

ANNUAL REPORT

Spring 2025—Spring 2026



Al-Shabaka

The Palestinian Policy Network





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Our Mission

Al-Shabaka convenes a multidisciplinary, global network of Palestinian analysts to produce critical policy analysis and collectively imagine a new policymaking paradigm for Palestine and Palestinians worldwide.

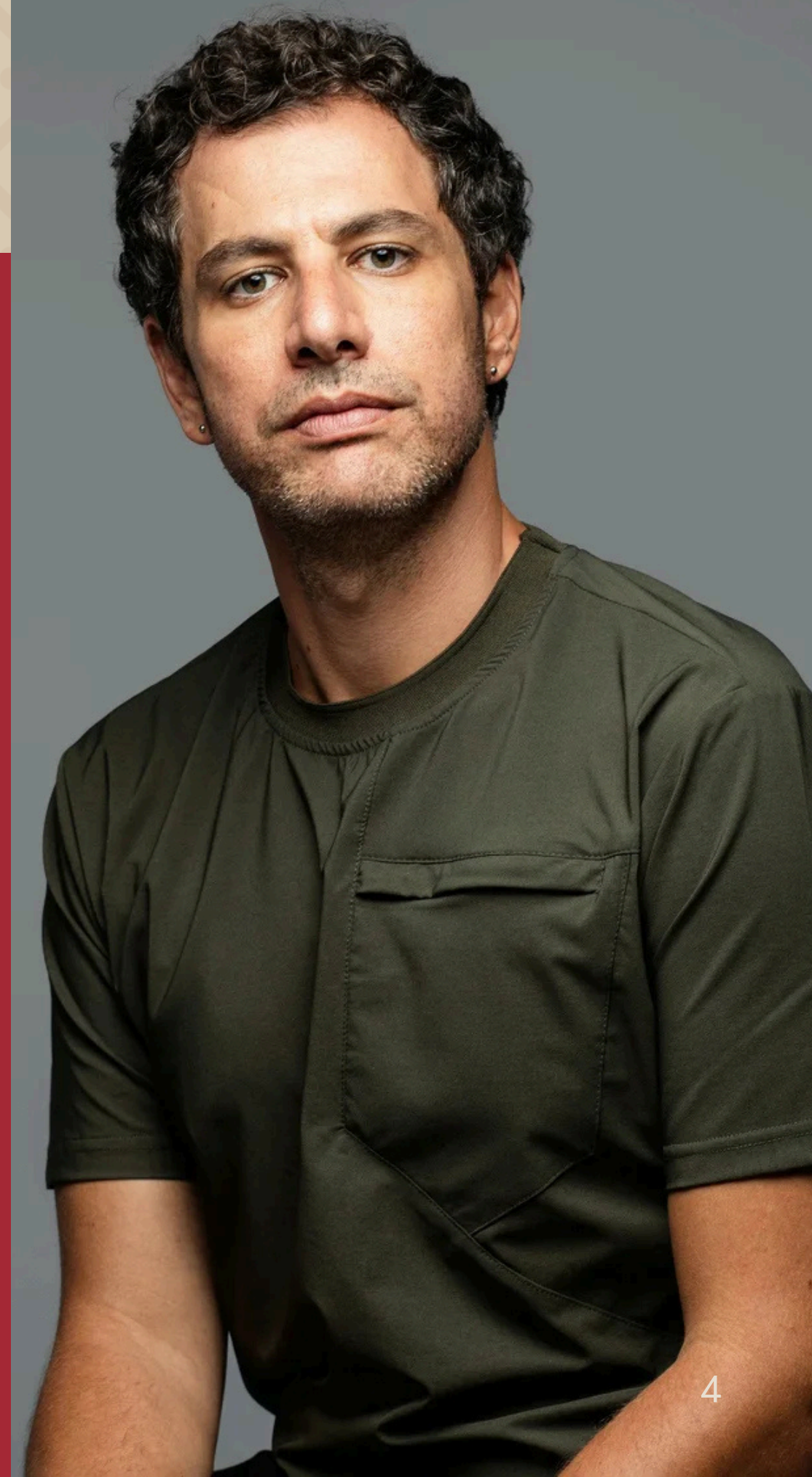
Our Vision

We envision the Palestinian people articulating and determining the contours of a liberated future.

