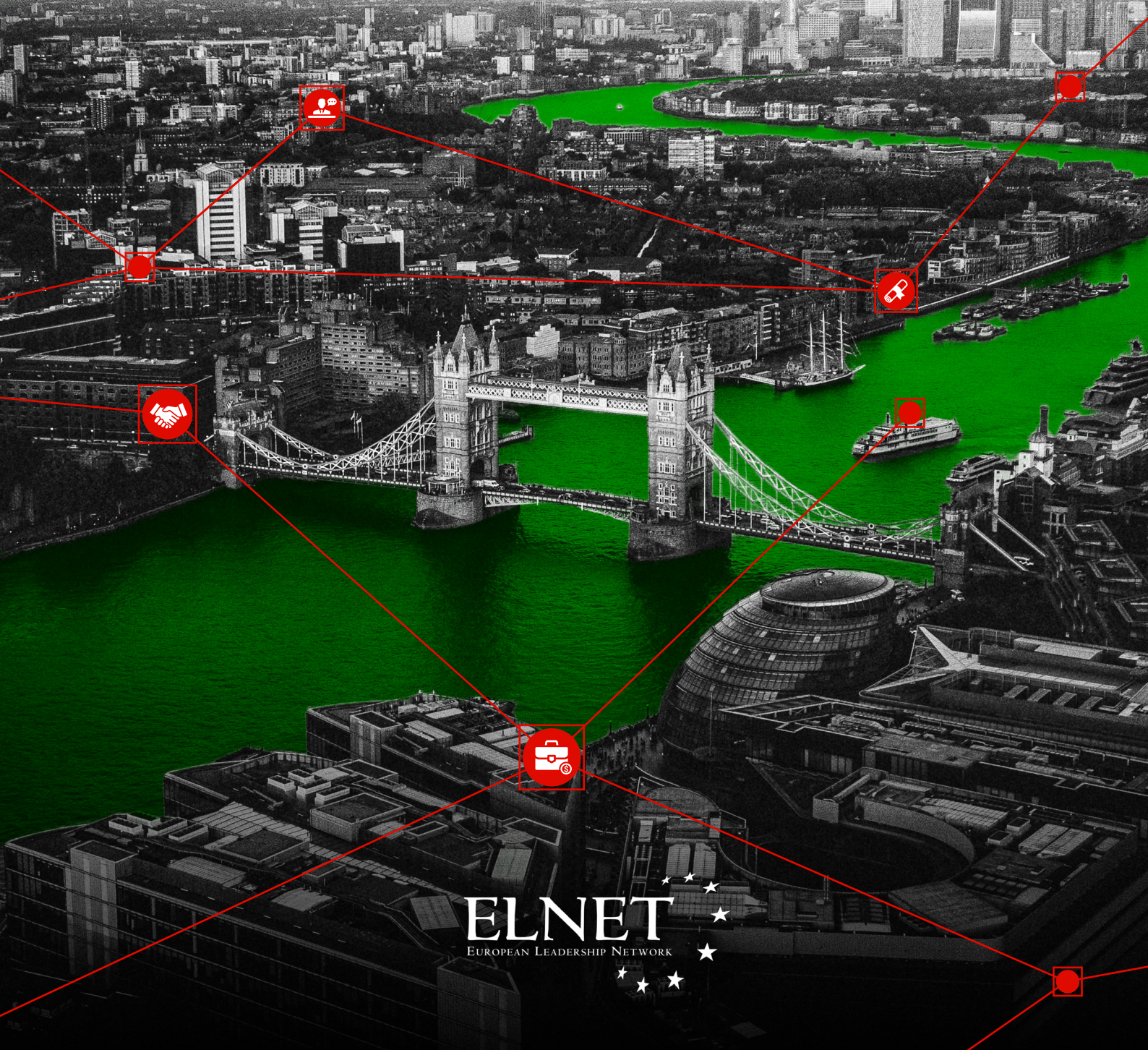


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IN EUROPE



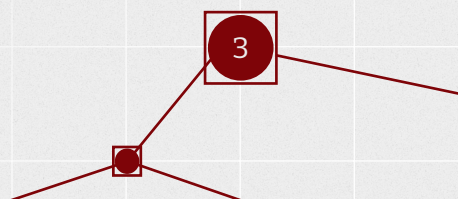
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HAMAS IN EUROPE

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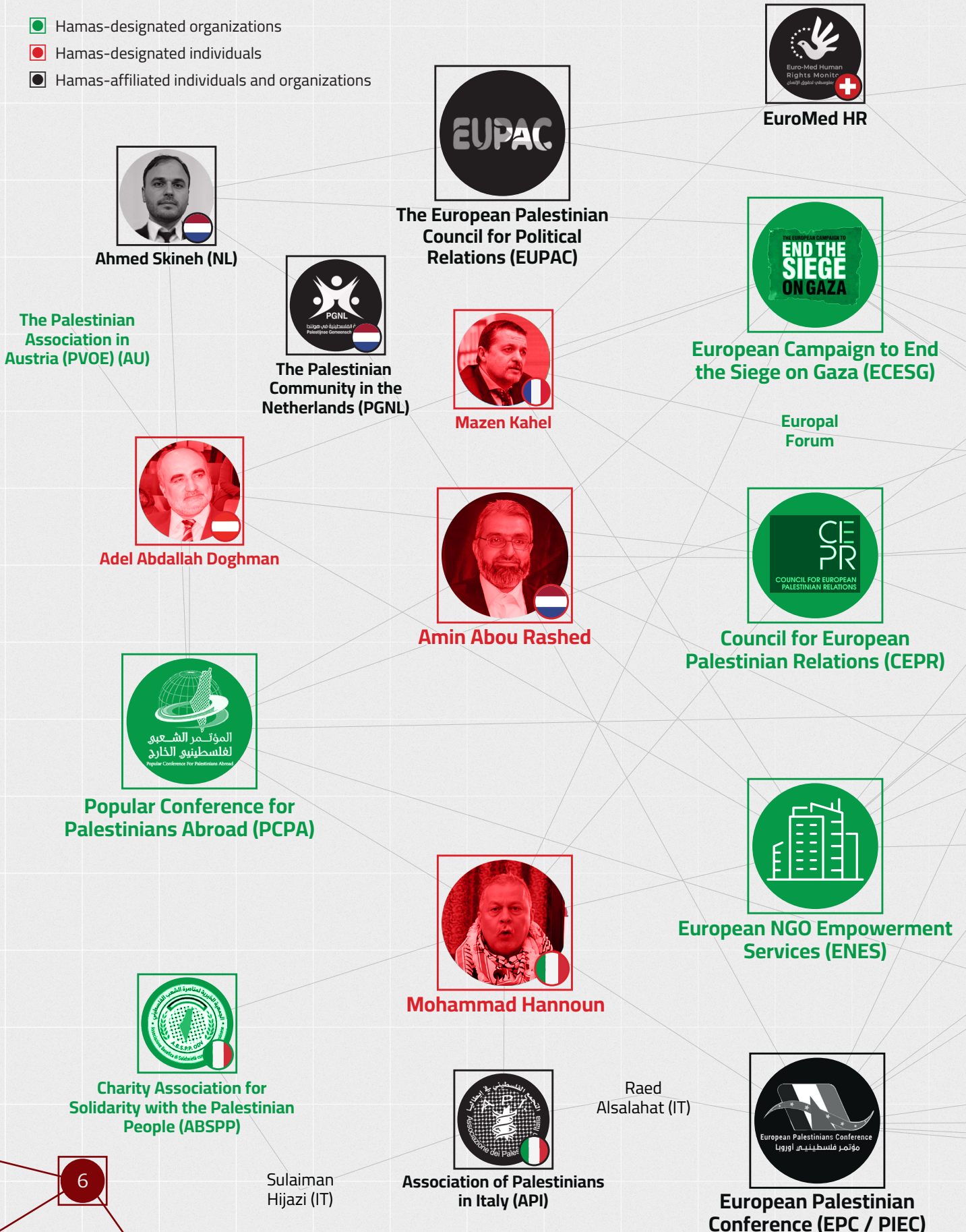
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HAMAS-AFFILIATED INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE

- Hamas-designated organizations
- Hamas-designated individuals
- Hamas-affiliated individuals and organizations





Ahmad Kanaan



Arafat Shukri



Interpal



Majdi Akil



Essam Mustafa



Majed Al-Zeer

Education Aid for
Palestinians (UK)



Palestinian Return
Centre (PRC)



Ramy Abdu



Zaher Birawi



Moin Shubib



Ziad Elaloul

Muslim Association
of Britain (UK)



Palestinian Forum in Britain
(PFB, PalForumUK)



Mohammad Sawalha



European - Palestinians Initiative
for National Action (EPINA)

Obeida
Al-Modallal (DE)



Palestinian and Arab
Associations in Berlin (DE)

Ahmad
Muhaisen (DE)



Palestinian Community
in Germany (PGD)

Ali Chteiwia (DE)

Fadi Tayeche (DE)

INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

On October 7th, 2023, the radical Islamist Palestinian terrorist organization known as Hamas committed heinous atrocities against Israelis and other civilians. Hamas terrorists raided the “Nova” music festival, broke into homes in rural communities and towns where they butchered people in their sleep, raided military bases, and murdered over 1200 people in one day. The terrorists also kidnapped over 250 hostages aged 9 months to 85 years and committed sexual assault and rape. This massacre was the deadliest day for the Jewish people since the Holocaust.

Hamas, the Palestinian tributary of the Muslim Brotherhood, has been under scrutiny from various Western and Arab governments since its inception in the late 1980s, with many countries recognizing it as a terrorist organization and attempting to limit its threat.

Nevertheless, the group expanded the scope of its terrorist activity by collaborating with other radical Islamist regimes like the Islamic Republic of Iran and Qatar, and establishing so-called “civil fronts,” including charities, NGOs, and lobbying groups.

At least six such Hamas-affiliated groups were identified as operating on a pan-European level (various others operate in individual European countries).

These groups include:



European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG)



Council for European Palestinian Relations (CEPR)



European NGOs Empowerment Services (ENES)



Palestinians in Europe Conference (PIEC/EPC)



The European Palestinian Council for Political Relations (EUPAC)



European Palestinians Initiative for National Action (EPINA)

While some of these Hamas-affiliated "civilian fronts" were identified and designated as Hamas fronts by the US, Israel, and European countries, many have escaped such terrorist designations, leaving Hamas-affiliated operatives to freely fundraise, lobby, recruit, and promote their terrorist propaganda in Europe.

While the first three organizations were officially dissolved after being recognized as affiliates of Hamas, the subsequent three organizations effectively "replaced" them. The "replacement" organizations were established and are led in whole or in part by the same six individuals who led the initially dissolved groups.

These leaders, who have been recognized as Hamas-affiliated activists, include **Amin Abou Rashed**, **Majed Al-Zeer**, **Mazen Kahel**, **Mohammad Hannoun**, **Adel Abdullah Doghman**, and **Zaher Birawi**.

The three new organizations carry out the same actions as the dissolved groups, including lobbying efforts with European Union (EU) officials, delivering material support to Hamas-controlled Gaza, influencing popular opinion, and legitimizing Hamas-affiliated actors to policymakers without providing proper disclosure of their Hamas ties. **Increased awareness about Hamas' "civil activity" across Europe is necessary to prevent Hamas from spreading its ideology and fomenting violence and radicalism among European communities.**

To that end, the first part of this report will discuss the six Hamas operatives and organizations active on a pan-European level. The second part of the report will focus on Hamas-affiliated individuals and organizations in the UK to show how deeply embedded Hamas operatives are in individual countries, and not just across Europe.



Amin Abou
Rashed



Adel
Abdullah
Doghman



Mohammad
Hannoun



Majed
Al-Zeer



Zaher
Birawi



Mazen
Kahel

SECTION 1:

OVERVIEW OF HAMAS DESIGNATIONS IN EUROPE



The European Union declared Hamas a terror organization in 2001¹ and added more affiliates to its terror list over time. In January 2024, as a response to Hamas' October 7th attack, the EU announced that it would consider targeting those who provide material or financial support to Hamas, as well as those involved in planning, preparing, inciting, or facilitating violent actions on Hamas' behalf.²

Since Hamas is designated as a terror organization by the EU, Hamas operatives seldom disclose their affiliation with the group, to avoid scrutiny from law enforcement and security agencies. That said, the US and Israel have officially and extensively designated European groups and actors working on behalf of Hamas. Several European authorities, for their part, have explicitly recognized that these individuals and groups are affiliated with Hamas but have fallen short of designating them as such through the appropriate and official channels.

