: We Are Preparing For The Decisive Battle With The Enemy*, **MEMRI** (July 2, 2023), https://www.memri.org/tv/children-visit-hamas-weapons-expo-gaza-photos-weapons-fighters-suhail-hindi-enemy.

167 *Heating up on the Gaza border: Will the return marches return*, **Al-Araby Al-Jadeed** (September 3, 2023), https://www.alaraby.co.uk/politics/تسخين-على-حدود-غزة-هل-تعود-مسيرات-العودة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/H24mk.

168 *Al-Hindi to Al-Aqsa: Resistance is the most effective means to liberate the land*, **Seraj TV** (September 13, 2023), https://seraj.tv/post/31271/الهندي-للأقصى:-المقاومة-هي-الوسيلة-الأنجع-لتحرير-الأرض; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/dWmPQ.

In one interview reported in February 2023, Al-Hindi specifically emphasized that most revolutions began with "civil disobedience" as a form of "passive resistance" which later developed into "a popular revolution and a third intifada," hinting at Hamas's strategy of using so-called civilian protests like the March of Return as a lead-up to a massive military attack like October 7th.[169] He added that liberating Palestinian prisoners is "at the top of Hamas's priorities," declaring that "we are awaiting their imminent release, God willing."[170] One of Hamas's main goals in taking over 250 hostages on October 7th was to use them as leverage for the release of Palestinian prisoners, as ultimately happened.

Just after October 7th, Al-Hindi celebrated Hamas's success, stating "in the history of military and combat operations, the resistance has never made such achievements, and it has prepared for them," and he warned Israel against a ground invasion.[171] Separately, Al-Hindi praised the terrorists as "brave individuals" who "brought the Zionists to their knees and instilled fear in them."[172]

Hamas Spokesperson and Negotiator in Ceasefire Talks

In the spring of 2024, Al-Hindi emerged as a top Hamas spokesperson with regard to the ceasefire and hostage negotiations.

- **May 1, 2024:** Al-Hindi acted as a spokesperson for Hamas in May 2024 when he told the media that Hamas would "deliver its response [to an Israeli proposal] clearly within a very short period." He stressed that Hamas "cannot under any circumstances raise the white flag or surrender to the conditions of the Israeli enemy. Our dignity and honor refuse to compromise." (*AFP*).[173]
- **July 11, 2024:** Al-Hindi led a Hamas delegation to Iraq to meet the leadership of the Iraqi Islamic party and discuss "the developments of the Al-Aqsa Flood." (*@Iraqiislamparty*).[174]
- **August 22–23, 2024:** Al-Hindi rejected the latest ceasefire proposals and stood by the Hamas demands. He reiterated that "the resistance will not raise the white flag" and that the Palestinians "have the right to resist until the occupation is eliminated and defeated."[175] Al-Hindi told the Quds Network that "The enemy [Israel] is trying to extract concessions from the resistance" but "our people...will not kneel to their enemy." (*BBC*; *Quds Network*).[176]
- **October 3, 2024:** Al-Hindi said "Stopping the war is not at the expense of our dignity and we will defeat the criminal enemy, no matter how long this war is." (*@Khabrnews1*).[177]
- **October 24, 2024:** Al-Hindi thanked Russia and China for their support and said that Hamas is "ready to visit every place in the world, the farthest spot in the world, in order to stop this destructive war on our kinfolk and our people." (*@TRTArabiNow*).[178]

169 *Al-Hindi to Al-Aqsa Voice: The enemy is playing with fire that will destroy its entity*, **Al-Aqsa Voice** (February 19, 2023), https://alaqsavoice.ps/print/213723; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/GJ8P5.

170 *Id.*

171 *Hamas Political Bureau Member: Palestinians will not leave their land in Gaza despite attempts*, **Sputnik Arabic** (October 13, 2023), https://sarabic.ae/20231013/-1081972218عضو-المكتب-السياسي-لـحماس-الفلسطينيون-لن-يرحلوا-عن-أرضهم-في-غزة-رغم-المحاولات.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/o6US7.

172 *Senior Hamas Leader, Aided by Iran-Backed Hezbollah, Orchestrates Anti-Israel Events in Turkey*, **Middle East Form** (January 21, 2024), https://www.meforum.عضو المكتب السياسي لـ"حماس": الفلسطينيون لن يرحلوا عن أرضهم في غزة رغم المحاولات - 13.10.2023، سبوتنيك عربي; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/yV4Rl.

173 *Hamas promises answer to Israeli truce proposal*, **Times of Israel** (May 1, 2024), https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-promises-answer-to-israeli-truce-proposAl-very-soon-amid-intense-mediation/.

174 *@iraqiislamparty*, **X** (July 11, 2024, 6:30 PM), https://x.com/iraqiislamparty/status/1811422851347673281; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/.

175 *Hamas to BBC: We reject any new proposals or papers and will not raise the white flag*, **BBC** (August 22, 2024), https://www.bbc.com/arabic/articles/cvg502dg2r1o.

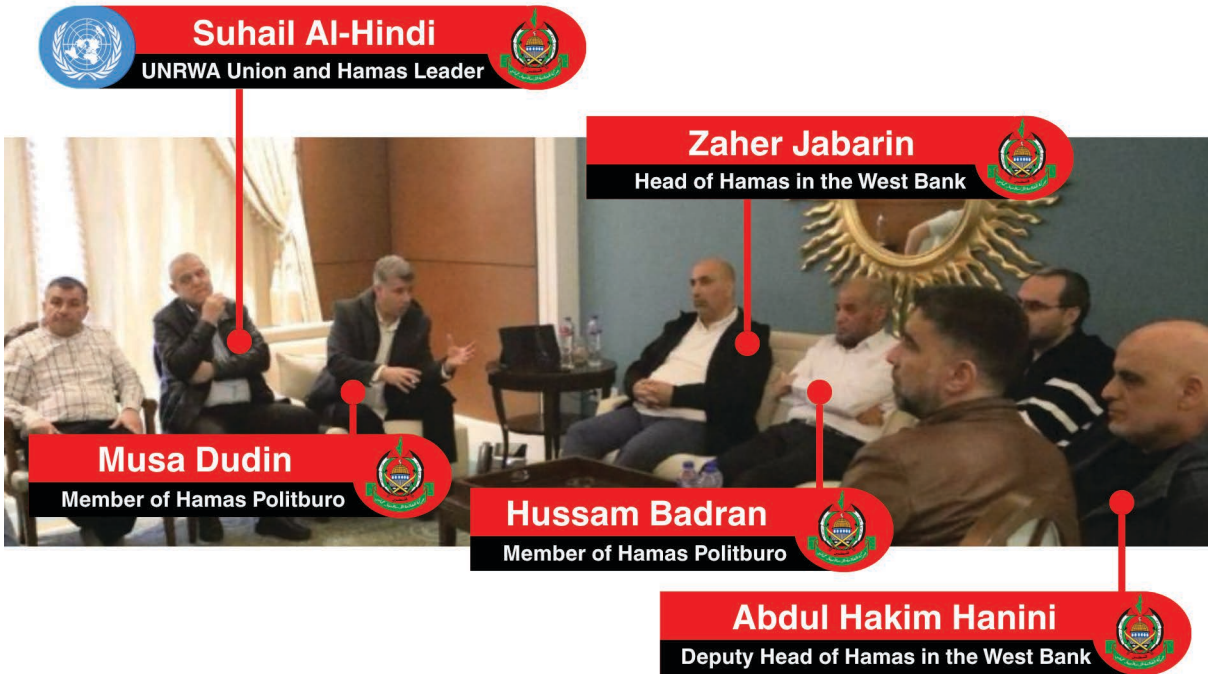
176 *Quds Network*, **Telegram** (August 23, 2024, 7:56 PM), https://t.me/QudsN/454266; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/iPblR.

177 *@Khabrnews1*, **X** (October 3, 2024, 3:32 PM) (account suspended), https://x.com/Khabrnews1/status/1841818523577757875.

178 *@TRTArabiNow*, **X** (October 24, 2024, 10:33 PM), https://x.com/TRTArabiNow/status/1849534576403566690; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Iiguu.

- **January 19, 2025:** On the first day of the ceasefire he helped negotiate, Al-Hindi paid tribute to Hamas's sponsor — "We thank the Islamic Republic of Iran for its continuous support and backing..." — and he thanked "our brothers in Hezbollah" and "our brothers in Ansar Allah" (the Houthis) for their support. (*@TVAlmasirah*).[179]

- **January 25, 2025:** Photos were posted to Telegram of Al-Hindi with other top Hamas leaders in Egypt "following up on the arrival of released prisoners," *i.e.*, Palestinian terrorists released as part of the hostage deal.[180] That same day, Al-Hindi told the media that Hamas had treated the Israeli hostages "with the highest moral values." (*From_Hebron Telegram* and *AlGhadTV*).[181]



- **March 10, 2025:** As ceasefire talks on the second stage continued, Al-Hindi told *Al-Jazeera* that Hamas "will never lay down our weapons as long as the occupation continues" and that Hamas hopes to become part of the "Palestinian army" once the occupation is gone. He added Hamas's "message to the world" that "we are the owners of this land." (*Al Jazeera*).[182]

179 *@TVAlmasirah*, **X** (January 19, 2025, 8:22 PM), https://x.com/TvAlmasirah/status/1881044509179494585; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/imc0M.

180 *From_Hebron*, **Telegram** (January 25, 2025, 10:35 PM), https://t.me/From_hebron/303542; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/2x2zE.

181 *AlGhadTV*, **X** (January 25, 2025, 9:06 PM), https://x.com/AlGhadTV/status/1883230049505288211; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/BR29B.

182 *@ajmubasher*, **X** (March 10, 2025), https://x.com/ajmubasher/status/1899214679832154122?t=nBoYRMEo658u8hBki7lUOw; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/jeCKK.

Recruiting For Hamas and Rallying and Inciting Against Israel

Al-Hindi has also become a prominent voice in Hamas's efforts to gain new recruits following the terror group's heavy losses in the post-October 7th war, as well as to rally the masses against Israel.

- **September 1, 2024:** After the bodies of six Israeli hostages were found to have been executed at point blank in a Hamas tunnel, Al-Hindi blamed "Netanyahu and his racist right-wing government" for "killing prisoners held by the Palestinian resistance," claiming that Hamas values the prisoners but Netanyahu refused to reach "a deal that would stop the bloodbath."[183] Al-Hindi added that "the Palestinian people today are fighting the battle of dignity with honor, determination and vigour, and as long as the occupation exists, it must be resisted and uprooted." (*Quds Network*).[184]

- **October 5, 2024:** A few days later, Al-Hindi praised the Hamas October 7th attacks for its "great achievements." He expressed his hope that "this battle" will expand to the West, that it "will carry its spark and every free person in this world will launch it." (*@TVAlmasirah*).[185]

- **October 18–20, 2024:** At the Islamic World Youth Forum (IWYF) that was held in Istanbul on October 18–20, 2024, Al-Hindi delivered a fiery speech calling for revenge in the name of Islam. Speaking against the backdrop of slain Hamas leaders Ismail Haniyeh and Saleh Arouri, Al-Hindi cheered the October 7th "victory," lionized Sinwar as a "resolute leader," praised the "steadfastness" of "the youth of al-Qassam and the youth of the resistance," and pledged to continue to sacrifice Gazans for the sake of liberating Palestine — "tear me apart, drown me in my own blood — you will not live upon my land..." He instigated the crowd to "prepare your gear and get ready for Liberation day. These feelings must turn into practical behavior. The Nation's youth must be mobilized. Gaza is calling you, and the West Bank is calling you, and Al-Aqsa is calling you. So when will you heed this call?" Al-Hindi concluded with a plea "by God, that you not leave this hall unless you have the intention and determination to continue the Jihad and fight for the sake of God Almighty."[186]

- **October 18, 2024:** Al-Hindi promoted martyrdom, saying "Hamas and its leaders raised their slogan high that death fighting jihad is their highest aspiration." (*@ShehabAgency*).[187]

- **October 24, 2024:** Al-Hindi "addressed the people of the world and called on them to go out in million-man marches to stop the war of extermination in the Gaza Strip." He also incited them to "besiege the embassies of the Zionist and American enemy all over the world, and for millions to say no to injustice and Zionist hooliganism." (*Hurrya News*).[188]

- **October 24, 2024:** That same day, Al-Hindi implored the people in northern Gaza to "be patient and steadfast, for victory is coming and the enemy is defeated." (*Quds Networ*k).[189]

- **October 25, 2024:** The next day, Al-Hindi promoted the famine libel against Israel, falsely claiming that that "there is an 'Israeli' decision to exterminate the population in the northern Gaza Strip." (*@qudspressagency*).[190]

183 *Quds Network*, **Telegram** (September 1, 2024, 2:49 PM), https://t.me/QudsN/458531; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ZRgpy.

184 *Quds Network*, **Telegram** (September 1, 2024, 2:50 PM), https://t.me/QudsN/458532; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Hwy43.

185 *@TVAlmasirah*, **X** (October 5, 2024, 11:14 PM), https://x.com/TvAlmasirah/status/1842659575499026531; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/0BclT.

186 *Islamic World Youth Forum*, **Facebook** (November 8, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=515450604812907 (video deleted); *Islamic Youth Forum Facebook Page*, **Facebook** (last visited March 9, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/iwy.forum. Video available here: https://youtu.be/9PW_v5_z9as.

187 *@ShehabAgency*, **X** (October 18, 2024, 4:44 PM), https://x.com/ShehabAgency/status/1847272513237094752; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/V7PeL.

188 *Al-Hindi: Free people of the world must mobilize and go out in the millions for Gaza*, **Hurrya News** (October 24, 2024), https://hurrya.news/?p=60758; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/DM7Ug.

189 *Quds Network*, **Telegram** (October 24, 2024, 7:57 PM), https://t.me/QudsN/485268; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/4s7kj.

190 *@qudspressagency*, **X** (October 25, 2024, 7:27 PM), https://x.com/qudspressagency/status/1849850189709967463; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/lsqzL.

- **January 19, 2025:** The day the ceasefire came into effect, Al-Hindi railed against the Israeli "occupation that has been cursing the land of Palestine for more than 76 years," completely rejecting Israel's right to exist. He proclaimed that "we have the right to resist this occupation" and "the resistance will continue as long as there is an occupation." Al-Hindi further pledged to continue the war and "wipe out this enemy with all our strength," promising that "we will enter Al-Aqsa as conquerors and liberators." (*@TVAlmasirah*).[191]
- **February 26, 2025:** "The weapon of resistance is not open to debate or negotiation; it is sacred and cannot be relinquished." (*Washington Post*).[192]
- **March 18, 2025:** "What is required is for the Arab nation to rise up from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic for Gaza and for the West Bank. What is required is for every Muslim to rise up for Palestine and for Gaza...Therefore, what is required of us all is to join the resistance in order to deter and prevent the occupation from shedding more blood against our Palestinian people and our Palestinian resistance." (*Al Araby TV Network*).[193]

191 *@TVAlmasirah*, **X** (January 19, 2025, 8:22 PM), https://x.com/TvAlmasirah/status/1881044509179494585; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/imc0M.

192 *Dispute over disarming Hamas bedevils efforts to extend Gaza ceasefire*, **Washington Post** (February 26, 2025), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2025/02/26/gaza-ceasefire-disarm-hamas-phase-two/.

193 *Hamas leader Suhail Al-Hindi reveals the movement's position on Israel's escalation and the path to a ceasefire agreement in Gaza*, **Al Araby TV Network YouTube** (March 18, 2025) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhbHnpCabyI.

2017–2025: Al-Hindi's Continued Involvement in UNRWA Affairs: Orchestrating Mass Protests, Attending Awards Ceremonies, Opposing UNRWA Attempts to Enforce Neutrality

Although Al-Hindi left UNRWA in April 2017, he retained his position as head of the Professional Unions Association, overseeing all professional unions in Gaza, including the UNRWA unions.[194] In that capacity, Al-Hindi orchestrated large-scale strikes by UNRWA staff to protest management decisions, repeatedly defended UNRWA employees against unfavorable management decisions, and attended UNRWA awards ceremonies.

- **Organizing Strikes Against UNRWA Management (July-September 2018):** In July 2018, Al-Hindi organized a massive sit-in outside UNRWA Gaza headquarters to protest cuts in services affecting some 1,000 UNRWA contract workers. Al-Hindi, together with Hamas's Ghazi Hamad, also met with UNRWA Gaza Director Matthias Schmale in an attempt to resolve the issue.[195] The strikes continued into August and September with protesters holding up banners outside UNRWA Gaza headquarters "calling for the decision to dismiss employees to be reversed" and "calling on the relief agency to reverse its recent cuts to refugees."[196] Amir Al-Mishal (discussed later in this report), Al-Hindi's successor as the head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, likewise led mass strikes over this issue and attended at least one protest with Al-Hindi.[197]





Left: Photo of UN staff in prisoner uniforms being hung; Right: Translation of poster text: "We are against the arbitrary dismissal of UNRWA employees to liquidate the Palestinian Cause"

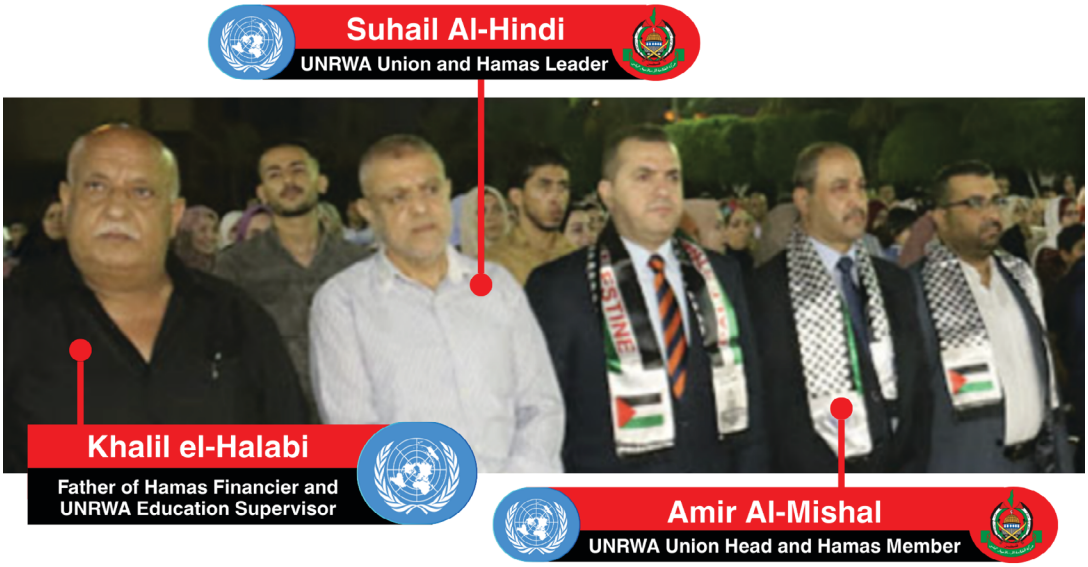
194 *In Pictures: The Palestnian Administrative Syndicate organizes a group Ramadan evening and breakfast*, **Shehab News** (April 19, 2023), https://shehabnews.com/post/122250/بالصور-نقابة-الإداريين-الفلسطينيين-تنظم-أمسية-وإفطار-رمضاني-جماعي; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ssIlw.

195 *Hundreds continue sit-in at UNRWA headquarters in Gaza*, **UltraPal** (July 23, 2018), https://ultrapal.ultrasawt.com/المئات-يواصلون-الاعتصام-في-مقر-الأونروا-بغزة/التزا-فلسطين/تقارير/أخبار; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/I9iwC.

196 *A protest by the Professional Unions Gathering in support of the dismissed UNRWA employees*, **Pal Today TV** (August 6, 2018), https://paltodaytv.com/post/98806/وقفة-احتجاجية-لتجمع-النقابات-المهنية-دعما-لموظفي-الأونروا-المفصولي ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/FfB46. *Professional Unions Gathering - Gaza Governorates*, **Facebook** (September 20, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/naqabatgaza/posts/1384343111699385; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Tfp56. *Professional Unions Gathering - Gaza Governorates*, **Facebook** (August 6, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/naqabatgaza/posts/pfbid0TQXEptoPqPyxyzbcbWRNyxTpDtfEmM5T8nTw1QdG8tz6YeVdXAbMFwgxLMVkpU2Ll?locale=ar_AR; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/BEEHW.

197 *@PalinfoAr*, **X** (August 6, 2018, 12:30 PM), https://x.com/palinfoar/status/1026400085419147264; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/GzeG3.

- **Attending Awards Ceremony For Outstanding UNRWA Graduates (July 2020):** On July 25, 2020, Al-Hindi and other trade union leaders, including Amir Al-Mishal, attended a ceremony organized by the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union to honor outstanding students who are children of UNRWA employees affiliated with the unions.[198]



Al-Hindi photographed next to Khalil Halabi (far left), retired UNRWA education supervisor and father of Mohammed Halabi, former World Vision Gaza head convicted of diverting funds to Hamas.

- **Al-Hindi: UNRWA Gaza Director Matthias Schmale "Must Atone For His Great Sin" (May 2021):** In May 2021, Al-Hindi heavily criticized statements by UNRWA Gaza Director Matthias Schmale admitting that Israeli strikes that month were "very precise" and played a key role in Hamas's ultimate decision to expel Schmale from Gaza. It was reported that Al-Hindi "stressed his rejection of the statements of the UNRWA Director in Gaza," saying: "It was a dagger in the side of the Palestinian cause. He committed a great sin and must atone for it."[199]







198 *Palestine University hosts a ceremony in honor of outstanding children of UNRWA employees*, **Palestine University** (July 25, 2020), https://up.edu.ps/ar/news/جامعة_فلسطين_تستضيف_حفل_تكريم_المتفوقين_من_أبناء_موظفي_وكالة_الغوث_وتشغيل_اللاجئين_-الأونروا; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/q3Nkh.

199 *The Gaza Unions Gathering hotels a conference entitled "Unions and their role in supporting Jerusalem and Gaza,"* **Al Resalah** (May 30, 2021), https://alresalah.ps/post/240372/تجمع-النقابات-بغزة-يعقد-مؤتمرا-تحت-عنوان-النقابات-ودورها-في-نصرة-القدس-وغزة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Eoz11.

- **Protesting UNRWA Discipline Of Teachers In Response to UN Watch Report (August 2021):** Al-Hindi was highly critical of UNRWA for investigating and suspending staff in response to UN Watch's August 2021 report exposing UNRWA staff incitement to terrorism and antisemitism on Facebook. The Professional Unions Association, headed by Al-Hindi, accused UNRWA's management of "submission to the will of 'Israel,'" which he said was seeking to end UNRWA "as a living witness to the continued suffering of our Palestinian people." Just like he did when in charge of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, Al-Hindi threatened to take "unprecedented protest steps" unless UNRWA's management "retracted these unacceptable decisions and returned the suspended employees to their jobs with honor and respect."[200]



Photo of August 2021 protests against UNRWA's response to the UN Watch report.[201]

200 *UNRWA in Gaza suspends some of its employees and refers them to investigation*, **Paltimeps** (August 25, 2021), https://paltimeps.ps/post/305031/الأونروا-بغزة-توقف-بعض-موظفيها-وتحيلهم-للتحقيق-والسبب; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/mcmu9. *Profession unions: UNRWA's suspension of employees on the basis of opinion makes it lose its neutrality*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (August 23, 2021), https://refugeesps.net/post/18498/النقابات-المهنية-إيقاف-أونروا-لموظفين-على-خلفية-الرأي-يفقدها-حياديتها; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/LYaH8.

201 *For political reasons, UNRWA responds to pressure from a Zionist organization and suspends employees from work*, **Al Jazeera** (August 25, 2021), https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2021/8/25/لدواع-سياسية-أونروا-تستجيب-لضغوط.





Photos of protests against U.S. conditions on renewed funding requiring UNRWA to enforce neutrality.[202]

- **Instigating UNRWA Solidarity Strike (February 2023):** In February 2023, Al-Hindi's Professional Unions Association instigated UNRWA teachers and students to join a strike organized by the Hamas Ministry of Education "in solidarity with the martyrs of Nablus" following an Israeli raid against armed militants in the city. When UNRWA management refused to join the strike, the Professional Unions Association, headed by Al-Hindi, condemned UNRWA and "called on the agency and all its institutions to adhere to what was announced by the factions and forces and the decision of the Ministry of Education to strike in solidarity with the righteous martyrs of Nablus."[203] Although UNRWA chose not to officially join the strike, it appears that UNRWA teachers and students defied that decision, as the UNRWA parents' committee "stressed its commitment to the Ministry of Education's decision to strike tomorrow, February 23, 2023."[204]

202 *Ramallah: Memorandum submitted to the United Nations rejecting the framework agreement between UNRWA and the United States*, **Wafa** (September 28, 2021), https://images2.wafa.ps/Pages/Details/33586; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/RbtLB.

203 *Union Gathering calls on UNRWA management to commit to strike*, **Felesteen** (February 22, 2023), https://felesteen.news/post/130060/تجمع-النقابات-يدعو-إدارة-الأونروا-إلى-الالتزام-بالإضراب; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/3HpTV.

204 *Clarification from UNRWA regarding the nature of working hours in its schools and institutions in the Gaza Strip*, **Moqdmon** (February 22, 2023), https://www.motqdmon.com/2023/02/692.html?m=1#google_vignette; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/7R3WH.

- **Attending UNRWA Retirement Ceremony For Amir Al-Mishal (June 2023):** On June 30, 2023, a post on a Facebook page for UNRWA employees documented Al-Hindi in his capacity as a head of the Association of Professional Unions attending a retirement ceremony honoring his successor as head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, Amir Al-Mishal, and giving him a gift.[205]



- **Criticizing UN For Seeking To Uphold UNRWA Neutrality (January 2024):** In January 2024, in response to the international outcry against UNRWA — after UN Watch exposed a 3,000-member UNRWA staff Telegram channel that celebrated the October 7th attacks, followed by the UN's announcement of an independent investigation into UNRWA neutrality — Al-Hindi again applied pressure on UNRWA. "The role of UNRWA is to serve the Palestinian people and not to level accusations at employees," said the Hamas leader, "and the Commissioners-General of UNRWA must denounce the occupation's massacres against our people."[206] Indeed, UNRWA's commissioner-generals have seen their role as serving Al-Hindi and his colleagues.

205 *UNRWA Health Department Staff Forum*, **Facebook** (June 10, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/groups/Employee.un/posts/9988500264494229/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/0gHNu.

206 *@paldf*, **X** (January 27, 2024, 7:00 PM), https://x.com/paldf/status/1751289084725559348?lang=ar; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/rcwYI. *Quds Network*, **Telegram** (January 27, 2024, 6:52 PM), https://t.me/QudsN/363436; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/d48HG.

Al-Hindi's Associates and Successors at UNRWA

Although Suhail Al-Hindi was forced to officially leave UNRWA in 2017, this section documents how in practice he and Hamas retained control — through his successors and associates. His replacement to head the union, Amir Al-Mishal, was a Hamas member who pledged to follow Al-Hindi, saying he would "not abandon our duty towards our national religious issues." Working together, they caused the removal of UNRWA's top international staff member in Gaza, Matthias Schmale, over his remark on Israeli TV acknowledging that Israel's missile strikes in Gaza that month were "very precise." Other colleagues of Al-Hindi at the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union include Issam Al-Daalis, who later became the head of Hamas administration in Gaza, and Ahmed Labad, one of 358 terrorists arrested by the IDF in its March 2024 raid on Shifa Hospital. The union is currently headed by a Hamas-affiliated UNRWA orthodontist who rejects UNRWA neutrality and supports Hamas.

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1 Amir Al-Mishal

Hamas Economist

Al-Mishal Succeeds Al-Hindi As Head of UNRWA Gaza Staff Union











Al-Hindi's successor as head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union was Amir Al-Mishal. At Al-Hindi's retirement ceremony, Al-Mishal vowed to continue on the same path as Al-Hindi. He pledged to "not abandon our duty towards our national religious causes" and to stand up to UNRWA management to protect workers rights and ensure UNRWA services continue. "I pledge, firstly, to God, and secondly, to you, to be a strong shield for your just causes and an impregnable wall confronting all of the union's challenges, on your behalf," he said.[207] In other words, the new union chief was pledging allegiance to Hamas.

Al-Mishal is a certified public accountant with advanced degrees in accounting and finance who had worked at UNRWA as an accountant since 1994.[208] Al-Mishal headed the UNRWA Auditing and Finance Department from 2001 until his retirement, and prior to 2001 he was deputy head of the department from 1998 to 2001.[209] From 2006 until 2011, Al-Mishal headed the Services Sector of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union. When Al-Mishal retired from UNRWA in 2023, Al-Hindi presented him with an award.[210] This underscores the close relationship of UNRWA's union chief with a Hamas leader.

At least for part of his tenure, Al-Mishal served as the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union representative to the UNRWA Employee Savings fund,[211] a retirement fund that can be accessed by employees when they leave the agency.[212] He was also the Social Security Fund official and Union representative on the Loans Committee from 2003–2012, with authority over who received loans.[213] In addition, in his position as head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, Al-Mishal oversaw the management of UNRWA employee Union fees. These fees are used for projects to benefit UNRWA employees and their families such as the UNRWA Staff Club, a state-of-the-art sports center located on prime Gaza real estate along the beach. This project was spearheaded by Al-Mishal who sought to create more such clubs.[214]

Al-Mishal is from a well-connected Hamas family. His father Ibrahim Abdul Rahman Al-Mishal "Abu Munir" was the Mukhtar of the Al-Bardawil clan which includes the Bardawil, Hassouna, Al-Mishal, and Al-Ja'bari families. The Al-Bardawil clan has produced numerous Hamas members and openly supports the Al-Qassam Brigades.[215]

207 *UNRWA Staff Club*, **Facebook** (May 4, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/lsucgaza/photos/t.616368920/1631121833594720/?type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/eO4D1.

208 *Amir Ibrahim Al-Mishal*, **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (October 10, 2010), https://web.archive.org/web/20110511003057/http://lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=117&extra=news&type=91.

209 *Id.*

210 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (June 7, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=16928879411486178set=pb.100012822816444.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/FfeiT.

211 *UNRWA staff union announces its new formation*, **Al Resalah** (March 5, 2011), https://alresalah.ps/post/29977/-اتحاد-الموظفين-بوكالة-الغوث-يعلن-تشكيلته-الجديدة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/vpjMg.

212 *Asu-North Lebanon*, **Facebook** (July 3, 2016), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid02MvRBMQjnSGdfsW1vaBQNSL7LHLhjVBsYUh1nbMM8A9es1WcdnsS1K4QZwXmGMDeKl&id=114430497893418&locale=fr_FR; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/p2v0t.

213 *Amir Ibrahim Al-Mishal*, **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (October 10, 2010), https://web.archive.org/web/20110511003057/http://lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=117&extra=news&type=91.

214 *Id.*; *UNRWA Staff Club*, **Facebook** (September 18, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/lsucgaza/photos/pb.100064710515115.-2207520000/8439424459431056/?type=3&locale=ar_AR*; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/zqs6I.

215 *The Bardawil family at home and abroad*, **Facebook** (May 29, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/Bardawilfamily/posts/2144695142433670; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/9TQ1T.

عائلة البردويل في الوطن و الشتات
May 29, 2018 ·

تحية براقة من عائلة البردويل ...
لفصائل المقاومة بلا استثناء التي كبدت العدو وما زالت تكبده وتتمني السلامة لجميع المجاهدين كما نتمني السلامة لابناء العائلة و شعبنا من غدر المحتل ..



11

Translation:

A shining salute from the Bardawil family...

To all the resistance factions without exception, who have inflicted and continue to inflict losses on the enemy. We wish safety for all the fighters, as we also wish safety for the members of our family and our people from the treachery of the occupier.

When Mukhtar Ibrahim Al-Mishal passed away on September 21, 2023,[216] the "Al-Bardawil family in the homeland and the diaspora" Facebook page announced his death and eulogized him as "the respected elder" and "Mukhtar of the Bardawil family in the homeland and diaspora."[217]



The Association of Retired UNRWA Employees expressed "its deepest condolences and heartfelt sympathy to the entire Al-Mishal family, particularly to Dr. Amir Al-Mishal (Abu Muhammad), former head of the Arab Employees Union at UNRWA in Gaza, on the passing of his father, the late Mukhtar Abu Munir Al-Mishal."[218]

The family's close ties to senior Hamas leadership are evident by the attendance of Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh and other key Hamas figures at the 2016 wedding of Ahmed Muhammad Al-Mishal, a cousin of Amir Al-Mishal.[219]

216 *Ibrahim Abdul Rahman Al-Mishal (Abu Munir)*, **Wafayat** (September 21, 2023), https://wafayat.ps/people/-إبراهيم-عبد-الرحمن-المسحال-أبو-منير; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/3MmLm.

217 *Al-Bardawil family in the homeland and the diaspora*, **Facebook** (September 21, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=353008187055471&id=100070388772114&_rdr; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/NNW3v.

218 *Association of Retired Arab Employees of UNRWA in Gaza*, **Facebook** (September 21, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=714008024088296&set=pb.100064373154952.-2207520000&locale=lt_LT; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/qZSBS.

219 *Al-Bardawil family in the homeland and the diaspora*, **Facebook** (March 25, 2016), https://www.facebook.com/Bardawilfamily/posts/1760230084213513; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/qrXHu.



Moreover, Salah Al-Bardawil, a senior Hamas Politburo member since 2021 who was killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike on March 23, 2025,[220] was part of the Al-Bardawil clan and a cousin of Amir Al-Mishal. The two, along with Amir's father — the family Mukhtar Ibrahim Al-Mishal — are seen in photos presiding over family events together in August 2022[221] and August 2023.[222]





220 *Senior Hamas leader among 23 killed in Israeli airstrikes on southern Gaza*, **Al Jazeera** (March 23, 2025), https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/3/23/senior-hamas-leader-among-23-killed-in-israeli-strikes-in-southern-gaza.

221 *The Bardawil family at home and abroad*, **Facebook** (August 28, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/Bardawilfamily/posts/3368394333397072; ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/CUmBu. *The Bardawil family at home and abroad*, **Facebook** (August 28, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=3368393520063820&set=pcb.3368394333397072; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/6Ik3C. *The Bardawil family at home and abroad*, **Facebook** (August 28, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=3367307950172377&set=pb.100070388772114.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/2eXWu.

222 *The Bardawil family at home and abroad*, **Facebook** (August 24, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/Bardawilfamily/posts/337927791896844; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/VGgNY.

Another prominent member of the Al-Bardawil clan was Al-Qassam Brigades operative Muhammad Salah Muhammad Al-Bardawil, a "journalist" and Hamas propagandist whom Israel eliminated in April 2025, a few days after the older Salah Al-Bardawil. He had been responsible for filming propaganda videos with Israeli hostages in Gaza during the war.[223]



Muhammad Salah Muhammad Al-Bardawil at a Hamas event.

Al Jazeera's famous investigative journalist, Tamer Al-Mishal, is also part of the Al-Bardawil clan. Now based in Qatar, Tamer Al-Mishal was born in the Al-Shati refugee camp and began his career in the BBC's Gaza office.[224] Hamas documents captured by the IDF in Gaza indicate that Tamer Al-Mishal received instructions from Hamas on how to cover various Gaza events to support the "resistance."[225] A 2023 document also shows that Hamas established a secure communication line with Al Jazeera to enable the group to communicate sensitive information, as well as to communicate during emergencies.[226]

The IDF has accused Tamer Al-Mishal — presenter of Al Jazeera's investigative program "What is Hidden is Greater" — of hiring Hamas and PIJ fighters to masquerade as journalists in order to give Hamas cover[227] and of publishing propaganda sent from Hamas, which refers to Tamer Al-Mishal as its "brother."[228]

223 *@IDF*, **X** (April 4, 2025, 4:26 PM), https://x.com/IDF/status/1908149280830816391; *@i24NEWS_EN*, **X** (April 4, 2025, 4:34 PM), https://x.com/i24NEWS_EN/status/1908151123669610904.

224 *Tamer Al-Mishal*, **Najah** (January 5, 2019), https://nn.najah.edu/news/archive/2019/05/01/225282/?__cf_chl_tk=o5MiAQmq9oLQ0A.WrcXBTVnxVt_pXSYjzaDjCZYrwZA-1748522281-1.0.1.1-eiV3fjWMQcU61tHe2lAZjtzBHRTgrqoBvbtjttuDIDs; *Reporting under occupation in Palestine*, **Al-Jazeera** (February 28, 2021), https://institute.aljazeera.net/en/ajr/article/reporting-under-occupation-palestine.

225 *Hamas Documents Revela the Depth of the Collaboration Between Al Jazeera and the Hamas Terrorist Organization*, **IDF** (October 29, 2024), https://www.idf.il/en/mini-sites/idf-press-releases-israel-at-war/october-24-pr/hamas-documents-reveal-the-depth-of-the-collaboration-between-al-jazeera-and-the-hamas-terrorist-organization/#:~:text=establishing%20a%20secure%20communication%20line,between%20Hamas%20and%20Al%20Jazeera.

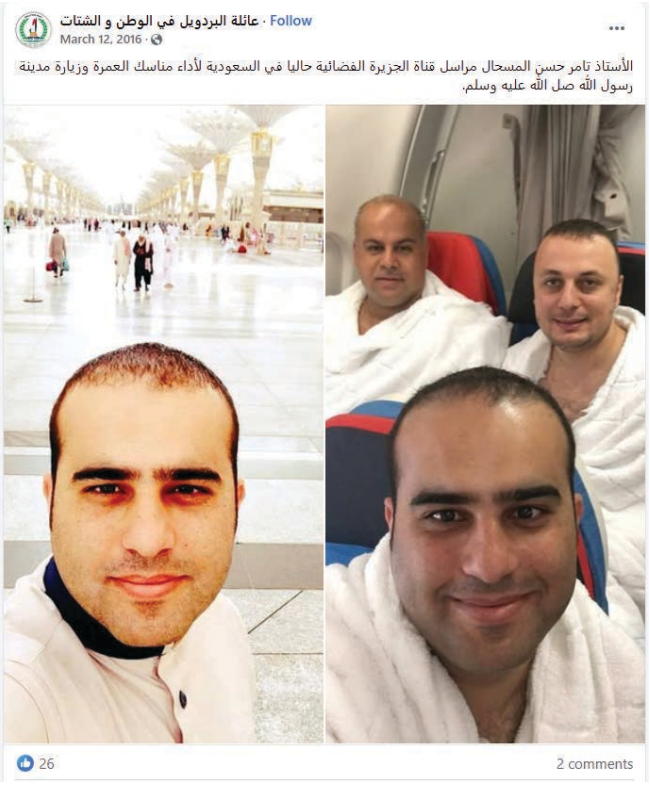
226 *Id.*

227 *@AvichayAdraee*, **X** (October 23, 2024, 7:08 PM), https://x.com/AvichayAdraee/status/1849120781982224468; *see also @AvichayAdraee*, **X** (March 25, 2025, 6:23 PM), https://x.com/AvichayAdraee/status/1904569884480094290.

228 *@AvichayAdraee*, **X** (August 29, 2024, 9:44 PM), https://x.com/AvichayAdraee/status/1829228709250744483.

The Al-Bardawil clan Facebook page expressed pride in its famous family member Tamer Al-Mishal in a November 2016 Facebook post which praised his "elegance"[229] and blessed him on his pilgrimage to Mecca in March 2016.[230]





229 *The Bardawil family at home and abroad*, **Facebook** (November 7, 2016), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1860939364142584&set=a.1734432826793239; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/56SUU.

230 *The Bardawil family at home and abroad*, **Facebook** (March 12, 2016), https://www.facebook.com/Bardawilfamily/posts/1753729021530286; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/KEcyk.