Letter from the Board President

We are living through a paradox. The forces arrayed against Palestinian liberation—US empire, Zionism, Western hegemony—have never been more brazen. And yet, that brazenness is itself a symptom of decline. What we are witnessing is not the consolidation of power but its overreach: empire expressing itself through force precisely because its legitimacy is eroding.

The past year has made this paradox impossible to ignore: the US-Israeli war on Iran, the open threats to sovereignty across the Global South, and the privatization of diplomacy through ventures like the so-called Board of Peace. These are not the actions of a confident hegemon; they are the actions of one that has internalized the lesson that impunity, granted without limit, licenses endless violence. Western states and international institutions spent decades extending that impunity to Israel, shielding its crimes against Palestinians from accountability while the logic of those crimes metastasized. That logic has now traveled far beyond Palestine's borders, to Lebanon, to Iran, to Syria, and to the sovereign states of the Global South that have refused submission. What was once dismissed as exceptional treatment of an exceptional people has revealed itself as a template.





Palestine is the epicenter of this global moment. It is where the logic of settler colonialism and imperial domination has been most fully elaborated, and where the unraveling of that logic is most clearly visible. For those of us who have spent decades arguing that there can be no just global order without a free Palestine, this is not a moment of vindication—for the suffering is too immense for that—but it is a moment of profound clarity.

That clarity comes with responsibility. Palestinians are navigating a transition as treacherous as it is necessary: moving out of a decades-long orientation toward Western institutions and frameworks that were never designed to deliver justice, and toward a different horizon, one that has not yet taken full shape. The systems of international governance that structured the postwar order have failed. Gaza has made this undeniable. The question now is not whether those systems can be reformed, but what will be built in their place, and whether Palestine will be central to that construction rather than an afterthought.

This is the terrain on which Al-Shabaka's work takes on its fullest meaning. As new alliances form across the Global South and old frameworks are discarded, as the movement grows and the stakes of its choices increase, the need for rigorous, Palestinian-centered analysis becomes not a complement to the struggle but a constitutive part of it. Al-Shabaka exists to provide exactly that:

not to react to events, but to help the movement understand them, to name what is happening with precision, and to imagine what a liberated future demands.

This past year, we carried that mission forward amid conditions of extraordinary difficulty. The darkness of this moment is real, but so too is the opening it contains. The collapse of the old order is also an invitation to build something better in its place. Palestinians, drawing on our knowledge, our history, and our unbroken commitment to liberation, must help shape what that is. That is the work we continue.

Tareq Baconi

President of the Board of Directors



Al-Shabaka by the Numbers

300k

Website visits

43

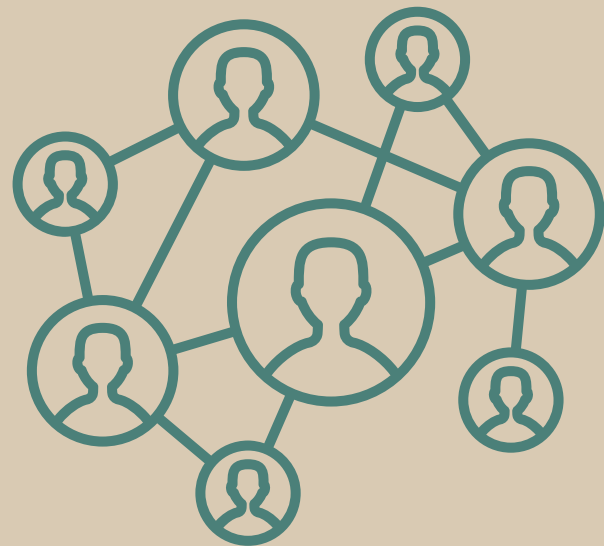
Original outputs

100+

Media Features

2m+

Social media impressions



200+ member network based in 20 countries across six continents

3 new analysts welcomed to our policy network

Participation in 16 public events

Fellowship Program

Al-Shabaka's policy fellows anchor our analytical work and organizational presence in two critical geographies.

Based in Palestine and the US, respectively, Fathi Nimer and Tariq Kenney-Shawa connect rigorous Palestinian-centered analysis to the civil society networks, coalitions, and movement spaces where that analysis is most needed.

POLITICS / SEPTEMBER 23, 2025

Can Revolution Survive in the 21st Century?

Technology and the surveillance state have made it easier than ever to suppress popular uprisings. Will our movements adapt?