The upcoming chapters will provide detailed information about each organization and individual involved in the pan-European Hamas network, using two specific criteria for identification:

☐ Designations and Recognitions

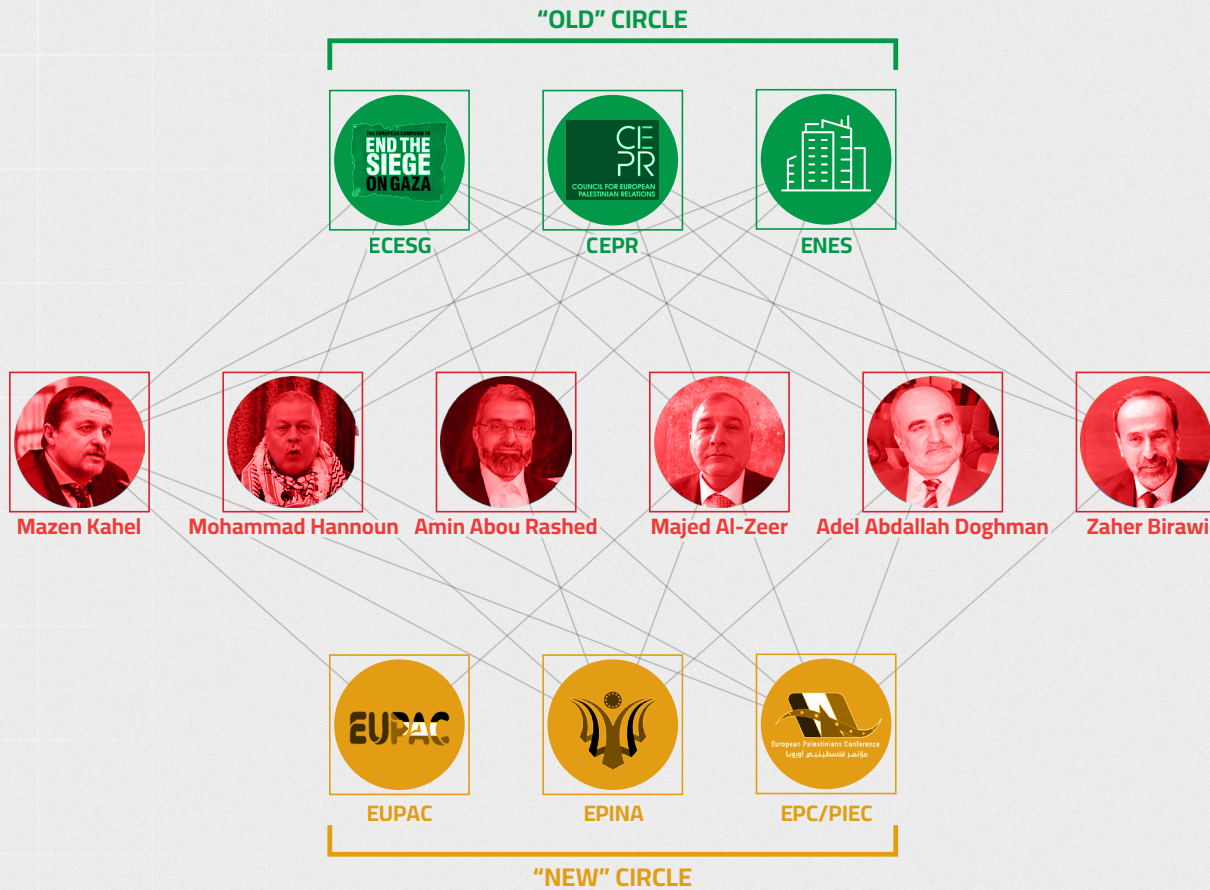
This report will rely on American, Israeli, and European terror designations, as well as explicit recognitions from European authorities, as important leads for detecting Hamas operations in Europe.

● Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

Hamas-affiliated individuals often appear with or mention Hamas officials in the media, especially in Arabic-speaking outlets. Instances of appearances alongside, or communication with Hamas officials also indicate relationships with Hamas.

Sharing Hamas talking points, rhetoric and propaganda, and discourse distancing from the Palestinian Authority and its Fatah faction also point to relations with Hamas. Although this evidence alone is insufficient to label an individual or organization as affiliated with Hamas, it can be a useful tool for identification when combined with other mentioned factors.

The "Old" And "New" Circles In Europe Connected By Hamas-Affiliated Individuals



Hamas-designated Organizations / Individuals Across Europe

| The "Old" Circle

The 3 European organizations designated by Israel as Hamas-affiliates in 2013 include the **European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG)**, a campaign which supports flotilla voyages to Hamas-controlled Gaza by reaching out to EU policymakers; the **Council for European Palestinian Relations (CEPR)**, a lobbying group normalizing dialogue between Hamas officials and European elected officials; and the **European NGOs Empowerment Services (ENES)**, an organization with a vague definition, which has not visibly lead any significant activities.³ This designation list is part of a continuous effort to combat Hamas' influence on the continent after several local organizations were designated by the US and Israel in France, Austria, Germany, and the UK.

| The "New" Circle

Since ECESG, CEPR, and ENES were designated, they have all formally dissolved and ceased their activities, presumably due to the aforementioned designations. However, many of the designated individuals associated with those organizations, including Majed Al-Zeer, Mazen Kahel, Mohammad Hannoun, and Adel Abdullah Doghman, continued their Hamas-supporting operations by setting up new organizations.

These organizations that make up the "new" circle include the **Palestinians in Europe Conference (PIEC/EPC)**, **The European Palestinian Council for Political Relations (EUPAC)**, and the **European Palestinians Initiative for National Action (EPINA)**.

The "new" circle organizations continue the efforts of the dissolved groups in the "old" circle, including lobbying efforts with EU officials, delivering material support to Hamas-controlled Gaza, influencing popular opinion through media relations, and legitimizing Hamas-affiliated actors to European policymakers without disclosing their Hamas ties.

| Individuals

In December 2013, Israel designated 12 individuals (highlighted in red on the above map) for operating on behalf of Hamas in Europe.⁴

These individuals include Netherlands-based **Amin Abou Rashed**, UK and Germany-based **Majed Al-Zeer**, UK-based **Zaher Birawi**, Austria-based **Adel Abdallah Doghman**, France-based **Mazen Kahel**, and Italy-based **Mohammad Hannoun**. They provide links from the "old" circle to the "new" circle by operating in multiple countries and simultaneously leading groups in both circles. Some of these individuals led organizations designated and recognized by Israel, the US, and EU states for their ties to Hamas.

These individuals are designated by Israel as Hamas operatives in Europe, and some are also recognized (though not designated) as such by European authorities in Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Others were designated by the US Department of Treasury as heading Hamas proxy organizations. These individuals and the organizations they operate are not the only Hamas-affiliated entities active in Europe today, but they play a central role in Hamas' activity on the continental level.

The "Old" Circle Organizations Across Europe



The European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG)

The European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG) operated from 2007-2010 to coordinate convoys for delivering resources and funds to the Hamas administration in Gaza, lead BDS-oriented campaigns (Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions), and advocate for the "right to return" of Palestinian refugees.

Designations and Recognitions

On its defunct website, ECESG named over 30 European NGOs and groups that formed the Campaign; the first being the UK-based Palestinian Return Centre, designated by Israel in 2010⁵ and identified by Germany in 2018⁶ as Hamas-affiliated.

Interestingly, a similarly named group named "The International Committee for Breaking the Siege of Gaza" (ICBSG) was founded by a Hamas-designated official, Mohammad Sawalha, in London in 2010, but it officially dissolved in 2012.⁷ The group, however, continues its activity online and offline.⁸ Although its English Facebook page shows London as its location,⁹ its Arabic Facebook page includes a Turkish phone number.¹⁰

Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

ECESG used protests, seminars, and propaganda to influence political entities and public opinion, and provided financial support to Hamas-aligned institutions, as certain ECESG leaders have ties with the Union of Good, which is a US-designated terrorist organization that funnels money to Hamas.¹¹ ECESG members designated as Hamas operatives by Israel in 2013 include its coordinator Amin Abou Rashed,¹² Mazen Kahel,¹³ Ziad El-Aloul,¹⁴ and Mohammad Hanoun.¹⁵ In addition, Abou Rashed and his daughter Israa were detained by Dutch security authorities in June 2023 for funding Hamas.¹⁶

Amin Abou Rashed, one of the ECESG founders met and was pictured alongside senior Hamas political leader Ismail Haniyeh. Abou Rashed used one of his pictures with Haniyeh as his Facebook profile picture. As of June 2024, the picture is still available on Abou

Rashed's private Facebook account.¹⁷ Abou Rashed also received a medal of honor from Haniyeh.¹⁸

Abou Rashed coordinated the "Miles of Smiles" delegation which was an official partner of ECESG's "Freedom Flotilla" campaign.¹⁹ In May 2019, the Miles of Smiles delegation to Hamas-controlled Gaza was "welcomed by Hamas senior Ismail Radwan." Abou Rashed and the delegation also participated in the "March of Return" – a Hamas-led initiative.²⁰ In May 2019, following Abou Rashed's visit to Gaza, Hamas awarded Abou Rashed with the title of "Goodwill Ambassador".²¹

Abou Rashed also met with Al-Jazeera journalist Wael Dahdouh.²² During the 2024 Israel-Hamas war which followed Hamas' October 7th massacres, it was revealed that in addition to Wael Dahdouh's strong ties to Hamas, his son Hamza Dahdouh, was a Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) terrorist.²³

Amin Abou Rashed's daughter, Israa Abou Rashed, who managed Hamas' fundraising campaign with her father (one of the designated foundations - "The Israa Foundation" - is named after her) posted on Facebook in 2014 during Operation Protective Edge that she is "proud of Hamas."²⁴

Amin Abou Rashed and ECESG coordinated flotillas to Hamas-controlled Gaza, along with other groups across Europe, including IHH, a Turkey-based organization with connections to Hamas and Al-Qaeda.²⁵ IHH was designated by Israel as a terror group in 2008,²⁶ outlawed by Germany in 2010,²⁷ and subject to designation suggestions in the US and Europe several times.²⁸ One of its actions was the coordination of the Mavi Marmara flotilla in May 2010.²⁹



Source: Amin Abou Rashed's Facebook



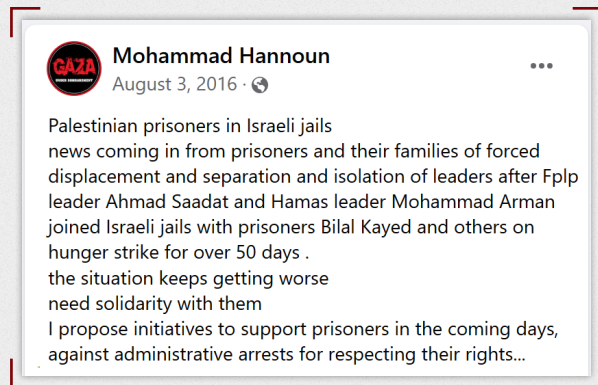
Source: Islamism Map's X



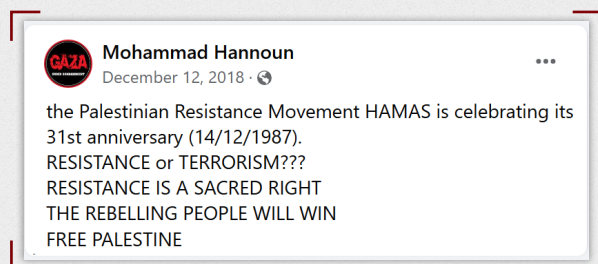
Source: Amin Abou Rashed's Facebook

Like Abou Rashed, Mohammad Hanoun, ECESG's official representative³⁰, has also repeatedly expressed support for Hamas.

In 2018, he celebrated Hamas' 31st anniversary³¹, and in 2021 he denounced a Saudi court for sentencing detained Hamas official, Dr. Al Khudary, claiming he "did not commit any crime except helping Palestinian people".³² Hanoun also supported Hamas and PFLP terrorists Ahmad Saadat and Mohammad Arman who served life sentences in Israeli jail for terror attacks that killed dozens of innocent Israeli civilians,³³ calling them "heroes."³⁴ Hanoun endorsed the Intifada against Israel, writing: "It seems that the majority supports the option of intifada and respects the bleeding Palestinian blood."³⁵



Source: Mohammad Hannoun's Facebook



Source: Mohammad Hannoun's Facebook



The Council for European Palestinian Relations (CEPR)

The Council for European Palestinian Relations was established in Belgium in August 2010³⁶ and dissolved in January 2017.³⁷ Its London office was established in October 2011 and voluntarily dissolved in September 2014.³⁸

The group's now-defunct website describes CEPR as working "towards the restitution of Palestinian rights according to international law within a just and peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict." CEPR was featured on the Transparency Register Joint Secretariat of the European Parliament and European Commission.³⁹

Among CEPR's last recorded activities was the launch of the Union of Palestinian Youth in the Netherlands in 2016,⁴⁰ and the coordination of a document by the European Parliament's Delegation for Relations with Palestine (DPAL) about convicted Palestinian prisoners who went on a hunger strike in 2017.⁴¹ CEPR ceased its activities several years after the Israeli designation, with prominent members moving on to lead other organizations.

● Designations and Recognitions

A 2013 article from The Independent referred to CEPR as a "Belgian non-profit organisation that lobbies on behalf of the Hamas-led Gaza Government."⁴² Some of CEPR's leaders were designated by Israel as Hamas members in Europe in 2013:⁴³

- **Arafat Shoukri** – CEPR director;⁴⁴ officer of the London branch⁴⁵ and registered founding director of the Brussels branch⁴⁶
- **Ramy Abdu** – CEPR assistant director⁴⁷
- **Mazen Kahel** – board member⁴⁸; registered founding director of the Brussels branch⁴⁹
- **Anouar Gharbi** – founding director of the Brussels branch;⁵⁰ served as a signatory and member of ASP,⁵¹ a Swiss organization designated by Israel in 2008⁵² and the US in 2003⁵³ for fundraising for Hamas
- **Zaher Birawi** – head⁵⁴ (will be discussed more in depth later)
- **Amin Abou Rashed** – director⁵⁵ (will be discussed more in depth later)



Arafat Shoukri



Ramy Abdu



Mazen Kahel



Anouar Gharbi



Zaher Birawi



Amin Abou Rashed

● Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

In 2011, CEPR Director Arafat Shoukri spoke at a conference arranged by Hamas in Gaza, with former Hamas prime minister, Ismail Haniyeh, in attendance.⁵⁶

In January 2013, CEPR held a special event about Hamas in the international context with Hamas' Osama Hamdan, who was seated next to CEPR official Ramy Abdu (designated both in 2013 and 2020)⁵⁷ during the program.⁵⁸



Source: Womenfpal Website



Source: E Fischberger's X

CEPR's activities included lobbying, organizing parliamentary delegations, and leading dialogue with governmental actors in Europe and the Middle East, including a meeting with Hamas' Ismail Haniyeh in 2011.⁵⁹

Alexandra Thein, a CEPR trustee and former EU parliament member, met with Hamas legislators⁶⁰ and supported Hamas legislator Aziz Dweik's entrance to Germany in May 2010.⁶¹

European NGO Empowerment Services (ENES)

European NGO Empowerment Services (ENES) formed in Norway in February 2009 and dissolved in May 2014.⁶² The UK office was established in March 2010 and voluntarily dissolved in May 2012.⁶³ In January 2011, ENES also opened a Lebanon office, chaired first by Mohammad Hamdan and later by Jonas Johansen.⁶⁴

CEO Mohammad Hamdan⁶⁵ also served as head of the Islamic Council of Norway (IRN) between 2003-2007,⁶⁶ and founded the UFree Network or the European Network to support the Rights of Palestinian Prisoners⁶⁷ in January 2011, which is technically still active.⁶⁸ ENES and UFree shared the same Oslo address.⁶⁹

ENES board members include Khalid Banouni and Samir Shatara, the latter of whom is also a UFree board member⁷⁰ and former director and presenter at Al-Jazeera's Norway office.⁷¹

ENES does not maintain any website or social media accounts, and little is known about its activities, which is uncharacteristic of an organization alleging to empower nonprofits.

