



The Islamic University of Gaza, A Hamas Stronghold, Has Been Supported by the EU for Years

September 10, 2020

Overview¹

The Islamic University of Gaza (IUG) is a radical Islamist academic institution which has been a Hamas stronghold since its founding. Generations of Hamas' military and political leadership grew out of the university, and Hamas holds political, ideological and military activities within its walls. **The IUG has enjoyed EU support for many years, manifested by the EU's integrating the university into projects it funds and the exchange of students and faculty, even though the EU regards Hamas as a terrorist organization.** The EU support for the IUG **is part of its support for Palestine, that is, the Palestinian Authority (PA). The EU has a representative in Ramallah** through whom support is transferred to the IUG, although it is aware that in reality **the PA has no real influence on what happens inside the university.**



The Islamic University of Gaza (Islamic University Facebook page)

The Islamic University's Identification with Hamas

► The Islamic University refers to itself as an independent academic institution **supervised by the PA's ministry of higher education.** However, in reality it is **a radical Islamist institution which has been controlled by Hamas since its founding,** and **the supervision of the PA's ministry of higher education is nominal at best.**

¹ Full Version.

► Since the university's founding, **a great deal information has been compiled about Hamas' extensive political, ideological and military activities**: senior Hamas figures, including senior operatives in Hamas' military-terrorist wing, have held **teaching or administrative positions at the IUG**; its students **have been recruited into Hamas' military wing** and have participated in terrorist attacks against Israel, including **suicide bombing attacks**; the university facilities **were exploited for developing and storing weapons**; and since Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip in 2007 there have been riots between **Hamas operatives, who turned the university into a military compound**, and Fatah operatives. On December 28, 2008, **during Operation Cast Lead, Israeli aircraft attacked Hamas' center for weapons development, located in the Faculty of Science laboratories' building**.

► **The following are Hamas' main Hamas movement-related political and propaganda, ideological and military activities in the university**, based on information acquired about Hamas' activities since the takeover of the Gaza Strip (for further information see Appendices A and B):

- ◆ **Political activities**: The Islamic University **is where generations of Hamas political and military leadership grew and developed, and where their radical Islamist worldviews and ideology were formed**. Many senior Hamas figures, past and present, including senior figures in its military wing, began their activities at the university as administrators, teachers, and activists in Hamas' student cell (the Islamic Bloc). For example, **Isma'il Haniyeh**, head of Hamas' political bureau, studied Arabic literature and was formerly secretary of the university's board of trustees and chairman of the student council. **Dr. Mahmoud al-Zahar**, one of Hamas' founders, taught medicine at the university. Senior terrorist operatives in Hamas' military wing who were killed in IDF targeted killings, such as **Ibrahim al-Maqadmeh and Salah Shehadeh**, were employed by the university. **Yahya al-Sinwar**, currently head of the Hamas political bureau in the Gaza Strip, studied at the university and was one of the founders of the Islamic Bloc (See **Appendix B**). **Dr. Abu Obeida Hafez al-Agha**, active in Hamas' finances, was **head of the university's supervisory board**. The American Treasury Department imposed sanctions on him for his involvement in the transfer of millions of dollars to Hamas (September 10, 2015).

◆ **Ideological activities:** Hamas carries out **extensive indoctrination activities at the university to inculcate students with its radical Islamist ideology, which has its origins in Muslim Brotherhood ideology. The main tenets of Hamas' ideology, inculcated at the IUG, are hatred for Israel, hostility to the West and adherence to jihad.** The university held conferences dealing with imposing its radical Islamic code on the residents of the Gaza Strip (for example, including intensive Qur'an studies in the educational system and the use of the media to make radical Islam more influential within the Gazan population). An examination of academic theses indicates they deal with aspects of "**jihadi education**," such as teaching "jihadist education" in Palestinian schools and ways to use Islamic women to deepen "jihadist education" at home. One thesis dealt with obvious anti-Semitic themes (See **Appendices A and B**).

◆ **Military activities:** According to intelligence information revealed at the time by the ITIC in response to the Goldstone Report,² the Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military-terrorist wing, made extensive use of IUG facilities. Hamas **exploited its laboratories for developing and manufacturing weapons, including long-range rockets.** The activities were supported by students and lecturers, who were used as sources of knowhow. Hamas sent students involved in rocket development to Iran, Syria and Lebanon for advanced training. The IUG facilities were used to store weapons and served as covert meeting places for military wing operatives. **Many IUG students were recruited into the Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades' ranks** and participated in military-terrorist activities, including suicide bombing attacks (See **Appendix A**).

² For further information, see the March 2010 bulletin, the ITIC response to the Goldstone Report: "Hamas and the Terrorist Threat from the Gaza Strip The Main Findings of the Goldstone Report Versus the Factual Findings," p. 191 ff. (Response to the Goldstone Report)



Masked Palestinians, apparently Hamas operatives, and two children holding toy guns went on stage during a ceremony honoring outstanding IUG students. The masked men held a banner with a picture of Muhammad Deif, head of Hamas' military wing, who was seriously injured in an attempted IDF targeted killing attack. Muhammad Deif was an IUG graduate and during his studies was an activist in Hamas' Islamic Bloc. The picture on the banner is apparently from his days as a student (YouTube, May 11, 2015).

EU Support for the Islamic University

The IUG has participated in projects with more than 130 European universities and research centers in EU 21 countries. There are more than 40 multilateral and bilateral EU-funded programs, including Tempus, Erasmus Mundus, Erasmus+, Al Mqadisi (France), Appear (Austria) and Horizon 2020 (See **Appendix C**).

A screenshot of the Islamic University of Gaza's website. The header includes the university's logo and the text "External Relations Islamic University of Gaza". There are social media icons for Facebook, YouTube, Email, Arabic, and IUG. A navigation menu lists: Home, External Relations, Cooperation with NGOs, Academic Partnership Programmes, International Mobility, Networks, and Agreements. The main content area shows a breadcrumb trail: "External Relations >> International Relations >> International Cooperation". Below this, there is a section titled "International Cooperation" with a sub-section "IUG International Profile" containing the text: "-Currently, IUG has project partnerships with more than 130 European universities and research centers located in 21 EU countries as part of its participation in more than 40 EU-funded multilateral and bilateral programmes including Tempus, Erasmus Mundus, Erasmus+ , Al Mqadisi (France), Appear (Austria) and Horizon 2020."

Project partnerships between the IUG and EU universities and research centers (IUG website, August 2020).

► Most of the EU support is transmitted to the IUG through the Erasmus+ project by Dr. Nidal al-Jayousi, whose office is in Ramallah. He is the director of the Palestine program and also responsible for its implementation in the Gaza Strip. Among the IUG projects' supporters are the World Bank and various UN agencies such as the UN Development Program (UNDP), the W.H.O., UNRWA and UNICEF (Islamic University publications, 2017).

► The EU plan for its activities in 2017 included funding for Palestine, paid through the EU's general budget, and mentioned funding for the IUG (as part of the Business Start-up Incubators Program project). The money was transferred through the PA's Ministry of National Economy (MoNE) even though the **EU was aware that the ministry's "capacity to influence the situation in the Gaza Strip was limited due to the control of the *de facto* [Hamas] government."**

Sustainable Economic Development: The technical and business capacities of Gazan entrepreneurs and their access to finance are limited, especially for women and youth. There are a number of dynamic business incubators/accelerators in the Gaza Strip and there is scope to reinforce their capacities by increasing their exposure to international best practices. The Islamic University of Gaza, notably, has been supported by the on-going EU funded "Start-up Business Incubators in Palestine" project and proved to be a solid partner. This new action would continue to work with the University and support additional incubators in the Gaza Strip. The Ministry of National Economy (MoNE)'s capacity to influence the situation in the Gaza Strip is currently limited due to the control of the *de facto* Government. However, the Ministry will be involved in the overall monitoring of the action. The project team will closely co-ordinate with civil society organisations (business development organisations, trade unions and employers' organisations, chambers of commerce, women and youth support organisations), relevant projects, universities, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) institutions, the Palestinian Fund for Employment and Social Protection as well as with financial institutions and investors. The Belgium Technical Co-operation (BTC) is a frequent and reliable implementing partner of the EUREP, with assignments going beyond the currently on-going above mentioned Start-up Business Incubators project.

EU support for the IUG as part of its project for supporting Palestine in 2017 (EU website, December 11, 2017) (ITIC underlining).

