

GIOR | GLOBAL INFLUENCE OPERATIONS REPORT

EUROPE AND THE GLOBAL MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD PART 2:

Lobbying & Political Impacts

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Synopsis

European groups tied to the GLOBAL MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD (GMB) have been actively lobbying European executive and legislative bodies such as the European Commission and the European Parliament, trying to impact supranational policy affecting European Muslims. The primary policy arenas for this activity have been civil rights & religious freedom, counterterrorism, and law enforcement. Although using modern language to couch their criticisms of European policies, the groups appear to be pursuing long-held Islamist goals such as defending the hijab (Islamic headscarf) and obstructing counterterrorism efforts. The groups have achieved varying degrees of success, significantly including establishing working relationships with MEPs and top EU officials. The legitimacy and status bestowed on European GMB groups by such EU and EU officials raise questions about the wider impact of these groups on European civil society.

Introduction

The GLOBAL MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD (GMB) is a transnational network of political Islamists tracked by the Global Influence Operations Report (GIOR). The GIOR FAQ explains the GMB as follows:

Most observers are familiar with the pan-Islamic organization known as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Founded in 1928 by Egyptian schoolteacher Hassan El-Banna, the Egyptian Brotherhood has been a wellspring of Islamism and political Islam since its inception. Its importance as a ‘springboard’ toward radicalization for individuals such as Al-Qaeda leader Ayman Al-Zawahiri and Khalid Sheikh Mohammed has been widely discussed. Far less known is the existence of a global network of individuals and organizations that developed as Muslim Brotherhood members dispersed to other countries while fleeing the periodic crackdowns on the organization in Egypt. Many of these Muslim Brothers (Ikhwan) settled in Europe and the United States, where they went on to found what have become some of the most prominent Islamic organizations in their new home countries. Once established, these organizations began seeking legitimacy and have worked to influence and control the development of Islamic discourse and political activity in their respective countries. Less publicly, they are almost always associated with fundamentalism, anti-Semitism, and support for Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and even Hezbollah. While claiming to disavow Al-Qaeda linked terrorism, the Ikhwan are at best lukewarm in their condemnation of Islamist violence and commonly issue statements justifying and supporting such violence. Compared to the Egyptian organization, there has been relatively little scrutiny of the network referred to as the Global Muslim Brotherhood. This network has become far more important to the Islamist movement worldwide than the Egyptian organization, which until recently had been largely confined to activities inside Egypt— where its members were under constant government surveillance and control until the fall of the Mubarak government in 2011.¹

The GIOR FAQ goes on to explain the existence of the GMB in Europe:

The Global Muslim Brotherhood has been present in Europe since 1960 when Said Ramadan, the son-in-law of Hassan Al-Banna, founded a mosque in Munich. Since that time, Brotherhood organizations have been established in almost all of the EU countries as well as many non-EU countries such as Russia and Turkey. Many of these organizations have banded together into an EU-level lobbying group known as the Federation of Islamic Organizations of Europe (FIOE), based in Brussels and which includes some 26 European Muslim Brotherhood organizations as well as being the parent body for other pan-European Brotherhood bodies such as the European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR).

A full discussion of the dangers posed to European civil society by the GMB is beyond the scope of this report. Generally speaking, however, those threats fall into four categories of potential “mischief”:²

- ◆ Hindering integration of minorities
- ◆ Inciting conflict between ethnic groups
- ◆ Fostering hatred such as anti-Semitism
- ◆ Incubating terrorism



The Global Influence Operations Report (GIOR) has been tracking efforts by European groups tied to the GMB (GMB groups) to impact supranational policy affecting European Muslims by lobbying executive and legislative bodies such as the European Commission and the European Parliament.³ European GMB groups have also forged partnerships with a wide range of generally left-wing civil society groups and faith-based organizations, building alliances across the continent.^{4 5 6} Such cooperation can be seen as part of a long history involving GMB groups partnering with the political left and in interfaith coalitions, attempting to support favored causes and gain enhanced legitimacy.^{7 8} The major European GMB groups in this regard are:

1. FORUM OF EUROPEAN MUSLIM YOUTH AND STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

The Brussels-based Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organizations (FEMYSO) is the youth and student arm of the COUNCIL OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS, representing the GMB in Europe and almost all FEMYSO member organizations are tied to the European GMB.⁹ One of the most important past leaders of FEMYSO was German GMB leader Ibrahim EL-ZAYAT, and in recent times FEMYSO leadership has been drawn from the family of GMB leaders.^{10 11} In November 2020, the GIOR reported that Kauthar BOUCHALLIKHT, then FEMYSO Vice-Chairman and an MP for the Dutch EFA member GroenLinks, was likely the daughter of one of the most important leaders of the GMB in the Netherlands.¹²

2. EUROPEAN NETWORK AGAINST RACISM

The EUROPEAN NETWORK AGAINST RACISM (ENAR) is an association of over 150 NGOs describing

itself as “the voice of the anti-racist movement in Europe, and ENAR leaders regularly participate in anti-racism conferences featuring high-level EU officials.”^{13 14 15} From 2010 until 2021, ENAR was led by its director Michaël PRIVOT, who in 2008 openly acknowledged that he was a member of the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.¹⁶ PRIVOT also served in leading positions in several organizations tied to the GMB, including as a board member of FEMYSO. Two ENAR Islamic member organizations, FEMYSO and the EUROPEAN FORUM OF MUSLIM WOMEN, are part of the GMB In Europe.

