



Lebanon Report

Introduction

Yaum Al-Nakbah (which means in Arabic "the day of Catastrophe") was an awful event which changed many legal, social, economic, and political aspects for Palestinians and for the same host countries in the Middle East. The diaspora of Palestinians in many countries of this area entailed the necessity to acknowledge them a legal protection status and, therefore, some rights. But each country of this zone applies its own legislation to deal with Palestinian refugees. Due to its particular situation, the Lebanese Republic, commonly known as Lebanon, constitutes an exception among these States.





Lebanon

Lebanon is one of the smallest countries in the world (its total area is around 10,500 km²), it is situated on the Eastern shore of Mediterranean Sea but bordered by Syria to the north-east and Israel to the south. It gained its formal independence on 1943¹. Five years later, it was overwhelmed by the Palestinian diaspora, which started in 1948. The flow of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon has not been constant over time, but it reached some peaks, following the events of the region's history: last time with the Syrian civil war, which pushed 29,000 Palestinian refugees who used to reside in Syria before the crisis to seek asylum in Lebanon.²

In order to understand how Lebanon deals with Palestinian refugees, it is important to outline its social structure and political system.

Lebanon is known as a heterogeneous society composed by a large number of ethnic and religious groups, which is the result of a policy pursued for centuries in which Lebanon protected and welcomed persecuted Christians and Muslims. In 1932 the first Lebanese census took place, creating a new order and reaching a compromise between the different components of the Lebanese social fabric.³

Consequently, after its independence, the various parts of the society gathered together in order to carry on their requests and to achieve a compromise among them. For this reason, in 1943 the Parliament established a power-sharing arrangement between the different components of the society, and it was called "Lebanese National Pact".⁴ The agreement is still valid nowadays and it has the task to split the most important charges of the Parliament among three representatives of the three parts of the civil society. Particularly, the Lebanese President is used to be a Maronite Christian; the Lebanese Prime Minister is used to be a Sunni Muslim; and the National Assembly speaker is used to be a Shi'i Muslim.⁵ According to Farid El-Khazen and his book "The Communal Pact of National Identities: The Making and the Politics of 1943 National Pact":"In reality, this informal agreement was neither a Pact (or covenant) restricted to Lebanese parties, nor was it a national one. Rather, it was an arrangement involving Lebanese politicians (mostly Maronite and Sunni), Arab leaders (mainly Syrians and Egyptians), and western powers (the French and the

- Rania Maktabi, "The Lebanese Census of 1932 Revisited. Who Are the Lebanese?" (1999) 26 British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 219
 Wikipedia Contributors, "Lebanon" (Wikipedia, March 11, 2021) https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanon accessed March 13, 2021.
- 5. Ibidem.



^{1.} Wikipedia Contributors, "Lebanon" (Wikipedia, March 11, 2021) < https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanon> accessed March 13, 2021.

^{2. &}quot;Lebanon | UNRWA" (UNRWA2019) <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/lebanon> accessed February 14, 2021.

British in particular). The Pact materialised only when the interests of both internal and external parties felt better represented with the establishment of an independent Lebanon in 1943, in harmony with a pro-Western (i.e., British) Arab order".⁶ This kind of arrangement is still used in Lebanon today.

Moreover, the Lebanese Republic is founded on a Constitution which was promulgated in 1926, before its independence, but it was amended several times: the last one in 2004, in which some provisions were abrogated. According to the Constitution, the National Assembly has the following characteristics: First of all, the division of the Parliament. Article 24 of the Constitution states that the seats of the Lebanese Parliament is determined by the electoral law and equally divided between Muslims and Christians.⁷ The electoral law was changed several times, with the aim to proportionally add new seats at the same rate of growth population. For instance, "Taif Agreement" (1990) increased the number of deputies to 108,⁸ with the purpose to end the Lebanese Civil Law, which broke out in 1975 and giving greater representation to the population in the National Assembly. Currently, the 2008 electoral law is in force, which again increased the number of Members of Parliament seats, from 108 to 128.⁹ The common feature of all these reforms is the balance between the representatives of the different confessions into the Parliament. The latest electoral law split into two parts the Parliament as well: 64 Muslim deputies and 64 Christian ones. The seats are subdivided into eleven confessional branches. depending on the number of people that they represent.¹⁰

The Lebanese legal and institutional setting is based on confessions. For this reason, it is considered a confessional democracy. And at first glance, it could be seen as a very welcoming and open-minded country towards minorities and other beliefs. Though arguable, Lebanon was considered "the Switzerland of the East" by scholars for a long time. Not only for its capacity to attract foreign investments during '50s and '60s,¹¹ but also for its neutrality, Lebanon was considered an example to follow in the Middle East. But looking more closely to Palestinian refugees' issue, we can discover another Lebanon.

