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QUILLIAM

Mainstreaming Islamism:

Islamist Institutions and Civil Society Organisations

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September 2019*

Introduction

Throughout the 1990s and into the first decades of this century, a speaking circuit consisting of a series of preachers with a deep attachment to Islamist political and religious theory toured a number of British institutions. The preferred solution to contemporary problems besetting Muslims included the advocacy of a single caliphate that implemented “the *Sharia*”. This was not a matter of a one-off, shocking statement. Rather, these preachers advocated for a cohesive religious-political ideology.

It does not inevitably follow that every institution was supportive of all elements of the political perspective advanced by the preachers that they hosted. However, those preachers were open about their beliefs. Their views frequently became the subject of external critical comment. Notwithstanding the controversy, many clerics who expressed support for various aspects of Islamist theology continued to be afforded platforms at a variety of British institutions. In the case of the Lewisham Islamic Centre, the Head Imam of the institution himself articulated a range of Islamist views but remains in post.

Critics warned that the vision of society advocated by certain of the preachers who were afforded a platform at these institutions represented a challenge to the liberal values of equality between persons, fundamental human rights and pluralist democracy. A related concern was that visits by public figures to institutions with a history of hosting problematic speakers, and joint ventures between such institutions and civil society organisations would, in turn, strengthen Islamist politics in two ways. First, engagement would result in the collapse of the civil society *cordon sanitaire*, which hitherto had restricted Islamist preachers to the fringes of public life. Secondly, it was feared that uncritical engagement would be employed to suggest that concerns about the nature of the speakers hosted by such institutions were misplaced, making it more difficult for Muslims who opposed the promotion of Islamist politics to raise the alarm.

One of the authors of this paper, Usama Hasan, was part of this speaking circuit, and had strong friendships with many of the preachers we discuss. Our critique of them is not a personal attack, but an attempt to raise important issues and engage in civilised debate, in the hope that our collective discourse will move on, just as it has for dozens of former Islamist leaders. Similarly, the concerns that we raise about the mainstreaming of hosting institutions is an exhortation to politicians and civil society institutions to take greater care to avoid relationships which can have the effect of normalising an illiberal theological politics within society as a whole.

In the first part of this paper, we identify a series of preachers who promoted an Islamist theology during this period, and the institutions which hosted them. In the second part, we discuss a series of case studies, illustrating the nature and extent of civil society engagement with these institutions.

Part I: The Message and the Messengers

Islamist theology

From an examination of the ideas promoted by those speakers, a broadly common message can be identified. It should be noted that not all institutions hosted the same speakers, and not all speakers promoted precisely the same message. Neither is it claimed that these speakers necessarily advocated the full range of the problematic ideas set out below, or expressed these views in every recorded speech. The opinions expressed by each speaker are set out below.

The Sunni Islamist reading of Islam rests on the pillars of (i) *ummah*, (ii) *khilafah*, (iii) *shari'ah*, (iv) *jihad*, and (v) *al-wala' wal-bara'*. These five elements are more or less agreed upon independently by several experts, most of whom are ex-Islamist leaders. For the purposes of this paper, (v) is subsumed under (i), to which it is strongly related. It is our contention that the preachers discussed in this paper can be properly characterised as Islamist based on the facts surrounding them and the statements made by them in this paper.

The logic of Sunni Islamism¹ proceeds as follows:

- (i) *Ummah*: this is understood as “the Muslim nation” worldwide.²
- (ii) Once this binary worldview, of Muslims and non-Muslims, is adopted, it effectively defines all Muslims worldwide as a separate nation. Hence, the idea of *khilafah* or caliphate, a separate Islamic nation-state for all the Muslims of the world, follows immediately.³
- (iii) Upon achieving such a caliphate, it must be governed by a state law. Islamists naturally apply their understanding of *shari'ah* as state law, to be enforced on its subjects.⁴
- (iv) *Jihad* has been applied by Islamists by focussing on its physical or military aspects, and often ignoring the wider inner and social aspects of *jihad*. Where focussing on physical or military jihad, some Islamists will ignore the substantial Islamic tradition of ethics in warfare.⁵ In this

¹ The logic of Shia Islamism is similar, but the dominant political model of Sunni Islam, *khilafah* or caliphate, is replaced by *imamah* or imamate, which is the dominant political model of Shia Islam.

² The Islamist usage of *ummah* is based on a binary view of the world: Muslim vs. non-Muslim, harking back to the days of *dar al-Islam* and *dar al-kufr*, or the House of Islam and the House of Unbelief respectively. Relatedly, *al-wala' wal-bara'* is applied by Islamists as loyalty to Islam and Muslims with simultaneous disavowal of non-Islam and non-Muslims. The most radical example of this is Sayyid Qutb's insistence that the modern world indeed pits Islam against non-Islam or *jahiliyyah*, and that he and his new community will be the saviours of Islam and the world by adhering to pure Islam from its unpolluted sources and refusing to compromise with *jahiliyyah*, not even budging an inch. Cf. Sayyid Qutb, *Ma'alim fi l-Tariq*, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Ministry of Education, School Libraries / Dar al-Shuruq, Beirut & Cairo, 6th ed., 1399/1979; Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, Maktabah, Birmingham, 2006.

³ This approach narrows the wider Qur'anic meaning of *khilafah* as legitimate, representative and authoritative Muslim government that upholds justice and the rule of law. It also narrows the historical reality, endorsed by leading Islamic theologians and jurists of the past and present, of multiple caliphates, sultanates and Islamic states that coexisted for centuries and are the religious basis for the validity of multiple, Muslim-majority nation-states today.

⁴ *Shari'ah* has historically been interpreted in many different ways, with literally dozens of schools of Islamic jurisprudence, demonstrating a breathtaking diversity of views of juristic details and their underlying principles or philosophy, known as *usul*. The Islamist understanding of *shari'ah* is only one such interpretation

⁵ cf. Salah al-Ansari and Usama Hasan, *Tackling Terror: A Response to Takfiri Terrorist Theology*, Quilliam, 2018.

manner, the concept of *jihad* may be deployed to justify resistance, insurgency, revolution, terrorism and to wage war relentlessly for the defence and expansion of an idealised “Islamic state.”

Those who promote such an ideology sincerely believe it to be “normative Islam”. It follows therefore that a challenge to such a perspective is regarded as an attack on the fundamental requirements of Islam.

The presentation of preachers who shared such an Islamist reading of Islam as authoritative guides assisted in the normalisation and propagation of their politics. Many of these preachers spoke at university student Islamic Societies. There are many factors which contribute to an individual’s radicalisation, and it is not proper to draw a direct link between the appearance of a preacher who promoted the ideal of a Caliphate at a particular institution, and a particular student’s decision to engage in terrorism. However, it is notable that a number of graduates of British universities have been convicted of terrorist offences or travelled to Syria to join terrorist group.

The messengers

A circuit of preachers, who shared a broadly similar religious and political vision, have spoken at a series of venues in London and around the United Kingdom. These venues included:

- Mosques
- Community centres associated with religious institutions
- Think tanks and pressure groups
- Charities
- University Islamic Societies (ISOCs)
- Television stations

Speakers on this circuit during the 1990s and 2000s included the following:

- Anwar Al-Awlaki
- Khalid Al-Fikry
- Haitham Al-Haddad
- Shakeel Begg
- Murtaza Khan
- Uthman Lateef
- Bilal Philips
- Abuz Zubair

In most cases, it is uncontroversial that the speakers listed below spoke, as advertised, at each venue listed below. It is possible that in some cases, the preachers did not in fact appear. It should also be noted the East London Mosque would not now host the preachers listed above on these premises. However, we note below a number of occasions on which preachers spoke at institutions, having previously been recorded making problematic statements.

It is not obvious in every case that the venues referred to below were explicitly aware of controversial statements made by every speaker at the time of their appearance. However, this paper contends that the managers of those venues should have researched the speakers' public statements to satisfy themselves that it was appropriate to offer them a platform.

Al-Awlaki spoke at the East London Mosque's London Muslim Centre (including beaming him in from Yemen)⁶, at CAGE events⁷, and at university ISOCs.⁸ Awlaki was an Al Qaeda leader who was killed in a drone attack on September 30, 2011.⁹

Al-Fikry has spoken at the An-Noor and East London Mosque's London Muslim Centre¹⁰, as well as at University ISOC events.¹¹

Shakeel Begg, head Imam at the Lewisham Islamic Centre¹², has spoken at the East London Mosque¹³, and also has appeared on the Islam Channel.¹⁴ He has appeared at many CAGE events.¹⁵

Al-Haddad has spoken at both the An-Noor¹⁶ and the East London Mosque's London Muslim Centre,¹⁷ Lewisham Islamic Centre¹⁸ and numerous CAGE¹⁹ and University ISOC events.²⁰

⁶ See Appendix A 1.1

⁷ See Appendix A 5.1

CAGE, *Unnecessary and Disproportional: The Killings of Anwar and Abdul Rahman al-Awlaki*, 5 February, 2013

<https://www.cage.ngo/unnecessary-and-disproportional-the-killings-of-anwar-and-abdul-rahman-al-awlaki>

Ansari, Fahad, *Beyond Guantanamo - Review of Cageprisoners Fundraising Dinner*, CAGE, 2 October 2009

<http://web.archive.org/web/20160402141228/http://old.cageprisoners.com/articles.php?id=30493>

⁸ See Appendix A 3.1

Centre for Social Cohesion, *Radical Islam on UK Campuses*, 2010

<http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/RADICAL-ISLAM-ON-CMAPUS.pdf>

⁹ BBC, *Islamist cleric Anwar al-Awlaki killed in Yemen*, 30 September 2011

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15121879>

¹⁰ See Appendix A 1.4; 4.1; 4.6, 4.7

¹¹ See Appendix A 3.3

Barrett, David, *Woolwich attack suspects' former university played host to extremists*, Daily Telegraph, 24 May 2013

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/10079894/Woolwich-attack-suspects-former-university-played-host-to-extremists.html>

¹² Lewisham Islamic Centre, *Meet the Imams*, Undated

http://www.lewishamislamiccentre.com/about_the_imam.php

¹³ See Appendix A 1.5

¹⁴ The Islam Channel, *IslamiQA: Sheikh Shakeel Beg*, 14 March 2019

<https://www.islamchannel.tv/programme-video/islamiqa732/>

¹⁵ See Appendix B 1, B 16

Islam21C, *Trump: a Blessing in Orange Disguise*, 16 July 2018

<https://www.islam21c.com/politics/trump-a-blessing-in-orange-disguise/>

¹⁶ See Appendix A 4.3; 4.4

¹⁷ See Appendix A 1.2; 1.3

¹⁸ See Appendix B 2

¹⁹ See Appendices A 5.2 and B 3

²⁰ See Appendix A 3.2.a; 3.4; 3.6 and Appendix B 4

Centre for Social Cohesion, *Radical Islam on UK Campuses*, 2010

<http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/RADICAL-ISLAM-ON-CMAPUS.pdf>

He also makes or made regular appearances on the Islam Channel.²¹

Abuz Zubair has spoken at Lewisham Islamic Centre²² and Queen Mary University ISOC.²³

Murtaza Khan has spoken at the East London Mosque's London Muslim Centre²⁴, the Lewisham Islamic Centre²⁵, the An-Noor Mosque²⁶ and a variety of university ISOCs.²⁷

Uthman Lateef has spoken at the East London Mosque's London Muslim Centre²⁸, An-Noor Mosque²⁹ and many university ISOC³⁰ events including Kingston University ISOC.³¹

Bilal Philips has spoken at the East London Mosque³² and the Lewisham Islamic Centre³³ and at Queen Mary University ISOC.³⁴

The need for a caliphate

Certain preachers in the UK have tirelessly promoted the ideal of a caliphate. When self-styled Islamic State created a caliphate which adopted much of the Islamist blueprint for governance, those preachers duly rejected the terrorist group, in doctrinal terms. However, they did not abandon the caliphate as a cause.

In Walsall in 2011, Murtaza Khan discussed certain contemporary problems faced by Muslims. During that speech, he explained that one of the causes was that:

“We don't have a *Khilafah* anymore. We don't have an Islamic Empire anymore.”³⁵

After making these remarks Murtaza Khan spoke at a UEL ISOC event in 2014³⁶ and at the An Noor mosque in the same year.³⁷

²¹ Twitter, Islam Chanel, 9 May 2017

<https://twitter.com/Islamchannel/status/861908890543419392>

Twitter, Islam Chanel, 31 May 2017

<https://twitter.com/islamchannel/status/869872485260505094>

Islam Channel, *IslamiQA: Sheikh Haitham Al-Haddad*, 18 July 2019

<https://www.islamchannel.tv/programme-video/islamiga1011/>

²² See Appendix A 2.2

²³ See Appendix B 5

²⁴ See Appendix A 1.1

²⁵ See Appendix A 2.1

²⁶ See Appendix A 4.1; 4.2; 4.3

²⁷ See Appendix A 3.1; 3.2.c; 3.5.b; 3.5.c

²⁸ See Appendix A 1.1

²⁹ See Appendix A 4.5

³⁰ See Appendix A 3.2.b; 3.2.c; 3.5.a; 3.7

³¹ Appendix B 30

³² East London Mosque, list of Friday Khutbah. Bilal Phillips delivered the sermon on 28 March 2008

<http://web.archive.org/web/20101017213737/https://www.eastlondonmosque.org.uk/resources/sermons&paginate=1&ipp=All>

³³ See Appendix A 2.1

³⁴ See Appendix A 3.5.a

³⁵ See Appendix B 11

³⁶ See Appendix A 3.2.c

³⁷ See Appendix A 4.1

In an interview on the Islam Channel in September 2014, Haitham Al-Haddad described ISIS as ‘anti-Islamic’, but stressed that the Islamic caliphate was nevertheless an “Islamic obligation.”³⁸ Haitham Al-Haddad has regularly and explicitly supported the creation of a caliphate. In a 2015 lecture, Al-Haddad explained:

Why do we need caliphate? We need caliphate because caliphate runs the true Islamic system.