3. EUROPEAN FORUM OF MUSLIM WOMEN

The EUROPEAN FORUM OF MUSLIM WOMEN (EFOMW) is closely affiliated with the COUNCIL OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS.¹⁷ While the EFOMW history fails to mention this background, the group’s member organizations and current leadership demonstrate many links to CEM and the GMB, and several of EFOMW’s current and former officers are the wives or relatives of leading CEM officers.

4. CLAIM ALLIANZ GEGEN MUSLIMFEINDLICHKEIT

The CLAIM ALLIANZ GEGEN MUSLIMFEINDLICHKEIT (CLAIM) is an umbrella network of 47 civil society and Muslim advocacy groups in Germany that works to combat what it sees as Islamophobic, anti-Muslim, and racist tendencies.^{18 19} Several partner organizations in the CLAIM network have ties to the GMB in Germany, including some whose representatives are part of a leadership delegation that convenes twice a year to monitor the planning and implementation of CLAIM activities.^{20 21 22}

Policy Arenas

The European GMB groups identified above have been actively lobbying in a number of key policy arenas, generally adopting modern language but likely seeking to realize long-held Islamist goals and enhance their legitimacy. These policy arenas include:^a

1. CIVIL RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Historically, the main policy arena for the European GMB groups encompasses anti-Islamophobia/anti-discrimination and, more broadly, regulations surrounding civil rights and religious freedom.²³ In recent years, these groups have allied themselves with left-wing civil society movements demanding increased diversity in public offices and a tougher stance against societal racism.²⁴ An “intersectional” perspective is often said to be required, a term routinely used on the Left and describing how systems of inequality based on gender, race, ethnicity, and other forms of discrimination are said to “intersect” to create unique dynamics and effects.^{25 26}

Although couched in such modern rhetoric, these demands of the European GMB groups can be seen as serving long-term Islamist goals, particularly regarding the hijab (Islamic headscarf). While under secular regimes, the hijab had largely disappeared from Arab societies, by the 1970s it had made its return. According to one analyst, the influence of the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD was key to this development:

Yet the hijab could not have returned without the Islamists, particularly the Brotherhood, projecting it as the right or Islamic way of dressing and also Islamising the society.²⁷

Since that time, the preservation of the hijab has become a rallying cry for the GMB, including the creation of a “World Hijab Day” and an organization known as the ASSEMBLY FOR THE PROTECTION OF HIJAB.^{28 29 30} As early as 2013, FEMYSO had issued a statement defending the wearing of the hijab by French Muslim women within public institutions of French higher education.³¹

More recently, FEMYSO and ENAR have sought to pressure European officials and courts by campaigning against bans on religious veiling in employment and public institutions.^{32 33} Their main argument is that religious clothing bans disproportionately affect Muslim women.³⁴ FEMYSO issued a July 2021 statement calling for a revision of a European Court of Justice judgment that allowed employers to ban religious symbols in the workplace. The statement called the decision “a blatant reduction of the rights of visibly Muslim women in the EU, and thus nothing less than the institutionalization of Islamophobia.”³⁵ To counter alleged hostility against the hijab, the GMB groups launched an EU-funded pro-hijab social campaign titled “Beauty is in diversity as freedom is in hijab.”³⁶ This campaign was later pulled after complaints by several prominent French politicians.

2. COUNTERTERRORISM

The GMB has long viewed terrorism as a product of “legitimate grievances” and has stridently opposed most Western counterterrorism efforts as well as any attempt to associate the Islamic religion with

a A full review of lobbying and other relevant activity by European GMB groups can be found in the appendices to this report.

violence or terrorism.^{a 37} Accordingly, since 2018 ENAR, in particular, has launched a broad-based attack on anti-terrorism policies in EU member states, including:

- ◆ A 2018 partially EU-funded “Counter-Terrorism Toolkit” sought to document the alleged discriminatory impact of counterterrorism and counter-radicalization policies in the EU.³⁸ The document claimed that new EU terrorism offenses such as “training for the purpose of terrorism and terrorism financing” could “leave space for arbitrary and discriminatory applications.” It also advocated that radicalization indicators should not include “religious expression,” among other things.
- ◆ In 2020, ENAR issued a statement saying, “the narrative around counterterrorism and extremism effectively scapegoats Muslim communities” and “Jihad terrorism” was over-emphasized at the expense of the rightwing extremist threat.³⁹
- ◆ In a 2021 report, ENAR recommended that EU institutions should regularly and proactively engage with civil society organizations on counterterrorism measures, presumably meaning groups such as ENAR.⁴⁰
- ◆ In 2021, ENAR urged the EU to refrain from using labels such as “Jihadism, Islamism, and Political Islam,” arguing that their stigmatizing impact outweighed their analytical value.⁴¹