Appendices

► Appendix A: The Islamic University of Gaza as an institution identified with Hamas

- ◆ Historical background
- ◆ Importance of the university in Hamas' perspective
- ◆ The Islamic University as a Hamas military stronghold during its takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007
- ◆ IDF attack on Hamas' center for the research and development of weapons in the science faculty building (end of 2008)
- ◆ IUG indoctrination of students
- ◆ Recruiting students to carry out suicide bombing attacks
- ◆ Turkish support for the Islamic University

► Appendix B: Senior Hamas figures who have filled teaching and administrative positions in the IUG

- ◆ Overview

- ◆ Academia, anti-Semitism and support for terrorism: the case of Dr. Saleh Hussein al-Regeb

- ◆ Examples of senior Hamas figures who have held teaching and administrative positions in the IUG

► **Appendix C: EU support for the IUG**

- ◆ Erasmus+: Overview

- ◆ Including the IUG in Erasmus+ projects

- ◆ The Horizon 2020 project

- ◆ The Quality Improvement Fund (QIF) project

- ◆ The Sustainable Urban Demonstration Project (SUDEP)

- ◆ Other EU-funded projects

Appendix A

The Islamic University of Gaza as an institution identified with Hamas

Historical background

► At the beginning of the 1970s **Sheikh Ahmed Yassin**, the future Hamas leader, began constructing *da'wah*³ institutions to establish themselves among the people in Gaza, help them overcome their hardships and **shape a society according to the radical ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement**. In 1973 he founded a religious-social association called *al-mujama al-islamiya* (the Islamic Center), upon which Hamas was established. By the end of the decade the Islamic Center had scored its greatest achievement, **the takeover of the IUG and the positioning of its own members, faculty and administrators**.

► **The IUG was established in 1978, initially funded by the PLO**. For Yasser Arafat it was a source of pride, but the PLO did not have sufficient funds to finance it, and **Arafat therefore enlisted the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan to establish a joint board of trustees**. However, in 1983 the struggle over the university's identity came to an end. Arafat was expelled from Lebanon, Fatah was in tatters, and **Sheikh Ahmed Yassin took control of the university, turning it into his personal fortress and a Muslim Brotherhood stronghold**. The PLO-affiliated administration was replaced with one affiliated with the Islamic Center. Shlomi Eldar, in his book *To Know Hamas*,⁴ wrote that after intensive fund-raising, the Islamic Bloc (Hamas' student association) pushed by Ahmed Yassin, won the student council election, after which the university leadership affiliated with Arafat was removed. After Hamas had gained control of the university Dr. Mahmoud al-Zahar and Dr. Abd al-Aziz al-Rantisi (in 1985 and 1986, respectively) joined the staff, and **turned the university into a dominant and influential center of Islamist activity**. The IUG, wrote Eldar, **became an institution of higher learning, out of which the entire Hamas leadership emerged**.⁵

► **Hamas was established in December 1987, based on the Islamic Center's (*al-mujama al-islamiya*) extensive civilian network**, accompanied by a transition to **ongoing terrorist activity against Israel**, supported by its civilian network. Hamas' student associations in

³ Missionary work inviting people to the faith, prayer and manner of Islamic life.

⁴ Shlomi Eldar, *To Know Hamas*, (Hebrew), Keter Publishers, Jerusalem, 2012, pp. 23-24.

⁵ Eldar, p. 164

the IUG and other universities became reservoirs from which operatives were recruited to Hamas' military and security forces.⁶ **In the 1990s the IUG became completely affiliated with Hamas.**

► During the second half of the 1990s Yasser Arafat was forced to confront Hamas while there had been a series of lethal terrorist attacks in Israel. Arafat felt there was a genuine threat to his rule. During the confrontation senior Hamas figures and senior military operatives in the Gaza Strip were detained. According to Eldar, "...when the wave of detentions ended, [Muhammad] Dahlan tried to convince Arafat to go on to the next stage, **taking control of the IUG, Hamas' most important stronghold. The university was the movement's power base and the focus of its intellectual and ideological activity, and enabled Hamas to recruit supporters and build its leadership.** However, Arafat refused to authorize Dahlan to retake the university once the wave of detentions had been completed. Thus the university remained Hamas' stronghold, its eternal flame, even when most of its operatives and leaders had been imprisoned in PA jails..."⁷

Importance of the university in Hamas' perspective

Since its founding, **the IUG has been a movement-oriented, ideological and military power base for Hamas.** It provided a meeting place for senior Hamas figures in Gaza who became administrators and/or faculty. **It has also been the breeding ground for senior and middle-level Hamas figures, providing support for various Hamas activities.**

► **Hamas regards the IUG as important** because it views educational institutions, from kindergarten to university, as **its foremost tool for recruiting members to its ranks and for spreading radical Islamism.** Thus the IUG is influenced by the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, which puts an emphasis on religious-political education. By fostering its worldview of radical Islamism and the intensive indoctrination of the younger generation, Hamas creates new layers of political activists and military operatives who absorb its principles, adhere to its worldview and are prepared to struggle against Israel.

► Despite the fact that Hamas and the IUG faculty deny Hamas' involvement in the university's activity, and despite the fact that IUG students do not have to demonstrate loyalty to Hamas, Hamas has a very active presence on campus. It has a vast number of

⁶ Guy Aviad, *The Hamas Lexicon*, (Hebrew), Maarachot Publishers/Ministry of Defense/Tel Aviv, 2008, pp. 78-79.

⁷ Eldar, p. 83.

activists and supporters among the students and in the faculty and administration. **On May 18, 2007, Steven Erlanger, writing in The New York Times, called the university "...one of the prime means for Hamas to convert Palestinians to its Islamist cause."**

► An important institution Hamas uses to deepen its influence on the university is its **student association, known as *al-qutla al-islamiya*, the Islamic Bloc**. By controlling the Islamic Bloc Hamas assures control over the agenda of the university and its students. **Students at all universities in general and at the IUG in particular are an important target audience for Hamas for the spread of its radical Islamist ideology and for political and military recruitment**. Senior Hamas figure **Dr. Isma'il Radwan**, who was dean of students at the IUG, called the university "the main stage for preparing, recruiting and directing the faithful among the young...the IUG has sacrificed both men and woman shaheeds " (Palinfo, March 5, 2020).

► The radical Islamist atmosphere at the IUG and Hamas' powerful influence over the conduct of the university's affairs **naturally turned it into a hothouse for the growth and development of Hamas activists and operatives of all types and at all levels. Many important movement, governance and military Hamas leaders today are IUG graduates or previous administrators**. Most of the positions at the university, from faculty and the administration to maintenance staff, are filled by Hamas members or people affiliated with Hamas. **Thus the Hamas leadership makes the university's decision and decides its policies**.

The IUG as a Hamas military stronghold during the takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007

In December 2006 violent Hamas-Fatah clashes began in the Gaza Strip. Riots ensued, ending with the collapse of Fatah and the PA's security forces, and **in June 2007 Hamas completed its takeover**. Hamas' conduct during the clashes revealed its brutality and hatred for Fatah. Hamas operatives threw Fatah operatives off the roofs of high-rise buildings, murdered detainees in cold blood and deliberately targeted the families of Fatah operatives.⁸ **After its victory Hamas established a semi-state entity controlled by it, politically separate from the PA**. The Hamas-controlled entity established its own

⁸ For further information, see the ITIC June 14, 2007 bulletin, "Dramatic escalation in the violent confrontations between Hamas and Fatah (Interim report)."

governmental institutions and has enforced a rule of oppression on more than two million Gazans, resulting in an increasing distinction between the PA and itself.

► **During its takeover of the Gaza Strip Hamas used the IUG as a stronghold for its military wing's operatives.** Within the university walls Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades operatives and Hamas-supporting students operated against Fatah. Attempts made by the PA's security forces to negatively influence Hamas' military power were unsuccessful.

► **At the end of January 2007** security forces loyal to Fatah and Mahmoud Abbas **raided the university, confiscating large quantities of stored weapons.** Hamas said it was an attack on one of its power bases, and therefore intensified the confrontation and broadly attacked central facilities belonging to the PA's security forces and government offices. In the meantime, Hamas continued its military activity against Fatah operatives from inside the university.

► **On May 16, 2007**, on the eve of Hamas' takeover of the Gaza Strip, Hamas operatives rioted against Gazans loyal to Mahmoud Abbas. A spokesman for the PA presidential guard, loyal to Mahmoud Abbas, accused the Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades of **firing mortar shells from the university compound at the presidential residence in Gaza City. He accused Hamas of "turning the IUG into a military camp"** (Dunia al-Watan website, May 16, 2007).



Fires set in one of the IUG's buildings during the fighting between Hamas and Fatah supporters (Right: Palinfo, February 9, 2007. Left:, Dunia al-Watan, May 15, 2007).

The New York Times

Hamas fighters have been inside the Islamic University complex for days, trying to protect it from another Fatah attack like one last year that badly damaged the school, one of the prime means for Hamas to convert Palestinians to its Islamist cause. Hamas guards at the university have been killed by snipers in previous days; today, Fatah fighters fired rocket-propelled grenades and mortars at the school, setting one building on fire, and they exchanged gunshots with Hamas men inside.

Fatah said that Hamas fighters were using the university as a base for attacks on nearby police stations.

The president of the university, Kamelen Shaath, appealed for an end to the fighting. "Universities must be outside the circle of violence, and I appeal to the president and all the wise people on both sides to try to spare the university the agony of this fight."

Part of Steven Erlanger's article in The New York Times, May 18, 2007 (ITIC underlining).