He concludes his remarks with this line:

We say that we want the Islamic caliphate because the Islamic caliphate represents the true Islam.³⁹

Haddad appeared on a CAGE platform in 2015.⁴⁰ He appeared on a MEND event in 2017.⁴¹

The Egyptian Islamist preacher Khalid al-Fikry has also promoted the caliphate. For example, in a Q&A session filmed in 2013, he insists “every Muslim wishes to be under the umbrella of *Khilafah Islamiyyah*, means *shari’ah*, means the Islamic law as a whole.”⁴² He adds that this “comes with the *hudud*, how to deal with a thief, or to deal with a *zani*, to deal with a *murtad*, and so on.” Al-Fikry stresses that the caliphate is a venture for the entire *ummah*, not one country alone, and achieving it will require unity and strength.

After making these statements, Al-Fikry spoke at Kingston University in late 2013, where his appearance was a matter of public controversy.⁴³

These messages were often reinforced by calls to reject other forms of Islam. Uthman Lateef (Abu Mujahid)’s speech at the “End of Time” event at the East London Mosque in January 2009 provides an example of such rhetoric.⁴⁴

Implementing the shari’ah

Preachers would often present an Islamic state in which Islam would be “dominant” as the best

³⁸ See Appendix B 6:

“We have to be careful here, because Islamic caliphate is an Islamic obligation, generally speaking, and there are certain conditions where a certain caliphate can be established. Not any claim for Islamic caliphate does really represent the real Islamic caliphate. So, we have to hold a neutral position and an Islamic position. The absurd and the anti-Islamic activities carried out by the ISIS should not put us off the concept of the Islamic caliphate. The Islamic caliphate is an Islamic obligation.”

³⁹ See Appendix B 7

⁴⁰ See Appendix A 5.2

⁴¹ See Appendix A 6.2

⁴² See Appendix B 8

⁴³ See Appendix A 3.3

⁴⁴ See Appendix B 9

“They tell you about a secular Islam, right? Islamic secularism. New Islam. They will sell you a democratic Islam, a socialist Islam, a social democratic Islam, every Islam except the Islam of Mohammed. Beware of the new things, right? The redefined, repackaged Islam. The so-called Islam that speaks of the abolition of *shari’ah*, like we don’t need *shari’ah* anymore. The so-called Islam that speaks about the fact that sovereignty does not belong to Allah. The so-called Islam that speaks about the fact that, you know, we don’t need the laws of Islam anymore. There is no politics in Islam. We’ve got to separate these two things. So beware of them and your fathers should beware of them. Don’t let these people be a cause of misguidance for you. Don’t let these people be a cause of *fitna* for you. Deception!”

way of protecting Muslims. An example of such rhetoric is provided by Murtaza Khan, speaking at the Lewisham Islamic Centre, in August 2009.⁴⁵ He envisaged a caliphate in which his audience would “have the right to show the power and the dominance of Islam. Even walking in the streets, you shouldn’t give them way.”

Bilal Philips, a Jamaican-born preacher resident in Qatar, who was banned from the United Kingdom in 2010,⁴⁶ set out a detailed argument for the reintroduction of “divine law” in “Muslim Countries” and for hating “un-Islamic government” in his 1994 work, *The Fundamentals of Tawheed*.⁴⁷

Philips gave the Friday sermon at the East London Mosque in 2008⁴⁸ and spoke at the Annual Dinner of the Queen Mary Islamic Society in 2009.⁴⁹ He was advertised as speaking at a fundraising dinner for the Lewisham Islamic Centre in 2010.⁵⁰

In a 2014 lecture, Al-Haddad supported the stoning to death of adulterers, which he presented as potentially a woman’s choice to die in this manner.⁵¹ Later in the same lecture, he described

⁴⁵ See Appendix B 10

“When the time is right, [be] stern towards the disbelievers. I am not promoting these views, even in the hadith you will find that you walk in the road, when Muslims are dominant, they made sure that the non-Muslims were pushed against the wall. That’s what Islam says but I’m not pushing that view in these days because I could be on my way to Belmarsh very soon [the audience laughs].

But the point is that when Islam is dominant, you have the right to show the power and the dominance of Islam. Even walking in the streets you shouldn’t give them way.”

⁴⁶ Townsend, Mark, *Stockholm bomber’s mosque website carries links to extremist preacher*, The Observer, 19 December 2010

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/19/abdaly-luton-mosque-stockholm-bomber>

Philips has also been banned from Australia, Germany, Kenya and certain other countries. He was named by the US government as an unindicted co-conspirator in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, Gilligan, Andrew, *Inextricably linked to controversial mosque: the secret world of IFE*, The Telegraph, 28 February 2010

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/labour/7333487/Inextricably-linked-to-controversial-mosque-the-secret-world-of-IFE.html>

⁴⁷ Phillips, Bilal, *The Fundamentals of Tawheed*, 1994

https://www.cia.gov/library/abbottabad-compound/84/84575EAC059788C5E8DFA51FEF117E4A_The%20Fundamentals%20of%20Tawheed.pdf

“Divine law has to be reintroduced in the many so-called Muslim countries where governments now rule according to imported capitalist or communist constitutions, and Islamic law is on the books but secular law is in force, have also to be brought in line with the *Shari`ah* as it pertains to all aspects of life. The acceptance of non-Islamic rule in place of *Shari`ah* in Muslim lands is *shirk* and an act of *kufr*. Those in a position to change it must do so, while those unable to do so must speak out against the rule of *kufr* and call for the implementation of *Shari`ah*. If even this becomes impossible, un-Islamic government must be sincerely hated and despised for the pleasure of God and the upholding of *Tawhid*.”

⁴⁸ East London Mosque, list of Friday Khutbah. Bilal Phillips delivered the sermon on 28 March 2008

<http://web.archive.org/web/20101017213737/https://www.eastlondonmosque.org.uk/resources/sermons&paginate=1&ipp=All>

⁴⁹ See Appendix A 3.5.a

⁵⁰ See Appendix A 2.1

⁵¹ See Appendix B 18

“Stoning adulterers to death, and they say that this is barbaric. I ask everyone one question: what about if this is the choice of the woman herself, the woman herself? What about if that is her choice? She chose to die like this. She prefers to die like this. She wants to die like this. Should we give her that choice or

apostates as:

“a threat for the state, for the individuals, for everyone. And that’s why the punishment is capital punishment.”

In 2011, Abuz Zubair responded to the advocacy of the theory of evolution, advanced by Usama Hasan, one of the authors of this paper. He explained that “the call to evolution is a call to *kufr* and apostasy from Islam” and quoted the position of the scholar, Ibn al-Uthaymeen, in relation to such a person:

“if there is absolutely no other way of stopping this person except execution, then this person should be executed because he is an apostate and apostates are executed.”⁵²

Non-cooperation with the police and security services

On 26 December 2003, at an event organised by Islamic Forum Europe at the East London Mosque,⁵³ Anwar Al-Awlaki gave a speech⁵⁴ in which he recounted the parable of four cows and the wolf. One of the cows was white and the other three were black. The black cows abandon the white cow, who is more visible at night, to the wolf. The white cow is eaten. The black cows are then eaten, one by one, the final survivor observing, “I was eaten the day the white cow was eaten” and “I died when I allowed the wolf to eat the white cow.” The story is intended to illustrate “the situation in the Muslim *ummah* today”.⁵⁵ Al-Awlaki’s conclusion is that Muslims should not “hand over” a “brother”, even if they are accused of terrorism.⁵⁶

not? This is her choice.”

⁵² See Appendix B 19

⁵³ UK Islamic Events & Notices: Week Beginning Friday 5th December 2003

https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/islamic_events/conversations/topics/69

⁵⁴ See Appendix B 12

⁵⁵ “This story is a good representation of the situation of the Muslim *ummah* today. This is exactly what is happening. We are watching one Muslim nation fall after another and we are watching, sitting back, doing nothing. ... This shows us the consequences of having disunity. When these cows didn’t stick together, when they allowed the enemy to snatch one of them way, this is what happened to them. They were all defeated.”

⁵⁶ “A Muslim is a brother of a Muslim, he does not oppress him and he does not hand him over. You don’t hand over a Muslim to the enemies of Allah. These three cows, they handed over the white cow to the enemy. Now what happens is, they thought, that by doing that they’re securing themselves. They thought that they would be safe if they hand over this white cow. This white cow was outspoken, it was causing a lot of trouble, it was being accused of being a terrorist, so let it go. “We don’t want anything to do with them. Let them go to jail.” But the thing is, they don’t realise, that it will come to you next. You will be next in line. So brothers, if you want to protect yourselves, you need to stop that, you need to stop such things from happening. Because as soon as you allow one Muslim to be taken, Allah does not help you anymore. You lose the assistance of Allah.”

It should be noted that the East London Mosque published a document that stressed that “At no point in the sermon does he say that Muslims should not co-operate with the police”. However, our interpretation of the speech is that Awlaki is warning Muslims that they should not hand over those accused of being terrorists to “the enemies of Allah”. In context, a reasonable understanding of these words is that he is referring to the police and security services.

East London Mosque, *Statement to clarify its position on Anwar Al Awlaki*, 6 November 2010

<https://archive.eastlondonmosque.org.uk/news/286>

Uthman Lateef has also opposed Muslims assisting the security services, which he has described as spying, leading to the “major sin” of “apostasy”.⁵⁷ Since the publication of the lecture in which he advanced this argument, Lateef spoke at an event supported by Engage,⁵⁸ the predecessor of MEND, in 2013 and at a UEL ISOC event in 2014.⁵⁹

“Muslim Prisoners” and Jihad

At a CAGE (then called “Cage Prisoners”) event in 2010, Shakeel Begg gave a speech in which he stated that it was:

“inspiring to be amongst some of our brothers who made *Hijra* in the path of Allah the Exalted, who made *jihad* in the path of Allah the Exalted and who suffered in the path of Allah the Glorified and Exalted, our brothers from Guantanamo Bay.”

He continued:

“That if only you have enough wealth in the *bayt al mal* ... in the Muslim treasury to free just the Muslim prisoners, then make that wealth of the *bayt al mal* be used for that purpose. And a *hadith* pertaining to feed the hungry and feed the prisoner. So Cage Prisoners is an organisation doing that...”⁶⁰

These words were considered in legal proceedings, discussed further below. In those proceedings, the court held as follows:

“In conclusion, in my judgement, in the CAGE PRISONERS SPEECH (2010), the Claimant espoused extremist Islamic positions and promoted or encouraged religious violence. The Claimant again uses *jihad* in the sense exclusively of “fighting physically the enemies of Islam”, i.e. *qital*. The Claimant praises fellow Muslims who have migrated (made *hijra*) to other lands in order physically to fight the enemies of Islam (*qital*). ...”⁶¹

⁵⁷ See Appendix B 13

“One, we need to know the Islamic position about doing that, right? The major sin involved, right, that could also become disbelief and apostasy, right? Informing the authorities about the Muslims, when the Muslims are involved in *khayr* and goodness and everything else, that the *kuffar* will still use for their own ends against the Muslims. And so we do not weaken the *ummah* by strengthening the *kuffar*. And that is exactly what spying is. You are a tool for the strengthening of their nation and the weakening of your own one.”

⁵⁸ See Appendix A 6.1

⁵⁹ See Appendix A 3.2.c

⁶⁰ Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)

<https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf>, paragraphs 269 et seq.

A similar discussion of the obligation to ransom prisoners of war appears in an article by Moazzam Begg:

“*Jihad* using wealth is also obligatory in securing the release of Muslim prisoners. Imam Malik said: ‘If a Muslim is held as a prisoner of war...it is obligatory on others to secure his release, even if it requires all the Muslims’ wealth.’”

Cordoba Quarterly, *Jihad and Terrorism: A War of the Words*, Moazzam Begg, Volume 2, Edition 1, Summer 2008

http://www.thecordobafoundation.com/attach/Arches_issue_02x_Web.pdf

⁶¹ Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)

<https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf>, paragraph 308

Shakeel Begg spoke in 2011 at an event for Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS), an organisation associated with CAGE, which states that it “exists to provide financial, emotional, and practical support and advice to Muslim households impacted by counter-terrorism, national security and extremism-related laws, policies and procedures, in the UK and abroad”.⁶² At that event he explained:⁶³

“Helping the families of brothers who are in prison, giving to those families, supporting those families, coming to their aid when they are in times of need and help, is like as if we are making *jihad* in the path of Allah. And we know *jihad* in the path of Allah is of the greatest of deeds that a Muslim can take part in.”