3. LAW ENFORCEMENT

In spring 2020, elements of the GMB in the US and UK appeared to be attempting to capitalize on the Black Lives Matter movement for purposes of Dawah (conversion to Islam).^{b 42 43} Around the same time, a letter signed by a number of European GMB groups and other civil society groups organizations demanded European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen lead efforts against what they assert is police violence and systemic racism within the

a The GMB represents Islamism as opposed to Islam in this regard but since the general audience does not understand that distinction, it is Islam which is the Brotherhood reference.

b Black Lives Matter (BLM) is an international social movement, formed in the United States in 2013, dedicated to fighting racism and anti-Black violence, especially in the form of police brutality.

EU.⁴⁴ The letter cited EU statistics said to support the idea that young black or Arab men were being subject to racial profiling and excessive violence.

ENAR has taken the lead in addressing what they see as racism in EU law enforcement, alleging that law enforcement institutions and agencies “maintain power structures that are racialised and exclusionary.”^{45 46} In December 2021, ENAR published a comprehensive report on racist police brutality in Europe, accusing authorities of disproportionately targeting marginalized groups.^{47 48} In the report, ENAR leaders claimed the police are “an institution founded on principles of inequality and indignity.” Concluding its report, the group made several policy suggestions and called for “a transformative justice approach” to tackle the issue. This approach, according to ENAR, would include divesting from the police and “breaking it up into its constituent parts” without specifying how this was to be achieved. Calling for “a transformative justice approach,” ENAR went on to urge policymakers to wholly “redefine” the meaning of safety and security, suggesting the police were an institution “rotten at the root.” The ENAR recommendations bear a striking resemblance to those characterizing the “Defund the Police” movement in the US, generally associated with the so-called Progressive Left.⁴⁹

4. OTHER ISSUES

European GMB groups have joined with other civil society organizations to address more neutral but generally left-wing issues. In November 2021, FEMYSO was invited to make proposals for the European Green Deal, a comprehensive set of policy initiatives to make the EU climate neutral by 2050.⁵⁰ In 2021, ENAR engaged in a roundtable with European Commission Vice-President Frans Timmermans and other civil society organizations working on racial and climate justice, as well as in a meeting for the European Climate Pact.⁵¹ FEMYSO and ENAR have also called on EU member states and institutions to adopt broad political action to mitigate the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on Muslim communities.^{52 53} Such “safe” issues are likely seen as a means to further the perceived legitimacy of the European GMB groups.

Impact of GMB Groups

While there is little evidence of a broad and sustained impact of GMB groups on European supranational decision-making, they have achieved varying degrees of success in the following areas:

- ◆ GMB groups have established working relationships with MEPs and top EU officials, including the Vice-President of the European Union. They have repeatedly been invited to events featuring high-level EU leaders, including the European Commission President, the EU Commissioner for Equality, and the EU Director-General for Justice and Consumers.^{a 54 55 56}
- ◆ GMB groups were permitted to participate in and host events at the European Commission and the European Parliament, pointing to good relationships with EU staffers.^{57 58} They were also allowed to directly address events at the European Parliament in Strasbourg in 2019, even officially partnering with the parliament as part of the European Elections.^{59 60}
- ◆ ENAR advocacy in 2016 resulted in new European Parliament rules of procedure, including stricter sanctions against MEPs engaging in hate speech.⁶¹ ENAR also claimed their lobbying activities had influenced the European Commission in publishing guidelines for EU member states on implementing EU racist crime legislation.⁶² Other claims of successful ENAR lobbying included the implementation of improved racial diversity and representation within EU ranks and EU calls for developing and adopting national action plans against racism.⁶³
- ◆ ENAR also said it had prompted the European Parliament to adopt a resolution on the fundamental rights of people of African descent for the first time, calling on EU member states and institutions to recognize that they are subjected to racism, discrimination, and xenophobia.⁶⁴
- ◆ The EUROPEAN FORUM OF MUSLIM WOMEN said it had contributed to a Council of Europe document calling for the inclusion of intersectionality in all future equality policies within EU member states, urging public institutions to make provisions for the accommodation of religious requirements, and the removal of discriminatory legal obstacles to the construction of Muslim places of worship.^{65 66}

a FEMYSO has devoted an entire web page to these relationships. See <https://femyso.org/representation/>

