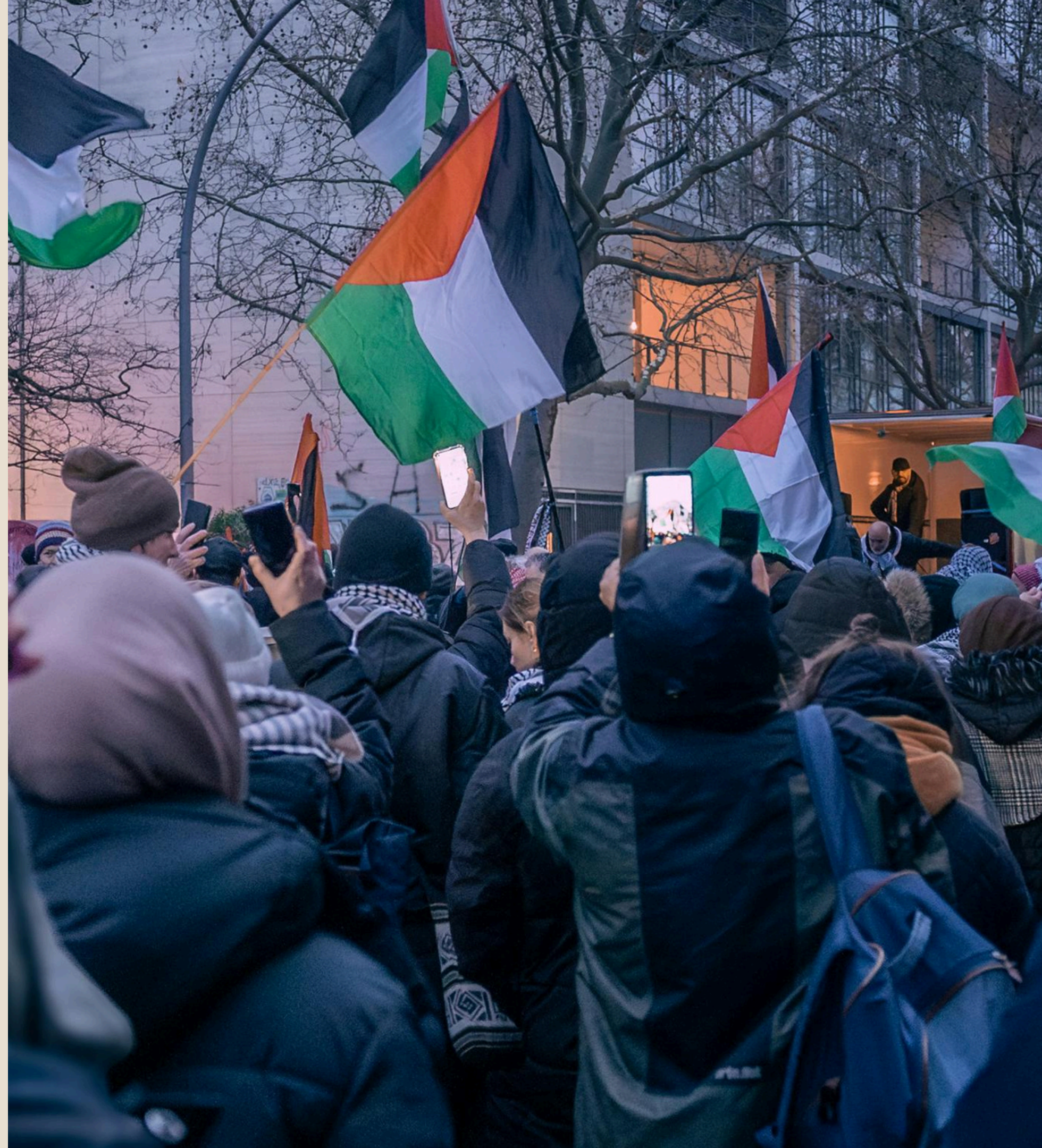




Spring 2024—Spring 2025

Annual Report



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Letter from the Board President

We are living in the darkest period of our history. The genocide against Palestinians in Gaza is ongoing and escalating in ferocity as global headlines turn to other news, normalizing what should never be normalized. For more than 80 days at the time of writing, Israel has blocked food, water, medicine, and aid from entering Gaza, publicly weaponizing starvation and collective punishment in contravention of every principle of international law. Its soldiers have openly executed medical teams and aid workers, issuing hollow apologies to half-hearted global condemnation while continuing along the path of turning Gaza into a site of unfathomable devastation and mass murder.