Shakeel Begg also spoke in 2011 at a gathering outside HMP Belmarsh, at an event described as the Belmarsh *Iftar*. Begg described the rally as an “event to show our love and unity with our brothers in Belmarsh.”⁶⁴ Those imprisoned in Belmarsh at that time included a number of convicted terrorists.⁶⁵

Haddon-Cave J noted that:

“It was well known that some of the Belmarsh Muslim prisoners had been convicted of the most serious terrorist crimes (see above). Despite this, however, nowhere in his speech does the Claimant see fit to limit his solidarity with, and praise for, all the Belmarsh Muslim prisoners and their deeds, either expressly or even inferentially.”⁶⁶

He found that in the speech in question:

“the Claimant espoused extremist Islamic positions and promoted or encouraged religious violence. In substance, in this speech, the Claimant is expressing unqualified support for the Belmarsh Muslim prisoners and their crimes.”⁶⁷

⁶² Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS), *About Us*

<https://www.hhugs.org.uk/about-us/>

Channel 4 News reported in 2015:

“The charity HHUGS – which stands for Helping Households Under Great Stress – has close links to Cage. On the HHUGS website it is described as the group’s “sister organisation” – although Cage denies the organisations “work in partnership.””

<https://www.channel4.com/news/cage-human-rights-advocates-or-apologists-for-terror>

⁶³ See Appendix B 15

⁶⁴ Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)

<https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf>, paragraph 320

⁶⁵ Those imprisoned in Belmarsh at that time included Abu Hamza, who was jailed in February 2006 for 7 years for inciting murder and race hate, and Muktar Ibrahim, Yasmin Omar Ramzi Mohammed and Hussein Osman the “21/7” attempted bombers convicted in July 2007 of conspiracy to murder Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)

<https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf>

⁶⁶ Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)

<https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf> para 328

⁶⁷ Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)

<https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf> para 332

In 2013, Shakeel Begg spoke at a CAGE event, held at the East London Mosque's London Muslim Centre.⁶⁸

Khalid Al-Fikry also spoke outside HMP Belmarsh on 5th August 2012. A number of prisoners accused of serious offences were held at that prison at the time. In that speech, Al-Fikry explained that the purpose of the event was solidarity with certain of those prisoners.⁶⁹ A number of the prisoners mentioned in the speech were later convicted of terrorist offences. Al-Fikry also discussed the case of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman. He described Rahman as the victim of a "conspiracy against him with no evidence at all." Rahman was convicted in 1996 in the United States in relation to a range of serious offences. When he was sentenced to life in prison, the judge noted that he was "convicted of directing others to perform acts which, if accomplished, would have resulted in the murder of hundreds if not thousands of people".⁷⁰

In 2013, Al-Fikry spoke at the East London Mosque's London Muslim Centre⁷¹ and at Kingston University ISOC.⁷²

Non-Muslims

Certain of the preachers who participated in the circuit described above have expressed a series of views which are disparaging of non-Muslims and friendships with non-Muslims. In particular, on 9 October 2012, Dr Khalid Fikry told his congregation that Muslims are superior to non-Muslims,⁷³ whom he considered "worse than animals." In conclusion, Fikry stated:

"You are prohibited to have a non-Muslim as a close mate for you."

In a 2011 lecture entitled "Destruction of the Muslim Youth", Murtaza Khan delivered a strong rejection of Western liberal values, and prophesied the Muslim Ummah would "come back again" and "conquer." He also told his audience that non-Muslims were "worse than the animals", and castigated Muslims for behaving like non-Muslims.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ See Appendix A 1.5.a

⁶⁹ See Appendix B 14

"Here in England, here in England our brother just few meters inside the jail and inside the prison. Why for what reason and why this whole years keeping them behind the bars. Abu Hamza, Adnan Abdul Bari, Abu Qatada and others. Khalid ul Fayyaz and also Babar Ahmad and who there are many many others. Talha [Ahsan], why to be in prison for seven years with no charge it doesn't [make sense]. I don't want to say, this treatment is not for human beings and the dealing with the *muslimeen* because we are now the weakest *ummah* we are very weak and because of that, shedding the blood of the Muslims, nobody will account them ... Islam is the deen of 'izzah, Islam is the deen of power, Islam is the straight path of Allah's servant and we have again and again to raise our voice and to say it very clear, free our brothers let them be at their homes with their families."

⁷⁰ Fried, Joseph, *Sheik Sntence to Life in Prison in Bombing Plot*, New York Times, 18 January, 1996 <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/01/18/nyregion/sheik-sentenced-to-life-in-prison-in-bombing-plot.html>

⁷¹ See Appendix A 1.4

⁷² See Appendix A 3.3

⁷³ See Appendix B 20

"The Muslim is superior, over any other human beings, who are non-Muslims! And this superiority is not a matter of dictatorship, or arrogance, no. It is the matter of the truth, which we believe."

"Allah describes them, those *kuffar*, they have ears but they don't listen. They have eyes and they don't see. They have mind and they don't reflect! They are worse than animals!"

⁷⁴ See Appendix B 21

“There’s nothing that we need to learn from them ... there’s nothing that this society can offer us ... We had everything. We conquered and we ruled, and then we were trodden upon ... Every nation has an educated time. It comes to a peak. It flourishes. It dominates, and then it is destroyed. Except for the Muslim Ummah. It will be destroyed, and then it will come back again. All other nations will be destroyed, perish and never come back again ... There is only one nation that will come back again, and that is the Muslims. And they will conquer.

“This is their society. They have become worse than the animals ... And we find that aspects of dignity are being more and more ... taken away from the Muslims. Concepts of homosexuality, etc. marriage out of wedlock, children out of wedlock ... their norm has become placed upon us and the Muslims are beginning to behave in this manner. And this is all from the plot and the planning of *Shaytan*.”

Part II: Civil Society Engagement

In the previous section, this paper set out a circuit of preachers with a track record of expressing problematic views who spoke at a series of institutions. This section considers a number of case studies that illustrate the involvement of public figures and civil society organisations with certain institutions and individuals.⁷⁵

London Citizens, the East London Mosque and Islamic Forum Europe

The East London Citizens Organisation (TELCO) is a civil society organisation which describes itself as “the founding Chapter of Citizens UK ... a powerful alliance of over 80 civil society institutions comprised of trade unions, faith groups, charities, schools and universities.” It “organises communities to act together for power, social justice and the common good.” It helps members “to develop leaders, so they can participate in public life and hold politicians and other decision-makers to account on the issues that matter to them.”⁷⁶ Both the East London Mosque and the Islamic Forum Europe (IFE) are members of TELCO.⁷⁷

In March 2010, the IFE was the subject of a documentary by Channel 4 Dispatches.⁷⁸ The documentary provided evidence that the Mosque and the IFE were entwined, observing that “over the last five years, the IFE has had 22 trustees. Seventeen of them have also been trustees or senior staff of the East London Mosque”.⁷⁹ The headquarters of the IFE are located in the East London Mosque.⁸⁰

The documentary showed an IFE leaflet which stated that the organisation “strives for the establishment of a global society, the *Khilafah* ... comprised of individuals who live by the principles of ... the Shari’ah”. To that end, the IFE hosted meetings addressed by a series of Islamist preachers, and organised training sessions at which recruits were required to read “Let Us Be Muslims”, a text by the key Islamist political theorist, Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi. In that work, Mawdudi advises:⁸¹

"wherever you are, in whichever country you live, you must strive to change the wrong basis of government, and seize all powers to rule and make laws from those who do not fear God."

In March 2009, the Department for Communities and Local Government published a paper entitled *The “Pakistani Muslim Community in England Understanding Muslim Ethnic*

⁷⁵ Not every institution which was part of the circuit described above sought or attracted mainstream support. Nor is it possible in this short paper to discuss every instance of engagement with these institutions.

⁷⁶ Citizens UK: East London chapter page, https://www.citizensuk.org/east_london

⁷⁷ Citizens UK: TELCO chapter page, https://www.citizensuk.org/telco_survey

⁷⁸ Gilligan, Andrew, *Britain’s Islamic Republic*, 22 October 2010. Full transcript at <https://andrewgilliganblog.wordpress.com/2010/10/22/britains-islamic-republic-full-transcript-of-channel-4-dispatches-programme-on-lutfur-rahman-the-ife-and-tower-hamlets-the-full-transcript/>

⁷⁹ Following the Channel 4 Dispatches documentary, the trustees of the East London Mosque were reorganised. At present, the two institutions share no trustees.

⁸⁰ Islamic Forum Trust, Companies House, <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/06353941>

⁸¹ Mawdudi, Sayyid Abul A’la, *Let Us Be Muslims*, The Islamic Foundation, 1982, p 290

Communities” which described the East London Mosque as “the key institution for the Bangladeshi wing of [Jamaat e Islami] in the UK”.⁸² Jamaat e Islami is a political party which was founded by Mawdudi in 1941.⁸³

The broadcasting regulator Ofcom received over 1,000 complaints about the Dispatches investigation. It cleared the channel, saying that investigations of controversial topics by broadcasters were of “paramount importance.”⁸⁴ It also made it clear that the documentary did not contribute to Islamophobia, and that the “allegations made related to the IFE only and were not representative of all Muslims.”

During this period, London Citizens and its founder and Lead Organiser Neil Jameson were closely connected to the East London Mosque and the IFE. In an interview with John Rees on Islam Channel in the wake of the Dispatches documentary, Jameson explained that the East London Mosque “was a founding member of the East London Communities Organisation”, a relationship that had been more recently expanded to include the IFE.⁸⁵ He characterised the documentary as “mischievous” and argued that such an investigation “discourages people from getting involved in politics”. Jameson also signed a letter which was published in The Guardian, alongside a number of other prominent left-wing and Islamist figures.⁸⁶ That letter compared criticism of the East London Mosque and the IFE with the Battle of Cable Street and associated it with the rise in Islamophobia.

In May 2011, the IFE was the subject of a new controversy. Martin Bright of the *Jewish Chronicle* revealed⁸⁷ that Junaid Ahmed, an IFE activist and trustee and also deputy chair of London Citizens, had expressed support for Hamas at an event in East London in January 2009, Gaza: The Martyrs Meadow, where he said:⁸⁸

"Every single resistance fighter is an example for all of us to follow. And every child that dies, we wish our children would be in that similar position who would wake up and realise the aggression that is taking place amongst the believers."

It was further reported that Ahmed paid tribute to a series of Hamas members including Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the founder of Hamas, and his successor as leader of the terrorist organisation,

⁸² Department for Communities and Local Government, *The Pakistani Muslim Community in England Understanding Muslim Ethnic Communities*, March 2009
<http://web.archive.org/web/20090703134603/http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/1170952.pdf>

⁸³ Encyclopedia Britannica, Jama'at-i Islami, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jamaat-i-Islami#ref1041310>

⁸⁴ OFCOM Broadcast Bulletin, Issue number 168 25 October 2010, https://www.ofcom.org.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0033/46869/issue168.pdf

⁸⁵ Appendix B 22

⁸⁶ The Guardian, Islamophobia is a threat to democracy, Letters, 25 March 2010

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/mar/25/islamophobia-a-threat-to-democracy>

⁸⁷ Bright, Martin, London Citizens stand by Islamist hardliner, The Jewish Chronicle, 26 May 2011

<https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/london-citizens-stand-by-islamist-hardliner-1.23338>

⁸⁸ Appendix A 7.1, Appendix B 31

Junaid Ahmed was a Director of London Citizens until March 2014. London Citizens, Companies House

<https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/04270448/officers>

Ahmed's Linked In page states that he is currently vice-chair of the board of trustees of Citizens UK.

<https://uk.linkedin.com/in/junaid-ahmed-6b961340>

Khaled Meshaal.⁸⁹

London Citizens responded to the report by issuing a statement in which they set out the conclusions of the investigation into Junaid Ahmed's words, and confirmed that he would continue in his position:⁹⁰

"They take the clear view that he neither promotes or condones terrorism, nor expresses support for any proscribed organization in what he said in that Speech."

The JC later reported that the speech had been deeply upsetting to two Rabbis, who were supporters of London Citizens: Rabbi Jeremy Gordon of the New London Synagogue, and Rabbi Wittenberg of the New North London synagogue.⁹¹ Nevertheless, the two Rabbis indicated that the involvement of Junaid Ahmed would not prevent them from continuing to work with London Citizens.

Between 2006-2011, the East London Mosque received £2,873,572 in grants and other forms of public funding.⁹² It has received official visits from a wide range of politicians, civil society groups and public figures, including the then Mayor of London, Boris Johnson⁹³ and the US Ambassador, who expressed his "great admiration" for the institution.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Ahmed said:

"Many heroes that we know of, like Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, who at the age of 66 was murdered from a helicopter with gunfire, after *salat al fajr* (dawn prayer), about whom people, they say, one person who can't move, moved the whole nation. Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, who was in a wheelchair, half paralysed, unable to move, but raised the banner of resistance around the world, particularly in Palestine and Gaza.

Sheikh Izz ad-Din al-Qassam, under whose name the military wing of Hamas is named, again resisted the occupation and aggression against Palestinians. Abdullah, been murdered by the aggressors. But as the leaders are killed, murdered and tortured, there's more people who are rising up to defend the cause of Islam. And there will be no shortage of heroes in Islam.

And as we see those images we feel sad and upset. But I want to leave you with this. That the qualities of our heroes in Gaza. Why are they our heroes? They are heroes because they have many qualities. I want to highlight just five qualities that these heroes are demonstrating that are symbols for all of us, and the reasons we take them as our heroes and our example.

First of all, steadfast in their struggle. Only yesterday, Khaled Meshaal said that before engaging in talks, Israel will have no entries, Israel will have to end its military campaign in Gaza and pull out its troops, lift the 18 month siege it imposed on the strip, and open the Rafah crossing. Even though they have been under bombardment. Many killed and thousands wounded. Even then they have still stuck to their demand and said "this is what we want, and until we get this we will keep our struggle and our resistance strong". And they have shown *istiqama* [steadfastness].