TARIQ KENNEY-SHAWA

SHARE



NEWS

ANALYSIS

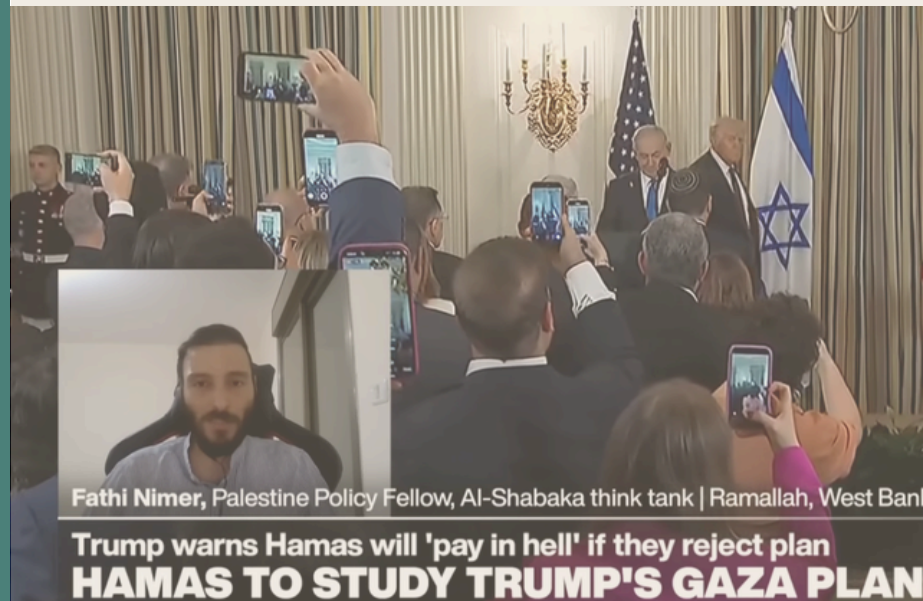
OPINION

FEATURES

INVESTIGATIONS

PO

"They want maximum land and minimum Arabs", Fathi Nimer, a researcher with Palestinian think tank Al-Shabaka, told *AFP*, referring to a commonly used phrase used to describe Israeli settlement tactics.



Fathi Nimer, Palestine Policy Fellow, Al-Shabaka think tank | Ramallah, West Bank

Trump warns Hamas will 'pay in hell' if they reject plan
HAMAS TO STUDY TRUMP'S GAZA PLAN



Tariq Kenney-Shawa U.S. Policy fellow at Al Shabaka

Six months of Gaza truce marred by dire conditions, violence

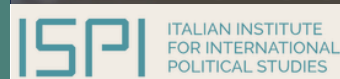
WORLD / JANUARY 30, 2026

Jared Kushner's "Plan" for Gaza Is an Abomination

Kushner is pitching a "new," gleaming resort hub. But scratch the surface, and you find nothing less than a blueprint for ethnic cleansing.

TARIQ KENNEY-SHAWA

SHARE



RESEARCH WORLD PUBLICATIONS ISPI SCHOOL EVENTS CORPOR

The war on Iran further weakens the credibility of Trump's Board of Peace

"Even if the ceasefire with Iran holds, the war has already tainted the credibility and momentum of Trump's 'Board of Peace' vision. In the near term, Washington's attention will remain fixated on managing the fallout from a war that has exposed the limits of US coercive power and created fresh doubts about Trump's strategic competence. Trump may try to revive the initiative by forcing movement on Gaza, especially around Hamas's disarmament. But while attention was fixed on Iran, Israel appeared content to maintain their genocidal status quo in Gaza: daily airstrikes, a suffocating blockade, and conditions designed to keep the territory in a permanent state of devastation. In the wake of its strategic failure in Iran, Israel may seek to take out its frustration on Palestinians. That, in turn, will make Trump's alternative world order fantasy even less appealing to the international community."

Tariq Kenney-Shawa, US Policy Fellow, Al-Shabaka

Fathi Nimer, a policy fellow at Al-Shabaka, a Palestinian think tank, says the suspended trade agreements with Israel, imposed arms embargoes or other "There is a wide tool set at the disposal of these countries, but there is no to use it," he said.