Amir Al-Mishal Used Position as UNRWA Accountant to Siphon Money to Hamas



Al-Mishal giving an award to the Palestine Islamic Bank for its role in facilitating UNRWA Gaza Staff Union events. The Palestine Islamic Bank is subject to sanctions by the U.S. Treasury Department.[231]

Al-Mishal used his position to help enrich Hamas financially. In his Hamas capacity, Al-Mishal is a member of the Board of Directors of the Hamas-controlled Al-Intaj Bank (a.k.a. "Production Bank"), a Hamas financial scheme in which ordinary Gazans, including UNRWA employees, deposit personal funds which Hamas then "borrows" for its military purposes. Although called a bank, it is not actually part of the Palestinian banking system.[232]

In his role with the Hamas Al-Intaj Bank, Al-Mishal has been able to siphon Al-Intaj Bank funds, which include deposits of Gazans who receive salaries and aid from UNRWA under Al-Mishal's management, to Hamas. When UNRWA faced a cash-flow crisis due to U.S. President Trump cutting aid to the agency during his first term, Al-Mishal vehemently opposed any attempts to cut UNRWA employee salaries and continued to direct UNRWA employee funds to the Hamas Al-Intaj Bank to cover the shortfalls there from Hamas theft of the funds.[233]

In August 2021, Al-Mishal was implicated in a corruption scandal when young UNRWA employees demanded Hamas let them use "their accrued financial entitlements, which have not been paid to them for years by the Hamas-affiliated Al-Intaj Bank" to purchase an apartment. Al-Mishal was accused of "wearing two hats," *i.e.*, having a financial role with UNRWA overseeing the disbursement of funds donated to UNRWA

231 *Sanctions List Search*, **OFAC** (Last visited March 6, 2025), https://sanctionssearch.ofac.treas.gov/Details.aspx?id=11913.

232 *Al-Intaj Bank is an association created by Hamas to deceive the people of Gaza*, **Egypt Independent** (March 18, 2021), https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/2286159; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/WyGxW. *Gaza: The dismissed government opens the Al-Intaj Bank and the Monetary Authority warns of the risks of dealing with it*, **Unitedco** (May 28, 2013), https://www.unitedco.ps/ar/Article/266/غزة-الحكومة-المقالة-تفتتح-بنك-الإنتاج-وسلطة-النقد-تحذر-من-مخاطر-التعامل-معه ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/DbkcK.

233 *After America announced the resumption of UNRWA aid: How did Hamas deal with the crisis in Gaza*, **Egypt Independent** (August 4, 2021), https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/2307211.

for the needy and collecting union fees from UNRWA employees and also director at Al-Intaj Bank, making decisions about UNRWA-employee funds managed by Hamas. This allowed Al-Mishal "to transfer funds allocated to the residents of Gaza, who are suffering from a huge economic crisis, to the Hamas movement."[234]

On October 7th, 2024, exactly one year after the Hamas October 7th atrocities, the U.S. Department of the Treasury announced sanctions on Al-Intaj Bank, stating that Hamas had raised as much as $10 million through "sham or front charities" in Gaza. In its announcement, the Treasury Department explained:

> Hamas uses unlicensed banks, like Al-Intaj Bank (Al-Intaj), to continue to fund internal operations and to skirt international sanctions by operating outside the international financial system. Founded in 2013, Al-Intaj is an unlicensed Hamas-run bank in Gaza that provides financial services for Hamas despite not being connected to international banks. The Palestine Monetary Authority did not provide a license for this bank to operate; instead, the bank received a permit from the Hamas-led administration in Gaza.[235]

As Head of UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, Amir Al-Mishal Threatened UNRWA Management Just Like Suhail Al-Hindi

As head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union through September 2023, Amir Al-Mishal employed the same extortionist tactics as Suhail Al-Hindi to oppose decisions by UNRWA management.

In the summer of 2018, Al-Mishal led a major confrontation against UNRWA management with daily protests and strikes after the agency laid off 1,000 contract workers due to the funding crisis created by President Trump's suspension of U.S. funding to UNRWA. Hamas fully backed these protests. Senior Hamas leader Mahmoud Al-Zahar spoke to the protesters inside an UNRWA building and pledged Hamas's full support for the protests.[236]



234 *Id.*

235 *Treasury Targets Significant International Hamas Fundraising Network*, **U.S. Department of the Treasury** (October 7, 2024), https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy2632.

236 *Protests at UNRWA Headquarters in Gaza after staff layoffs*, **Swiss Info** (August 2018), https://www.swissinfo.ch/ara/ احتجاجات-في-مقر-وكالة-الاونروا-في-غزة-بعد-تسريح-موظفين/44309660.

In early July, Al-Mishal staged a sit-in by the affected employees in front of UNRWA's Gaza headquarters, threatening further "unprecedented protest measures." He accused UNRWA of crossing a "red line" and appealed to the National and Islamic Forces, a coalition of terrorist groups, "to exercise their national role and historical responsibilities in forcing all concerned to back down from this decision and protect the refugee issue and their services."[237] Three weeks later, Al-Mishal declared an agency-wide sit-in and called on regional and department heads to go on strike, "boycott the administration," and "not implement its decisions." He again endorsed the activities of the "Islamic committees and factions" and called on them to "assume their national role with strength."[238]



In August 2018, UNRWA employees shut down the UNRWA Gaza headquarters. UNRWA Gaza Director Matthias Schmale admitted that UNRWA had lost control of the site. He complained that he hadn't been able to work from the office in more than two weeks: "I am the captain of the ship and I have 13,000 sailors, and they removed me from my command and confined me to the captain's room." Al-Mishal described the events as "a peaceful and safe sit-in" and said demonstrations would continue until an agreement was reached.[239] Yet, by early October, most of UNRWA's international staff had to be evacuated for their safety.[240] For the next month, the Union pursued dialogue with UNRWA management to resolve the issue and an agreement was reached in mid-November.[241] Increased contributions from Arab states to cover the shortfall from the U.S. funding withdrawal also contributed to ending the crisis.[242]

237 *Cutting off livelihoods is like cutting off lives*, **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (July 3, 2018), https://web.archive.org/web/20180929081033/http://www.lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=3224&extra=news&type=114.

238 *Statement No. 7 Agency management declares war on employees and Palestinian refugees*, **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (July 25, 2018), https://web.archive.org/web/20180929144625/http://www.lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=3237&extra=news&type=114.

239 *Protests at UNRWA Headquarters in Gaza after staff layoffs*, **Swiss Info** (August 2018), https://www.swissinfo.ch/ara/احتجاجات-في-مقر-وكالة-الاونروا-في-غزة-بعد-تسريح-موظفين/44309660.

240 *UNRWA pulls some staff from Gaza amid threats*, **CNN** (October 3, 2018), https://edition.cnn.com/2018/10/02/middleeast/unrwa-gaza-intl/index.html; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vwQZjKYI1cY; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uIyie6cJRj8.

241 *UNRWA workers issues*, **Facebook** (October 4, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid02KFysaYiLhKnwchpJcsTC5PwgJkysA4GvJgPeEPMByUt4KP6sLVdQ3DXmDyaZqjPcl&id=1866067796997557; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/kQCSf. *UNRWA Staff Union in Gaza decides to extend dialogue period with agency management*, **Watania** (October 17, 2018), https://watania.net/news/121883-اتحاد-موظفي-أونروا-بغزة-يقرر-تمديد-فتر ; *Mohamed Nasr*, **Facebook** (November 28, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10217780191038524&set=pcb.497482760760677; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/eqpxm.

242 *UNRWA confirms that attempts to eliminate it have failed*, **Al Jazeera** (November 27, 2018), https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2018/11/27/الناطق-باسم-الأونروا-محاولات-القضاء.





Left: Photo featuring noose with text attacking UNRWA: "cutting off [peoples'] livelihoods is like cutting off [peoples'] necks."[243] *Right: Mahmoud Khalaf making a speech in front of UNRWA headquarters.*[244]



Digging a grave for "dignity" showing a photo of Matthias Schmale who is accused of killing their dignity.[245]

Likewise in early May 2021, Al-Mishal pressured UNRWA to reinstate 27 employees that had been dismissed.[246] After meeting with UNRWA management, including UNRWA Gaza Director Matthias Schmale, Al-Mishal "confirmed in a statement that it is expected that all employees dismissed from UNRWA will return to their previous work before Eid Al-Fitr."[247]

243 *Strike paralyzes all UNRWA facilities in Gaza following decision to dismiss employees*, **Al-Hadaf News** (July 26, 2018), https://hadfnews.ps/post/44066/الإضراب-يشل-جميع-مرافق-الأونروا-في-غزة-عقب-قرار-فصل-الموظفين; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ImRM7.

244 *UNRWA: Tomorrow a comprehensive strike in all institutions*, **Al Resalah** (September 23, 2018), https://alresalah.ps/post/188611/-مكتوب-الأونروا-غدا-إضراب-شامل-في-جميع-المؤسسات; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ddvfW.

245 *1,000 UNRWA employees threaten hunger strike in Gaza*, **Alalam News Network** (July 29, 2018), https://www.alalam.ir/news/3694656/1000-غزة-في-الطعام-عن-بالإضراب-يهددون-بالأونروا-موظف ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/RKOTm.

246 *Al Mishal: Reaching an agreement with UNRWA management to solve th problem of dismissed employees*, **Fatah Media Gaza** (May 5, 2021), https://fatehgaza.com/ar/post/34670/المسحال-التوصل-لاتفاق-مع-إدارة-أونروا-لحل-مشكلة-الموظفين-المفصولين; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/9CxSM.

247 *Gaza: Announcement of a solution to the crisis of dismissed employees from UNRWA*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (May 5, 2021), https://refugeesps.net/post/17494/غزة-الإعلان-عن-حل-أزمة-الموظفين-المفصولين-من-وكالة-أونروا; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/HBanG.

Throughout 2021, Al-Mishal mobilized strikes and protests against UNRWA over employee and salary cuts.[248] The strikes ended in November when Al-Mishal got UNRWA management to promise to increase employee hiring and increase available funds.[249]

Al-Mishal was also instrumental in mobilizing protests against UNRWA's Matthias Schmale and getting him expelled from Gaza after he commented on TV that Israeli airstrikes on Gaza in May 2021 were precise. On May 31, Al-Mishal led a march on UNRWA headquarters where he condemned Schmale's statements, declaring that "we will not rest until the departure of the UNRWA operations director and his deputy due to their great failures."[250] Al-Mishal accused Schmale of targeting "the martyrs, the wounded and the innocent," proclaiming "there is no place in Gaza for anyone who disrespected our martyrs. They should submit their resignations and leave promptly."[251] In a June 1, 2021 Facebook post thanking his UNRWA colleagues for joining the protests against Schmale, Al-Mishal again declared that "there is no place among us for anyone who conspires against our people and defiles the blood of our martyrs."[252] Following Al-Mishal's UNRWA protests, Hamas charged Schmale with "justifying the Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip,"[253] declared him persona non-grata, and expelled him from Gaza.[254]



UNRWA protests against Matthias Schmale with posters objecting to neutrality.

248 *Freezing the annual bonus for UNRWA employees: What is the story and what are the demands?* **Felesteen** (March 13, 2021), https://felesteen.news/post/84735/تجميد-العلاوة-السنوية-لموظفي-أونروا-ما-القصة-وما-المطالبات; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/qpQop. *UNRWA Staff Union in Gaza: No prospect of resolving the crisis with the agency's management*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (November 3, 2021), https://refugeesps.net/post/19197/اتحاد-موظفي-أونروا-بغزة-لا-أفق-لحل-الأزمة-مع-إدارة-الوكالة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/dir7n.

249 *UNRWA staff union: Next year will witness an increase in the employment rate in the agency*, **motqdmon** (November 30, 2021), https://www.motqdmon.com/2021/11/347.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/1XENn.

250 *Thousands of UNRWA employees in Gaza demonstrate against Matthias Schmale's statements*, **Al-Hadaf News** (May 31, 2021), https://hadfnews.ps/post/83338/الآلاف-من-موظفي-الأونروا-في-غزة-يتظاهرون-رفضا-لتصريحات-ماتياس-شمالي ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/UmiEa.

251 *Protest demonstrations in Gaza demanding the departure of the Director of UNRWA operations in Gaza*, **Mehr News** (May 31, 2021), https://ar.mehrnews.com/news/1914958/مظاهرة-إحتجاجية-في-غزة-طالبت-برحيل-مدير-عمليات-الاونروا-في-غزة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/PSVw2.

252 *Amir Al-Mishal*, **Facebook** (June 1, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/amir.elmishal/posts/pfbid02SaoDNp12E2QmEmb69uJzAY5HQe6Wu7D9EKY8YZ2rBcQ2d8dbf5TJdaYyCXwSkpV9l ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/6SeMu.

253 *After his statements that angered the Palestinians, UNRWA summons its director in Gaza*, **Al Araby** (June 3, 2021), https://www.alaraby.com/news/بعد-تصريحاته-التي-أغضبت-الفلسطينيين-أونروا-تستدعي-مديرها-في-غزة?amp=1; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/QCRtn.

254 *Palestinians declare UNRWA Gaza Director 'persona non grata,'* **Jerusalem Post** (June 2, 2021), https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/palestinians-declare-unrwa-gaza-director-persona-non-grata-669915.



UNRWA protests against Matthias Schmale with posters objecting to neutrality.



In April 2023, shortly before he retired, Al-Mishal criticized UNRWA management for demanding the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union implement a women's membership quota and refusing to hold Union elections until such quota is implemented. The Union opposed this demand, "stressing the right of every employee to nominate himself without being restricted by quotas or any conditions whatsoever."[255]

255 *UNRWA Employees Union: A comprehensive strike in all institutions next Sunday*, **Shehab News** (April 3, 2023), https://shehabnews.com/post/121006/اتحاد-موظفي-أونروا-إضراب-شامل-بكافة-المؤسسات-الأحد-المقبل; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/7CaIP.

2 Mustafa Al-Ghoul

Hamas-Affiliated UNRWA Orthodontist



Dr. Mustafa Ibrahim Al-Ghoul is an UNRWA orthodontist who has been a member of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union since at least October 2014 when he represented the union at a meeting.[256] He is also the director of the Al-Rimal Center for Dentistry and Orthodontics.[257] The Al-Rimal neighborhood was home to Hamas government ministries and the Hamas leadership prior to the October 7th war launched by Hamas.[258]

256 *Arab Employees Union*, **Facebook** (October 26, 2014), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=528735563928237&set=a.284154478386348; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/R6Jl3.

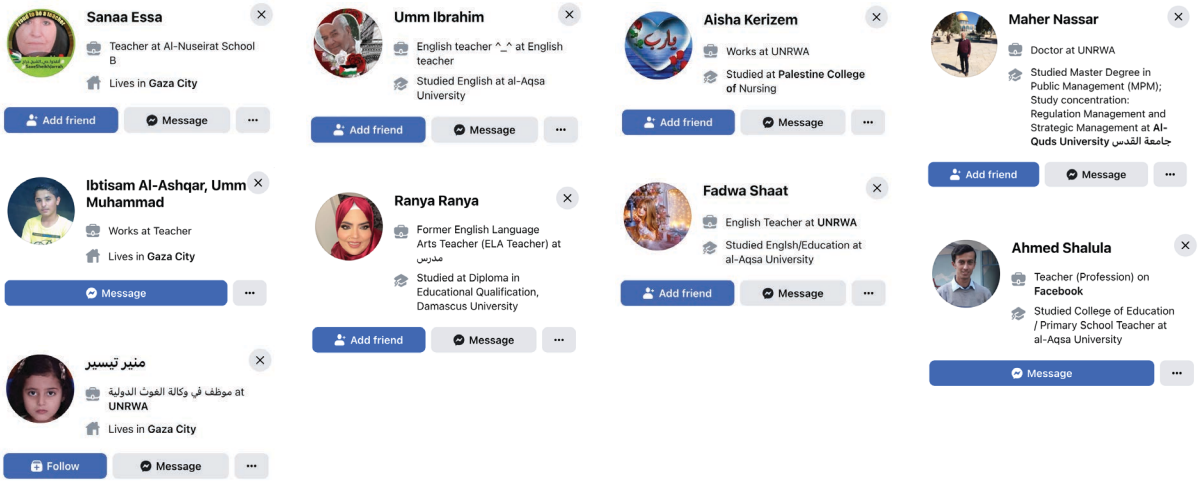
257 *@talaat_elmofti*, **X** (September 1, 2023, 6:06 PM), https://x.com/talaat_elmofti/status/1697626971407016307; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/xGH0a.

258 *Unprecedented Israeli bombardment lays waste to upscale Rimal the beating heart of Gaza City*, **AP** (October 11, 2023), https://apnews.com/article/gaza-rimal-israel-hamas-incursion-war-0411aa82d51fc801c117213e508a1a1d; *IDF troops enter luxury homes of Hamas leaders in Gaza*, **Ynet** (November 19, 2023), https://www.ynetnews.com/article/rytpiuwe6.



In October 2015, the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Facebook page tagged Al-Ghoul in a photo of him together with the union's leadership at a union protest "backing Al-Aqsa and Jerusalem" in the context of the 2015 Knife Intifada[259] — a clear neutrality violation. As explained in UNRWA's Code of Ethics "attending demonstrations or signing petitions that are political or could become politicized is considered a breach of neutrality."[260] However, Al-Ghoul like his predecessors openly rejects UNRWA neutrality, claiming on Facebook that neutrality "means siding with your people, belonging to your homeland, and defending your cause."[261]

The post received 43 likes, including by several UNRWA employees.



259 *Arab Employees Union*, **Facebook** (October 14, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=695630933905365&id=100003753954388; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/7E7OJ.

260 *Code of Ethics*, **UNRWA** (2023), https://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/content/resources/unrwa-code-of-ethics-v4-2023-english_1.pdf.

261 *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (May 26, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=3805522466213439&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/itZHK.



As of December 2015, Al-Ghoul served as the Gaza region representative for the union's savings fund.[262] In April 2019, he was elected to head the Services Sector of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union as part of the Hamas-affiliated list,[263] and in January 2025, he became head of the union.[264]

262 *Arab Employees Union*, **Facebook** (December 21, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=717633201705138&id=100003753954388; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/XAZ0M.

263 *Al Rimal Dental and Orthodontic Center*, **Facebook** (April 24, 2019), https://www.facebook.com/ROCMG/posts/2116139378471490; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/MyVK8. *See also Azmi Radwan*, **Facebook** (April 10, 2019), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=2291414161132704&id=100007924266659 ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/7IS3m.

264 *Sharif Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (January 25, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=3338215159656490&id=100004041170910; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/DCbwS. *Azmi Radwan*, **Facebook** (February 7, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/groups/1278444089365367/?multi_permalinks=1794652261077878&hoisted_section_header_type=recently_seen; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/UBuMk. *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (February 11, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid027NE6KS7d1vvttZDYiaE1ubXQWKv5NXsQu9YYn4oSJ6phPQRkqHuCYvpMi6eb8p57l&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Bd8q8.



Al-Ghoul, along with Al-Mishal and Al-Hindi, was one of the leaders of the May 2021 protests to oust Matthias Schmale for his May 2021 Israeli TV comments appearing to defend Israeli missile strikes in Gaza. On May 30, 2021, Al-Ghoul made numerous Facebook posts encouraging Gazans to attend the Schmale protests and providing logistical details and COVID-related health instructions for those joining.[265] He also promised to "defend" UNRWA and "expel anyone who offends it and its goals."[266] After Schmale was expelled, Al-Ghoul celebrated his departure with a poem.[267]



Translation:

The decision came from Gaza.

Go home, now.

The two together [referring to Schmale and his deputy],

And anyone who harms our people.

265 *See, e.g.*, *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (May 30, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=3815747488524270&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/sz7he. *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (May 30, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=3817840651648287&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/jV57k. *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (May 30, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=3817859424979743&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/zSKl5.

266 *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (May 30, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=3815952795170406&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/QR3Bx.

267 *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (June 2, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=3826025780829774&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/vpneX.

Aside from having been elected to the union on the Hamas-affiliated list, Al-Ghoul's family is closely tied to Hamas. His nephew is Hamas Nukhba fighter Ismail Maher Al-Ghoul who was killed by Israel on July 31, 2024, for his participation in the October 7th massacre. Although a Hamas document seized by the IDF shows that he had been a member of Hamas's Al-Qassam Brigades since at least 2014,[268] Ismail Al-Ghoul masqueraded himself as an Al Jazeera journalist during the October 7th war. In a July 31, 2024, Facebook post, Mustafa Al-Ghoul mourned his nephew Ismail, saying he "was proud" of him "and always will be."[269]



Aside from Al-Ghoul's family ties to Hamas, he also openly endorses Hamas terrorism on Facebook.

268 *Ismail Al-Ghoul, a terrorist in the elite unit who also worked only during the war as a correspondent for Al Jazeera*, **IDF** (August 3, 2024), https://www.idf.il/ar/جيش-الدفاع-الإسرائيلي/الحرب-ضد-حماس/swordsofiron30824-503/; *@AvichayAdraee*, **X** (August 3, 2024, 4:23 PM), https://x.com/AvichayAdraee/status/1819725831414882588?lang=en.

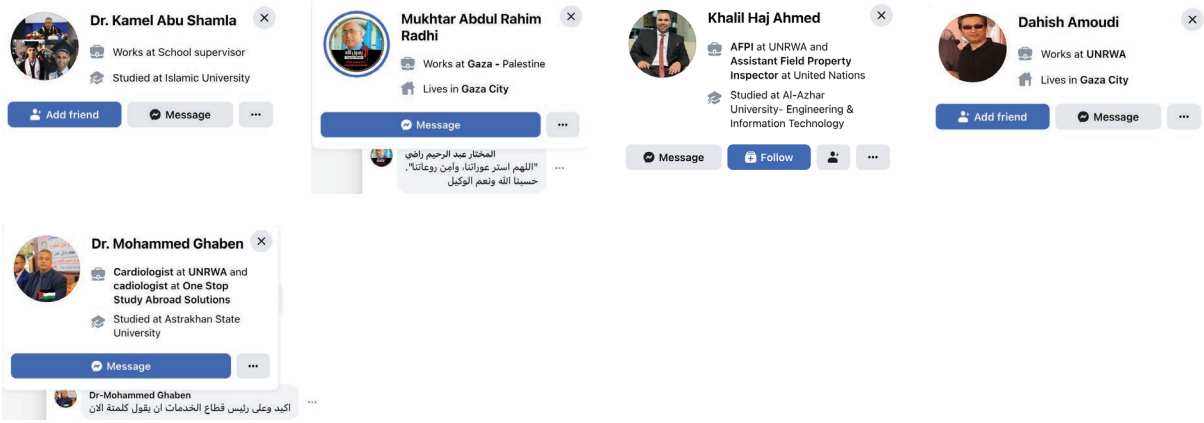
269 *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (July 31, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=769795605363670 8&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Ot0vN.

Praises Hamas Terrorists

On May 20, 2021, in the midst of that month's Israel-Hamas war, Al-Ghoul praised the Hamas fighters for "exposing the weakness and fragility of their [Israel's] army."[270]



The post was endorsed by several of Al-Ghoul's UNRWA colleagues in their comments.



270 *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (May 20, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=3787912051307814&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/443Za.

Prays for the Martyrs and Blesses the Mujahideen

On May 21, 2021, Al-Ghoul prayed for God to "have mercy on our innocent martyrs" and thanked God for having "blessed the arms of our pure mujahideen."[271]



The post was endorsed by several of Al-Ghoul's UNRWA colleagues in their comments.



271 *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (May 21, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=3788618901237129&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/GJAIF.

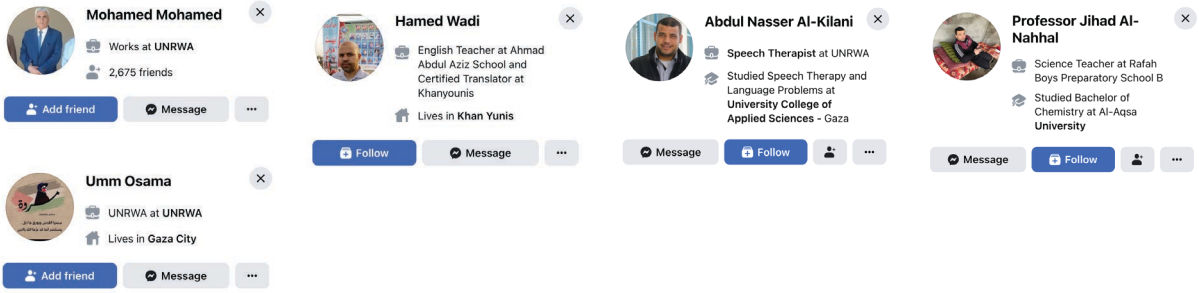
Commemorates Hamas Milestone

On December 17, 2021, Al-Ghoul commemorated the December 17, 1992 deportation to southern Lebanon of 415 top Hamas and PIJ leaders, including Ismail Haniyeh. In his post, Al-Ghoul called the event "the victory of the will and the return [to Palestine]."[272] That event was a formative event for Hamas which had been established only a few years earlier and Al-Ghoul's commemoration of it indicates his identification with Hamas. Haniyeh referred to the expulsion as "a stage that produced a strategic transformation in the history of Hamas and the Palestinian people" and stated that it "laid the groundwork for the basis of relations between resistance movements and some regional powers [*i.e.*, Hezbollah, Iran, etc.]"[273] Al-Ghoul also liked comments on his post fondly recalling that time.





This post was liked by 32 people, including many UNRWA employees.



272 *Mustafa Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (December 17, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=4421965817902431&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/VdMZZ.

273 *Hamas chief visits place of his exile in south Lebanon after 27 years*, **Middle East Monitor** (September 14, 2020), https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20200914-hamas-chief-visits-place-of-his-exile-in-south-lebanon-after-27-years/; *Hamas marks Marj-al-Zohour anniversary*, **Palestinian Information Center** (December 17, 2022), https://english.palinfo.com/o_post/Hamas-marks-Marj-al-Zohour-anniversary/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/q9qMT.

3 Essam Al-Daalis

UNRWA Teacher, Head of UNRWA Gaza Staff Union's Teacher Sector, and Senior Hamas Leader



Essam Deeb Abdullah Al-Daalis worked at UNRWA as a teacher from 1994 until at least 2011, eventually becoming an assistant director. He joined the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union as a member of the Teachers' Sector in 2006. He headed the Union's Teachers' Sector from 2009 to 2012 and served as Vice President of the Staff Union.[274] At the same time, between 2009 and 2013, Al-Daalis served in an executive capacity within Hamas's internal administrative structures, specifically as head of the Financial and Economic Department.[275]

In September 2011, Al-Daalis criticized UNRWA for suspending Suhail Al-Hindi without pay for his Hamas activities, calling the suspension "an unprecedented step that lacks rationality" and "unjust."[276] As part of the protest, on October 2, 2011, Al-Daalis announced the cancellation of the annual Teachers' Day celebrations and a comprehensive strike and sit-in at UNRWA headquarters instead.[277]

274 *Issam Deeb Al-Daalis*, **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (June 28, 2012), https://web.archive.org/web/20120817064028/http://lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=981&extra=news&type=91; *UNRWA staff union announces its new formation*, **Al Resalah** (March 5, 2011), https://alresalah.ps/post/29977/اتحاد-الموظفين-بوكالة-الغوث-يعلن-تشكيلته-الجديدة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/vpjMg.

275 *Government leaders assassinated by Israel after resumption of aggression on Gaza*, **Al Jazeera** (March 18, 2025), https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/2025/3/18/تعرف-على-القيادات-الحكومية-التي.

276 *Protest against UNRWA's arrest of Palestinian unionist*, **Al Jazeera** (September 11, 2011), https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2011/9/11/احتجاج-لتوقيف-أونروا-نقابيا-فلسطينيا.

277 *World Teachers' Day!!! A cry in the face of injustice*, **UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Archive** (October 2, 2011), https://web.archive.org/web/20111002202828/http://lsugaza.ps/unrwa/subpage.php?scid=100&id=720&extra=news&type=114.



Al-Daalis speaking at 2011 Suhail Al-Hindi protests.

Just after the 2011 Al-Hindi protests, Al-Daalis was appointed to leadership positions in Hamas, including as a personal advisor to Ismail Haniyeh in 2012 and 2014.[278] In that capacity, on March 30, 2014, Al-Daalis argued that freeing Palestinian prisoners jailed for planning or perpetrating terror attacks could not be achieved "through negotiations," but "only through the kidnapping of Israeli soldiers" in order to exchange them.[279] Just a few months later, in June 2014, Hamas operatives kidnapped three Israeli teens in the West Bank with the goal of exchanging them for Palestinian prisoners. Ultimately, the kidnappers murdered the teens instead.[280]



278 *Issam Al-Daalis appointed as personal advisor to Haniyeh*, **Paltimeps** (September 25, 2012), https://paltimeps.ps/post/24155/-تعيين-عصام-الدعاليس-مستشارا-شخصيا-لهنية; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/W2Jgp. *Al-Daalis assumes th epresidency of the government work follow-up committee*, **Andalou Agency** (June 14, 2021), https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/-الدول-العربية/رسميا-الدعليس-يتولى-رئاسة-متابعة-العمل-الحكومي-في-غزة/2272729.

279 *Al-Daalis: Negotiations will not achieve any gain and will only bring destruction*, **Sama News** (March 31, 2014), https://samanews.ps/ar/post/195145/الدعاليس-المفاوضات-لن-تحقق-أي-مكسب-ولن-تأتي-إلا-بالدمار; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Y73hN.

280 *Hamas Admits to Kidnapping and Killing Israeli Teens*, **NPR** (August 22, 2014), https://www.npr.org/2014/08/22/342318367/hamas-finally-admits-to-kidnapping-and-killing-israeli-teens.

Al-Daalis was also a member of the Hamas Politburo overseeing a large portion of the Hamas budget from 2009 to 2013 and he was the deputy head of the Hamas Political Department from 2012 to 2020.[281] In 2010, he was implicated in a Hamas corruption scandal in which he was accused of purchasing land with stolen funds and registering it in the names of his family members.[282]

In March 2021, Al-Daalis was re-elected to the Hamas Politburo and appeared in a photo with the top Hamas leadership, including Yahya Sinwar and Suhail Al-Hindi.[283]



In June 2021, Al-Daalis was chosen to head Hamas's government administration in Gaza.[284] As the Hamas government representative, Al-Daalis met with UN Special Coordinator for Middle East Peace Tor Wennesland in October 2021. They discussed "mechanisms for disbursing the Qatari grant to needy families" and "ways to finance relief and development projects to reduce unemployment."[285]

281 *Al-Daalis assumes the presidency of the government work follow-up committee*, **Andalou Agency** (June 14, 2021), https://www.aa.com.tr/ar/2272729/الدول-العربية/رسميا-الدعليس-يتولى-رئاسة-متابعة-العمل-الحكومي-في-غزة ; *A secret report obtained by Al-Seyassah reveals the secrets of what is happening within the political and military ranks of Hamas*, **Falestinona** (November 28, 2010), https://www.falestinona.com/flst/Art/164#gsc.tab=0; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/RwG8A.

282 *Names of Hamas leaders involved in the case of embezzling money from citizens*, **Palestinian March Youth Movement** (June 24, 2010), https://alqudstalknet.wordpress.com/2010/06/24/اسماء-قادة-حماس-المتورطين-في-قضية-اختل/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/jflzk.

283 *Hamas leader reveals: Women competed for the position of movement's leader*, **Al Quds** (March 15, 2021), https://www.alquds.co.uk/قيادية-في-حماس-تكشف-المرأة-نافست-على-من/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/BhjPt.

284 *Mapping Palestinian Politics: Essam Al-Daalis*, **ECFR** (Last visited February 13, 2025), https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping_palestinian_politics/essam-Al-dalis/; *Hamas appoints new head of government administration in Gaza*, **Middle East Monitor** (June 12, 2021), https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20210612-hamas-appoints-new-head-of-government-administration-in-gaza/; *Who is Issam Al-Daalis, head of the government work follow-up committee in Gaza?* **Al-Resalah** (June 10, 2022), https://alresalah.ps/post/261809/من-هو-عصام-الدعليس-رئيس-لجنة-متابعة-العمل-الحكومي-في-غزة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Tjh5C.

285 *Al-Daalis discusses Gaza situation with UN coordinator*, **Shehab News** (October 28, 2021), https://shehabnews.com/post/90532/الدعليس-يبحث-أوضاع-غزة-مع-المنسق-الأممي; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/LHVWp.



Even after he left UNRWA to join the Hamas government, Al-Daalis continued to influence UNRWA decisions. Between March and June 2023, Al-Daalis intervened with UNRWA's Gaza Director Thomas White to resolve an UNRWA dispute with the Contractors' Union after the Contractors' Union approached Al-Daalis requesting "government support for all their protest steps before the agency."[286] Al-Daalis "called on UNRWA to deal positively with the demands of the Contractors' Union."[287] Separately he facilitated UNRWA's hiring of Hamas government teachers who had resigned in order to work for UNRWA.[288] Al-Daalis was killed some time after October 7th in an Israeli airstrike.[289]

286 *UNRWA responds to the demands of the Contractors Union and ends its differences with them*, **Paltimeps** (June 8, 2023), https://paltimeps.ps/post/362149/الأونروا-تستجيب-لمطالب-اتحاد-المقاولين-بغزة-وت-نهي-خلافاتها-معهم; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/C3UMv.

287 *Al-Daalis discusses several issues with a delegation from the Contractors Union*, **Shehab News** (March 30, 2023), https://shehabnews.com/post/120723/بالصور-الدعليس-يبحث-عدة-قضايا-مع-وفد-من-اتحاد-المقاولين; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/skzBd.

288 *An important decision from Al-Daalis regarding government teachers accepted for UNRWA jobs*, **Shehab News** (March 30, 2023), https://shehabnews.com/post/130412/قرار-مهم-من-الدعليس-حول-معلمي-الحكومة-المقبولين-بوظائف-أونروا; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ShXNE.

289 *Hamas informs families of its leaders of their deaths, who are they?* **Asharq Al Awsat** (January 23, 2025), https://aawsat.com//العالم-العربي/5104053-حماس-تبلغ-عائلات-لقياديها-بمقتلهم-فمن-هم؟-المشرق-العربي; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/JwUvb.

4 Mohammad Shuwaideh

UNRWA Principal, Secretary of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union, and Hamas Commander

Mohammad Mohammad Juma Shuwaideh (aka "Abu Fares") is an UNRWA school principal at the UNRWA Zeitoun Prep A Boys School.[290] He has been a member of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union since at least 2015.[291] In that capacity, he has publicly defended union strikes shutting down UNRWA services in the face of criticism by UNRWA beneficiaries.[292] In May 2020, current union president Mustafa Al-Ghoul posted a photo of the two of them, referring to Shuwaideh as the Secretary of the Union and calling him "brother."[293]



Shuwaideh and Al-Ghoul also appeared together at a union event in 2019.[294]

290 *Senior UNRWA educators in Gaza involved in terrorism*, **Government of Israel** (Last visited May 27, 2025), https://govextra.gov.il/mda/unrwa-educators/unrwa-educators-and-their-involvement-in-terrorism/.

291 *Mohammad Shuwaideh Abu Firas*, **Facebook** (September 15, 2015) (pictured receiving appreciation award given by the union to its members), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1717273738500369&set=a.1694358960791847&type=3&rdid=KUSWaQp9XySCVoye&share_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fshare%2F18B7STQtvp%2F#; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/BpNC6. see also *Mohammad Shuwaideh Abu Firas*, **Facebook** (September 11, 2016) (sharing a union greeting for Eid Al Adha with a message from Al Hindi), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1861814860712922&set=a.1694358960791847&type=3&rdid=NYC1YOYcQuz2yMSM&share_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fshare%2F1ANdFSJyBC%2F#; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/nfKln.

292 *UNRWA staff strike in Gaza: paralysis of services and exchange of accusations*, **Al Jazeera** (October 3, 2018), https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2018/10/3/إضراب-موظفي-الأونروا-بغزة-شلل-للخدمات.

293 *Mustafa Ibrahim Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (May 5, 2020), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2756407771124919&set=pb.100002671695216.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/5XH1z.

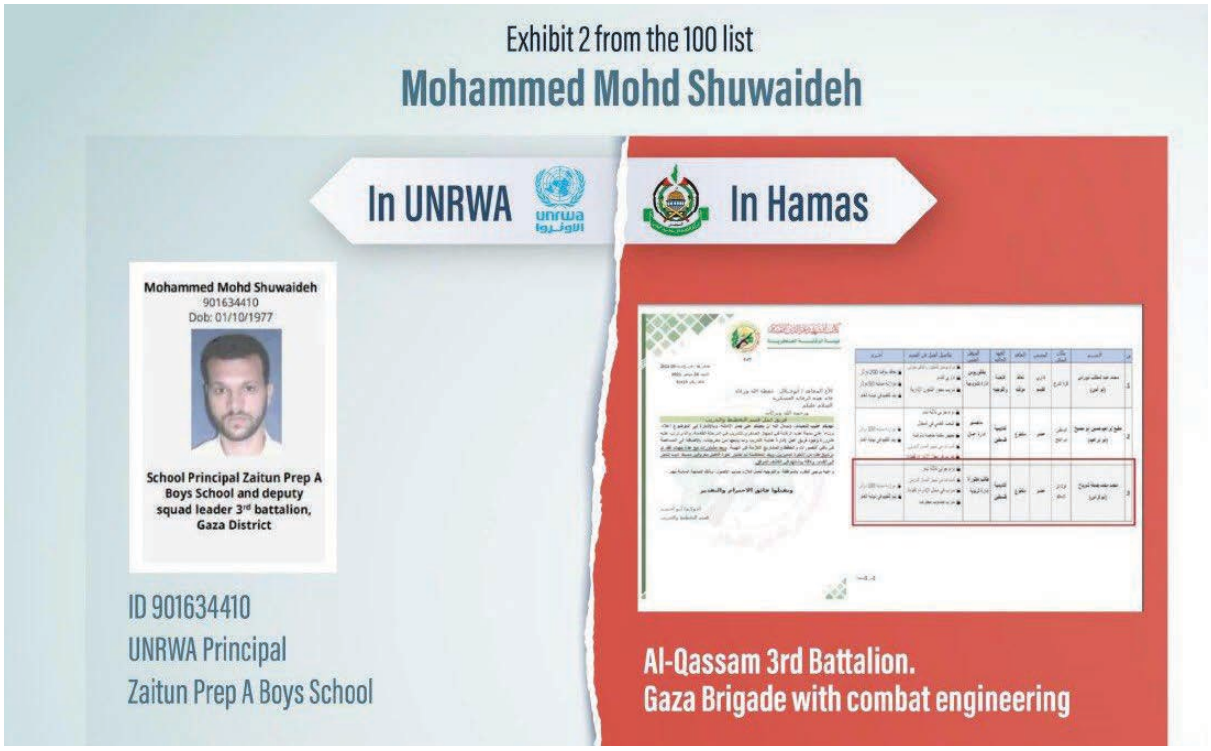
294 *Mustafa Ibrahim Al-Ghoul*, **Facebook** (August 5, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=4001579313274419&id=100002671695216; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/XjGRF.



In October 2023, UNRWA placed Shuwaideh in charge of one of its shelters.[295]

As far back as 2021, it was revealed that a Hamas tunnel ran under Shuwaideh's school. Despite general condemnation from UNRWA about such tunnels, the tunnel was still operational when the IDF operated in the area in 2023.[296]

Shuwaideh is one of the twelve UNRWA educators publicly identified by Israel in July 2024 as being a member of Hamas — specifically a Hamas Squad Commander in the Gaza Brigade.[297]

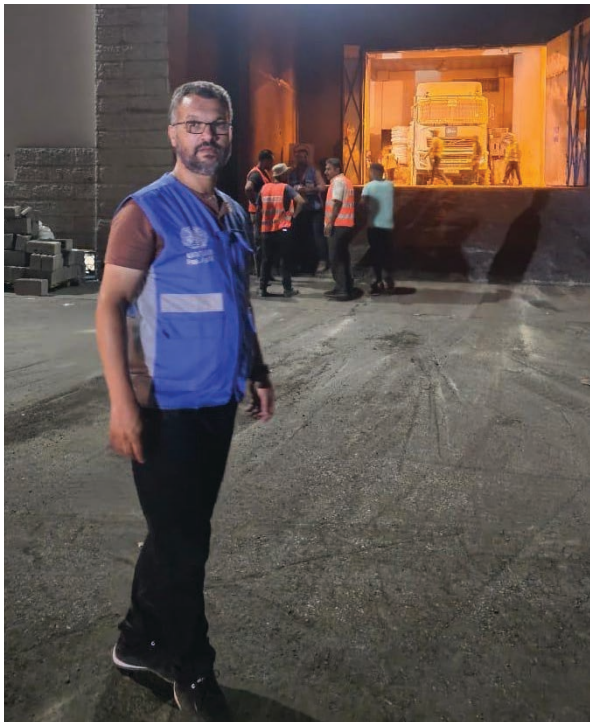


295 *Al Jazeera - Palestine*, **Facebook** (October 20, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/AJA.Palestine/posts/-عاجل-محمد-شويدح-مدير-مركز-إيواء-تابع-للأونروا-بقطاع-غزة-للجزيرة-الأونروا-قالت-إن/657408209862942.