- 7. "Lebanons Constitution of 1926 with Amendments through 2004" (Constitute Project, January 20, 2021)
- <a>https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Lebanon_2004.pdf?lang=en> accessed February 10, 2021

10. Ibidem.

^{11. &}quot;Colonialism and Imperialism: The Case of Lebanon" (Middle East Centre April 5, 2018) https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2018/04/05/colonialism-and-imperialism-the-case-of-lebanon/> accessed February 10, 2021.





^{6.} El-Khazen Farid, The Communal Pact of National Identities: the Making and Politics of the 1943 National Pact (Centre for Lebanese studies 1991) <https://lebanesestudies.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/8b844d712.-The-Communal-Pact-of-National-Identities-The-Making-and-Politics-of-the-1943-National-Pact-Farid-el-Khazen-1991.pdf> accessed February 9, 2021

 [&]quot;TAIF ACCORDS First, General Principles and Reforms" () < https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/LB_891022_Taif%20Accords.pdf> accessed February 10, 2021.

 [&]quot;The Lebanese Electoral System - IFES" (The International Foundation of Electoral System (IFES)March 2009) https://ifes.org/sites/default/files/ifes_lebanon_esb_paper030209_0.pdf>

Palestinian refugees in Lebanon

The question how Lebanon is dealing with Palestinian refugees' issue is intricately linked to Lebanese legal and institutional setting. The primary goal of Lebanese government is to prevent the falling of the social balance in the country. However; copious research on Lebanese population portrays another probable reality: the Lebanese social compromise is likely to collapse.

The demographic issue is central, and it explains why the last Lebanese census was only in 1932.¹² Lebanese Arabs constituted most of the population.¹³ Also notable is that Palestinian Arabs are the second largest class of citizens in Lebanon.¹⁴

It is the result of years of migrations from Palestinian territories to Lebanon. But not all the Palestinian Arabs have obtained the necessary permits, so the Lebanese government does not count all the Palestinian refugees in the territory. Because only those who are registered by the Lebanese State are counted, the number of Palestinian refugees is underestimated. For instance, according to the last census conducted by the Lebanon's Central Administration of Statistics in partnership with the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, there are 150,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, divided in 12 refugee camps and in 156 population centres throughout the country.¹⁵ Adversely, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) declares almost 500,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, and about 180,000 of them are planning to reside in the country.¹⁶

The underestimation of Palestinian refugees in the Lebanon is a direct consequence of an opaque policy implemented by Lebanese government, which included an underestimation of Muslims (both Sunni and Shi'i) and an overestimation of Christian population.¹⁷ In this way, Lebanese government is trying to avoid the problem of providing a new balanced system in which the different parts of the civil society are equally represented, ensuring a good representation system of civil society interests. In support of this thesis, according to the following graph, more than a half of the population is of Islamic faith, divided in Sunni and Shi'i.¹⁸ But since there has not been a new census in Lebanon since 1932,¹⁹ these data are unofficial and surely partial. Still, this, along with studies from the UNWRA and other NGOs like *Anera*, shows that the situation affected—and still affects— Palestinian refugees immensely

12. Rania Maktabi, "The Lebanese Census of 1932 Revisited. Who Are the Lebanese?" (1999) 26 British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 219 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/195924.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Aa12f4f6fa93e810f47aa6c9216fc3c30> accessed February 15, 2021.

 "Country Guide: Lebanon". (Washingtonpost.com, 2021) < https://www.washingtonpost.com/wpsrv/world/countries/lebanon.html#:~:text=About%2095%25%20of%20Lebanese%20are.of%20sects%2C%20including%20the%20Druze.> accessed March 13, 2021.

14. Ahmed Moor, "Why Palestinians Are Second-Class Citizens in Lebanon" (the GuardianJune 24, 2010)

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/jun/24/middleeast-palestinian-territories> accessed March 13, 2021.

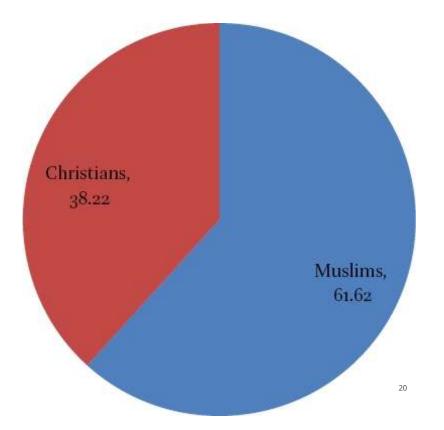
 Amira Hass, "Lebanon Census Finds Number of Palestinian Refugees Only a Third of Official UN Data" (Haaretz.com December 25, 2017) <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/lebanon-census-finds-number-of-palestinian-refugees-only-a-third-of-official-un-data-1.5629560> accessed February 14, 2021.