Fathi Nimer
Palestine Policy Fellow

Fellowship Program

Over the past year, Fathi deepened Al-Shabaka's roots in Palestine and across the Global South. He expanded our Arabic-language policy lab program, convened public discussions on food sovereignty, settler violence, and the war on Iran, and represented Al-Shabaka at conferences and convenings from Germany to Cape Town. His media presence spanned Al Jazeera, France 24, AFP, and outlets across Europe and the Arab world, providing Palestinian-grounded analysis to international audiences on the West Bank, annexation, and Christian Zionism.

His policy brief on Christian Zionism in the Global South and commentary on the future of the West Bank were among the year's most significant publications. He also advanced a long-form collaborative research project with Al-Shabaka analysts and contributed a chapter to the anthology Rising for Palestine, while building and sustaining partnerships with universities, civil society organizations, and movement networks in Palestine and beyond.

Fellowship Program

Tariq's work over the past year established him as a leading analytical voice on the repression of the Palestine solidarity movement in the US. His policy brief on Project Esther and publication on US sanctions and the criminalization of Palestinian justice work together mapped the legal and political infrastructure being deployed against the movement, drawing on extensive coalition engagement with US-based organizations.

Tariq was quoted in The Intercept, Middle East Eye, Newsweek, and other outlets, and contributed essays to The Nation on questions of revolution and resistance in the twenty-first century. As host of Al-Shabaka's English-language policy lab program—viewership of which has nearly doubled since 2024—he brought Palestinian analysis to growing audiences, while deepening relationships with civil society partners across the US movement landscape.



Tariq Kenney-Shawa
US Policy Fellow

Analysis

This past year, Al-Shabaka's analytical output mapped the architecture of the genocide: how it is enabled, how it is managed, and how it is being expanded beyond Gaza's borders.

Across 22 publications, nine policy labs, and 12 podcast episodes, our analysts examined the legal cover and diplomatic frameworks that sustain Israeli impunity; the technocratic and humanitarian mechanisms deployed to normalize Palestinian subjugation; the territorial logic driving Israel's expansion into the West Bank, Lebanon, and now Iran; and the geopolitical realignments—across the Global South, within western states, and between major powers—that the genocide is accelerating.



Analysis

Running through this body of work is a consistent argument: that what is unfolding in Palestine is not an isolated crisis but an indictment of the international order, and that understanding it requires analysis that is at once rigorous, Palestinian-centered, and attentive to the global stakes.

Our publications, policy labs in both English and Arabic, and podcast episodes brought that analysis to hundreds of thousands of readers and listeners across the world, with policy lab viewership nearly doubling since the previous year.

RETHINKING PALESTINE PODCAST

Palestine State Recognition: Europe's Response to Genocide

With
Diana Buttu
Inès Abdel Razek
Yara Hawari




 Al-Shabaka
The Palestinian Policy Network

COMMENTARY | CIVIL SOCIETY

The World Radicalized by the Gaza Genocide


Tareq Baqoni · Dec 21, 2025



POLICY LAB | POLITICS

After Gaza's Genocide: What World Order?

Noura Erakat, Tariq Kenney-Shawa · Feb 23, 2026



(c) APA Images/

Legitimizing Genocide: The Israel-Trump Plan and Gaza's Future

DEC 9 30pm

Public Engagement

Over the past year, Al-Shabaka brought Palestinian analysis to audiences across four continents, participating in and convening events that ranged from closed academic conferences to open public forums.

Our presence at international gatherings reflected a deliberate effort to situate Palestinian liberation within the broader conversations about decolonization, international law, and global order that this moment demands.

Ramallah Congress on the Decolonization of Palestine

In November 2025, Al-Shabaka co-hosted the Ramallah Congress with Progressive International and the Ibrahim Abu Lughod Institute at Birzeit University. The congress brought together an international delegation of journalists, policymakers, and activists alongside an academic conference, with Al-Shabaka members Basem Ezbidi, Dana Farraj, Asem Khalil, Fathi Nimer, Munir Nuseibah, Tareq Sadeq, and Halla Shoaibi among the featured participants.



From Crisis to Strategy: Charting Long-Term Solutions for Palestine

Al-Shabaka convened a public panel in Amman in October 2025, drawing 100 participants. Chaired by policy member Mary Nazzal-Batayneh and board member Muna Sokhtian, the event brought

together Al-Shabaka analysts Yara Hawari, Alaa Tartir, Tariq Kenney-Shawa, and Fathi Nimer to discuss long-term strategies and pathways toward a Palestinian-led liberated future.