Conclusion

An earlier GIOR report documented that European GMB groups had received almost €80 million in funding from European governments over the past decade.⁶⁷ GMB lobbying successes, such as those detailed above, will likely further embolden European GMB groups in their claim to be the legitimate representatives of “Mainstream Islam,” thereby enhancing the threat posed by the GMB as a whole to European civil society.^a No concerted effort by mainstream political factions to curb the influence of European GMB groups could be identified. The relative absence of political action against GMB lobbying is likely, in part, due to limited legal possibilities but also to failed strategies. For example, questions by right-wing alliances addressed to the European Parliament are often handicapped by labeling the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD a terrorist organization or conflating it with violent fundamentalist groups, demonstrating a lack of knowledge of the nature of Islamism in Europe.^{b 68 69} However, on one notable occasion in November 2021, the French Deputy Minister for Citizenship criticized an EU official for meeting with FEMYSO, saying she was “quite shocked” by FEMYSO’s presence in Brussels.⁷⁰

a See <https://www.globalmbwatch.com/2008/08/24/on-mainstream-islamic-organizations/>

b The GMB is not free globally from association with terrorism. The GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN (GAAC) was international umbrella organization that brought under its wings Salafi, Salafi-Jihadi, GLOBAL MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD and HAMAS leaders. See https://www.globalmbresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Global_Anti-Aggression_Campaign_2003-2016.pdf

APPENDIX 1: Lobbying by the Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organizations (FEMYSO)

A. POLITICAL PARTIES

On 21 June 2022, FEMYSO members participated in an in-person Brussels civil society panel hosted by the European Parliament's Greens Group (EFA).⁷¹ As part of the half-day event, participants shared their key priorities and policy proposals with MEPs, campaigners, and policy advisors. According to the EFA website, the event aimed at developing the EFA strategy for the next two years, providing an opportunity to influence the party's policymakers in an informal setting and network with staff and other NGO colleagues.⁷² Break-out sessions, held in the presence of Greens MPs, covered topics such as the rule of law and democracy, ecological transition, and social and economic justice.

B. EUROPEAN YOUTH POLICY

In late 2021, an EU-funded project by the European Youth Forum partnered with FEMYSO for a campaign named "The 25 Percent, aimed at fostering democratic participation among young people."⁷³ ⁷⁴ The European Youth Forum is a platform and advocacy group of national youth councils and international youth NGOs throughout Europe working chiefly on European youth policy matters.⁷⁵ On 24 February 2022, "The 25 Percent" gathered more than 100 youths from all over Europe for an online event titled "Conference on the Future of Europe," where participants presented their ideas and recommendations to members of a virtual plenary session.

C. ANTI-RACISM/ANTI-DISCRIMINATION

In May 2020, FEMYSO, and 16 other European civil society organizations, including some tied to the GMB, published a joint position paper calling on EU member states and institutions to adopt broad political action to mitigate the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on Muslim communities.⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ The paper listed key policy recommendations addressing structural discrimination, Islamophobia, and racism in law enforcement. It further called for assessing restrictions on freedom of religion in the New Strategy on the Charter of Fundamental Rights, a strategy paper adopted by the European Commission in December 2020.⁷⁸ In the paper, FEMYSO called on EU institutions to explore the possibility of "initiating infringement proceedings based on the Employment Directive (2000/78/EC) to address the systemic discrimination faced by Muslim women wearing the headscarf." The call also included a demand to assess "the discriminatory impact of counter-radicalisation and counterterrorism measures and ensure that counterterrorism measures comply with fundamental rights safeguards, especially when implementing the recently adopted EU counterterrorism Directive."

A June 2020 open letter demanding European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen to lead efforts against police violence and systemic racism within the EU was co-signed by over 150 European civil society organizations, including FEMYSO.⁷⁹ The letter's demands included harsher sanctioning

of police violence and racial profiling, and increasing racial diversity within European police forces.

On 16 July 2021, FEMYSO issued a statement calling for a revision of a judgment by the European Court of Justice that allowed employers to ban religious symbols in the workplace, calling the decision “a blatant reduction of the rights of visibly Muslim women in the EU, and thus nothing less than the institutionalisation of Islamophobia.”⁸⁰ FEMYSO alleged the decision prioritized the interests of employers and those of prejudiced customers, saying it provided a “legal basis” for further discrimination against Muslim Women in the job market. The group also called on the EU and its institutions to recognize the “impact of Islamophobia on its citizens” and to work alongside civil society to tackle the problem.

On 27th and 28th September 2021, FEMYSO and the Council of Europe’s Inclusion and Anti-Discrimination Division co-organized an online workshop on anti-Muslim hate speech aimed at developing “positive messages to push back against anti-Muslim rhetoric.”⁸¹ The event received funding from the European Union’s Rights, Equality, and Citizenship Program (2014–2020). A controversial pro-hijab social campaign titled “Beauty is in diversity as freedom is in hijab” launched as part of the event was later pulled by the Council of Europe after complaints by several prominent French politicians.⁸²

On 18 November 2021, FEMYSO leaders met with the EU Equality Commissioner Helena Dalli in Brussels to discuss “the situation of young Muslims in Europe and the challenges experienced as a result of stereotyping, discrimination and out-right hatred.”⁸³ The French Deputy Minister for Citizenship subsequently criticized Dalli for meeting with the group, saying she was “quite shocked” by FEMYSO’s presence in Brussels.

D. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

FEMYSO has frequently collaborated with the European Parliament’s Anti-Racism and Diversity Intergroup (ARDI), a cross-political party grouping to promote racial equality/equity, counter racism, and educate about non-discrimination in the work of the European Parliament.⁸⁴ On 28 September 2017, members of both ARDI and FEMYSO were present at a Muslim youth conference at the European Parliament titled ‘Engaging Muslim Young People in the Future of Europe Debate’ organized in cooperation with the European Parliament. The event featured high-level EU officials, including:⁸⁵

- ◆ Frans Timmermans MEP, then First Vice President of the European Commission

- ◆ Mairead McGuinness MEP
- ◆ Tom Vandenkendelaere, MEP
- ◆ Jean Lambert MEP
- ◆ Sajjad Karim MEP, then ARDI Vice President and Chair of ARDI’s Islamophobia Working Group

In June 2018, during the 2018 European Youth Event, TANER spoke during a European Parliament session addressing the issue of anti-Muslim hatred not being recognized as a specific crime.⁸⁶

In July 2018, FEMYSO Head of Media and Campaigns Hande TANER appeared as a signatory to a letter to the European Parliament arguing that religious clothing bans disproportionately affected Muslim women and calling for a rejection of further proposals to ban religious clothing in employment and institutions.⁸⁷

On 26 May 2019, a 2019 Election Night panel at the European Parliament featured TANER and FEMYSO President Abdelrahman RIZK.^{88 89} The panel discussed “the need for representation but also the participation of young people of ethnic origin in the European Parliament.”⁹⁰

FEMYSO has also officially partnered with the European Parliament for the European Elections 2019 (EE19) “This Time I’m Voting” campaign with the aim of heightening voter participation and raising awareness among youth. According to a statement on the FEMYSO website:⁹¹

As an official, non-partisan partner of the European Parliament’s EE19 campaign, FEMYSO aims to cultivate a generation of young active citizens who know how to raise their voice within the EU. FEMYSO believes in the importance of empowering young people to become skillful, proactive and engaged citizens. We believe that the political and civic commitment of young people is a necessary driving force to build a stronger Europe and to contribute to more vibrant, inclusive and cohesive societies. To achieve this goal, we need to strengthen the political consciousness of youth and our sense of responsibility towards the societies we live in.

On 13 September 2019, FEMYSO published an open letter calling on members of the European Parliament to vote against the new European Commission over a perceived lack of “ethnic, racial and religious diversity.”⁹² The letter accused the Commission of using “far-right rhetoric” over allowing

the Commissioner for Protecting our European Way of Life to oversee immigration policy.⁹³ The letter also called on the Commission President Von der Leyen to review her appointments to reflect the full diversity of Europe.

From 8-9 October 2021, FEMYSO members participated in the 2021 edition of the European Youth Event (EYE), a gathering of youth organizations from across the continent held at the European Parliament in Strasbourg.⁹⁴ According to the EYE website, the event presented a “unique opportunity for 16 to 30-year-olds to interact in-person and online, inspire each other and exchange their views with experts, activists, influencers, and decision-makers, right in the heart of European democracy.”⁹⁵ The Mayor of Strasbourg addressed the event’s opening ceremony, while other EYE2021 sessions saw appearances by MEPs, including Evin Incir (Sweden) and European Parliament Vice-President Roberta Metsola (Malta). After the event, a report was distributed to all Members of the European Parliament.

E. EUROPEAN COMMISSION

December 2018 tweets indicate that TANER participated in a European Commission “high-level conference on tackling intolerance and discrimination against Muslims” meeting

about Islamophobia in Brussels.^{96 97} The event featured Council of Europe and European Commission officials.⁹⁸

On 25 June 2019, FEMYSO participated in a European Commission workshop on “Synergies and good practices on tackling anti-Muslim racism and discrimination” in Madrid hosted by the Spanish government with the participation of 17 EU member States representatives.⁹⁹

On 21 September 2020, TANER participated in an online event titled “Gendered Islamophobia in Europe” that featured several high-level EU officials as speakers, including the European Commissioner for Equality and the Director of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights.¹⁰⁰ The event’s Q&A section also featured the European Commission Co-Ordinator on Combating Anti-Muslim Hatred.