Israeli actions have laid to waste the remaining foundations of international norms. Arrest warrants for Benjamin Netanyahu and Yoav Gallant remain unenforced, despite opportunities to detain these war criminals. Meanwhile, the International Court of Justice is coming under unprecedented pressure from various governments, particularly the US, for its efforts to shed light on Israel's genocidal actions and halt this crime of all crimes. Multilateral bodies, including the United Nations, have proven impotent to stop Israel's expanding violence, as it exports tactics deployed in Gaza to refugee camps in the West Bank, preparing for ethnic cleansing; continues to bombard Lebanon with impunity; and expands its territorial grab in southern Lebanon and Syria, creating facts on the ground that further destabilize fragile neighboring states.

The Trump administration, for its part, has taken its mockery of international law to dystopian extremes, cruelly brandishing plans for a Gaza-turned-Riviera while plotting the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians through forced transfer to African nations. Domestically, it has used Palestine as the tip of the spear, taking its war against liberal democratic values to every institution in the US. Under the guise of fighting antisemitism, this antisemitic administration has shut down free speech, supported illegal deportations of immigrants and residents, and cracked down on institutional protections of diversity.

Against such failures on the international stage, the so-called Palestinian leadership sinks further into collaboration and ineptitude. Mahmoud Abbas's recent speech blaming Palestinians themselves for the ongoing misery in Gaza exposed his profound disconnection from the Palestinian people. His appointment of Hussein al-Sheikh—a central figure in the security coordination apparatus with Israel's apartheid regime—to the newly established role of Vice President of the Palestine Liberation Organization signals that the Palestinian Authority's role in repressing its own population will persist well beyond Abbas's rule. The system is designed to sustain itself, even when it betrays its people.

Though this picture is grim, *sumoud*—steadfastness—is our immediate task. Ending the genocide in Gaza must remain the most urgent priority for every Palestinian and ally. Yet, survival alone is insufficient. We have to remain strategic and focused, even now. Because amid the devastation, critical shifts are underway that can and must be leveraged to work in our favor.

In the US, the Trump administration's policies have showcased more than ever before how support for Israel and Zionism are intimately intertwined with white supremacy and far-right ideology. Within just 100 days, ever-growing numbers of Americans have come to understand what their country's support for Israel truly entails: complicity in racism, police brutality, and the erosion of liberal values. It should be clear to everyone that, for all its façade of democracy, the US, like Israel, remains a settler colony wedded to authoritarian and draconian rule. The struggle for a free Palestine is one that every American committed to equality and egalitarianism should support.

Within Israel, the cracks are widening. An unprecedented number of military reservists are refusing to serve—not out of solidarity with Palestinians, but because the violence required to sustain Zionist supremacy is becoming increasingly untenable, even to its enforcers. At the same time, mass protests demanding a ceasefire and denouncing Netanyahu's leadership reflect a broader public reckoning with the political, moral, and strategic costs of this endless war. While these fissures do not yet signal a fundamental break with Zionism, they expose vulnerabilities in an ideology long presented as unshakable. This opening must be widened and seized—not to reform Zionism, but to accelerate its unraveling.

For Palestinians—despite our feckless leaders and unfathomable loss—our collective mobilization is broader, more creative, and more determined than ever before. This is an existential battle. We understand there is no going back to what was before. Our movement today is expansive, energized, and determined. From this darkest moment in our history will emerge a stronger, sharper, and more strategic struggle.

At Al-Shabaka, we stand firmly in this fight—not only by resisting what is, but also by helping to imagine and build what must come next. As a space rooted in Palestinian knowledge and strategy, we are committed to equipping our people and our allies with the frameworks, analysis, and vision needed to meet this historic juncture.

Tareq Baconi

FIGHT TODAY
FOR A BETTER
MORROW

Our Role in
This Moment



When we rearticulated our mission and vision in early 2023, we affirmed that Al-Shabaka must be positioned squarely within the Palestinian liberation movement. We are not a think tank that speaks to the halls of power—we inform and strengthen the movement from within.

Since the beginning of Israel's genocidal assault on Gaza, this positioning has only become more vital. The global response has brought a surge of organizing and advocacy efforts rooted in Palestinian knowledge, many drawing on frameworks Al-Shabaka has been building since its founding in 2009. This is no coincidence. For over a decade, we have worked to shift discourse, seed analysis, and support the emergence of Palestinian-led strategy across borders.