► **On November 12, 2007**, about half a year after the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip, a rally attended by hundreds of thousands of Palestinians was held in the center of Gaza City to mark the third anniversary of Yasser Arafat's death. The rally also voiced support for Mahmoud Abbas and Fatah, and condemned the new Hamas regime. After the rally Fatah operatives clashed with Hamas operatives, and the result was that six people were killed and about 150 were wounded. **Fatah claimed the clashes began when armed Hamas operatives took up positions on the roofs of the IUG buildings and opened fire on the people at the rally.** Mahmoud Abbas called the event a "brutal crime" and declared a three-day period of mourning in the PA territories. The Salam Fayyad government said it was shocked by the "barbaric violence" carried out before the eyes of the world.



Fatah display of force oppressed by Hamas: the memorial rally for Yasser Arafat held in Gaza City, attended by hundreds of thousands (al-Arabiya, November 12, 2007).

IDF attack on Hamas' center for weapons research and development in the Faculty of Science building

► On December 28, 2008, the second day of Operation Cast Lead, **Israeli aircraft attacked Hamas' center for the research and development of weapons, which was located in the IUG's Faculty of Science building.** The IDF reported that the structures attacked included **laboratories for the development and manufacture of explosives, an electronics center and a site used by senior Hamas operatives for meetings** (Ma'ariv, December 29, 2008; Ynet, February 5, 2009 quoting Mark Regev, Israeli government spokesman).



Right: The Faculty of Science building after the Israeli Air Force attack (al-Aqsa TV, December 28, 2008). Left: The Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades forum website, December 31, 2008)



The Faculty of Science building before and after the Israeli Air Force attack during Operation Cast Lead (slideplayer.com website, July 30, 2017).

► After the Israeli attack, the IHH, a radical Islamist Turkish aid organization that is anti-Israel and anti-West, and which was behind the Mavi Marmara flotilla (2010), **helped the IUG repair the damage.** According to the IHH report, rebuilding the Faculty of Science building and the conference center cost **€720,000** (IHH website, August 4, 2014).⁹

⁹ The IHH is a Turkish aid organization which is anti-Semitic, anti-Israeli, anti-West and radical Islamist which was outlawed by Israel in 2008. It has ties to the Turkish government and is an important

► Reliable intelligence information used in the ITIC's response to the Goldstone Report shed light on the **vast military activity carried out by Hamas behind the university's walls**: The Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades held a wide variety of military activities within the university, including storing weapons, recruiting operatives (including suicide bombers), holding secret meetings, and carrying out military training and instruction. Behind the university walls Hamas:

- ◆ Used the university laboratories and their chemicals and equipment for military purposes;
- ◆ Used members of the Faculty of Science to gain knowhow for the development and production of weapons (such as long-range rockets).
- ◆ Hamas also sent students involved in weapons production to Iran, Syria and Lebanon for advanced training.¹⁰

IUG indoctrination of students

Hamas holds radical Islamist jihad indoctrination among IUG students. Indoctrination includes the struggle against Israel, the Jews and the West; the adoption of the strategy of jihad against; the establishment of an Islamist Palestinian state and imposing Hamas' radical Islamic code on Palestinian society.

Academic theses

► **Hamas' radical Islamist ideology, which dominates the IUG, also finds an outlet in the university's "academic" theses.** An analysis of theses written by IUG students indicated that the various departments, especially the Faculty of Sharia and Law, and the Faculties of Education and Arts, deal with inculcating Hamas ideology, especially **education for jihad**.

► The following are examples taken from the IUG's website (iugzaz.edu.ps):

- ◆ An MA thesis written for the Faculty of Education by **Iyad Abd al-Hamid Aqel**, whose thesis advisor was **Dr. Mahmoud Abu Deif**, was entitled, "**Aspects of jihadist education as reflected in the works of Abdallah Azzam.**" Abdallah Azzam is a Palestinian from Silat al-Harithiya in the Jenin district. His PhD is from al-Azhar University in Cairo, where he joined the Muslim Brotherhood. **He later developed a**

member of the international coalition trying to delegitimize Israel's existence. The IHH was the driving force behind the Mavi Marmara flotilla, which ended in violent clashes between IHH operatives and IDF soldiers. The IHH has a branch office in the Gaza Strip through which funds from Turkey are funneled to Hamas.

¹⁰ According to the ITIC's Response to the Goldstone Report, p. 194.

radical Islamist ideology which was adopted by Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda, and in effect served as Osama bin Laden's ideological mentor. Abdallah Azzam's unique contribution was his view that jihad [holy war] was the personal duty, actual and concrete, of every Muslim. Hamas adopted Abdallah Azzam (and his view) as its role model, especially because he was a Palestinian who combined ideology with practical military matters. Hamas named its military academy and mosques throughout the Gaza Strip after him.¹¹



Right: A poster at the military academy’s entrance reading “Welcome to the Shaheed Dr. Abdallah Azzam Academy.” The bottom line reads “A Muslim is most glorious when he wages jihad for the sake of Allah” [an Abdallah Azzam quote]. At the left is the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades insignia. Left: Students learn how to make IEDs in the Abdallah Azzam military academy (From the movie seized during Operation Cast Lead).

¹¹ For further information, see the June 4, 2009, bulletin, "During Operation Cast Lead a promotional film was seized about a military academy established by Hamas named after Dr. Abdallah Azzam, Osama bin Laden’s ideologue. Hamas turned him into a role model, although in practice the movement restricts the activities of the global jihad networks in the Gaza Strip." Hamas-affiliated mosques in the Gaza Strip are named for him, including those in Nuseirat, Beit Hanoun, eastern Khan Yunis and the al-Sabra neighborhood of Gaza City. The al-Sabra mosque was officially opened in 2006 by Yusuf Rizqa, minister of Muslim endowments in the Hamas administration. It operates the Abdallah Azzam center for Qur'an study and memorization (Facebook page of the center in al-Sabra mosque's Facebook page, April 6, 2015).



Front page of an MA thesis about education for jihad based on the works of Abdallah Azzam.

From the summary of a MA thesis including recommendations for indoctrinating Palestinian society with "jihad culture"

- ▶ **Paragraph 4** – The educational institutions should inculcate jihad among students as part of their curriculums.
- ▶ **Paragraph 5** – Jihad culture should be inculcated among the [Palestinian] people to prepare them for [struggling against] the enemy.
- ▶ **Paragraph 6** – Focusing on the woman and her role for jihad education in society



Section from the summary of the MA thesis

- ◆ A thesis written for the department of psychology by **Zeinab Nofal Radhi**, whose thesis advisor was **Dr. A'tef al-Agha**. It was entitled, "**The mental resilience of the**

mothers of shaheeds during the al-Aqsa intifada and its relation to different variables."



The front page of the thesis

◆ A thesis written by **Safwat Samir al-Buhairi**, whose thesis advisor was **Hamdan al-Sufi**, about "The content of Jihadist education based on the wars of the Prophet [Muhammad] and including them in the school curriculums."



The front page of the thesis

◆ An MA thesis about Islamic education written by **Suleiman Musa al-Husi**, whose thesis advisor was **Suleiman al-Muzzain**, about "The role of the Muslim woman in educating her children for jihad and ways to strengthen it."



The front page of the thesis

Indoctrination events

Memorial conference for Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin

- ▶ On **March 21-23, 2005**, the IUG's Faculty of Arts held a conference about "**the Shaheed Imam Ahmed Yassin.**" The event was held to commemorate the anniversary of his death in an Israeli targeted killing attack. Speeches were given by senior Hamas figures and people holding senior positions at the IUG.
- ▶ Among the prominent speakers were senior Hamas figure **Ahmed Bahar**; **Jamal al-Khoudary**, senior Hamas figure and chairman of the university's board of trustees; **Mahdi Akef**, the Muslim Brotherhood's General Guide (who spoke via video conference from Egypt); and **Abdel Fattah Dukhan**, one of Hamas' founders and a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. The conference dealt with the various aspects of the life of Ahmed Yassin. On the margins of the conference there was a display of objects and pictures related to his life (from issue #62 of the IUG's organ, The Voice of the University,¹² April 9, 2005).

¹² Sawt al-Jamiyah



Jamal al- Khoudary, senior Hamas figure and chairman of the university's board of trustees. Ahmed Bahar is in the center (from issue #62 of the IUG's organ, The Voice of the University, April 9, 2005).

Ceremony honoring outstanding students, with the participation of masked operatives from Hamas' military wing

► On May 9, 2015, the IUG held a ceremony honoring outstanding students from all the faculties {"the elite graduates of the year"). Present were Kamalin Shaath, the president of the university; Abdallah Kassab, chairman of the student council; Ahmed al-Turk, dean of students; and senior Hamas figure Fathi Hamad, formerly minister of the interior in the Hamas administration (al-Watan al-Yawm, May 9, 2015).

► A video of the ceremony was uploaded to YouTube. It showed **two masked operatives**, apparently from Hamas' military wing, enter the hall carrying a banner with a picture of Muhammad Deif, Hamas' military wing's commander, an IUG graduate and activist in Hamas' Islamic Bloc (see Appendix B). The ceremony's MC introduced Muhammad Deif as the commander general of the Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades, whom Israel did not succeed in killing, and as a member of the university's student council. **Two children holding toy rifles also mounted the stage** (YouTube, May 11, 2015).¹³

¹³ www.youtube.com/watch?v=-aEEQNjAcH8&ab_channel=Arabpress



Right: The sign at the back of the stage reads, "The student council of the IUG welcomes you to the ceremony honoring outstanding students – the elite graduates of the year, May 9, 2015."

