



Mrs Sigrid Kaag MA MPhil  
Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation  
State of the Netherlands  
P.O. Box 20061  
2500 EB The Hague  
The Netherlands

7 May 2020

Dear Mrs Kaag,

**Re: Donations by the State of the Netherlands to the Union of Agricultural Work Committees**

We are UK Lawyers for Israel (UKLFI) an organisation which uses the law against attempts to undermine, attack and delegitimise Israel, Israeli organisations, Israelis, and supporters of Israel.

We write further to our letter to Peter Molleman, Head of Mission of the Netherlands Representative Office in Ramallah, the Palestinian Territories, dated 14 May 2019, to which we have received no response. A copy of our letter is attached. We had asked for details as to your organisation's due diligence process in deciding to make donations to the UAWC.

We have now been provided with the following documents, as a result of a Freedom of Information Request by the International Legal Forum:

1. Contribution Agreement (activity no. 25565) between the State of the Netherlands and the Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC) dated 28 June 2013 in relation to "Land and Water Resource Management for Agricultural Development in the West Bank", with Appendix II and Appendix III for the period 1 July 2013 to 31 December 2016. (Document 1)
2. Letter Kingdom of Netherlands to UAWC dated 17 September 2015 (Document 2)
3. Amendment to Contribution Agreement (activity no. 25565), increasing contribution to USD 10,553,550 dated 5 May 2016 (Document 3)
4. Contribution Agreement (activity no 4000000025) between the State of the Netherlands and the Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC) dated 31 January 2017 in relation to "Inclusive Access to and Sustainable Management of Land and Water Resources" for the period 1 February 2017 to 31 December 2020, for a contribution of up to USD 11,250,000. (Document 4)

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5. Amendment to Contribution agreement (activity no 4000000025) dated 10 July 2017 increasing contribution to USD 13,000,000. (Document 5)

We draw your attention to the following clauses of the documents:

**Document 1:**

Paragraph 14 states “... *the other party must refrain from supporting activities whose aim is to undermine the political autonomy of a state or to bring down a lawful government by unlawful means*”.

Paragraph 16 states “*The Minister reserves the right to reduce or prematurely terminate the funding for this activity, suspend the transfer of instalments or demand repayment of all or part of the funds already transferred if the other party fails to fulfil its obligations under this agreement....*”

**Document 4:**

Paragraph 18 states “... *the other party must refrain from supporting activities whose aim is to undermine the political autonomy of a state or to bring down a lawful government by unlawful means.*”

Paragraph 20 states “*The Minister reserves the right to reduce or prematurely terminate the funding for this activity, suspend the transfer of instalments or demand repayment of all or part of the funds already transferred if the other party fails to fulfil its obligations under this agreement....*”

We have evidence which demonstrates that the UAWC supports activities whose aim is to undermine the political autonomy of a state or to bring down a lawful government by unlawful means.

In our letter to dated 14 May 2019, Peter Molleman, Head of Mission of the Netherlands Representative Office in Ramallah, the Palestinian Territories we set out some of the links between the UAWC and the terrorist group the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), whose aim is the destruction of Israel.

The PFLP has been designated as a terrorist organisation by several countries. For details of its designations and of its recent atrocities, see the attached **Appendix A**.

We now have a great deal more evidence of links between the UAWC and the PFLP. These details are in attached **Appendix B**.

For example **Abdul Razaq Farraj**, the [current finance director of UAWC](#) has been an employee of UAWC for the past 30 years. He [was arrested by the IDF in late 2019](#) as part of a 50 person PFLP terror network and according to his indictment, authorized the 23 August 2019 bombing of the Schnerb family, which killed 17 year old Rina Shnerb and injured her father and brother.

**Samer Mina Salim Arbid**, was [Financial Director of the UAWC](#) from around 2015 to 2016, and [commanded a PLFP terror cell](#) that carried out a bomb attack on Rina Shnerb and her family.

Many more examples of connections between the UAWC and the PFLP are in Appendix B. Since the aim of the PFLP is the destruction of Israel, and the UAWC is closely affiliated to the PFLP, it is clear that the UAWC supports activities whose aim is to undermine the State of Israel.

Therefore UAWC is in breach of the terms , as set out above, of the 2013 and 2017 Agreements, in that it supports activities whose aim is to undermine the political autonomy of the State of Israel, or to bring down the lawful government of the State of Israel by unlawful means.