The "New" Circle Organizations Across Europe



European Palestinian Conference / Palestinians in Europe Conference (EPC / PIEC)

EPC / PIEC is an umbrella institution with no formal registration, which unites Palestinian communities across Europe and holds yearly conferences in European cities, including Malmo, Copenhagen, London, Brussels, Berlin, Vienna, Rotterdam, Milan, and Paris. These conferences work to “affirm the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and lands, regardless of their legal, political, social and economic status.”⁷² Before each conference, a “preparatory committee” convenes, headed by one of the organization's senior officials, whose role is to oversee and manage the conference.

The EPC can mobilize thousands of participants (including Hamas-affiliated actors) and Hamas-sympathizing media outlets like Al-Jazeera. It maintains significant ties to European decision-makers who are either unaware of its Hamas affiliation or are unbothered by it. “These ties to European lawmakers are evident from the recurring appearances of members of parliament from European countries in the events, such as Italian MP Stefania Ascari who spoke at the 2023 event⁷³ or Swedish MP Jamal Al-Hajj who spoke at the conference's preparatory committee of EPC in 2023.”⁷⁴

Designations and Recognitions

The European Palestinians Conference was established in 2003 by the Palestine Return Centre (PRC),⁷⁵ an organization designated by Israel as a terror front in 2010⁷⁶ and identified by Germany in 2018⁷⁷ as Hamas-affiliated.

Current board members include three of the Hamas-designated officials:

- **Amin Abou Rashed** – president;⁷⁸ designated by Israel as a Hamas official in Europe;⁷⁹ arrested in the Netherlands in June 2023 for Hamas-related operations.⁸⁰
- **Mazen Kahel** – secretary general;⁸¹ designated by Israel as a Hamas official operating in Europe;⁸² former treasurer of the France-based organization CBSP,⁸³ which has been on the US Office of Foreign Assets Control's (OFAC) Specially Designated Global Terrorists list since 2003 for being “primary fundraisers for Hamas.”⁸⁴
- **Mohammad Hannoun** – board member;⁸⁵ designated by the US Department of Treasury's OFAC in October 2024 for providing at least \$4 million in financial support to Hamas⁸⁶ over the past decade;

designated by Israel as a Hamas official in Europe;⁸⁷ heads ABSPP, a "sham charity" operating as part of Hamas' Union of Good fundraising network, which was also designated by the OFAC in October 2024 for helping to "bankroll Hamas' military wing".^{88 89}

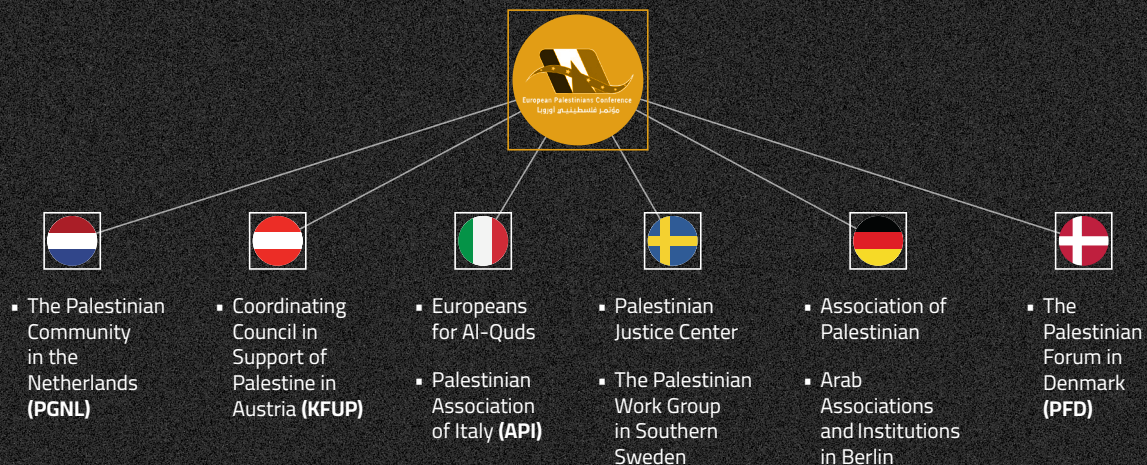
Former officials include three other Hamas-designated members:

- **Majed Al-Zeer** – president between 2010-2021;⁹⁰ designated by the OFAC in October 2024 for acting on behalf of Hamas⁹¹; designated by Israel⁹² and recognized by Germany⁹³ as a prominent Hamas official in Europe.
- **Adel Abdallah Doghman** – secretary general until 2021;⁹⁴ designated by Israel as a Hamas official in Europe;⁹⁵ led the Palestinian Association in Austria (PVOE);⁹⁶ included in the OFAC's Specially Designated Global Terrorists list since 2003 for being "primary fundraisers for Hamas."⁹⁷ and designated by the OFAC in 2024 for acting on behalf of Hamas.⁹⁸
- **Zaher Birawi** – head of the 2018 conference preparatory committee;⁹⁹ designated by Israel as a Hamas official in Europe;¹⁰⁰ former trustee of the Hamas-affiliated "charity" EAP.¹⁰¹

On its Arabic website, EPC lists European "partner institutions" that do not appear on its English website, including:¹⁰²

- **The Netherlands:** The Palestinian Community in the Netherlands (PGNL), led by Hamas-designated official Amin Abou Rashed
- **Austria:** Coordinating Council in Support of Palestine in Austria (KFUP), led by Hamas-designated official Adel Abdallah Doghman
- **Italy:** Europeans for Al-Quds and the Palestinian Association of Italy (API), led by Hamas-designated official Mohammed Hannoun
- **Sweden:** Palestinian Justice Center and the Palestinian Work Group in Southern Sweden
- **Germany:** Association of Palestinian and Arab Associations and Institutions in Berlin and the Palestinian Community in Germany (PGD)
- **Denmark:** The Palestinian Forum in Denmark (PFD)

European Palestinian Conference / Palestinians in Europe Conference (EPC / PIEC)



Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

According to Palestinian outlet Awda TV's investigative article from August 2023, Hamas created the EPC as a part of its official goal "to create an alternative to the PLO". The article mentions "the head of the conference Amin Abou Rashed, who is a Hamas member" and exposes Abou Rashed's ties to the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and its undisputed leader, Yusuf Al-Qardawi, who religiously approved suicide bombings as a part of Hamas and radical Islamic groups' terror tactics.¹⁰³ On April 29th, 2023, Awda TV also published a post about EPC's May 2023 conference in Malmo - "Responses About the Hamas "Return Conference" contract and its attempt to circumvent the PLO."¹⁰⁴



Abou Rashed with Muslim Brotherhood leader Al-Qardawi and Sheikh Ebrahim Gabriels, a Union of Good official. Source: Awda TV Facebook

Hamas' Ismail Haniyeh has been a guest speaker at several past conferences. In 2006, Haniyeh and Hamas minister Atef Adwan addressed the audience via video. The conference website described how when Swedish MP Pierre Carlton said that he "supports the plan of the Hamas movement", the Palestinian delegations from Europe gave "thunderous applause" and chanted loudly in support of Carlton's position.¹⁰⁵

Haniyeh also addressed the 2007 conference in the Netherlands. Fellow Hamas leader Basem Naim was also supposed to speak, but Dutch authorities blocked his entry, so he addressed the group via video.¹⁰⁶

EPC's old website features an entry from 2009 in Milan, where Haniyeh addressed the conference, urging European states to cancel Hamas' designation as a terror organization and legitimizing the "resistance."¹⁰⁷

Also in 2009, the chair of EPC and the Palestine Return Centre, Majed Al-Zeer led a delegation to Damascus to meet with Hamas leaders and urge Europe to revise Hamas' designation as a terror organization. PRC also hosted Hamas senior leader Khaled Mashaal during one of its delegations.¹⁰⁸

In 2017, EPC hosted Ramy Abdu,¹⁰⁹ chairman of EuroMed Human Rights Monitor¹¹⁰ and designated by Israel as a Hamas member in 2013 and 2020.¹¹¹

In April 2019, during a Hamas conference about the "Deal of the Century," Hamas' Ismail Haniyeh commended the EPC for being held simultaneously, calling it one of several "milestones... on the path of steadfastness and resistance."¹¹²

Palestinian Acknowledgement of EPC as a Hamas Front

Members of Hamas' rival factions Fatah and the PLO have criticized EPC several times for being a Hamas front. In April 2023, Palestinian National Council member Imran Al-Khatib claimed that EPC leaders "seek to deepen the division...within the systematic policy of Hamas aimed at forming an alternative to the PLO."¹¹³

In May 2023, the chair of the Expatriates and Communities Committee in the Palestinian National Council, Osama Al-Qawasmi, accused EPC of "aiming to undermine the representation of the PLO," adding that the "attempts of the Muslim Brotherhood to circumvent the organization have not stopped for decades."¹¹⁴ Hamas is self-described as the Muslim Brotherhood's Palestinian branch.

In April 2018, EPC president and Hamas affiliate Majed Al-Zeer was interviewed for the Al-Bawabah website, **where the organization was described as having "strong ties to Hamas". Al-Zeer did not deny the claim.**¹¹⁵

In 2013, Al-Zeer supported denouncements of the EU's recognition of Hamas as a terror organization.¹¹⁶

In a BBC Arabic report from the 2009 conference, it was mentioned that the Palestinian Authority did not send a representative because it was "not held under the auspices of the PLO,"¹¹⁷ implying that it was supported by a competing movement - Hamas.

A booklet of Al-Zeer's articles was published in 2020. In one article, he boasted that Hamas-affiliated ministers were among the main promoters of EPC's 2007 conference in Rotterdam and praised Ismail Haniyeh's official address at the conference.¹¹⁸

In a 2007 op-ed written for Al-Jazeera, Al-Zeer argued that "the Palestinian people chose the Hamas movement" and praised the arrival of Hamas Minister Atef Adwan to Europe and Ismail Haniyeh's speech to the conference. He also praised the Palestinian "armed resistance" and deadly intifadas¹¹⁹ and compared the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands to the "Zionist occupation of Palestine".¹²⁰

In 2006, when Hamas won the elections in the Gaza Strip, Al-Zeer lauded the terror organization, claiming that Hamas' victory "would guarantee the preservation of Palestinian principles."¹²¹



The European Palestinian Council for Political Relations (EUPAC)

Based in Brussels (opposite the European Commission), EUPAC was established in 2022, to support “the development of European channels of communication with Palestine and its people through positive relations at the political, scientific, cultural and civil society levels; raise awareness in Europe about the challenges facing Palestinians across the political, developmental and economic arenas...”¹²²

EUPAC, which claims to focus primarily on the Palestinian issue, curiously emphasizes their efforts to enhance relations with Morocco through cultural initiatives, without mentioning Palestine. In February 2024, they filed a rectification, suggesting that they might have based their operations on an existing entity to circumvent bureaucratic hurdles and avoid scrutiny.¹²³ In their official registrations, listed administrators include Hamas affiliates Ahmad Kanaan, Younis Jbari, Yasser Salem,¹²⁴ and Ziad Fathi Kanaan.¹²⁵

In practice, EUPAC organizes seminars, campaigns, workshops, press conferences, and meetings with key players in politics and civil society in Europe and the Middle East. Lately, the group also promoted a campaign to endorse candidates for the 2024 European Parliament elections based on their views and actions vis-à-vis the Palestinian issue.

EUPAC's activities include:

- Press conferences¹²⁶, political conferences, and panels featuring speakers from the media, European politics, and civil society¹²⁷
- Participation in open meetings at the European Parliament¹²⁸
- A campaign to encourage Palestinian-oriented voting at the 2024 European Parliament elections¹²⁹

Designations and Recognitions



Majed Al-Zeer – CEO; designated by the United States and Israel as Hamas officials in Europe;^{130 131} also identified as a Hamas official by German authorities;¹³² in February 2024, Belgian Minister of Justice Paul Van Tigchelt identified Majed Al-Zeer as a Hamas official, implying that EUPAC lobbies and fundraises for Hamas on Belgian soil.¹³³

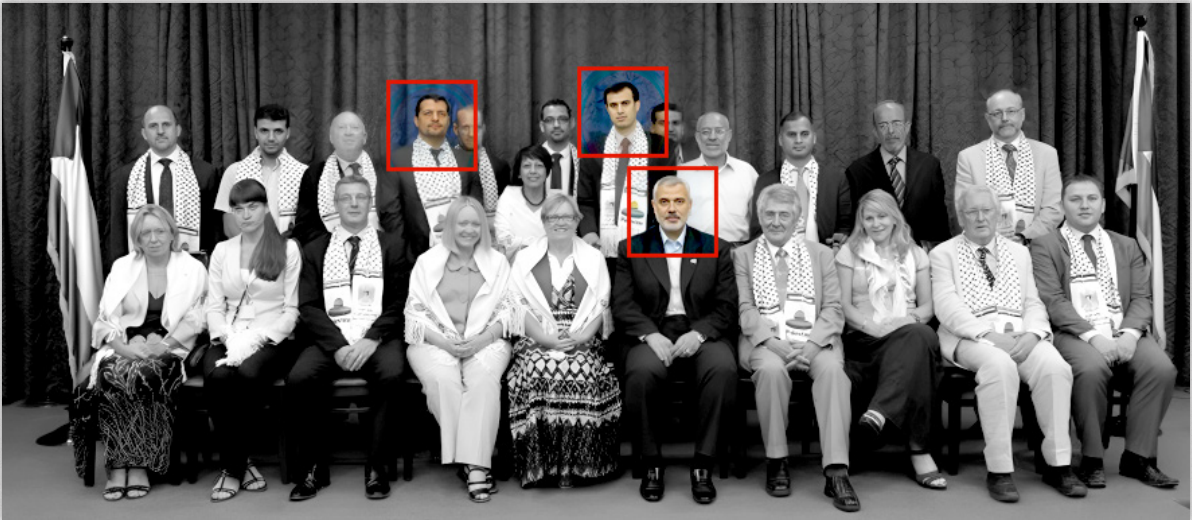


Mazen Kahel – deputy CEO;¹³⁴ designated by Israel as Hamas officials in Europe;¹³⁵ was the treasurer of a France-based organization named CBSP;¹³⁶ has been on the OFAC's Specially Designated Global Terrorists list since 2003 for being a "primary fundraiser for Hamas."¹³⁷

Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

On March 10th, 2024, Adnan Abou Shaqra, a EUPAC board member and coordinator of Swedish relations affairs ¹³⁸ said during an official EUPAC webinar that he “wishes for a victory for the resistance [Hamas] in Gaza, the West Bank and all the regions that fight...”¹³⁹

Mazen Kahel, EUPAC’s Deputy CEO¹⁴⁰ met and was pictured with Hamas’ Ismail Haniyeh in 2011.¹⁴¹



Ramy Abdu and Mazen Kahel with former Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh. Source: NGO Monitor Website

Omar Faris, EUPAC’s coordinator of Polish affairs, consistently promotes Hamas on Facebook:

- February 2024** - Faris shared Hamas’ response to Aaron Bushnell’s death after setting himself on fire, allegedly due to US support of Israel, writing: “The crash that killed pilot Bushnell expresses growing anger among Americans who reject their country’s policies. We express our condolences to the family of American pilot Bushnell, whose name was immortalized as a defender of human values and the oppression of the Palestinian people. The Biden administration is responsible for the death of US Army pilot Aaron Bushnell over its policy of supporting Israel’s war in Gaza”.¹⁴²
- June 13th, 2024** - Faris wrote: “Hamas is a rational and responsible movement that takes care of the interests of its people and consults with all factions of the resistance movement”.¹⁴³
- June 14-16th, 2024** - Faris echoed Ismail Haniyeh’s speech¹⁴⁴ and endorsed Hamas, denying the fact the Hamas is a terror organization.¹⁴⁵



Source: Omar Faris' Facebook

- June 15th, 2024** – He wrote about Hamas at the G7 Summit: "From the capitals of the region, where Blinken travels constantly, to the Security Council, to the G7 summit in Italy, Hamas is taking its place. "First" world leader urges Hamas to accept Israel's ceasefire and trade proposal, which he modified and then withdrew his changes after being humiliated by Netanyahu who rejected it! This is the heroic resistance and legendary endurance of a great nation, facing a "spoiled creature", considered as a tool of the West to interfere in the unity, role and destiny of our nation."¹⁴⁶



Source: Omar Faris' Facebook



European - Palestinians Initiative for National Action (EPINA)

EPINA was established in Belgium in October 2020 to achieve "unification of Palestinian national efforts throughout Europe" in response to "challenges facing the Palestinian issue, including the Deal of the Century, the annexation and normalization plan between Arab countries and Israel."¹⁴⁷

No official registration records for EPINA were found so it is likely an informal group promoted by Hamas officials in Europe.

EPINA's activities include:

- Panels with members of Parliament and European politicians¹⁴⁸
- Annual conferences about Palestinians in Europe¹⁴⁹
- The "European Activity Week for Solidarity with the Gaza Strip" campaign¹⁵⁰

Designations and Recognitions

EPINA was formed by several designated Hamas affiliates:¹⁵¹

- **Majed Al-Zeer** – elected as EPINA's first coordinator; designated by the United States¹⁵² and Israel¹⁵³ and recognized by Germany¹⁵⁴ as a Hamas official in Europe.
- **Amin Abou Rashed** – designated by Israel as a Hamas official in Europe,¹⁵⁵ arrested in the Netherlands in June 2023 because of Hamas-related operations.¹⁵⁶

- **Adel Abdallah Doghman** – designated by the United States¹⁵⁷ and Israel as a Hamas official in Europe;¹⁵⁸ led the Palestinian Association in Austria (PVOE),¹⁵⁹ has been on the OFAC's Specially Designated Global Terrorists list since 2003 for being "primary fundraisers for Hamas."¹⁶⁰
- **Mohammad Hannoun** – designated the US Department of Treasury's OFAC in October 2024 for providing at least \$4 million in financial support to Hamas;¹⁶¹ designated by Israel by as a Hamas official in Europe;¹⁶² heads ABSPP, a "sham charity" operating as part of Hamas' Union of Good fundraising network, which was also designated by the OFAC in October 2024 for helping to "bankroll Hamas' military wing".^{163 164}
- **Mazen Kahel** – designated by Israel as a Hamas official in Europe;¹⁶⁵ former treasurer of a France-based organization named CBSP,¹⁶⁶ has been on the OFAC's Specially Designated Global Terrorists list since 2003 for being "primary fundraisers for Hamas."¹⁶⁷



Majed Al-Zeer

Amin Abou
RashedAdel Abdallah
DoghmanMohammad
Hannoun

Mazen Kahel

Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

Media appearances and promotion of Hamas by the above designated individuals have been discussed under previous organizations, as they are connected to several organizations from the "old" and "new" circles.

- For more information about Majed Al-Zeer, see under "EPC"
- For more information about Amin Abou Rashed, Adel Abdallah Doghman, and Mohammad Hannoun, see under "ECESG", and under "EPC"
- For more information about Mazen Kahel, see under "EUPAC"

Exploring the relationships and connections between the Hamas-affiliated individuals and the "old" and "new" circles show how vast and interconnected the Hamas-affiliated network across Europe is, and this will remain important as we delve into the Hamas-affiliated network in the UK in this next section of the report.

SECTION 2:

HAMAS IN THE UK



The July 2024 United Kingdom elections took many by surprise as several independent candidates whose platforms were based exclusively on the situation in Gaza swept their constituencies and ousted veteran politicians from well-established parties. Some of these candidates were found to support extremist groups, spread October 7th denial, and maintain relations with radical groups, including Hamas. Such was the case of new MP Shockat Adam, the brother of long-time anti-Israel activist Ismail Patel, who previously met Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh.

The UK has been a focal point for Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood-related activity since the mid-1990s. Despite the UK designating Hamas' military and political wings as terrorist organizations in 2001 and 2021, respectively, the Islamist infrastructure built in the UK over the years, and insufficient enforcement and supervision from British authorities helped Hamas-affiliated groups and operatives expand throughout the country.

This report highlights eleven Hamas-affiliated individuals and organizations in the UK. Individuals include, Majed Al-Zeer, Zaher Birawi, Essam Yusuf, Mohammad Sawalha, Arafat Shukri, Ziad Elaloul, Muin Shubib, all of whom were designated by Israel as Hamas affiliates, while some were identified by European and US authorities and media outlets as Hamas operatives. Organizations include, the Palestinian Return Centre, the Union of Good charities, including Interpal and Education Aid for Palestinians, and the Palestinian Forum in Britain.

Some minor actors who were recognized as Hamas operatives, have direct relations to designated individuals affiliated with

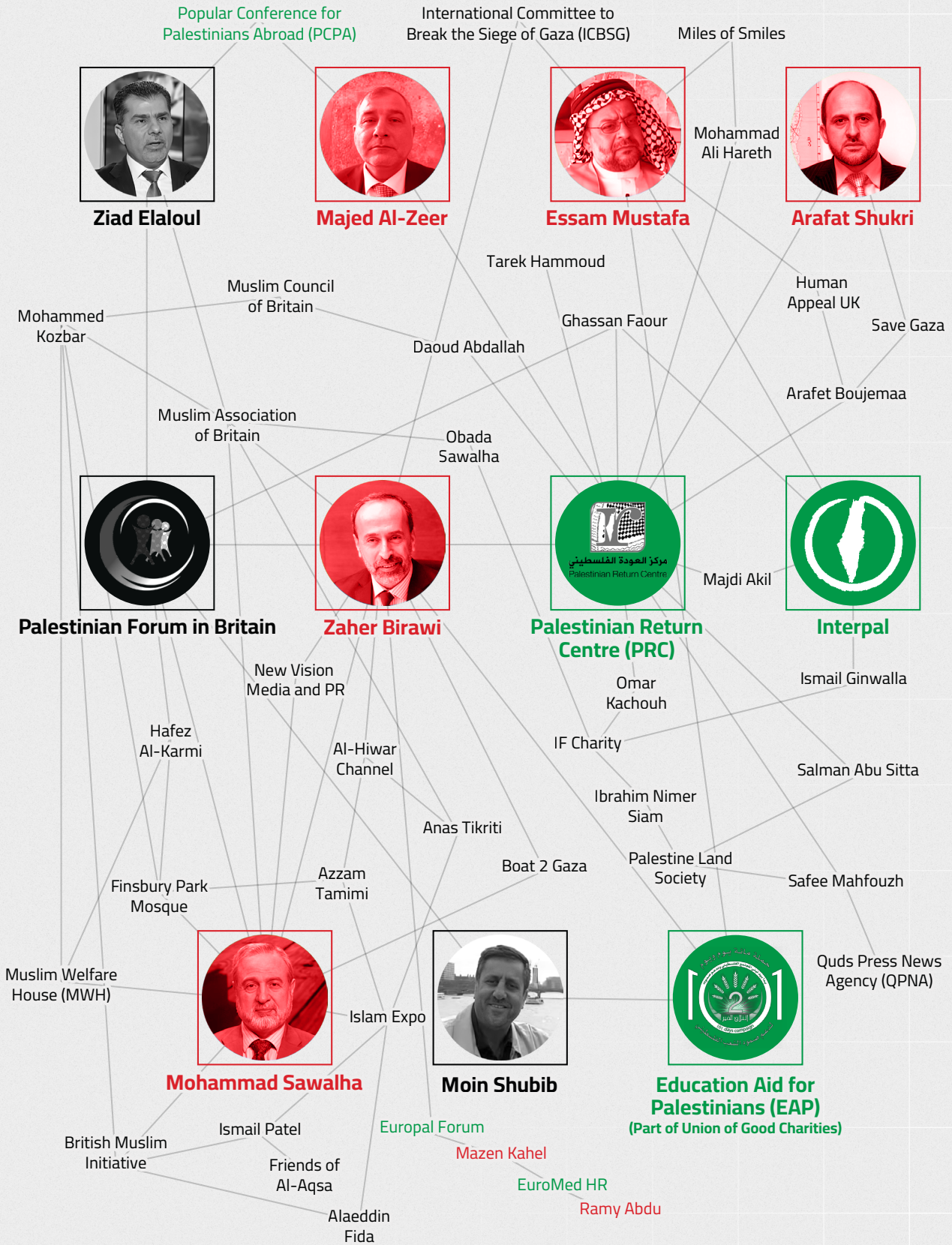
Hamas, or who support Hamas ideology include, Majdi Aqil, Ramy Abdu, Omar Kachouh, Ismail Ginwalla, and Ismail Patel. Some organizations that seem removed from the Hamas-affiliated axis but were established as part of Hamas' elaborate network include Miles of Smiles, the British Muslim Initiative, Islam Expo and Al-Hiwar Channel.

The Hamas-affiliated individuals have freely established a wide network of organizations discreetly working on behalf of Hamas. Their network includes "charity" organizations such as Interpal, humanitarian associations such as Miles of Smiles and Education Aid for Palestinians, community-oriented groups such as the Palestinian Forum in Britain and the British Muslim Initiative, media channels such as Al-Hiwar, and lobbying groups such as the Palestinian Return Centre. These organizations hide behind other goals as they propagate Hamas' radical messages in Parliament and among the masses.

This method of developing "civil" fronts to advance Islamist ideologies is aligned with the strategy of the Muslim Brotherhood (Hamas' ideological source) which emphasizes "preaching Islam" (Da'wah) and offering community services to spread Islam to the masses.

Many of the operatives are involved in up to a dozen organizations, with some overlapping in terms of staff and registered officials, while some organizations continue to operate online and offline despite official dissolutions following designations of being affiliated with Hamas. Additionally, some of these organizations were formed by Formations House, the dubious firm which has been involved in many global legal scandals.

Map of Hamas-affiliated Individuals and Organizations in the UK



- Hamas-designated organizations
- Hamas-designated individuals
- Hamas-affiliated individuals and organizations

The map shows the relations between UK-based individuals and organizations in this report. This is not an exhaustive list of the Hamas-sympathizing network in the UK; some of the organizations presented formally dissolved but continue to operate, some are defunct, and some individuals have ceased their involvement in some groups to establish others. Both historical and current ties are highlighted, as they are relevant to demonstrating ties to Hamas.

The following section will highlight the main individuals and organizations behind Hamas-affiliated activity in the UK based on formal designations, and Hamas media mentions, appearances, and promotion of pro-Hamas rhetoric:



PRC



Majed Al-Zeer



Zaher Birawi

Mohammed
Sawalha

Essam Yusuf

Palestinian
Forum in Britain

EAP



Interpal



Ziad Elaloul



Arafat Shoukri



Muin Shubib

The first five actors in this report: **PRC, Majed Al-Zeer, Zaher Birawi, Mohammed Sawalha and Essam Yusuf** are the most important ones in terms of activity, designations and close ties to Hamas, as can be viewed on the map. The report will then proceed to scrutinize three organizations: the **Palestinian Forum in Britain** and two **Union of Good organizations (EAP, Interpal)**, which were also related to many Hamas affiliated figures operating in the UK. Finally, three more minor individuals related to the Hamas axis will also be presented, including **Ziad Elaloul, Arafat Shukri, and Muin Shubib**.



The Palestinian Return Centre (PRC)

The Palestinian Return Centre was established in 1996¹⁶⁸ in London to highlight the so-called Palestinian "right of return" among European decisionmakers. The Centre was recognized by Israel and identified by German security authorities as a Hamas proxy.