- 16. "Lebanon | UNRWA" (UNRWA, 2019) <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/lebanon> accessed February 14, 2021.
- 17. Barshad A., "In Lebanon, a Census Is Too Dangerous to Implement" (The Nation, October 17, 2019) https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/lebanon-census/ accessed February 14, 2021

18. "The Lebanese Demographic Reality Lebanese Information Center Lebanon" (2013) < https://www.lstatic.org/PDF/demographenglish.pdf>.

 Rania Maktabi, "The Lebanese Census of 1932 Revisited. Who Are the Lebanese?" (1999) 26 British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 219 https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/195924.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Aa12f4f6fa93e810f47aa6c9216fc3c30> accessed February 15, 2021.





The huge difference between the abovementioned data of Lebanon's Central Administration of Statistics in partnership with the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics and those given by UNRWA are a clear example of human rights violations.²¹ According to the article 14 comma 1 of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (1948): "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution".²² That is the basis for the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees. This convention reinforces the international obligation for States to respect the most basic human rights of refugees, but also it guarantees further rights to them.²³ According to the article 1(a) comma 2 of that Convention, the refugees is defined in this way:

As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. In the case of a person who has more than one nationality, the term 'the country of his nationality' shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of his nationality if, without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a nationality if without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a nationality if without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national .

- 20. "The Lebanese Demographic Reality Lebanese Information Center Lebanon" (2013) https://www.lstatic.org/PDF/demographenglish.pdf>
- 21. Amira Hass, "Lebanon Census Finds Number of Palestinian Refugees Only a Third of Official UN Data" (Haaretz.com December 25, 2017)
- <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/lebanon-census-finds-number-of-palestinian-refugees-only-a-third-of-official-un-data-1.5629560> accessed February 14, 2021.
- 22. United Nations, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (1948) https://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf>
- 23. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees" (UNHCR, 2021) <https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10> accessed February 15, 2021.





any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national.²⁴

This provision, however, was not applicable to Palestinian refugees, since they did not meet some requirements.²⁵ As a consequence, they are not included in that definition. For this reason, the General Assembly created the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in Near East (UNRWA) with the resolution 302/1949, which give the definition of Palestinian refugees: "persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine during the period 1 June 1946 to 15 May 1948, and who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 conflict"²⁶ and it ensures Palestinian refugees the same rights addressed in the Convention. Still, in Lebanon, the Palestinian refugee rights have been repeatedly violated.

Because Palestinian refugees have no legal status, this creates a number of disadvantages. Firstly, acquiring Lebanese citizenship is difficult; Lebanese laws for procedure of citizenship follow the jus sanguinis (right of blood) rationale or the jus soli (birthright citizenship) in exceptional cases. Furthermore, Lebanese citizenship is transferred only by the father; the mother cannot.²⁷ In addition, underlying sociocultural beliefs consider Palestinian refugees responsible for the Lebanese Civil War and, as a consequence, a threat to the fragile social balance in Lebanon.²⁸ There are not facilities for Palestinian refugees who want to obtain a permanent residence permit; they must follow the same procedure of other foreigners,²⁹ infringing art. 7 comma 2 of 1951 Geneva Convention.³⁰ They have facilities to get a temporary residence permit or to temporary visa, which can last from one year to five years³¹ and it can be renewed, but with difficulty.³²

The lack of legal status for Palestinian refugees leads to several consequences. Particularly, Palestinians do not enjoy political rights, meaning they have no representation or ability to participate in the government.³³ Secondly, Lebanon denies the right of association,³⁴ violating the art. 15 of 1951 Geneva Convention.³⁵

- 24. Ibidem.
- 25. Akram S.M., "Palestinian Refugees and Their Legal Status: Rights, Politics, and Implications for a Just Solution" (University of California PressApril 1, 2002) https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2002.31.3.36> accessed March 13, 2021

 Simon Haddad, "The Origins of Popular Opposition to Palestinian Resettlement in Lebanon" (2004) 38 The International Migration Review 470 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/27645386.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Aa60f441534a68b20c717d4e8a5f74d3c>.