In accordance with the 2013 and 2017 Contribution Agreements, the millions of dollars of contributions donated by the State of the Netherlands to the UAWC should be returned. Please revert within 14 days with your response, and confirm that you will cease making grants to the UAWC, and that you will take steps to obtain repayment by the UAWC of payments made since 2013.

Yours faithfully



**Caroline Turner**

Director, UK Lawyers for Israel

[Caroline.turner@uklfi.com](mailto:Caroline.turner@uklfi.com)

**NOTE ON THE DOCUMENTS**

We are sending this letter to you by post, as we were not able to fit its contents onto the Netherlands Government Contact Form. If you receive this letter by post, please request an emailed version from [caroline.turner@uklfi.com](mailto:caroline.turner@uklfi.com) so you can access the hyperlinks in Appendices A and B.

We have also provided numbered references to printouts of the online documents in Appendices A and B. We would like to share these documents with you on Dropbox, where they are stored at these locations:

U1 to U15:

<https://www.dropbox.com/s/1ra9rbekdlzj7a4/U1%20to%20U15%20PFLP%20Info.pdf?dl=0>

U16 to U40: <https://www.dropbox.com/s/9w6v5elbu4fm4t7/U16-U40%20UAWC%20and%20PFLP%20links.pdf?dl=0>

U41 to U80:

<https://www.dropbox.com/s/2dis0e0zh7667mz/U41%20to%20U80%20UAWC%20and%20PFLP%20links.pdf?dl=0>

U81 to U105:

<https://www.dropbox.com/s/ae52xn0bbgza8v5/U81%20to%20U105%20UAWC%20and%20PFLP%20links.pdf?dl=0>



## APPENDIX A

### **The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) - A Terrorist Organisation**

1. The PFLP has been recognised as an active terrorist organisation by various governments.
  - a. The US Department of State Bureau of Counter Terrorism lists the PFLP as a Foreign Terrorist Organisations, and [designated it as such on 10 August 1997](#). (U1)
  - b. The European Union [updated its list](#) of persons, groups and entities subject to Articles 2, 3 and 4 of Common Position 2001/931/CFSP on the application of specific measures to combat terrorism on 12 July 2016. It confirmed that those listed in its annex have been involved in terrorist acts and that they should continue to be subject to restrictive measures. The PFLP was included in this list. (U2)
  - c. Canada has also [published a list](#) of terrorist entities which includes the PFLP. The description of the PFLP on the Canadian Government website states that *“The goals of the PFLP are the destruction of the State of Israel and the establishment of a communist government in Palestine.”* (U3)
  - d. Israel [designated the PFLP](#) as a terrorist organisation on 30 January 1986. (U60, U60A)
2. Atrocities for which the PFLP has claimed responsibility include:
  - a. [an attack on those praying at a synagogue](#) in West Jerusalem on 18 November 2014, in which [five Jewish worshippers and a Druze policeman](#) were murdered and six other worshippers were injured, with axes, knives, and a gun; (U4A, U4B)
  - b. [a drive-by shooting](#) of passengers in a car on 29 June 2015, injuring four Israelis, one of whom died the following day; (U5)
  - c. [a suicide bombing](#) in the Carmel Market in Tel Aviv on 1 November 2004, which killed 3 Israelis;
  - d. [a suicide bombing](#) in the bus station at Geha Junction in Petah Tikva on 25 December 2003 which killed 4 Israelis; (U7)
  - e. [a suicide bombing](#) in a pizzeria in Karnei Shomron on 16 February 2002, killing three Israeli teenagers; (U8)
  - f. The [assassination of Israeli Minister](#) for Tourism Rehavam Zeevi on 21 October 2001; (U9)
  - g. The [hijacking of a Lufthansa Flight](#) 181 from Palma de Mallorca to Frankfurt on 13 October 1977; (U10)
  - h. [The hijacking of four passenger aircraft](#) in September 1970 from Pan Am, TWA and Swissair on flights to New York from Brussels, Frankfurt and Zurich; (U11)

- i. [The hijacking of TWA Flight 840](#) from Los Angeles to Damascus on 29 August 1969 by a PFLP cell led by Leila Khaled; (U12) and
  - j. [An attack on the El Al Flight 432](#) passenger jet at Zürich airport on 18 February 1969. (U13)
3. The [PFLP's objective is to destroy the State of Israel](#). (U14) It opposes the Oslo peace plan and a two state solution for the Israel-Palestinian conflict [and refuses to recognize Israel's right to exist](#). It also support the BDS campaign targeting the Jewish state. (U15)