Left: Banner with a picture of Muhammad Deif during his student days at the university (YouTube, May 11, 2015).



Two children holding toy rifles on stage (YouTube, May 11, 2015).

Recruiting students to carry out suicide bombing attacks

Many of the students at the IUG, **who are exposed to Hamas radical Islamist indoctrination, are recruited to the ranks of Hamas military wing while still at the university.** They participate in Hamas' military-terrorist activities, including suicide bombing attacks. Senior Hamas figure **Dr. Isma'il Radwan** related to that in a speech he gave while dean of students. He said, "**...the IUG is the main stage for the preparation, recruitment and direction of faithful young [students]...the IUG has sacrificed shaheeds of both genders, and it is working hard to raise a new generation that believes in Allah**" (Palinfo, March 5, 2008).

► The following are some of the students who carried out suicide bombing attacks:

- ◆ **Hussein Abu Nasr:** A Hamas military wing operative from Jabalia. He carried out a suicide bombing attack on May 24, 2001, detonating a truck bomb near Egypt. **He studied Islamic law at the IUG.**



◆ **Abd al-Mu'ti Assar:** A Hamas military wing operative from Khan Yunis. He carried out a suicide bombing attack on May 29, 2001 at an IDF roadblock in the Gaza Strip. **He studied engineering at the IUG.**



◆ **Isma'il al-Ma'sawabi:** He came from the Shati refugee camp. He carried out a suicide bombing attack on June 23, 2001, detonating a car bomb at an IDF road block. He killed two IDF soldiers and critically wounding three. **He was a fourth year student in the IUG's Faculty of Education.**



◆ **Muhannad Suidan:** He came from the Nuseirat refugee camp. He attempted to cross the security fence and enter Israeli territory on June 23, 2001 accompanied by two other terrorist operatives. The three terrorists were found to have four hand grenades, a hand gun and ₪1,200 in their possession. **He was an outstanding**

student in Faculty of Sharia and Law of the IUG and a member of the student council.

◆ Nafez al-Nazer: He came from the Jabalia refugee camp. On July 9, 2001, he carried an IED weighing 50 kilograms (110 pounds) and blew it up near a bus carrying Israelis to Kfar Darom in the Gaza Strip. He was a reporter for the IUG's organ.



Turkish support for the Islamic University of Gaza

The IUG has close relations with the Turkish regime. In ITIC assessment that is **because of their shared radical Islamist beliefs, which are rooted in the Muslim Brotherhood's ideology.** That is behind the support Turkey gives to Hamas both in the Gaza Strip and to Hamas' terrorist operatives based in Turkey.¹⁴ **Through Jamal al-Khoudary, who chaired the IUG's board of trustees for 21 years, hundreds of thousands of dollars were transferred from Turkey to the university,** as claimed in the pending independent complaint in the United States (New York). In view of the support Turkey gives the IUG and its close ties to Turkey, on **April 17, 2010 it awarded then-Prime Minister Erdogan an honorary PhD.** The award ceremony was held in Erdogan's house in Ankara, with **Jamal al-Khoudary** in attendance.

¹⁴ For further information, see the December 14, 2019 bulletin, "Turkey as a Terrorism-Sponsoring State: Turkey allows Hamas to conduct terrorist activities from its territory, including the handling of terrorist squads in Judea and Samaria and the transfer of funds to Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip to finance terrorism."



Then-Prime Minister Erdogan receives an honorary PhD from the IUG (IUG website)

► The Turkish government and government-affiliated organizations support the IUG in various ways:

◆ **The Turkish organization TIKA¹⁵ constructed the 200-bed Palestinian Turkish Friendship Hospital on the IUG campus** with the aid of generous contributions from the Turkish government. The hospital is modern and has operating theaters and advanced diagnostic equipment. In March 2020, when the Covid-19 outbreak began, the university announced that it had contacted the Turkish government and TIKA to tell them it was turning the hospital into an emergency center (IUG website, March 26, 2020).



The Palestinian Turkish Friendship Hospital on the IUG campus (IUG website, March 26, 2020).

◆ **The IHH is a Turkish relief organization which is anti-Israel and radical Islamist. It has ties to the Turkish regime.** It was outlawed by Israel in 2008. The IHH raises funds in Turkey for Hamas and transfers the money to Gaza (as noted above).

¹⁵ TIKA is a Turkish government humanitarian aid organization that operates around the globe, including in the Gaza Strip. In 2017 the Israeli security forces detained Muhammad Murtaja, the head of the TIKA offices in Gaza. Investigation revealed that since he joined TIKA he had transferred millions of dollars worth of funds and other resources to Hamas which were originally meant for humanitarian needs or civilian projects in the Gaza Strip. For further information, see March 27, 2017 bulletin, "Hamas's military wing uses foreign aid funds sent to the Gaza Strip: The case of the head of the Gaza Strip office of the Turkish aid organization TIKA."

After Operation Cast Lead in 2009 **the IHH gave the IUG €720,000 to repair the damage Israel caused by attacking IUG buildings used by Hamas.** The repairs included laboratory centers and a conference hall (IHH website, August 4, 2014).

◆ **The transfer of funds from Turkey to the IUG was noted in the legal complaint pending in the United States.** The complaint was brought by the children of Eitam Henkin, an American citizen, murdered with his wife in a terrorist attack carried out by a Hamas squad near the Israeli community of Itamar (near Nablus) on October 1, 2015. The complaint, handed down in New York, mentioned the **Turkish Kuveyt Turk Bank as having provided Hamas with financial services.** According to Paragraph 178, the bank "**knowingly transferred at least hundreds of thousands of Eurodollars through an account at KUVYET BANK in the name of the IUG – at the direction of Jamal N. Khoudary, a HAMAS representative who served as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of IUG, and, on information or belief, Al-Agha Jr. an SDGT [Specially Designated Global Terrorist] designated as a HAMAS fundraiser.**"¹⁶ (For further information about Abu Obeida al-Agha, see **Appendix B**).

168. Jamal N. al-Khoudary served as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of IUG from 1993 until 2014.

169. Khoudary is a senior HAMAS leader who served as Minister for Telecommunications in the HAMAS-run government in Gaza.

170. The IUG's supervisory board was headed by Khayri Hafiz Al-Agha, a wealthy, senior Muslim Brotherhood leader who lived in Saudi Arabia.

171. After Khayri Hafiz Al-Agha's death in 2014, Al-Agha's son, Abu-Ubaydah Khayri Hafiz Al-Agha ("Al-Agha Jr."), assumed the position.

172. Al-Agha Jr. was designated an SDGT by the U.S. Department of the Treasury due to his role as "a senior Hamas financial officer involved in the investment, funding and money transfers for Hamas in Saudi Arabia."¹¹

Articles 168-172 of the indictment in the Henkin complaint.

175. As noted above, IHH is the most prominent non-governmental fundraising support organization in Turkey for HAMAS.

176. During the relevant period, KUYEYT BANK also knowingly maintained at least one bank account and provided financial services to senior HAMAS operative Jihad Yaghmour, the organization's liaison with the Turkish authorities.

177. KUYEYT BANK also knowingly maintained at least one bank account and provided financial services to IUG, including numerous high-risk Eurodollar transfers that were purposefully directed through correspondent bank accounts in the United States.

178. In the years immediately preceding the act of terrorism at issue here, KUYEYT BANK knowingly transferred *at least* hundreds of thousands of Eurodollars through an account at KUYEYT BANK in the name of the IUG – at the direction of Jamal N. al-Khoudary, a HAMAS representative who served as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of IUG, and, on information and belief, Al-Agha, Jr. an SDGT designated as a HAMAS fundraiser.

B. KUYEYT BANK Knew HAMAS Was A Terrorist Organization and Knew that IUG Was A HAMAS Institution.

179. Turkish media has reported extensively on HAMAS and its various institutions, including the IUG.

Articles 175-179 of the indictment in the Henkin complaint, being heard in the Eastern District New York Court.

¹⁶ On October 9, 2015, sanctions were imposed on Abu Obeida al-Agha by the American treasury department for Hamas money transfers. The information published was the following: "...Al-Agha is a Saudi Arabian citizen and a senior Hamas financial officer involved in investment, funding, and money transfers for Hamas in Saudi Arabia... In recent years, he has been involved in transferring millions of dollars to Hamas in the Gaza Strip using his businesses or businesses in which he holds shares..." (Treasury.gov, October 9, 2015)

- ◆ In **October 2017** a **science laboratory** was opened at the IUG, donated by **TIKA** (IUG website, October 20, 2017).



Opening the science laboratory (IUG website, February 7, 2017).

- ◆ In **February 2016** a computer laboratory was opened at the IUG, donated by the **Turkish Red Crescent** (IUG website, February 7, 2016).



The computer laboratory (IUG website, February 7, 2016).

- ◆ In **June 2013** a **TIKA delegation**, headed by Anwar Arbeh, director of the office for the Middle East and North Africa, participated in a graduation ceremony in the IUG's Faculty of Commerce. Arbeh, said TIKA was proud of its ongoing cooperation with the IUG, noting that the cooperation was manifested by two important projects: the construction of the Palestinian Turkish Friendship Hospital, and the IRADA project for employing people with disabilities. The money for both projects was donated by the Turkish government and the projects were being carried out by TIKA.