On 25 November 2021, FEMYSO participated in a virtual conference with the European Commission Executive Vice-President to discuss proposals for the European Green Deal, a set of policy initiatives aimed at reducing net greenhouse gas emissions in the European Union to zero by 2050.^{101 102} Italian media quoted the Vice-President as saying the conference posed an opportunity to present proposals of young people on how to face ecological and social challenges.¹⁰³

APPENDIX 2: Lobbying by the European Network Against Racism (ENAR)

A. EUROPEAN COMMISSION

On 15 October 2020, ENAR was joined by a group of 44 organizations in issuing an open letter calling on the EU Commission President to secure “meaningful and participation mechanisms” for the implementation of the EU Action Plan Against Racism, published by the Commission on 18 September 2020.¹⁰⁴ The document called for the appointment of an EU Anti-Racism Coordinator, the establishment of a structured and permanent participatory mechanism for civil society organizations, as well as dedicated funding.

In its 2021 annual report, ENAR said that, during that year, it engaged in a roundtable with European Commission Vice-President Frans Timmermans and other civil society organizations working on racial and climate justice, as well as in a meeting for the European Climate Pact.¹⁰⁵ ENAR also published a report exploring how the climate crisis disproportionately impacts racialized communities.

From 27-28 October 2021, ENAR participated in and delivered an opening speech at the European Commission’s 6th European Migration Forum, held online, providing information on the impact of the pandemic on migrant communities and long-term integration strategies.^{106 107} The forum was organized by the European Economic and Social Committee, a consultative body that gives representatives of Europe’s socio-occupational interest groups and others a formal platform to express their points of view on EU issues.^{108 109} Additionally, the ENAR 2021 Annual Report says:

ENAR engaged with the European Commission Expert Group on migration, integration and asylum to provide input from an anti-racism perspective, including on a number of relevant objects such as the voluntary return scheme, the Directives on the Long-Term Residents, and the European Asylum Support Office on new Artificial Intelligence.¹¹⁰

In March 2022, ENAR leaders were invited to hold speeches at the annual “European Anti-Racism Summit,” a gathering of key stakeholders fighting racism in the European Union.¹¹¹ The summit was co-hosted by the European Commission, the European Parliament’s Anti-Racism and Diversity Intergroup (ARDI), and the Council of Europe’s European Commission against Racism and Intolerance.¹¹² The 2022 event featured several high-level EU officials, including the EU Commissioner for Equality, the Director-General for Justice and Consumers, the EU Anti-Racism Coordinator, and several MEPs. European Commission President Von der Leyen spoke at the 2021 edition of the event, which also featured ENAR.¹¹³

As part of its 2022 General Assembly, on 19 May 2022, ENAR participated in a speaking event at the European Commission building in Brussels, discussing and assessing National Action Plans Against Racism.¹¹⁴ Participants included EU Anti-Racism Coordinator and former ENAR member Michaela Moua.¹¹⁵ ENAR says that participants discussed the lack of appointment of a new EU Coordinator against Islamophobia, among other issues.

B. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

On 23 September 2019, ENAR co-organized an event part of that year's "Anti-Racism and Diversity Week" held at the European Parliament.¹¹⁶ The ENAR website reports the event sought to bring "MEPs and activists together to build a strong anti-racism/anti-discrimination agenda for the European Union."¹¹⁷ The same source says the event was supported by the European Commission and the Open Society Foundation and was hosted by several Co-Presidents of the FEMYSO Partner Anti-Racism and Diversity Intergroup in the European Parliament (ARDI).

On 30 November 2021, ENAR participated in a virtual hearing by the European Parliament Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice, and Home Affairs that discussed the implementation of the EU Anti-Racism Action Plan 2020–2025.¹¹⁸ The plan is described as "a series of measures to step up action and to bring together actors at all levels to address racism more effectively in the EU."¹¹⁹ Its objectives include increasing racial diversity of Commission staff and the implementation of a designated European Coordinator for Anti-Racism. The hearing was part of a series of discussions on specific topics related to anti-racism, such as police violence against Roma. Other event participants included representatives of the European Commission, the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, the Council of Europe, and the Belgian Coalition for the National Action Plan Against Racism.¹²⁰

C. OTHER

On 19 September 2014, ENAR issued a statement by a coalition of European civil society organizations that called on EU leaders and decision makers to recognize Islamophobia as a specific form of racism.¹²¹ The document's co-signatories included FEMYSO, FEMYSO members, and several other groups tied to the GMB.¹²²

On 29 March 2021, ENAR held a virtual event launching an EU-funded report about the impact of European counterterrorism laws and policies on groups at risk of racism.¹²³ The event featured appearances by several high-level EU officials and MEPs. In its report, ENAR made several policy recommendations, including that all EU counterterrorism legislation should automatically expire after a fixed time and that EU institutions should regularly and proactively engage with civil society organizations on counterterrorism measures.¹²⁴ ENAR also said the development of these policies and practices was grounded on prejudices about Muslim communities and demanded the EU refrain from using "vague and general labels such as Jihadism, Islamism,

and Political Islam," arguing that their stigmatizing impact outweighed their analytical value. The report launch event was hosted by two Swedish and German MEPs and featured contributions by high-level EU officials and policymakers, including the EU Commissioner for Equality and the EU Commission's Counter-Terrorism Policy Officer.