7 May 2020



## APPENDIX B

### Links between Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

1. UAWC is the official agricultural affiliate of the PFLP. [A research paper for US AID](#) by the Democratic Institutions Support Project clearly shows this link. The report states: “*The PFLP's agricultural extension services are provided by the Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC), based in Bayt Hanina.*”(U16) See table on page 8 and page 14 of Report.
2. UAWC was founded in 1986 by members of the PFLP.<sup>1</sup> UAWC continues to be listed [as an official “affiliate”](#) of the PFLP.(U18)
3. UAWC is an [official member of Palestinian NGOs Network](#) (PNGO) (U19) and was one of 135 PNGO members, who refused to sign the 2020 European Union (EU) grant agreement because an amendment stipulates that organizations must refute ties to terrorist groups. The NGOs claim that the [terrorist groups are “political parties”](#). Shawan Jabarin, the executive director of Al-Haq, speaking on behalf of PNGO, told the media outlet The New Arab, “We demanded to include conditions stipulating that we do not have to recognize the [criteria listed regarding terror groups](#)”.(U20, U21)
4. The UAWC directly makes its assets available for PFLP use. For example the PFLP celebrated its 42nd anniversary at the [UAWC's hall in Khan Younis](#), Gaza on 12 December 2009, when it “organized on Saturday evening of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - the leadership of Shaheed Muhammad Alsakulai ‘Abossalh’ a meeting of cadres and cadres and friends in the front hall to maintain the Union of Agricultural Work Committees.” (U71 item 14)
5. **Samer Mina Salim Arbid**, was [Financial Director of the UAWC](#) from around 2015 to 2016 according to an article dated 14 March 2016 on the Samidoun website. (U21)
  - a. According to the Shin Bet, [Arbid commanded a PLFP terror cell](#) that carried out a bomb attack which killed 17-year old Rina Shnerb, and injured her father and brother on 23 August 2019, while they were on a nature trail. Arbid led the terrorist cell, prepared the bomb and set it off the moment he saw the Shnerb family reach the spring. (U22)
  - b. A [Jerusalem Post article published on 5 October 2019](#) stated that Arbid is “one of the PFLP’s officials in Ramallah and was previously arrested for involvement in terrorist activities during the Second Intifada under the direct command of the PFLP leadership, preparing explosive devices and committing terrorist attacks.”(U23)
  - c. Arbid was described by Amnesty International in September 2019 as [“a member of the PFLP”](#). (U24)

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<sup>1</sup> Building a Palestinian State: The Incomplete Revolution By Glenn E. Robinson

- d. An article in Samidoun dated March 2016 explains that he was [arrested in December 2015 and given an administrative detention](#) of 3 months, which was renewed for a further 3 months in March 2016. (U21)
  - e. Samidoun describes Arbid's [history of administrative detentions](#) – he was held from 2003-2006, 2007-2008 and again in October 2013 when he was arrested and put in administrative detention for an initial period of four months.(U21)
  - f. Amnesty International states that Arbid was previously [the accountant for Addameer](#), the prisoner support and human rights association.(U24) A 2013 Electronic Intifada article also identified Arbid as an [accountant at Addameer](#). (U26) Addameer's own website lists [Arbid as its accountant as recently as May 2018](#). (U68)
6. **Abdul Razaq Farraj is the [current finance director of UAWC](#)** and has been an employee of UAWC for the past 30 years, according to Amnesty International in April 2018 (U28). In July 2019 he was taking part in [high level meetings](#) between the UAWC and the Palestinian government (U25)
- g. Farraj [was arrested by the IDF in late 2019](#) as part of a 50 person PFLP terror network and according to his indictment, authorized the August 23, 2019 bombing of the Schnerb family, which killed 17 year old Rina Sshnerb and injured her father and brother. (U27)
  - h. Farraj was convicted of [membership of the PFLP](#) for which he served a six year prison sentence from 1985 to 1991.(U28)
  - i. Since his release from prison in 1991, he was [arrested six times](#), and each time placed under administrative detention. According to Amnesty International, he has been employed by UAWC since around 1989.(U28)
  - j. An Indian publication entitled [Frontline, dated 11 July 2014](#), reported that Farraj was held in administrative detention in 1994-96, 2002-06, 2009, 2011-12 and from 25 February 2014 until the date of the article in July 2014. He was due to be released on August 24 2014.(U29)
  - k. Amnesty International's April 2018 newsletter (U28) records [that Farraj was arrested on 21 May 2017](#) and issued with a four-month administrative detention order, which should have ended on 20 September 2017 but was renewed several times. He was eventually released on 17 July 2018, according to Amnesty International's report dated 16 August 2018, when he returned to work at the UAWC as Finance and Administration Director.
  - l. An [article from July 2012](#) in Maan News, reported that "the director of the Administrative and Financial Affairs department of UAWC, Abdel Razek Farraj was arrested, and released after spending more than 7 years at various periods in administrative detention. (U61)
7. **Rezk Al Barghouthi** was reported to be the [current Chairman](#) of UAWC, in February 2019 during the annual meeting. (U30) Barghouthi was mentioned in an article dated February 2018 as [chairman of UAWC](#) (U31) and has been a [board member](#) of UAWC since at least since [2009](#) (U49). He has been [chairman since May 2016](#) (U78). He [was re-elected](#) chairman in May 2018. (U32)
- m. Barghouthi spoke on behalf of [Ahmad Sa'adat](#), the Secretary-General of the PFLP and a convicted terrorist imprisoned by Israel (U33) during a [ceremony held in Ramallah for Palestinian prisoners](#). (U34, U35)