While short-term mobilization is essential, it must be guided by long-term vision. **That is where Al-Shabaka plays a singular role.** We continue to analyze a rapidly evolving landscape—not just to understand the present, but to shape the future. Our work offers strategic insight grounded in Palestinian experience and expertise, ensuring that resistance today builds toward liberation tomorrow.



Strategy in Action

A photograph of an olive grove. In the foreground, the thick, gnarled roots of an olive tree are exposed on the ground. The ground is covered with dry, yellowish-brown leaves and small rocks. In the background, several olive trees with green foliage are visible, and bright sunlight filters through the branches, creating a warm, golden glow. The sky is not clearly visible, appearing as a bright, hazy area.

Grounded Knowledge Production

Over the past year, Al-Shabaka published 20 pieces by over 25 members of our policy network, including five policy briefs, three policy memos, four roundtables, and seven commentaries. Our analysis tackled urgent issues, such as the suppression of Palestinian solidarity in the US, the genocide's impact on global politics, and alternatives for Palestinian labor, food sovereignty, and Gaza's telecommunications infrastructure. We also released a special collection marking a year of genocide in Gaza.

Beyond publications, we convened audiences through 11 policy labs and 12 episodes of our *Rethinking Palestine* podcast, including a three-part series with Mondoweiss and a co-hosted episode with the *Makdisi Street* podcast. Policy labs reached an average of 500 viewers each, while podcast episodes drew an average of 3,000 downloads—expanding the reach of Palestinian analysis and deepening understanding across global audiences.

Narrative & Media Power



TARIQ KENNEY-SHAWA
U.S. POLICY FELLOW, ALSHABAKA

GENOCIDE IN GAZA

Fathi Nimer

YARA HAWARI
CO-DIRECTOR, AL-SHABAKA

Al-Shabaka's analysts are at the forefront of building global popular support for Palestine. Our members published 20 op-eds in leading US and UK outlets, while expanding the reach of Palestinian analysis to audiences in Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Spain, and across the Arab world.

As authoritarian and anti-democratic forces escalate worldwide, Palestine represents a bulwark against state and capitalist oppression. Al-Shabaka analysts have underscored this global significance, contributing to dozens of interviews and commentaries, holding media accountable, challenging anti-Palestinian racism, and steadily shifting public discourse through Palestinian expertise and evidence-based critique.



Political Education & Movement Building

Al-Shabaka's work continues to serve as a vital resource for movement leaders and institutions advancing Palestinian liberation through popular education and advocacy. This year, our staff engaged in 13 meetings with civil society organizations to address shared challenges, coordinate efforts, and build collective strategies. Our analysts and members also participated in 15 public events.

In September 2024, we joined Georgetown University in Qatar's Reimagining Palestine conference, part of its Hiwaraat series convening scholars, experts, and the public around globally significant issues. In January 2025, we took part in the Third Annual Palestine Forum in Doha, hosted by the Institute for Palestine Studies and the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, where Al-Shabaka organized the panel "Palestine: Frameworks for Liberation."



Network Strategy & Member Support

In addition to our publications and outreach, Al-Shabaka creates opportunities for members of our network to convene, build consensus, participate in tailored workshops, and present original analysis in webinars and conferences. We also support our policy network members in their media engagement.

Our monthly closed-door discussion group offers Palestinian analysts a safe, inclusive space to explore policy issues. This year, we also launched a Global South working group to foster collective strategic thinking and strengthen solidarity among those advancing liberation across the region. We hosted two in-person member gatherings and a number of informal meetups alongside major conferences.

As part of our ongoing efforts to grow and strengthen our network, we welcomed five new members in 2025: [Maha Abdallah](#), [Shahd Hammouri](#), [Karim Mattar](#), [Jamal Nabulsi](#), and [Malaka Shwaikh](#).

Living Our Values



Shared Leadership

Al-Shabaka's shared leadership model, adopted in 2023, is not just a structural choice—it's a political and strategic one. In a sector where leadership is often concentrated in a single individual, we've chosen an alternative approach that reflects our values and the collective nature of our mission.

In 2024, we continued to deepen this model through practice, reflection, and external support. Co-Directors Yara and Megan participated in *Tidelines*, an 8-week program led by AORTA Cooperative to strengthen shared, values-aligned leadership.

This grounding proved especially critical in a year of profound crisis—a time when many assume shared leadership is too unwieldy to be effective. For Al-Shabaka, however, it is precisely in moments of upheaval that this model has proven most vital, allowing us to carry heavy responsibility without isolation, respond to uncertainty with steadiness, and make decisions that are both strategic and deeply aligned with our collective values.