Graduation ceremony in the business administration faculty (IUG website, June 26, 2013).

- ◆ **In 2013** the IUG's board of trustees hosted a Turkish delegation headed by Muhammad Kaya, the IHH's general director in Palestine (IUG website, March 26, 2013).



Chairman of the IUG's board of trustees with Muhammad Kaya (IUG website, March 26, 2013).

Appendix B

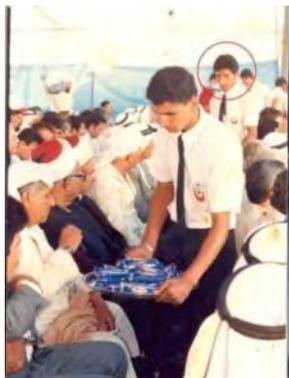
Senior Hamas figures who have filled teaching and/or administrative positions in the IUG

Overview

Many senior Hamas figures, including founders of the Hamas movement, **have been IUG activists**. Some held administrative positions, some taught and some were active in the Islamic Bloc. Over the years several students became Hamas operatives and were killed by Israel in targeted killing attacks because of their involvement in Hamas terrorist attacks.

► **Since its founding the IUG has been a hothouse for the growth and activities of the Hamas leadership.** Prominent figures who have held IUG positions include

- ◆ **Abd al-Aziz Rantisi**, one of the movement's founders. He taught science at the university;
- ◆ **Muhammad Deif**, commander of Hamas' military-terrorist wing (although he was seriously wounded in an Israel attack, he remains its commander). He has a degree in biology from the IUG and was the Islamic Bloc representative in the university's student council;
- ◆ **Sheikh Isma'il Abu Shanab**, one of Hamas' founders. He has a degree in Arabic literature from the IUG and was a lecturer in the engineering faculty and a dean;
- ◆ **Isma'il Haniyeh**, head of Hamas' political bureau was a graduate of the Arabic literature department of the Faculty of Arts. He served as the chairman of the IUG's board of trustees and chairman of the Islamic Bloc;
- ◆ **Mahmoud al-Zahar**, a senior Hamas figure and one of its founders. He taught in the IUG's medical and science department; **Ibrahim al-Maqadmeh**, headed the Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades and was one of its prominent ideologues. He also taught theology and Islam at the IUG;
- ◆ **Saleh Shehadeh**, headed the Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades. He was dean of students and taught at the IUG;
- ◆ **Yahya al-Sinwar**, head of the Hamas political bureau in the Gaza Strip. he was a student at the IUG and one of the founders of the Islamic Bloc.



Right: A banner bearing a picture of Muhammad Deif during his student days at the IUG, brought onstage by masked Hamas operatives during a ceremony held for excelling students (YouTube, May 11, 2020). Left: Muhammad Deif (upper right-hand corner, circled), distributes chocolate to the parents of IUG graduates during the degree-granting ceremony in 1985. In front of him is Sami Abu Zuhri, former Hamas spokesman, who issued the picture (nesannews.org, May 4, 2015).

► Hamas recently issued a mourning notice for senior operative **Khaled Muhammad Ali Mahfuz**, who until his death **taught statistics in the IUG's Faculty of Commerce**. He joined Hamas at an early age, headed the Islamic Bloc for many years and was a senior activist in various Hamas institutions until his death. Members of his family also held various positions in Hamas. His brother, Ibrahim Mahfuz, was killed during Operation Cast Lead (website of the al-Agha clan, August 12, 2020).



Yahya al-Sinwar, head of the Hamas political bureau in the Gaza Strip (gray hair, second from right) and senior Hamas figure Khalil al-Haya (third from right) at the funeral held for Khaled Mahfuz (Palinfo, August 12, 2020).

Academia, anti-Semitism and support for terrorism: the case of Dr. Saleh Hussein Abu Regeb

Overview

Dr. Saleh Hussein al-Regeb is a senior Hamas figure who held a number of administrative and academic positions at the IUG. At the time, he supported the ISIS ramming attack in Nice that killed 84 people, and was the faculty advisor for an anti-Semitic MA thesis written by a senior Hamas figure.

► **Dr. Saleh al-Regeb** is a senior Hamas figure who served as deputy minister of Muslim endowments in Isma'il Haniyeh's Hamas government (2006-2007) and as minister of Muslim endowments in a different Haniyeh government (March 2011 – September 2012). **He also filled a number of positions in the IUG before he retired:** he taught in the Fundamentals of Islam Faculty (*Osoul Eddin*), headed the department of Islamic faith for several years; was dean of the Faculty of the Fundamentals of Islam (1992-1993); deal of academic degrees (2001-2003); served as chairman of the employees' union (1992) and represented the Faculty of the Fundamentals of Islam in the university council (1999-2000) (Saleh al-Regeb's page on the IUG website; Saleh al-Regeb's website).



Dr. Saleh el-Regeb (from his Facebook page, January 13, 2019).

Support for terrorism

► On **July 14, 2016**, a Tunisian Muslim living in France deliberately drove a truck into people on the promenade in Nice, the most deadly ISIS-inspired attack ever carried out, killing 86 people and wounding about 458.¹⁷ ISIS claimed responsibility. Dr. Saleh al-Regeb posted notices to his Facebook page **in support of the attack** and calling for more attacks in France in retaliation for the "massacres" France carried out during the years of its colonialization of North Africa (Amad, July 15, 2020).¹⁸

¹⁷ Wikipedia

¹⁸ For further information, see the July 24, 2016 bulletin, "Vehicular Attacks: A Lethal, Easily-Executed Type of Attack Most are carried out by lone operatives unaffiliated with terrorist organizations although sometimes inspired by them." ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack, claiming it had been carried out by a "soldier" of the Islamic State in response to an ISIS call to attack "infidels" wherever they lived.



Dr. Al-Regeb wrote, "The president of France, François Hollande, said ten thousand soldiers had been recruited and reserve soldiers had been called up for deployment in several locations...one event was such a blow to them and all this fear. Allah shook them to their foundations and imposed on them something they never expected." He wrote as a response, "Whoever condemns the event in France [is doing it] to remove blame from Islam [as it relates to the attack]...My prayer that Allah will shake the foundations of the Christian countries does not contradict that."



On another occasion al-Regeb wrote on his Facebook page that "France carried out horrifying massacres during the years it colonized the Arab Maghreb, especially in Algeria. More than a million Muslims lost their lives. Therefore, the [French] president should not refer to the act of one man who killed 80 people or more as an act of terrorism." A Facebook page user named Ibrahim Suleiman Abu Khater wrote in response, "When France entered the Algerian town of Laghouat1 it killed two thirds of the population..., this stupid retard comes along and tells you, 'It is Islamic terrorism.' " Al-Regeb answered, "You are correct, Ibrahim... #You make me laugh. As to the number of people killed [in the attack] – more are liable to be killed in car accidents...In Saudi Arabia, for example, more than eight thousand people are killed every year in car accidents...Are a car and its passengers terrorists?!" (Post from Dr. al-Regeb justifying the attack).



Right: The refrigerator truck used in the ramming attack in Nice that killed 86 people and wounded about 458 (Twitter, July 14, 2016). Left: Bodies of the dead laid out on the Nice promenade after the attack (YouTube).

Anti-Semitic MA thesis

► Dr. Saleh al-Regeb was Tawfiq Abu Na'im's MA faculty thesis advisor. Tawfiq Abu Na'im is a Palestinian terrorist operative who was released in the Gilad Shalit prisoner exchange deal. Today he is **deputy minister of the interior and director general of the internal security**

forces in the Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip. The title of Tawfiq Abu Na'im's thesis was "Fakhr Eddeen ar-Razi's Attitude towards the Jewish Morality and Doctrines." The thesis was **anti-Semitic in nature.**

- ◆ According to the thesis' introduction, "While we are waging jihad against the Jews with everything in our power, I realized I had an obligation to fight the Jews with this study...Its objective is **to open another window of truth about the Jews and their false beliefs...**" The reason he gave for choosing the topic was "**...to expose to people the truth about the Jews and their corrupt beliefs...to expose the true face and ugliness of the figure of the Jews and their crimes... [because they are] the main enemy of Muslims**" (ITIC emphasis throughout).
- ◆ The thesis recommends **teaching the character of the Jews through the Torah and Talmud; devoting a number of studies to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*;** and focusing on Jewish and Zionist thought to show its decadence (al-Ra'i news agency, May 31, 2015; Saleh al-Regeb's website).



Cover page of the anti-Semitic thesis written by Tawfiq Abu Na'im (Saleh al-Regeb's website).



Right: Awarding Tawfiq Abu Na'im (center) his MA degree. Saleh al-Regeb is at the right, Dr. Imad al-Din Abdallah al-Shanti at the left. Al-Shanti is a senior Hamas figure who was dean of the Foundations of Islam Faculty. Al-Shanti was a member of the thesis committee (website of the dean's office for scientific study and advanced degrees at the IUG, July 28, 2015). Left: Yahya al-Sinwar, head of the Hamas political bureau in the Gaza Strip, visits Tawfiq Abu Na'im at his home (Palinfo Twitter account, October 30, 2017).