- n. In 2014, UAWC members including Barghouthi, participated in a [PFLP delegation to Brazil](#). (U36)
  - o. [Marwan Abdel-Al, a PFLP leader](#) and head of its Lebanon branch participated in the Brazil delegation and spoke on behalf of the UAWC. (doc U36)
  - p. In August 2016 Barghouthi participated in a sit-in in solidarity with Palestinian prisoners on a hunger strike, and [stood in front of a PFLP banner](#) holding PFLP signs for prisoners. (U37)
  - q. On 5 August 2017 Barghouthi posted on Facebook a [eulogy for Ammar Tirawi](#), a Palestinian terrorist who carried out two shooting attacks on 15 July 2017, referring to him as a hero. (U37b)
  - r. Barghouthi lead the UAWC [celebration of land day](#), alongside the deputy secretary general of the PFLP Abdel Rahim Mallouh in March 2010.(U38)
8. **Bashir Al-Khairi**, is a former UAWC director, and was president of the board of trustees in [2008](#) (U39) and [2009](#). ( U49)
- s. He was a [senior political leader](#) in the PFLP. (U40) He is referred to by the PFLP as a “historical leader” in August 2014 when he was attending a PFLP commemoration of the 13<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the martyrdom of the former PFLP secretary general, Abu Ali Mustafa, by visiting his tomb. He made a speech at the tomb, saying “the time has come to recognise the gratitude of everyone who contributed to the steadfastness of Gaza in its war against the Zionist enemy, specifically Iran Syria and Lebanon, especially Hezbollah..”(U40)
  - t. Al-Khairi was [convicted of terrorist offences in 1969](#) and jailed for 15 years. (U62)
  - u. Al-Khairi was the [head of the PFLP political bureau](#) in 2002, according to a CNN article, which describes him being arrested in August 2002. (U41)
  - v. Al-Khairi attended a PFLP event, [unveiling a mural](#) to Dr George Habash on 1 May 2014, and was referred to as a PFLP “comrade” and “leader”. (U42)
  - w. He is referred to by the [PFLP as “Comrade”](#) in January 2012 (U43)
  - x. Al Khairi was [arrested in 2010](#), and referred to as a Member of the National Assembly of the PFLP. (U44)
  - y. He was [arrested in May 2011](#), and the UAWC condemned his arrest and described him as Chairman of their board of directors, a lawyer and a freedom fighter. (doc U45)
9. **Hassan Jaber**, a UAWC [board member in 2015](#), is a [journalist](#) affiliated with the [PFLP](#). (U46, U47, U48)
10. **Ismat Al-Shouli**, was elected a [UAWC board member](#), in 2009 (U49) and [again in 2016](#) (U78).
- z. He is also a [former leader in the PFLP](#) who was imprisoned by Israel several times for his involvement with the PFLP terror organization. He was released from prison in January 2015, after 10 months in administrative detention. (U50)