⁹⁰ London Citizens, London Citizens' statement on Junaid Ahmed, The Jewish Chronicle, 26 May 2011 <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/london-citizens-statement-on-junaid-ahmed-1.23401>

⁹¹ Bright, Martin, Rabbi 'in pain' over London Citizens link, The Jewish Chronicle, 2 June 2011 <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/rabbi-in-pain-over-london-citizens-link-1.23490>

⁹² Table setting out public funding of East London Mosque <http://journal.quilliaminternational.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Public-funding-of-the-East-London-Mosque-to-2011.pdf>

⁹³ See Appendix B 23

⁹⁴ East London Mosque, *US Ambassador to the UK visits ELM*, 29 November 2010 <https://archive.eastlondonmosque.org.uk/archive/news/290>

Shakeel Begg and the Lewisham Islamic Centre

This paper details above some of the views expressed by, and the activities of Shakeel Begg, the Head Imam of the Lewisham Islamic Centre.

In November 2013, Andrew Neil described the preacher as an extremist during a broadcast of the BBC *Sunday Politics* programme. Begg complained to the BBC, which stood its ground. Begg took the case to court, accusing the BBC of libel.

In October 2016, Mr Justice Haddon-Cave rejected Begg's claim in the High Court.⁹⁵ The judgment was devastating for Begg. Mr Justice Haddon-Cave ruled that Begg's own words "represent an overwhelming case of justification for the BBC". Begg "repeatedly espouses a series of extremist Islamic positions," he said, and "promotes and encourages violence in support of Islam."⁹⁶

The judgment notes the "positive case" made for Begg in court. It cites his interfaith work, local community work with young people and schools, membership of local police community groups, and his role in Lewisham council's Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education (SACRE).

His legal team also presented testimonials from an impressive list of local figures. They included Christian and Jewish religious leaders, the former chair of SACRE, an organiser for London Citizens, a teacher, and notably, Chief Inspector Graham Price of the Lewisham Police.⁹⁷ Price described Begg as "a valuable contact for Lewisham police who is actively involved in the local community and a well-known local figure within partnership circles."

⁹⁵ Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)

<https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf>

⁹⁶ Shakeel Begg published a statement in response to the judgement which can be read here:

<http://www.lewishamislamiccentre.com/documents/pressrelease/Imam%20Shakeel%20Beggs%20Personal%20Statement.pdf>. In that statement, he stressed his opposition to terrorism and rejected his characterisation as an "extremist".

⁹⁷ Paragraph 34 of Haddon-Cave J's judgement set out those who had provided testimonials on behalf of Shakeel Begg:

"Second, Reverend David Rome of the Catford and Bromley Synagogue spoke of the Claimant's significant inter-faith work. Third, Father Charles Pickstone, vicar of St Laurence Church, Catford, said that to the best of his knowledge the Claimant adhered to and taught to others a moral code that seems entirely 'unimpeachable'. Fourth, Reverend Malcolm Hancock, who headed up the Chaplaincy Department at the Lewisham and Greenwich NHS Trust, said that the Claimant had played a key role in fostering good multi-faith and multicultural relationships and said that he could not imagine the Claimant inciting anyone to act in a way that would be considered irresponsible or a threat to the wider community. Fifth, Dinah Griffith, former chair of the Lewisham SACRE, spoke of the Claimant's valuable work with different schools. Sixth, Gerald Rose, a retired schoolteacher, also spoke of the Claimant's valuable work with different schools, including Jewish schools. Seventh, Peter Brierely, the lead organiser for South London Citizens, said that the Claimant was 'passionate' about ensuring that the Mosque and young Muslims were integrated into British life. He said that he had never heard the Claimant espouse extremism. On the contrary, he had heard the Claimant speak against radicalisation, isolationism and extremism. Eighth, Simon Marks, a teacher and community and charity worker in Lewisham, said that the Claimant and the LIC shared his belief and passion in creating an inclusive community for young people in Lewisham."

Mr Justice Haddon-Cave sought to explain the “striking contrast between the Claimant’s apparently (benign) reputation in the local community and these (extremist) speeches and utterances”. He concluded that Begg is:

“something of a ‘Jekyll and Hyde’ character. He appears to present one face to the general local and inter-faith community and another to particular Muslim and other receptive audiences. The former face is benign, tolerant and ecumenical; the latter face is ideologically extreme and intolerant. He has worked hard to cultivate an image of himself as a highly respected figure in the Lewisham community. However, it is clear that on occasions when it has suited him, and he was speaking to predominantly Muslim audiences and/or audiences who might be receptive to his message, he has shed the cloak of respectability and revealed the horns of extremism.”⁹⁸

It might be expected that such a characterisation of Shakeel Begg, in a prominent court case, would be sufficient to deter future association by the police and politicians with this individual and the institution at which he works. However, uncritical engagement with both the Lewisham Islamic Centre and Begg continues to the present. In June 2018, for example, the Centre took part in a “Walk for Peace”⁹⁹ backed by the Metropolitan Police, which visited the mosque, as it had in earlier years. In November 2018, Begg was a speaker at an event organised by the New Cross Labour Party, entitled “Stop Tommy Robinson’s Far Right Allies”,¹⁰⁰ which involved a range of civil society groups, and two Labour MPs, Janet Daby and Vicky Foxcroft. Janet Daby withdrew from the event but did not cite the involvement of Begg as her reason. Labour responded to press enquiries by stating “Communities and faith groups coming together is an essential part of the fight against the scourge of racism”.¹⁰¹

CAGE

CAGE, formerly CAGEprisoners, is an organisation which was established in October 2003. In 2006, it merged with another organisation: Stop Political Terror (SPT).¹⁰² A number of the preachers discussed in the previous chapter, including Shakeel Begg Haitham Al-Haddad, Anwar Al-Awlaki and Usama Hasan, one of the authors of this report, are listed by SPT as supporters on its website.¹⁰³ When SPT was disbanded in 2006, it directed its supporters to CAGE: an organisation in which Moazzam Begg is Outreach Director.¹⁰⁴ CAGE continued the relationship with Al-Awlaki, who was the subject of interviews¹⁰⁵ and video messages.¹⁰⁶ A flavour

⁹⁸ Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)

<https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf>

⁹⁹ See Appendix A 7.2

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix A 7.3

¹⁰¹ Henry Zeffman, *Extremist preacher Shakeel Begg invited to Labour anti-racism rally*, The Times, 8 November 2018

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/extremist-preacher-shakeel-begg-invited-to-labour-anti-racism-rally-3xg55clc6>

¹⁰² Stop Political Terror was previously called Stop Police Terror

¹⁰³ Stop Political Terror website, 21 October 2004,

<http://web.archive.org/web/20041021070015/www.stoppoliticalterror.com/aboutus.php>

¹⁰⁴ Stop Political Terror website,

<http://web.archive.org/web/20070321015651/http://www.stoppoliticalterror.com/>

¹⁰⁵ Quireshi, Asim, *Moazzam Begg Interviews Imam Anwar Al Awlaki*, CAGE, December 28th, 2013

<https://www.cage.ngo/moazzam-begg-interviews-imam-anwar-al-awlaki>

of CAGE's activism can be obtained by considering some of the material that it has published.

In 2008, CAGE published an interview by Moazzam Begg with Abu Rideh.¹⁰⁷ In that interview, Abu Rideh discussed the circumstances of his arrest and his subsequent detention under the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act between December 2001 to March 2005. Abu Rideh had been detained because it was believed that he was associated with terrorism. In 2001, the then Home Secretary David Blunkett described him as "an active supporter of various international terrorist groups, including those with links to Osama bin Laden's networks".¹⁰⁸ Moazzam Begg stated that he and Abu Rideh had worked together to build a girls' school in Afghanistan. The Times has reported that the school served the daughters of "Arabic-speaking children, some of whose fathers had been fighting in the country against the Soviets".¹⁰⁹ CAGE also published a report which discussed Abu Rideh's period of detention.¹¹⁰ Abu Rideh was eventually permitted to leave the United Kingdom and was later killed in a drone strike. Al Qaeda reported that he had become a "martyr".¹¹¹

In February 2010, CAGE published an article by Yvonne Ridley, a patron of CAGE, following the conviction of Aafia Siddiqui.¹¹² The article stated:

"Many of us are still in a state of shock over the guilty verdict returned on Dr Aafia Siddiqui. The response from the people of Pakistan was predictable and overwhelming and I salute their spontaneous actions.... When injustice is the law it is the duty of everyone to rise up and challenge that injustice in any way possible."

Aafia Siddiqui had been convicted of two counts of attempted murder, armed assault, using and carrying a firearm, and three counts of assault on US officers and employees. She was reported to have been carrying bomb-making instructions and a list of New York City landmarks when she was captured.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ Ansari, Fahad, *Beyond Guantanamo - Review of Cageprisoners Fundraising Dinner*, CAGE, 2 October 2009

<http://web.archive.org/web/20091020075454/http://www.cageprisoners.com/articles.php?id=30493>

¹⁰⁷ Begg, Moazzam, *Moazzam Begg Interviews Mahmoud Abu Rideh*, CAGE, 17 June 2008

<http://web.archive.org/web/20120313015310/http://old.cageprisoners.com/articles.php?id=25056>

¹⁰⁸ Morris, Nigel, *Terror suspect wins battle to leave Britain*, The Independent, 4 July 2009

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/terror-suspect-wins-battle-to-leave-britain-1731260.html>

¹⁰⁹ Times Online and Agencies, *Broadmoor terror detainee describes his ordeal*, The Times, 1 March 2005

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/broadmoor-terror-detainee-describes-his-ordeal-cp7qmlwrk6b>

See also Begg, Moazzam, *Moazzam Begg Interviews Mahmoud Abu Rideh*, CAGE, 17 June 2008

<https://web.archive.org/web/20130408032052/http://old.cageprisoners.com/articles.php?id=25056>

"MB: I know that very well, because we worked together to build that school, which we all had problems with, for girls."

¹¹⁰ Cageprisoners, *Detention Immorality*, 2009

https://www.cage.ngo/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/CP_Detention_Immorality.pdf

¹¹¹ Gardham, Duncan, *British al-Qaeda refugee killed in Afghanistan*, The Telegraph, 16 December

2010 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/8207784/British-al-Qaeda-refugee-killed-in-Afghanistan.html>

¹¹² Ridley, Yvonne, *The Truth About US Justice*, CAGE, 6 February 2010

<http://web.archive.org/web/20100224020009/http://www.cageprisoners.com/articles.php?id=31014>

¹¹³ Pilkington, Ed, *Pakistani scientist found guilty of attempted murder of US agents*, 4 February 2010

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/feb/04/pakistan-neuroscientist-united-states-afghanistan>

In October 2014, CAGE published an article on Tarik Hassane.¹¹⁴ The article stated that:

“CAGE is alarmed at the violent manner by which the police raided the house of Tarik Hassane, and by the alarmist media reporting that jeopardises the Rule [sic] of law”

It continued:

“One of Tarik Hassane's friends said to CAGE: "My friend Tarik is a very laid back and funny guy. He likes football and has never had problems with anyone. He is also very focused on his studies and had long term plans to get married.””

Tarik Hassane pleaded guilty in 2016 to conspiracy to murder and preparation of terrorist acts, and was sentenced to serve a minimum of 21 years.¹¹⁵

In 2014, CAGE published a “Practical Guide for Prisoners” on memorising the Qu’ran, written by John Walker Lindh.¹¹⁶ Lindh entered a guilty plea in 2002 in the United States to two criminal offences: supplying services to the Taliban and carrying an explosive during the commission of a felony.¹¹⁷

Significant criticism has been leveled at CAGE when, in February 2015, Asim Qureshi, the research director of CAGE, described Mohammed Emwazi, the terrorist strongly suspected at the time to be Jihadi John, as a “beautiful young man”.¹¹⁸ The BBC has reported that:

“Emwazi came to the attention of the security services during the same year as MI5 and other agencies monitored suspected extremists linked to foreign fighters joining al-Shabab in Somalia.”¹¹⁹

CAGE campaigned for Emwazi, claiming that he had been subject to harassment by the security services.¹²⁰

CAGE has enjoyed good relationships with a number of progressive and left-wing organisations and individuals. The Quaker charity, the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, provided CAGE with

¹¹⁴ CAGE, Tarik Hassane: Cage Concerned by Alarmist Reporting and Violence, 9 October 2014 <http://web.archive.org/web/20141013035657/http://cageuk.org/article/tarik-hassane-cage-concerned-alarmist-reporting-and-violence>

¹¹⁵ Press Association, *Two British students jailed for plotting Isis-style drive-by shootings*, The Guardian, 22 April 2016 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/apr/22/british-students-jailed-plotting-isis-style-drive-by-shootings-tarik-hassane-suhaib-majeed>

¹¹⁶ Lindh, John Walker, *Memorising the Qur'an: A Practical Guide for Prisoners*, CAGE, 29 July 2014 <http://web.archive.org/web/20160421124621/http://www.cageuk.org/article/memorising-quran-practical-guide-prisoners>

¹¹⁷ Johnson, Alex, 'American Taliban' John Walker Lindh released from prison after 17 years, NBC News, 23 May 2019 <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/american-taliban-john-walker-lindh-released-prison-after-17-years-n1009086>

¹¹⁸ Video of Asim Qureshi, IS 'Jihadi John' suspect 'a beautiful young man' - BBC, 26 February 2015 <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-31650427/is-jihadi-john-suspect-a-beautiful-young-man-cage>

¹¹⁹ Casciani, Dominic, *Islamic State: Profile of Mohammed Emwazi aka 'Jihadi John'*, BBC, 13 November 2015, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-31641569>

¹²⁰ CAGE, *Mohammed Emwazi*, 26 February 2015, <https://www.cage.ngo/mohammed-emwazi-2>

total funding of £305,000 in 2007-9.¹²¹ The founder of Reprieve, Clive Stafford Smith, who had provided Moazzam Begg with legal representation when he was imprisoned, has defended the "vital work" of CAGE and has "denied they are apologists for terrorism", although he claimed "not [to] know enough about the individual cases of Mohammed Emwazi and Michael Adebolajo."¹²² Similarly, CAGE was strongly defended in 2015 by Professor David Miller of Bristol University, who has argued that they are the victim of a "media smear campaign".¹²³

The best-known example of the mainstreaming of CAGE arose from the relationship of Moazzam Begg with Amnesty International. An internal disagreement in 2010 within that organisation over the treatment of Begg as a partner and a "human rights defender" became public when Gita Sahgal - the head of Amnesty's Gender Unit - publicly opposed the relationship. Sahgal spoke of her concerns to the *Sunday Times* in an article that was published in February 2010,¹²⁴ and as a consequence was immediately suspended by Amnesty International. She later published an article in *The New York Review of Books*, in which she stated:¹²⁵

"Unfortunately, [Amnesty's] stance has laid waste to every achievement on women's equality by Amnesty International in recent years and made a mockery of the universality of rights. In fact, the leadership has effectively rejected a belief in universality as an essential basis for partnership."