Tawfiq Abu Na'im, deputy minister of the interior director general of the internal security forces in Gaza (alresala.net, April 11, 2020).

Examples of senior Hamas figures who have held teaching and administrative positions in the IUG

► The following are examples of other senior Hamas figures who have held teaching and administrative positions in the IUG:

- ◆ **Jamal Nagi al-Khoudary**, a senior Hamas figure who held various positions in the Hamas administration in Gaza. He was minister of communications in the first Haniyeh government (2006-2007). During the negotiations for the establishment of a national Palestinian unity government after the Cairo Agreement was signed (May 2011), **Hamas proposed him as a candidate for the office of prime minister**. Azzam al-Ahmed, head of the Fatah delegation to the negotiations, opposed his nomination because of his affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas (Sama, June 22,

2011).¹⁹ Since 2007 al-Khoudary has headed the Hamas-controlled Popular Committee for the Struggle against the Siege of Gaza. **He chaired the IUG's board of trustees for 21 years, until December 6, 2014** (IUG website, December 7, 2014). According to the Henkin complaint pending in the United States, while he chaired the board **hundreds of thousands of dollars were transferred to the university from Turkey** (see **Appendix A**, Turkish support for the Islamic University).



Right: Jamal al-Khoudary (IUG website, February 23, 2014). Left: Jamal al-Khoudary receives an honorary PhD (IUG website, February 21, 2015).

◆ **Dr. Abu Ubaydah Hafiz al-Agha**

- Dr. Abu Obeida Hafiz al-Agha is a businessman from the Gaza Strip who lives in Saudi Arabia and has Saudi Arabian citizenship. **In 2014 he was appointed chairman of the IUG's supervisory council²⁰ after the death of his father, Kheiri al-Agha**, who held the position.²¹ Dr. Abu Ubaydah al-Agha headed a

¹⁹ Azzam al-Ahmed, head of the Fatah delegation to the negotiations, said they opposed al-Khoudary because his roots were in the Muslim Brotherhood and he was affiliated with Hamas. He said agreement between Fatah and Hamas had been for only independent candidates and not people who imposed a siege on the Palestinians (Sama, June 22, 2011).

²⁰ The supervisory council is the highest administrative body at the IUG, responsible for, among other things, raising donations for the university.

²¹ Dr. Kheiri Hafiz Othman Mustafa al-Agha (Abu Usama) headed the IUG's supervisory council until his death in 2014. His son inherited the post. He was born in Khan Yunis and lived in Saudi Arabia. He had a PhD degree in business administration from an American university. He was one of the founders of the IUG and continued providing it with financial support, exploiting his vast network of Islamic contacts and his contacts with other businessmen (website of the Turkish-based Vision Center for Political Development, May 11, 2020; article by Muhsin Muhammad Saleh, chairman of the al-Zeitouna Center, Arabs 21 website, May 24, 2019). Kheiri al-Agha joined the Muslim Brotherhood as a youth and held a senior position in the covert military organization established by the Muslim Brotherhood in the Gaza Strip during the first half of the 1950s. In 1973 he was appointed as the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood's deputy general supervisor and in 1975 to the post of general supervisor. He had an important role in founding Hamas, along with Sheikh Ahmed Yassin. He was appointed as Hamas' first

forum of Palestinian businessmen that raised money for projects in the Gaza Strip. **In September 2015 the American Treasury Department imposed sanctions in him and on Asyaf,²² one of his companies, for their involvement in financing Hamas with millions of dollars.** His name was mentioned in connection with the Henkin complaint in the United States as having been **involved in transferring funds from Turkey to the IUG** (see **Appendix A**, Turkish support for the Islamic University).

- **Dr. Abu Ubaydah al-Agha was detained on June 11, 2019, by the Saudis and imprisoned in Jeddah, where he remains to this day.** Other Hamas figures were detained with him, including **Muhammad al-Khoudary**, former Hamas representative in Saudi Arabia (Twitter account of Prisoners of Conscience, June 11, 2019; al-Khalij Online, September 15, 2019). **General (Ret.) Anwar Eshki**, founder and chairman of the Middle East Center for Strategic and Legal Studies, said Abu Ubaydah al-Agha and Muhammad al-Khoudary "**...were involved in raising funds, and the PA confirmed the information.** [The information] was not refuted by the senior figures who visited Saudi Arabia." [**Note:** Majed Faraj and Mahmoud al-Batash who, according to Anwar Eshki, visited Saudi Arabia and were briefed about the files on the Hamas operatives detained there]. According to Eshki, most of the files [against al-Agha and al-Khoudary] **dealt with collecting donations for Hamas in Saudi Arabia** (Middle East Monitor website, September 13, 2013).

chairman and had a central role in enlisting financial aid for the movement. In 1993 he resigned from his post in Hamas and transferred it to his deputy, Musa Abu Marzouq. He remained head of the IUG's supervisory council until his death in 2014.

²² Asyaf International Holding Group for Trading and Investment was established in the early 1970s with a working capital of \$100 million. The group manages 12 companies. Its headquarters are in Jeddah in Saudi Arabia, with branches in Turkey, Algeria, Sudan, Egypt and Germany. It specializes in maritime industrial enterprises, offering storage services, containers and maritime transport (from the JCtrans.net website).



Right: Abu Ubaydah al-Agha sits next to his father, Kheiri al-Agha (al-Agha clan website, June 1, 2014). Left: Abu Ubaydah al-Agha (left) visits the Khan Yunis branch of the Islamic University (IUG website, November 29, 2011)

Abu-Ubaydah Khayri Hafiz Al-Agha (Al-Agha)

Al-Agha is a Saudi Arabian citizen and a senior Hamas financial officer involved in investment, funding, and money transfers for Hamas in Saudi Arabia.

As of December 2014, al-Agha managed an organization that sought financial contributions to finance Hamas from a Palestinian diaspora community.

In recent years, he has been involved in transferring millions of dollars to Hamas in the Gaza Strip using his businesses or businesses in which he holds shares.

Asyaf International Holding Group for Trading and Investment (Asyaf)

Asyaf is a Saudi Arabia-based company managed by al-Agha and used by him to finance Hamas. Asyaf and its branches are involved in investments and money transfers on behalf of Hamas. Additionally, Asyaf's branch in Sudan has provided financial services for Hamas since at least July 2005. At that time, the office's administrative and executive director was the Hamas security chief in Sudan.

Sanctions imposed on Abu Ubaydah al-Agha and his company Asyaf, from the notice of the American treasury department about sanctions imposed on senior Hamas figures involved in money transfers (website of the American treasury department, November 10, 2015).

◆ **Khalil al-Haya**, a prominent Hamas leader in the Gaza Strip. He studied at the IUG and served as deputy chairman of the Islamic Bloc. Later on he was chairman of the employees' union, lectured on Islamic law and was dean of students. His son Hamza was killed in an IDF attack in Gaza (Operation Hot Winter, February 28 – March 3, 2008).



Khalil al-Haya (Khalil al-Haya's Facebook page, October 10, 2017).

- ◆ **Ayman Tahe**, senior Hamas figure and a prominent Hamas spokesman. He chaired the student council at the IUG at the end of the 1990s.



Ayman Tahe (fourMedia Twitter account, August 20, 2014).

- ◆ **Musheir al-Masri**, senior Hamas figure and a prominent Hamas spokesman. He has an MA in Islamic law from the IUG. Was deputy chairman of the student council and lectured at the IUG.



Musheir al-Masri (Shehab Twitter account, May 21, 2020).

- ◆ **Dr. Usama Atiya Ahmed al-Muzaini**, senior Hamas figure in the Gaza Strip. He served as minister of education and higher education in the Haniyeh government between 2011 and 2014. He continued working in the IUG where he lectured in the psychology department of the Faculty of Education (Dunia al-Watan, December 4, 2019). Between 2004 and 2005 he was deputy dean of students. Between 2008 and 2009 he headed the department of advanced studies (page of Dr. Muzaini on the IUG website)



Dr. Muzaini speaks at Hamas' main rally marking the 32nd anniversary of the Hamas movement (Palestine Online, December 14, 2019).

◆ **Dr. Alian Abdallah Suleiman al-Houli**, Hamas-affiliated activist. During the Fatah-Hamas negotiations for the establishment of the national reconciliation government Hamas proposed him as a candidate for the position of minister of education (al-Andalou News, June 9, 2012). Alian al-Houli held a number of positions at the IUG. He was dean of the Faculty of Education and taught in the department of elementary education in the Faculty of Education. He was also vice president of academic affairs (IUG website, September 3, 2019).



Dr. Alian al-Houli (Facebook page of the IUG's Faculty of Education, October 18, 2017).

◆ **Dr. Imad al-Din Abdallah al-Shanti**, senior Hamas figure in the northern Gaza Strip. He was dean of the Faculty of the Fundamentals of Islam (IUG website, August 12, 2017)



Right: Imad al-Shanti as dean (website of the IUG's Faculty of the Fundamentals of Islam, April 1, 2017). Left: Imad al-Shanti (second from left), along with other Hamas activists, visits the head of the Jabalia municipality (Facebook page of the Hamas faction in the Legislative Council, April 16, 2020).