Public Engagement

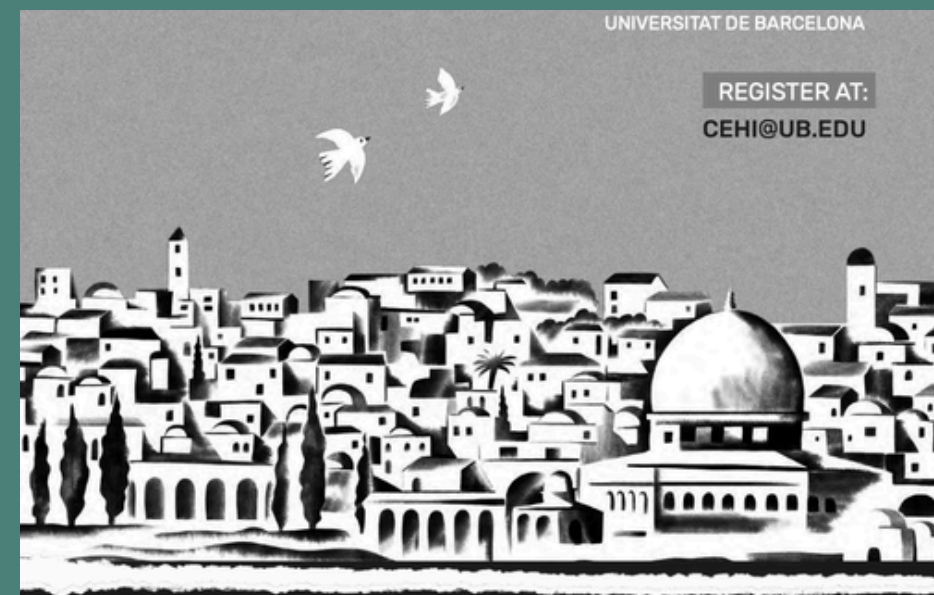
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People's Congress for the Hague Group

On the first anniversary of the formation of the Hague Group, Al-Shabaka participated in Progressive International's People's Congress

in Amsterdam, where social movements and civil society organizations forged a common plan to end the Nakba. Co-Director Yara Hawari and policy member Omar Barghouti were among the featured speakers.



International Congress—Palestine: Frameworks, Reflections, and Perspectives

Hosted by the University of Barcelona's Centre for International Historical Studies. The three-day conference, held in Spain in June 2025, featured presentations from Al-Shabaka Co-Director

Yara Hawari, alongside prominent policy analysts Mariam Bargouthi, Oroub El-Abed, Rabab Abdulhadi, and Diana Buttu.

Behind the Scenes

Not all of Al-Shabaka's work is visible.

Alongside our public analysis and programming, we engage in closed-door convenings, capacity building, and coalition work that strengthen the broader ecosystem of Palestinian advocacy and movement infrastructure.

South-South Solidarity Convening

In December 2025, Al-Shabaka co-hosted a closed-door convening in South Africa in partnership with [Georgetown Qatar](#) and the [University of the Western Cape](#). Focused on building a Global South solidarity strategy, the event brought together over 50 participants, including Al-Shabaka network members and policymakers from across the Global South. The convening was part of Al-Shabaka's ongoing commitment to situating Palestinian liberation within broader frameworks of anti-colonial and South-South solidarity.



Media Training of Trainers

Al-Shabaka joined the [Britain Palestine Media Centre](#), [Makan](#), and the [Palestine Institute for Public Diplomacy](#) in a media Training of Trainers program facilitated by the [New Economy Organisers Network](#). The initiative was designed

to build a cohort of skilled media trainers across our ecosystem. In April 2026, the participating organizations delivered their first two-module training program to 16 participants, including five members of Al-Shabaka's policy network.

Behind the Scenes

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Arabic-Language Media Training

In collaboration with the [Al Jazeera Media Institute](#), Al-Shabaka hosted an Arabic-language media training workshop for network members, led by veteran presenter Mohammed Krishan. The session focused on developing Arabic-language interview skills, reflecting Al-Shabaka's commitment to building Palestinian analysts' capacity to engage effectively across English and Arabic-language media landscapes.