- aa. In September 2016 Al Shuli [spoke at a PFLP event](#) commemorating PDLP Secretary General Abu Ali Mustafa, and was referred to as “the leader of the Popular Front” (U53).
  - bb. He was also described as a [“PFLP leader”](#) upon his release from prison in January 2015 (U51).
11. **Mouhammad Saqa** was a [2009 UAWC board member](#). (document U49).
- cc. He is a former [branch leader in the PFLP](#), described as “the leadership of the front branch comrade” .(U52)
12. **Faysal Khalafallah**, was a [2009 UAWC board member](#), (document U49).
- dd. He is a former [senior leader in the PFLP](#). (U54)
  - ee. There was a PLFP organised memorial service for Khalafallah, when he died in May 201. Faysal Khalafallah is described as: a member of the PFLP central committee, who gave his country over 31 years’ service to the PFLP; “a leader who dedicated his life in the ranks of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine”; “he was chosen to be one of the members of the Special Unit of the device's military front, and undergoing a number of cycles of military and security selection” (i.e. he was active in terrorist military operations) (U54)
13. **Taghrid Jouma** was elected to the [UAWC board](#) in 2008 (U49)and [2010](#) (U55).
- ff. She was referred to in the Arab press as “a [member of the central committee](#) of the Comrade Front” in March 2013. (U56)
  - gg. Jouma was the main speaker at another PFLP event in January 2013, where she was described as “a member of the [PFLP’s Central Committee.](#)” and a leading member of the PFLP. (U57)
14. **Hiba Abdul Kareem** was [elected to the UAWC Board of Directors](#) in May 2016. (U78).
- hh. In August 2018, [according to the PFLP](#) (U63), Kareem was referred to as the “Party Master”, and spoke at a PFLP event and “welcomed attendees” in honor of “martyr Jabhahaoui” under the slogan “going on the path of martyrdom and resistance.” Kareem’s speech further paid “tribute” to “martyrs.”
  - ii. In November 2017, according to the PFLP, [Kareem participated in a PFLP meeting](#). (U67) The PFLP cites her as a “project coordinator” and refers to the speech she gave about project implementation mechanisms at the event.
  - jj. In December 2016, [according to the PFLP](#), (U65) Kareem spoke at a large PFLP gathering in “memory of the martyr Sami Madi.”
  - kk. In November 2015, the PFLP referred to Kareem as a “[member of the Central Governate Command and campaign co-ordinator](#)” to help “families in need and affected by the aggression...” (U66)
15. **Maysr Faqih** was elected a UAWC [board member in 2018](#) (U32).
- ll. **Maysr Faqih**, was also listed as one of the [candidates on a PFLP-Palestine National Initiative Party \(PNI\) joint list](#) for local elections in 2012. (U69)
16. **Muhammad al-Bakri** was elected director General of UAWC in [2010](#) (U55) [and in 2012](#). (U96)