Expanding Our Capacity

At the end of 2024, we welcomed [Dina Hussein](#) as our new commissioning editor. A trained historian and seasoned editor, Dina now oversees Al-Shabaka's editorial process, strengthening the infrastructure behind our analysis and supporting contributors at every stage of their work.

Dina brings a wealth of experience from academia and media. She previously served as Senior Editor at the Alternative Policy Solutions research project at the American University in Cairo, and was the co-founding opinion editor of *Mada Masr*, Egypt's leading independent digital media platform.



Values in Practice

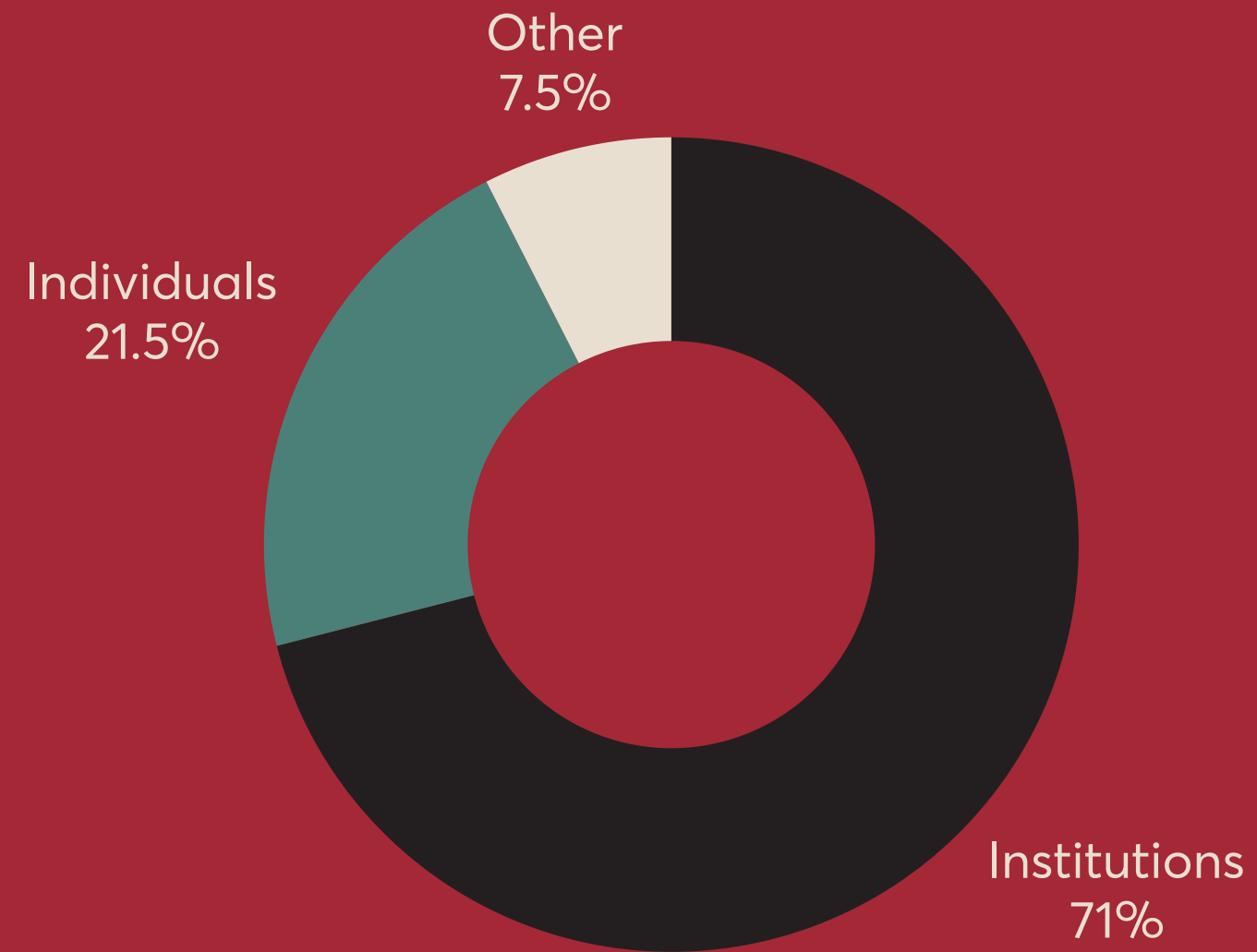
Throughout the year, we continued to deepen our commitment to transparency, trust-building, and collective learning across the movement. These values aren't abstract ideals—they are critical to sustaining and strengthening Palestinian organizing in an increasingly repressive global environment.