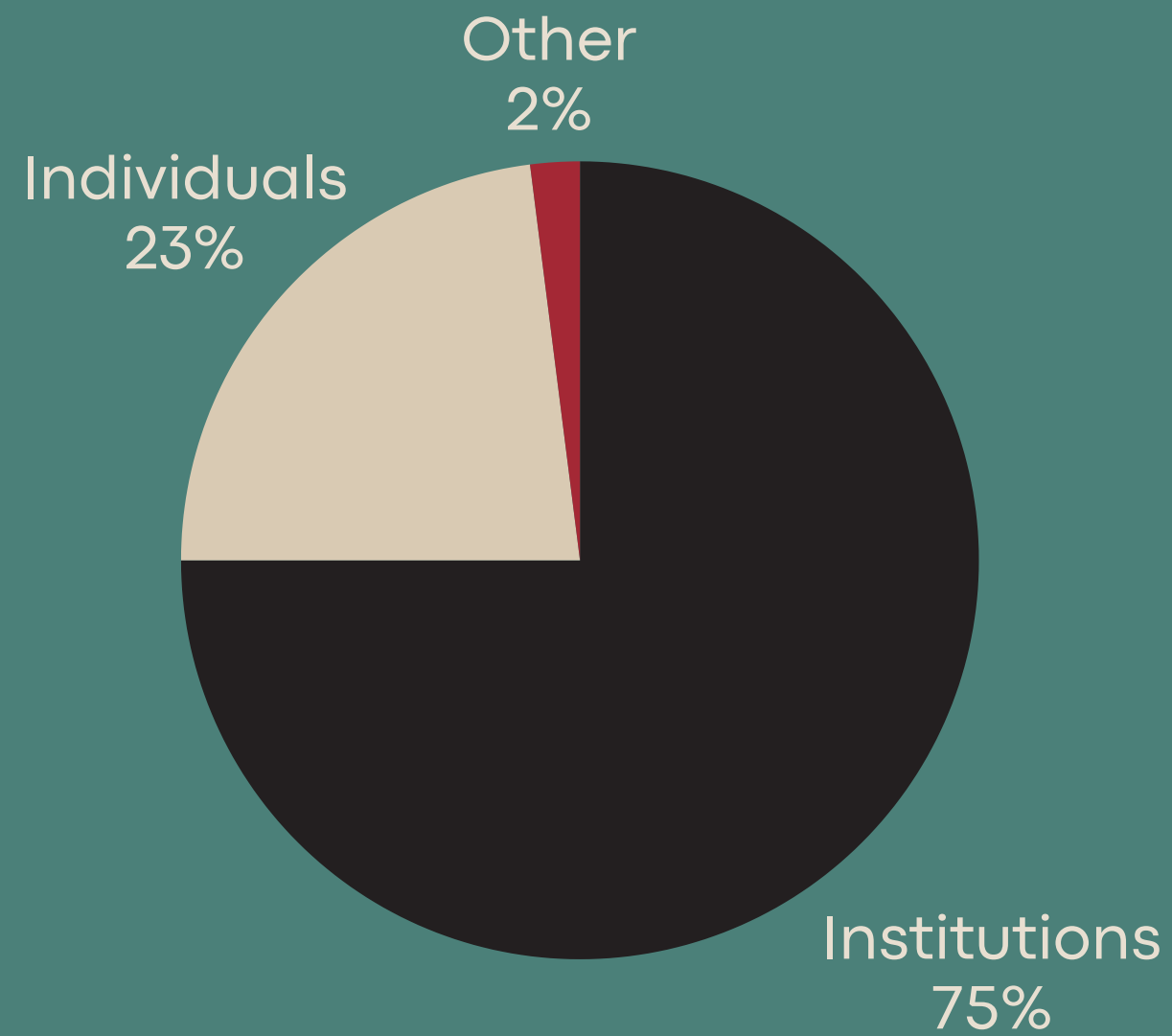
Private Political Briefings

Throughout 2025, Al-Shabaka held three private political briefings for the [Women Donors Network](#), drawing on the expertise of members of our policy network. The series covered the role of