◆ **Sheikh Nizar Riyan** taught in the IUG's Faculty of Sharia and Law.²³ He was also a senior Hamas figure who maintained contact with other senior Hamas operatives in the Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades. During the second intifada he sent his son Ibrahim to carry out a terrorist attack in the Israeli community of Elei Sinai in the northern Gaza Strip, killing two Israelis and wounding 16 (October 3, 2001). **Nizar Riyan was killed by the IDF on December 31, 2008, during Operation Cast Lead.** According to the IDF spokesman, Nizar Riyan's home was a weapons storehouse. **Under the house there was a tunnel used as an escape route by Hamas military wing operatives (IDF spokesman, January 1, 2009).** In May 2009 Hamas held a memorial ceremony for two senior figures, Sayid Siyam and Nizar Riyan, both killed in Operation Cast Lead. Khaled Mashaal, at the time chairman of Hamas' political bureau, gave a speech calling Nizar Riyan a model for a jihadi warrior commander (Palinfo, May 7, 2020).

²³ Shlomi Eldar wrote that Nizar Riyan was a popular lecturer, teaching courses in Islamic law. From there he sailed off to the struggle against Israel and got his MA from the University of Amman, writing his thesis on "The death of martyrs and the cult of *shahada*." He preached jihad against Israel and was proud of his personal example (sending his son to carry out an attack on the Israeli community of Elei Sinai in the northern Gaza Strip) (Eldar, p. 315).



Right: Nizar Riyan (Paldf, December 4, 2008). Left: Nizar Riyan with Izz al-Din Qassam Brigades terrorist operatives (website of al-Jazeera's forums, June 24, 2008).



Nizar Riyan's personal equipment (Palinfo, May 7, 2009).

◆ **Dr. Maher Hamed Muhammad al-Houli**, a senior Hamas operative from Deir al-Balah. He was a member of the committee of village elders and mukhtars in the Supreme National Authority of the Return March. In the past he held a series of positions in the IUG, among them dean of the Faculty of Sharia and Law, chairman of the university's *fatwa* committee and dean of students (IUG website). Today he is a professor of Islamic law in the Faculty of Sharia and Law (Palestine Online, April 6, 2020).



Right: Dr. Maher al-Houli (Maher al-Houli's Facebook page, March 31, 2014). Left: Dr. Maher al-Houli speaks at a rally of Hamas' department of refugee affairs protesting the "deal of the century" (Hamas website, February 20, 2020).

◆ **Dr. Zakariya Ibrahim Hasan al-Sinwar**, brother of Yahya al-Sinwar. He is head of the Hamas political bureau in the Gaza Strip. Senior figure in the Islamic Bloc. He is a

professor in the history and archaeology department of the Faculty of Arts. He wrote his PhD thesis on "**The fedayeen activity in the Gaza Strip, 1967-1973**" (Zakariya Sinwar's page on the IUG website)



Dr. Zakariya al-Sinwar speaking at a Hamas conference in eastern Gaza City (Dunia al-Watan, April 10, 2017).

◆ **Dr. Ayman Khamis Abu Noqaira**, a senior Hamas activist in Rafah (website of the Hamas faction of the Legislative Council, September 19, 2019). His son, Abd al-Rahman Abu Noqaira was a Hamas military wing operative who was killed on August 6, 2015, when Israeli ammunition exploded near his father's house, which had been attacked and destroyed during Operation Protective Edge. Dr. Ayman Abu **Noqaira** was wounded in the attack (Palinfo, August 7, 2015). He was head of the journalism and media department in the IUG Faculty of Arts.



Dr. Ayman Abu Noqaira (Abu Naqoura's page on the IUG website).

◆ **Khaled al-Hindi**, Hamas activist. He was a head of the Hamas Islamic Bloc in its early days. He headed the al-Majd organization, the first security network established by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin to fight moral transgressions and collaborators with Israel.²⁴

²⁴ Eldar, p. 163.

He also served as advisor to Ahmed Yassin at the time. During the 1990s he was abducted by Fatah operatives. He served as secretary of the IUG's board of trustees (IUG website, August 21, 2019). A post from August 2020 represented him as manager of the office of the chairman of the IUG's board of trustees (Facebook page of Yassin al-Nunu, August 4, 2020).



Khaled al Hindi (right) meets with Ibrahim Hewitt, the chairman of Interpal, a Hamas-affiliated British foundation designated as a terrorist organization by Israel in 1998. It was also included in American Executive Order 13224, which ordered the freezing of the assets of individuals and entities linked to terrorist organizations (August 2003)²⁵ (IUG website, June 27, 2011).

◆ **Dr. Bassem Na'im**, a member of the Hamas office of international relations (Hamas website, August 13, 2020). He heads the Boycott Campaign – Palestine (BCP), and is a member of the IUG's board of trustees (Bassem Na'im's Facebook page)



Dr. Bassem Na'im (Bassem Na'im's Facebook page, May 19, 2020).

◆ **Dr. Sayid Salah**, senior Hamas activist in the northern Gaza Strip. He is a member of the IUG's board of trustees (IUG website, April 28, 2014).

²⁵ For further information, see the November 8, 2004 bulletin, "Interpal."



Right: Sayid Salah (right), member of the IUG's board of trustees, at a university ceremony (IUG website, April 28, 2014). Left: Sayid Salah (right) in the Jabalia refugee camp for Eid al-Adha, during a campaign during which senior Hamas figures visited families during the holiday (Filastin al-A'an, September 15, 2015).

◆ **Dr. Isma'il Sayid Muhammad Radwan (Abu al-Sayid):**

- He is a senior Hamas figure who served as movement spokesman. He served as minister of Muslim endowments in the Haniyeh government, 2012-2014. He was also spokesman for the Hamas faction in the Legislative Council and deputy chairman of the board of directors of Hamas' al-Aqsa media network (as of the end of 2018). He was also a member of the Supreme National Authority for the Return Marches and the Struggle Against Trump's Deal of the Century. PhD in *hadith* [Muslim oral tradition] science from the University of the Qur'an and Islamic Sciences in Sudan. Lectures on *hadith* in the IUG's Fundamentals of Islam Faculty. Served as chairman of the worker's committee and as dean of students (2007-2009).
- As dean of students he participated in a rally organized by the student council and attended by Hamas activists (March 4, 2008), whose theme was **"Gaza's free shaheeds...the tax of victory and pride"** [following the IDF's Operation Hot Winter in the Gaza Strip]. At the rally he said that **"We will not abandon the path of jihad, the path of the resistance, the path of sacrifice..."** He added that **"the Islamic University of Gaza is the main stage for the preparation, recruitment and direction of faithful young [students] who act for the sake of their religion and their homeland..."** In addition he said that **"the Islamic University sacrificed shaheeds of both genders, and is working hard to raise a new generation that believes in Allah** and acts for the sake of its religion and for the good of its society" (Palinfo, March 5, 2020).



Right: Dr. Isma'il Radwan, IUG dean of students (center), opens the hijab [Muslim women's head covering] fair held by the university's female student council (IUG website, April 14, 2009). Left: Isma'il Radwan, minister of Muslim endowments (left) at a ceremony for the launching of a book of Qur'an interpretation in the faculty of the fundamentals of religion in the IUG (IUG website, April 11, 2014).

Appendix C

EU support for the Islamic University

Erasmus+ Program: Overview

The **Erasmus+ (Erasmus Plus)**²⁶ program combines all the EU programs in support of education, training, youth and sport in Europe. Its objective is to improve higher education and youth training systems and to provide students and young people with the skills to increase their chances of finding employment after graduation. The program has a budget of €14.7 billion and provides opportunities for more than four million students. **Erasmus+ is the main pipeline for transferring European aid to "Palestine" (i.e., the Palestinian Authority – PA) some of which is channeled to institutions in the Gaza Strip, including the Islamic University (IUG).**

► **The director of Erasmus+ in "Palestine" is Dr. Nedal al-Jayousi** (National Erasmus Office in Palestine Facebook page), whose official office is in Ramallah. He is a professor of education and leading expert in educating for peace and the development of curriculums. He has an MA in business administration and languages, and a PhD in education. He has a long history of working with important Palestinian and international public and private educational institutions.



The Erasmus+ logo. The Arabic reads, "The joint delegation for Palestinian-European cooperation for higher education" (erasmusplus.ps website).

²⁶ ERASMUS (European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) is the follow-up program of Erasmus (launched in 1987) and Erasmus Mundus (launched in 2009) to promote the globalization of European education. Both programs were open only to students from EU countries.



Contact information for al-Jayousi from his Facebook page. He is the representative of the joint delegation for Palestinian-European cooperation for higher education (al-Jayousi's Facebook page, July 26, 2020).