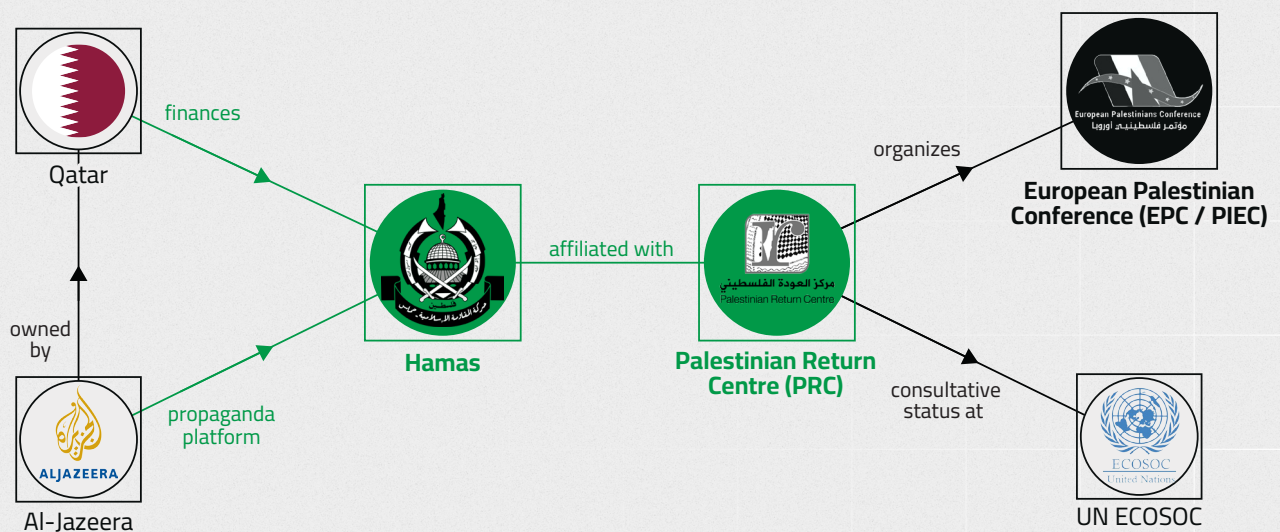
In addition to working in politics and media, in the early 2000s PRC began organizing yearly conferences across European cities named the Palestinians in Europe Conference or the European Palestinian Conference (EPC) – a group which was discussed in the first section of this report.

Both PRC and EPC have close ties with Hamas leaders and promote Hamas rhetoric. Hamas' rival, Fatah, has also implied over the years that these two groups are part of Hamas' axis and thus reject them as "fractional" organizations.

In 2015, the PRC obtained NGO consultative status at the UN ECOSOC. The Israeli Foreign Ministry attempted to obstruct this appointment because of the PRC's ties to Hamas, but the PRC dismissed the accusations and pledged to pursue legal action against Israel.¹⁶⁹ PRC also denied the accusations on Al-Jazeera,¹⁷⁰ which according to an Israeli court decision, is used by Hamas as a propaganda and intelligence arm.¹⁷¹ Al Jazeera is also a mouthpiece of Qatar, a country which has served as a safe haven and source of funding for Hamas leaders.

PRC's old website claimed that it depended primarily on donations,¹⁷² however none of its fiscal information was found online.

PRC's media efforts are also connected to Hamas, as Safee Mahfouz, who served as the PRC's secretary from 1996-2011,¹⁷³ also served as secretary of the Quds Press News Agency from 1995-2005.¹⁷⁴



● Designations and Identifications

European identification: In 2018, German security authorities identified PRC as a platform used by Hamas to conceal the terrorist group's activity.¹⁷⁵

Many of the actors involved in PRC's European Palestinians Conference (EPC) have been identified as Hamas operatives in Europe, including Netherlands-based Amin Abou Rashed, Austria-based Adel Abdallah Doghman, Italy-based Mohammed Hannoun, and France-based Mazen Kahel. These operatives also lead significant initiatives and organizations in their respective countries, with some of the organizations receiving designations by the US and Israel for fundraising for Hamas. Based on their geographical distribution, it is not unplausible to assume that together they form a network promoting Hamas activity across the European continent.

Israeli designation: PRC was outlawed in Israel in 2010.

The Shin Bet stated that "the center is headed by Hamas operatives, including: Majed Al-Zeer, Zaher Birawi, and Majdi Aqil, as well as Ghassan Faour, who served as a member of the board of trustees of the Interpal Foundation, which has been declared a terrorist organization in Israel and the United States" for being part of the global financing system of Hamas.¹⁷⁶

Another Hamas-related official in the PRC is Sheikh Majdi Aqil, who served as a board member,¹⁷⁷ and was named by Hamas official Younis Al-Astal as a "prominent founder of Hamas in Khan Younis."¹⁷⁸ Aqil was arrested by Israel in 1988 for his involvement with Hamas.¹⁷⁹

● Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

In June 2015, Hamas' senior leader Ismail Haniyeh called PRC chair Majed Al-Zeer personally to congratulate him on PRC's official recognition at the UN. Though a PRC official tried to deny that the call took place,¹⁸⁰ many Arabic sources reported it, including London-based Al-Quds Al-Arabi,¹⁸¹ and the Muslim Brotherhood's newspaper in Jordan, Assabeel.¹⁸²

In February 2015, the British Telegraph mentioned that while the PRC denies ties to Hamas, "it has regularly hosted Hamas leaders, including [Ismail] Haniyeh, at its annual conferences."¹⁸³

In February 2011, a PRC delegation met with Hamas official Osama Hamdan in Lebanon.¹⁸⁴ Another PRC-led delegation met with Hamdan in 2009, when he denounced the designation of Hamas as a terrorist group and praised the "resistance" which he credits for Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip.¹⁸⁵

In 2006, the PRC organized an event "in support of the Palestinian economy" with the Palestinian Forum in Britain at London University which included a video call from Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh who praised Hamas and received an ovation.¹⁸⁶

In the early 2000s, the PRC began organizing annual events across European cities called the Palestinians in Europe Conference or the European Palestinian Conference (EPC), led by several Hamas-designated individuals. The conference hosted Hamas officials several times and has been regarded by Fatah as Hamas-affiliated, as shown in the first part of this report. Additional details about EPC, its activities and its affiliation with Hamas are mentioned in the first part of this report.

Promotion of Hamas rhetoric by PRC founder Majed Al-Zeer can be found in the first part of this report.

In August 2021, Majed Al-Zeer announced that he would be succeeded as president by Hamas-sympathizer Tarek Hamoud.¹⁸⁷ Hammoud has sympathized with Hamas and supported Hamas terrorism. For instance, in June 2024, Hamoud spoke at a conference organized by the Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad (another organization designated by Israel in 2021 for its affiliation with Hamas)¹⁸⁸ as part of a panel featuring Mohsen Saleh, a board member of the Al-Quds International Institution (QII),¹⁸⁹ a Beirut-based organization designated by the US in 2012 as a "Hamas-controlled charity" that raises funds for Hamas.¹⁹⁰ Saleh is also a board member of the Sheikh Ahmed Yassin International Foundation, named after Hamas' founder.¹⁹¹

In April 2024, Hamoud was on a podcast called "Jisr" on the SamaQuds channel. During the episode titled "Between rule and resistance: How Hamas mastered the difficult equation?", Hamoud glorified Hamas and its October 7th massacre several times.¹⁹²

In January 2024, Hamoud participated in a seminar called: "Hamas and the Structure of the Mainstream Regime: Dynamics of Governance and Resistance," where he justified Hamas' October 7th massacre, praised Hamas strategies, and explained Hamas' decision-making mechanisms.¹⁹³ Interestingly, this seminar took place at the Arab Center for Research and Policies in Qatar, the haven of Hamas leaders.

In June 2014, two days after a Hamas terror cell from Hebron kidnapped and murdered three Israeli teenagers, Hamoud celebrated the kidnapping and published a symbol of 3 fingers with the words: "This is also the people of Hebron's symbol". The symbol both lauds the kidnapping of innocent Israelis, and resembles the four finger Rabia sign, identified with the Muslim Brotherhood. The pro-terror tweet was deleted a short time later.¹⁹⁴



Source: UN Watch Website



Majed Al-Zeer

Majed Al-Zeer is one of the most prominent faces of Hamas-affiliated efforts in Europe. Designated in October 2024 by the United States¹⁹⁵ and Israel as the senior Hamas official in Germany and recognized by German authorities and British MPs as a Hamas operative, Al-Zeer founded the PRC in London. The PRC was designated by Israel and recognized by Germany as a Hamas front.

Al-Zeer plays a significant role in both the “old” and “new” circles mentioned in the first part of this report. In addition to his designations and identifications, Al-Zeer regularly promotes Hamas ideology and has appeared numerous times with Hamas leaders. He is also a main organizer of protests across Europe, some of which featured pro-Hamas content and rhetoric.

Despite the above, Al-Zeer manages to normalize his presence among European lawmakers and media, freely lobbying for Hamas and promoting its ideology.

● Designations and Identifications

European Identifications: Al-Zeer was regarded by German authorities as a Hamas operative in Germany¹⁹⁶ and named by UK MP Christian Wakeford as a “Hamas operative” and a “British national with links to Hamas.”¹⁹⁷ Al-Zeer’s PRC was recognized by German authorities as a platform used by Hamas to conceal their activity.¹⁹⁸

US Designation: On October 7, 2024, Al-Zeer was designated by the US Department of Treasury’s OFAC for acting on behalf of Hamas.¹⁹⁹

Israeli Designation: In 2013, Al-Zeer was designated by the Israeli Ministry of Defense as one of the main operatives of Hamas in Europe.²⁰⁰ In 2010, Al-Zeer’s PRC was declared by Israel as an unlawful organization affiliated with Hamas and Al-Zeer was referred to as a “Hamas activist.”²⁰¹ Al-Zeer is also a deputy president of the Popular Conference of Palestinians Abroad (PCPA),²⁰² designated by Israel in 2021 for its affiliation with Hamas.²⁰³

● Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

In June 2024, Al-Zeer spoke at an event organized by the Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad, another organization designated by Israel in 2021 for its affiliation with Hamas,²⁰⁴ alongside Hamas official Ali Baraka and Palestinian Islamic Jihad official Ihsan Ataya. The event held in Istanbul was covered by Al-Jazeera and featured speakers who celebrated Hamas’ October 7th massacre (which they call the “Al-Aqsa Flood”) and its outcomes and called to support the “resistance” (a euphemism for Hamas and other Palestinian terror groups).²⁰⁵



From left to right: Ali Baraka (Hamas), Ribhi Haloum (Fatah), Ihsan Ataya (PIJ), and Al-Zeer - they were interviewed for an article about the June 2024 conference. Source: Al-Jazeera Website

In May 2017, Al-Zeer participated in a panel hosted by Al-Jazeera about Hamas' 2017 political declaration alongside senior Hamas official Jamal Issa.²⁰⁶ Issa is the brother of Shoukri Abou Bakr who was indicted as part of the Holy Land Foundation case for aiding Hamas.²⁰⁷



Al-Zeer and Issa (center left and center right) during Al-Jazeera's 2017 event. Source: Al-Jazeera Website

In two articles in the Arab press from 2014, Al-Zeer is defined as "the regional director of the Hamas movement in continental Europe."²⁰⁸

Al-Zeer has repeatedly referred to Hamas' Ismail Haniyeh as "brother;" an accepted term of closeness and appreciation in Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁰⁹



Majed Al-Zeer with Hamas' Ismail Haniyeh. Source: The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center

In 2008, Al-Zeer participated in a conference in Damascus (former haven for Hamas leaders), where he shared the stage with Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal and Iranian minister and founder of Hezbollah, Ali Akbar Mohtashemipur.²¹⁰ The Palestinian participants at the conference were described by Arab media as distinctly affiliated with Hamas.²¹¹

According to Hamas' official website, Al-Zeer participated via video conference in a 2007 event organized by Hamas in Gaza alongside Hamas officials Ismail Haniyeh, Ahmed Shweideh and Hussan Ahmed.²¹²

In 2020, Al-Zeer published a booklet of articles he wrote over the years. In one article he praised the rockets fired by Hamas at Israeli communities. Overall, his booklet features many instances of praising and commending Hamas as the "option of resistance."^{213 214}

Al-Zeer's brothers Nabeel and Ameen were members of the Arab Liberation Front,²¹⁵ a terrorist organization active during the 1970s and 1980s which was responsible for terror attacks including the 1980 Misgav Am attack at a daycare in northern Israel which resulted in the murder of a 2.5-year-old toddler.



Zaher Birawi

Zaher Birawi is one of the most prominent Hamas/Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated operatives in the UK. He was a central figure in the Palestine Return Centre and the "old" circle organizations mentioned in the first part of this report- ECESG, CEPR and ENES. True to the Muslim Brotherhood way, Birawi is involved in over a dozen other organizations and community-oriented groups allegedly involved in charity work, media influence, and political lobbying.

Birawi is a producer and presenter at Al-Hiwar channel,²¹⁶ an outlet established by Sheikh Azzam Al-Tamimi, an Islamist described by Al-Jazeera as an "endorser of the Muslim Brotherhood's political path" and "staunch supporter of Hamas," who "defends the justice of Hamas's struggle... and stresses... the legitimacy of suicide bombings carried out by the 'Palestinian resistance' against Israel."²¹⁷ Birawi platforms Hamas officials regularly on Al-Hiwar, allowing them to promote their deadly propaganda unimpeded, as will be demonstrated later on.

Birawi is also the chairman of the Palestinian Forum in Britain (PFB),²¹⁸ an organization which voluntarily dissolved in 2016,²¹⁹ yet continues its activity unchecked, until today. On its website, the group describes itself as an "independent body" and "autonomous organization" which serves the Palestinian community in Britain.²²⁰ The PFB was established with several other Hamas-affiliated members, including Mohammad Sawalha and Muin Shubib. PFB organizes demonstrations, panel discussions, days of action and press conferences, but its fiscal information is not readily available online.