296 *The Connection Between UNRWA and Hamas in Gaza*, **Government of Israel** (April 23, 2025), https://govextra.gov.il/media/d21mw2f3/the-connection-between-unrwa-and-hamas-280425.pdf.

297 *Senior UNRWA educators in Gaza involved in terrorism*, **Government of Israel** (Last visited May 27, 2025), https://govextra.gov.il/mda/unrwa-educators/unrwa-educators-and-their-involvement-in-terrorism/.

Notwithstanding that revelation, UNRWA continued to employ him. On July 20, 2024, Shuwaideh posted a photo of himself wearing a UN vest.[298] On October 19, 2024, Shuwaideh posted a photo of himself working at a computer while wearing an UNRWA sweatshirt.[299]





UNRWA suspended Shuwaideh on or about April 27, 2025,[300] just one day before the Israeli Foreign Ministry highlighted his Hamas role in a press conference on UNRWA's deep ties to the terror group. The timing strongly suggests that the suspension was undertaken to preempt and silence any outrage resulting from that public revelation even though UNRWA had been officially informed about it ten months previously and took no action in that time.

Shuwaideh is from a well-connected Hamas family. He is a close relative of Ahmed Shuwaideh, the Hamas Minister of Justice and Prisoners under Ismail Haniyeh who died in 2008 and was eulogized by Haniyeh as "a towering role model" and "a man of steadfastness and jihad."[301] UNRWA principal Mohammad Shuwaideh described his Hamas minister relative, Ahmed Shuwaideh, on Facebook as "a man loved by all."[302]

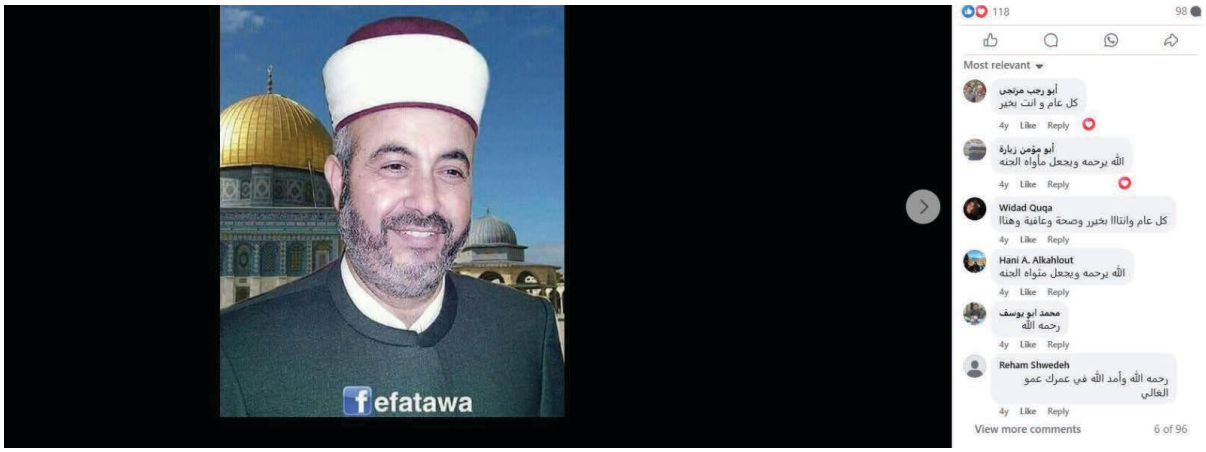
298 *Mohammad Shuwaideh Abu Firas*, **Facebook** (July 20, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=3942944399266614&set=pb.100006532787345.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/2wZU8.

299 *Mohammad Shuwaideh Abu Firas*, **Facebook** (October 19, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=4038762519684801&set=pb.100006532787345.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/H6Yzf.

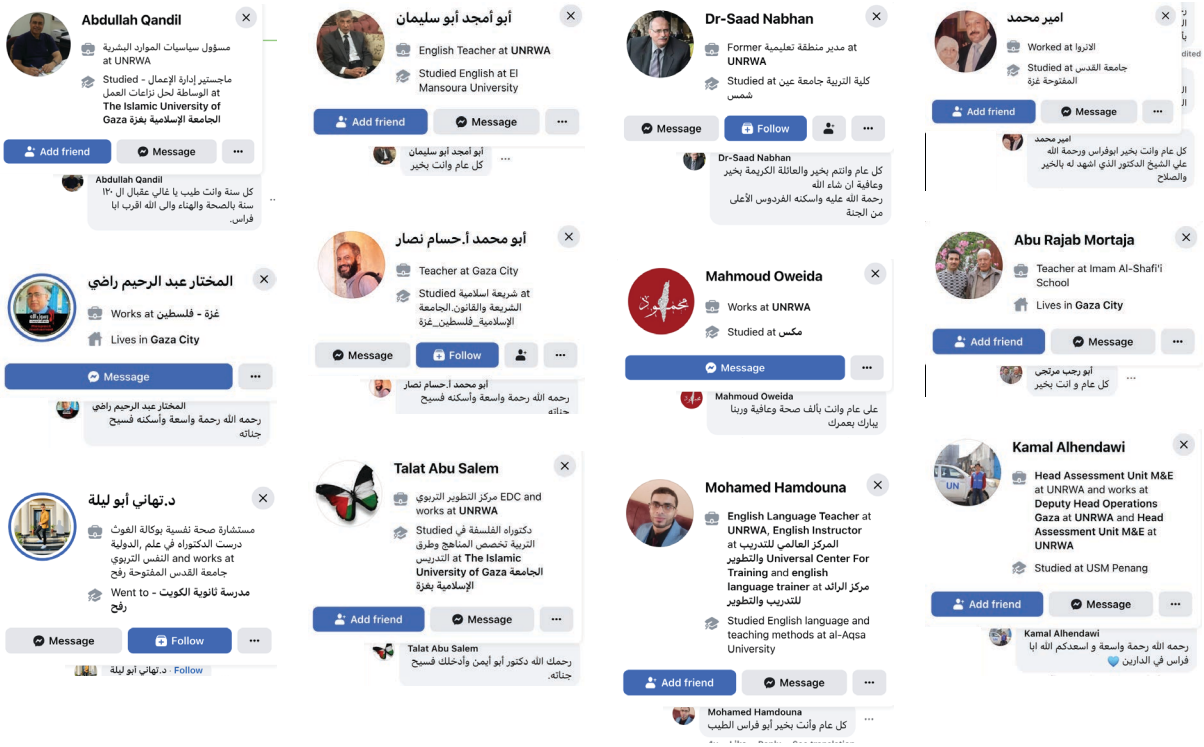
300 *We Continue...*, **Facebook** (April 27, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/groups/mostamron4/permalink/1854401148436322/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/W0XNj. *UNRWA Health Department Staff Forum*, **Facebook** (April 27, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/groups/373912242619794/?multi_permalinks=29950609891189971&hoisted_section_header_type=recently_seen; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/OmWDp.

301 *Officials and leaders praise the late Shuwaideh's life and his scientific and jihadist role*, **Palestinian Information Center** (October 9, 2008), https://palinfo.com/news/2008/10/09/108615/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/jdz6e. *Minister of Justice Ahmed Shuwaideh: A biography full of knowledge and jurisprudence*, **Palestinian Information Center** (October 1, 2008), https://palinfo.com/news/2008/10/01/270010/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/dHxYp.

302 *Mohammad Shuwaideh Abu Firas*, **Facebook** (October 1, 2020), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2864361033791628&set=a.1694358960791847&type=3&rdid=Gw5rdlg4cYikGC6K&share_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fshare%2F18aHFpCJiv%2F#; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/owSWP.



This post had 118 likes and 97 comments, including by numerous UNRWA employees.



Shuwaideh's nephew Jihad was killed in December 2024 in a targeted Israeli strike on a vehicle[303] and his son Firas was detained by Israel from May 2024 until his release on February 27, 2025, in exchange for Israeli hostages.[304]

303 *Mohammad Shuwaideh Abu Firas*, **Facebook** (December 22, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=4097307843830268&set=pb.100006532787345.-2207520000&type=3; *Video and photos: 4 martyrs in a vehicle attack in central #Gaza City*, **Sawa News Agency** (December 22, 2024), https://nabd.com/s/148098803-9012db/-بالفيديو-والصور4--شهداء-باستهداف-مركبة-وسط-مدينة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ON9vo.

304 *Mohammad Shuwaideh Abu Firas*, **Facebook** (February 27, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=4156012477959804&set=a.1694358960791847&type=3&rdid=jH58puYZgZGmW4BG&share_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.facebook.com%2Fshare%2F19GphMJxuZ%2F#; *@KhaledSafi*, **X** (February 22, 2025, 9:54 AM) (Firas Shuwaideh is No. 177 on the list), https://x.com/KhaledSafi/status/1893207634821685332; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/W9rAW.

5 Mahmoud Hamdan

UNRWA Principal, Head of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Teachers' Sector, and Hamas Member

Mahmoud Ahmed Mohammad Hamdan is an UNRWA principal at the Ahmad Abdel Aziz Prep Boys School. He has held leadership positions at the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union since at least 2012[305] and is now head of the Teachers' Sector.[306]

Hamdan is one of the twelve UNRWA educators publicly identified by Israel in July 2024 as being a member of Hamas.[307]

On March 27, 2018, Hamdan promoted the Hamas-orchestrated "March of Return" led by Suhail Al-Hindi — his former UNRWA colleague who was by then a senior Hamas leader.[308]



Hamdan is the son of Sheikh Ahmed Nimer Hamdan,[309] a beloved preacher and co-founder of Hamas who was dubbed "the Father of the Martyrs" because he prepared "martyrs" for burial according to Islamic law, especially those who were dismembered in explosions, such as chief Hamas bomber Yahya Ayyash.[310] Sheikh Nimer was honored and embraced by former Hamas chief Ismail Haniyeh.[311]

305 *A meeting to discuss educational issues and developments at Ma'an elementary school*, **Al Watan Voice** (April 25, 2012), https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2012/04/25/272955.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Px5rJ.

306 *Hamdan to Safa: Protests steps are coming in response to UNRWA's procrastination*, **Safa** (November 27, 2022), https://safa.ps/post/341214/حمدان-لـ-صفا-خطوات-احتجاجية-مقبلة-رد-ا-على-مماطلة-أونروا; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/GT4hP.

307 *Senior UNRWA educators in Gaza involved in terrorism*, **Government of Israel** (Last visited May 27, 2025), https://govextra.gov.il/mda/unrwa-educators/unrwa-educators-and-their-involvement-in-terrorism/.

308 *Dr. Mahmoud Hamdan*, **Facebook** (March 27, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=815641101957054&set=a.112099045644600; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/WQIwA.

309 *Dr. Mahmoud Hamdan*, **Facebook** (September 21, 2019), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1095026704488844&set=a.109502700448841; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/FyGcM.

310 *Dr. Rabhi Al-Judaili*, **Facebook** (September 28, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/rebhee123/posts/7048264301884945; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/7hkDw.

311 *Sheikh Ahmed Nimer and the passing of the greats*, **Palestinian Information Center** (August 5, 2019), https://palinfo.com/news/2019/08/05/246829/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/9mEEU.



Hamdan with his father, Sheikh Nimer



Ismail Haniyeh embracing Sheikh Ahmed Nimer

When Hamdan's Sheikh father died in August 2019, Hamas mourned him as "a great, struggling leader and preacher." The Al-Qassam Brigades separately mourned him as "a man who left a significant mark in supporting jihad and resistance, and under whose tutelage leaders and mujahideen learned."[312] Like his son, Sheikh Nimer had also worked in UNRWA schools as a teacher and principal.[313] In 1982, when Israel complained about his radicalization of students, UNRWA transferred Sheikh Nimer from teaching to the food warehouses, but he remained employed at UNRWA until 1999 when he retired.[314]

312 *Id.*

313 *Dr. Rabhi Al-Judaili*, **Facebook** (September 28, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/rebhee123/posts/7048264301884945; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/7hkDw. *Sheikh Ahmed Nimer and the passing of the greats*, **Palestinian Information Center** (August 5, 2019), https://palinfo.com/news/2019/08/05/246829/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/9mEEU.

314 *Id.*

6 Hani Kaskin

UNRWA Teacher, UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Member, and PIJ Member

Hani Ibrahim Ismael Kaskin is an UNRWA social studies teacher and a member of the Teachers' Sector of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union at least since 2019.[315]



Hani Ibrahim Ismael Kaskin [red rectangle] on the campaign flyer of the United Professional List (Hamas-PIJ list) for the 2019 LSU, UNRWA-GAZA Union.

Kaskin was also a known Palestinian Islamic Jihad terrorist. The Israeli Foreign Ministry had notified UNRWA about Kaskin's PIJ activities as far back as December 2011, but UNRWA did nothing.[316] Enemy materials captured by the IDF in Gaza after October 7, 2023, confirm Kaskin's PIJ affiliation. These include a CV written by Kaskin himself admitting that he is a member of the PIJ's Quds Brigades and a PA security services interrogation document indicating that Kaskin is a PIJ member.[317]

315 *Mohammad Shuwaideh Abu Firas*, **Facebook** (April 10, 2019), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2413112602249809&set=pb.100006532787345.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/p3eP0.

316 *@AmirwWeissbrod*, **X** (April 30, 2025, 2:13 PM), https://x.com/AmirwWeissbrod/status/1917537914566721827.

317 *Id.*

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
JERUSALEM

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

Filippo Grandi, Commissioner General

UNRWA

Re: **UNRWA employees involved in terrorist activity**

Upon the request of UNRWA's legal adviser, Ms. Segall, I am sending details of ID numbers for all the personnel discussed in my previous letter.

1. Basel Salme Ibrahim Abu Wadi, resident of Jabalia- **ID 9-2226542-6**
2. Ra'ad Sabhi Masaad Zakzook, resident of Jabalia- **ID 9-1456311-9**
3. Muhhamad Abedallah Ibrahim Shafi, resident of al- Barij- **ID 9-0098635-7**
4. Naji Gazi Husni Abu Aziz **(additional name Saleh instead of Abu Aziz)**, resident of Han Yunes- **ID 9-0130324-8**
5. Muhammad Daud Ismail Gamachi, resident of Gaza, **ID 9-2092717-5**
6. Hasan Salame Abu Gari, redisent of Gaza, **ID 9-2016269-0**
7. Juad Hasan Ali Abu Shmallah, , resident of Han Yunes- **ID 9-0014102-9**
8. Hani Ibrahim Ismail Kaskin, , resident of Shati- **ID 9-0101431-6**
9. Bashir Abed Alrachman Mahammud Abu Shawish, resident of El Nassirat, **ID 9-4765146-9**

As I mentioned in my letter the list sent was a partial one, I would like to add another name to the list and to UNRWA's investigations. The person's details including his ID are here bellow.
Naji Abedallah Salem Abu Aziz, resident of Han Yunes, Hamas military activist, **ID 9-0076013-3**

Again, we strongly urge UNRWA to conduct a swift and serious investigation into the activities of the personnel listed above and to terminate immediately their employment with UNRWA.

Best regards,

Eviatar Manor, Deputy Director General

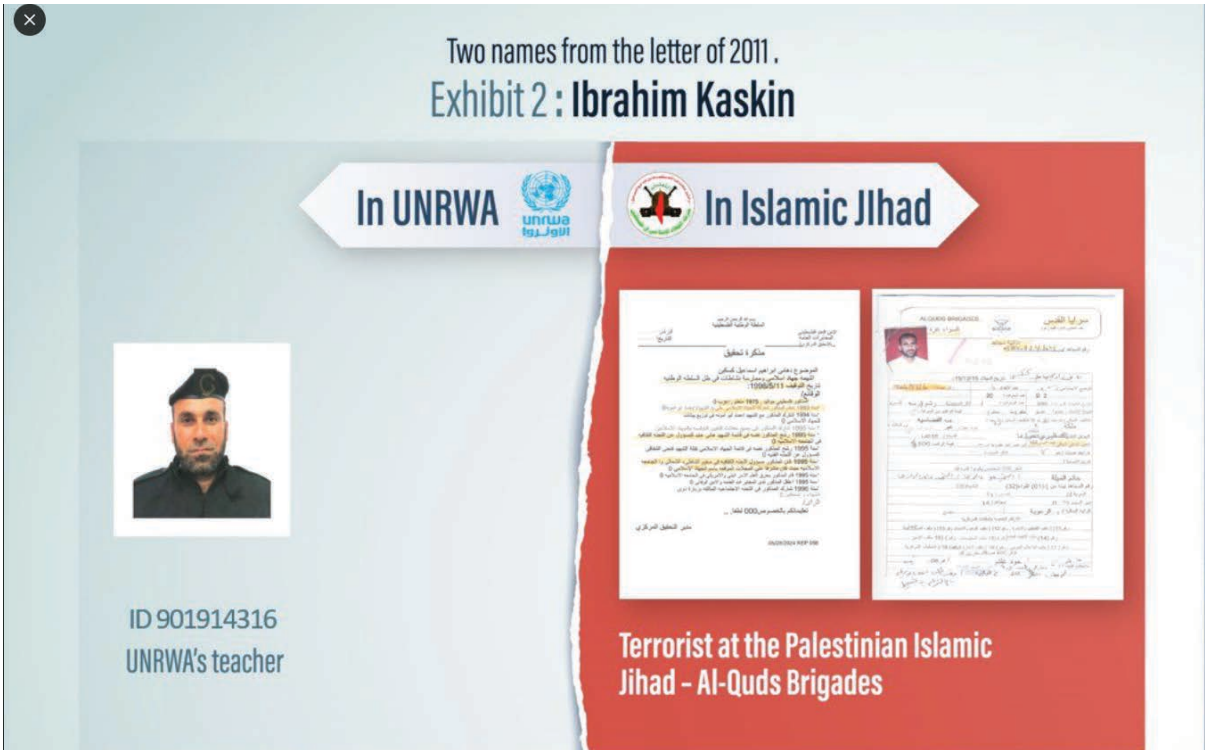
International Organization Division

Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

Jerusalem

gov
www.gov.il

שד' יצחק רבין 9, ת.ד. 3013, ירושלים 91035 טל'. 02-5303111
9 Shderot Yitzhak Rabin, P.O.Box 3013, Jerusalem, 91035 Tel: 972-2-5303111
www.mfa.gov.il



Kaskin was detained in Gaza in December 2023 and released after 415 days on February 8, 2025 in exchange for Israeli hostages.[318]



318 *Asad Ebrahim*, **Facebook** (February 8, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/asad.ebrahim.395/posts/2726048184233677; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/hpdF6.

Notwithstanding the clear evidence of his PIJ affiliation, as of April 30, 2025, Kaskin was still employed by UNRWA. That day, he appeared in a photo on Facebook taking part in an UNRWA Gaza Staff Union protest.[319]



Moreover, his name appears on a list of current UNRWA employees provided by UNRWA to the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs in April 2025.[320]

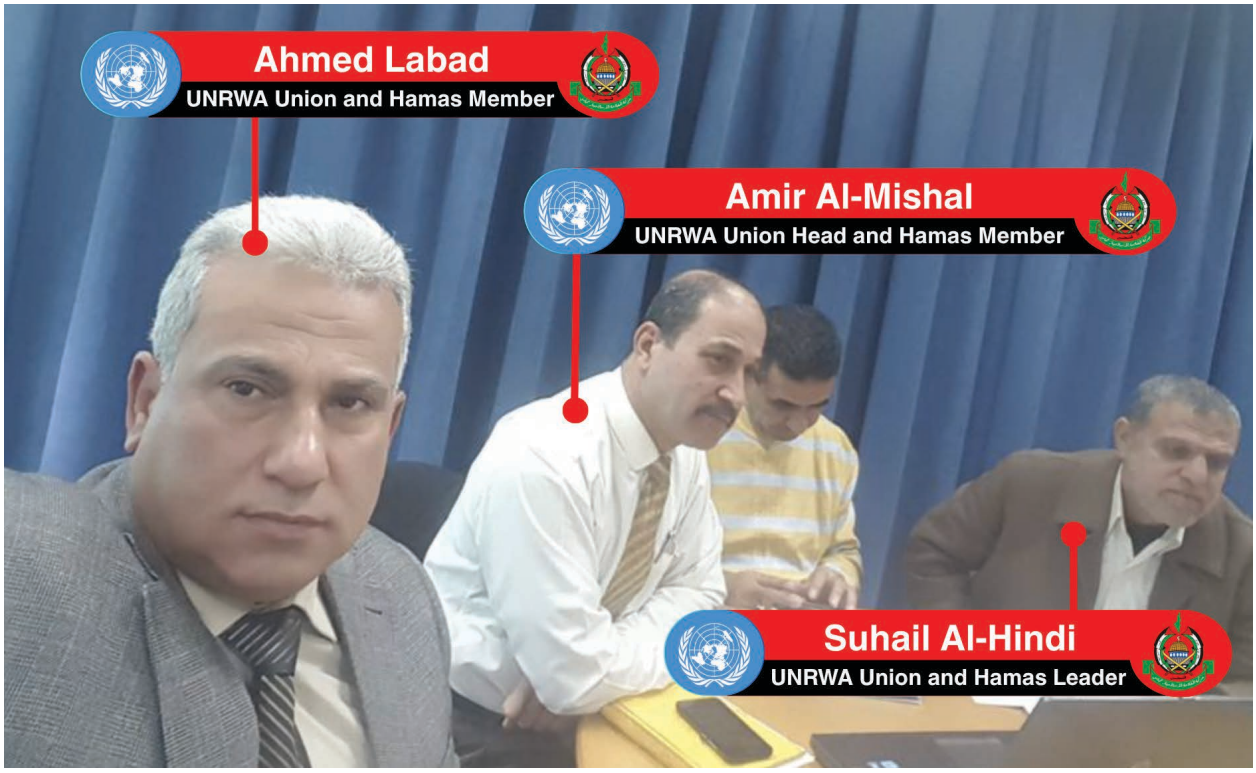
manent	10246558	916240344	Hani Ibrahim El Juaidi	Cleaner	Palestine	01/12/2002
manent (Teaching)	10245361	900787706	Hani Ibrahim El Tabash	Teacher Arts And Crafts	Palestine	14/09/2002
manent	10216096	903325041	Hani Ibrahim Fraina	Medical Officer	Palestine	02/01/2012
manent (Teaching)	10210115	901014316	Hani Ibrahim Kaskin	Teacher Social Studies	Palestine	01/09/2003
manent (Teaching)	10210626	906664354	Hani Izzat Uwida	Teacher Physical Education	Palestine	01/09/2004
manent (Teaching)	10212347	413326265	Hani Juma Barhoum	Teacher Social Studies	Palestine	02/12/2006
ed Term(Teaching)	10777268	400289146	Hani Marwan Al Mughari	Teacher Mathematics	Palestine	27/08/2022
manent	10216075	800832503	Hani Mohammad Jebril	Human Resources Assistant	Palestine	02/01/2012

319 *Mahmoud Ashour*, **Facebook** (April 30, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/groups/mostamron4/posts/1856622078214229/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/juxHu.

320 *@AmirwWeissbrod*, **X** (April 30, 2025, 2:13 PM), https://x.com/AmirwWeissbrod/status/1917537914566721827.

7 Ahmed Labad

UNRWA Gaza Staff Union Member and Hamas Member



Ahmed Labad (a.k.a. "Abu Hamza") is an UNRWA employee in the health sector and a long-time member of the UNRWA Gaza Staff Union who had worked with Al-Hindi at the Union since at least 2015.[321] Labad is a close friend and supporter of Al-Hindi. Following Al-Hindi's April 2017 resignation from UNRWA, Labad re-posted Al-Hindi's retirement pledge on Facebook.[322] In a separate Facebook post, dated April 22, 2017, Labad idolized Al-Hindi as someone who "represents the aspirations of employees" and who confronts UNRWA over when it attempts to "reduce its services or tamper with the culture of the Palestinian refugee." He especially praised Al-Hindi for standing up to UNRWA's attempt to erase Palestinian identity by "deleting the map of Palestine" and for opposing UNRWA's proposed Holocaust education.[323]

Labad is also a Hamas member. He participated in and promoted the 2018–19 "March of Return" border riots as is evident from his April 6, 2018 Facebook Post in which he applauded the "courage and bravery of the people of Gaza" who he said "defeated the Zionist machine." He signed his post with the hashtag #I_am_Coming_Back.[324] In addition, Labad has been detained by the Israeli authorities at least twice since

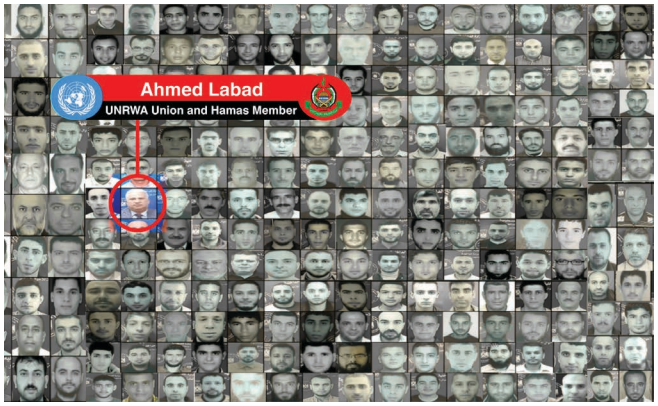
321 *Arab Employees Union*, **Facebook** (July 23, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid02KrpYzuPkN9FAZ3JLuGMztvdj3ZRr7bzQsWMj9kpSNgCuNLFt3Dmd4e3FzwGiG6Nfl&id=100003753954388; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/aQwxA.

322 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (April 23, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid026zTqFQWKfPcqU7bTkYsDjcmTerPkPgeJK8HoEVDJBYU39CwUo3UzXuwQTcZovdtvl&id=100012822816444; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ZNmbG.

323 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (April 22, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid02YyZbxDrBALqGhrgvs8DW77K8ix4fZefbRhugCbxmYRoWLDBo7YSMmiYvXaodSZkdl&id=100012822816444; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/g6uBK.

324 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (April 6, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid04eifwMkL1RTmJv2we1MirDyrxibSTtEiXERA7HgFJNt6rQ5m7qKJx7Xm7auNG2Sgl&id=100012822816444 ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ketDP.

October 7, 2023 — in December 2023[325] and March 2024. His photo appeared in a photo-composite of 358 terrorists arrested by the IDF in its March 2024 raid on Shifa Hospital, confirming his military position with Hamas.[326]



Labad's Facebook profile[327] contains numerous posts praising and inciting jihadi terrorism, including those listed below.

Eulogizing Hamas Leader Imad Khalil Al-Alami (Abu Hamam)

Labad eulogized Imad Khalil Al-Alami, one of the co-founders of Hamas and a key link between Gaza and Tehran,[328] who was killed in unclear circumstances in January 2018, as a "martyred commander hero brother."[329]



325 *Amid fears of mass executions, scenes of dozens of civilians half-naked in the streets of Gaza spark widespread anger*, **Al Jazeera** (December 8, 2023), https://www.aljazeeramubasher.net/news/2023/12/8/وسط-مخاوف-من-إعدامات-جماعية-مشاهد.

326 *IDF image of captured terrorists in Shifa hospital*, **Noticias de Israel** (March 21, 2024), https://israelnoticias.com/idf/imagen-de-las-fdi-de-terroristas-capturados-en-hospitAl-shifa/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/mjNFd.

327 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza, Facebook Profile Photos*, **Facebook** (Last visited February 13, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100012822816444&sk=photos_by; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/N2r5X.

328 *Senior Hamas official dies three weeks after suffering gunshot wound*, **Times of Israel** (January 30, 2018), https://www.timesofisrael.com/senior-hamas-officiAl-dies-three-weeks-after-suffering-gunshot-wound/.

329 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (January 30, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid026NKPayAdFLwXYShgmmkXKiH4SykPoro8DjuQ4fRBX4o5P5P4Dzm9gCsrW1yRwXPPl&id=100012822816444; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/aFyJs.

Glorifying Terrorist Nasser Abu Hamid Who Murdered Seven Israelis

On December 19, 2022, Labad glorified as a "martyr" terrorist Nasser Abu Hamid, who died of cancer in Israeli prison.[330] Abu Hamid was a co-founder of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades serving seven life sentences plus 50 years for murder and attempted murder. He had confessed to killing seven Israelis.[331]



The post was endorsed in a comment by a fellow UNRWA employee.



330 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (December 20, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid0YzzBSj37YLy5Hofx9XsxrSDccWcNN3EGZBEAoQHKvVmeaiHNDggeYHiR9qb1wf2dl&id=100012822816444; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/iAmuq.

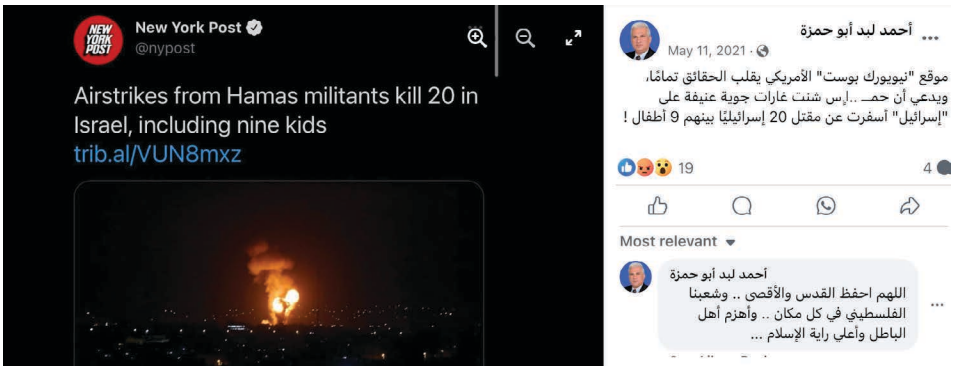
331 *Palestinian terrorist serving 7 life sentences dies of cancer in custody*, **JNS** (December 20, 2022), https://www.jns.org/palestinian-terrorist-serving-7-life-sentences-dies-of-cancer-in-custody/.

In a second post on December 20, Labad implied that Abu Hamid's mother must be very proud — "there is no mother in the whole world like Nasser Abu Hamid's mother" — because one of her sons was "killed" by Israel and the other five were "sentenced to life in prison." Three of them were ultimately released as part of the hostage deal on January 25, 2025.[332]



Endorsing Hamas Terrorism and Rocket Attacks on Israel

On May 11–12, 2021, in the first days of the war between Israel and Hamas that month, Labad posted in support of Hamas. On May 11, he objected to a *New York Post* headline blaming the conflict on Hamas, saying the newspaper "completely turns the facts upside down."[333]



On May 12th, Labad posted a photo of the cover of the Israeli *Ma'ariv* newspaper listing the deaths, injury, and damage from the onslaught of Hamas rocket fire. Labad commented: "Ma'ariv Hebrew newspaper headline: The country is burning" with a fire emoji.[334]

The post was endorsed in a comment by a fellow UNRWA employee.



332 *The Resistance Returns the Three Sons of Um Nasser Abu Hamid*, **Safa Press Agency** (January 25, 2025), https://en.safa.news/post/3255/The-Resistance-Returns-the-Three-Sons-of-Um-Nasser-Abu-Hamid; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/0fE9V.

333 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (May 11, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1186354855135264&set=pb.100012822816444.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/HUXPq.

334 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (May 12, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1186780425092707&set=pb.100012822816444.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ZWV5z.



Earlier that month, Labad had praised the violent rioting in Jerusalem during the month of Ramadan. He posted "We, the Gazans, welcome Ramadan and the last ten days of Ramadan [the peak of Ramadan in Islamic tradition] with the spirit of jihad, martyrdom, pride, dignity, and striking hard at the enemy" and proclaimed that "a clear victory is on the way."[335]



335 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (May 5, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1182238822213534&set=pb.100012822816444.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/rFAwj.

Inciting Violence

Labad made several posts inciting violence by posting confrontations between Israeli soldiers and Palestinians in and around Jerusalem along with text about Palestinians "defending" Jerusalem's "honor."

On July 19, 2021, Labad posted: "This is a Palestinian woman from Jerusalem, defending Al-Aqsa on behalf of all Arab rulers and armies. May God grant you victory, women and men of Jerusalem and Palestine..."[336]



On July 14, 2023, Labad posted: "O Muslims, woe to you! Our women ask about you while the tears flow. Send them to the silent and slumbering ones, and tell them that your honor is being violated in Jerusalem."[337]



336 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (July 19, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1230874047350011&set=pb.100012822816444.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/USWUG.

337 *Ahmed Labad Abu Hamza*, **Facebook** (July 14, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/100012822816444/posts/179697634934103/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/EHGn3.

Part II:

Lebanon Takeover: Fateh Sharif and the Hamas Capture of UNRWA

Hiding in Plain Sight: The Hamas Terror Chief Overseeing UNRWA's Teachers

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Introduction

Fateh Sharif was an UNRWA school principal at the Deir Yassin school in Lebanon and head of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union, in charge of 2,000 teachers and 39,000 students.[338] At the same time, according to Hamas itself, he was the terrorist organization's leader in Lebanon. After he was killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike on September 30, 2024, Hamas openly eulogized him as "Leader of the Hamas movement in Lebanon, and member of its leadership abroad."[339]

"Most people who are engaged in underground organizations try not to have their involvement known publicly," said Stéphane Dujarric, spokesperson of UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, in response to a question about why the UN failed to act concerning Sharif, the terror chief who oversaw 2,000 UNRWA teachers.[340] Yet in the following pages, this report shows how the opposite is true: Sharif and his colleagues held top positions within UNRWA's educational system despite publicly flaunting their support for, and ties to, Hamas and terrorism. UNRWA knew.

The evidence below confirms that Sharif did not hide his leadership role in Hamas. To the contrary, he openly posted about it on Facebook. His UNRWA colleagues saw his regular posts promoting terrorism, and many often clicked "Like." Likewise, the local media regularly published photos of Sharif attending Hamas events promoting terrorism, and Sharif posing with Hamas leaders and other terror chiefs in Lebanon. Accordingly, UNRWA cannot claim that it didn't know.

338 *What We Do: Education*, **UNRWA** (Last visited August 7, 2025), https://www.unrwa.org/what-we-do/education.

339 *Hamas movement mourns the martyrs of Al-Buss Camp*, **Al-Buss** (September 30, 2024), https://www.albuss.net/2024/09/m.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Jb2F3.

340 *UN Daily Press Briefing*, **UN WebTV** (September 30, 2024, Minute 30:13), https://webtv.un.org/en/asset/k15/k151d5x2lm?kalturaStartTime=1813&config[playback]=%7B; Full Transcript available here, https://press.un.org/en/2024/db240930.doc.htm; see also *@UNWatch*, **X** (October 1, 2024, 5:30 PM), https://x.com/UNWatch/status/1841123436514394188.

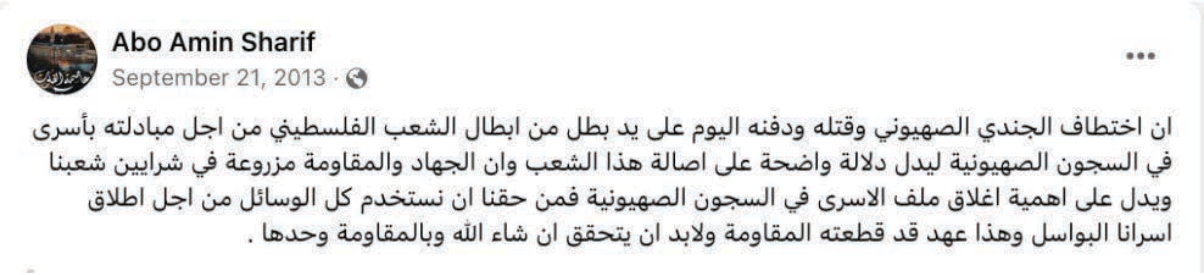
2013–2024: UNRWA Knew That Sharif Promoted Terrorism

For over a decade, UNRWA knew that Sharif openly promoted terrorism on his public social media. The following screenshots from his Facebook account show how he regularly glorified terrorist attacks, kidnapping Israeli hostages, and erasing Israel from the map. His UNRWA colleagues saw it, and often clicked "Like" on his posts. UNRWA knew – yet did nothing.

Endorsing Kidnapping — Resistance By "All Means Necessary" Is "Our Right"

September 2013

As far back as September 21, 2013, Sharif endorsed the Hamas kidnapping strategy. He praised as a "hero" the terrorist who had kidnapped and murdered Israeli soldier Tomer Hazan with the goal of exchanging the soldier's body for the terrorist's brother in Israeli jail.[341] Sharif lauded the terrorist's plan to "exchange him for prisoners in Zionist prisons" and rejoiced that "Jihad and resistance are ingrained within the arteries of our people." He further proclaimed that resistance by "all means necessary" is "our right."[342]



Translation:

> May the kidnapping, killing and burial of the Zionist soldier today by a hero of the Palestinian people, in order to exchange him for prisoners in Zionist prisons, be a clear manifestation of this nation's nobility, of the fact that Jihad and resistance are ingrained within the arteries of our people, and of how important it is to close the chapter on prisoners in Zionist prisons. It is our right to use all means necessary to secure the release of our brave prisoners. This is a covenant made by the resistance, and it must be fulfilled, Allah willing, solely through resistance

341 *IDF soldier Tomer Hazan, 20, kidnapped and killed in West Bank*, **Times of Israel** (September 21, 2013), https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-soldier-kidnapped-killed-near-qalqilya/.

342 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (September 21, 2013), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid022ybtS7p7eFyPyXAiaZ2z15KNHS1kfHWx4y5nZ514S9FBX3N19KVxkJGWJvc4NQ8cl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/h6548.

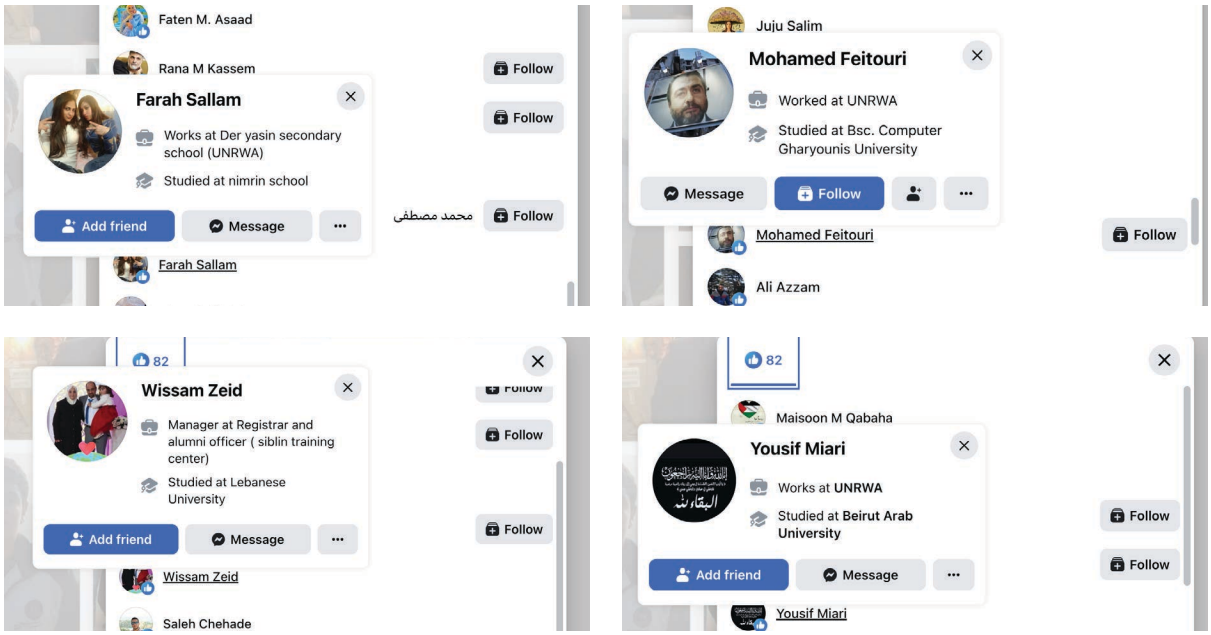
Condoning Jihadi Terrorism for Children

January 2014

On January 20, 2014, Sharif demonstrated his approval of children pursuing jihadi terrorism when he posted a collage featuring a young boy in an UNRWA school uniform holding a weapon next to a photo of Sharif sitting at his desk with his many UNRWA awards displayed behind him.[343]



This post was liked over 80 times, including by many UNRWA teachers.