- <a>https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10> accessed February 15, 2021.
- 31. "Lebanese General Security Posts" (General-security.gov.lb2021) https://www.general-security.gov.lb/en/posts/91 accessed February 15, 2021.





^{26. &}quot;Palestine Refugees | UNRWA" (UNRWA, 2021) https://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees> accessed February 15, 2021.

^{27.} United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Refworld | Lebanon: Citizenship Requirements and Procedures for an Individual Who Was Born in Lebanon to Parents with Syrian Citizenship, Has a Permanent Residency Permit, and Whose Spouse Was Granted Lebanese Citizenship by Decree (2012-November 2013)" (Refworld, 2012) https://www.refworld.org/docid/5481746f4.html> accessed February 15, 2021.

 [&]quot;Lebanese General Security - Posts" (General-security.gov.lb, 2021) https://www.general-security.gov.lb/en/posts/5> accessed February 15, 2021.
 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees" (UNHCR2021)

^{32. &}quot;The Situation of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon" (2016) https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/56cc95484.pdf>.

^{33. &}quot;Lebanon: Freedom in the World 2021 Country Report | Freedom House" (Freedom House2020) < https://freedomhouse.org/country/lebanon/freedomworld/2021> accessed March 13, 2021.

^{34. &}quot;The Situation of Palestinian Refugees" (Coe.int, 2016) accessed February 15, 2021.

^{36.} United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees" (UNHCR2021) https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10 accessed February 15, 2021.

Furthermore, the right of access to courts is not ensured by Lebanon,³⁶ which is guaranteed by the article 16 of the 1951 Geneva Convention.³⁷ The Lebanese violations affect also the Palestinian refugees' right of property³⁸ (covered by the articles 13 and 14 of 1951 Geneva Convention) and their right to work (protected by the articles 17, 18 and 19 of 1951 Geneva Convention).³⁹ Palestinian refugees are treated as "foreign workers" without any facilities to enter in the labour market.⁴⁰ In addition, Palestinian refugees cannot work in 33 professions, including medicine, engineering and law.⁴¹ Unemployment rates for Palestinian refugees are therefore higher than the Lebanese average. According to a survey conducted by UNWRA and the American University of Beirut in 2015, Palestinian unemployment rate reached 56%, and 65% of Palestinians in Lebanon lived below the poverty line, in contrast with 35% of Lebanese population. The economic crisis triggered by COVID-19 pandemics and the discontent among Palestinian refugees,⁴² leading to riots and protests.

Regarding the issue of housing, article 21 of the 1951 Geneva Convention claims: "As regards housing, the Contracting States, in so far as the matter is regulated by laws or regulations or is subject to the control of public authorities, shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory treatment as favourable as possible and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances:". According to the abovementioned census made by the Lebanon's Central Administration of Statistics in partnership with the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 45% of Palestinian refugees live in one of the 12 refugee camps in Lebanon.⁴³ The living conditions in the refugee camps are very dangerous and below the standard living conditions for foreigners, as stated by the 1951 Geneva Convention. In one of its articles, the NGO Anera thoroughly describes the situation:"The housing conditions in Palestinian refugee camps is abysmal. Conditions are overcrowded, and the camps frequently lack basic infrastructures such as roads or sanitation. Often during times of crisis, the camps can go months without electricity and, when it is available, it is inconsistent. In some Lebanese camps, when the winter rains come, raw sewage washes into people's homes".⁴⁴ Moreover, the overcrowding in the refugee camps is presently a great risk, as the difficulties to comply with social distancing measures facilitates more opportunities to COVID-19 to spread into the refugee camps. In relation to health,

36. "The Situation of Palestinian Refugees" (Coe.int, 2016) <https://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/X2H-Xref-

ViewHTML.asp?FileID=10160&lang=EN#:-:text=The%20situation%20of%20the%20Palestinian%20refugees%20is%20by%20far%20the,4%20%25%20of%20to tal%20estimated%20population.> accessed February 15, 2021.

37. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees" (UNHCR2021) https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10 accessed February 15, 2021.

 Ali Younes, "Why Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon Are Protesting" (Aljazeera.comJuly 20, 2019) < https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/7/20/why-palestinianrefugees-in-lebanon-are-protesting> accessed February 15, 2021.

 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees" (UNHCR2021) https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10 accessed February 15, 2021.

40. Timour Azhari, "Trump's Middle East Plan Leaves Palestinians in Lebanon Hopeless" (Aljazeera.com, January 30, 2020)

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/1/30/trumps-middle-east-plan-leaves-palestinians-in-lebanon-hopeless> accessed February 15, 2021.