On official UK records, Birawi is listed as a leading figure in the European Palestinian Communications Forum (EuroPal Forum),²²¹ the Muslim Association of Britain,²²² the Centre for Jerusalem Public Affairs Media Ltd.,²²³ Asira Media and Public Relation Ltd.,²²⁴ Siegebrowsers Limited,²²⁵ Britain to Gaza Ltd.,²²⁶ Vastline Limited,²²⁷ The Committee of British Palestinians Ltd.,²²⁸ and Political Prospective for Studies and Consultation.²²⁹

● Designations and Identifications

European Identifications: In October 2023, British MP from the Labour Party, Christian Wakeford, identified Birawi as one of four key "Hamas operatives living in London."²³⁰

Israeli Designation: In 2013, Birawi was designated by the Israeli Ministry of Defense as one of the main operatives of Hamas in Europe.²³¹

Birawi was also director of the designated PRC from 1998-2009,²³² and involved in PRC's tributary, the European Palestinians Conference (EPC). He was also a speaker for the Global March to Jerusalem,²³³ an initiative aimed at inciting masses from countries bordering Israel to march to the borders to try to infiltrate them.

Birawi is listed as a trustee of Education Aid for Palestinians (EAP),²³⁴ which was part of the Union of Good (UOG).²³⁵

Finally, Birawi was listed as chairman of EuroPal Forum,²³⁶ an organization not found on any official UK listings, which was designated by Israel in 2021 as a Hamas "patronage body" that spreads Hamas propaganda across the UK.²³⁷ Another EuroPal Forum operative is Mohammad Hannoun, who served as an advisor to the organization,²³⁸ and was designated by Israel as part of the 2013 designation.

Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

In an interview from 2017, **Birawi spoke to an Egyptian TV anchor who referred to him as part of Hamas, saying: "you guys in Hamas," and asked Birawi for comments from the terror group. Birawi did not refute the description and even proceeded to respond on behalf of Hamas, saying: "That is indeed what we strive for." In the same interview, Birawi praised Hamas as "a distinct national movement that puts national reconciliation above partisan inertness," and criticized Fatah for "fighting the resistance (i.e., Hamas) and sanctifying security coordination (with Israel)."**²³⁹

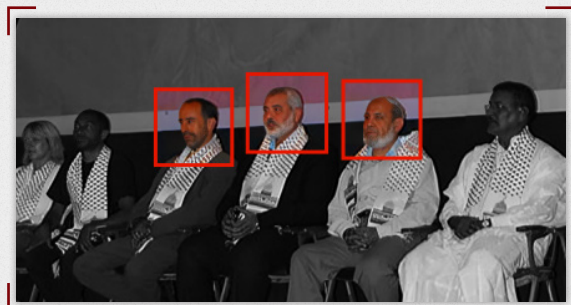
In October 2023, The Sun referred to Birawi as a "Hamas 'senior operative' living in a London suburb."²⁴⁰

Over the years, Birawi appeared alongside Hamas officials, including Ismail Haniyeh and Ahmad Bahr, because of his "humanitarian" work, which shows his closeness to the terrorist leaders.

On October 7th, during Hamas' massacre against Israel, Birawi wrote, "a Blessed morning, Allah willing," in a post that appears to have since been taken down.²⁴¹ On October 8th, a day after the massacre, Birawi uploaded a graphic, reading: "Someday the news will start with the



Birawi and Haniyeh in 2012. Source: HurryUpHarry



Birawi (left) sitting on-stage, next to Hamas leaders Ismail Haniyeh (center) and Mahmoud Al-Zahar (right). Source: The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center



Birawi in Gaza (right) alongside British MP George Galloway, with a green Shahadah flag (affiliated with Hamas) in the background. Source: The Daily Mail

words 'Palestine has been freed!' Birawi added: "Hopefully it will happen soon."²⁴²

In 2020, Birawi was interviewed for Quds Press Network, where he praised Hamas official Khaled Mashaal and commended his "vision," ideals and actions.²⁴³

As an anchor on Al-Hiwar, **Birawi has platformed Hamas officials many times**, allowing them to spread Hamas propaganda on the UK-based channel. Some Hamas officials Birawi featured include:

- Saleh Al-Arouri, deputy head of the Hamas political bureau (November 2020)²⁴⁴
- Osama Hamdan, member of the Hamas political bureau (March 2021)²⁴⁵
- Mahmoud Al-Zahar, member of the Hamas political bureau. Birawi said there were "positive developments towards restoring relations" between Hamas and Iran. (February 2015)²⁴⁶
- Basem Naim, Hamas minister and member of Hamas political bureau. Naim referred to Birawi as "my brother". (February 2012)²⁴⁷
- Husam Badran, orchestrated a 2001 suicide bombing that killed 21 people in Tel Aviv
- Rawhi Mushtaha, one of the founders of Hamas and the Izz Eddin Al-Qassam militia. Birawi started the interview by praising Allah for Mushtaha's good health. (December 2011)²⁴⁸

Birawi has enthusiastically quoted senior Hamas officials Khaled Mashaal and Ismail Haniyeh numerous times on his social media accounts:

- In May 2017, Birawi posted excerpts of Hamas' political document and quoted Khaled Mashaal who said that the document "offers a balance between development and renewal while maintaining constancy, without exaggeration or compromise."²⁴⁹
- In March 2013, Birawi quoted Mashaal's view on Islamism and the rejection of Israel,



Source: Zaher Birawi's Facebook



Birawi interviews Saleh Al-Arouri, the deputy head of Hamas political bureau, at the time. Source: Zaher Birawi's Facebook

blaming Israel for "Judaizing," "forging facts," and "stealing history".²⁵⁰

- Also in March 2013, Birawi quoted Haniyeh who discussed the anti-Muslim Brotherhood military coup in Egypt, saying: "Egypt – whoever betrays her betrays religion, betrays Al-Quds and Al-Aqsa, and Hamas has never and will never do that."²⁵¹

In February 2014, Birawi denounced the intentions of an Egyptian court to designate Hamas as a terrorist organization, asking: "Isn't classifying Hamas as a terrorist movement a declaration of war on the movement? Isn't weakening or harming Hamas considered a free service to the Zionist occupation? Finally.... Isn't there a rational man in Egypt?"²⁵²

In January 2014, Birawi liked a post reading: "Hamas is the foundation, our Lord is with them. They are the armies of Allah; their hands are humble and they keep the Book of Allah. The Lord will never forget them."²⁵³

In July 2013, Birawi listed his Al-Hiwar channel alongside Hamas-affiliated Al-Quds Channel²⁵⁴ and Qatar's Al-Jazeera, as channels which "shine in support of the truth".²⁵⁵

In November 2012, Birawi praised Hamas' "victory" during the 2012 Operation Pillar of Defense, saying: "While we rejoice in the victory in this battle, we know that it is just an important round and step on the path to the liberation of Jerusalem and the entire territory of the country, Allah willing."²⁵⁶



Source: Zaher Birawi's Facebook



Mohammad Kathem Rashid Maruf Sawalha

Mohammad Sawalha is another significant operative of the Hamas-affiliated axis in the UK. Recognized by Hamas and several outlets as a Hamas official, he is involved in roughly a dozen UK-based organizations as director and/or secretary. These organizations include the British Muslim Initiative, the International Committee to Break the Siege on Gaza (ICBSG), New Vision Media, Islam Expo, Muslim Association of Britain, the Muslim Welfare House, Finsbury Park Mosque, and Britain 2 Gaza,²⁵⁷ some of which he co-leads with other Hamas-affiliated actors including Zaher Birawi and Essam Yusuf.

Sawalha, like Birawi, follows in the path of the Muslim Brotherhood by focusing his work on media, politics, and what he would consider as humanitarian efforts and community organizations.

● Designations and Identifications

US Recognition: A 2004 indictment by the US Department of Justice identified Sawalha as "in charge of Hamas terrorist operations within the West Bank," who attempted to identify "specific Hamas members who could be used to revitalize Hamas's terrorist activities."²⁵⁸

Israeli Designation: In 2013, Sawalha was designated by the Israeli Ministry of Defense as one of the main operatives of Hamas in Europe.²⁵⁹

A 2016 report by EuroPal Forum, an organization headed by Zaher Birawi and designated by Israel as a Hamas front, admitted that EuroPal received funds from Sawalha's firm, Islam Expo.²⁶⁰ Islam Expo was co-directed by Sawalha, the founder and leader of the pro-Hamas group Friends of Al-Aqsa, and Ismail Patel,²⁶¹ who served as the spokesperson for the British Muslim Initiative,²⁶² who has visited Hamas leaders in Gaza and saluted Hamas for their terrorist actions.²⁶³

● Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

According to the London-based, Palestinian-run Al-Quds Al-Araby newspaper, Sawalha was named in a 2017 statement issued by Hamas as a member of a Hamas delegation to Russia, with other Hamas officials including Saleh Al-Arouri, Husam Badran and Sami Khater.²⁶⁴

Other Arabic-speaking outlets including the Saudi channel Al-Arabia and the Elaph newspaper referred to Sawalha as a "leader in Hamas who participated in political activities, propaganda, and financial coordination related to the movement's activities... He also supervised the allocation and supply of large sums of money to Hamas activists in Palestine."²⁶⁵

In a 2017 book titled "Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas: Studies of Thought & Experience," Sawalha is mentioned as a "young leader [who] assumed the secret management of Hamas activities." The book, published by Beirut-based Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations, featured contributions from Hamas officials including Khaled Mashaal, Sami Khater, Ismail Haniyeh, Musa Abou Marzouk and Osama Hamdan.²⁶⁶ It was edited by Al-Zaytouna's founder and president, Mohsen Saleh,



Sawalha (in red) as part of the high-ranking Hamas delegation to Russia. Other participants include, from right to left: Sami Khater, Husam Badran, Mousa Abou Marzouk, Mohammad Sawalha and Saleh Al-Arouri.

Source: [The Independent](#)

a board member of the Al-Quds International Institution (QII),²⁶⁷ which is a Beirut-based organization designated by the US in 2012 as a "Hamas-controlled charity" which raises funds for Hamas.²⁶⁸ Saleh is also a board member of the Sheikh Ahmed Yassin International Foundation, named after Hamas' founder.²⁶⁹

Sawalha has also met Ismail Haniyeh several times during "Miles of Smiles" convoys.²⁷⁰ Sawalha is a recurring guest at the UK-based "Al-Hiwar" channel, mentioned above. Sawalha propagates Hamas talking points, praises Hamas terrorists, and participates in interviews with Hamas officials.²⁷¹

In 2001, **Sawalha justified suicide bombings against Israeli civilians.** In an interview to pro-Hamas channel Al-Jazeera, he rejected any notion of a "Gandhi-like" ceasefire with Israel, saying: "it is the right of the Palestinian people, as long as their land is occupied, to fight with all measures include suicide attacks."²⁷²

In 2012, Sawalha praised Hamas' rocket attacks against Israeli civilians saying: "We came to celebrate the defeat of the 'Undefeated Army' that was defeated by the Palestinian resistance missiles."²⁷³



Essam Yusuf Saleh Mustafa

Essam Yusuf, who sometimes appears as Essam Mustafa, was designated by Israel in 2013. Yusuf plays a significant role in organizing so-called humanitarian convoys to Gaza, which involve coordination with high-ranking Hamas officials who run Gaza.

Yusuf headed the Miles of Smiles convoy, which has worked with Hamas to transfer goods into the Gaza Strip since 2009.²⁷⁴ During the Miles of Smiles excursions, Yusuf met Hamas officials, including Ismail Haniyeh, several times.

Yusuf also headed an initiative called The International Foundation to Aid Gaza (AKA The International Foundation to Aid Palestine), launched in 2014 under the auspices of the Qatar Foundation. As mentioned previously, Qatar is a key supporter of Hamas and serves as a haven for its leaders. Other key figures in the Foundation are individuals designated by Israel as Hamas officials including Zaher Birawi, Amin Abou Rashed, Zial El-Aloul, and leader of the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood, Wael Al-Saqa.²⁷⁵ The International Foundation to Aid Gaza seems to be linked to Interpal, a so-called charity group belonging to the designated Union of Good umbrella organization, seeing as its YouTube account has referred viewers to donate to the organization,²⁷⁶ and its logo was featured at the Foundation's inauguration event.²⁷⁷

In 2014, both of Yusuf's organizations sponsored the release of Gazan detainees held in Hamas prisons on bail, implying a method of funding Hamas authorities under the guise of "humanitarian" work.²⁷⁸

● A. Designations and Identifications

Israeli Designation: In 2013, Yusuf was designated by the Israeli Ministry of Defense as one of the main operatives of Hamas in Europe.²⁷⁹

Yusuf previously served as secretary general of the Union of Good.²⁸⁰ Yusuf described his role at Union of Good as the "initiator."²⁸¹

Yusuf is also listed as a trustee of Interpal, (AKA the Palestinians Relief and Development Fund), a British organization founded in 1994,²⁸² and categorized as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist organization by the US in 2003 for being a "charity that provides support to Hamas and form part of its funding network in Europe."²⁸³ It was also designated by Israel in 1997.²⁸⁴ In its old website, Yusuf was listed as Interpal's executive manager.²⁸⁵

Yusuf also headed the International Committee to Break the Siege of Gaza (ICBSG),²⁸⁶ with his deputy, Hamas operative Mohammad Sawalha.²⁸⁷

The BBC claimed that Yusuf served on the Hamas executive committee under Khaled Mashaal during the late 2000s,²⁸⁸ though Yusuf rejected these claims as unfounded.

● Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

Yusuf was identified by Saudi channel Al-Arabiya as a "Hamas leader" in 2021²⁸⁹ and as a "member of the executive committee of Hamas" by the Emirati newspaper Al-Etihad (2019)²⁹⁰ and Saudi newspaper Okaz (2017).²⁹¹

In June 2021, Yusuf spoke at an online event with Hamas' official in Lebanon Ali Baraka and PFLP's official in Lebanon Marwan Abdel Al.²⁹²

In late 2013, Yusuf appeared in a video next to Ismail Haniyeh, where they participated in an anti-Israel song that praises Hamas' militia, the Al-Qassam Brigades, and "martyrdom."²⁹³ Yusuf also appeared with Haniyeh in another picture from February of that year during another ceremony for a Miles of Smiles convoy.²⁹⁴



Yusuf and Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh.
Source: The Telegraph

In 2012, Hamas minister Fathi Hamad met with Yusuf in Gaza, praising Yusuf's coordination of convoys to the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip.²⁹⁵ Yusuf also met with Hamas officials Ghazi Hamad and Ahmed Al-Kurd.²⁹⁶

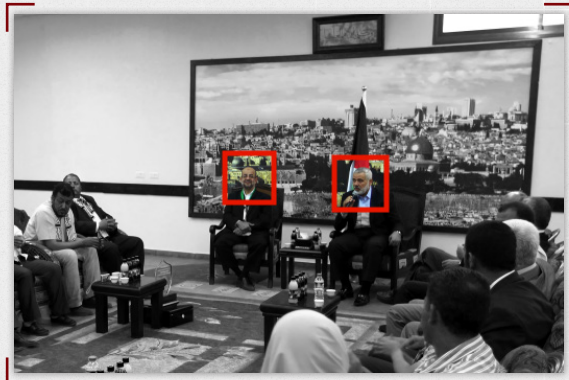
In 2011, Yusuf arrived in the Gaza Strip as part of the Miles of Smiles convoy where he met with Hamas officials Salah Al-Bardaweel,²⁹⁷ Ismail Haniyeh,²⁹⁸ and Basem Naim.²⁹⁹ Yusuf also met Haniyeh as part of a similar delegation in 2012.³⁰⁰

In 2006, Yusuf was featured on an episode of BBC's investigative documentary series "Panorama", which highlighted his past meetings with high-ranking Hamas officials.³⁰¹

Yusuf has promoted Hamas rhetoric repeatedly. In 2017, he denounced the designation of "Palestinian resistance" as terrorism,³⁰² and called Hamas, the PFLP and the PIJ "the resistance".³⁰³

In 2006, Yusuf published an article called "The Hamas Prisoner Document" in which he encouraged convicted Hamas militants serving time in Israeli prisons to reject recognition of Israel and other peace initiatives.³⁰⁴

In 2005, Yusuf published a pro-Hamas article which read: "Accordingly, I affirm that with this result, Hamas has finished the issue of proving its size and strength on the Palestinian scene, and there is no longer the possibility of ignoring it. Likewise, the elections have proven beyond any doubt that the people have chosen the path of resistance..."³⁰⁵



Yusuf (left) and Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh (right), in 2013. Source: Palinfo



Yusuf and Haniyeh in 2011. Source: Alray



Palestinian Forum in Britain (PFB, PalForumUK)

Though PFB's activity reportedly began in 2004,³⁰⁶ it appears on formal UK listings as having only been incorporated in May 2015. It then voluntarily dissolved in January 2016.³⁰⁷ PFB was incorporated through Formations House,³⁰⁸ which has been implicated in several scandals involving criminal activity and listed in over 400,000 global companies, including sanctioned Iranian oil companies.³⁰⁹

Despite its dissolution, PFB continues to organize rallies and seminars, and has an updated website and several social media accounts.

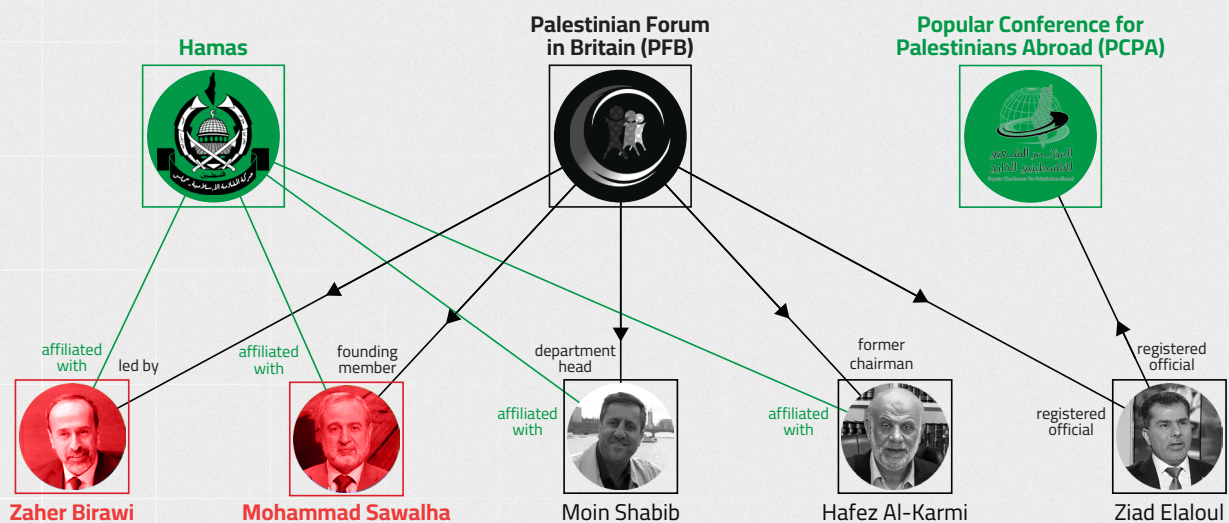
PFB's website defines itself as "an autonomous organization dedicated to supporting the Palestinian community in the United Kingdom and raising awareness about the Palestinian cause among individuals from various backgrounds and within British society."

Its registered official was Ziad Elaloul,³¹⁰ who was also a registered official of the Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad (PCPA),³¹¹ currently based in Turkey and designated by Israel in August 2021 for providing cover for Hamas.³¹²

Today, PFB is chaired by Zaher Birawi,³¹³ designated by Israel in 2013 as a Hamas leader in Europe.³¹⁴

Other Hamas-affiliated leading figures in PFB are:

- **Mohammad Sawalha**³¹⁵ - founding member; designated by Israel in 2013 as a Hamas leader in Europe³¹⁶
- **Muin Shabib** - head of PFB's Social and Diaspora Relations Department;³¹⁷ was also recognized as a Hamas operative by the FBI³¹⁸
- **Hafez Al-Karmi**³¹⁹ - former chair; a Lebanese-born expatriate mentioned in a publication from 2008 as a "political member of the Hamas office in Britain."³²⁰ Al-Karmi also serves as Head of the Media Department at the Association of Palestinian Scholars Abroad,³²¹ an Islamist clerical organization led by Nawaf Takturi,³²² who was deported by Israel with other Hamas officials in 1993.³²³





Union of Good Charities

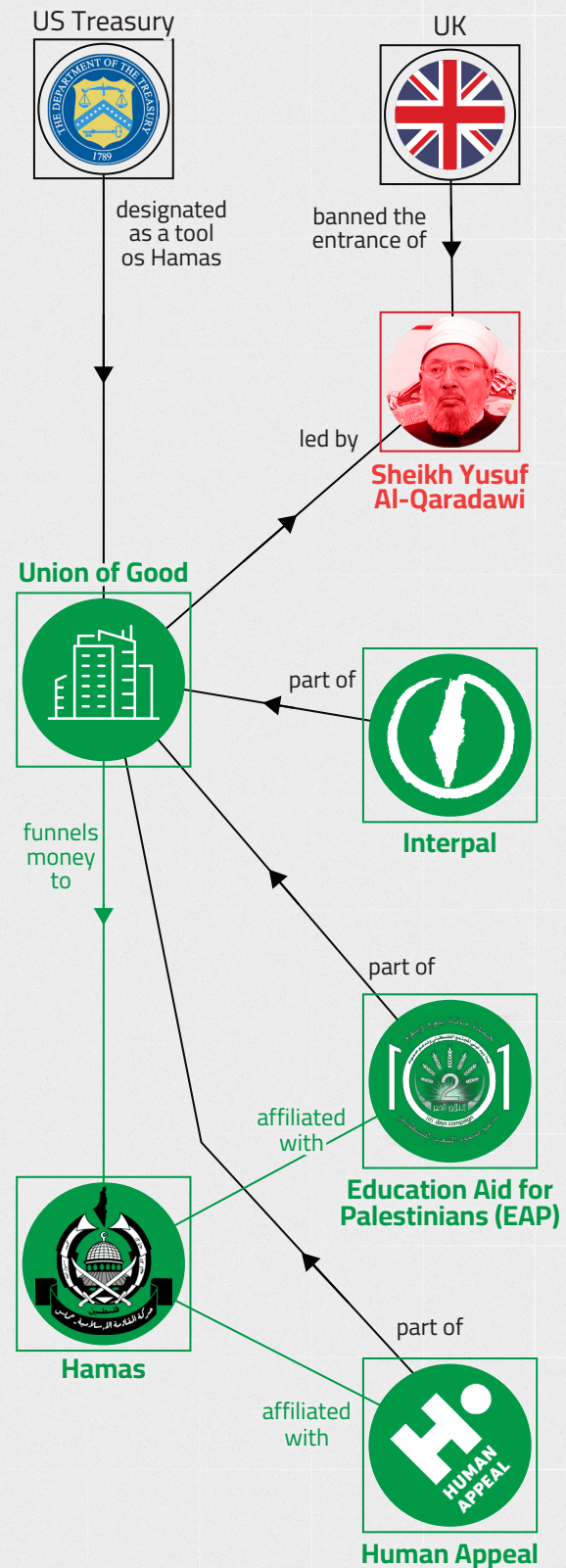
The **Union of Good** (UoG) was an umbrella organization comprised of dozens of alleged charity groups around the world, **designated by the US Department of Treasury in November 2008 as a tool of " Hamas leadership to transfer funds to the terrorist organization."**³²⁴ UoG was headed by Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi,³²⁵ a Qatari-based cleric and high spiritual authority for the Muslim Brotherhood around the world, who endorsed suicide bombings. He was barred from entering the UK³²⁶ and France.³²⁷

UoG's old Arabic and English websites listed 8 organizations which formed part of the UoG in the UK:³²⁸

- INTERPAL - Palestinians Relief & Development Fund
- Education Aid for Palestinians (EAP)
- Human Appeal International
- Families Relief
- Human Relief Foundation
- Islamic Relief
- Muslim Aid
- Muslim Hands

Humanitarian Relief Foundation, Muslim Hands, and Education Aid for Palestinians (EAP) were all designated by Israel in 2008 as being part of Hamas.³²⁹ EAP had several Hamas-affiliated operatives on in its board, including Zaher Birawi, Essam Mustafa, and Hamas militant Muin Shubib. Shubib was also listed as CEO of Human Appeal International.³³⁰

Despite their designations and close historical relations to a Hamas-affiliated fundraising organization, some of these groups continue to freely operate in the UK.





Interpal

Interpal, also known as the Palestinians Relief and Development Fund was part of the Union of Good and was **designated by Israel in 1997,³³¹ and by the US in 2003.³³²** The organization has also **been on Australia's and Canada's sanctions and terror lists** since 2003³³³ and 2019, respectively.³³⁴ Interpal is connected to Hamas and to the Hamas-affiliated organization, the PRC.

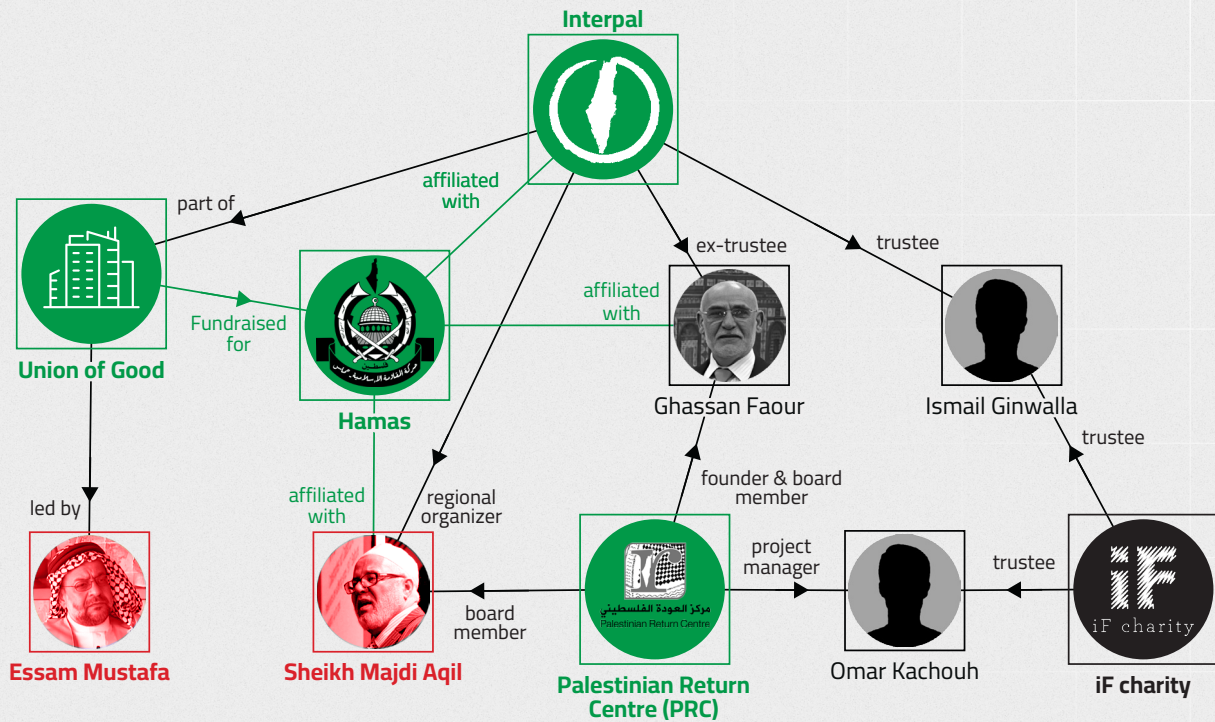
Sheikh Majdi Aqil, a Hamas operative, served as a regional coordinator of Interpal,³³⁵ and as a director and board member of the Palestinian Return Centre (PRC).³³⁶ Aqil was born in Gaza³³⁷ and was identified by Hamas official Younis Al-Astal as a founder of Hamas in Khan Younis, Gaza.³³⁸ Aqil was apparently arrested by Israel in 1988 for his involvement with Hamas.³³⁹

Ghassan Faour, is another Hamas operative who was listed as a trustee of Interpal until 2018.³⁴⁰ Faour was a founder, leader, and board member of PRC³⁴¹ until 2021,³⁴² and he is mentioned as a member of the Palestinian Forum in Britain.³⁴³

In addition, official UK charity registrations show that one of Interpal's current trustees is Ismail Ginwalla,³⁴⁴ who was also listed as a member of an organization named iF Charity.³⁴⁵ A current trustee of iF Charity is Omar Kachouh, who ran projects for PRC.³⁴⁶ Kachouh was listed as director of a similarly named The Return Centre Ltd., which was founded in 2014 and dissolved in 2015.³⁴⁷ These relationships show the interconnectivity of Hamas' European network.