On 10 December 2021, the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) published a comprehensive report on police brutality in Europe, accusing authorities of disproportionately targeting marginalized groups.¹²⁵ ENAR leaders also claimed the police are "an institution founded on principles of inequality and indignity." The 56-page report, titled "The Sharp Edge of Violence: Police brutality and community resistance of racialized groups," was published with the financial support of the Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme of the European Union, the Open Society Foundations, the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, and the ENAR Foundation. The report relied on data from approximately 40 police brutality/discrimination incidents in five EU member states (Croatia, France, Belgium, Sweden, and Bulgaria) between 2015 and 2020. ENAR alleged that police officers were rarely held to account for their human rights abuses and that institutional racism remained rampant, adding that officers accused of killing "racialized" people had routinely avoided being charged and convicted over these deaths. The group made several policy suggestions and called for "a transformative justice approach" to tackle the issues at hand. This approach, according to ENAR, would include divesting from the police and "breaking it up into its constituent parts" without specifying how this was to be accomplished. The ENAR Board Chairwoman urged policymakers and local communities to "redefine" the meaning of safety and security, suggesting the police were an institution "rotten at the root."¹²⁶ The ENAR recommendations bear a striking resemblance to the "Defund the Police" movement in the US, which grew out of the protests surrounding the death of George Floyd at the hands of the police and is generally associated with the so-called Progressive Left in the US.¹²⁷

On 23 March 2022, ENAR delivered a virtual address to the 49th session of the UN Human Rights Council, calling the Council's attention to the human rights situation of Africans and other racialized groups following reports of discrimination and violence at EU borders.¹²⁸ The ENAR Senior Research Officer delivered the statement, who called on the Council to work toward stopping what she said was the dehumanization of people of African descent and "other racialized groups" at the European borders in light of the current Ukrainian refugee crisis. The underlying document

was co-signed by a coalition of over 60 civil society organizations that included several groups tied to the GMB, including FEMYSO and the EUROPEAN FORUM OF MUSLIM WOMEN.

D. SUCCESSFUL LOBBYING CLAIMS

In 2018, ENAR said it attended and advised members of a European Commission sub-group on equality data collection initiated by the EU High-Level Group on Non-discrimination, Equality, and Diversity to facilitate the exchange of good practices collecting data on equality.¹²⁹ The body produced guidelines for Member States encouraging the collection of equality data, emphasizing disaggregation by race and a move toward self-identification principles.^a In its 2018 annual report, ENAR said its lobbying activities had influenced the European Commission in publishing guidelines for EU Member States on implementing EU racist crime legislation.¹³⁰ In the same document, ENAR claimed its work on Islamophobia and Antigypsyism had also resulted in a high-level meeting with Commissioners in December 2018. The meeting was said to have resulted in two EU member states committing to pursue the work on Islamophobia after the end of the European Commission's mandate, as well as a European Commission policy document on countering Islamophobia.

Other lobbying successes claimed by ENAR include:^{131 132}

- ◆ During 2016, several of ENAR's calls for action and recommendations were included in European Parliament reports, including on the implementation of the EU Employment Equality Directive, the EU Counterterrorism Directive, and the fundamental rights situation in the EU.
- ◆ In the same year, ENAR's advocacy yielded new European Parliament rules of procedure, including stricter sanctions against MEPs engaging in hate speech and penalties for serious misbehavior.

On 26 March 2019, the European Parliament for the first time, adopted a resolution on the fundamental rights of people of African descent, calling on EU member states and institutions to recognize that they are subjected to racism, discrimination, and xenophobia.¹³³ The resolution contains provisions to uphold the fundamental rights of people of African descent in Europe, including national action plans against racism, police violence, and reparations for colonialism. ENAR has said this adoption was partly due to its own work.¹³⁴

a Allowing individuals to identify their sexual categories.

According to the 2019 ENAR annual report:¹³⁵

Following an EU high-level meeting on anti-Muslim hatred in late 2018 which took on board several ENAR recommendations, the European Commission and the Spanish Secretary of State for Migration organized a follow-up seminar with Member State authorities and civil society organizations to discuss good practices on tackling anti-Muslim racism and discrimination.

ENAR has also said that, in 2019, it called for an anti-racism approach to immigration, influencing MEPs and EU institutions in the process:¹³⁶

In our advocacy work, we engaged in consultations with the European Commission to bring an anti-discrimination approach to integration and migration policies and legislation, including in the upcoming migration package, which will review the future of asylum procedures, schemes on border management and control and future actions for the integration of migrants. We held meetings with MEPs and the Anti-Racism Intergroup to raise awareness of the need to combat structural and institutional discrimination in migration policies. In addition, ENAR took part in the consultations and agenda setting in view of the two European Migration Fora. ENAR also contributed to several debates and exchanges with NGOs, EU stakeholders, ODIHR/OSCE and national authorities on the importance of developing innovative narratives on migration. We took an active role in the Brussels-based NGO Platform on Migration and Asylum and joined common initiatives and demands.