343 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (January 20, 2014), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=184775545065805&set=a.102647003278660; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/8I8YT.

Endorsing Violent Resistance

March 2015

In two Facebook posts in February and March 2015, Sharif endorsed violent "resistance." On February 28, 2015, in response to an Egyptian court decision putting Hamas on a terrorist list,[344] Sharif defended Hamas "resistance" as an "honor," saying it "is not terrorism."[345]



Translation:

> Resistance isn't terror. Your courts are terror. Resistance is an honor for us.

Several UNRWA employees liked this post.



One week later, on March 6, 2015, Sharif reaffirmed his position by stating that "accusing the honorable resistance of terrorism is a disgrace..."[346]



Translation:

> Accusing the noble resistance of terrorism is a black mark on the record of the coup plotters and the politicized judiciary.

344 *Egypt court puts Hamas on terrorist list*, **BBC** (February 28, 2015), https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-31674458.

345 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (February 28, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02gqpNdmXsA12UwzaGhFurmWJyxDhUCB59MT1mcPTQcGdwYHqGumZa1CqzrsYumYD8l; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/G0ux9.

346 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (March 6, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02yaFxEg7CeYYT9ZDPcCNFuJzxNQMLsQM4a5PPWu34fcDJYVTkMhMexKjxnwHTC9ukl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/BNbuG.

Glorifying Terrorist Stabbers as "Martyrs" and "Heroes" at School Event

October 2015

In the midst of the 2015 Knife Intifada, in which Palestinian terrorists perpetrated over 200 stabbing attacks against Israelis, Sharif organized a solidarity event at his school where he openly incited the students to violence by glorifying the terrorists as "martyrs" and lauding their "heroism." He said:

> Today we are witnessing a new generation of martyrs who have written stories of heroism and proven that fighting the enemy does not require strategic weapons, but only belief that Palestine belongs solely to us. The love for Palestine is demonstrated only by sacrificing the most precious things for the sake of its liberation. What is happening today in Palestine is a natural response to the crimes of the Zionist occupation.[347]

Sharif's students held up signs endorsing the attacks, including one with this text: "#Jerusalem #MyPeopleWillBePartOfTheIntifada #TheKnivesIntifada."[348]



347 *Deir Yassin high school stands in solidarity with the Third Intifada*, **Al-Buss Camp** (October 13, 2015), https://www.albuss.net/2015/10/blog-post_19.html?m=1; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/94w3W.

348 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (October 13, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=403451469864877&set=a.129203897289637; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/1JeYo.

Indoctrinating Students in Hamas Terror Tactics

December 2015

On December 2, 2015, Sharif posted photos of a school workshop he conducted to indoctrinate students into Hamas terror tactics. The workshop was devoted to building Hamas-like tunnels with a sign that read "Toward Jerusalem."[349]



The post was liked by more than 170 people, including by many UNRWA employees.









349 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (December 2, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid021dNc7HU68Ni7Nu9w3K824aaDBdLUYxpgfNmUYUnvDw8yz3teLoMV2q686J7GVUhrl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Fdu39.

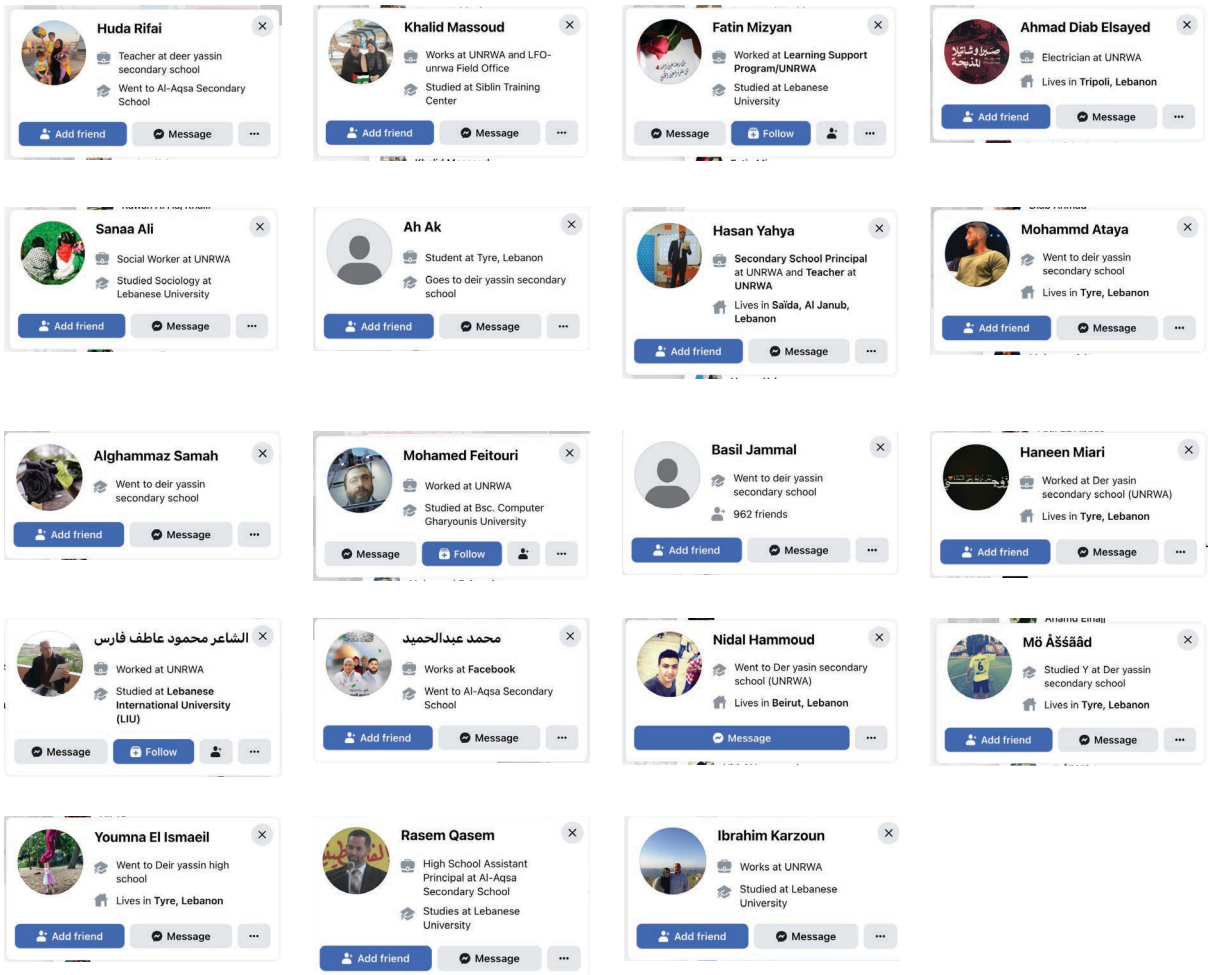
Hosting Hamas Terrorists at UNRWA School Event

December 2015

On December 15, 2015, Sharif posted pictures from an event at his UNRWA school to which he invited Hamas members including Jihad Taha, the public face of Hamas in Lebanon.[350]



The post was liked by close to 200 people, including many UNRWA employees. At least two UNRWA educators also endorsed the post in their comments.



350 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (December 15, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0WjSBb9JfNCAAdufu47VAN4HwDxVehPVw97jPVwmMWFgwPjzhmrc1xAux8YJ91c97l; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/49W4P.

Inciting Hamas Terrorism

May 2016

On May 16, 2016, Sharif posted photos of students dressed in Hamas military uniforms, including one photo of his son Amin acting as a commander leading a platoon of young children holding weapons.[351]



The post was liked by more than 200 people, including presumably many UNRWA employees. One graduate of Sharif's Deir Yassin school commented: "This cub is from that lion," Sharif being the lion and his son Amin being the cub. This implies that Sharif's students were aware of his Hamas ties. At least one other self-identified UNRWA student also endorsed the post in his comment.



351 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (May 16, 2016), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid079Mom66oqvHDEfpvdvUT6hwgvrBSeeF3DyX7A4ySRn96rhP8wzWJd3ceQ6MsLYjwl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/O7BTO.

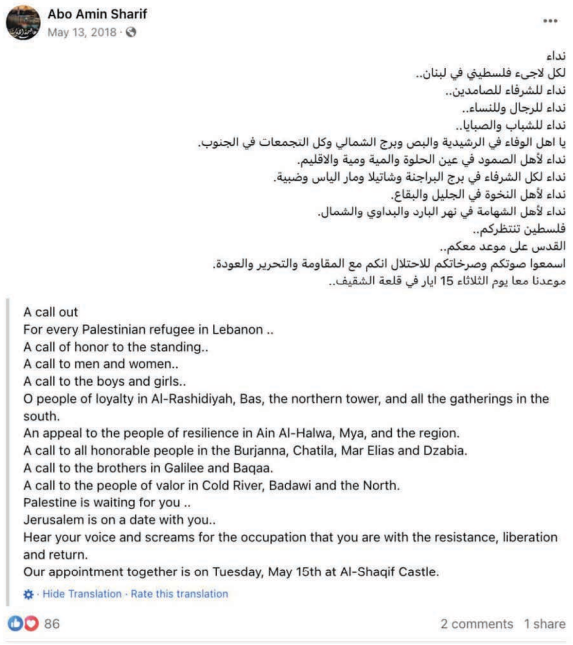
Inciting Palestinians to Return to Jerusalem Through "Resistance, Liberation, And Return"

May 2018

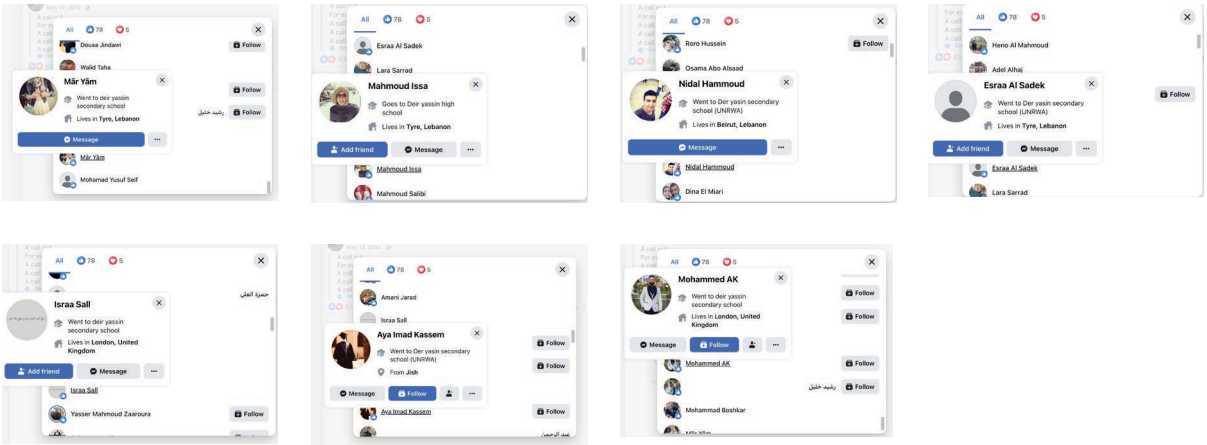
In this May 13, 2018 Facebook post, Sharif invites all Palestinians in Lebanon to a meeting at Beaufort castle, a landmark near the Israeli-Lebanese border that was controlled by Israel until May 2000. Sharif calls on his compatriots to "sound your voices and cry out to the occupation, saying that you support resistance, liberation and return" and proclaims that Palestine and Jerusalem are waiting.[352]

Translation:

An appeal to every Palestinian refugee in Lebanon...
An appeal to all those who are honorable and steadfast...
An appeal to the men and the women...
An appeal to the lads and lasses...
... and to the faithful in Rashidieh, Al-Buss, Burj el-Shemali, and all the communities in the South...
An appeal to the resilient people of Ain Al-Hilweh, Mieh Mieh and thereabouts...
An appeal to the honorable people of Bourj el-Barajneh, Shatila, Mar Elias and Dbayeh...
An appeal to the noble people of the Galilee and the Bekaa valley...
An appeal to the decent people of
Nahr Al-Bared, Beddawi and the North...
Palestine awaits you..
Jerusalem is expecting you..
Sound your voices and cry out to the occupation, saying that you support resistance, liberation and return...
We will all be meeting on Tuesday, May 15, at Beaufort Castle.



The post was liked over 80 times, including by many UNRWA students from Sharif's Deir Yassin school.



352 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (May 13, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02XuqMRkTujhAsVyu7vwcittveyh8tvZhS9t7jkxue2YcKw9CEdo1DjoCVnB1baJsSl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/EMGI8.

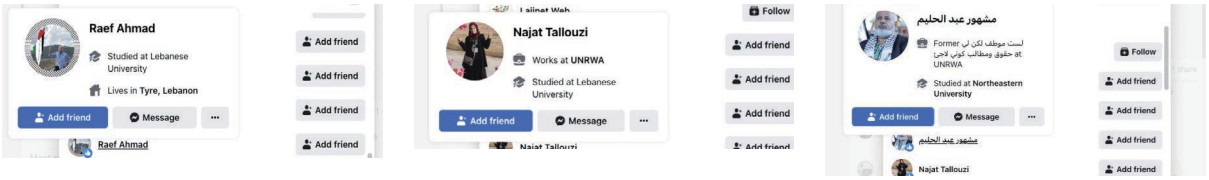
Praising Hamas Leader Hassan Youssef

July 2019

In this July 2, 2019 post, Sharif praised Hamas leader and co-founder Sheikh Hassan Youssef as a "firm leader," writing "we are proud of you."[353] Youssef has been arrested by Israel several times for his Hamas activities.[354]



Several self-identified UNRWA teachers liked this post.



353 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (July 2, 2019), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid08JtPSXm84DboYRDWqKT9G7DraqtaLbvt8ApoB8BRCVuLpPjEkZJHkX2F1ix94weUl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/EMGI8.

354 *Hamas founder gets six-month detention in Israel without trial*, **I24 News** (April 8, 2019), https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/israel/diplomacy-defense/1554749318-hamas-founder-gets-six-month-detention-in-israel-without-trial; *Palestinian killed in clashes with IDF troops*, **Jerusalem Post** (May 22, 2019), https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/idf-arrests-sheikh-hassan-yousef-palestinian-reports-585501.

Eulogizing Hamas Leader Omar Barghouti

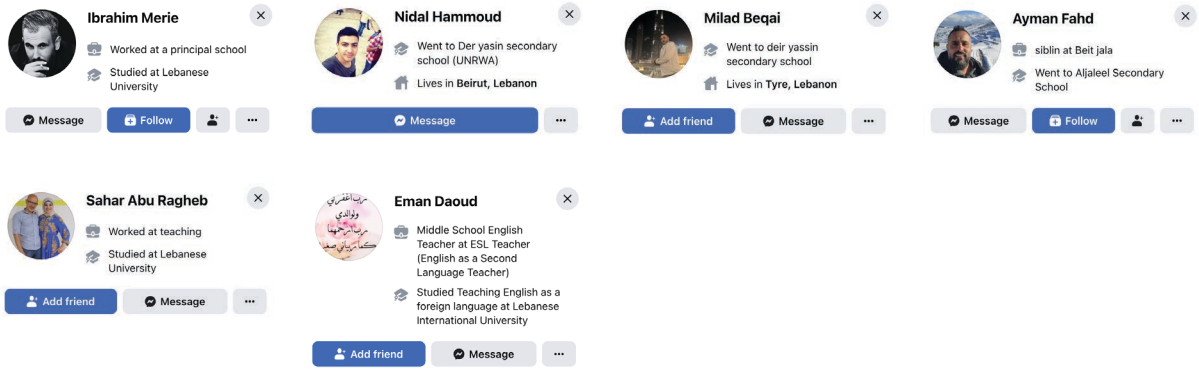
March 2021

In this March 25, 2021 Facebook post, Sharif eulogized Hamas terrorist Omar Barghouti, one of the co-founders of the Al-Qassam Brigades in the West Bank, who was convicted of murdering an Israeli in 1978 and served a total of 27 years in prison.[355] The post also refers to Barghouti's son, Saleh Barghouti, as a "martyr." Saleh was a Hamas terrorist who had shot and injured seven Israeli civilians at a bus stop in December 2018, including a pregnant woman whose baby later died.[356] In addition, the post mentions Asim Barghouti, another of Barghouti's sons who killed two IDF soldiers and injured a third a few days later.[357]





The Facebook post was liked over 80 times, including by Sharif's close UNRWA colleague Ibrahim Merie and many UNRWA students and teachers.



355 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (March 25, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02yDcntNToBZjYPwZZg6eByvE6D7XxUNuVxQFF5CPP2CtZmbRyMCbyHVJJsgZMTLWWl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/zawvS. *Al-Qassam reveals some secrets of the jihadist biography of the leader Omar Barghouti*, **Shams** (March 25, 2021), https://shms.ps/post/118490/القسام-يكشف-بعض-خفايا-السير-الجهادية-للقائد-عمر-البرغوثي ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/aYIg0. *Omar Barghouti (Abu Asif)*, **Vision for Political Development** (March 26, 2021), https://vision-pd.org/513571/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/HaJOS.

356 *Ofra and Givat Assaf terrorists reported to be Barghout brothers,* **Jerusalem Post** (December 20, 2018), https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/ofra-terrorist-eliminated-on-wednesday-is-brother-of-givat-asaf-terrorist-574932.

357 *Id.*

Honoring Hezbollah Terrorist Mohammad Tahan

May 2021

In this May 14, 2021 Facebook post, Sharif honors Hezbollah terrorist Mohammad Tahan as a "Palestine martyr" who was "martyred on the Lebanese Palestinian border."[358] Tahan was killed attempting to infiltrate Israel. He comes from a Hezbollah family who described him as "consumed by the idea of becoming a martyr — of fulfilling the destiny laid out for him since he was born." About his death, Tahan's father stated "I wouldn't expect anything less from him. Nothing scared him. I am the same. My children are the same as well. Even my daughter, when she was little, wanted to have a plastic gun, just like her brothers. For us, freeing Palestine is tantamount to an obligatory prayer...We were raised to take the road to Jerusalem."[359]



The post was liked over 200 times, including by many UNRWA employees. Several UNRWA employees also endorsed the post in their comments.



















358 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (May 14, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid031noiCDJecPLDcw2tni51GLB4nd2oQW4GZ8umuWAVTUxs2ZQQUj3UeMm6K5FuGKWrl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/9pWUO.

359 *Mohammad Tahhan: A Leap Into Martyrdom*, **L'Orient Today** (May 19, 2021), https://today.lorientlejour.com/article/1262387/mohammad-tahan-a-leap-into-martyrdom.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ADGWK.

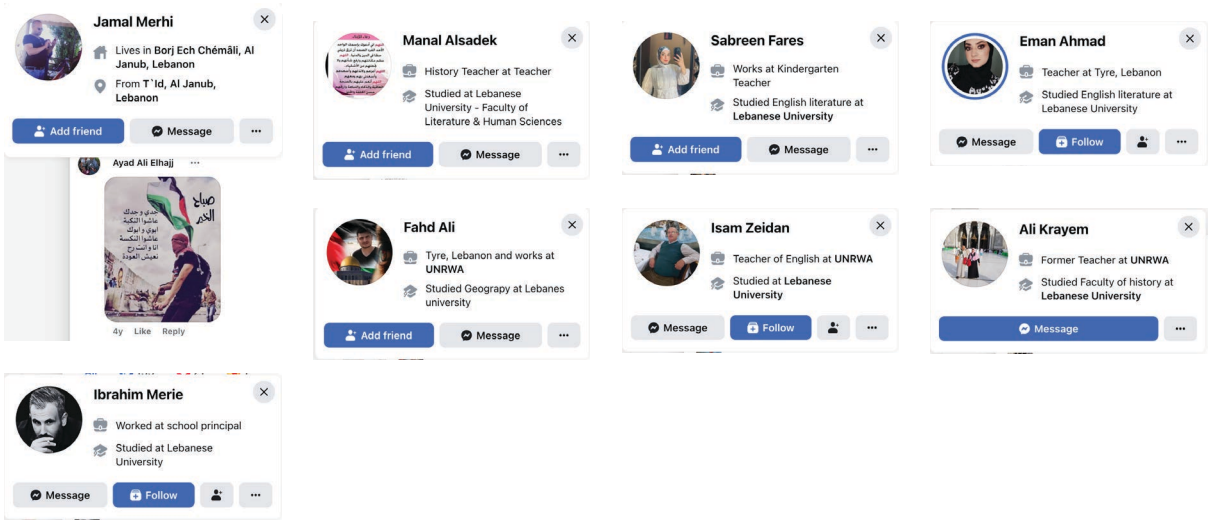
Commemorating PFLP General Secretary Abu Ali Mustafa

May 2021

In this May 23, 2021 Facebook post, Sharif commemorated Abu Ali Mustafa, who had served as the former General Secretary of the PFLP terrorist organization.[360] Sharif's post glorifies Abu Ali Mustafa as a "martyr" and "mujahideen" and lauds the fact that the terrorist groups operate in "unity" — "our unity is the secret of our strength."[361]



The post had 155 likes, including by many UNRWA employees. An UNRWA HR assistant manager also endorsed the post in a comment.



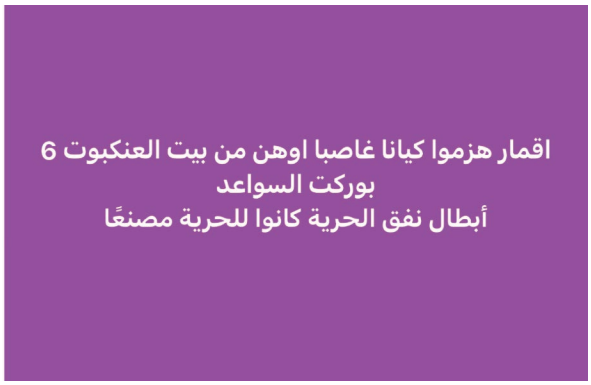
360 *Profile: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)*, **BBC** (November 18, 2014), https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-30099510.

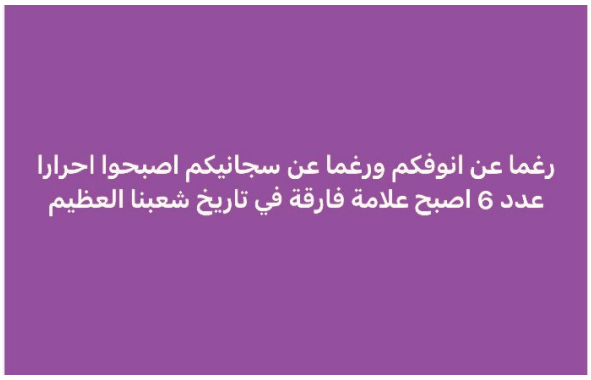
361 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (May 23, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid023gzwUh6JveR6xGK18oiKzLwMkBX2w3t21Wo7QTXrSdQYhq2U1JPQpGr67TL38iVFl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/sQuEl.

Celebrating Gilboa Prison Break

September 2021

On September 6, 2021, Sharif published several Facebook posts celebrating a prison break in Israel in which six Palestinian prisoners, four of whom were serving life sentences for capital crimes, managed to escape from the Gilboa prison and evade capture for several days. The mastermind was Zakaria Zubeidi, the former leader of Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades in Jenin. The others were all members of Palestinian Islamic Jihad.[362] Sharif's posts referred to the six escapees as "heroes" and "moons," implying they are destined to paradise, and lauded the "glory" and "dignity" they achieved in their "landmark" escape.[363]







The posts received 161 likes, 119 likes, and 84 likes, respectively, including by many UNRWA employees.







362 *Israel searches for six Palestinians after rare prison break*, **AP** (September 6, 2021), https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-israel-prisons-prison-breaks-78ba3a2adac1ec88fe195be10ba85fde.

363 *See, e.g.*, *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (September 6, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02c9nojPWtovotk8NxcbZzHuB96m24cW4h8EXTZV9xkJhxLQSmTQUB9zmNbzJ7JSral; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/T2DNO. *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (September 6, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0kxLh7P1RacCsAecMzBzBHgeYtMYDvt4vCKJddwFdYq238PVb8g6tTNcCDQeYvX5El; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/oqiVy. *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (September 7, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid028ERWwIwpnUHEwixa5Q3A5G3dNDpnv267icbzqzkitoD5oUv96aADy2woC7nfVtrBl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/U5kyk.

Honoring Hamas Terrorist Fadi Abu Shkheidem

November 2021

In this November 21, 2021 Facebook Post, Sharif honored terrorist Fadi Abu Shkheidem as representing "a truth that every usurper, aggressor and occupier must understand" and shared a poster of him described as a "martyr."[364] Abu Shkheidem was killed in the course of committing a terrorist attack in Jerusalem's Old City, murdering one and injuring four others.[365] The text on the poster reads "our blood creates victory." By sharing the poster, Sharif endorses terrorist violence.



This post was liked by 95 people, including many UNRWA employees. It was also endorsed by UNRWA employees in comments.





364 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (November 21, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0rS2SjBJCmoRMT58aFdCRyJQAzCv6ZYU2kHTNgSr13kSgnmTV33eRmv8UUK4LPqWGl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/rpPTP.

365 *Fadi Abu Shkheidem*, **Israel-Palestine Timeline** (November 21, 2021), https://israelpalestinetimeline.org/fadi-abu-shkheidem/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/oJj9Q.

Eulogizing Influential Muslim Brotherhood Jihadist

September 2022

In this September 26, 2022 Facebook post, Sharif eulogized Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, referring to him as "his eminence" and "a defender of the Islamic nation."[366] Al-Qaradawi, a longtime member of the Muslim Brotherhood, is mainly known as the key figure in shaping the concept of violent jihad. In 2004, Al-Qaradawi formed the World Association of Muslim Scholars to coordinate the activity of radical Islamic scholars around the world. He ran the organization until 2018.[367]



366 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (September 26, 2022) (deleted), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02yV2Jpi7dX6HNCuLvoATS4UJn4geTBEvydngYdvr4Jb36sXidH4PevBXd6VEsNpbYl.

367 *Sheik Yusuf AL-Qaradawi and his impact on the dissemination of radical Islam*, **Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center** (October 23, 2022), https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/sheikh-yusuf-Al-qaradawi-and-his-impact-on-the-dissemination-of-radicAl-islam/#:~:text=Qaradawi%20is%20mainly%20known%20as,some%20of%20the%20Arab%20regimes.

Eulogizing PIJ Spokesperson Khader Adnan

May 2023

In this May 2, 2023 Facebook Post, Sharif eulogized Khader Adnan, a senior leader of Palestinian Islamic Jihad, who died in Israeli jail after 86 days of hunger-striking. He had been arrested 13 times by Israel for his PIJ activities.[368] Sharif referred to him as "the martyr."[369]



Translation:

> Khader Adnan
>
> The sheikh, prisoner, and martyr
>
> "By the Lord of the Ka'aba I have succeeded."

368 *A day of tension following the death of a Palestinian prisoner in an Israeli jail,* **Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center** (May 4, 2023), https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/a-day-of-tension-following-the-death-of-a-palestinian-prisoner-in-an-israeli-jail/.

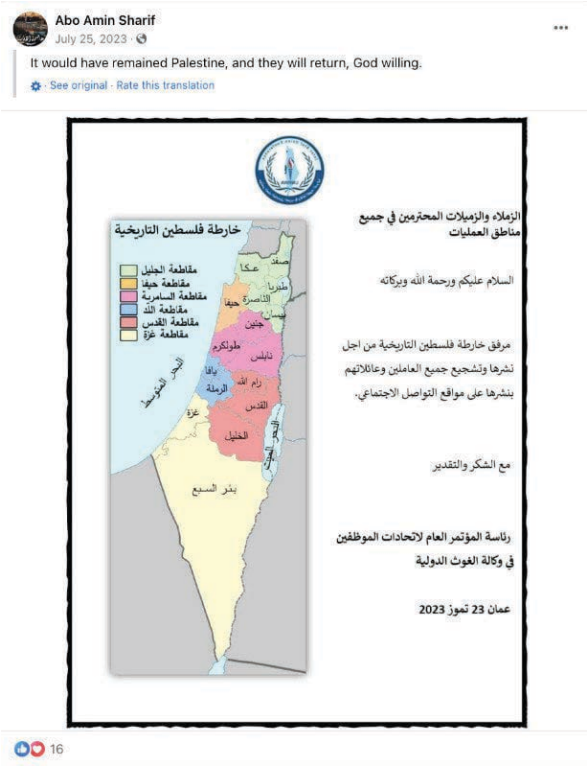
369 *Abo Amin Sharif,* **Facebook** (May 2, 2023) (deleted), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0tMs3gUP2rYN5QmqcBJeWP1PuS8mDF6PrJUYRR1nBJ3upN3CYB7SZTLd6nFZtpWWMl.

Erasing Israel From the Map

July 2023

In this July 25, 2023 Facebook post, Sharif laments the creation of the State of Israel which resulted in the area "not remain[ing] Palestine" and vows Palestinian "return."

The post includes a map of the entire territory, labeled "Historic Palestine", using only Arabic city names, completely erasing Israel. The map is from "The General Conference of [UNRWA] Staff Unions" in Amman. The text next to the map encourages all UNRWA teachers to disseminate this map.[370]



Translation of Map Text:

Dear colleagues in all of our areas of operations:

May the peace, mercy, and blessings of Allah be upon you.

Attached is a historic map of Palestine, so that it can be publicized, and to encourage all workers and their families to post it on social media sites.

In gratitude and appreciation,

The Leadership of the General Conference of Employees' Unions at the United Nations Relief and Works Agency

Amman, July 23rd, 2023

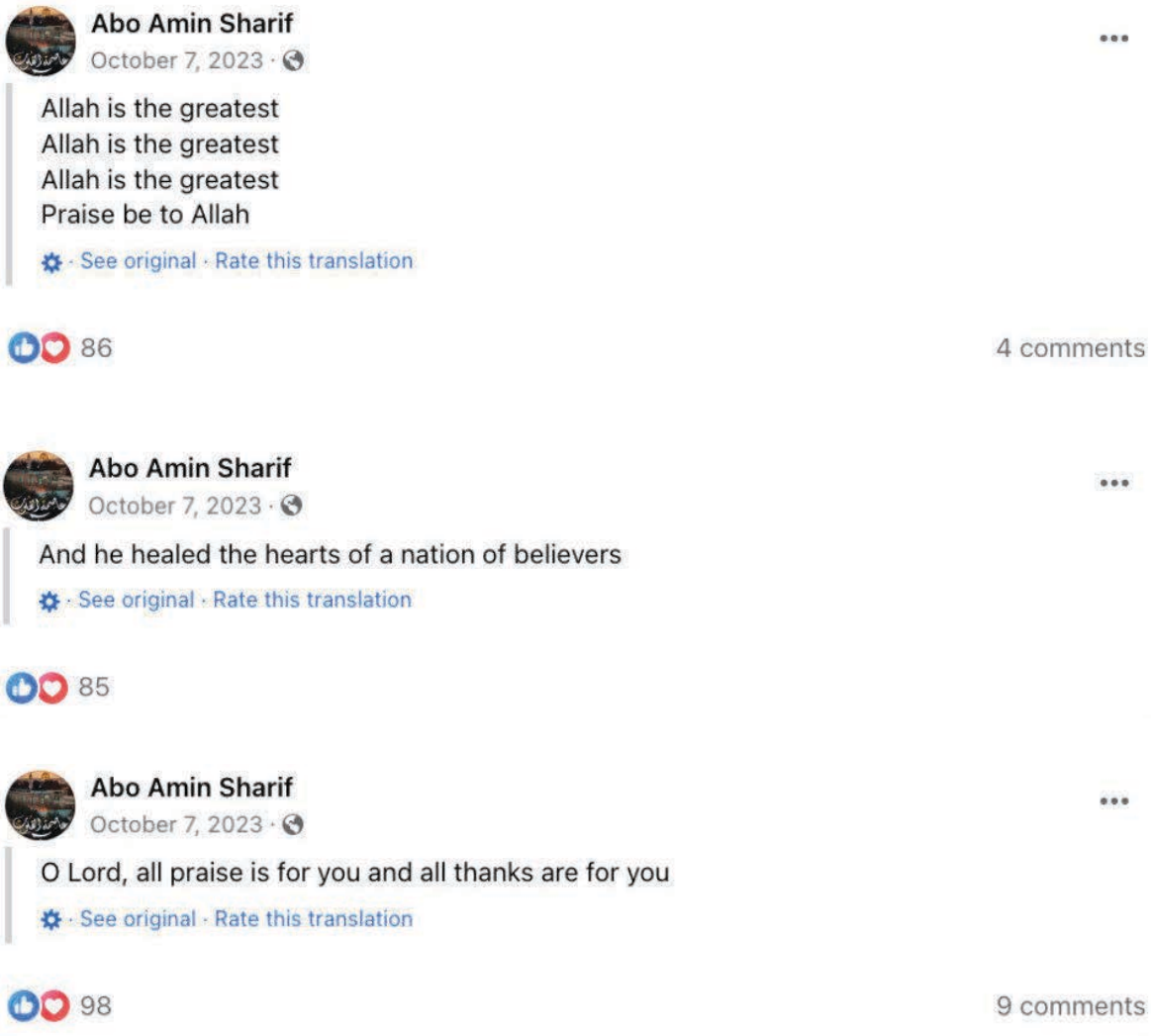
370 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (July 25, 2023), Link no longer available.

Celebrating Hamas October 7th Attack on Israeli Communities

October 2023

In the immediate aftermath of the Hamas October 7th attack, Sharif published several posts on Facebook praising the massacre. Early in the day on October 7th, he excitedly wrote "Allah is the greatest...Praise be to Allah."[371] Sharif followed this with another post implying that the Hamas attack was Allah "soothing the hearts of the believers," *i.e.*, the Palestinians.[372] In yet another October 7th post, Sharif "praised" and "thanked" Allah.[373] On October 8th, Sharif again posted, citing a verse from the Quran implying that Allah had guided the Hamas attack — "you did not kill them, but Allah killed them..."[374]

On October 22, 2023, Sharif endorsed the ongoing attacks on Israel by both Hamas and Hezbollah, writing "may Allah have mercy on the martyrs of the Lebanese and Palestinian people who rose to defend the land of glory."[375]



371 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (October 7, 2023) (deleted), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02q5W8TUPBgdvYPtPqvjsrGVsq8zNX2eKrQjUxeLHYwnduGPd39icBz1Kdfsauh9Tgl.

372 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (October 7, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0EETjk8A6hzMoz5vFYPoP6yboACE4dnyCziAZTnwytikGURHv6em4ZKf1B6teY62al; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/wiEpQ.

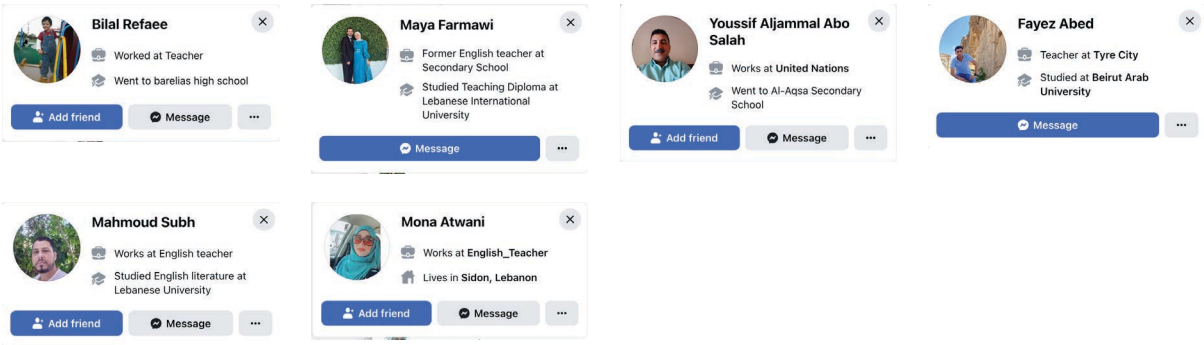
373 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (October 7, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02u8dcCagrd45STiJEBtSNcxkwWGaFNve1qZwCdDGuqTSUDuNWvnrqsSLRCgx1gSeVl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/pgYWf.

374 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (October 8, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02vaqGLqb6PoAWisNo3rstu7ACFjcJkCna9LhHZjC6QQgJ5rUr1ZhH9rwBbwy7VbAJl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/7iN2p.

375 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (October 22, 2023) (deleted),https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0eSuMBCQhhaoKufb9xWAEVw1cqSW2LxgcRvuQKCFNPSJzLxJqWwJEiHvtK6R8A5dxl.



Collectively, these posts received over 300 likes, including by many UNRWA employees.



Publicly Endorsing Hamas Resistance

November 2023

On November 8, 2023, UNRWA Lebanon Director Dorothee Klaus appeared next to Sharif at an event where he proclaimed his support for "the resistance."[376]



Sanctioning Hamas Hostage-Taking Strategy

November 2023

In this November 23, 2023 Facebook post, Sharif thanks Hamas for freeing convicted terrorist Israa Jaabis who had detonated a bomb in 2015, injuring an Israeli police officer. "Prisoners are free," wrote Sharif, "thanks to Allah first and the Mujahideen second."[377] Jaabis was released as part of the November 2023 deal in which Israeli hostages held by Hamas were exchanged for Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails.[378]


Abo Amin Sharif
November 26, 2023

اسراء جعابيص ترى الحرية بعد سنوات من السجن والقهر والحرمان من ابسط الحقوق في السجون الصهيونية ...
اسراء حرة بفضل الله اولا والمجاهدين ثانيا .

Israa Jaabis sees freedom after years of imprisonment, occupation and deprivation of the simplest rights in Zionist prisons...
Prisoners are free thanks to Allah first and the Mujahedin second.

Hide Translation · Rate this translation

376 *@HillelNeuer*, **X** (October 2, 2024, 7:24 AM), https://x.com/HillelNeuer/status/1841332604554858790; *In pictures and videos: Israel kills Hamas leader in Lebanon: Who is Fateh Sharif Abu Amin?* **Janoubia** (September 30, 2024), https://janoubia.com/2024/09/30/بالصور-والفيديو-إسرائيل-تقتل-قائد-حم/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/eUabC.

377 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (November 23, 2023) (deleted), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02ismKVtHZdfqEpae9wkyWKr7ceof3JhNAc9cjFbng3434mBrkyywae7PhxohkpoEql.

378 *Hamas says Palestinian bomber Israa Jaabis among those to be released by Israel tonight*, **Times of Israel** (November 25, 2023), https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/hamas-says-palestinian-bomber-israa-jaabis-among-those-to-be-released-by-israel-tonight/.

Lauding Hamas Success in Freeing Palestinian Prisoners

November 2023

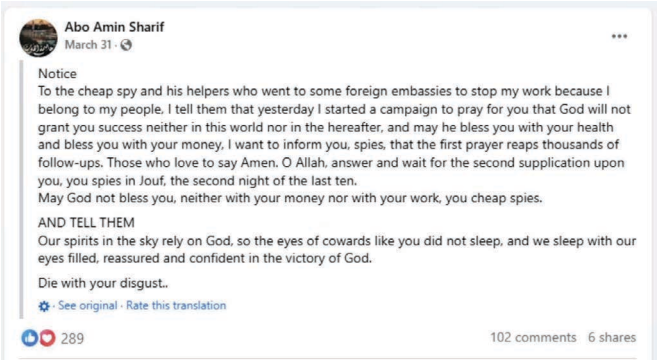
In this November 26, 2023 Facebook post, Sharif celebrates the Hamas achievement of freeing Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons through its hostage-taking strategy — "all the Arab and Muslim armies could not free them but the resistance did..."[379] The post effectively endorses Hamas hostage-taking, which is a war crime.



Top UNRWA Educator Calls for Whistleblower to "Die With Disgust"

March 2024

In this March 31, 2024 Facebook post, Sharif called for the death of the whistleblower who reported him, causing him to be suspended. "May Allah not bless you," wrote Sharif, expressing his hope that "cowards like you" should "not sleep." Sharif concludes with a final wish for the "spy" to "die with your disgust."[380]



379 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (November 26, 2023) (deleted), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0N5ydRTA4wJZkFtYsV8N55Dv6WRzRXGW3UAC8rNFyxVfZoBfrEYYJ5WWm5agqWkd7l.