In 2021, Saudi outlet Al-Arabiya stated that "Hamas contributes to and owns a fund called Palestine Relief based in London, [also] called 'Interpal,' in which it collects money from donors to support the Palestinian cause, while a large portion of these amounts are directed to finance armed operations, whether for the movement [Hamas] or the [Muslim] Brotherhood. These operations were undertaken by the Palestinian Hamas member, Essam Yusuf."³⁴⁸

In 2010, the Sunday Express had to issue an apology and pay a £60,000 fine for failing to provide evidence that Interpal was a supporter of Hamas as was claimed in an article.³⁴⁹ A 2009 commission by formal UK authorities which followed a BBC "Panorama" episode about Interpal and its reported ties to Hamas, concluded that there was not enough incriminating evidence proving ties to Hamas. The commission did however rule that Essam Yusuf could not be both an Interpal trustee and the General Secretary of the Union of Good and that Interpal had to cease any other organizational ties with UoG. A June 2012 follow-up commission found that Interpal cut its formal ties with the Union of Good,³⁵⁰ but maintained its connections with Hamas-affiliated personnel, including Aqil.

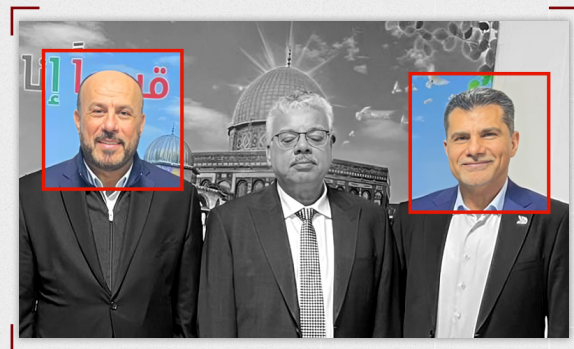


Ziad Elaloul

Ziad Elaloul served as deputy chair of ECESEG, mentioned above as a dissolved organization which was part of the "old" circle of Hamas activity in Europe.³⁵¹ Elaloul was also listed as the foreign affairs officer at the European Palestinians Conference (EPC),³⁵² which was part of the "new" circle of Hamas-affiliated activity in Europe.

Elaloul also serves as a spokesperson for the Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad (PCPA),³⁵³ an Istanbul-based organization designated by Israel in 2021 for its affiliation with Hamas.³⁵⁴

In the UK, Elaloul registered several legal entities through the controversial Formations House Ltd., including Palestinians Abroad, the Palestinian Forum in Britain, the Palestinian Community in the UK, and the Palestinian Sports Foundation³⁵⁵ – all of which formally dissolved.³⁵⁶ Other businesses Elaloul established include Watani Card Limited (another company set by Formations House)³⁵⁷ and another firm named Klickk Media Service Ltd.³⁵⁸



Ziad Elaloul (right) with Ahmed Abdul Hadi, a Hamas official in Lebanon (left). Source: Palabroad

In January 2023, as PCPA spokesman, Elaloul met with Ahmed Abdel Hadi, a Hamas official in Lebanon, the secretary general of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Ziad Al-Nakhleh, and senior PFLP politburo member Marwan Abdel Al.³⁵⁹

In 2022, Elaloul praised Hamas, the PIJ and the PFLP for boycotting a convention of the Palestinian National Council.³⁶⁰ In a September 2023 interview, Elaloul again praised Hamas and the PIJ as "powerful and effective factions," and denounced Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas and the PLO for excluding them from political representation.³⁶¹

In May 2024, Elaloul participated in the anti-apartheid conference in South Africa³⁶² as part of the Hamas delegation.³⁶³



Arafat Madhi Mahmoud Shoukri

Arafat Shoukri played a key role in some of the designated organizations, including CEPR,³⁶⁴ ECESG³⁶⁵ and PRC.³⁶⁶ He was also described as "a senior researcher" at Al-Jazeera Centre for Studies (AJCS) in Qatar.³⁶⁷

Designations and Identifications

Israeli Designation: In 2013, Shoukri was designated by the Israeli Ministry of Defense as one of the main operatives of Hamas in Europe.³⁶⁸

Shoukri was an executive director of the Palestine Return Centre (PRC),³⁶⁹ designated by Israel and recognized by Germany as a front for Hamas activity in the UK. He also served as president of CEPR, designated by Israel as a Hamas front in Europe and mentioned in the first part of this report.³⁷⁰

Media Appearances with and Promotion of Hamas

As CEPR's director, Shoukri participated in delegations to Gaza. During a 2011 delegation, he travelled to Gaza with Ramy Abdu and Mazen Kahel, both of whom were designated by Israel as operatives of Hamas in Europe. The delegation was officially welcomed by the Hamas government and met with Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh. During the visit, Shoukri held a mutual press conference

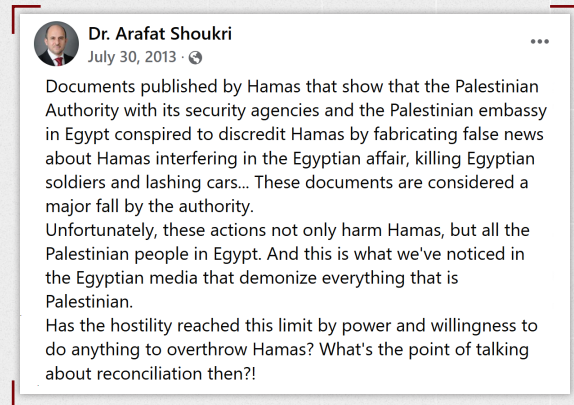


Shoukri (right) with Hamas leader Ahmed Bahr (left).
Source: Dr. Arafat Shukri's Facebook

with a member of Hamas' political bureau, Ahmad Bahr.³⁷¹

Shoukri has supported Hamas on several occasions. In July 2013, Shoukri referred to an "exposé" in which Hamas leaked documents about an alleged PLO-Egyptian plot to disgrace Hamas by creating fake news. Shoukri said that it was unfortunate that these actions harm Hamas, adding: "Has the hostility reached a point that they are willing to do anything to overthrow Hamas?"³⁷²

In September 2012, Shoukri praised Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal and called on other leaders to learn from him.³⁷³



Source: Dr. Arafat Shoukri's Facebook



Muin Kamel Mohammed Shubib (AKA Moin Shabib)

Shubib was listed as the CEO of Educational Aid for Palestinians in December 2020,³⁷⁴ and is still listed as such on his LinkedIn, where it also mentions that he served as CEO of Human Appeal International,³⁷⁵ another organization that formed the Union of Good.³⁷⁶ According to Al-Jazeera, Shubib also served as the head of the social and diaspora departments at the Palestinian Forum in Britain.³⁷⁷

In 1994, during an FBI interrogation, Shubib admitted to having supported Hamas financially and politically. In a 2001 memorandum from Dale Watson, Assistant Director of the FBI Counterterrorism Division, to Richard Newcomb, Director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control at the US Department of Treasury, Shubib is mentioned as a Hamas leader who headed its central sector in the West Bank and helped create the infrastructure for Hamas' military apparatus in Hebron.³⁷⁸

Shubib was also recognized by Foreign Affairs Magazine as a "Hamas operative" who headed a Hamas student cell at Bir Zeit University, where he planned to recruit more operatives,³⁷⁹ and by Emirati outlet Al-Ain as a member of Hamas' militia, the Izz Eddin Al-Qassam brigades.³⁸⁰

Shubib was also the CEO of an organization called "Syria Relief",³⁸¹ and is listed as an officer in several UK-registered organizations, including the British Muslim Heritage Centre and others.³⁸²

CONCLUSION

Following the October 7th massacre and the crimes against humanity committed by Hamas against Israelis and other civilians from over 30 countries, including from the United Kingdom, it is crucial for Europe and the UK to remain vigilant of and mitigate Hamas activity and influence across the continent.

Hamas-affiliated individuals and organizations continue to operate under the guise of providing humanitarian and charitable services to civilians, while in reality they are funding and supporting Hamas ideology and activities throughout the UK and Europe. Since operatives and organizations affiliated with Hamas have been largely allowed to organize and grow their networks in the UK and Europe due to insufficient enforcement and supervision, the threat the terrorist group and its ideology presents is imminent. If UK and European officials do not act against the Hamas-affiliated networks domestically and across the continent, Hamas will continue to expand its radical Islamist ideology which threatens not only Israel and the US, but the UK, Europe and the Western way of life.

The following recommendations are based on the information and evidence presented in this report:

- Open investigations into the individuals and organizations registered and operating in the UK, especially those with non-profit status
- The British government and security authorities should recognize and designate the organizations affiliated with Hamas as branches of the terror organization
- The British police should investigate, arrest, and prosecute the leaders and officials of the Hamas-affiliated groups active in UK
- UK banks and other financial institutions should review the flow of money to/from individuals and organizations affiliated with Hamas and shut down the suspected accounts
- UK authorities should shut down the Hamas-affiliated groups that are still officially operating and sanction the groups that are operating despite their official dissolution following designations as Hamas-affiliated
- British research institutions, think tanks, and scholars should expand their research of Hamas activity across the UK
- Media outlets and journalist should investigate Hamas' activity in Europe and raise awareness in the UK about the potential danger of increasing Hamas activity in the UK

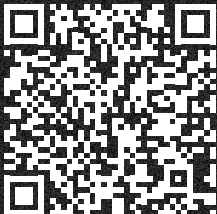
Annex A: Links to Legal Measures Taken by the European Union Against Hamas



- **EU Council Decision Establishing Measures Against Those Who Support Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (2024)**



- **European Council Sanctions Against Terrorism**



- **EU Council Decision (CFSP) Establishing Measures Against Those Who Support Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (2024-385)**



- **EU Council Decision (EU) Establishing Measures Against Those Who Support Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (2024-386)**



- **Council Common Position on Application of Specific Measures to Combat Terrorism (2001)**

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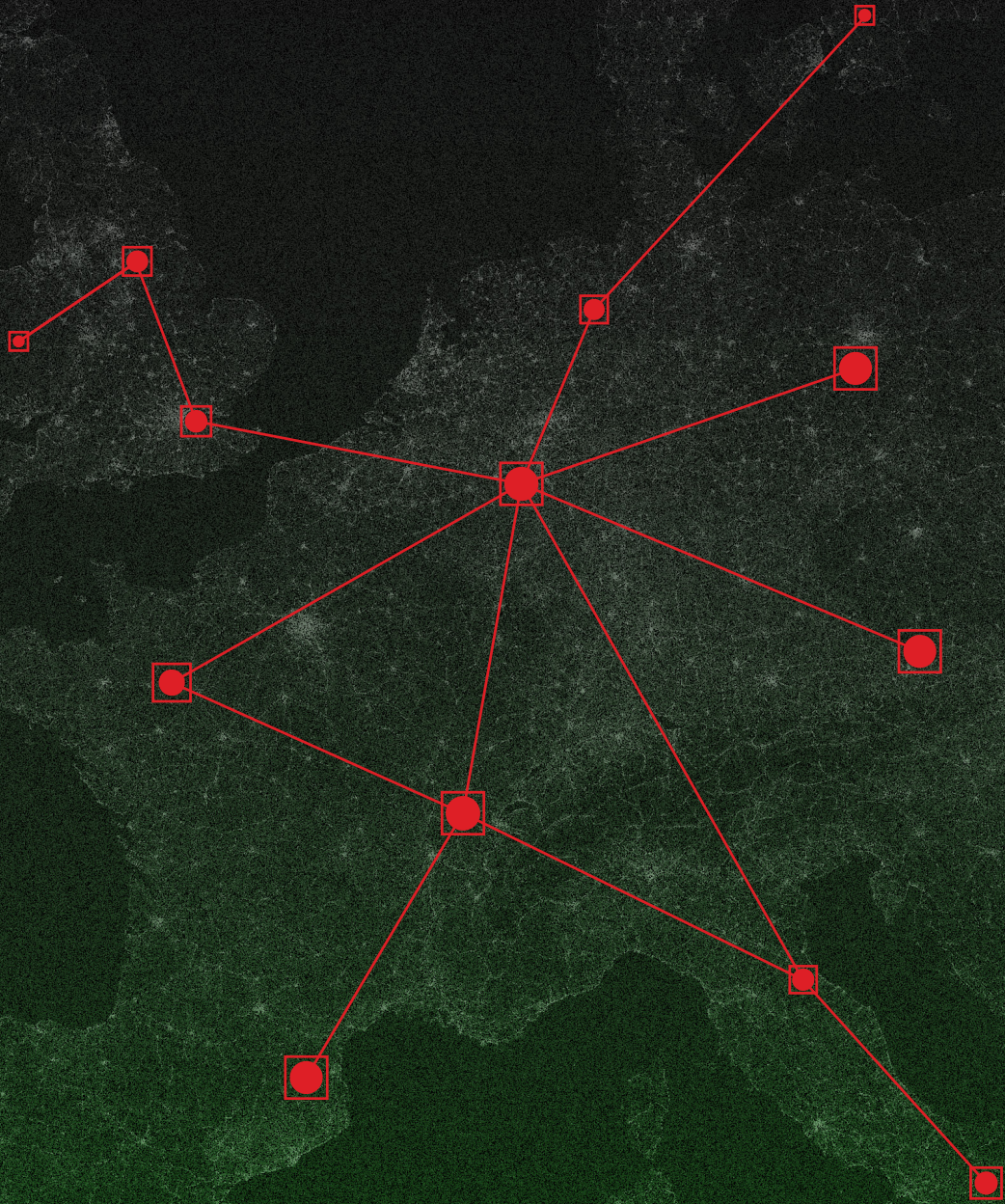
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