- mm. On 16 October 2010 the UAWC, together with the PFLP held an event to express [solidarity with the Secretary-General of PFLP](#), Ahmad Saadat. (U73) Saadat was convicted of masterminding the assassination in 2001 of the Israeli Tourism Minister Rehavam Ze'evi. In his speech **al-Bakri**, sent his greetings to Ahmad Saadat and to all Palestinian prisoners and detainees on the eve of “the anniversary of the Ze'evi's assassination” (16 October 2010).
- nn. In 2011 Al Bakri and the UAWC [honoured a group of freed prisoners](#), at an event attended by leading PFLP officials (U74)
- oo. In 2012 Al Bakri [opened an exhibition](#), organised by the UAWC, in commemoration of the Nakba, where they extended greetings to all the prisoners headed by the secretary general of the popular front, Ahed Saadat. Bakri, then general manager of UAWC opened the exhibition, which was also attended by Jamil Al-Azznin, chairman of the board of UAWC. (U75)
17. **Yusuf Abd al-Haq** was elected a member of UAWC's board of directors [in 2012](#) (doc U96) [and in 2016](#). (doc U78)
- pp. Al Haq was one of the speakers in November 2011 when the UAWC with other NGOs organised a Farmers, Rural Workers and Fishermen's conference, where speakers included Aziz Dawaik of Hamas and Ali Jaradat of the PFLP.
- qq. In October 2012 [Al-Haq was released from administrative detention](#) where he had been since 7 December 2011. He was greeted by a welcoming committee of the UAWC including Khaled Al Hadmi, the chairman, members of the board of directors, heads of departments and employees, who demanded the release of all prisoners from “occupation prisons.” (doc U77)
- rr. In 2014 Abd al-Haq was referred to as a [legal and economic adviser](#) at a UAWC conference. (U79)
- ss. In 2018 he took part in the [UAWC's annual general assembly](#). (U80)
- tt. Al Haq is referred to on [many occasions](#) as a [PFLP leader](#). (U81, U82)
- uu. In October 2015 Al Haq was referred to as the [Leader of the PFLP](#) during a national meeting organised by the democratic front for the Liberation of Palestine in Nablus. (U82)
- vv. In February 2014 according to the PFLP, Abd al-Haq [spoke on behalf of the PFLP](#), discussing Habash's life as well as a current political analysis of the Palestinian cause.” (U83)
- ww. In 2014 the Israelis arrested leaders of the PFLP in Nablus, and Dr Yousef Abdul-Haq was described as one of the most [prominent detainees](#), according to Al Jazeera. (doc U84)
18. **Ahmad Sufan** was elected a member of UAWC's [board of directors in 2010](#) (U55).
- xx. Sufan was referred to as a member of the UAWC board of directors when [he was arrested](#) in November 2011. (U77)
- yy. According to Palestinian media, in 2014 “the members of the PFLP, Ahmad Sufan and Yasin Farraj [were arrested](#). (Document U85)
19. **Muhammad Nujum** was [manager of UAWC's Jericho office](#) from around 2012 to [2018](#).(docs U86 and U87).
- zz. The UAWC reported that [in 2012 Nujum was arrested](#) and held in administrative detention. (doc U86)

20. **Fouad Abu Seif** was described in May 2019 as [Director General of UAWC](#). (U70)  
He was reported in July 2012 to be [director of UAWC’s operations and development department](#). (U88, U86)
- aaa. He was [arrested in July 2012](#) after his house in Hebron was stormed by reinforced forces from the army. (U88)
  - bbb. The UAWC [denounced](#) his arrest. (U86, U88, U89).
21. **Muayad Basharat** was UAWC’s [project co-ordinator in Jericho](#). He was arrested on 8 January 2012. (doc 89).
22. **Khaled Hidmi** was UAWC’s [general director until 2015](#). (U91)
- ccc. In 2014 UAWC [opened a new centre](#) to market agricultural products, and its opening was attended by Hidmi as well as Abdul Rahim Malloh, the then deputy Secretary General of the PFLP. (U92, U92a)
23. **Zakaria Bakr** was described in June 2019 as UAWC’s head of [Gaza Fisherman Committee](#). (U93)
- ddd. He attended a [2014 PFLP Nakba commemoration event](#), and was referred to in the Palestinian press as a PFLP “Comrade”. (U94)
  - eee. In February 2016 he attended a [PFLP event](#) in support of Palestinian prisoners, and was again referred to as a PFLP Comrade. (U95)
24. **Suliman Shahin** [works](#) at [UAWC Gaza](#). (U97, U98)
- fff. Shahin was part of the [PFLP’s progressive student action front](#) (PSAF), the [student arm of the PFLP](#). (U99, U59)
  - ggg. Shahin has shared a number of images on his Facebook page, calling for acts of violence. (U101)
25. **Magdy Yaghi** is a former member of the UAWC board of directors, having been [elected in 2010](#) (U55) and [in 2012](#) (U96). In 2019 Yaghi participated in a UAWC event. (doc U102)
- hhh. The PFLP refers to Yaghi as “[a member of the regional command](#)” and a “comrade”. (doc U105)
  - iii. In February 2019 Yaghi [participated in a memorial service organised by the PFLP](#) for Maher Yamani, a PFLP founder and member of the Central Committee, and one of its most prominent military commanders. (U103, 103A))
  - jjj. Yaghi was photographed with senior PFLP leaders on 7 December 2013 (doc U104)
  - kkk. Yaghi visited a school in Gaza to celebrate the 47<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the PFLP on 20 December 2014 (doc U104)
  - lll. Yaghi was photographed marching with PFLP members carrying hatchets and molotov cocktails on 6 November 2015 (doc U104).

7 May 2020