380 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (March 31, 2024) (deleted), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0Gy9V1FGLWH1wYryqEG81RHch8DEvkk5cuNP5yYKDoyyAjvimuVkVKKKRv4MhH3uKl.

Endorsing Hamas "Resistance"

April 2024

In this April 6, 2024 Facebook post, Sharif endorsed Hamas terrorism, calling it "resistance" and proclaiming that it will "be victorious."[381]

Translation:

> "Our people's resistance will definitely be victorious God Willing, despite the dissent of the weak and plot of the conspirators. God always prevails in His purpose and victory comes only from the servant of God."



381 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (April 6, 2024) (deleted), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02juW9KymPHjdJobhe77mME9E1xj7pjkwM61xjJ6VwU3t2LPfPra8dWZsRWM76mzZdl.

2016–2024: UNRWA Knew About Sharif's Close Ties to Terrorists

Sharif Attends Event Grooming Children to Become Hamas Terrorists

March 2016

On March 13, 2016, Sharif, along with other Hamas leaders, attended a Palestinian Youth and Sports Foundation karate festival titled "The Festival of Loyalty of the Martyrs." The event was held during the "Week of the Martyrs" to commemorate Hamas terrorist leaders Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and Dr. Abdul Aziz Al-Rantisi.

Sharif sat next to Hamas's Jihad Taha who spoke at the event endorsing the "Jerusalem Intifada" and glorifying the "flame of resistance." He praised the "strong resolve and will of generations of Palestinians for whom the blood of the martyrs has charted a course toward pride and dignity, and opened a path to liberation and return." In his speech, Taha also criticized reduction of services by UNRWA and called on Palestinians to protest "UNRWA's opportunistic policy until all the camp residents' just demands are fulfilled."[382]

Photos of the event show Sharif standing next to Taha under a banner commemorating Hamas terror chief Ahmed Yassin and Dr. Abdul Aziz Al-Rantisi, and a young child dressed in a military uniform with a medal around his neck.





382 *The Palestinian Youth and Sports Foundation holds its first Kyokushinkai-Karate festival entitled "Festival of Loyalty to the Martyrs,"* **Al-Buss** (March 13, 2016), https://www.albuss.net/2016/03/blog-post_79.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/t1ArC.



Sharif Organizes Hamas Event to Honor UNRWA Teachers

March 2018

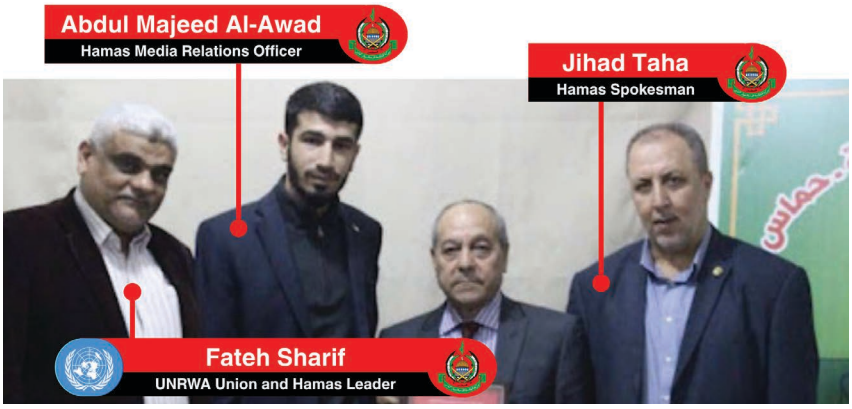
On March 29, 2018, Sharif organized a Hamas "Land Day" event to honor the UNRWA teachers at Al-Buss camp. In his keynote speech, Sharif called on the UNRWA staff to oppose President Trump's Deal of the Century as a "Zionist" plan.

Despite this being an UNRWA tribute event, an invited speaker was Hamas political and media relations officer Abdul Majeed Al-Awad. He began by praising the teachers for their role "in preparing an aware and educated generation." "Every person has their own battlefield," he said, "and the teacher's battlefield is education."

Al-Awad was referring here to Land Day, saying that "this day is the day to insist on the liberation of every inch of Palestinian land, and our Palestinian people have proven with their blood that we are the legitimate owners of the land, and that the occupiers are the foreign intruders." He added that "we must all stand shoulder to shoulder to oppose the Deal of the Century," stressing that "the greatest response to the deal is the return marches, working to unite the ranks of the Palestinians and strengthening the Palestinians, and reaching an agreement on a joint strategy focusing on opposition and resistance."[383]

This episode shows how Sharif collaborated with Hamas to ensure that the UNRWA teachers indoctrinate their students in the Hamas philosophy of violent resistance.

The below photo of the event shows Sharif next to the Hamas representatives.



383 *Hamas honors teachers in Al-Buss camp*, **Al-Buss** (March 30, 2018), https://www.albuss.net/2018/03/blog-post_15.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/UlBys.

Top Hamas Officials Attend Engagement Party for Sharif's Son Amin

February 2019

On February 1, 2019, Sharif hosted an engagement party for his son Amin. The event was attended by top Hamas leaders.[384] The second picture below features Hamas Lebanon officials Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi, Jihad Taha, and Abdul Majeed Al-Awad at the engagement party.





384 *Engagement of the young groom Amin Fath Sharif*, **Al-Buss** (February 1, 2019), https://www.albuss.net/2019/02/blog-post_78.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/8cVLP.

The Hamas Trio in Lebanon

The Hamas trio of Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi, Jihad Taha, and Abdul Majeed Al-Awad, who appear multiple times with Sharif, have been hosted as the official representatives of Hamas in Lebanon at a series of meetings, including with the Ambassadors of Iran,[385] Russia,[386] Qatar,[387] Turkey,[388] Algeria,[389] Indonesia,[390] Cuba,[391] and Venezuela.[392] They have also been hosted by Lebanese officials including the Minister of Labor Mustafa Bayram[393] and former Prime Minister Hassan Diab.[394] In addition, they have represented Hamas in meetings with the officials of Hezbollah,[395] Islamic Jihad,[396] and Al-Jamaa Al-Islamiya.[397] Finally, they have also been interviewed as Hamas representatives by *Al-Jazeera*[398] and *Newsweek*,[399] where Al-Hadi stated concerning the October 7th attacks: "We coordinated with Hezbollah and with Iran before, during, and after this battle at the highest levels."

In meetings with the Russian Ambassador,[400] the Venezuelan Ambassador,[401] and the terrorist group Al-Jamaa Al-Islamiya,[402] the topic of discussion was how to pressure UNRWA. In a meeting with the vice-president of the Supreme Islamic Shiite Council, Sheikh Ali Al-Khatib, the trio conveyed greetings from Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh.[403] In a meeting with Hezbollah, Al-Hadi relayed a message from Haniyeh to Nasrallah through Hezbollah's liaison.[404]

385 *Hamas discusses several issues with Iran's ambassador to Lebanon*, **Palestinian Press Agency** (July 2, 2020), https://safa.ps/post/286303/حماس-تبحث-عديد-القضايا-مع-سفير-إيران-في-لبنان; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/B0UdX.

386 *Hamas representative reviews latest developments with Russian ambassador to Lebanon*, **Atahari** (April 24, 2024), https://atahari.com/2024/04/24/ممثل-حماس-يستعرض-مع-السفير-الروسي-في-لب/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/YdwwS.

387 *Hamas representative in Lebanon discussed palestinian situation with Qatari ambassador*, **NNA** (May 16, 2023), https://www.nna-leb.gov.lb/ar/سياسة/614545/ممثل-حماس-في-لبنان-عرض-الأوضاع-الفلسطينية-مع-سفير; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/gfuM1.

388 *Hamas representative discusses with Turkish ambassador to Lebanon developments of Palestinian issue and Al-Aqsa Flood battle*, **Al-Ahed News** (February 7, 2024), https://www.alahednews.com.lb/fastnewsdetails.php?fstid=240695.

389 *Hamas meets Algerian ambassador in Beirut*, **Racamp News** (November 17, 2022), https://www.racamp.net/2022/11/blog-post_137.html.

390 *Hamas discusses developments in the Palestinian issue with the Indonesian ambassador to Lebanon*, **Felesteen** (September 17, 2019), https://felesteen.news/post/52421/حماس-تبحث-مع-السفير-الإندونيسي-في-لبنان-مستجدات-القضية-الفلسطينية; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Kq9aW.

391 *Hamas representative in Lebanon discusses with Cuban ambassador developments in Palestinian issue and conditions of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon*, **Al Manar** (November 8, 2021), https://www.almanar.com.lb/8922509; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/AKs0l.

392 *Hamas discusses Palestinian developments with Venezuelan ambassador in Beirut*, **The Palestinian Information Center** (November 16, 2021), https://palinfo.com/news/2021/11/16/114449/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/fhMDL.

393 *Minister Bayram receives a delegation from Hamas*, **Lebanese Ministry of Labor** (October 21, 2021), https://www.labor.gov.lb/LatestNewsDetails.aspx?newsid=16478; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/VUqiz.

394 *Hamas conveyed messages from Haniyeh to Diab and Saad*, **Al Binaa** (May 22, 2021), https://www.Al-binaa.com/archives/298603; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/07Jl2. *Hamas delegation meets Lebanese Prime Minister at Grand Serail*, **Al Alam** (June 14, 2020), https://www.alalam.ir/news/4990131/وفد-من-حماس-يلتقي-رئيس-الحكومة-اللبنانية-في-السراي-الحكومي; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/avGsh.

395 *Hezbollah's first jabal amel official received a Hamas delegation: We will celebrate the great victory*, **NNA** (November 17, 2023), https://www.nna-leb.gov.lb/ar/سياسة/655798/مسؤول-جبل-عامل-الأولى-في-حزب-الله-استقبل-وفدا-من-ح; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/uCYJO.

396 *The Palestinian forces alliance in the sur region meets with MP Ali Khreisi and discusses the latest developments with him*, **borjnews** (August 11, 2023), https://borjnews.wordpress.com/2023/08/11/تحالفالقوىالفلسطينيةفيمنطقةصوريلت/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Xoibf.

397 *Hamas representative received a delegation from the Islamic Group in Lebanon*, **NNA** (July 17, 2023), https://www.nna-leb.gov.lb/ar/627565/سياسة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/hvAsM.

398 *Hamas representative visits Al Jazeera office to offer condolences over journalists Shireen Abu Akleh*, **NNA** (May 12, 2022), https://www.nna-leb.gov.lb/ar/سياسة/540880/ممثل-حماس-زار-مكتب-الجزيرة-معزيا-بالصحافية-شيرين-أ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/LjyUU.

399 *Allegations of Betrayal: Hamas' Coordination with Iran and its Consequences*, **Arab Times Kuwait** (October 19, 2023), https://www.arabtimesonline.com/news/allegations-of-betrayAl-hamas-coordination-with-iran-and-its-consequences/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/OrxWZ.

400 *Hamas representative discussed developments in the Palestinian issue with the Russian ambassador to Lebanon*, **Shehab News** (September 29, 2022), https://shehabnews.com/p/108135; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/u4bBN.

401 *Hamas discusses Palestinian development with Venezuelan ambassador in Beirut*, **The Palestinian Information Center** (November 16, 2021), https://palinfo.com/news/2021/11/16/114449/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/fhMDL.

402 *Hamas representative received a delegation from the Islamic Group in Lebanon*, **NNA** (July 17, 2023), https://www.nna-leb.gov.lb/ar/627565/سياسة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/hvAsM.

403 *Sheikh Al-Khatib received a delegation from the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) in Lebanon*, **Racamp** (April 13, 2022), https://www.racamp.net/2022/04/blog-post_950.html.

404 *A message from Haniyeh to Mr. Nasrallah*, **Al Mehwar News** (July 6, 2020), https://almehwarnews.com/post/6460/single-post.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/gEAD3.

Jihad Taha and Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi have also been involved in UNRWA demonstrations before. In the photo below from January 23, 2016, both can be seen holding a banner in front of UNRWA headquarters in Beirut protesting changes to UNRWA's health policies.[405]



Top Officials From Hamas and Other Terrorist Groups Attend Engagement Party for Sharif's Son Ibrahim

June 2020

On June 24, 2020, Sharif hosted an engagement party for his son Ibrahim. The event was attended by top leaders from Hamas and other terrorist groups. In the picture below,[406] Sharif and his two sons are seen embracing Sheikh Haitham Abdul Karim Al-Saadi "Abu Tariq," deputy emir of the UN-designated terrorist group Islamic Ansar League.[407] The photos were posted on a news site for the UNRWA community, and naturally many within UNRWA — teachers, administrators, and other employees — would have seen it.



405 *Thousands of Palestinians protest in front of UNRWA headquarters in Beirut, rejecting cuts in services*, **Al Quds News** (January 23, 2016), https://alqudsnews.net/image/gallery/134/الآف-الفلسطينين-يعتصمون-أمام-م; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Ksy6b.

406 *Engagement of the young man Ibrahim Fath Sharif to the young lady Batoul Ali Al-Makhal*, **Al-Buss** (June 24, 2020), https://www.albuss.net/2020/06/blog-post_718.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/iu5OX.

407 *Asbat Al-Ansar*, **United Nations Security Council** (Last visited July 2, 2024), https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/entity/asbat-Al-ansar.

The next picture shows Sharif and his son Ibrahim flanking Hamas Spokesman Jihad Taha. Sharif is a close friend to the entire Hamas-affiliated Taha family. At least 11 of Jihad Taha's relatives are friends with Sharif on Facebook,[408] including Taha's son[409] and daughter-in-law,[410] some of whom were also pupils at Sharif's school.[411] Today these former UNRWA students write poems on Facebook glorifying Hamas terrorism[412] and post pictures at Hamas funerals.[413] One member of the Taha clan, Mahmoud, a Hamas official in the "Burj Al-Shamali Camp"[414] praised Sharif for his "support of" his "loyal people and...just cause," adding "you shine and walk confidently and steadfastly, with all the faithful and loyal people with you."[415]



408 *Hamza Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100042157755118; *Youmna Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/youmna.taha.39; *Shatha Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/shaza.taha; *Hussein Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/hussein.taha.98; *Shadia Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/shadia.taha.98; *Mahmoud Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100078788970666; *Aziza Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100008088495494; *Al Maha Said Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/maha.Staha; *Khaled Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/khaled.taha.31; *Mahmmoud Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/mahmmoud.taha.77; *Bilal Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/bilal.taha.18.

409 *Hamza Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100042157755118.

410 *Mariam Al-Assi Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/Mariam.Alassii.

411 *See, e.g., Shadia Taha*, **Facebook** (September 25, 2012), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=112923772194658&set=pb.100004311068114.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Rwnky *Hamza Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100042157755118; *Khaled Taha Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/khaled.taha.31.

412 *Mariam Al-Assi*, **Facebook** (November 21, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/Mariam.Alassii/posts/pfbid02tVJbuVqAn41snjVkPEfqE2nic4cujARMYcz5v6Q1fzDkQ9w4Qkq1bxdX6rK2ab2Jl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/2ZEsb.

413 *Hamza Taha*, **Facebook** (January 4, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1078824680199447&set=pb.100042157755118.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/3JAow.

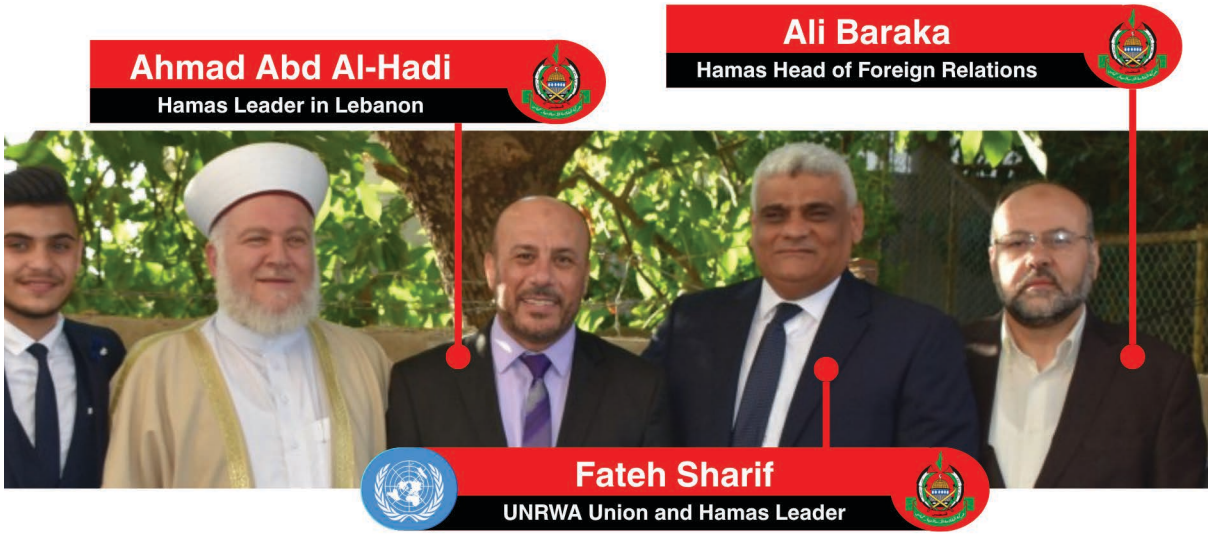
414 *Hajj Khalil Hussein received a delegation from Hamas*, **Sawtalfarah** (June 1, 2023), https://www.sawtalfarah.com/?p=245030; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/fcRv9.

415 *Mahmoud Taha*, **Facebook** (September 20, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=161388993164066&set=pb.100078788970666.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/mDYoD.

In this picture, Sharif is flanked by Dr. Ayman Shana'a, Head of National Relations for Hamas in Lebanon, and Khaled Zuaiter, Hamas's lobbyist to UNRWA.



In this picture, Sharif is flanked by Hamas representatives in Lebanon Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi and Ali Baraka. Ali Baraka is chief of Hamas foreign relations abroad. He was one of eight Hamas officials sanctioned by the U.S. and U.K. after October 7th for advancing Hamas interests abroad.[416] Baraka has claimed that Hamas planned its October 7th attack for two years.[417] He has also defended the October 7th attack and justified the taking of hostages.[418]



416 *US targets Hamas finances with new sanctions*, **The Hill** (December 13, 2023), https://thehill.com/policy/international/4358235-us-targets-hamas-finances-new-sanctions/.

417 *Who is Mohammed Deif, the Hamas commander behind the attack on Israel?* **Reuters** (October 11, 2023), https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/how-secretive-hamas-commander-masterminded-attack-israel-2023-10-10/.

418 *UK and US target Hamas with new sanctions to isolate terror group*, **Gov.UK** (December 13, 2023), https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-and-us-target-hamas-with-new-sanctions-to-isolate-terror-group.

Sharif Attends Funeral of Three Hamas Members Killed by Fatah and Glorifies Them

December 2021

In these Facebook posts from December 17–18, 2021, Sharif memorializes three Hamas members killed by Fatah forces affiliated with the Palestinian Authority. The December 18, 2021 post contains pictures of the three young men, along with text referring to them as "our martyrs, our moons," a common phrase used to refer to Palestinian terrorists implying that they will enter paradise because they are radiant and followed the path of Allah. In the text, Sharif also wishes "curses" upon Fatah, while referring to one of the Hamas members as "the man of willpower" and to another as "memorizer [of the Quran]."[419] Sharif had posted separately on December 17 to commemorate "the martyr, the amiable Hussein Al-Ahmed," one of the three killed.[420] This post was liked by over 200 people, including several UNRWA employees. Sharif also attended the funeral for these three Hamas members, appearing in a photograph close to one of the caskets.[421]

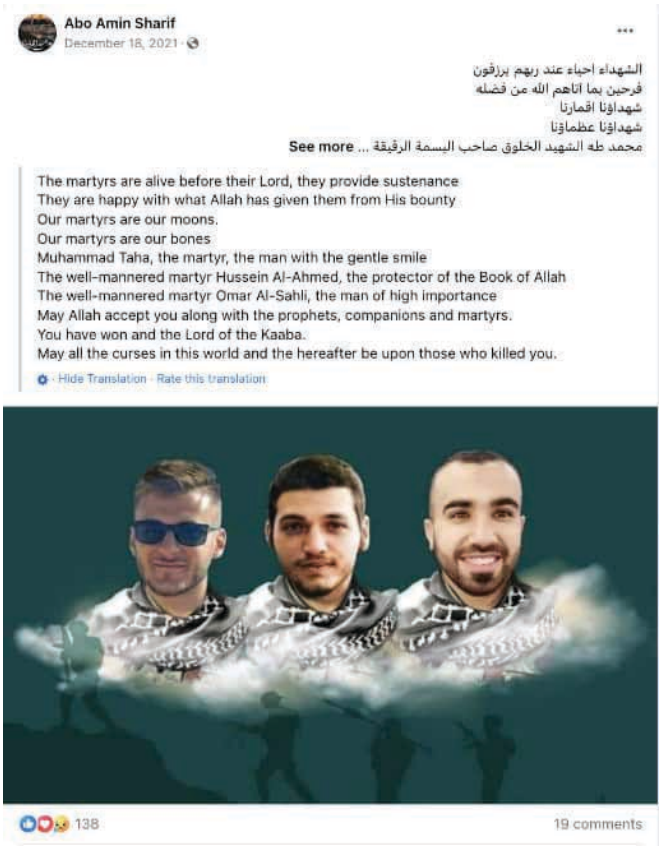




419 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (December 18, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02MsXSstaVq3n3mAxHcdph6t3spKpVLDUAj3YNRQbbfFbcBDu3RrEEbKviwwb3Vts4l; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/qvTm3.

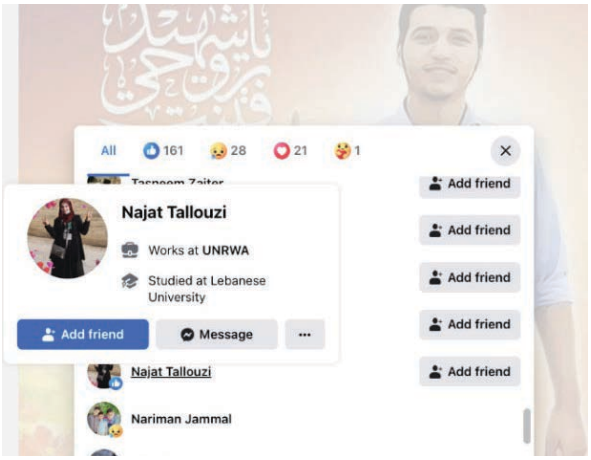
420 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (December 17, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0kTB6Nju67PXE9NYv2gHy7qfXvCvaMGYeMjhz2BT8QNuFFWSK2bB4B78iQwboevpHl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/AWvtZ.

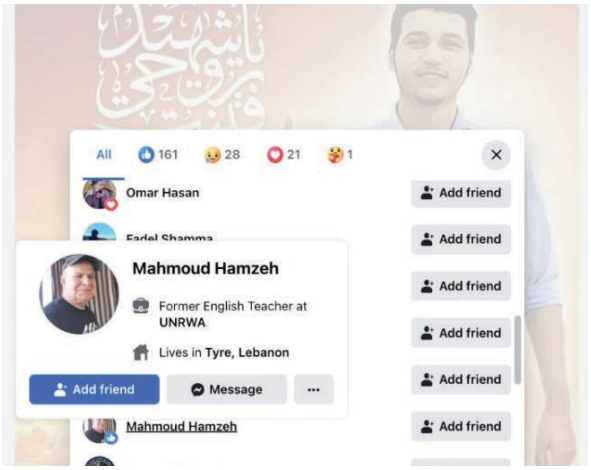
421 *Four killed in shooting at Palestinian camp in Lebanon, Hamas says*, **The Foreign Code** (December 2021), https://theforeigncode.com/four-killed-in-shooting-at-palestinian-camp-in-lebanon-hamas-says/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/unOlt.


Abo Amin Sharif
December 18, 2021
الشهداء احياء عند ربهم يرزقون
فرحين بما اتاهم الله من فضله
شهداؤنا اقمارنا
شهداؤنا عظماؤنا
محمد طه الشهيد الخلوق صاحب البسمة الرقيقة ... See more
The martyrs are alive before their Lord, they provide sustenance
They are happy with what Allah has given them from His bounty
Our martyrs are our moons.
Our martyrs are our bones
Muhammad Taha, the martyr, the man with the gentle smile
The well-mannered martyr Hussein Al-Ahmed, the protector of the Book of Allah
The well-mannered martyr Omar Al-Sahli, the man of high importance
May Allah accept you along with the prophets, companions and martyrs.
You have won and the Lord of the Kaaba.
May all the curses in this world and the hereafter be upon those who killed you.
· Hide Translation · Rate this translation
138
19 comments


Abo Amin Sharif's Post
Abo Amin Sharif
December 17, 2021
الحافظ لكتاب الله الشهيد الخلوق المحبوب حسين الاحمد رحمه الله . اللعنة على قاتليك .
206
55 comments

Current and former self-identified UNRWA colleagues liking Sharif's December 17th Facebook Post.

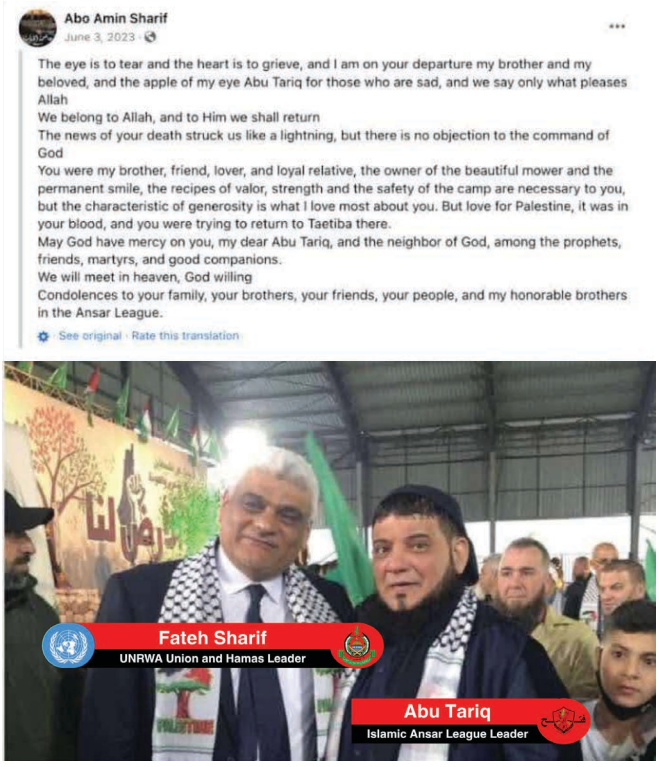




Sharif Eulogizes Islamic Ansar League Leader Abu Tariq

June 2023

On June 3, 2023, Sharif eulogized Islamic Ansar League Leader Sheikh Haitham Abdul Karim Al-Saadi "Abu Tariq",[422] deputy emir of the UN-designated terrorist group Islamic Ansar League.[423] Sharif's Facebook eulogy includes a photo of himself together with Abu Tariq and a tribute referring to Abu Tariq as one of "my honorable brothers" in "the Ansar League."[424]



422 *Joint Palestinian Action in Lebanon mourns a leader from "Usbat Al-Ansar,"* **Quds Press**, (June 3 2023), https://qudspress.com/54000/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/1jLPG.

423 *Asbat Al-Ansar*, **United Nations Security Council** (Last visited July 2, 2024), https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/entity/asbat-Al-ansar.

424 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (June 3, 2023) (deleted), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2206819282861411&set=pb.100006000814550.-2207520000&type=3.

Sharif Attends Hamas Rallies, Celebrating October 7th Massacre

October 2023

As seen in the photos below,[425] on October 13, 2023, Sharif attended a Hamas rally in the Al-Buss camp celebrating Hamas's October 7th massacre in Israel.[426]



At the rally, Sharif appears in photos next to the Hamas organizers of the rally, including Hamas spokesman in Lebanon Jihad Taha,[427] who has publicly praised and endorsed the October 7th attack.

In February 2024, Taha said the "Al-Aqsa Flood" (referring to the Hamas massacre) paves the way for the "decisive battle with the enemy," adding "we will pray in Al-Aqsa as conquerors."[428] At a political seminar in April 2024, Taha reiterated this idea — "the battle of the Al-Aqsa Flood broke all Zionist equations, and established a new phase of the conflict with the Zionist entity and a prelude to the battle of liberation and return and the defeat of the occupation."[429]

As Hamas spokesman, Jihad Taha has been heavily involved in the hostage negotiations.[430] Recently, Taha praised the "steadfastness of the resistance in Gaza," (*i.e.*, Hamas, along with other Iranian-sponsored terrorist groups) and credited it for bringing Israel to the negotiating table.[431] Two months before October 7th, Taha had "denounced as a mirage" Israel's attempted normalization with Saudi Arabia.[432] Notably, Saudi Arabia blamed October 7th for derailing the talks.[433]

425 *Abo Youssef Nadi Dallas*, **Facebook** (October 13, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10231563976952599&set=pb.1535297569.-2207520000.

426 *Massive popular demonstrations in various Lebanese regions in support of Gaza in Operation "Al Aqsa Flood,"* **Elnashra** (October 13, 2023), https://www.elnashra.com/news/show/1640575/تظاهرات-شعبية-حاشدة-مختلف-المناطق-اللبنانية-دعماً-; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/qEnaG.

427 *The struggle in Al-Buss camp participates in a stand in support of Gaza and the West Bank*, **Al-Buss** (October 13, 2023), https://www.albuss.net/2023/10/blog-post_572.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ogj4W.

428 *Hamas Spokesman Jihad Taha: "The Battle of the Flood of Al-Aqsa lays the foundation or the decisive battle with the enemy and we will pray in Al-Aqsa as Conquerors,"* **Palestinian Media Center** (February 19, 2024), https://nabd.com/s/133059208-4dbb8b/الناطق-الرسمي-باسم-حركة-ح.م.اس-جهاد-طه-معركة-طوفان-الأقصى-تؤسّس-للمعركة-الفاصلة-مع-العدو-وسنصلي-في-الأقصى-فاتحين; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Vchy9.

429 *On the occasion of Jerusalem Day: Jihad Taha confirms the flood of Al-Aqsa is not equations*, **Al-Ummah Electronic Newspaper (alomah.net)** (April 6, 2024), https://alomah.net/ا/مناسبة-يوم-القدس-جهاد-طه-يؤكد-طوفان/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/fjzQG.

430 *Hamas spokesman says terror group 'dealing positively' with efforts to close hostage truce deal*, **Times of Israel** (July 4, 2024), https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/hamas-spokesman-says-terror-group-dealing-positively-with-efforts-to-close-hostage-truce-deal/; *Hamas: The Palestinian people the only ones to determine Gaza's future*, **The Palestinian Information Center** (July 3, 2024), https://english.palinfo.com/news/2024/07/03/321447/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/judTs.

431 *Hamas Spokesman In Lebanon: 'The Victory In Gaza Will Be Similar To That Of Lebanon In 2006,'* **MEMRI** (May 9, 2024), https://www.memri.org/jttm/hamas-spokesman-lebanon-victory-gaza-will-be-similar-lebanon-2006.

432 *Hamas slams Netanyahu's normalization attempts with Saudi Arabia as 'mirage,'* **Press TV** (August 8, 2023), https://www.presstv.ir/Detail/2023/08/08/708595/Palestinian-resistance-movement-Hamas-normalization-agreement-Saudi-Arabia-mirage; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/pAYNV.

433 *Saudis say Iran instigate October 7th to sabotage Israel normalization*, **The JC** (April 15, 2024), https://www.thejc.com/news/israel/saudis-say-iran-instigated-october-7-to-sabotage-israel-normalisation-ji9krhn6.



Sharif Seated Next to Hamas Leadership at Event Celebrating "Martyrdom" of Three Hamas Terrorists

October 2023

On October 19, 2023, less than two weeks after the October 7th Hamas attack, Sharif attended a Hamas event in Lebanon to celebrate the "martyrdom" of three Hamas terrorists: Ahmed Osama Othman and Yahya Nayef Abdel Razek from Ain Al-Hilweh camp, and Suhaib Omar Kayed from Wadi Al-Zeina.[434] The three were killed on October 13 while attempting to infiltrate from Lebanon into the northern Israeli community of Moshav Margaliot.[435] An October 19 Facebook post from a Hamas account refers to them as "the three moons," a phrase often used to refer to Palestinian terrorists, implying that these three will enter paradise because they are radiant and followed the path of Allah.[436] In the first picture below, Sharif is seen sitting with his arms crossed, while Hamas Lebanon leader Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi addresses the crowd.

Just one day earlier, on October 18, Al-Hadi had told *Politico* that Hamas has "very strong relations with Hezbollah. We were cooperating with Hezbollah before the attack on Israel and after and now we are in full cooperation."[437] Months later, in June 2024, when asked about the October 7th massacre, Al-Hadi declared "If we could go back in time, we would do it again."[438]

434 *Siblin Valley and Iqlim El-Kharoub - News*, **Facebook** (October 19, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid02GEZSLGyUmCLrMDE8bRZ64gSTxFv25xSFuCHXW6aaFM85qHxUmtJ3ZyfQfTDNf4DSl&id=100064101370399; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/prsTg.

435 *Al-Qassam: 3 fighters killed in operation in northern occupied Palestine*, **Al Quds** (October 15, 2024), https://www.alquds.com/en/posts/96507; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Uh6l5. Emanuel Fabian, *IDF again strikes Hezbollah after drones from Lebanon intercepted over north*, **Times of Israel** (October 14, 2023), https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-again-strikes-hezbollah-after-drones-from-lebanon-intercepted-over-north/.

436 According to Muslim tradition, moons are used to refer to believers to whom paradise has been promised.

437 Jamie Dettmer, *Hamas says it's closely coordinating war's next moves with Hezbollah in Lebanon*, **Politico** (October 18, 2023), https://www.politico.eu/article/hamas-say-closely-coordinate-war-next-move-hezbollah-lebanon/.

438 *Hamas Representative in Lebanon Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi: If We Could Go Back In Time, We Would Carry Out The October 7th Attacks All Over Again; The U.S. Was Acting To Normalize And Assimilate Israel Into The Region*, **MEMRI** (June 18, 2024), https://www.memri.org/reports/hamas-representative-lebanon-ahmad-abd-Al-hadi-if-we-could-go-back-time-we-would-carry-out.



This October 19 Hamas event was publicized by a Hamas-affiliated news channel on Facebook, which has published pictures of other Hamas events in the same location featuring children training to be terrorists, as seen in the images below.





On the same day this Hamas-linked account showed UNRWA official Sharif attending the Hamas event eulogizing these three terrorists, it also showed related photos of "Distributing sweets in Wadi Al-Zeina in the joy of our martyr, Suhaib Omar Kayed, may Allah have mercy on him."[439] Hamas was celebrating a local "martyr" from the town — one of the three Al-Qassam terrorists killed on October 13, 2023 while attempting to infiltrate into Israel from Lebanon. The account continued to announce events[440] celebrating the Hamas terrorist, "Our hero martyr, Suhaib Omar Kayed," including a "victory seminar" in honor of the terrorist, the video of which vilified the Jews as "deceitful" "killers of prophets."[441] Kayed was also honored at an April 1, 2024[442] event by the Islamic Association of Palestine Students, a pro-Hamas youth group that was one of many associations mobilized to pressure UNRWA into backing down from requesting Sharif's resignation.[443]

439 *Siblin Valley and Iqlim El-Kharoub - News*, **Facebook** (October 19, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid02p5XCKo3yMHffFugSWuzmSXw2JvemvtuoqvPCXunbDHMzYsYff9YF7dBg6q3SHfcFl&id=100064101370399; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/4IIs1.

440 *Siblin Valley and Iqlim El-Kharoub - News*, **Facebook** (October 20, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid02uqvUUN3t1tWqCrThpgjRm6KoskZm7Cv97mRwKobvzt2i794F8GhcueCTn7f1EeLKl&id=100064101370399; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ywGU9.

441 *Siblin Valley and Iqlim El-Kharoub - News*, **Facebook** (November 2, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid0YR1AF2K1fya8Kh18fvLB4Bb8QxYWPxS3omCQ5fcAee8zMnzyEz8VtuFFw5PnTFCjl&id=100064101370399; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/dNWuU.

442 *Islamic Association of Palestine Students*, **Facebook** (April 1, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/islamicrabita/posts/822191949945063?ref=embed_post; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/yNEwp.

443 *Pro-Hamas student league calls for strikes to back UNRWA terrorist Fateh Sharif*, **UN Watch** (June 23, 2024), https://unwatch.org/pro-hamas-student-league-calls-for-strikes-to-back-unrwa-terrorist-Fateh-Sharif/.

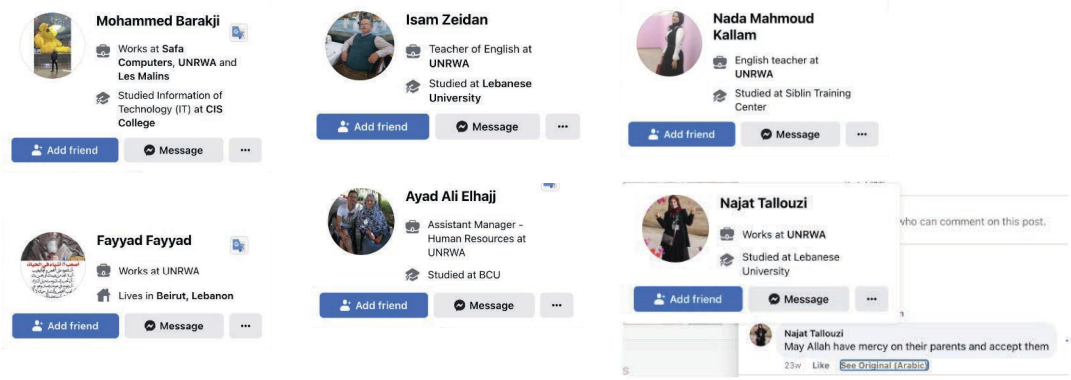
Sharif Praises Sons of Deceased Hamas Leaders for "Walking On Their [Fathers'] Path"

January 2024

On January 3, 2024, Sharif posted a photo of himself embracing the sons of two senior Hamas leaders killed in Israeli strikes in southern Lebanon — Abu Amer Fendi, the leader of Hamas operations in southern Lebanon, killed January 2, 2024[444] and Abu Khaled Al-Kharaz, deputy commander of the Al-Qassam Brigades in Lebanon, killed November 21, 2023.[445] Sharif comforted the sons of the "martyrs" and praised them for "walking" on "the path" of their fathers.[446]



Several self-identified UNRWA employees liked and commented on this post.



444 *Hamas operations chief in Lebanon martyred in assassination attack*, **Roya News** (January 2, 2024), https://en.royanews.tv/news/48031; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/X5rKK.

445 *Martyred in shelling in Southern Lebanon: Hamas mourns leader Khaled Hamed Al-Karaz*, **Alaraby** (November 21, 2023), https://www.alaraby.com/news/استشهد-بقصف-جنوبي-لبنان-حماس-تنعى-القيادي-خليل-حامد-الخراز; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Qt5Bx.

446 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (January 3, 2024) (Deleted), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02bWCypSVu4tRMqNV4QsjbENVZtUsBRgymHxgtEUYxtg9NofFQXkhJVxnNzF6B4QTYl.

Sharif Venerates PFLP Member Mohamed Zeeb Al-Jadou as "Old Union Friend"

February 2024

In this February 16, 2024 post eulogizing PFLP member Mohamed Zeeb Al-Jadou on his death, Sharif described him as a "father," "teacher," and "friend."[447] The PFLP website describes him as "a model of fighter and educator," a long time UNRWA teacher and member of the UNRWA Lebanon staff union who had educated a generation to "believe in the justice of its cause and the struggles to restore its usurped rights."[448]



Sharif's post was liked by 97 people, presumably including many UNRWA employees. In addition, several UNRWA employees endorsed the post in comments.









447 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (February 16, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0YdfQWbRkjcvAgom5dNgFvyZ8fRvCFS5K86XdSyQnmVWghNZB1jn4dqr3Rnhk1LLcl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/bD2TL.

448 *The Palestinian Teachers Organization mourns the activist, national leader and trade unionist Hajj Mr. Mohamed Theeb Al-Jadua (Abu Ali)*, **PFLP** (February 2024), https://pflp-lb.org/?p=804; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/7aFMD.