ENAR claims it has influenced EU-level meetings on anti-Muslim hatred and Islamophobia. On 18 September 2020, the European Commission issued a communiqué titled "A Union of equality : EU anti-racism action plan 2020-2025." On the same day, ENAR on its website welcomed the move, stating it contained a number of proposals they had been demanding:

The European Network Against Racism (ENAR) welcomes the fact that for the

first time, the EU explicitly acknowledges the existence of structural, institutional and historical dimensions of racism in Europe and the need to address them through wide-ranging, proactive policies. This is an important shift from the current limited focus on combating racial discrimination by individuals. There are a number of positive proposals in the action plan, in line with what ENAR has been calling for:

- The European Commission strongly urges national governments to develop and adopt national action plans against racism and will adopt common principles for their implementation.

- It calls for consistent and improved collection of equality data, disaggregated by racial or ethnic origin, which is crucial to uncover

and address existing structural inequalities, while ensuring due respect of privacy.

- It identifies the need for potential new legislation to address racism in law enforcement.

- The European Commission will ensure that EU policies e.g. on migration, digital services, AI, Green Deal, benefit all and do not contribute to further racial inequalities.

- The European Commission will take concrete steps to improve racial diversity and representation within its ranks and encourage other EU institutions to do the same.¹³⁷

APPENDIX 3: Lobbying by the European Forum of Muslim Women (EFOMW)

A. COUNCIL OF EUROPE

The EFOMW participated in the September 2021 Council of Europe Inclusion and Anti-Discrimination Division's EU-funded online workshop on anti-Muslim hate speech identified above, and that also included FEMYSO.¹³⁸ As a result of the workshop, on 25 October 2021, EFOMW launched a social media campaign named “#LetMeChoose.” The campaign visuals presented a paper doll with various outfit choices, a metaphor for freedom of choice of dress according to one's identity. On its website, EFOMW stated that they had received hate comments and threatening messages after launching the campaign, saying they served as examples of the “continuum of violent extremism and hate speech and hateful narratives.” A controversial pro-hijab social campaign titled “Beauty is in diversity as freedom is in hijab” launched as part of the event was later pulled by the Council of Europe after complaints by several prominent French politicians.¹³⁹

On 2 March 2022, EFOMW published a statement saying it was grateful to have contributed to an extensive set of policy recommendations on combatting anti-Muslim racism adopted in December 2021 by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, the Council of Europe's main anti-racism body.¹⁴⁰ On 1 March 2022, the body published its revised General Policy Recommendation (GPR) No. V.¹⁴¹ This document contains a total of 60 propositions, including ensuring the inclusion of the principle of intersectionality in all future equality policies, demanding public institutions make provisions for the accommodation of religious requirements, and removing discriminatory legal obstacles regarding the construction of Muslim places of worship. GPRs are designed to provide detailed guidelines that policymakers are invited to use when drawing up national strategies and policies in various fields. They are specifically addressed to the national authorities of 47 Council of Europe member states but are also intended to be acted upon by European societies in general.

B. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

In July 2022, the EFOMW said it had taken part in a “shadow meeting” of the European Parliament, where civil society representatives had the opportunity to comment on and propose amendments for a report on racial justice, non-discrimination, and anti-racism in the EU.^{142 143}

APPENDIX 4: Lobbying by the CLAIM Allianz gegen Muslimfeindlichkeit (CLAIM)

CLAIM Project Director Rima HANANO participated in the March 2022 European Union Anti-Racism Summit mentioned above, where she spoke on racialized communities and law enforcement.¹⁴⁴

On 11 December 2018, CLAIM representatives attended an EU-funded anti-hate speech conference titled “Facing All the Facts” at the Microsoft Center in Brussels organized by Jewish advocacy NGO CEJI - A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe.^{145 146} According to a campaign website, event participants discussed, among other things, opportunities to improve national hate crime recording systems.¹⁴⁷ Conference participants included high-level EU officials and other organizations.

On 3 December 2018, CLAIM representatives attended a high-level meeting for anti-Muslim hatred titled “Tackling Intolerance and Discrimination Against Muslims in the European Union” at the European Commission in Brussels.¹⁴⁸ At the conference, the EU Fundamental Rights Agency Director launched the agency’s new database on anti-Muslim hatred. Conference participants included:¹⁴⁹

- ◆ Tommaso Chiamparino, European Commission Co-Ordinator on Combating Anti-Muslim Hatred
- ◆ Hajar EL JAHIDI, former Advocacy Coordinator of the EUROPEAN FORUM OF MUSLIM WOMEN¹⁵⁰

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