Initially, Amnesty was determined to continue working with Begg. Its then interim director, Claudio Cordone, published an open letter in February 2010 arguing that that it was no more improper to work with Begg than it would be wrong to work with the Catholic Church: notwithstanding its position on abortion.¹²⁶ Amnesty does not currently work with Moazzam Begg.

MEND: Muslim Engagement and Development

There is insufficient space within this short paper to detail every aspect of the concerns relating to the conduct of MEND. We therefore touch briefly on four issues: the promotion by MEND of certain preachers, the relationship with CAGE, the conduct of its former Director of Engagement, Azad Ali, and the attacks by MEND on politically liberal Muslims. Notwithstanding these problematic aspects of MEND's activities, the organisation has continued to attract mainstream support from civil society and across the political spectrum. It has used this support to deflect

¹²¹ Statement by Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, 27 February 2015,

<https://www.jrct.org.uk/userfiles/documents/JRCT%20Media%20statement%2027%20Feb%202015.pdf>

¹²² McMicking, Henrietta, *Cage: Important human rights group or apologists for terror?*, BBC, 27 February 2015, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-31657333>

¹²³ Miller, David; Mills, Tom; Massoumi, Narzanin, *Apologists for terror or defenders of human rights? The Cage controversy in context*, 1 July 2015

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opendemocracyuk/apologists-for-terror-or-defenders-of-human-right/>

¹²⁴ Kerbaj, Richard, *Amnesty International is 'damaged' by Taliban link*, The Times, February 7, 2010

<http://web.archive.org/web/20100603031425/http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/afghanistan/article7017810.ece>

¹²⁵ Sahgal, Gita, *A Statement By Gita Sahgal On Leaving Amnesty International*, The New York Review of Books, 13 May 2010

<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2010/05/13/statement-gita-sahgal-leaving-amnesty-international/>

¹²⁶ Cordone, Claudio, *Amnesty International's Response to "The Global Petition to Amnesty International: Restoring the Integrity of Human Rights"*, Amnesty International, 28 February 2010

<http://web.archive.org/web/20110501191518/http://human-rights-for-all.org/IMG/pdf/Claudioletter-2.pdf>

concerns over its activities.

The predecessor to MEND was an organisation called Engage.¹²⁷ Engage hosted a number of the preachers discussed in the first part of this paper, and others who have expressed similar religious and political views. In particular, in November 2013 Engage hosted Uthman Lateef, Haitham Al-Haddad and Shakeel Begg.¹²⁸

Support for Haitham Al-Haddad continued when Engage rebranded as MEND. In 2014, MEND sent out an “Action Alert”, encouraging readers to write to the Daily Mail to complain about a satirical article about Al-Haddad relating to a Legoland “family fun day” which he had organised. The complaint was later rejected by the Press Complaints Commission.¹²⁹

In 2015, an article in the Daily Telegraph was published, written by Andrew Gilligan.¹³⁰ That article stated:

[MEND] also promotes Haitham al-Haddad, a hate preacher who describes democracy as “filthy” and says that “all the kuffar [an insulting term for non-Muslims] will go to hellfire.” Haddad adds, however, that Muslims are “allowed to vote for a kafir [infidel] system in order to avoid a bigger kafir system taking power.”

MEND responded by issuing a statement which included the following passage:¹³¹

“Detractors claim there is a theological argument that suggests Muslims should not vote. Scholars such as ... Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad, and the many others who feature in our video, are the appropriate voices to denounce this point of view and counter it with proper Islamic scholarship on the responsibilities of citizenship and how British Muslims ought to fulfil them.”

In May 2017, an online discussion between Azad Ali and Haitham Al-Haddad was broadcast. The event was sponsored by MEND.¹³² In that discussion, Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad expressed the view that “strong Muslims” who could “represent us in the Parliament” should be

¹²⁷ MEND has described Engage as “our former entity”. see *mend statement on Sunday Telegraph article by Andrew Gilligan*, 21 March 2015

<https://www.mend.org.uk/news/mend-statement-on-sunday-telegraph-article-by-andrew-gilligan/>

¹²⁸ See Appendix A 6.1

¹²⁹ Mend, *Mend Action Alert – Littlejohn: Promoting anti-Muslim bigotry*, 20 February 2014

<https://www.mend.org.uk/whats-new/action-alerts/mend-action-alert-littlejohn-promoting-anti-muslim-bigotry/>

5Pillars, *PCC: Richard Littlejohn did not breach code over Haitham al Haddad Legoland article*, 27 June 2015

<https://5pillarsuk.com/2014/06/27/pcc-richard-littlejohn-did-not-breach-code-over-haitham-al-haddad-legoland-article/>

¹³⁰ Gilligan, Andrew, *Muslim group with links to extremists boasts of influencing election*, Daily Telegraph, 4 April 2015

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/general-election-2015/11515630/Muslim-group-with-links-to-extremists-boasts-of-influencing-election.html>

¹³¹ <https://www.mend.org.uk/news/mend-statement-on-sunday-telegraph-article-by-andrew-gilligan-2/>

¹³² See Appendix A 6.2, and Appendix B 24

elected. He continued:¹³³

“They should come strongly and say that, well, I’m representing my community, whom do you want me to represent? To pass what maybe other communities want? What’s the point?”

The contrary view is that Members of Parliament, irrespective of their religious beliefs, should represent all of their constituents.

MEND is also associated with CAGE. Sufyan Ismail, the founder, sole shareholder until March 2018,¹³⁴ and former CEO of MEND was filmed by Channel 4 “Dispatches” stating that he had made significant donations to CAGE.¹³⁵ When the former Director of Engagement, Azad Ali, left MEND in December 2017, he transferred to a position as Community Relations Director at CAGE.¹³⁶ While employed at MEND, Ali spoke at a CAGE event that took place in November

¹³³ Mend, *mend statement on Sunday Telegraph article by Andrew Gilligan*, 23 March 2015

<https://www.mend.org.uk/news/mend-statement-on-sunday-telegraph-article-by-andrew-gilligan-2/>

The claims relating to Haitham Al-Haddad were that:

“the group also promotes Haitham al-Haddad, a hate preacher who describes democracy as “filthy” and says that “all the kuffar [an insulting term for non-Muslims] will go to hellfire.” Haddad adds, however, that Muslims are “allowed to vote for a kafir [infidel] system in order to avoid a bigger kafir system taking power.””

¹³⁴ Form PSC07, MENDUK LTD, filed on 24 April 2018,

<https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/09094528/filing-history/MzlwMzMzMTE0NmFkaXF6a2N4/document?format=pdf&download=0>

¹³⁵ See Appendix B 25

“I have personally donated to CAGE over the years, for the record and I continue to do so. Right, let’s get that on the record and I don’t know how many people have donated as much as I have. I have no idea, but it’s not a small amount.”

“I think [CAGE and MEND] agree on principle, its process, we’re very different on process. It’s almost like your means and ends. Our ends are the same, we all want counter-terrorism legislation which is unnecessary to be abolished. We all have the same view on Prevent.

¹³⁶ About Us, CAGE website, <https://www.cage.ngo/about-us>

CAGE posting on CAGE Facebook page, 25 December 2017

<https://www.facebook.com/CageUK/posts/wed-like-to-welcome-our-new-community-relations-director-azad-ali-to-the-team/1888565527823612/>

Azad Ali wrote an article in 2008 in which he described Awlaki as “one of my favourite speakers and scholars” and said “I really do love him for the sake of Allah, he has an uncanny way of explaining things to people which is endearing.”

Azad Ali, *Between the Lines, Iman, the new President and you!*, 5 November 2018

<http://web.archive.org/web/20091105103201/http://blog.islamicforumeurope.com/?p=94>

In another article, he cited the jihadist cleric Abdullah Azzam. Azad Ali, *Between the Lines, Defeating extremism by promoting balance.*, 5 November 2018

<http://web.archive.org/web/20090106081755/http://blog.islamicforumeurope.com/?p=98>

This article was interpreted by the Daily Mail as justifying the killing of British and American soldiers. Ali sued the Daily Mail. Summary judgement against Ali was granted by Eady J, who said:

“I would hold that the claimant was indeed, in November, 2008, and for so long as the blog remained available, taking the position that the killing of American and British troops in Iraq (whether before or after the 2005 elections) would be justified by his middle or ‘balanced’ interpretation of *jihad*. Moreover, since it is a matter of construing plain language in its overall context, I believe it would be perverse to take a contrary view. In other words, it would not be a rational interpretation of the blog to understand the claimant as

2015,¹³⁷ as have other MEND staff.¹³⁸ MEND has also promoted publications by CAGE¹³⁹ and has supported CAGE online.¹⁴⁰ CAGE and MEND jointly participated in a meeting at SOAS in 2014.¹⁴¹

In November 2008, Azad Ali published a blog post on the Islamic Forum Europe blog, in which

saying either that the Allied troops were not 'occupiers' in Iraq or that they ceased to be 'occupiers' in 2005. In those circumstances, the claim can be categorised legitimately as 'bound to fail' and as having about it an 'absence of reality'. Nothing would be gained by investigating other blogs in the past or the claimant's background in other respects. Such an exercise could not change or qualify the plain meaning of the blog in question."

Ali v Associated Newspapers Ltd, unreported,

<https://www.casemine.com/judgement/uk/5a8ff72b60d03e7f57ea90f7>

MEND has responded to the various allegations against Azad Ali in a document entitled "MEND Rebuttal to All Allegations" (the "Rebuttal document").

<https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/MEND-rebuttals-to-all-allegations-16.03.18.pdf>

In particular they have said:

"Calls for the death of members of our armed forces: MEND has never made or supported such a call. Accusations that occur in parts of the media to promote this image are a deliberate distortion of the comments made by Azad Ali prior to his time at MEND."

They also state that:

"The article [who occasioned the libel case] also claims that Mr Ali "lost the libel hearing" on this issue. In truth, he was not able to defend himself in full libel hearing as Mr Justice Eady acceded to the Defendant's application for summary judgment."

¹³⁷ For example, see Appendix B 26. At that meeting Azad Ali said:

"You know, what's happened is the war on terror has scared not the hell but the heaven out of the Muslims. And that's really what's happened. The whole purpose of this strategy is to de-islamise, is to reduce our *imaan*, reduce our practice, and it's working to a certain extent.

If you look at, and the work, I'll come onto the work we do in MEND, but some of the people here are as old as me, have been around for that long, remember in 2003, 2004, 2006 the different legislations that were coming.

And I recall the Glorifying Terrorism Act [sic], when that was coming. And one of the things we discussed with a lot of people, and in particular imams and mosques, was, you know, they had a lot of concern. You know, "will we now be able to make *dua* for the *mujahideen* anymore? Will praising the *mujahideen* cause us to fall foul of this Glorifying Terrorism legislation?" And we were saying "no it won't, it's fine and everything else".

But, you know, it didn't work because the narrative that was being pushed out said that "yes, if you do this, you're going to end up in trouble, you're going to fall foul of the law."

Azad Ali was filmed by an undercover reporter from Channel 4's Dispatches stating: "Democracy, if it means not implementing the *shari'ah*, of course nobody agrees with that."

Gilligan, Andrew, *Police Muslim forum headed by Islamic extremist*, Daily Telegraph, 24 June 2010
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/journalists/andrew-gilligan/7908273/Police-Muslim-forum-headed-by-Islamic-extremist.html>

¹³⁸ For example, MEND director, Shazad Amin spoke at CAGE's "National Prevent Tour in December 2016: See Appendix A 5.3

¹³⁹ See Appendix A 5.3.b

¹⁴⁰ Promotion of CAGE on MEND twitter feed,

<https://twitter.com/search?l=&q=cage%20from%3Amendcommunity&src=typd&lang=en-gb>

¹⁴¹ See Appendix A 6.6.b

he discussed his “love” for Anwar al-Awlaki.¹⁴² MEND has defended this blog post, on the grounds that Awlaki “was still a respected Muslim scholar who advocated Muslim integration and civic responsibility” at the time Ali wrote his blog post.¹⁴³ However, that characterisation of Awlaki’s views is questionable. Azad Ali’s blog contained a link to an article on Awlaki’s blog which explicitly rejected democracy and noted:

“It is a duty upon us Muslims to strive through *Jihad* to establish the Islamic Khilafah again. This is not a far fetched idealistic objective but is a tangible realistic one if we but put the effort into achieving it. Therefore the Muslims in the West should see their stay there as temporary and not permanent because it is not feasible to establish such an Islamic state in the West and the Muslims should strive to make hijra to Islamic lands even though they are not ruled by Sharia in order to use their abilities and resources to bring back Islamic rule in Muslim land.”