Al Akhbar Reports: Sharif Was "Senior Leader in Hamas"

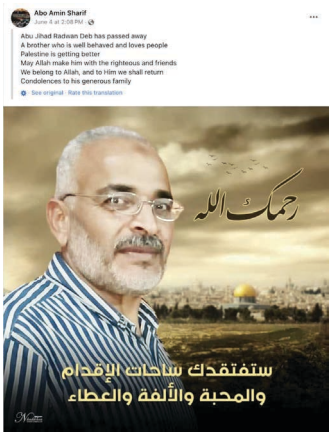
March 2024

On March 25, 2024, *Al Akhbar* reported that the accusations by UNRWA against Sharif included that he is "ideologically and politically" affiliated with Hamas and holds "a senior leadership position in the organization." Sharif was also accused of traveling to Turkey without UNRWA's permission and meeting with senior Hamas leaders there.[449]

Sharif Honors "Brother" Hamas Member Abu Jihad Radwan Deeb

June 2024

On June 4, 2024, Sharif honored fellow Hamas member Abu Jihad Radwan Deeb after he passed away by posting condolences on Facebook and referring to him as "brother."[450]



At his funeral, Abu Jihad Radwan Deeb was adorned with a Hamas headband.[451]





449 *German Director Prevents Solidarity With Gaza: Political Cleansing in UNRWA*, **Al-Akhbar** (March 25, 2024), https://Al-akhbar.com/Politics/379122; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/HYyfg *See here* for English translation, https://unwatch.org/Al-akhbar-head-of-unrwa-teachers-is-senior-leader-of-hamas/.

450 Abo Amin Sharif, **Facebook** (June 4, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid08bhpxWMKBfWNW9oXYGubRRWafjzwK75vK2nFaKpN77MhyeSpCfL5krM8u2WjgRmRl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/L9ch2.

451 *Siblin Al-Wadi and Iqlim Al-Kharroub - News*, **Facebook** (June 5, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/reel/838746528313055; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/rJaV9.

In this photo from January 19, 2024, Deeb is seen hoisting up a child with a weapon next to the casket of Hamas terrorist Walid Ahmed Hassanein. Hassanein was killed in clashes with Israeli forces in southern Lebanon.



Sharif also attended the same funeral where he is seen holding the casket.[452]



452 *Hamas movement bids farewell to martyr Walid Ahmed Hassanein in Sidon*, **Al-Ahed News Website** (January 19, 2024), https://alahedlb.info/article.php?id=64560&cid=113.

October 7, 2023 & Aftermath: Sharif Leads Pro-Hamas Protests

In the wake of the October 7th Hamas attack, the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union headed by Fateh Sharif led months of pro-Hamas political protests and fundraising campaigns related to the war in Gaza in gross breach of neutrality.[453] Sharif proudly boasted on Facebook about these events, posting many photos (some copied below), including one in which a student is seen holding a Hamas flag.[454] One of the early protests was a "national open day" at all UNRWA schools where students and teachers were required to "wear the Palestinian keffiyeh, wear black clothes, and raise the Palestinian flag." The teachers were to "highlight our people's right to resist the occupier based on a pre-planned program." The union called on "student groups and parents... to organize furious protests coursing through the streets of the [refugee] camps and chant for Palestine, Al Aqsa Mosque, the [Palestinian] prisoners and the martyrs, especially the women and children."[455] Protests like these continued unchecked for months and paralyzed the UNRWA school system in Lebanon.









453 *UNRWA Lebanon Staff Union*, **Facebook** (October 15, 2023) (announcing protest against Philippe Lazzarini for not doing enough to help Gazans), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid0fQcFg2Ug7q61hQ9taw15mS3qdcc8gugakZb4eY1K5WDRYmEwGfjna7dBiDZ3B1iyl&id=100091946813785; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/VPwUM.

454 *Fateh Abo Amin*, **Facebook** (April 2024) (deleted), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2432883290255008&set=pb.100006000814550.-2207520000&type=3, photo also found here https://www.albuss.net/2024/04/blog-post_167.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/s4dtl. *Fateh Abo Amin*, **Facebook** (March 30, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1871035443106465&set=pb.100006000814550.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Zge1d. *see also generally Fateh Abo Amin Photos*, **Facebook** (Last visited July 4, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/photos; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/GbBKn.

455 *UNRWA Lebanon Staff Union*, **Facebook** (October 18, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid0qHRFxuBQ8mZnQcUM8QnyTQf46ADrevWD4CMMBgQt8Ev1pZJYYUfBAk46U3xA54zxl&id=100091946813785; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/0BC6g.

February-March 2024: UNRWA Suspends Fateh Sharif

Decades after doing nothing about the terrorist in their midst, and after at least a decade of his overt publication of his support for and links to terrorism, UNRWA took action in February 2024. This was apparently due to several factors. The UN spokesman said that they had received information from the government of Israel.[456] Sharif himself, as noted above, claimed that he was reported to embassies by a whistleblower, whom he called "a spy." At this time, following explosive revelations in January 2024 about UNRWA's ties to terrorism, major donors suspended funding, and this created a funding crisis and pressure on UNRWA.

The Lebanon Director, Dorothee Klaus, warned several of the UNRWA principals and protest leaders, including Fateh Sharif, that they had to cease these neutrality-breaching activities, and that if they refused to comply, they would have to resign. Next, when the disruptive protests continued, Klaus summoned Sharif on February 26, informing him that he had until March 2 to resign or face an investigation for his political activities on UNRWA premises.[457] Finally, when Sharif declined to resign, Commissioner-General Philippe Lazzarini emailed him to confirm that he was suspended for three months for "political activities violating neutrality."[458]

As noted above, Sharif wore many hats. He was an UNRWA school principal and head of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union and, at the same time, a Hamas leader. Sharif attended many Hamas events, rallies, and funerals, always appearing near the Hamas leadership. One of these was a December 2021 funeral of three Hamas members who had been killed by Fatah.[459] He eulogized the Hamas members as "our martyrs," "our moons," and "men of high importance" and wished "curses upon those who killed them," referring to the Fatah forces.[460]

Sharif also had close personal ties with other terrorists. In June 2023, Sharif publicly mourned the death of his friend Sheikh Haitham Abdul Karim Al-Saadi ("Abu Tariq"), deputy emir of the Islamic Ansar League — designated as a terrorist organization by the U.S., U.K., Canada, the UN, and others — whom he referred to as his "honorable brothers."[461]

456 *See Daily Press Briefing*, **UN YouTube** (September 30, 2024, Minute 29:05), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YlFnhNQsG3M; Full Transcript available here https://press.un.org/en/2024/db240930.doc.htm.

457 Ahmed Haj Ali, *Strikes due to UNRWA firing a school principal in Lebanon for his support of Gaza*, **Al-Modon** (March 2, 2024), https://www.almodon.com/amp/society/2024/3/2/إضرابات-بسبب-فصل-الأونروا-مدير-مدرسة-بلبنان-لمساندته-غزة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/zM9SA.

458 *Lebanon: UNRWA punishes its two employees on charges of not being impartial*, **Al Jazeera** (March 27, 2024), https://www.aljazeera.net/politics/2024/3/27/لبنان-الأونروا-تعاقب-موظفيها-بتهمة.

459 *Four killed in shooting at Palestinian camp in Lebanon, Hamas says*, **The Foreign Code** (December 13, 2021), https://theforeigncode.com/four-killed-in-shooting-at-palestinian-camp-in-lebanon-hamas-says/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/unOlt.

460 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (December 18, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid02MsXSstaVq3n3mAxHcdph6t3spKpVLDUAj3YNRQbbfFbcBDu3RrEEbKviwwb3Vts4l; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/qvTm3.

461 *Abo Amin Sharif*, **Facebook** (June 2023) (deleted), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2206819282861411&set=pb.100006000814550.-2207520000&type=3.

March-May 2024: UNRWA Teachers' Union and Local Terrorist Groups Rally Behind Sharif

Sharif's suspension provoked significant backlash. The UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union quickly issued "Statement No. 1," supporting Sharif — a "brilliant" "leader and educator." The statement characterized UNRWA's demand that Sharif resign as an "existential war" and "brazen blackmail;" and accused UNRWA's management of "crossing all red lines" and "playing with fire."[462] The Union further stated that UNRWA management was demanding Sharif's resignation under the pretext that donors would stop contributing if UNRWA did not take such actions. The Union then questioned: "Whose interest is it to have this renewed terrorism waged against certain political and intellectual trends under the pretext of the support of donor countries?" They wondered whether "the Director-General, her team, and those who incited her can bear the consequences of these new and dangerous trends."[463]

Sharif's Teachers' Union imposed a general strike, closing 64 UNRWA schools, affecting 39,000 UNRWA students.[464] It warned the strike would be "followed by successive escalating steps with unprecedented ceilings" if the UNRWA administration did not reverse course on Sharif.[465]

Palestinian terrorist groups openly rushed to defend Sharif. A coalition of Palestinian forces in Lebanon — the non-PLO terrorist organizations who had united to oppose the 1993 Oslo Accords, including Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the PFLP, the Islamic forces, the popular and civil committees, and others — framed UNRWA's actions as an attack on "the national identity of Palestinian employees," which is "a red line," and "we won't let anyone cross it."[466] The PFLP,[467] Palestinian Islamic Jihad,[468] and Hamas[469] also separately spoke out in defense of Sharif. A member of the popular committees in the Ain Al-Hilweh camp, Adnan Al-Rifai, complained that UNRWA's version of neutrality was an attack "on the Palestinian national cause." He warned that Dorothee Klaus could be barred from entering the camps if UNRWA did not retract the decision.[470]

This terrorist coalition threatened UNRWA management, saying it would "consider them to be going along with malicious projects that target our people and its resistance [activities]." The coalition added that "our countrymen in Lebanon will oppose any malicious step taken against any employee by UNRWA's management in Lebanon... through peaceful and gradually intensifying protest movements using various measures and methods."[471]

462 *He considered it blatant blackmail. The Lebanese Teachers' Union rejects UNRWA's demand for its president to resign*, **The Palestinian Information Center** (March 3, 2024), https://palinfo.com/news/2024/03/03/879423/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/JU2Va.

463 *Id.*

464 Muhammad Dahsha, *The crisis with UNRWA is open: Fatah Sharif did not resign*, **Nidaal Watan** (March 5, 2024), https://www.nidaalwatan.com/article/258701-الأزمة-مع-الأونروا-مفتوحة-فتح-شريف-لم-يستقل; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/M4Nql.

465 *Lebanon: broad solidarity with Fatah Sharif and demands for UNRWA to retract its decision*, **The Palestinian Information Center** (March 3, 2024), https://palinfo.com/news/2024/03/03/879438/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/fYAFp.

466 Ahmed Haj Ali, *Strikes due to UNRWA firing a school principal in Lebanon for his support of Gaza*, **Al-Modon** (March 2, 2024), https://www.almodon.com/amp/society/2024/3/2/إضرابات-بسبب-فصل-الأونروا-مدير-مدرسة-بلبنان-لمساندته-غزة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/zM9SA.

467 *Id.*

468 *Lebanon: broad solidarity with Fatah Sharif and demands for UNRWA to retract its decision*, **The Palestinian Information Center** (March 3, 2024), https://palinfo.com/news/2024/03/03/879438/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/fYAFp.

469 Muhammad Dahsha, *The crisis with UNRWA is open: Fatah Sharif did not resign*, **Nidaal Watan** (March 5, 2024), https://www.nidaalwatan.com/article/258701-الأزمة-مع-الأونروا-مفتوحة-فتح-شريف-لم-يستقل; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/M4Nql.

470 *Lebanon: UNRWA punishes employees on charges of lack of neutrality*, **Al Jazeera** (March 27, 2024), https://www.aljazeera.net/politics/2024/3/27/لبنان-الأونروا-تعاقب-موظفيها-بتهمة.

471 *Lebanon: broad solidarity with Fatah Sharif and demands for UNRWA to retract its decision*, **The Palestinian Information Center** (March 3, 2024), https://palinfo.com/news/2024/03/03/879438/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/fYAFp.

At the end of March, this terrorist coalition orchestrated a massive sit-in titled "No compromise on our national affiliation," in front of UNRWA's Beirut headquarters, shutting it down.[472] In a coordinated move, the Teachers' Union then announced a complete administrative boycott of UNRWA management in Lebanon, labeling Dorothee Klaus an "undesirable person."[473]

During one of the protests at UNRWA Beirut headquarters, Sharif is seen delivering a speech with a banner featuring Dorothee Klaus with a red X over her face.[474] Another picture features Klaus with a big red prohibited sign over her face.[475]





Translation of Dorothee Klaus Poster

Top Line: "Campaign to expel the German high commissioner from Lebanon"

Bottom Line: "Prohibited from entering the camps"

Philippe Lazzarini's deputy, Antonia De Meo, further fueled the tension by suggesting that the agency would not "continue in perpetuity" and that its services would ultimately be transferred to a "Palestinian administration."[476] This caused an uproar among Palestinians who insist UNRWA must continue to exist until their right of return is realized.[477]

For more than two months, Sharif, student leaders, and leaders of this terrorist coalition coordinated protests across UNRWA premises in Lebanon.

472 *Sit-in in front of UNRWA headquarters in Beirut in protest against its policy towards employees*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (March 27, 2024), https://refugeesps.net/post/27318/اعتصام-أمام-مقر-أونروا-في-بيروت-احتجاجا-على-سياستها-تجاه-الموظفين; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/oCBPj.

473 *The UNRWA Teachers' Union in Lebanon announces a boycott of the Agency's administration*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (April 1, 2024), https://refugeesps.net/post/27357/اتحاد-المعلمين-في-أونروا-في-لبنان-يعلن-مقاطعة-إدارة-الوكالة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/YfltC.

474 *Refugeesps*, **Instagram** (April 18, 2024), https://www.instagram.com/p/C55XoDNtnJf/?img_index=9; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/DPj7J.

475 *The UNRWA Teachers' Union in Lebanon announces a boycott of the Agency's administration*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (April 1, 2024), https://refugeesps.net/post/27357/اتحاد-المعلمين-في-أونروا-في-لبنان-يعلن-مقاطعة-إدارة-الوكالة; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/YfltC.

476 Antonia De Meo, *UNRWA is a Lifeline of Hope*, **The Cairo Review of Global Affairs** (Spring 2024), https://www.thecairoreview.com/essays/foreword-by-antonia-de-meo-spring-2024/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/S12p9.

477 *UNRWA Commissioner Visits Lebanon...And His Deputy Sparks Anger Among Palestinian Political and Popular Forces*, **Elnashra** (May 27, 2024), https://www.elnashra.com/news/show/1670258; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/tgeda.

End of May 2024: UNRWA Caves to Terrorist Demands

At first, UNRWA management attempted to appease the protesters by distancing itself from the decision to suspend Sharif, blaming it on donor pressure.[478] Lazzarini further explained that the decision didn't come from UNRWA management, but was "carried out by the Department of Internal Oversight Services, based on reports about alleged activities carried out by the employee that violate the agency's regulatory framework."[479] However, these explanations did not pacify the terrorist coalition behind the protests which recalled that when similar actions had been taken against UNRWA teachers in the past, widespread protests succeeded in pressuring UNRWA to reinstate the teachers.[480] Indeed, Sharif had been among the leaders of those protests, as well.[481]

Once again, the terrorist coalition successfully applied this strategy in the Sharif case. At the end of May, after more than two months of paralyzing protests, Lazzarini flew to Beirut to meet with the terrorist leaders.[482] One of the terrorist leaders who spoke at this meeting was none other than Hamas Lebanon representative Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi who has publicly vowed to repeat the October 7th massacre.[483] Local media reported that Lazzarini "agreed to resolve the case of Sharif in a positive manner" in exchange for getting the UNRWA Beirut headquarters reopened.[484] In doing so, Lazzarini contravened his commitment to donors from just one month before to implement the Colonna Report's findings and recommendations.

When later challenged on this by a reporter, Lazzarini denied that Sharif was reinstated, insisting that Sharif remained on administrative leave without pay while his case was being "investigated."[485] Likewise, on September 30, 2024, the day Sharif was killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike, Lazzarini maintained that Sharif was still technically employed by UNRWA and that "the investigation was still ongoing" into Sharif's Hamas ties.[486] This response should be concerning to UNRWA donors who care about UNRWA's commitment to neutrality. Indeed, given the extent of Sharif's Hamas ties and activities for over a decade, he should have been fired years earlier. And given all the public evidence available to UNRWA over many years, including much of the material in this report which was officially submitted to UNRWA by UN Watch in June 2024, UNRWA's "investigation" didn't need to last seven months. After barely one hour of reviewing the evidence of Sharif's own words and photos, any reasonable person would conclude that he was a major supporter of terrorism who deserved to be immediately fired.

478 *Lebanon: Successive reactions to UNRWA's decisions against Professor Fateh Sharif*, **Quds Press** (March 1, 2024), https://qudspress.com/119339/; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/k3pVf.

479 *Lebanon: UNRWA punishes employees on charges of lack of neutrality*, **Al Jazeera** (March 27, 2024), https://www.aljazeera.net/politics/2024/3/27/لبنان-الأونروا-تعاقب-موظفيها-بتهمة.

480 Muhammad Dahsha, *The crisis with UNRWA is open: Fatah Sharif did not resign*, **Nidaal Watan** (March 5, 2024), https://www.nidaalwatan.com/article/258701-الأزمة-مع-الأونروا-مفتوحة-فتح-شريف-لم-يستقل ; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/M4Nql.

481 *See, e.g., Abo Amin Sharif,* **Facebook** (February 28, 2023) (leading protests to reinstate Ahmed Al-Maari), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0mEjKEV1ddBqGfKzarXf9NVh89ArSVW2DNRu2ETKVoJJBswD6iiVinaej4WZManoel; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/v5uaT. *Abo Amin Sharif,* **Facebook** (May 12, 2023) (Confirming reinstatement of Al-Maari), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0nQzBV9imrdS922MZxwUVhDTYZEwUb74kDqztXmg1DiT4qDZziRBn4fL6pvH2SZHEl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/e6aVr. *Abo Amin Sharif,* **Facebook** (March 18, 2023) (leading protests to reinstate Riyad Mustafa Nimr, reinstated after three weeks), https://www.facebook.com/aboamin.sharif/posts/pfbid0g5H121AhskdHeCSi1PiHhbS8DCHHFKMW8xea546vFjoTVKz21a71AjQFGTbXCFXml; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ytxgD.

482 *UNRWA Commissioner Visits Lebanon...And His Deputy Sparks Anger Among Palestinian Political and Popular Forces*, **Elnashra** (May 27, 2024), https://www.elnashra.com/news/show/1670258; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/tgeda.

483 *Hamas Representative in Lebanon Ahmad Abd Al-Hadi: If We Could Go Back In Time, We Would Carry Out The October 7th Attacks All Over Again; The U.S. Was Acting To Normalize And Assimilate Israel Into The Region*, **MEMRI** (June 18, 2024), https://www.memri.org/reports/hamas-representative-lebanon-ahmad-abd-Al-hadi-if-we-could-go-back-time-we-would-carry-out.

484 *Palestinian coalition forces in Lebanon halt moves towards UNRWA after understandings*, **Palestinian Refugees Portal** (June 1, 2024), https://web.archive.org/web/20240601114219/https:/refugeesps.net/post/27925/-قوى-التحالف-الفلسطيني-في-لبنان-توقف-التحركات-تجاه-أونروا-بعد-تفاهمات.

485 *@UNWatch*, **X** (June 26, 2024, 3:13 AM), https://x.com/UNWatch/status/1805756210412765599; Full video available here, https://www.unognewsroom.org/story/en/2242/unrwa-press-conference-update-on-the-occupied-palestinian-territory-25-june-2024.

486 *UNRWA - Press Conference: Update on the Situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT)*, **UN Geneva** (September 30, 2024), https://www.unognewsroom.org/story/en/2367/update-on-the-situation-in-the-opt.

September 30, 2024 & Beyond: Hamas and UNRWA Staff Union Eulogize Fateh Sharif

Hamas Statement: Sharif is Hamas Leader in Lebanon

When Sharif was eliminated on September 30, 2024, Hamas immediately published a statement calling him "Leader of the Hamas movement in Lebanon, and member of its leadership abroad."[487]



Translation:

In calligraphy: [Prophet], do not think of those who have been killed in God's way [meaning: those killed while fighting Jihad] as dead. They are alive with their Lord, well provided for [(Surah Al-'Imran, Ayyat 169)]

Leader of the Hamas movement in Lebanon, and member of its leadership abroad

Martyr and educator Fateh Amin Sharif

The blood of our martyrs strengthens the march and produces victory

Hamas Telegram Channel: Sharif "Contributed to Building an Educated and Resistant Generation"

On its Telegram channel, Hamas praised Sharif's work as an educator, stating "he worked as a successful teacher and principal, and contributed to building an educated generation committed to the resistance and to the struggle for the liberation of Palestine and a journey full of sacrifice, blood and sweat."[488]

487 *Hamas movement mourns the martyrs of Al-Buss Camp*, **Al-Buss** (September 30, 2024), https://www.albuss.net/2024/09/m.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Jb2F3.

488 *The Official Hamas Channel*, **Telegram** (September 30, 2024, 10:22 AM), https://t.me/c/1407249165/5846.

Sharif's Body Wrapped in Hamas Flag at Funeral

At his funeral, Sharif's body was wrapped in Hamas flags. Hamas's TV channel released a eulogy video with images of Sharif together with Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh and Sharif walking around town with two Hamas bodyguards.[489] The video also shows Sharif leading students from an UNRWA school into a Hamas rally which he then conducts.

UNRWA colleagues would have seen all of this over many years. Sharif never hid his Hamas connection — on the contrary, he flaunted it.



Translation of Excerpts From Video:

> He led a journey full of work and jihad in the service of the Palestinian people, their legitimate struggle, and their just cause. The leader was a constant flame of activity and vigor, courageous and bold, and a pioneer of national, missionary [word referring to Islamic propaganda], educational, and jihadi work...

The [Hamas] movement said in a statement: "The brother leader, Abu Al-Amin, passed away as a martyr in the blessed battle of Al-Aqsa Flood on the path of the martyred leaders of our movement and our people." It added: "You distinguished yourself in your work in the field of education, where you were a successful teacher and an outstanding principal, and your school, which you managed, was always at the forefront of the distinguished schools that produced generations of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon."





489 *Al-Aqsa TV,* **Telegram** (September 30, 2024, 5:16 PM), https://t.me/SerajSat/242472; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/GnCuc.

Hamas-Controlled UNRWA Teachers' Union: Sharif Received "Medal of Martyrdom"; Posts Videos of Sharif Endorsing Resistance

The UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union mourned Sharif as a "dear colleague" and eulogized him saying that he "attained the medal of martyrdom, after a life of boundless generosity, which he spent in the service of education, and watering them with knowledge, culture, and imbuing within them the love of Palestine and [the duty to] defend it and its holy places."[490] In blatant violation of UN neutrality, the Union also posted several videos of Sharif publicly endorsing terrorism in the name of "resistance."[491]

Hamas Event Honors Sharif, Haniyeh, and Sinwar

On January 26, 2025, Hamas hosted an event in Al-Buss — the neighborhood of apartment buildings which the UN calls a "refugee camp" — to mark the ceasefire deal and honor its leaders killed since October 7th, including Sharif. At the event, Hamas official Abdul Majeed Al-Awad praised the October 7th massacre (referred to as "The Battle of the Flood of Al-Aqsa") as a "historic milestone" and lauded "the steadfastness of our people and their valiant resistance in the face of the Zionist enemy." He claimed victory based on the hostage deal forcing Israel to hand over Palestinian prisoners which he said "confirms that the resistance is still strongly present and that our people are still rooted in their land despite the great sacrifices."[492]

The event displayed photos of Hamas terrorist leaders killed since October 7th, including Ismail Haniyeh, Yahya Sinwar, and Fateh Sharif who featured prominently in the photos.



490 *What do we know about the Hamas leader hiding in Lebanon*, **Asharq Al-Awsa**t (September 30, 2024), https://aawsat.com//العالم-العربي/المشرق-العربي/5066274-ماذا-نعرف-عن-قيادي-حماس-المتخفي-في-لبنان؟; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/RYxDA.

491 *Ibrahim Merie*, **Facebook** (October 10, 2024, 4:04 PM), https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=972682521101028.

492 *Hamas organized a public meeting in Al-Buss Camp*, **Al-Buss** (January 26, 2025), https://www.albuss.net/2025/01/m_26.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/k9LkY.

Fateh Sharif's Associates

When Fateh Sharif was killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike on September 30, 2024, he was immediately eulogized by Hamas as its leader in Lebanon. As our research below shows, there is sadly no shortage of UNRWA educators taking up his mantle and continuing his radicalization of Palestinian students. In early October 2024, UNRWA suspended — but for months refused to fire — five additional employees. These were close associates of Sharif and held leadership positions in the UNRWA Teachers' Union in Lebanon: Ibrahim Merie, Sharif's replacement as head of the Teachers' Union; Maher Twieh, head of the Teachers' Union's sectoral committee; Hassan Al-Sayed, deputy head of the sectoral committee; Osama Al-Ali, a member of the sectoral committee; and Wassim Yacoub, representative for the Union's Northern Region.[493] Palestinian media reports from the end of June 2025 suggest that at least four of these leaders of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union were ultimately fired. There has been no indication whether or not they are still receiving UNRWA benefits, including pensions. Given the extent and severity of their violations, it is incomprehensible that UNRWA took nearly a year to complete its investigation and take decisive action. Moreover, as shown in this report, there are numerous other UNRWA Lebanon teachers, including some involved with the Teachers' Union, who are affiliated with Hamas or publicly support Hamas — in complete violation of UNRWA's stated commitment to neutrality — and against whom UNRWA has failed to take any action.

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493 *Lebanon: UNRWA suspends teachers from work*, **Al Araby** (December 26, 2024), https://www.alaraby.co.uk/society/-لبنان-أونروا-توقف-أساتذة-عن-العمل; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/bunMp. *UNRWA suspends 3 unionists from work*, **Al-Akhbar** (October 15, 2024), https://Al-akhbar.com/Community/385465; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ghTS8. *A number of UNRWA Teachers were arrested without a clear reason*, **Al-Buss** (October 15, 2024), https://www.albuss.net/2024/10/blog-post_15.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/4vTG9.

1 Ibrahim Merie

UNRWA Beirut School Principal, Close to Hamas Leadership[494]



Ibrahim Merie,[495] Sharif's replacement as head of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union, is an UNRWA school principal at Ramallah Elementary School in Beirut. He was suspended by UNRWA on October 5, 2024. Merie has been employed by UNRWA since at least 2014. This report exposes several of Merie's neutrality violations:

- Praised Sharif as an "example and role model" after Sharif's position as head of Hamas in Lebanon was already public.
- On behalf of the Teachers' Union, Merie vowed to continue in Sharif's footsteps by teaching "generations who cheer for the cause."
- Merie proclaimed his love and admiration for Samir Fandi, Hamas Head of Military Operations in Lebanon, describing him as a personal friend.
- Promoted an antisemitic book which contains conspiracy theories about Jews secretly controlling the world, and claiming that Jews started World War I and World War II for global domination.
- As far back as 2015, Merie referred to Jews on Twitter as "descendants of apes and pigs."

494 *Lebanon Camps Post*, **Facebook** (February 9, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=610155258446773&set=pb.100083569112772.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/P7PAZ.

495 *Ibrahim Merie Facebook Page*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 11, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/ibra him.merie.

Merie appears in a photo of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union in front of an UNRWA field office in Lebanon in October 2022.[496]



In September 2022, Merie met with UNRWA chief Philippe Lazzarini on behalf of the Teachers' Union.[497]



496 *Twieh Maher*, **Facebook** (October 13, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=5541566615935480&set=pb.100002465888817.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/AyxtZ.

497 *Ibrahim Merie*, **Facebook** (September 26, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.merie/posts/pfbid02D7nXbnQnPSKR78w6AX2BV3mGVUsUrpi29Mjsmnz9QExTm2Bahpca18E3sW5BnZBnl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/yiYbS.

Praises UNRWA Colleague and Hamas Lebanon Head Fateh Sharif

Instead of denouncing Sharif after he was killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike, and his position as the Hamas leader in Lebanon was widely publicized, Merie fully embraced him. Even worse, Merie made clear his intention to continue Sharif's legacy of inundating UNRWA schools with Hamas ideology. The day Sharif was killed, Merie posted the following eulogy on Facebook on behalf of the UNRWA Teachers' Union pledging to continue in Sharif's footsteps to teach "generations who cheered for the cause" and venerating Sharif as a "possessor of lofty morals" and a "martyred hero."

Translated excerpts from the eulogy:

> On behalf of the Teachers' Union in Lebanon, on behalf of UNRWA teachers in Lebanon, and on behalf of all our heroic and steadfast Palestinian people...we announce to the masses of our Arab and Islamic nation the passing of the head of the Teachers' Union in Lebanon, the hands-off leader, the humble fighter, the possessor of lofty morals, the faithful, pure, virtuous, heroic, and honorable educator and unionist, Abu Al-Amin Fateh Sharif, who was martyred...
>
> He was the faithful educator who raised generations who cheered for the cause...
>
> We, in the Lebanese Teachers' Union, pledge to our martyred hero, the leader Abu Al-Amin, that we will stand by our pledge and promise, see his mission through and follow in his footsteps...[498]



﴿مِنَ المُؤمِنِينَ رِجالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللهَ عَلَيْهِ فَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَضَى نَحْبَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَنْتَظِرُ وَمَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيلًا﴾

باسم اتّحاد المعلّمين في لبنان، وباسم معلّمي الأنروا في لبنان، وباسم جميع أبناء شعبنا الفلسطينيّ البطل الصّامد، وباسم غزّة الصّابرة المُحتسبة، وإيمانًا بالله عزّ وجلّ واحتسابًا لأجره وتسليمًا بمشيئته، وبرأس مرفوع وضمير مُقاوم ننعى إلى جماهير أمّتنا العربيّة والإسلاميّة ارتقاء رئيس اتّحاد المعلّمين في لبنان *القائد الحرّ المناضل المتواضع صاحب الخلق الرّفيع المؤمن العفيف الطّاهر البطل المربي والنقابي الشّريف أبو الأمين فتح شريف*، الذي قضى شهيدًا رفقة زوجته أمية إبراهيم عبد الحميد وابنه أمين فتح شريف وأبنته وفاء فتح شريف، مُقبلين غير مدبرين، في غارة إجراميّة استهدفت منزله فجر اليوم.

رحل اليوم النّقابيّ الفذّ أبو الأمين شهيدًا في سبيل الدّفاع عن المستضعفين، وفي سبيل مُناصرة القضيّة الفلسطينيّة المحقّة التي عاش لها بضميره ووجدانه، رفض شهيدُنا البارّ مغادرة منزله، وآثر البقاء مع أبناء شعبه في مخيّم البص ومساندتهم ومساعدتهم بكلّ السّبل المُتاحة. بقيَ في مخيّمه يقتسم مع النّاس لقمة العيش ويُخفّف عنهم مُصابَهم، ويضخّ فيهم روح العزيمة والقوّة والصّبر والثّبات.

على الصّعيد الوطنيّ: لطالما كان أبو الأمين يتمنّى الشّهادة ويسعى لها، وكانت فلسطين حاضرةً في وعيه ومواقفه وأفعاله. كان سبّاقًا إلى فعل الخير، بذل غاية جهده لإغاثة أهلنا المنكوبين في قطاع غزّة، ولم يدّخر وسيلة لإرسال المساعدات إلى أهلنا هناك إلّا فعلها، ووقف شامخًا راسخًا يوجه كلّ التّهديدات والتّحذيرات. ناصر شعبه في جميع القضايا الوطنيّة وفي أحلك الظّروف ومن على كلّ المنابر، وفي كلّ الميادين والسّاحات، وكان الصّوت الصّادح بالحقّ، وكان المُربّي الصّادق الذي خرّج أجيالًا يهتفون للقضيّة.

على الصّعيد النّقابيّ: دافع عن المعلّمين في لبنان بشراسة ووفاء، وكان همّه الأوحد حفظ كرامتهم وصون حقوقهم، حمل همّ المعلّمين المياومين قبل المُثبّتين، ولم يتوانَ عن القيام بواجبه النقابيّ والأخلاقيّ تجاه المعلّمين والطّلبة بالرّغم ممّا تعرّض له من ظلم وصل حدّ التّهديد بفصله من عمله ومساومته على لقمة عيشه، ولكنّه بقي راسخًا على المبدأ ثابتًا على الموقف.

على المستوى الإنسانيّ: كان أبًا حنونًا، وأخًا صدوقًا، وقائدًا مُلهمًا، ومعلّمًا أمينًا. ولم يتأخّر لحظة عن القيام بواجبه الاجتماعيّ والإنسانيّ تجاه النّاس.

ستفتقدك الميادين والسّاحات النقابية يا أبا الأمين، ستبكيك المنابر وترثيك الكلمات، سنفتقدُ شخصك وروحك ومواقفك، وستظلّ الحاضرَ فينا دائمًا وأبدًا.

إنّنا في اتّحاد المعلّمين في لبنان نعاهد شهيدنا البطل القائد أبو الأمين أنّنا سنبقى على العهد والوعد ونكمل المسيرة من بعده وعلى نهجه.

الرّحمة للشّهداء والشّفاء العاجل للجرحى، والحرّية للأسرى، والنّصر لشعبنا الأبي... والاحتلال إلى زوال.

إنّا لله وإنّا إليه راجعون ولا حول ولا قوّة إلّا بالله... أعظم الله أجركم وأحسن عزاءكم..

نم يا أبا الأمين قرير العين، فقد آن لك أن ترتاح بعد هذه المسيرة الحافلة بالعطاء... والمُلتقى الجنّة بإذن الله.

عهدا منا مواصلة المسيرة على المبادىء النقابية التي ارسيتها

اتّحاد المعلّمين في لبنان

بيروت ٣٠ أيلول ٢٠٢٤

498 *Ibrahim Merie*, **Facebook** (September 30, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.merie/posts/pfbid02kPktidQReprhDTuCWypEuNQo4iSB27QrcPUWqyN5TgZkjoYYJRbUoz3bN9HkdQYFl.

A few weeks later, Merie again praised "our dear martyr" Sharif on Facebook on behalf of the Teachers' Union, describing him as an "example and role model."[499]



Lauds Hamas and its Leaders

On August 1, 2024, just after Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh was eliminated, Merie posted a video of Haniyeh speaking at a June 2022 Hamas rally in Sidon, Lebanon where Sharif had been seated in the front row among the Hamas leadership. Merie's post accompanying the video eulogized Haniyeh as "master of the Palestinian cause" and "beloved of the heart."[500]



In a January 3, 2024 post eulogizing Samir Fandi, Hamas's head of military operations in Lebanon, who was killed in an Israeli strike, Merie proclaims his love and admiration for Fandi, making it clear that the two were personally close.

499 *Ibrahim Merie*, **Facebook** (October 10, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=972682521101028. (deleted)

500 *Ibrahim Merie*, **Facebook** (August 1, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=903285978302458. (deleted)

Partial Translation:

A passion for men!!...

Abu Amer, you were well both alive and martyred. Your departure was one of the most difficult moments of my life, but what gives us patience is that you fulfilled what you wished for and what you always talked about... Peace be upon you and your companions to a paradise as wide as the heavens and the earth... This is some of Abu Amer's human life. As for jihad , it has its own people who can talk about it a lot and a lot, and it is enough that your absence cannot be compensated by men.[501]



Ibrahim Merie
January 3 ·

عشق الرجال!!
اتسمعون عن عشق الرجل للرجل
ابو عامر على المستوى الإنساني من الرجال الذين لا تستطيع ان لا تعشقهم، حرفيا تشعر بالعشق تجاهه.
ابو عامر الأخ الصديق الأب الحبيب السند الشجاع الرجولة الأناقة الكرم الأخلاق، عندما تجالسه تتمنى ان تتوقف الارض عن الدوران وان تتوقف الساعة لكي لا ينتهي المجلس واللقاء، في كل لقاء يجب ان تستودعه الله وان تحدث نفسك لعله اللقاء الأخير، اي كلمات من اي معجم استطيع ان اشرح لأبناء شعبك الفلسطيني من انت وماذا فعلت لأجلهم وماذا اعددت وبماذا اثخنت، لمن لا يعرف ابو عامر انه النموذج وايقونة الرجال انه المارد الشجاع الفارس المقدام قلب حجر وارق من النسيم في نفس الوقت.. لم استوعب الى الآن انني لن اجالسك بعد الآن لا استوعب انك لن ترسل لي بعد الآن لنرتشف القهوة سويا لا استطيع ان اسامح نفسي كيف لم استطع رؤيتك منذ عشرة ايام عندما ارسلت لي للقاء لنرتشف القهوة ولم استطع بسبب انشغالي.... ابو عامر طبت حيا وشهيدا، فراقك من اصعب لحظات حياتي ولكن ما يصبرنا انك نلت ما تمنيت وما كنت دائما تتحدث به... سلاما عليك وعلى رفاقك الى جنة عرضها السموات والارض... هذا بعض من حياة ابو عامر الانسانية اما الجهادية فلها اهلها يستطيعون ان يتحدثون بها الكثير والكثير ويكفي ان غيابك لا يستطيع على رجال تعويضه.
ابو عامر قائد فلسطيني لم يكن له مواكب ولا شقق ولا رفاهية ولا اي شيء من ترف الحياة بل كانت عينه دائما على لا اعين رأت ولا خطر على بال بشر.
في اللحظة الاولى لخبر الإنفجار في الضاحية ايقنت انك انت الهدف لأن هذه الجرأة والمخاطرة في حرب شاملة لا تكون الا اذا كان الهدف بحجم ابو عامر المطلوب رقم ١ في لبنان الصخرة الفلسطينية الاساسية (كما كانوا يعتقدون وما اخبرتني انت به منذ اشهر) في وجه مشاريعهم.

501 *Ibrahim Merie*, **Facebook** (January 3, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.merie/posts/pfbid02SBBa1qNzxaQGdqvxCFJJ4xjfJmr3TuJ4mvr4Y9RkcgMqkoCamMZkQchrTgehrgGyl.

In another post that day, Merie further elaborated on his close personal relationship with this Hamas military leader, describing their last meeting together. At the same time, Merie congratulated Fandi on his "martyrdom" and called him the "bravest of the brave."

Partial Translation:

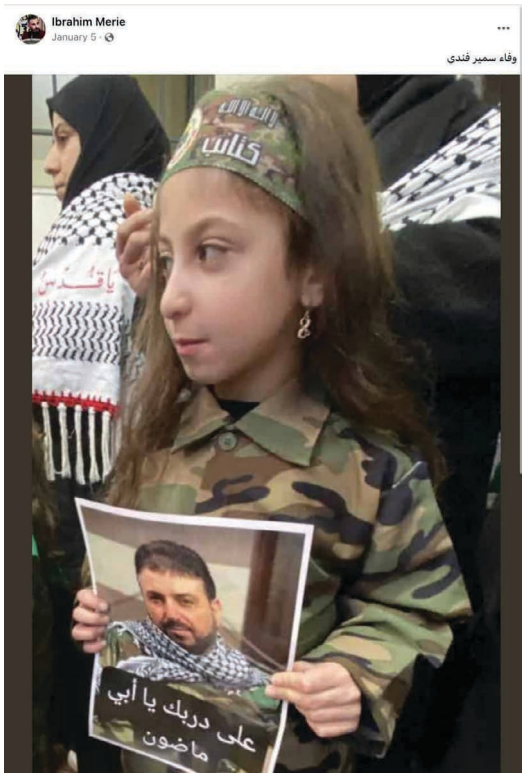
> Our last meeting was weeks ago, and when we said goodbye, I kissed your head and entrusted you to God and took you to your car and told you "May God protect you." I had a feeling that it was our last meeting...
>
> Congratulations on your martyrdom, O martyr of Jerusalem and Palestine... O master of men, O courageous one, O bravest of the brave... May your shrine/resting [in paradise] be with the prophets and the righteous, O man of Palestine, Abu Amer, you are a man the size of a nation.[502]



On January 5, 2024, Merie posted photos of a young girl dressed in a Hamas uniform and holding up a photo of Samir Fandi, at some kind of commemorative event.[503] The photo is captioned "Following in your footsteps, father, we march on," suggesting that the girl will follow in Fandi's terrorist footsteps. The photo shows how Merie promotes children admiring and emulating terrorists like Fandi.

502 *Ibrahim Merie*, **Facebook** (January 3, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.merie/posts/pfbid0mupG6TJ8UVmqWqCcY8FSxV2F16cPpYbkFM4AuxNZAbD9JhUztFcBfzCdh8Tg5uPXl.