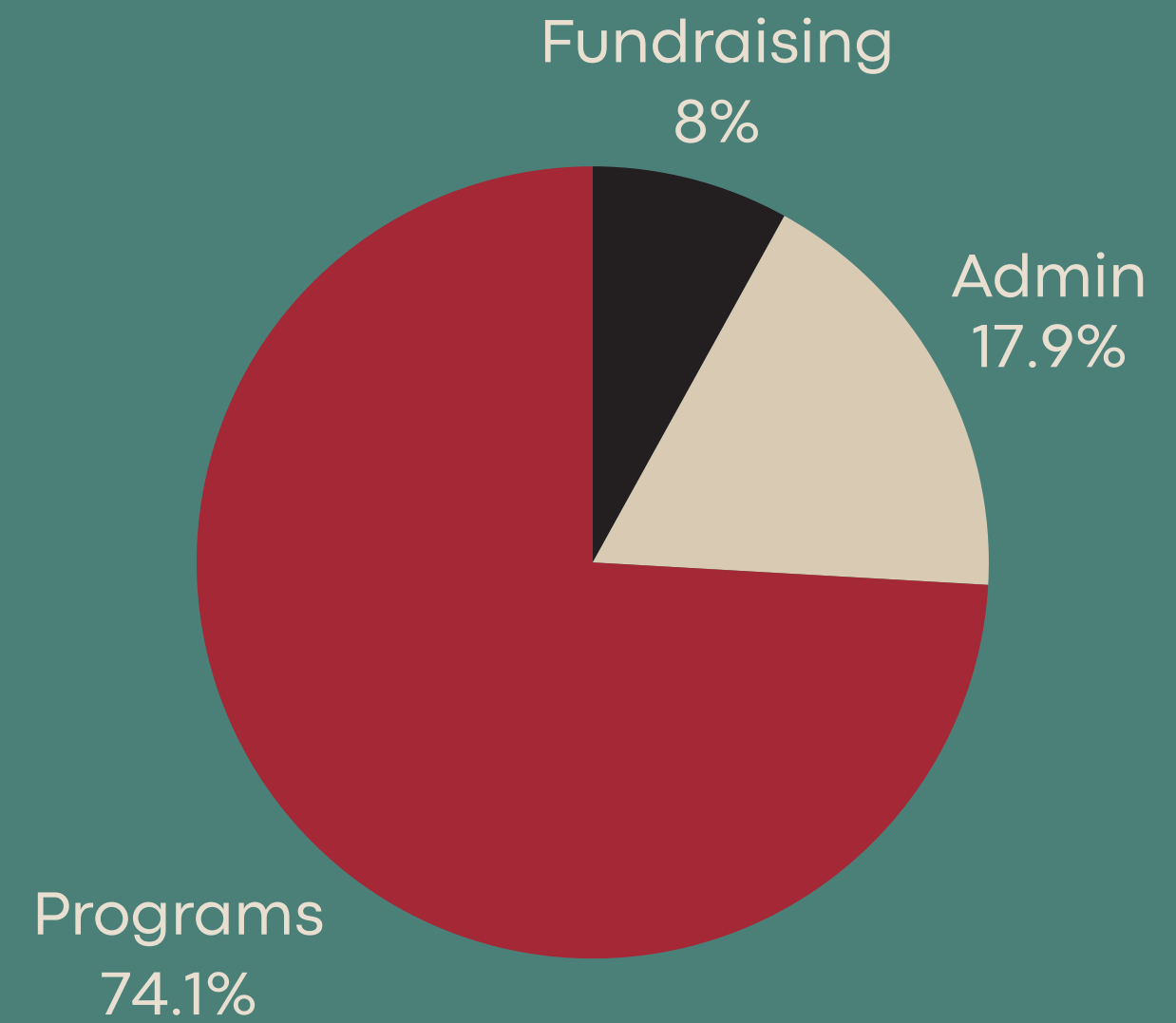
strategic knowledge production as movement infrastructure, the right of return and the role of UNRWA, and the foundations of Israeli settler colonialism and apartheid.

Financials—FY2025

Revenue



Expenses



Our Supporters

In previous years, Al-Shabaka has proudly listed our donors as a reflection of our commitment to transparency. This year, however, we have made the deliberate decision not to do so.

The political environment in the US has made donor disclosure a genuine risk. Supporters of Palestinian organizations—both individuals and foundations—are facing intensified scrutiny and harassment, and we recognize that protecting those who stand with us must take precedence.

We are deeply grateful to every supporter who has stood with Al-Shabaka during one of the most difficult and consequential moments in Palestinian history. Your commitment at a time when supporting Palestinian liberation carries real risk is not lost on us. It is what allows us to continue producing analysis, building networks, and strengthening the movement infrastructure that this moment demands.

We look forward to the day when we can again openly express our gratitude to you. Until then, know that your support matters more than ever.



Al-Shabaka

The Palestinian Policy Network