Although it is clear that Azad Ali did not agree with Awlaki’s rejection of democracy, the article which he cited explicitly called on Muslims to establish a caliphate through jihad.¹⁴⁴ It is therefore difficult to reconcile this passage with the characterisation of Awlaki’s political position at the time that Azad Ali published his blog post.

Prior to the publication of the blog post, the 9/11 Commission Report, which was published in July 2004, had noted that two of the 9/11 hijackers, Hamzi and Midhar, “reportedly respected [Awlaki] as a religious figure and developed a close relationship with him.”¹⁴⁵ In August 2006, al-Awlaki was arrested with four others on charges of kidnapping a Shiite teenager for ransom, and participating in an al-Qaeda plot to kidnap a U.S. military attaché. He was released in 2007, having promised to leave Yemen.¹⁴⁶

MEND has also established links to other institutions and organisations discussed in this part. For example, Azad Ali has spoken at the Lewisham Islamic Centre, where he spoke about the failure to lobby Muslim MPs to vote against gay marriage.¹⁴⁷ In April 2017, The Times reported that Azad Ali had spoken at a CAGE event, alongside Shakeel Begg. The article stated that Azad

¹⁴² Azad Ali, *Between the Lines, Iman, the new President and you!*, 5 November 2018 <http://web.archive.org/web/20091105103201/http://blog.islamicforumeurope.com/?p=94>

¹⁴³ See the Rebuttal Document

¹⁴⁴ al-Awlaki, Anwar, *Part 2: Voting for the American President*, Imam Anwar's Blog, 3 November 2008 <http://web.archive.org/web/20081106135106/http://www.anwar-alawlaki.com/2008/11/03/part-2-voting-for-the-american-president/>

¹⁴⁵ 9/11 Commission, *The 9/11 Commission, Report*, 22 July 2004, <http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/911Report.pdf>

¹⁴⁶ Sharpe, Tom, *Radical imam traces roots to New Mexico*, The New Mexican, 14 November 2009 <https://archive.fo/20130105012908/http://www.santafenewmexican.com/Local%20News/Radical-imam-trace-s-roots-to-N-M-#selection-893.0-893.169>

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix B 27

“I know many Muslims who secretly were cursing and getting really angry at the seven or eight Muslim MPs that we have who voted for the same-sex marriage ... None of those Muslims actually even contacted those Muslims. None of those Muslims actually contacted their MP to say ‘Don’t vote for this bill’. Because Muslims felt, wait a minute. If we talk or lobby against this same sex marriage bill, we’re going to get called homophobes.”

Ali had condemned the judgement in the libel case brought by Shakeel Begg as “bad & politically loaded” and used the hashtag #istandbymi¹⁴⁸am.

By contrast, MEND staff have posted hostile messages on Twitter relating to a number of Muslims who are politically and socially liberal. Targets include the hate monitoring group, Tell Mama,¹⁴⁹ Quilliam,¹⁵⁰ retired police Commander, Mak Chishty,¹⁵¹ former Hizb ut Tahrir member

¹⁴⁸ Kennedy, Dominic, *Extremist leads Muslim lobby group*, The Times, 10 April 2017, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/extremist-leads-muslim-lobby-group-7q2hg30zc>

In the MEND Rebuttal document, MEND comment:

“Mr Ali’s comments reflected his personal view that the judgment of the libel court was flawed in its approach to the analysis of what can be complex issues. However, this viewpoint is entirely the personal viewpoint of Mr Ali as it was expressed on his own private Twitter account and does not reflect the views of MEND.”

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix B 28.

Sufyan Ismail, at Cheadle Mosque in 2014 said: “We don’t want the Government to fob us off with some phony thing called Tell MAMA, which has got a pro-Zionist pretty much heading it or in a very senior capacity and is making all sorts of comments we might not agree with when it comes to homosexuality, to be recording Islamophobia.”

In the MEND Rebuttal document, MEND comment:

“Regarding our opposition to some of the views expressed by the aforementioned individuals and groups, our main concern with these organisations that receive government funding - or have received government funding in the past – is that they are not free from political agendas, and thus cannot truly represent Muslim communities as they are forced to work within government narratives. To honestly represent any community, organisations must be able to criticise and debate freely for the benefit of those they claim to represent. Indeed, the above groups and individuals have a troubling record if their purpose is to represent British Muslim communities.”

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix B 29 from 1:01:30.

“We’re not Quilliam Foundation, yeah, where we get government money and pro-Israeli lobby funding and things like this.”

In the MEND Rebuttal document, a series of allegations are made about Quilliam. MEND then comment:

“There is also concern with the way in which the organisation has attempted to alter Islamic teachings and beliefs – seemingly to diminish the practice of Islam within daily life. For example, members of the Quilliam Foundation have previously issued a fatwa (religious ruling) saying Muslims do not have to fast for the whole day in Ramadan – a ruling that seems to go directly against the opinions of virtually every credible Muslim scholar in the UK. As such, there is grave distrust amongst British Muslims who do not feel that the Quilliam Foundation is an appropriate representative of their identity and interests.”

¹⁵¹ MEND, *Mak Chishty lashes out at British Muslims*, 13 June 2017n

<https://www.mend.org.uk/news/mak-chishty-lashes-british-muslims/>

In the MEND Rebuttal document, MEND argue that their criticism of Mr Chishty was ‘distorted’. MEND then comment:

“...our response was in connection to his implication that MEND is an Islamist organisation, and our criticism was directed towards his dangerous generalisations and policy prescriptions regarding mosques and universities. Mak Chishty has an unfortunate history of controversial and anti-Muslim comments, which have been both misleading and harmful. MEND’s response was aimed at challenging these controversial views.”

Rashad Ali,¹⁵² JIMAS and the former extremist, Mubin Shaikh.¹⁵³ MEND has explained that it is motivated by concerns relating to receipt of government funding, and suspicion of the *bona fides* of particular individuals.¹⁵⁴

MEND has been successful in cultivating mainstream civil society support. For example, Sahar Al-Faifi, the regional manager of MEND in South Wales and West England is a member of Citizen UK's Muslim Leadership Group,¹⁵⁵ which participated in the production of a report for that organisation. The foreword to that report was written by Dominic Grieve MP.¹⁵⁶

Universities have regularly played host to events organised by MEND at which speakers who represent this organisation have spoken.¹⁵⁷ MEND also offers a range of PSHE material to schools in a special "Teachers' Zone" on their website,¹⁵⁸ and states that it "works with teaching unions to deliver Islamophobia lessons in schools".¹⁵⁹

MEND has also participated in a number of meetings with the police, Police and Crime Commissioners and the Crown Prosecution Service.¹⁶⁰ Notably, in 2017, a training day of "Islam and Islamophobia" was conducted by MEND for the British Transport Police, Wales.¹⁶¹

However, MEND's greatest success has been in cultivating relationships with politicians from major political parties. Engage, MEND's predecessor, was briefly appointed as the Secretariat of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Islamophobia, but was removed from that position, following public controversy.¹⁶² A number of MPs have spoken at MEND events.¹⁶³ Fringe

¹⁵² See Appendix A 7.4.a

¹⁵³ See Appendix A 7.4.b

MEND seek to justify the comments of Azad Ali by making a series of allegations against Mr Sheikh. They conclude:

"In light of this information, Mr Ali's comment appears as a legitimate warning against a potentially very dangerous individual. We fail to see how Mr Ali's position on the issue of Shaikh can be misinterpreted, or can suggest that Mr Ali opposes those who fight terrorism."

¹⁵⁴ See MEND Rebuttal document

¹⁵⁵ Citizens UK, Muslim Leadership Group, https://www.citizensuk.org/muslim_leadership_group

¹⁵⁶ Citizens UK, *The Missing Muslims: unlocking British Muslim potential for the benefit for all*, 2017 https://www.citizensuk.org/missing_muslims

¹⁵⁷ Wilson, Tom, *MEND, "Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians*, Henry Jackson Society, 2017 <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/HJS-Mend-Report.pdf>

Universities identified by the Henry Jackson Society report include East London, Cambridge, Middlesex, Glasgow, Bristol, Leeds, Swansea, Leicester, Manchester, Manchester Metropolitan, Bradford, the School of Oriental and African Studies, Aston, Birmingham, Sheffield Hallam and Salford.

¹⁵⁸ MEND website, *Teachers' Zone*, <https://www.mend.org.uk/resources-and-publications/teachers-zone/>

¹⁵⁹ See Appendix A 6.3

¹⁶⁰ An extensive discussion of these events, and MEND's account of their results is set out in the Henry Jackson Society report, Wilson, Tom, *MEND, "Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians*, Henry Jackson Society, 2017

¹⁶¹ See Appendix A 6.4

¹⁶² Bright, Martin, Islamophobia group relaunched, Jewish Chronicle, 24 November 2011 <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/islamophobia-group-relaunched-1.29531>

¹⁶³ A summary of some of these events are set out in the Henry Jackson Society report. MPs attending such events include Labour's Shadow Women's Minister Kate Green, Labour MPs Kate Hollern, Wes Streeting and Labour MEPs Afzal Khan and Julie Ward.

meetings by MEND have been held at the conferences of a range of political parties.¹⁶⁴ MEND has also regularly been hosted in Parliament.¹⁶⁵ Notably, Jeremy Corbyn MP attended MEND's event at Parliament in November 2017 to launch MEND's Islamophobia Awareness Month,¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Fringe events were held at the Conservative Party conference in 2014 and 2017.

In 2014, the event was chaired by Sufyan Ismail and featured Peter Osborne and Sir Lynton Crosby.

MEND newsletter, 20 November 2017,

https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/MEND_Newsletter_Final_Draft_20.11.17_low-res.pdf

In 2017, speakers included Mend's CEO Shazad Amin Nazir Afzal and Peter Osborne. Crispin Blunt MP withdrew from the event. see Osborne, Peter, *Another Conservative Party conference, another snub to British Muslims*, Middle East Eye, 5 October 2017

<https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/another-conservative-party-conference-another-snub-british-muslims>

Fringe events were held at the Labour Party conference in 2014, 2016 and 2017 In

2014, speakers included Keith Vaz MP and Owen Jones. In 2016, speakers

included Labour MPs, Andy Burnham and Stephen Kinnock.

See MEND Newsletter, 20 November 2017

https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/MEND_Newsletter_Final_Draft_20.11.17_low-res.pdf See

Stone, Joe, *British Muslims 'should be allowed to bypass police' when reporting hate crime*, Andy Burnham says, The Independent, 26 September 2016

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/prevent-anti-extremism-strategy-legitimising-islamophobic-hate-attacks-andy-burnham-warns-a7330951.html>

In 2017, the Shadow Home Secretary Diane Abbott spoke, as did Labour MPs, Naz Shah, Kate Green, and Rushanara Ali. See MEND, *MEND fighting to empower Muslim women alongside Shadow Home Secretary*, 27 September 2017

<https://www.mend.org.uk/news/mend-fighting-empower-muslim-women-alongside-shadow-home-secretary/>

A fringe event was held at the Scottish Nationalist Party conference in 2016, where attendees included MPs Tasmina Sheikh and Angela Crawley, See MEND Newsletter, 20 November 2017

https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/MEND_Newsletter_Final_Draft_20.11.17_low-res.pdf

¹⁶⁵ In 2014, MEND organised an event entitled "Tackling Islamophobia" which included Diane Abbott MP. See MEND Facebook page, *Round-table Discussion in Parliament on 'Tackling Islamophobia'*,

https://www.facebook.com/pg/mendcommunity/photos/?tab=album&album_id=1516861005244731

Appendix A 6.7

In March 2015, MEND when it launched the Mend Muslim Manifesto in Portcullis House - see Appendix A 6.5 Attendees who can be recognised from photographs of the event include ten Labour and Conservative politicians, including Baroness Warsi, and Labour MPs, Yasmin Qureshi, Gerald Kaufman and Andy Slaughter.

Gilligan, Andrew, *Muslim group with links to extremists boasts of influencing election*, Daily Telegraph, 4 April 2015

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/general-election-2015/11515630/Muslim-group-with-links-to-extremists-boasts-of-influencing-election.html>

In November 2015, Mend held an event on "Hidden Islamophobia" in Parliament. Members of Parliament who can be identified from photos of the event include Labour MPs Imran Hussain, Sarah Champion, Paula Sheriff, Kate Green and Wes Streeting and SNP MP Anne McLaughlin. See Appendix A 6.6a

¹⁶⁶ Kennedy, Dominic, *Corbyn attends event held by Muslim 'extremist' group Mend*, The Times, 3 November 2017

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/corbyn-attends-event-held-by-muslim-extremist-group-mend-h3xk5j832>

The event was hosted by Labour MP, Stephen Kinnock

A spokesman for Mr Corbyn said: "Jeremy was pleased to attend an event to mark the start of Islamophobia awareness month alongside representatives from political parties, the Metropolitan Police and the office of the independent reviewer of terrorism legislation."

and recorded a video to promote the campaign.¹⁶⁷ A number of MPs pulled out of the event.¹⁶⁸

A case study in the uses to which MEND has put its engagement with civil society is provided by MEND's response to certain of the concerns set out above. In 2018, MEND published an extensive document entitled "MEND Rebuttals To All Allegations" (the "Rebuttal document").¹⁶⁹

MEND, *Jeremy Corbyn launches Islamophobia Awareness Month 2017 in Parliament with MEND*, 3 November 2017

<https://www.mend.org.uk/news/jeremy-corbyn-launches-islamophobia-awareness-month-2017-parliament-mend/>

MEND reported that "An array of speakers and organisations lined up to support the event hosted by Stephen Kinnock MP, including MPs, NUS, Byline Media, Spinwatch and Hacked Off."