503 *Ibrahim Merie*, **Facebook** (January 5, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.merie/posts/pfbid036hQMS1kKYhALq9hUBPyUKtmb8AWz1F4P6u4qAfgUBJrNMSRNVCzFB127bz93H8Lnl.



Promotes Antisemitism

In a 2020 post, Merie encouraged his followers to read William Jay Car's *Pawns in the Game*, an antisemitic book advancing conspiracy theories about Jews controlling the world through hidden, malicious methods, and claiming that Jews started World War I and World War II as part of a plan to achieve global domination.[504]

Merie's Facebook post promoting the book, states that it discusses the following:

- "The methods used by prominent Jewish figures to control all the rulers of the world"
- "All the methods that lead to the destruction and ruin of nations, which were carried out by Jewish movements"
- "The Zionist plans to plunge the world into wars and destruction"
- "The conspiracies led by the Jews"
- "All the schemes of the Jews and the Zionist movements"
- "The "hidden hands" that "drove Jews and non-Jews alike to engage in wars, destruction, and revolutions"

The book itself contains many antisemitic passages, including a description of "the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" as "the Long-range Plan of the Illuminati" as "explained by Amschel Rothschild ... in 1773" and a reference to "The headquarters of the conspiracy ... where the House of Rothschild ... had literally 'Sold their souls to the devil.'" It also describes the Old Testament as "the history of how Satan became prince of the world" and explains that Christ came when he did to "expose the Synagogue of Satan" and "denounce those who belong to it [*i.e.*, the Jews] as sons of the devil."[505]

504 *Ibrahim Merie*, **Facebook** (March 25, 2020), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.merie/posts/pfbid0sNVPzU59wmmPK9awuQss23pubuK5zTZU3v8X1C9VjB8JHgGFonv94D9pkFjmxQVCl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/AYwvL.

505 William Guy Carr, *Pawns in the Game*, **Heritage-History.com** (1956), https://www.heritage-history.com/site/hclass/secret_societies/ebooks/pdf/carr_pawns.pdf.



This post was liked by multiple UNRWA employees.



In addition, as far back as 2015, Merie was referring to Jews on Twitter as "descendants of apes."[506]



506 *Ibrahim Merie @e794d6a27972462*, **X** (October 5, 2015, 7:16 PM), https://x.com/e794d6a27972462/status/651068412852998144.

2 Hassan Al-Sayed

UNRWA Sidon School Principal, Attends Hamas Rallies[507]



Hassan Al-Sayed[508] is the principal at UNRWA's Palestine Martyrs School in Sidon and the UNRWA Teachers' Union leader for Sidon. He was suspended by UNRWA on October 5, 2024. This report exposes the following neutrality violations by Al-Sayed:

- Attended a Hamas rally in Sidon with Ismail Haniyeh and sat next to Hamas Lebanon leader Fateh Sharif.
- Attended a meeting with Jihad Taha, Hamas spokesperson in Lebanon.
- Celebrated the Hamas October 7th attack at his school with students, calling the attackers "brave heroes."
- Incited his students to violence against Israel, including with a photo of a young child holding a machine gun and photos of school students erasing Israel from the map and writing over it that "The land is ours and we will not give up until it is liberated."

507 *Lebanon Camps Post*, **Facebook** (February 13, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=612190448837061&set=pb.100083569112772.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/jWUak.

508 *Hassan Al-Sayed Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 11, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/hassan.alsayed.18.

Al-Sayed appears in a photo of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union in front of an UNRWA field office in Lebanon in October 2022.[509]



509 *Twieh Maher*, **Facebook** (October 13, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=5541566615935480&set=pb.100002465888817.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/AyxtZ.

At Hamas Rally in Sidon with Hamas Lebanon Leader Fateh Sharif

In June 2022, Al-Sayed posted pictures of himself at a Hamas rally in Sidon where now-deceased Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh also spoke.[510] The photos show now-deceased Hamas Lebanon leader Fateh Sharif sitting with the Hamas leadership.







510 *Hassan Al-Sayed*, **Facebook** (June 27, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10159877759319705&set=pb.601504704.-2207520000.

Al-Sayed Attends Meeting with Hamas Spokesperson Jihad Tiha

In December 2020, Al-Sayed posted a picture of himself attending a meeting with Hamas's spokesperson in Lebanon, Jihad Taha, further confirming his close connection with the Hamas leadership.[511]



Celebrates October 7th Hamas Attack

On October 7, 2023, against the backdrop of an UNRWA logo, Al-Sayed posted photos of himself in his office with a student joyfully celebrating the Hamas atrocities that day. The photos show Al-Sayed smiling happily with a young girl who is also smiling and holding a basket of sweets to distribute on this "special Palestinian day."[512]


Honey King
October 7, 2023 ·

اول صورة بالمكتب .. مع هيك صباح ..مع صباح فلسطين .. وهالطفلة الحلوة الفلسطينية .. بيوم فلسطيني مميز .. بكنزة فلسطينية .. بعلم فلسطيني .. بطوق فلسطيني .. وامام خريطة فلسطين ..

نبني القدس .. لأجل القدس

The first photo in the office .. With a morning like this .. With morning Palestine .. And this sweet Palestinian child.. On a special Palestinian day .. In a Palestinian sweater .. With a Palestinian flag .. A Palestinian Collar .. In front of the map of Palestine ..

We are building Jerusalem .. For the sake of Jerusalem

· Hide Translation · Rate this translation

511 *Hassan Al-Sayed*, **Facebook** (December 15, 2020), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10158765903009705&set=pb.601504704.-2207520000&type=3.

512 *Hassan Al-Sayed*, **Facebook** (October 7, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10160834160489705&set=pcb.10160834160524705.

In another post that day, Al-Sayed glorified the October 7th Hamas murderers and rapists as having "honor" and "bravery."[513]



513 *Hassan Al-Sayed*, **Facebook** (October 7, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/hassan.alsayed.18/posts/pfbid0j8WeFsuuS3tfRRzD9LibzvH78GQAGFLNsZ1utu7BL4xzFSpiQjPYjHrvh3z7DfXQl.

In yet another post that day, Al-Sayed cheered the massacre for causing the Israeli civilians to "disperse like a herd" and venerated the October 7th terrorists as "brave heroes" and "knights."[514]



Posts Photo of Child Holding Machine Gun

In January 2024, Al-Sayed posted a Facebook story of a young child holding a real-looking machine gun set to a Lebanese song associated with the Hezbollah terror organization."[515]

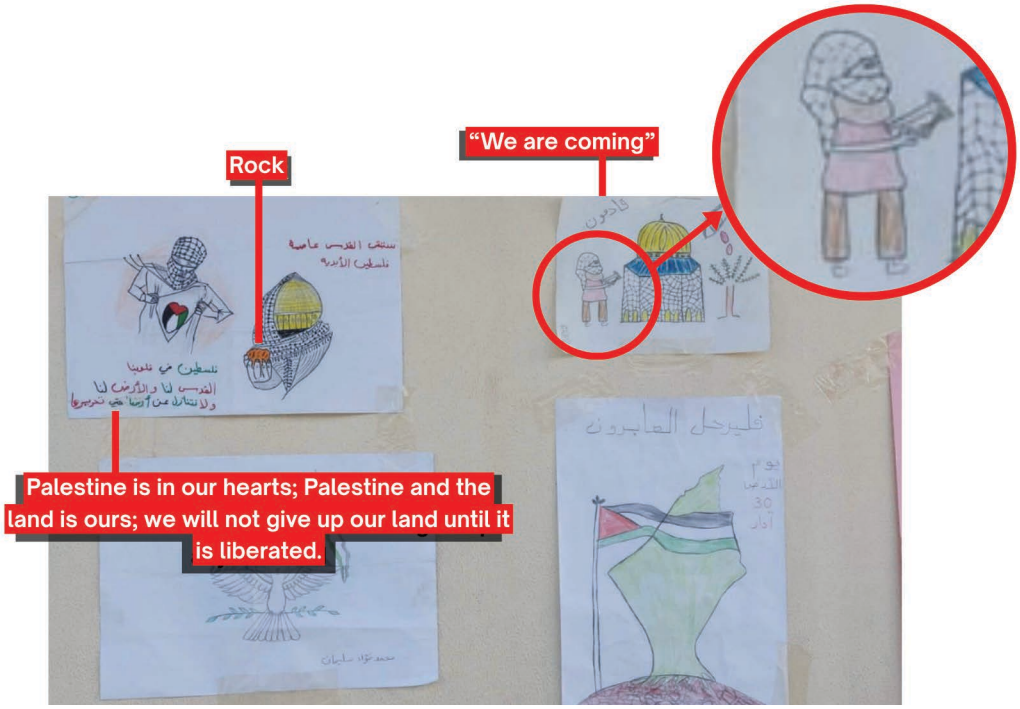


514 *Hassan Al-Sayed*, **Facebook** (October 7, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/hassan.alsayed.18/posts/pfbid01SAPzmRTn46WTyZ4sFyADhVf1fZQ7x1wzfjqEzbnCrKH9g8LsaKibQYyn4r4n2scl.

515 *Hassan Al-Sayed*, **Facebook** (January 2024), https://www.facebook.com/stories/921117942776968/?source=profile_highlight.

Teaches Students to Replace Israel with Palestine

In March 2022, Al-Sayed posted photos of his students erasing Israel from the map and replacing it with Palestine in honor of Palestinian Land Day. The photos show both Al-Sayed and one of the students writing on a map of Israel. In another drawing, a student writes "Palestine is in our hearts; Palestine and the land is ours; we will not give up our land until it is liberated." In a photo of the Dome of the Rock, a child threatens "we are coming!" The photos also show a drawing of an olive tree in the shape of a map of Israel wrapped in a Palestinian flag and a depiction of the Dome of the Rock as a Palestinian resistance fighter wrapped in a keffiyeh holding a rock.[516]





516 *Hassan Al-Sayed*, **Facebook** (March 30, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/hassan.alsayed.18/posts/pfbid0TERMMP8LoXd5yvBJFcVDCXkVJ8BJSx7pucWR3jASf19wZf3YLr9QeNjSjpa9JQQdl.

3 Osama Al-Ali

UNRWA Physics Teacher, Advocates "Armed Resistance" and Runs After School Student Club to Support Hamas[517]



Osama Al-Ali[518] is an UNRWA physics teacher at the Nazareth Mixed Secondary School in Tripoli, Lebanon. He is also the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union Leader for the North Region. He was suspended by UNRWA on October 5, 2024. This report exposes the following neutrality violations by Al-Ali:

- Led the Palestinian Arab Cultural Club, an after-school student club, operating on UNRWA school grounds, which organizes student protests and engages in fundraising to support the "resistance."
- Organized and spoke at rallies for students to support "the resistance." Photos of these rallies show students holding Hamas flags or wearing Hamas headbands.
- Celebrated the October 7th murderers and rapists as "heroes," called to prepare "generations on the principles of revolution and resistance," and called to eradicate Israel through "muzzles of guns" and "armed struggle."

517 *Lebanon Camps Post*, **Facebook** (February 3, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=606128895516076&set=pb.100083569112772.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Lvjkl.

518 *Osama Al-Ali Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 11, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/osama.alali.940.

Al-Ali appears in a photo of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union in front of an UNRWA field office in Lebanon in October 2022.[519]



Leads Student Club Promoting Hamas "Armed Resistance"

Al-Ali is a leading member of the Palestinian Arab Cultural Club, a student activist group that openly supports Hamas and "armed resistance." This in itself is a violation of UNRWA's Code of Ethics which states that "UNRWA personnel must not take part in demonstrations of a political or politicized nature as it constitutes a public pronouncement that contravenes the principle of neutrality."[520]

On October 7, 2023, the Club openly celebrated the Hamas atrocities of that day as "the revolutionary achievement and clear victory" and the Hamas terrorists as "heroic resistance fighters":

> The path to liberation is plain and clear. We congratulate our people inside Palestine and abroad on the revolutionary achievement and clear victory. What our heroic resistance fighters have achieved today is an unprecedented milestone in the history of the occupying, usurping entity. Here is the clear evidence and proof of the correctness of the approach of armed struggle, armed resistance and noble revolutionary violence for liberation, victory, and accomplishment. As we salute our people and resistance fighters in Gaza and all of Palestine, we stress the importance of national unity, built on sound foundations, and approach of armed struggle for the complete liberation of the land of Palestine, from the river to the sea.[521]

519 *Twieh Maher*, **Facebook** (October 13, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=5541566615935480&set=pb.100002465888817.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/AyxtZ.

520 *Code of Ethics*, **UNRWA** (February 25, 2024), https://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/content/resources/unrwa-code-of-ethics-v4-2023-english_1.pdf.

521 *Cultural Forum - Hattab*, **Facebook** (October 7, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/HITAF.PCC/posts/pfbid0eVw849TiAWk9db8P17YMxSKfKXuytYF1ksGdbwiFVd4amEjT4sDRBG1STQvpZRCWl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/gLVOW.

This Palestinian Arab Cultural Club organizes protests and events to indoctrinate children into the Hamas ideology, and fundraising campaigns to raise money for the "resistance." Al-Ali has shared many of their appeals on his Facebook page, including "The Palestinian Arab Cultural Club Campaign: Don't leave your brothers with small donations, continue until victory."[522]

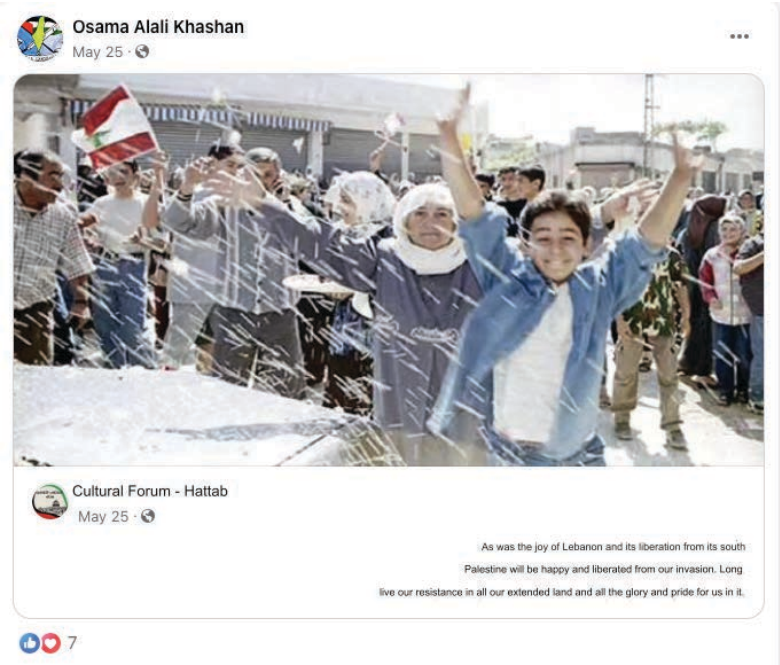


522 *Osama Al Ali*, **Facebook** (June 19, 2024) (Post no longer available) https://www.facebook.com/osama.alali.940/posts/pfbid02jCdXSz8nsXJf7d7ZefpQ58dWX6UA2WoiptNZCB86raGKMGihyEtt6C9D7AhvCRaYlhttps://www.facebook.com/osama.alali.940/posts/pfbid02jCdXSz8nsXJf7d7ZefpQ58dWX6UA2WoiptNZCB86raGKMGihyEtt6C9D7AhvCRaYl.

Advocates Training Children in "Principles of Resistance"

As part of his activities to promote the Club, Al-Ali shared a May 2024 post by the Club that glorified the October 7th Hamas attackers as "heroes"; called for the elimination of Israel by declaring that "all of Palestine, from the sea to the river" will "remain ours"; and advocated teaching children to pursue "armed resistance." The post called to "raise the generations on the principles of revolution and resistance" and to use the "muzzles of guns" to eradicate Israel through "armed struggle" and "armed revolutionary resistance."[523]

In May 2024, Al-Ali shared another post by the Club featuring a photo showing a school-age boy in the midst of a joyful celebration just after Israel withdrew from southern Lebanon in 2000. The text of the post shared by Al-Ali reads, "Long live our resistance" which it described as giving Palestinians "glory and pride."[524]



The Club itself indoctrinates Palestinian children with Hamas terrorist ideology. A December 2023 post on the Club's Facebook page encouraged Palestinian children to be leaders of the "armed struggle." In the context of commemorating the "martyrs" of the first intifada, the club praises the leadership role of children in that intifada and applauds the children in Gaza today who "illuminate the path of might, victory and liberation" with "daily sacrifices of martyrdom."[525]

On its Facebook page, the Club also posts photos of small children wearing Hamas headbands, inciting them to emulate Hamas.[526]

523 *Osama Al Ali*, **Facebook** (May 17, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/osama.alali.940/posts/pfbid02E9C2dDJyLqARZR1q9uYfHa46RRHFCebztugfuh3mzDR5h29CeQ7KGeCSp8UbDN2tl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/6MwzZ.

524 *Osama Al Ali*, **Facebook** (May 26, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/osama.alali.940/posts/pfbid0Uc2yR8L3ar2dJmkYpeR8HnV4sEyWyUwkwkDSnmZ7bAB6CzhmfHkf4toXvBBnrv9kl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/praO3.

525 *Cultural Forum - Hattab*, **Facebook** (December 9, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=370231432207965&set=pb.100076633330332.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Te9hb.

526 *Cultural Forum - Hattab*, **Facebook** (May 13, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=459738773257230&set=pb.100076633330332.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/PMFHE.



Student Crowds to Support "Resistance"

The student club also posts photos and videos showing Al-Ali rallying crowds of students following October 7th and inciting them to support violent "resistance." Students at the rallies can be seen holding Hamas flags or wearing Hamas headbands.[527]

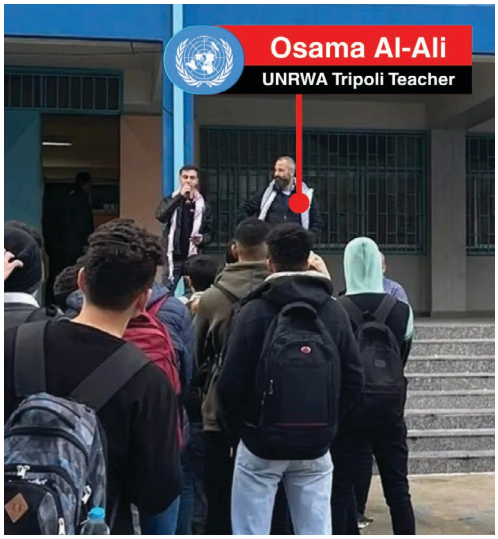


527 *Cultural Forum - Hattab*, **Facebook** (November 16, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/reel/359059893237772; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/yuDnQ.

Palestinian Arab Culture Club Operates in UNRWA Schools

Photos posted by the Palestinian Arab Culture Club on Facebook in November 2023 confirm that it operates within UNRWA schools and that Al-Ali is one of the leaders.[528]





Many of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union members, including Fateh Sharif, have participated in Club events.[529] Below is a photo of the Union at one of the Club's events where Sharif spoke.



528 *Cultural Forum - Hattab*, **Facebook** (November 28, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/HITAF.PCC/posts/pfbid0QwWd3VyX8pTcKMAxYGtEVnfiCWu4Tbi92XuYwWcUZqiR4rJNKH7Z67gfUQRL9okGl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/35cM0.

529 *Cultural Forum - Hattab*, **Facebook** (May 1, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/HITAF.PCC/posts/pfbid0cbQuDp2gpKPNfpdEVcj4ePVoEAdrxY4ejL5owzCRmVsDv9bqysV7WacFdS5EuHdGl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/vNRdK.

Teaches Kids "Path to Liberation is Through Jihad"

In July 2024, Al-Ali gave a lecture to students in the summer Quran program at Al-Quds Mosque where he emphasized to the students that "the path to complete liberation is through jihad, weapons, and force."[530]



Mourns Hezbollah Leader Hassan Nasrallah

After Hezbollah chief Hassan Nasrallah was killed in an Israeli airstrike, Al-Ali mourned him as a "hero." (September 28, 2024).[531]



530 *Fouad Fayez Al-Banna*, **Facebook** (July 23, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/fuad.elbanna/posts/2004697849947425; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/5RNJ2.

531 *Osama Al Ali*, **Facebook** (September 28, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10164655861767837&set=pb.773492836.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/lKU2B.

4 Maher Saeed Twieh

UNRWA Teachers' Union Leader, Praises Hamas[532]



Maher Saeed Twieh[533] is a teacher at UNRWA's Amqa Mixed Secondary School in Tripoli, Lebanon, and head of the UNRWA Teachers' Union sectoral committee. He was suspended by UNRWA on October 5, 2024. This report exposes the following neutrality violations by Twieh:

- Described Hamas Lebanon Leader Fateh Sharif as his "leader" and "companion in allegiance and identity."
- Honors Hamas co-founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin and the so-called Unity Intifada.

Twieh appears in a photo of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union in front of an UNRWA field office in Lebanon in October 2022.[534]



532 *Lebanon Camps Post*, **Facebook** (February 15, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=614507978011501&set=pb.100083569112772.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/fV9Qq.

533 *Maher Saeed Twieh Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 11, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/maher.twieh.

534 *Maher Saeed Twieh*, **Facebook** (October 13, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=5541566615935480&set=pb.100002465888817.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/AyxtZ.

Venerates Fateh Sharif as His "Leader"

In May 2024 Facebook posts featuring photos of UNRWA Teachers' Union Head and Hamas Lebanon Leader Fateh Sharif speaking in front of a map of Palestine that erases Israel, Twieh refers to Sharif as "the Leader and devoted chairman" and his "companion in allegiance and identity."[535]



535 *Maher Saeed Twieh*, **Facebook** (May 3, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=7495065930585529&set=pb.100002465888817.-2207520000&type=3; *Maher Saeed Twieh*, **Facebook** (May 3, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=7494868680605254&set=pb.100002465888817.-2207520000.

Honors Hamas Co-Founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin

In a May 2021 Facebook post, Twieh honored Hamas co-founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin as a "patriotic spirit" and described the May 2021 war between Israel and Hamas as a "victory of the Palestinian resistance."[536]



536 *Maher Saeed Twieh*, **Facebook** (May 22, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/maher.twieh/posts/pfbid0xKRaeBkboqaosrmyTpnpKsyKsd7dLhpTMC8stBeJv1Yk9QovqtZrc1MTyYvK6EB3l.

5 Wassim Yacoub

UNRWA Teachers Union Leader, Hamas Member, Posts Antisemitism and Praises Hamas[537]



Wassim Yacoub[538] is an Arabic teacher at an UNRWA school in the Nahr el-Bared Camp in Tripoli, Lebanon, and has represented the Northern Region (Tripoli) of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union since 2012.[539] Yacoub is a respected educator with a 350-member Facebook fan club[540] and is described as "the beloved, the teacher, the educator, and the wise man."[541] He was suspended by UNRWA on October 5, 2024.

537 *Camps of Lebanon Post*, **Facebook** (February 7, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=608812488581050&set=a.137608002368170; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/IoKdv.

538 *Wassim Yacoub Facebook Profile 1*, **Facebook** (Last visited March 17, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/wasim.yacoub.5; *Wassim Yacoub Facebook Profile 2* (Last visited March 17, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/wisam.yacoub.7.

539 *The Palestinian Teachers Association in Lebanon participates in the sit-in in front of the Lebanon office*, **Palestinian Teachers Association Lebanon** (September 28, 2013), https://www.palteachers.com/play-14615.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/fkHHI. *The Participation and Change List announces the names of its candidates to run the UNRWA Teachers' Sector elections in the North*, **Palestinian Teachers Association Lebanon** (March 21, 2012), https://palteachers.com/play-13493.html; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/7Jlyv.

540 *Fans of Professor Wassim Yacoub*, **Facebook** (Last visited March 17, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/groups/487420141304731/?hoisted_section_header_type=recently_seen&multi_permalinks=5676394069073953; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/uJYmQ.

541 *Said Taha*, **Facebook** (February 12, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/said.m.taha1/posts/9017760064973737; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/ZwxgA.

One of Yacoub's brothers, Hisham Yacoub, who led the campaign against UNRWA to reinstate these five suspended educators,[542] is a Hamas member who has appeared publicly with Khaled Meshal and Ismail Haniyeh.[543] He heads the Research and Information Department at the Al-Quds International Foundation,[544] a Hamas-controlled charity sanctioned by the U.S. Treasury Department in 2012.[545] On March 8, 2025, in honor of Teachers' Day, Hisham eulogized the "martyr educator" Fateh Sharif as a man of "courage and humility" who "raised the banner of victory" for Gaza.[546]

This report exposes the following neutrality violations by Wassim Yacoub :

- Arrested by the Lebanese army in August 2024 for being a Hamas member.
- Posted photos of Hamas rockets with antisemitic text referring to Jews as "apes."
- Fantasized about October 7th scenario as far back as 2013.
- Praised and endorsed Hamas and its arch-terrorist Abdullah Barghouti.
- Taught children to "liberate" Palestine from "filth of the occupation."

Yacoub appears in a photo of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union in front of an UNRWA field office in Lebanon in October 2022.[547]



542 *Hisham Yacoub*, **Facebook** (February 27, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/hisham.yacoub.31/posts/10161399359097669; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/gvQv2. *Wassem Osman*, **Facebook** (February 12, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=597890126460528 (video of Hisham Yacoub speaking at a rally for the teachers); Archive Link: https://archive.ph/NrN0f.

543 *Hisham Yacoub*, **Facebook** (December 19, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10158884527182669&set=pb.760252668.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/J05TO. *Hisham Yacoub*, **Facebook** (November 5, 2020), https://www.facebook.com/hisham.yacoub.31/posts/10158052828552669; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/cMplf.

544 *Hisham Yacoub*, **Facebook** (February 17, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10159652053347669&set=pb.760252668.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/8i2d7.

545 *Treasury Sanctions Two Hamas-Controlled Charities*, **U.S. Dep't of Treasury** (October 4, 2012), https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/tg1725.

546 *Hisham Yacoub*, **Facebook** (March 8, 2025), https://www.facebook.com/hisham.yacoub.31/posts/10161432123982669; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/gEkjF.

547 *Maher Saeed Twieh*, **Facebook** (October 13, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=5541566615935480&set=pb.100002465888817.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/AyxtZ.

Arrested in August 2024 for Membership in Hamas

On August 31, 2024, the Lebanese army arrested Yacoub for being a member of Hamas and held him in custody for six days.[548]



Yacoub on his way home after six days in Lebanese army custody

Posts Photos of Hamas Rockets with Antisemitic Text

On November 20, 2012, during Operation Pillar of Defense in Gaza, Yacoub posted photos of Hamas rockets ready to be launched. The accompanying text states that "this [*i.e.*, the rockets] is the only language understood by the descendants of monkeys and pigs," an antisemitic epithet referring to Jews as monkeys. The text then prays for the success of the "Mujahideen" calling for them to be "united" and "firm" and for God to protect them so they can "deal with the enemies [*i.e.*, the Jews]" and "cast terror into their hearts."[549]



548 *Updated - The Lebanese army arrests Hamas-affiliated groups in the Akkar region*, **Amad** (August 31, 2024), https://www.amad.com.ps/ar/post/540904/محدث-الجيش-اللبناني-يعتقل-مجموعات-تابعة-لحماس-في-منطقة-عكار-أسماء#google_vignette; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/8Ke56. *Said Alluch*, **Facebook** (September 5, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=1221671385562353 46&id=61557060385752; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/08SWT.

549 *Wassim Yacoub*, **Facebook** (November 20, 2012), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=175172779288134&set=pb.100003862385403.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/HLwBH.

Again on July 10, 2014, during a Hamas war with Israel, Yacoub posted photos of Hamas fighters launching rockets with similar text stating that this is the only language that Jews — referred to again as "the descendants of monkeys" — understand while praying for victory.[550]



This post was liked by other UNRWA employees.



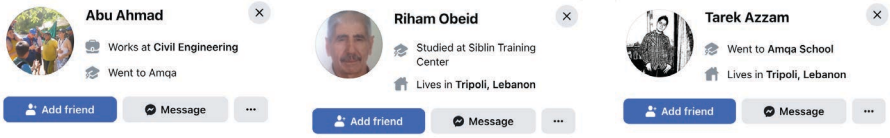
550 *Wassim Yacoub*, **Facebook** (July 10, 2014), https://www.facebook.com/wasim.yacoub.5/posts/434582170013859; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/LoM4Q.

Threatens “Oppressive Jews” and Their Supporters

On December 18, 2012, Yacoub posted the following photo, as a response to “the oppressive Jews, to those who are with them, to those who support them…” The text on the photo threatens to make “their eyes stare in terror.”[551]



This post was liked by several former UNRWA students.



551 *Wassim Yacoub*, **Facebook** (December 18, 2012), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=184173115054767&set=pb.100003862385403.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/2CKPz.

Fantasizes About October 7th Scenario

As far back as March 25, 2013, Yacoub posted a photo imagining Hamas's Al-Qassam Brigades on the outskirts of Tel Aviv, storming an Israeli army base and seizing equipment. UNRWA graduate Abu Ahmad endorsed the post in a comment, writing that this would be "the happiest day of my life."[552]

Translation of Facebook Post:

> Imagine this happening now (and it will happen, God willing, with His help, Glory be to Him). What would you say in a sentence?

Translation of Image Text:

> BREAKING NEWS: The Al-Qassam Brigades storm a base of the occupation army and seize a number of vehicles.
>
> The Al-Qassam Brigades reach the outskirts of Tel Aviv, surrounding it from the east and the south. The Al-Qassam Brigades penetrate...



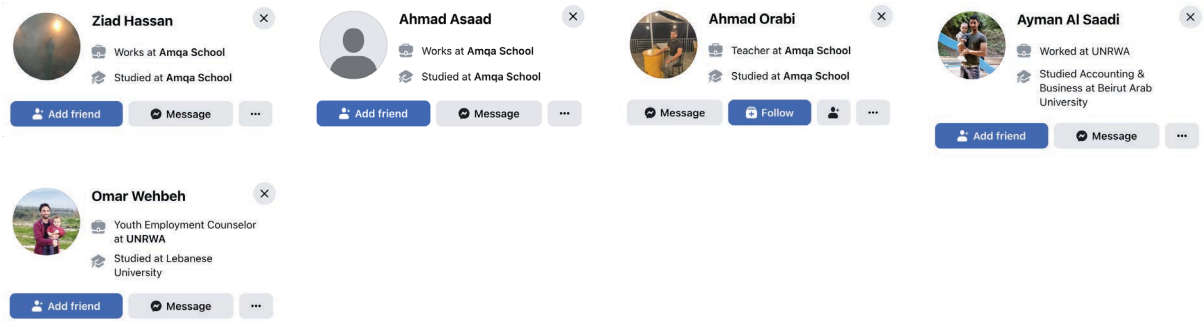
552 *Wassim Yacoub*, **Facebook** (March 25, 2013), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=237240073081404&set=pb.100003862385403.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/xtoio.

Promotes Hamas Terrorism for Kids

On March 17, 2013, Yacoub posted a photo of himself proudly smiling while holding two of his nephews. One of the nephews is adorned with a keffiyeh, while the other wears a Hamas headband. The text of the post boasts that "our children drink the love of the land with their mother's milk," referring to the two babies as "knights" for "returning to the path of Allah, and later, to Palestine..."[553]



This post was liked 161 times, including by many UNRWA employees.



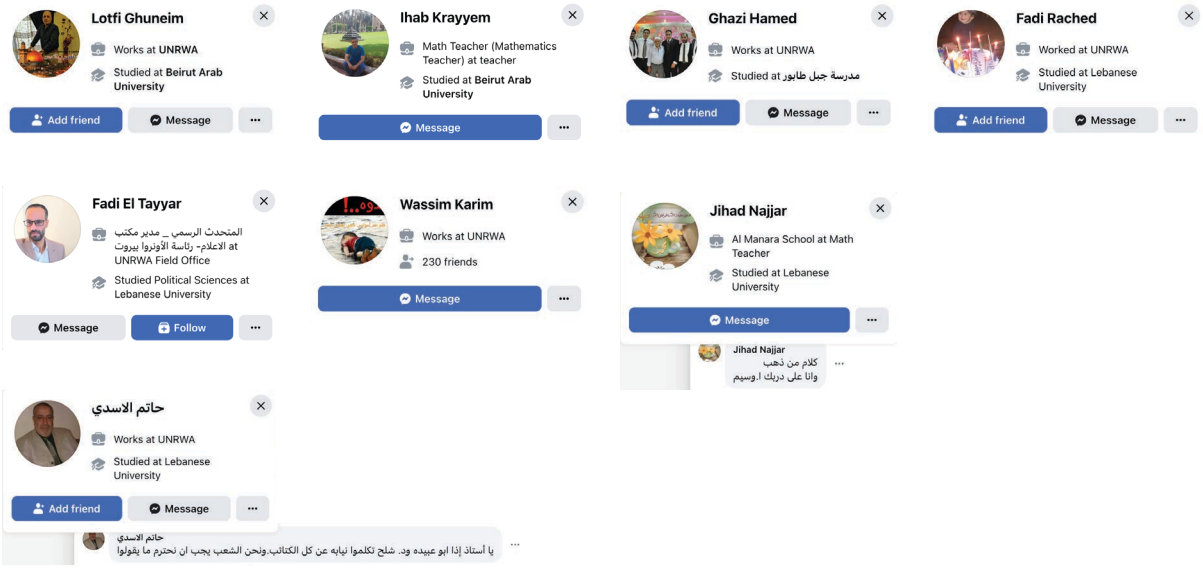
553 *Wassim Yacoub*, **Facebook** (March 17, 2013), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=269045686567509&set=pb.100003862385403.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Pvmyx.

Praises and Endorses Hamas and its Fighters

On August 27, 2014, at the end of that summer's Hamas-Israel war, Yacoub posted photos of armed Hamas fighters. The accompanying text praised them for their "strength, faith, and security" and stated that Yacoub "entrusts to these people [the Al-Qassam Martyrs Brigade] alone, after Allah, my right of return to Palestine, they alone, have the right to speak on my behalf and demand my right, and I entrust them with that duty."[554]



This post was liked by 107 people, including many UNRWA teachers. It was also endorsed in comments by UNRWA employees.

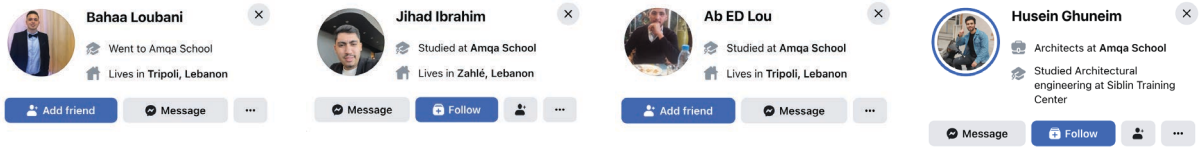


554 *Wassim Yacoub*, **Facebook** (August 27, 2014), https://www.facebook.com/wasim.yacoub.5/posts/454563034682439; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/GCS37.

On July 23, 2015, Yacoub praised and prayed for Hamas bombmaker Abdullah Barghouti, serving 67 life-sentences for murdering 67 Israelis in terrorist attacks. Yacoub shared a post that described Barghouti as "the leader" and "the towering lion."[555]



This post was liked by 64 people, including UNRWA employees and former students from Yacoub's UNRWA school.



555 *Wasim Yacoub*, **Facebook** (July 23, 2015), https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=607356542736420&set=pb.100003862385403.-2207520000; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/j3gW0.

Teaches Kids to "Liberate" Palestine From "Filth of the Occupation"

On July 24, 2024, Yacoub was praised on Facebook for his special participatory lesson entitled "Why Palestine?" This was part of a summer Quran course in the Al-Quds Mosque where he taught "the religious value of Palestine for Muslims, and how sacrifices must be made in order to liberate it and purify it from the filth of the occupation." The post applauded "his educational and pedagogical experience" gained "in UNRWA schools."[556]



556 *Fuad Fayez Al-Banna*, **Facebook** (July 24, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/fuad.elbanna/posts/2005419913208552; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/igb28.

6 Mohamed Ahmed Mustafa

UNRWA Tyre Teacher, Incites Hamas Terrorism

Mohamed Ahmed Mustafa[557] is an UNRWA Teacher at Al-Aqsa High School in Tyre, Lebanon, and a member of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union. His neutrality violations include the following:

- Praised as a "hero" close relative who is also a key member of the Hamas military wing.
- Called for Hamas terrorists to "tear their [Jews'] livers apart" and prayed for Allah to "cast terror into their [Jews] hearts and bring upon them your punishment and torment."

Mustafa appears in a photo of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union in front of an UNRWA field office in Lebanon in October 2022.[558]



557 *Mohamed Ahmad Mustafa Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 12, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/mohammad.mustapha.7.

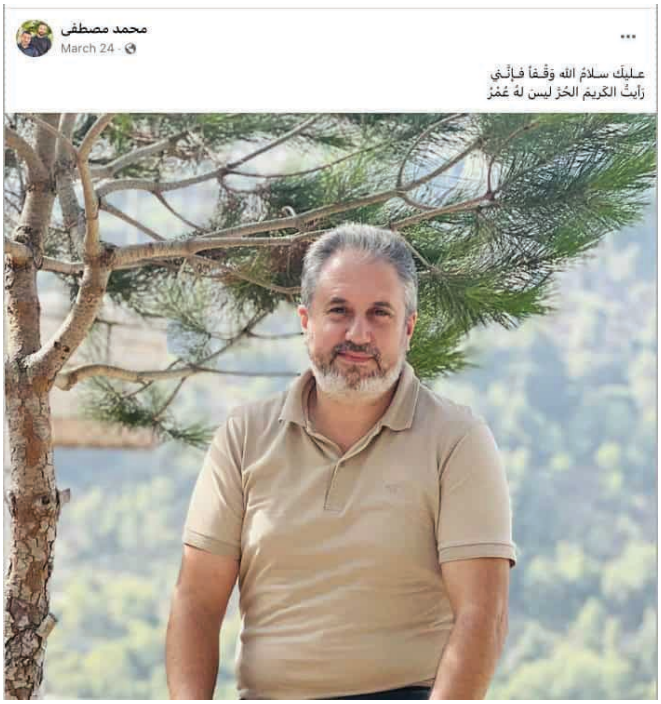
558 *Maher Saeed Twieh*, **Facebook** (October 13, 2022), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=5541566615935480&set=pb.100002465888817.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/AyxtZ.

Praises as "Hero" Key Member of Hamas Military Wing

When Mustafa's close relative, Hadi Ali Muhammad Mustafa,[559] was killed by the IDF in March 2024, Mustafa reminisced about him and eulogized him on Facebook as a "hero," "mujaheed," and "noble warrior."[560] Hadi Mustafa was a key member of the Hamas military wing abroad, responsible for orchestrating attacks against Israel.







559 *@IDF*, **X** (March 13, 2024), https://x.com/IDF/status/1767878189894832280.

560 *Mohamed Ahmad Mustafa,* **Facebook** (May 11, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/mohammad.mustapha.7/posts/pfbid02vVTP3tSktsiXQ9Mqgy4h2ez9kLxz23qLR3ZFSsv99Z1Lt9UxsnHTwuKFf12ZhoDAl; *Mohamed Ahmad Mustafa,* **Facebook** (March 24, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/mohammad.mustapha.7/posts/pfbid02ixDVDwRqqvprvyeRZTBx4ZScgwEXb2opnx3wDjPTdAkVGrawU2eKNERdCkYsDs3Fl; *Mohamed Ahmad Mustafa,* **Facebook** (July 9, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=3229682073828874&set=pb.100003613395560.-2207520000&type=3.

Incites Hamas Terrorism

On Twitter, Mustafa has also incited Hamas terrorism. For example, in December 2023, he posted a picture of a Hamas fighter with an RPG and ripped pants, commenting "It doesn't matter if your clothes are torn, if you tear their livers apart."[561]



In another tweet, Mustafa prays to God to "cast terror into their hearts and bring upon them your punishment and torment."[562]



561 *@mo7amadmustapha*, **X**, (December 11, 2023, 7:01 PM), https://x.com/mo7amadmustapha/status/1734257115428966857.

562 *@mo7amadmustapha*, **X**, (December 2, 2023, 9:49 PM), https://x.com/mo7amadmustapha/status/1731037969685811420.