We remained in close conversation with key movement actors, sharing insights and strategizing around shared challenges and future directions. We also engaged in mutual learning with peer organizations, offering our internal frameworks as resources for others looking to align their operations with liberatory values.

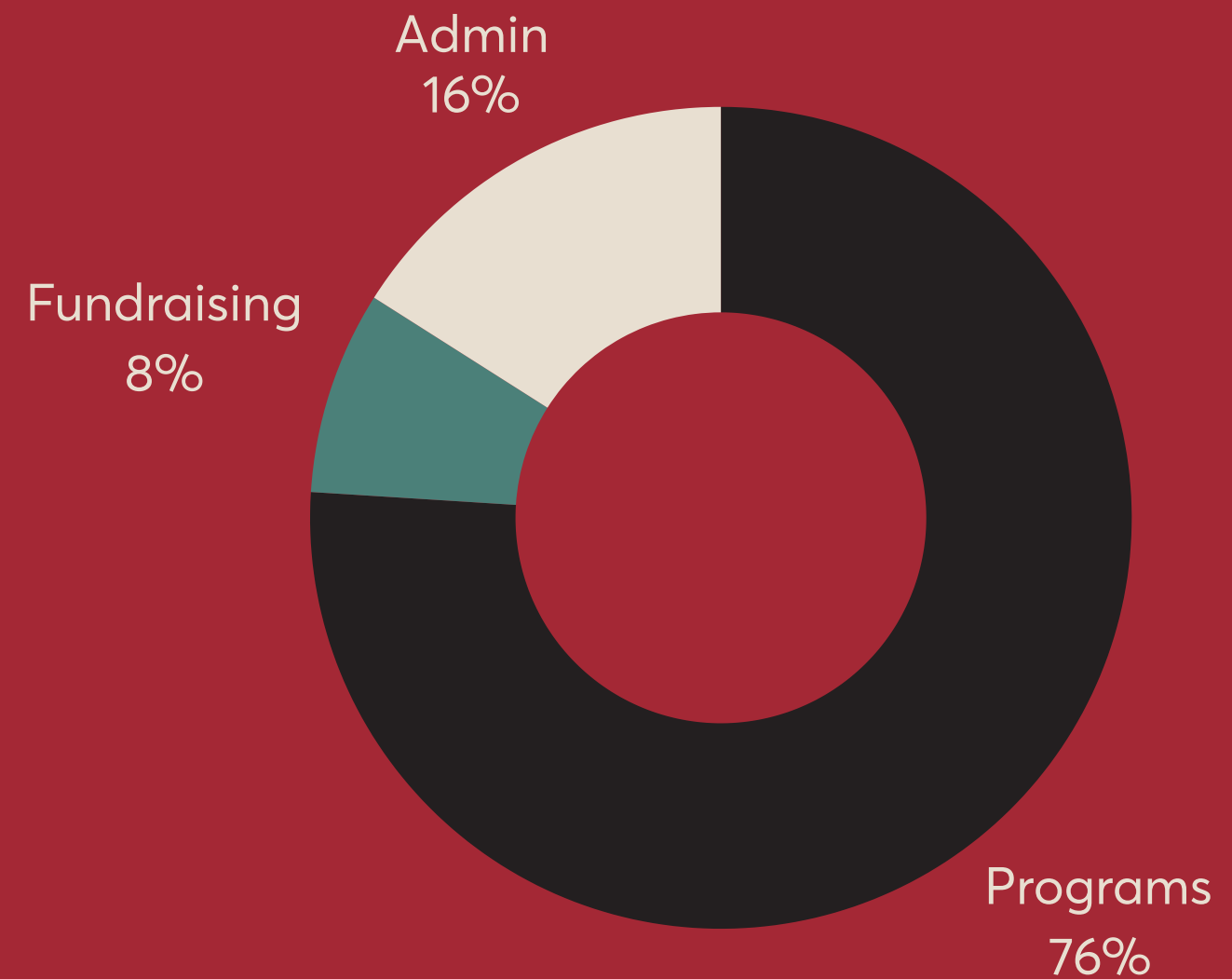
Internally, we developed and implemented policies that reflect this same commitment: a recruitment policy that safeguards meaningful team participation, and a team decision-making policy centered on consensus and care.

Rather than gatekeeping knowledge, we treat it as a resource to be shared—within our team, and across the broader movement ecosystem.

Financials—FY2024



Revenue



Expenses

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The Al-Shabaka staff and board express our deepest gratitude to the following supporters, as well as to those who wish to remain anonymous.

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