41.
"Lebanon 2019 Human Rights Report" (State.gov, 2019) < https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/LEBANON-2019-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf> accessed February 2, 2021

42. Suleiman Jaber, "Palestinian Refugees and Lebanon's Multilayered Crisis - Al-Shabaka" (Al-Shabaka, November 8, 2020) < https://al-

shabaka.org/memos/palestinian-refugees-and-lebanons-multilayered-crisis/> accessed February 15, 2021. 43. Amira Hass. "Lebanon Census Finds Number of Palestinian Refugees Only a Third of Official UN Data" (Haaretz.com Di

Amira Hass, "Lebanon Census Finds Number of Palestinian Refugees Only a Third of Official UN Data" (Haaretz.com December 25, 2017)
 https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/lebanon-census-finds-number-of-palestinian-refugees-only-a-third-of-official-un-data-1.5629560> accessed February 14, 2021.

^{44. &}quot;What Are Palestinian Refugee Camp Conditions Like? - Anera" (Anera, September 5, 2019) <https://www.anera.org/blog/what-are-palestinian-refugee-campconditions-like/#:~:text=The%20housing%20conditions%20in%20Palestinian,is%20available%2C%20it%20is%20inconsistent.> accessed February 15, 2021.





into the refugee camps. In relation to health, social security is partially granted by Lebanon to Palestinian refugees, but maternity, sickness and family allowances funds are not included.⁴⁵

In conclusion, Palestinians in Lebanon face numerous and severe violations of the 1951 Geneva Convention.⁴⁶ UNRWA is the entity which replaces the Lebanese State in providing the essential needs of Palestinian refugees. It guarantees education and healthcare to Palestinian refugees into the camps.⁴⁷ But some abuse scandals affected its credibility.⁴⁸ This pushed some States to cut the spending for UNRWA,⁴⁹ two of them United States⁵⁰ and United Arabs Emirates.⁵¹ Moreover, the COVID-19 pandemics has led to the temporary closure of UNRWA offices in Beirut.⁵² Nonetheless, its action continued during the pandemic incessantly, creating a hotline and awareness campaigns with the aim to advocate for the importance of personal hygiene in preventing the spread of COVID-19, as well as providing medical equipment, such as masks.⁵³ Recently, the Lebanese government and UNRWA reach an agreement for the distribution of COVID-19 vaccine among Palestinian refugees.⁵⁴ Along with Hopes that this could be the beginning of a new form of collaboration between the two entities, it is important to avoid discrimination in the distribution of COVID-19 between Christian and Muslim Palestinian refugees.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/31/trump-to-cut-all-us-funding-for-uns-main-palestinian-refugee-programme> accessed February 15, 2021. 51. The Associated Press, "UAE Drastically Cut Funding for Palestinian Refugees in 2020" (ABC News February 6, 2021) <https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/uae-drastically-cut-funding-palestinian-refugees-2020-

53. Ibidem

^{54. &}quot;Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon to Receive Free Covid Vaccine" (Middle East Monitor, January 27, 2021) < https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20210127palestinian-refugees-in-lebanon-to-receive-free-covid-vaccine/> accessed February 15, 2021.





^{45. &}quot;Lebanon 2019 Human Rights Report" (State.gov, 2019) < https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/LEBANON-2019-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf> accessed February 2, 2021

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees" (UNHCR, 2021) https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10> accessed February 15, 2021.

^{47. &}quot;Lebanon | UNRWA" (UNRWA, 2019) <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/lebanon> accessed February 15, 2021.

^{48. &}quot;The U.N. Agency for Palestinian Refugees Faces Another Crisis" (The Centre for Lebanese Studies, December 17, 2020) < https://lebanesestudies.com/the-un-agency-for-palestinian-refugees-faces-another-crisis/> accessed February 15, 2021.

^{49.} Ibidem.

^{50.} Peter Beaumont and Oliver Holmes, "US Confirms End to Funding for UN Palestinian Refugees" (the GuardianAugust 31, 2018)

^{75711647#:-:}text=JERUSALEM%20%2D%2D%20The%20United%20Arab%20Emirates%20drastically%20reduced%20its%20funding%20to%20the%20U.N.&te xt=The%20UAE%20donated%20%2451.8%20million,first%20reported%20by%20Israeli%20media.> accessed February 15, 2021.

 [&]quot;Human Rights Violations of Refugee Populations in Lebanon amidst the Covid-19 Outbreak" (Oxford Law Faculty June 12, 2020) https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/research-subject-groups/centre-criminology/centreborder-criminologies/blog/2020/06/human-rights accessed February 15, 2021.

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