7 Issa Mustafa Al-Hanafi

UNRWA Deputy Principal in Tyre, Linked to Hamas

Issa Mustafa Al-Hanafi[563] replaced Sharif as the Principal of UNRWA's Deir Yassin High School in Tyre Lebanon. Before that he was the Deputy Principal. He is also an UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union leader.[564] Al-Hanafi's neutrality violations include the following:

- Appeared on stage at an event with Hamas leader Abdul Majeed Al-Awad in Tyre.
- Appeared with Fateh Sharif in front of the UNRWA Deir Yassin school holding a poster pledging solidarity with the Jerusalem Intifada in 2015.



Appears on Stage with Hamas Leader at Event Featuring Child in Military Fatigues

In March 2018, Al-Hanafi appeared on stage with the Hamas political and media officer and leader in Tyre, Abdul Majeed Al-Awad, at an event honoring outstanding UNRWA students. The event also featured children dressed in Hamas uniform pledging their allegiance to resist.[565]



563 *Issa Mustafa Al-Hanafi Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 11, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/issa.alhanafi.

564 *Abo Amin Sharif (Tagging Al-Hanafi)*, **Facebook** (June 9, 2019), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1072771786266172&set=t.100000933419582&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/UQ9pD; *Teachers Rights (Tagging Al-Hanafi)*, **Facebook** (May 26, 2019), https://www.facebook.com/teachers.right/posts/pfbid02kcV9Ud1EveJPWUEsxnAUjK8wvLN44F3x1ermMuNmdQV65GeNXVsbiETg89JTS8LRl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/3crvb.

565 *Alrabita Borj Alchemali*, **Facebook** (March 12, 2018) (tagging Issa Al-Hanafi), https://www.facebook.com/alrabita.borjalchemali/posts/pfbid0jPLanRPsgKEYCzqpdk1AGi7mbMyNnosahxaySmc8yk5Gf1Ae99mP7DvfkiMLqtKNl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/3VTuG.



Endorses 2015 Jerusalem Intifada

In December 2015, Al-Hanafi was pictured standing in front of the UNRWA Deir Yassin school holding a poster signed by school staff and students expressing "solidarity with the Jerusalem Intifada," referring to the wave of Palestinian stabbing and car-rammings attacks that killed some 40 Israelis in 2015–2016, effectively endorsing terrorism.[566]



566 *Beit Elmakdiss Albuss Camp*, **Facebook** (December 1, 2015) (Tagging Issa Al-Hanafi), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=457340394464146&set=t.100000933419582&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/W4XeE.

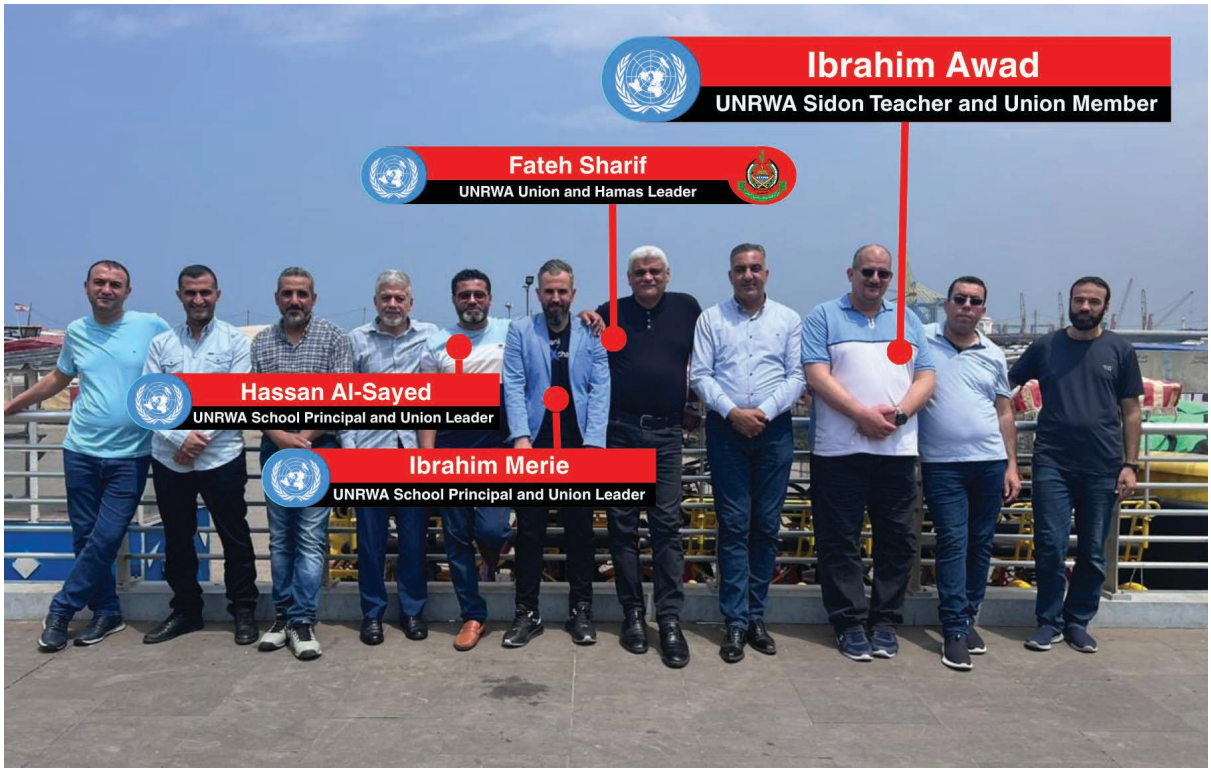
8 Ibrahim Awad

UNRWA Sidon Math Teacher, Celebrates October 7th

Ibrahim Awad[567] is an UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union member and math teacher in Sidon. Awad's neutrality violations include the following:

- Congratulated October 7th "martyrs" and deemed it a "beautiful" day to be remembered.
- Advocated for October 7th-style invasion at least since the May 2021 war between Israel and Hamas.
- Revered Hamas spokesman Abu Obaida.

In this photo, Awad appears with other members of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union, indicating that he is involved with the Union.



567 *Ibrahim Awad Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 11, 2011), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.awad.7.

Celebrates October 7th Hamas Attack

Awad joyfully celebrated the Hamas massacre of Jews on October 7th in a Facebook post that morning, deeming it a "beautiful morning" because "we see the blossoms of shed blood" and calling to "remember this date very well and engrave it."[568]



On October 19, 2023, Awad also congratulated the "martyrs" with an image showing a Hamas fighter next to the map of Gaza and calling for "victory" in Gaza.[569]



568 *Ibrahim Awad*, **Facebook** (October 7, 2023) (Post deleted), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.awad.7/posts/pfbid0oXVBnW2AvsfM9xDMGW1fDvHNk1X35yrBNzpnhBZmxMbbt7q55bsgVukLJuM7Zaxclhttps://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.awad.7/posts/pfbid0oXVBnW2AvsfM9xDMGW1fDvHNk1X35yrBNzpnhBZmxMbbt7q55bsgVukLJuM7Zaxcl.

569 *Ibrahim Awad*, **Facebook** (October 19, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.awad.7/posts/pfbid08bbxqmkTD6rs9mUjwaTNaLrfSxpqsojJmGhaBHNfmhJB667SWpkcn7QEGzdQMNr2l.

Advocated for October 7th Style Invasion of Israel Since At Least 2021

Awad has been advocating for an October 7th-style invasion at least since the May 2021 war between Israel and Hamas. In a May 15, 2021 post he wrote, "Our Palestine will return, God willing, with the help of the brave mujahideen. The path to liberation has become known. This history [*i.e.*, the Nakba] will become a thing of the past, God willing."[570]



570 *Ibrahim Awad*, **Facebook** (May 15, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.awad.7/posts/pfbid02k1jcYXfFUqBtm6gNY81HsZGZdjeBpBzCU7cMk1BZ2Hsag22ZrUP64xuTkrianxEMl.

Reveres Hamas Spokesman Abu Obaida

In a May 20, 2021 post, Awad revered Hamas spokesman Abu Obaida, writing "There was a time when I said men, who among us does not know him? By simply mentioning his name, you realize that Palestine is a beginning and the path to victory is near, God willing."[571]



571 *Ibrahim Awad*, **Facebook** (May 20, 2021), https://www.facebook.com/ibrahim.awad.7/posts/pfbid02uPbtM3szbiH7gynFA9pVTQy5K7mRV5j25GFRBut9jMdLmhzkncq9awBjMBB5C2z6l.

Other Related UNRWA Employees in Lebanon

UNRWA's Lebanon employees outside the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union also routinely incite terrorism and antisemitism in public Facebook posts, as demonstrated by the examples below. One of these is UNRWA Camp Director Raef Ahmad. Thus, young Palestinian students growing up in Lebanon are regularly exposed to jihadi terrorist ideology, not just by their UNRWA teachers at school, but also by the entire UNRWA infrastructure, even the Camp staff.

9 Raef Ahmad

UNRWA Tyre Camp Director, Linked to DFLP

Raef Ahmad[572] is the Director of UNRWA's Burj Al-Shemali Camp in Tyre, Lebanon. Ahmad's neutrality violations include the following:

- Glorified Palestinian terrorists Izzeddin Al-Qassam and Ahmed Akla "Abu Ali" and proclaimed that Israel will be invaded with the "blood of the martyrs."
- Attended DFLP funeral and pledged to "continue their struggle."



572 *Raef Ahmad Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 12, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/raef.ahmad.9.

Glorifies Palestinian Terrorists as "Steadfast Martyrs"

On May 15, 2022, Ahmad was tagged in a Facebook post glorifying Palestinian terrorists Izzeddin Al-Qassam, the namesake of Hamas's Al-Qassam Brigades, and Ahmed Uqla "Abu Ali," a Palestinian fighter born in 1910 committed to the so-called "right of return." Ahmad endorsed the post in a comment, writing, "Return is as right as the sun. We will definitely return thanks to the steadfastness and blood of the martyrs. Glory and eternity belong to the martyrs."[573] This confirms that UNRWA refugees understand the realization of the so-called "right of return" necessitates violence along the lines of October 7th.



573 *Hicham Khalil*, **Facebook** (May 15, 2022) (Tagging Raef Ahmad), https://www.facebook.com/hicham.khalil.11/videos/491987115945804; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/CMVJy.

Participates in DFLP Events

On many occasions, Ahmad is seen glorifying and attending the events of the DFLP — a designated terrorist organization whose armed wing participated in the October 7th attacks and which has been fighting alongside Hamas in the Gaza Strip. The DFLP is famous for the 1974 Ma'alot Massacre in which it took hostage 115 Israelis, mainly school children, killing 28. In a February 2014 post, Ahmad venerated the DFLP, writing "Long live the glorious memory of the Democratic Front."[574] In a March 2014 post mourning DFLP leader Abu Fadi, Ahmed referred to the DFLP leaders as "Knights of Palestine" and wrote "We pledge to continue the struggle."[575]





574 *Raef Ahmad*, **Facebook** (February 18, 2014), https://www.facebook.com/raef.ahmad.9/posts/505217502922743.

575 *Raef Ahmad*, **Facebook** (March 9, 2014), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=513599395417887&set=pb.100003034921390.-2207520000&type=3.

10 Abdul Rahman Khalil

UNRWA Tripoli Teacher, Linked to PFLP

Abdul Rahman Khalil,[576] is an UNRWA teacher in the Nahr El-Bared camp in Tripoli, Lebanon. Khalil's neutrality violations include the following:

- Endorses the October 7th Hamas attack.
- Mourns PFLP leader as his "brother and friend."
- Posts antisemitic content describing Jews as money-hoarding deceivers.

In February 2024, the Northern chapter of the UNRWA Lebanon Teachers' Union gave Khalil an award.[577]



576 *Abdul Rahman Khalil Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 12, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/abedelrahman.khalil.

577 *Abdul Rahman Khalil*, **Facebook** (February 14, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/abedelrahman.khalil/posts/pfbid04wvMbkQ2uRii6ZnAr7EZcwXn4h8uNWsSTQ3ioxQfDpx3hF9BXoZZLjUSCvVy4rR1l; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/FrWqy.

Endorses October 7th Hamas Attack

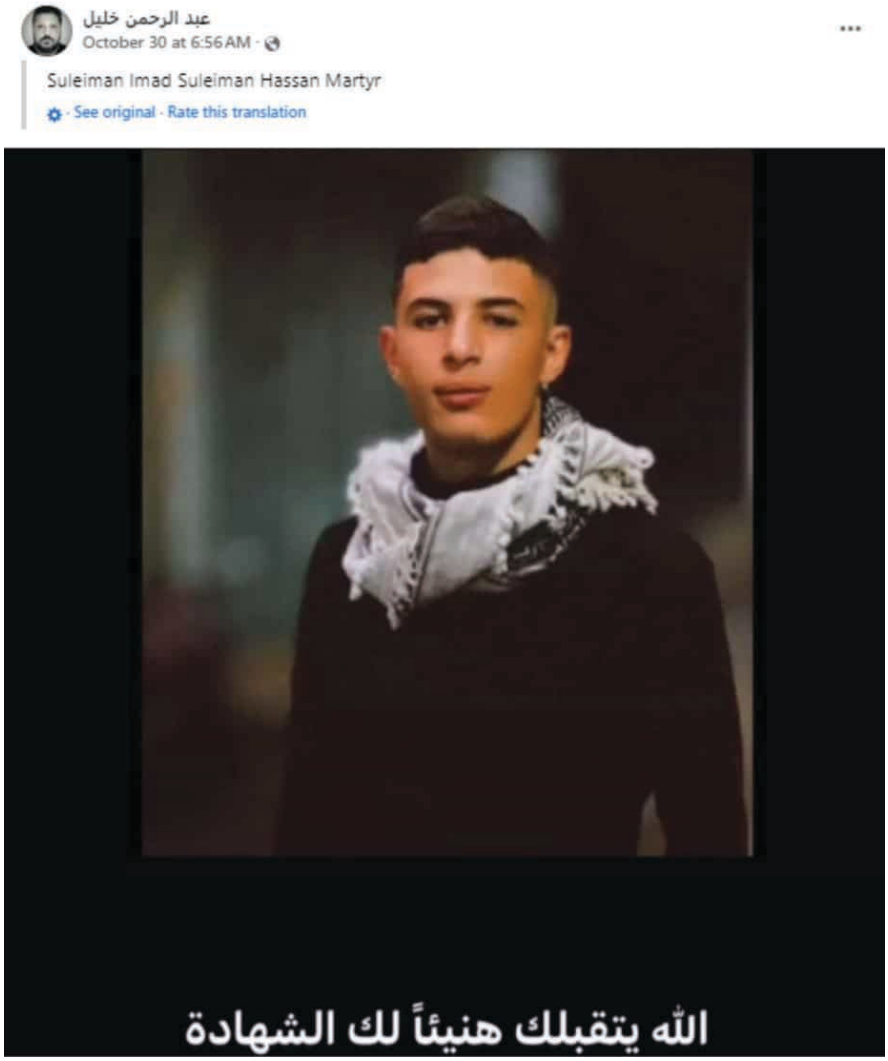
On October 7th, Khalil posted a photo on Facebook showing the Hamas terrorists standing atop an IDF tank waving the Palestinian flag with Khalil's headshot overlaid onto the photo and text about returning to Tzipori in northern Israel, indicating Khalil's endorsement of the attack.[578]



578 *Abdul Rahman Khalil*, **Facebook** (October 7, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/abedelrahman.khalil/posts/pfbid0fzYCvZtHt2DVNVoeF25yd3VhVK3yNbQmc4ze7kKSHk5uc2E6xzWetw6GwQVZhqNcl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Rgb2t.

Mourns PFLP Terrorists

When Suleiman Imad Hassan, field commander for the PFLP's Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades, was killed in October 2024 while involved in hostilities against Israel, Khalil mourned him as a martyr.[579]



The post was endorsed in a comment by an UNRWA employee.

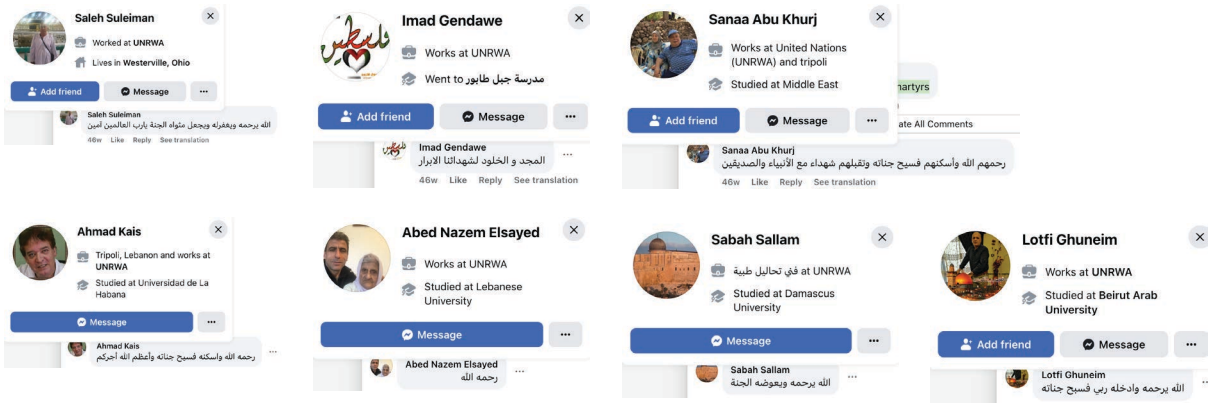


579 *Abdul Rahman Khalil*, **Facebook** (October 30, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/abedelrahman.khalil/posts/pfbid0txtR4kFhRE9rGQhxRzuGniDp6BRW3jKHvjnThK54rJreqaCUy5tv6xLaeHhYMPgXl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/TSXjx.

Khalil also mourned Imad Odeh Abu Ziad, PFLP military commander killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike in Lebanon, as a "brother" and "friend."[580]



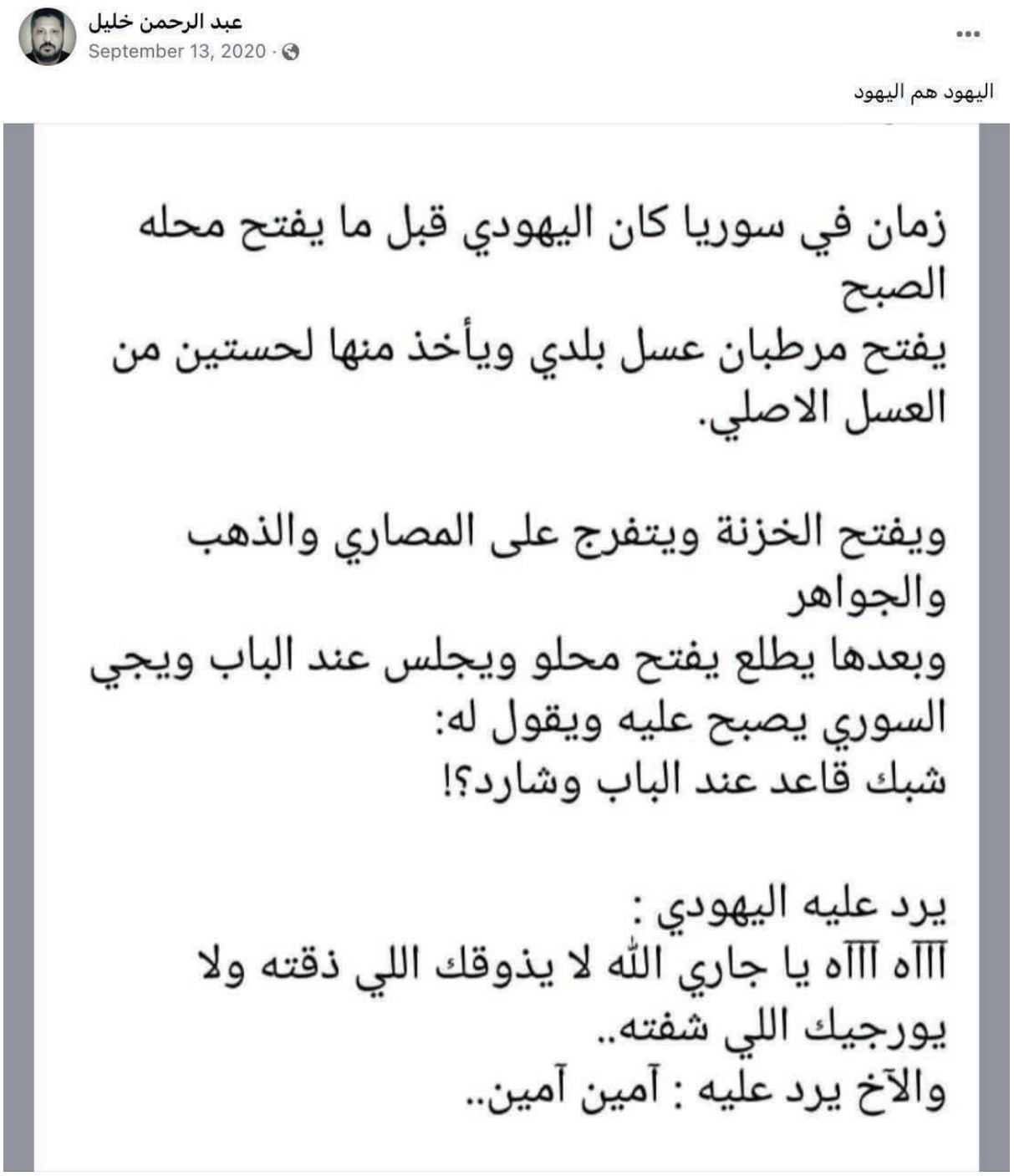
The post was endorsed by several UNRWA employees in their comments.



580 *Abdul Rahman Khalil*, **Facebook** (September 30, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/abedelrahman.khalil/posts/pfbid02x1omB5fXnX9M5EvnLRAMzVQPoik3gK4seDyCGhoujscJCeR1wHkUPoynYMquNtYZl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/LVk9M.

Promotes Classical Antisemitism

Khalil promotes blatant antisemitism with a post sharing a story that depicts Jews as money hungry. Khalil adds his comment "The Jews are The Jews." [581]



581 *Abdul Rahman Khalil*, **Facebook** (September 13, 2020), https://www.facebook.com/abedelrahman.khalil/posts/pfbid0335NBL2bESTVVEBzL9an96DVbWep8jAsAHi49f4SDZek7EEWvnuc3Ed2nBFFozHtEl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/T5r0c.

11 Anas El Bakari

UNRWA Sidon Teacher, Organizes Pro-Hamas Rallies for His Students

Anas El Bakari[582] is an UNRWA math teacher in Sidon, Lebanon. El Bakari's neutrality violations include the following:

- Celebrates October 7th with his students in the classroom.
- Organizes pro-Hamas marches for his students.
- Venerates Hamas terrorists responsible for gunning down seven civilians in Tel Aviv on October 1, 2024.



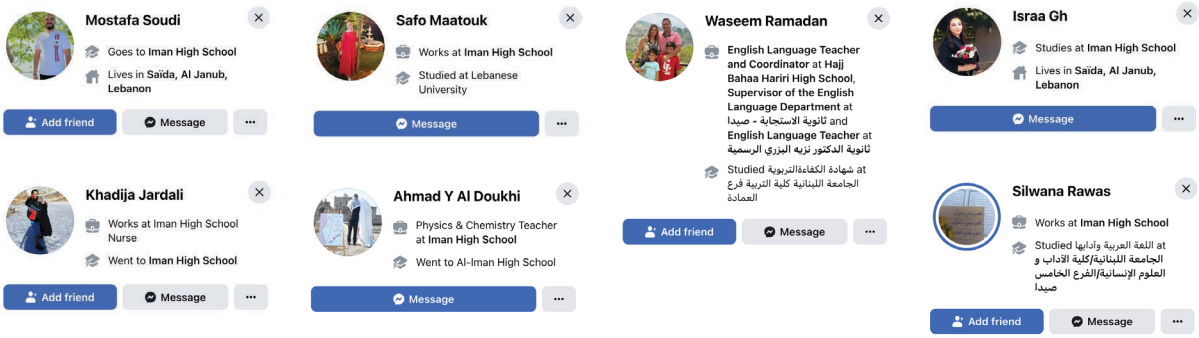
582 *Anas El Bakari Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 12, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/anas.a.bakari.

Celebrates October 7th Hamas Attack With Students in Classroom

On October 9, 2023, El Bakari celebrated the October 7th attack in the classroom with his students and expressed solidarity with the Hamas "resistance." He posted photos of his students on Facebook holding up their hands in victory signs and wrote "Yes, we love Palestine and we stand in solidarity with its resistance, its people, and its holy sites..."[583]



This post was liked by several UNRWA students and employees.



583 *Anas El Bakari*, **Facebook** (October 9, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/anas.a.bakari/posts/pfbid02LA7ybrSp3KfwYs2ZZmzmfKkngRS6oAEztwbNCyEzgmRRcyiQb1bsCojiZp1bTBHgl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/nEOKI.

Organizes Marches For Student Solidarity with Hamas

El Bakari also posts photos of the student marches he organizes and speaks at to express solidarity with Hamas. The photos show students carrying pictures of Hamas members and wearing Hamas headbands.[584]





This post was liked by the deputy school principal of his school.



584 *Anas El Bakari*, **Facebook** (October 26, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/anas.a.bakari/posts/pfbid0eY81C5g1SuQzeo8PmvRoKwhwKgjWcL5Q6wG8Uisxj8Kq3no4QU3TyyvvAFaJJJ4Zl; *Anas El Bakari*, **Facebook** (October 26, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10159056207212242&set=pb.581567241.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/8GH9U.

Venerates Hamas Tel Aviv Light Rail Shooters

When Hamas terrorists attacked Israelis on the Tel Aviv light rail on October 1, 2024, killing seven civilians and injuring 17, El Bakari celebrated the gunmen as "blessed soldiers" who "make the nation happy." He prayed for Allah to make "you [terrorists] happy as you made us happy" and to "comfort" and "guide" the terrorists and "shelter them and their families..."[585]



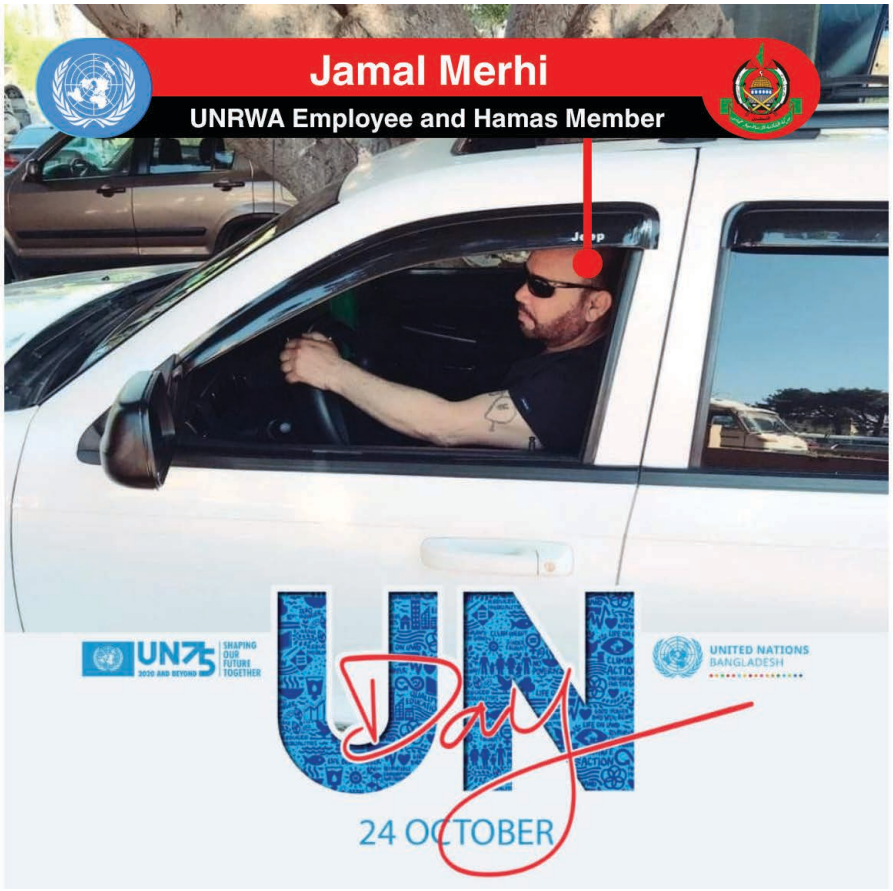
585 *Anas El Bakari*, **Facebook** (October 1, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/anas.a.bakari/posts/pfbid09csbWk6PPZBD1Yn4tMi8aX65oMx57jx9YwykBUsCpuTmkpH5tG1CaDQQZ1gSQQ5Dl.

12 Jamal Merhi

UNRWA Tyre Employee, Hamas Member

Jamal Merhi[586] works for UNRWA in Tyre, Lebanon and is also a Hamas member. Merhi's neutrality violations include the following:

- Attends Hamas events and is photographed at the podium.
- Openly celebrates Hamas and its leaders on his Facebook page, writing "jihad and resistance" is the way.
- Has many pictures of children wearing Hamas uniforms and holding weapons.



586 *Jamal Merhi Facebook Profile*, **Facebook** (Last visited November 12, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/jamal.merhi.3939.

Photographed at Hamas Event with Hamas Members

Merhi is open about being a member of Hamas. He appears in a photo of a May 2019 Hamas event at the podium. He also appears in a photo along with known Hamas members at the same event.[587]





587 *Jamal Merhi*, **Facebook** (May 19, 2019), https://www.facebook.com/jamal.merhi.3939/posts/pfbid02kDiX2WZfqZMUgzVmjExM2qE9iDhUzJKQA7JevuohwTdLz5Bnfngj8csj6H8H9kHZl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/vPRzx.

Attends Hamas Events in Support of Jihad

Merhi has several pictures on Facebook of himself at Hamas events "in support of the approach of jihad and resistance called for by the Hamas movement."[588]



588 *Jamal Merhi*, **Facebook** (March 22, 2019), https://www.facebook.com/jamal.merhi.3939/posts/pfbid02w74UTNKtaXv3cnvtNDbD373ThkkAd5yiqQZNVbhjG7eXVWSmk9Hm4ptyF5JCRGwSl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/52hTs.

Endorses Jihad and Resistance

Merhi has countless photos of Hamas leaders and militants on his Facebook page. In one photo, showing Hamas leader Abdel Aziz Rantisi holding an automatic weapon, Merhi commented that "This is the right way, jihad and resistance, not security coordination." Fateh Sharif's mother, Sanaa, then endorsed Merhi's comment, writing "of course, 100%."[589]



In another post, Merhi calls for the Israeli "invaders" to be "humiliated" and "killed" by the "resistance." Merhi writes "Listen, you holy warriors! Listen, you resistance fighters! What is required is the head of the resistance! What is required is your prostration! What is required is your surrender! What is required is your humiliation and killing! What is required is your submission and normalization! Beware of trusting that filthy man and the servants of the occupation around him.. By God, these are the enemy, so beware of them! They want you to be humiliated as they were humiliated! They want you to kneel as they kneeled! They want you to prostrate as they were prostrated!"[590]

589 *Jamal Merhi*, **Facebook** (November 11, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/jamal.merhi.3939/posts/pfbid02GWFexgG31CpyPMVbC9pwqe2oU2ZnziFyLKPQNZPRmMg2cRJngdawdGbfyHVrMftMl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/TVcJt.

590 *Jamal Merhi*, **Facebook** (November 11, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/jamal.merhi.3939/posts/pfbid029fGtTyoGP3pWTwmUdLyDakntPZ8JWZogxXB2gWoR77BR7rXdXjQZ33AEN4DQMBiBl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/FuMg2.



Posts Photos of Children in Hamas Uniforms Holding Weapons

Many of the photos Merhi posts feature children dressed in Hamas military uniforms with weapons in the background, inciting children to the hateful Hamas ideology.[591]





591 *Jamal Merhi*, **Facebook** (October 19, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/jamal.merhi.3939/posts/pfbid025ib6sbPCNgxKdihNsBXyrUzTK36RMXedExYDiNHHFLWMPboyTSaAohQRc3iuRNHGl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/bPhCx; *Jamal Merhi*, **Facebook** (October 18, 2018), https://www.facebook.com/jamal.merhi.3939/posts/pfbid02zcdNZuWhDqdJBDXFbgoMQuNg4fa5Dht213VYwKk2p3Jm1qdcVaQdYDbZGhpZaRRzl; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/aBMUz.

13 Mousa Al-Haj

UNRWA Tyre Teacher, Hamas Member

Mousa Al-Haj[592] is a teacher in UNRWA's Jabalia School in Burj Al-Shamali camp in Tyre, Lebanon. He is also a member of Hamas.

- Posts pictures at Hamas events with Hamas spokesman Jihad Taha and Hamas leader Ali Baraka.
- Posts a photo of a baby with a Hamas head scarf next to a weapon.
- Celebrates an attempted Hamas invasion of Israel.

Al-Haj also posts images inside his UNRWA classroom thanking his students and tagging fellow teachers.[593]

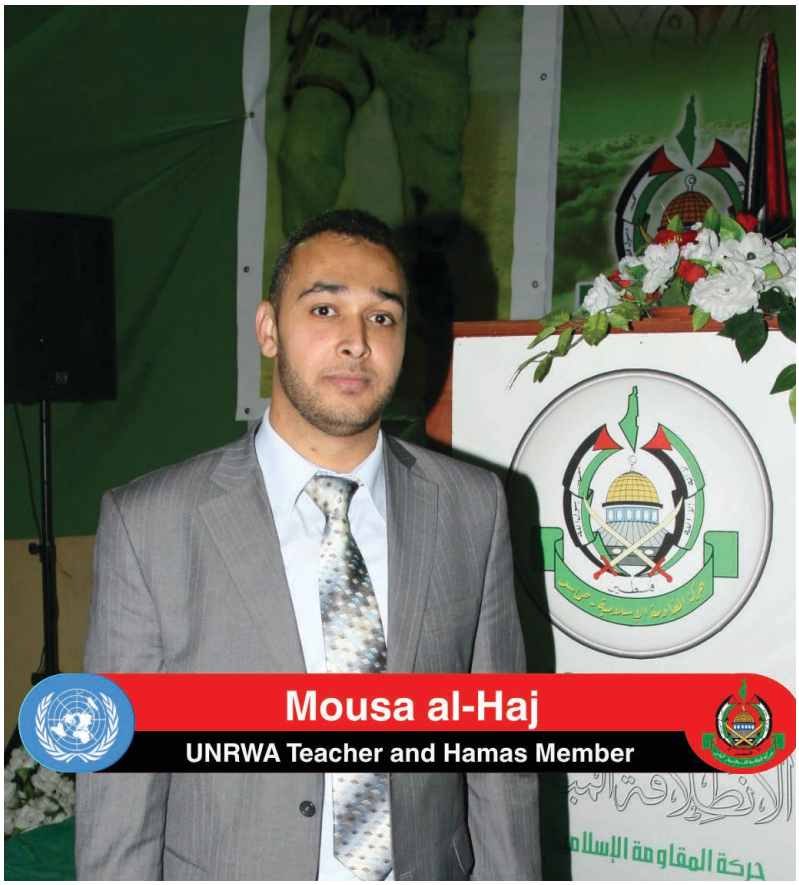


Member of Hamas

Al-Haj has openly been a member of Hamas since at least 2012. One of his previous profile pictures is of himself at a Hamas event dressed in exactly the same suit and tie as the other Hamas members. Al-Haj has many other profile pictures of Hamas militants, including one of Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.

592 *Mousa Al-Haj*, **Facebook Profile** (Last visited November 18, 2024), https://www.facebook.com/mousa.alhajmousa.

593 *Mousa Al-Haj*, **Facebook** (March 10, 2016), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1001263256621756&set=pb.100002142730507.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/Vo4B9.







In addition, Al Haj posts countless photos of Hamas events with Hamas leaders in Lebanon like Jihad Taha,[594] Ali Baraka,[595] Abdul Majeed Al-Awad, and Fateh Sharif, including some of him at the events.[596]



594 *Mousa Al-Haj*, **Facebook** (October 26, 2104), https://www.facebook.com/mousa.alhajmousa/posts/pfbid0kziK5hhBSKDKs3qqhotJFswBBbuYzhhP7R28wKP5ACKoUZqcwJAXqJM2mcUDNKbil; *Mousa Al-Haj*, **Facebook** (November 2, 2012), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=380587058689382&set=pb.100002142730507.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/pWY0C.

595 *Mousa Al-Haj*, **Facebook** (January 16, 2013), https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=412667352148019&set=pb.100002142730507.-2207520000&type=3; Archive Link: https://archive.ph/PVonY.

596 *Mousa Al-Haj*, **Facebook** (July 23, 2017), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=1450990488315695&set=a.451853128229441.


دماء شهدائنا
Mousa al-Haj
UNRWA Teacher and Hamas Member


Ali Baraka
Hamas Head of Foreign Relations

Mousa Al-Haj Mousa
July 23, 2017 ·

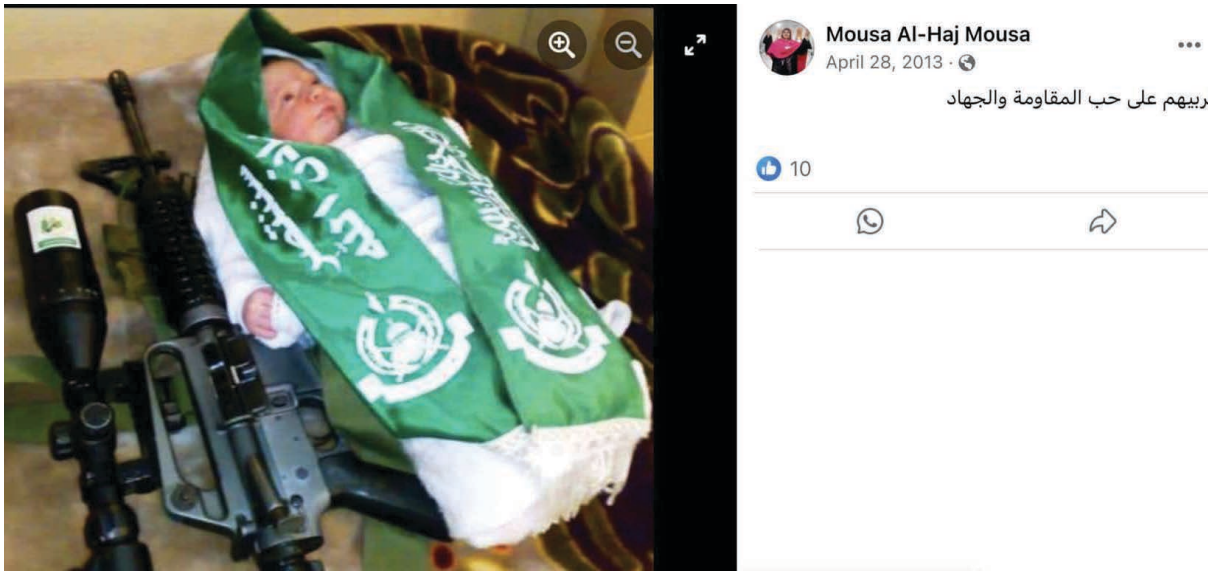
صورا من احتفال الرابطة الإسلامية لطلبة فلسطين لتكريم الطلاب الناجحين في الشهادات الرسمية في منطقة صور

See Translation



Posts Photo of Baby with Hamas Headscarf

Moreover, Al-Haj makes no secret of his intent to incite children to the Hamas ideology. In April 2013, he posted a photo of a baby adorned with a Hamas scarf next to an assault rifle with this caption: "We raise them to love resistance and jihad."[597]



Celebrates Hamas Invasions of Israel

Shortly after the October 7th Hamas attack, Al-Haj glorified three Hamas terrorists who attempted to invade Israel from Lebanon, calling them the "three moons."[598]



597 *Mousa Al-Haj*, **Facebook** (April 28, 2013), https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=459811464100274&set=a.459811404100280.

598 *Mousa Al-Haj*, **Facebook** (October 15, 2023), https://www.facebook.com/mousa.alhajmousa/posts/pfbid035KetT3dTpiwFCNr85eynqkQ1gc6sUsrpwaA5z4tHbY3mLeKeCvuToJwDbf98q9Vml.

UN Watch
Case postale 191, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland
Tel: +41.22.734.1472 | Fax: +41.22.734.1613
office@unwatch.org | www.unwatch.org