Integrating the Islamic University into the Erasmus+ Program

► In May 2016, during a visit al-Jayousi paid to the IUG, Dr. Nazmi al-Masri, IUG vice president for external relations, said the **university was participating in ten projects funded by Erasmus+**. **The projects support academic exchange programs [for students and faculty] from the IUG and ten universities in EU countries** (IUG website, May 23, 2016). According to a different posting from the IUG's external relations unit, **the university participated in three projects funded by EU through Erasmus+ between 2016 and 2020:**

-IUG is a coordinator of three EU-funded projects under Erasmus+ and Appear programmes. E+ projects are funded under Erasmus plus program - KA2 Capacity Building in the Field of Higher Education (CBHE). These projects are:

- o Appear: "Strengthening Higher Education Capacities in Palestine for Gender Equality " (SHE- GE)2017-2020.
- o E+ KA2: "Develop Business and Economic Research Centers Capacity at Palestinian Higher Education Institutions"(BERC)2015-2018.
- o E+ KA2: "Research Output Management through Open Access Institutional Repositories in Palestinian Higher Education"(ROMOR) 2016-2019.

Erasmus+ ("E+") projects with IUG participation (IUG website, August 2020)

► **One Erasmus+ project is the 2017-2020 i-CARE** (Increasing the Conformance of Academia towards Rehabilitation Engineering) whose **goal is developing the rehabilitation engineering and education knowledge, skills, and abilities** of academic staff in six Palestinian partner universities and two institutions in collaboration with EU partners, four from the PA, two from the Gaza Strip and four from Europe. The four Palestinian consortium

members are al-Azhar University in Gaza, which is the project leader, **the Islamic University of Gaza**, University College of Applied Sciences (UCAS),²⁷ and al-Wafa Medical of Rehabilitation Hospital in Gaza. **The Palestinians work closely with European collaborators which are Dublin City University in Ireland, University Rehabilitation Institute - Republic of Slovenia in Slovenia, Angel Kanchev University of Ruse in Bulgaria and Bulgarian Association for Transfer of Technology and Innovation- BATTI in Bulgaria.**²⁸

► Examples of IUG student participation in Erasmus+ projects:

◆ **November 2018:** Twenty IUG students began studying at Glasgow University as part of the Erasmus+ project (Erasmus+ Facebook page, November 4, 2018).

◆ **August 2019:** The Faculty of Information Technology and computer engineering department in the IUG's Faculty of Engineering opened **an IT center funded by the EU through Erasmus+** (IUG website, August 17, 2019).

► On **December 23, 2019** the office of the IUG's dean of external relations held a seminar ("training session") about the Erasmus+ program. Khaled al-Hallaq, dean of external relations, said **the IUG was participating in eight Erasmus+ projects**. He said there **were 120 IUG exchange students in European universities, and that 90 academics and administrators had visited more than ten countries** (IUG website, December 23, 2019).



Erasmus+ training session held at the IUG. Right: Dr. Nedal al-Jayousi, in charge of the program in the Gaza Strip (at the left), next to university president Dr. Nasser Farhat. Left: Dr. Jayousi gives a speech (IUG website, December 23, 2020).

²⁷ The University College of Applied Sciences (UCAS) was founded in 1998 and offers degrees in 40 fields in engineering, health, technology, governance, education and the humanities. It has 6,000 students and its main campus is in Gaza City (Wikipedia).

²⁸<https://www.dcu.ie/news/news/2019/07/dcu-welcomes-academics-from-gaza-as-part-of-the-erasmus-project-i-care>

الجلسة الافتتاحية

من جانبه، أكد الأستاذ الدكتور فرحات على أن الدكتور الجبوسي ضيفًا لجميع مؤسسات التعليم العالي في قطاع غزة، ولفت إلى أن برنامج الزيارة سيمتد لثلاثة أيام، متمنيًا التوفيق وجو يسوده الألفة خلال فترة الزيارة، وشدد الأستاذ الدكتور فرحات على أن الجامعة منذ اليوم الأول للبرنامج دعت جميع مؤسسات التعليم العالي للمشاركة والشراكة في كافة البرامج والمشاريع التي تقدمها اراسموس بلس. من ناحيته، رحّب الأستاذ الدكتور الحلاق بالدكتور الجبوسي وممثلي الجامعات في قطاع غزة، وأشار إلى أن فترة برنامج اراسموس بلس امتد من العام 2015-2020، وأشار الأستاذ الدكتور الحلاق إلى أن الجامعة الإسلامية شاركت في البرنامج بـ (8) مشاريع استفاد منها (120) طالب وطالبة بالتبادل الأكاديمي بين الجامعة والجامعات الأوروبية و (90) من الأكاديميين والاداريين الذين زاروا وشاركوا في أكثر من (10) دول.

ITIC underlining: The IUG participated in eight Erasmus+ projects (IUG website, December 23, 2019).

Horizon 2020

Horizon 2020 is the biggest EU Research and Innovation program ever with nearly €80 billion of funding available over 7 years (2014 to 2020) – in addition to the private investment that this money will attract. It promises more breakthroughs, discoveries and world-firsts by taking great ideas from the lab to the market.²⁹

► **In February 2017 the IUG held a training session for scientists about using renewable energy for water desalination in an effort to find new solutions for the problem of water in the Gaza Strip and to train Palestinian researchers in the Horizon 2020 program.** The training session was held under the auspices of the EU as part of Middle East Research and Innovation Dialogue (MERID), and supported by Horizon 2020 (IUG website, February 11, 2017).



Right: A Horizon 2020 invitation to a training session for scientists about using renewable energy to desalinate water (MERID website, February 1, 2017). Left: The training session (IUG website, February 11, 2017).

²⁹ <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/what-horizon-2020>

The Quality Improvement Fund (QIF)

The Quality Improvement Fund (QIF) is an important component of the higher education curriculum of the **PA's ministry of education** and higher education. It began its operations in 2005 with the support of the world bank. Its main objective is to provide support for improving the quality of Palestinian tertiary education. The EU participates in funding the QIF.

► **On January 9, 2010, a new computer laboratory was opened at the IUG's faculty of education, with QIF support and World Bank and EU funding** (IUG website, January 9, 2010).



The new computer laboratory in the IUG's faculty of education (IUG website, January 9, 2020).

► **The IUG inaugurated a new Business and Technology Incubator after receiving money from the QIF.** It provides a variety of development and support services for Palestinian initiatives which are potentially marketable (ist.iugaza.edu.ps).

Sustainable Urban Demonstration Project (SUDEP)

The IUG hosted an International Conference on Smart Cities Solutions (ICSCS), funded by the EU (IUG website, August 30 2016). According to the website it is an ENERBE program project **funded by the EU through SUDEP.** The objective of the program is to make more effective use of energy in the public buildings of greater Abasan (near Khan Yunis) through control systems and to reduce the use of energy by 10%. **The cost of the project is estimated at €550,000, €440,000 from the EU.**

Other projects funded by the EU

► A delegation from the EU legation in Jerusalem visited the IUG to learn about the **Business Startup Incubator Support (BSIS)** project. The project is funded by the EU and carried out by the Belgian Development Agency (IUG English website, December 20, 2016).

► **On April 5, 2007**, Dr. Kamalain Shaath, IUG president, **opened new computer and multimedia laboratories in the IUG, financed by the EU at a cost of \$140 thousand** (Ma'an, April 5, 2007).

► **On August 6, 2020** Dr. Nedal al-Jayousi wrote on his Facebook page that **"Palestine" had won seven EU-funded Erasmus projects**. He wrote that the local Palestinian universities led the projects along with international partners including Jordan Italy, Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Latvia, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and Britain. The projects include the fields of education, governance and administration, curriculum development and social development. **The budget for the entire project is €6.7 million, of which the IUG received € 989,337.**

Project Title	Coordinator	Local Partners	Funding (EURO)
Enhancing Early Childhood Education and Care in Palestine (CARE)	AlQuds Open University	-AL-AQSA UNIVERSITY -AL- RAWDAHTECHNICAL COMMUNITY COLLEGE AL-UMMAH UNIVERSITY COLLEGE -MINISTRY OF EDUCATION -MINISTRY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT -RAMALLAH WOMEN TRAINING CENTRE	961,244
Disability as diversity: The inclusion of students with disabilities in higher education (Edu4All)	PALESTINE TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY - KADOORIE (PTUK)	-AL-UMMAH UNIVERSITY COLLEGE -PALESTINE TECHNICAL COLLEGE -DEIR ELBALAH -PARTNERS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT	960,379
Empowering Teachers for Inclusive Education in Palestine (Teachin)	Birzeit University	-ACCREDITATION AND QUALITY ASSURANCE COMMISSION -AL-QUDS UNIVERSITY -AN-NAJAH NATIONAL UNIVERSITY -THE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY GAZA	999,960
Competence Center for Smart Grid Applications and Technologies (sGAT)	Birzeit University	-AL-ISTIQLAL UNIVERSITY -PALESTINE INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY ASSOCIATION -RAMALLAH MUNICIPALITY -THE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY GAZA	861,513
Paving the Road for a Network Organizing Collaborative Research Assets Management (ROAD)	Islamic University of Gaza	-ACCREDITATION AND QUALITY ASSURANCE COMMISSION -AL-QUDS UNIVERSITY -BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY	989,337

The IUG, one of the Palestinian universities included in the EU's Erasmus projects (Dr. Nedal al-Jayousi's Facebook page, August 6, 2020).