Other prominent guests included Labour MPs, Wes Streeting, Naz Shah, Afzal Khan and Kate Green, who reportedly spoke in support of MEND's work. Liberal Democrat Peer Lord Paddick spoke at the event. Guests also included Professor David Miller, who has written defence of CAGE.

¹⁶⁷ Jeremy Corbyn video, MEND, *Jeremy Corbyn launches Islamophobia Awareness Month 2017 in Parliament with MEND*, 3 November 2017, MEND, 3 November 2017,

<https://www.mend.org.uk/videos/islamophobia-awareness-month-2017/>

¹⁶⁸ Three of the MPs who were originally to have attended the event, Crispin Blunt, Sir Ed Davey and Joanna Cherry, were reported by The Times to have issued a statement saying:

"It has become clear there is controversy over Mend's record and claims of links between the organisation and extremist views. We are concerned that if this event goes ahead the controversy around the organisers will distract from the principal purpose, which is to unite all the communities we represent against Islamophobia."

Ramzan, Iram and Gilligan, Andrew, *MPs ditch meeting with Muslim group Mend over Islamist claims*, Sunday Times, 29 October 2017

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/mps-ditch-meeting-with-muslim-group-mend-over-islamist-claims-r-gxqn0s05>

¹⁶⁹ The Rebuttal document contains a series of factual errors, and in particular mis-attributes a large number of articles to one of the authors of this report, David Toube. This document includes the following statements.

"• The World Economic Forum commended our work as "best practice" in Human Rights "protection and promotion".

- The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights rated us the "best example for civil society organisations".
- The EU Parliament Magazine stated that "The EU could learn a lot from MEND's work on counter-radicalisation through engagement".
- The Runnymede Trust in their 20th Anniversary report 'Islamophobia – still a challenge for us all' commented that "MEND made an extremely comprehensive and compelling submission to the Leveson Inquiry into the culture, practices and ethics of the British Press".
- A number of politicians, officials and public personalities have spoken at many of our events, including Home Secretary Amber Rudd, Jeremy Corbyn, Sir Lynton Crosby, Baroness Warsi, Andy Burnham, Diane Abbott, Sir Peter Bottomley, Jack Straw, Wes Streeting, Stephen Kinnock, James Caan, and many more."

"MEND enjoys the support of a wide range of political and public bodies and organisations. As one example of our work, MEND continues to work with local councils across the UK to ensure Islamophobia is part of their hate crime strategy, and we were also responsible for successfully working with UK police forces to record Islamophobia as a separate category of hate crime – similar to racism and anti-Semitism. Examples of our other partners include:

- MEND is an official partner with the Electoral Commission.
- MEND sits on the CPS' hate-crime accountability forums.
- MEND served as Secretariat to the first Islamophobia APPG.

Notably, this document cites its involvement with civil society and politicians as a reason that it should be trusted.

A further case study is provided by the response of MEND to a statement issued by Ian Duncan Smith MP, following his appearance at a MEND event in Parliament in October 2018.¹⁷⁰ He subsequently issued a statement making it clear that he did not support MEND and recognising “that there are genuine concerns that this organisation may not be the force for community cohesion as is claimed”. Smith specifically noted MEND’s criticism of the appointment of Sara Khan as the Commissioner for Countering Extremism.¹⁷¹

MEND responded by noting that the organisation had:

“constructively engaged with councils, police and schools to tackle hate crime and Islamophobia. Finally, Mr Duncan Smith may be unaware that institutions such as the World Economic Forum and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights have commended our work.”

Additionally, MEND cited Dominic Grieve MP’s introduction to the Citizens UK report, to support their case that they should be the subject of engagement.¹⁷²

- IPSO recognises MEND as a representative body for the Muslim community.
- Over 20 police constabularies across the United Kingdom have worked with MEND to tackle Islamophobia and many participate in Islamophobia Awareness Month run by MEND.
- MEND works with numerous teaching unions to deliver Islamophobia lessons in schools”

Further similar statements are made in the web page, “MEND’s Achievements”:

<https://www.mend.org.uk/about-mend/mends-achievements/>

¹⁷⁰ Appendix 6.8.a

¹⁷¹ See Appendix A 6.8.b

“Last week I was invited to attend a Parliamentary meeting whose purpose I was informed was to help tackle racial and religious prejudices towards minority communities particularly Muslims - a cause about which I am passionate. I was not scheduled to speak however after a very short time was asked to say a few words about the issue which I did, making the point that we should never tolerate those who stoke up fear amongst communities of British Citizens.

Since speaking briefly, I have seen that my attendance is being used to suggest I was there to support the organisation MEND. This is incorrect, as I did not attend in support of that or any such organisation. Furthermore I also recognise that there are genuine concerns that this organisation may not be the force for community cohesion as is claimed. I note that most recently they criticised the appointment of a female British Muslim, Sara Khan, as Britain’s first ever Commissioner for Countering Extremism, an appointment I very much welcome and which I believe will help community cohesion.

It is my intention to discuss with Sara Khan how we in Parliament can ensure that my colleagues are made aware of the nature of groups whose activities do not promote community cohesion.

It is a matter of pride for me that, over the course of my lifetime, the UK has become a more tolerant society, as social attitude surveys repeatedly show. We are more appreciative of different cultures and regularly celebrate the diversity of our communities. Nowhere is this more evident than in my constituency Chingford and Woodford Green.”

¹⁷² “Indeed, Mr Duncan Smith’s parliamentary colleague Dominic Grieve QC MP, chaired the Citizens Foundation’s Missing Muslims report which recommended inter alia that the Government should end the “*apparent boycott of certain organisations*” and that this “*could best enable the Government to hear from the widest possible cross-section of the UK’s Muslim communities*”. It seems that far from ending such a boycott, Mr Duncan Smith perhaps wants to institutionalise the boycott of groups like MEND, simply for

Conclusion

This paper focuses on a series of case studies demonstrating civil society engagement with institutions that hosted and promoted preachers who adhered to an Islamist political vision. As a result, it became more difficult to raise concerns about these institutions and the status of certain preachers as respected authorities.

Just as people change their opinions, organisations can also re-orientate. In some cases, institutions which once hosted the most problematic preachers are now less inclined to do so. For example, many of the problematic speakers who once spoke at the East London Mosque no longer appear at the mosque. By contrast, other organisations, such as the Lewisham Islamic Centre, continue their association with their Head Imam, Shakeel Begg.

Civil society should proceed with caution. There is a risk that certain institutions and bodies which present themselves for engagement have not truly disavowed the theological and political views of preachers they have championed in the recent past, but instead are pursuing a Janus-faced approach. Where, for example, an institution such as MEND continues to defend Islamist preachers such as Haitham Al-Haddad, a legitimate cause for concern arises. If engagement does take place, it is important that it takes place in a manner which ensures that the relationship cannot be used generally to validate the institution. Hosting organisations should be asked why they have associated themselves with Islamist preachers. Where University ISOCs choose to host Islamist preachers, considerations of freedom of expression are relevant.

¹⁷³ However, every opportunity should be taken in these circumstances to make a strong case for a pluralist and liberal democracy: to the speakers, their hosting societies and, most importantly, to the student audience.

These challenges remain both present and urgent. It is vital that civil society learns from its errors, and resolves to do better in future.

being critical of governmental policies and positions.”

¹⁷³ Freedom of speech in universities, polytechnics and colleges is subject to the provisions of s. 43 of the Education (No. 2) Act 1986.

APPENDIX A: Posters and promotional material

1. East London Mosque/London Muslim Centre

1.1 Anwar al-Awlaki, Uthman Lateef, Murtaza Khan, London Muslim Centre, 1 January 2009



1.2 Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad - 8 December 2011



1.3 Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad and Suleiman al-Ghani - 23 January 2011

TICKETS £5
 FOR BROTHERS & SISTERS
 ONLY (UNDER 18)

SPRING FOUNDATION IN PARTNERSHIP WITH SINCERE NASEEHA PRESENTS

GHURABAAH

'Fa tooba lil Ghurabaah'

23 JANUARY 2011

LONDON MUSLIM CENTRE
 46-92 WHITECHAPEL ROAD
 LONDON E1 1JX

1pm-5pm

SPEAKERS
 Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad (MRDF)
 Shaykh Sulayman Ghani (Islam Channel/ Imaam at Tooting Masjid)
 Mufti Abdur Rahman Ibn Yusuf (White Thread Press)
 Shaykh Abdullah Hasan (Spring Foundation)

CONTACTS
 ghurabaahbrothers@yahoo.co.uk
 Brothers - 07946068899
 ghurabaahsisters@yahoo.co.uk
 Sisters - 07539390115/ 07932693561
Limited seats available - get booking now!

Spring

**Sincere
 Naseeha**

FUNDRAISER | QUR'AN RECITATION | NASHEEDS | STALLS & MUCH MORE.

1.4 Sheikh Dr. Khalid Fikry, 16 March 2013

THE
UNSHAKABLES

F I R M
UPON THE DEEN
S T R O N G
IN THEIR IMAN
S T E A D F A S T
ON THE PATH OF
I S L A M

SATURDAY 16TH MARCH
2:00PM - 9:30PM

THE EXILED GENIUS	THE PIOUS WARRIOR	THE MOUNTAIN OF SHAAM	THE LION OF THE MURABITUN
IMAM AL BUKHARI	ABDULLAH IBN MUBARAK	IMAM AN NAWAWI	YUSUF BIN TASHFEEN
PRESENTED BY SHEIKH ABU ABDILLAH YUNUS	PRESENTED BY SHEIKH ABU AHMED AL GHAREEB	PRESENTED BY IMAM SHAQUR RAHMAN	PRESENTED BY DR KHALID FIKRI

LONDON MUSLIM CENTRE
48-52 WHITECHAPEL ROAD
LONDON E1 1JX

ALL ARE WELCOME
STALLS, FRESH FOOD
AND SNACKS AVAILABLE

REGISTER ONLINE TO AVOID DISSAPPOINTMENT
AT : ISTIQAHAHPROJECTS.SCHEDULETHING.COM
CONTACT US: 01957 145 747

FREE SEGREGATED EVENT

BROUGHT TO YOU BY 

ISTIQAHAH PROJECTS
KEEPING HEARTS STEADFAST

1.5 Shakeel Begg

- 1.5.a 27 July 2013

CAJEPRISONERS

THE FOUR IMAMS

IN THE FACE OF OPPRESSION

A DAYTIME CHARITY FUNDRAISER FOR ALL THE FAMILY

Join CagePrisoners for an afternoon exploring the tribulations of our Imams Abu Hanifa, Malik, Al-Shafi'i & Ahmad and reflect on our stance for Muslims deprived of justice today.

SATURDAY 27TH JULY 2013 3PM - 6PM



Maulana Shams Ad Doha
Ezraam College



Hajj Abbasamad Clark
Muslim Faculty of Advanced Studies



Usadh Shukur Rahman
Islamic Forum of Europe



Imam Shakeel Begg
Levensham Masjid

- also -
Rizwan Hussain - Channel 5
Moazzam Begg - CagePrisoners

Beautiful recitation by **Moussa Zemmouri** - Former Guantanamo detainee
 Testimonies from survivors of the war of terror

FREE EVENT - REGISTER ONLINE

LONDON MUSLIM CENTRE
 46-92 Whitechapel Road, London E1 1JX

More Information

020 7377 6700 | info@cageprisoners.com | cageprisoners.com

@CagePrisoners #4Imams

- 1.5.b 27 December 2013

YOUNG MUSLIM ORGANISATION UK
PRESENTS

YOUTH AROUND THE MESSENGER

BROTHERS ONLY - BROTHERS ONLY - BROTHERS ONLY
FREE ENTRY

ALLAH IS PLEASED WITH THEM & THEY ARE PLEASED WITH HIM

رسول

ANNUAL WINTER CONFERENCE

AN EVENING WITH:

SHAYKH ABU AHMED
(EAST LONDON MOSQUE & NORTH AFRICAN ASSOCIATION)

IMAAM SHAKEEL BEGG
(IMAAM AND KHATEEB OF LEWISHAM ISLAMIC CENTRE)

PROGRAMME:

- GLADIATOR COMPETITION
- FIFA TOURNAMENT
- BOXING
- DRAMA
- FOOD & CAKE STALL

FRIDAY 27TH DECEMBER | DOORS OPEN 4:30PM - 7PM
LONDON MUSLIM CENTRE | 46 WHITCHAPEL ROAD | LONDON E1 1JX



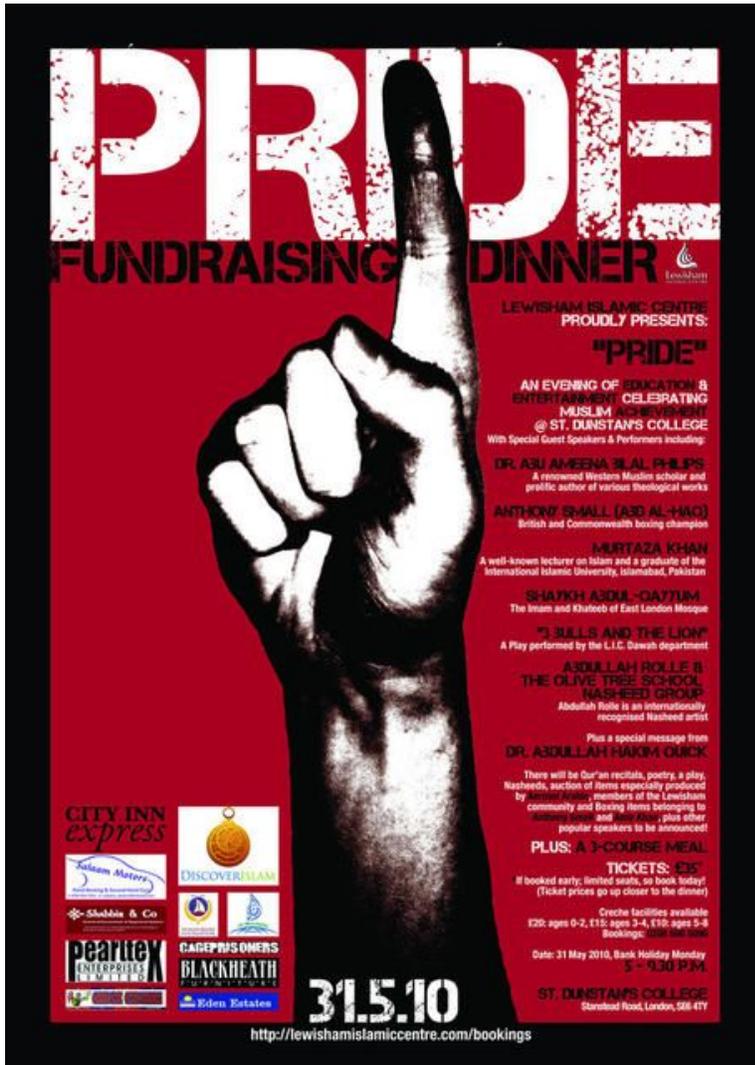
FOLLOW US

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  YMO_UK



2. Lewisham Islamic Centre

2.1 Bilal Philips and Murtaza Khan - 31 May 2010



PRIDE
FUNDRAISING DINNER

LEWISHAM ISLAMIC CENTRE PROUDLY PRESENTS:
"PRIDE"

AN EVENING OF EDUCATION & ENTERTAINMENT CELEBRATING MUSLIM ACHIEVEMENT @ ST. DUNSTON'S COLLEGE
With Special Guest Speakers & Performers including:

DR. ASU AMEENA BAL PHILIPS
A renowned Western Muslim scholar and prolific author of various theological works

ANTHONY SMALL (ABD AL-HAQ)
British and Commonwealth boxing champion

MURTAZA KHAN
A well-known lecturer on Islam and a graduate of the International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan

SHAYKH ASHRA-UD-DIN
The Imam and Khateeb of East London Mosque

"3 BILLS AND THE LION"
A Play performed by the L.I.C. Dawah department

ASOULLAH ROLLE & THE OLIVE TREE SCHOOL HASHEED GROUP
Ashouh Rolle is an internationally recognised Hasheed artist

Plus a special message from **DR. ASOULLAH HAKIM QURKI**

There will be Qur'an recitals, poetry, a play, Hasheeds, recitation of Surahs especially produced by members of the Lewisham community and Dawah items belonging to and plus other popular speakers to be announced!

PLUS: A 3-COURSE MEAL

TICKETS: £15*
if booked early, limited seats, no book holiday!
(Ticket prices go up closer to the dinner)

Creche facilities available
£20: ages 0-2, £15: ages 3-4, £10: ages 5-8
Bookings: 0208 684 1500

Date: 31 May 2010, Bank Holiday Monday
5 - 9.30 P.M.

ST. DUNSTON'S COLLEGE
Stanswood Road, London, SE6 4TY

31.5.10

<http://lewishamislamiccentre.com/bookings>

CITY INN express
Islamic Motels
DISCOVER ISLAM
Shabbie & Co
pearlley ENTERPRISES
GAGEPRIS OWNERS BLACKHEATH FUNDRAISERS
Eden Retreats

3.2 University of East London

- 3.2.a UEL premises were used by Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad 11-12 June 2011

<http://web.archive.org/web/20130609160012/http://forums.islamicawakening.com/f21/sabeel-course-11th-12th-june-2011-haitham-46739/>

Internet Archive
Wayback Machine
1 capture
9 Jun 2013

Go MAY JUN JUL
2012 09 2013 2014

2nd June 2011 #1

sabeel
Junior Member
Join Date: Feb 2011
Location: London
Posts: 49

SABEEL COURSE 11th-12th June 2011: Haitham al Haddad & Mohammed Faris - Less than 100 spaces left!!

Literally LIFE-CHANGING Course: Productive Lives

Shaykh Haitham al Haddad AND Mohammed Faris:
<http://www.sabeel.org.uk/>

The venue is now confirmed at the UEL Docklands in London.
But... **We have less than 100 places left!**

"This going to be our busiest seminar of the year and insha'Allah the most Productive too!" Click the Poster for more info:

Sabeel is doing a one-off special weekend seminar in conjunction with our brothers and sisters from the popular website, ProductiveMuslim.com. It is the first seminar of its kind on the topic - you can't afford to miss this one!

Leading Productive Lives
Are you sick and tired of being spiritually unproductive? What about physically unproductive? Or even socially unproductive? Are you tired of not being able to focus on your important tasks and constantly getting distracted with trivial tasks? Are you overwhelmed and don't know how to balance your different responsibilities? For the answers to these issues and more, join us for a dynamic and interactive two-day seminar organised by Sabeel in conjunction with ProductiveMuslim.com. Discover

Twitter
[Tweets by @islamawakening](#)

- 3.2.b UEL ISOC and Uthman Lateef 25 February 2011

£5 ENTRY FULLY SEGREGATED

UEL ISOC PRESENTS

THE FORGOTTEN OBLIGATION

CHARITY DINNER 2011

**AN OVERLOOKED GOLD MINE
DR. UTHMAN LATEEF**

**AIDING THE UMMAH
SHEIKH NAVAID AZIZ**

HOSTED BY
BROTHER HAMZA TZORTZIS

**AUCTION
3 COURSE MEAL
STALLS**

ALL PROCEEDS GO TO HUMAN RELIEF FOUNDATION'S ORPHAN APPEAL

FRIDAY 25TH FEBRUARY 2011 4:30PM - 9PM
LONDON MUSLIM CENTRE, 46 WHITECHAPEL ROAD, WHITECHAPEL, LONDON E1 1JX

UMMAH CENTRAL.COM
active LONDON
Pride of Asia
DISCOVER ISLAM
SABEEL

BROTHERS: 07727089383 OR UELISOC.BROTHERS@GMAIL.COM SISTERS: 07507338445 OR UELISOC.SISTERS@GMAIL.COM
OR PLEASE VISIT: UELISOC.COM FOR TICKETS AND MORE INFORMATION

- 3.2.c UEL ISOC and Uthman Lateef and Murtaza Khan, at the Willesden Green Masjid, 17 April 2014

<https://www.facebook.com/240740915199/photos/a.455903275199/10152899489240200/?type=3&theater>



3.3 Kingston University ISOC and Khalid Fikry, October 2013

Entertainment p16-17

Diana Vickers: Life after X Factor



Sports p19

Hockey girls off the mark



Features p12-13

Dying to be skinny



NO BAN FOR EXTREMIST PREACHER AT KINGSTON



Muslim speaker who defended terrorists may return to KU

Hind Joucka

A CONTROVERSIAL Muslim speaker may be allowed to return to Kingston despite his support for convicted terrorists.

Police were informed when Dr Khalid Fikry spoke to KU's Islamic Society about prayer rituals earlier this month.

Under KJUSU's rules, the preacher will be allowed to return to the Uni-

versity as long as members of Kingston's students' union and security staff are present.

However, the visit has been deeply controversial because of Dr Fikry's reported links to the alleged killers of Drummer Lee Rigby and his support for known terrorists and extremist speakers.

Elected KJUSU faith representative Hassan Al-Abbadi said: "I have major disagreements with Dr Fikry and I challenge his position.

"However, I can appreciate the sincerity of the Islamic Society in inviting him.

"But I would encourage them, as a Muslim and as a University faith representative, to invite somebody with a less questionable history in the future."

Kingston Metropolitan Police said they were aware of the meeting on October 10.

They tweeted: "His visit went ahead without incident and officers will continue to liaise with the University in the future."

Concerns were raised after a YouTube video was uploaded in which Dr Fikry allegedly stirred hatred between Sunni and Shia Muslims at a meeting in 2012.

In one YouTube video, Dr Fikry, a Sunni Muslim, accuses Shia Muslims of believing that "killing the Sunni is to raise your rank in paradise, rap-

ing a Sunni woman is a matter that pleases Allah".

Hassan Al-Abbadi, who is a Shia Muslim, said: "This speaker has a very ham-fisted and exclusive mentality.

"His words are adding fuel to an already blazing sectarian fire.

"He is making absurd claims that Shia endorses wild behaviour, which is an outright lie."

READ FULL STORY ON P4

3.4 Haitham al-Haddad on Cambridge Abu Jamia mosque premises 13-15 April 2012



ABU BAKR JAMIA MOSQUE

CAMBRIDGE, UK
(Cambridge Mosque Official Website)

- [Home](#)
- [Prayer Time](#)
- [Donation](#)
- [Events](#)
- [School](#)
- [Funeral Service](#)
- [Location](#)
- [Committee](#)
- [Links](#)
- [Contact](#)

Full programme of events of the FOSIS Qur'an Camp starting this Friday

Bringing Hope into the Youth. Because Tomorrows World are the Youth"

Friday 13th April 2012

2.00pm - 6.00pm Arrival of attendees and Asr
 6.00pm - 6.15pm Introduction to weekend Intro, rules, FAQ etc. Chair of event
 6.15pm - 7.00pm Course Iqra - Read! Mufti Menk
 7.00pm - 7.45pm Course A Book of Parables - Ayub (AS) Imam Muhammad Bhutta
 7.30pm - 8.30pm Maghrib
 8.30pm - 9.30pm Course Forgiveness and Mercy, Shaykh Haitham Haddad
 9.30pm - 11.00pm Isha and Dinner
 11.00pm - 12.00am Qur'an reading and Tafsir Al-Fathah & Al-Mulk, Qari Uthman Al-Qasim
 3.00am - 3.30am Tahajjud, Qari Uthman Al-Qasim

Saturday 14th April 2012

5.30am - 6.45am Fajr and short naseeh until Ishraq Steps and virtues of memorisation, Qari Uthman Al-Qasim
 10.00am - 11.00am Course Beyond the Pillars - Adab, Shaykh Haitham Haddad
 11.00am - 11.50pm Course The walking Qur'an Mufti Menk
 11.50am - 12.00pm Break
 12.00pm - 1.00pm Course The Law of our Lord ,Mufti Menk
 1.00pm - 2.00pm Course - Brothers ,The Story of Ibrahim (AS) Shaykh Haitham Haddad
 1.00pm - 2.00pm Course - Sisters, The Story of Miriam (RA) Aalima
 2.00pm - 5.00pm Activities and Asr
 5.00pm - 6.00pm Course Lessons from Kahf Mufti Abdurahman Ibn Yusuf
 6.00pm - 7.00pm Course The Peak of Eloquence Mufti Abdurahman Ibn Yusuf
 7.00pm - 8.00pm Dinner and Maghrib
 8.00pm - 10.00pm Course and Isha My journey with the Qur'an and Iman Shaykh Abu Bakr Shatri and Mufti Menk
 10.00pm - 11.00pm Break
 11.00pm - 12.00am Qur'an reading and Tafsir Al-Ikhlis and Al-Mulk Qari Uthman Al-Qasim
 3.00am - 3.30am Tahajjud Qari Uthman Al-Qasim

Sunday 15th April 2012

5.00am - 5.45am Fajr and short naseeha until Ishraq How I got there Abdurahman / Aysha
 10.00am - 11.00am Course Final Abode Mufti Menk
 11.00am - 11.50pm Course The Story of Yusuf (AS) Shaykh Haitham
 11.50am - 12.00pm Break
 12.00pm - 1.00pm Course Hold fast to the rope of Allah
 1.00pm - 2.00pm Lunch and Dhur
 2.00pm - 3.00pm Closing and goodbyes Lessons Learnt Chair of event

3.5 Queen Mary's University ISOC

- 3.5.a Uthman Lateef and Bilal Philips 6 March 2009



QUEEN MARY ISLAMIC SOCIETY

WWW.QUEENMARYISOC.CO.UK

ANNUAL DINNER 2009

Charity Presentation | 3 Course Meal | Special Gift | No tickets will be sold at the door

OUMMAH, WHERE ART THOU?

"Let There Arise Out of You a Band of People..."
(3:104) Shaikh Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips

Become a Person Who Weighs a Nation
Ustadh Uthman Lateef

Tickets

brother@queenmaryisoc.co.uk
07948 349 424
sister@queenmaryisoc.co.uk
07541 719 460
online: www.queenmaryisoc.co.uk

Stall Bookings

Brothers:
07903 348 044
Sisters:
07790 891 496

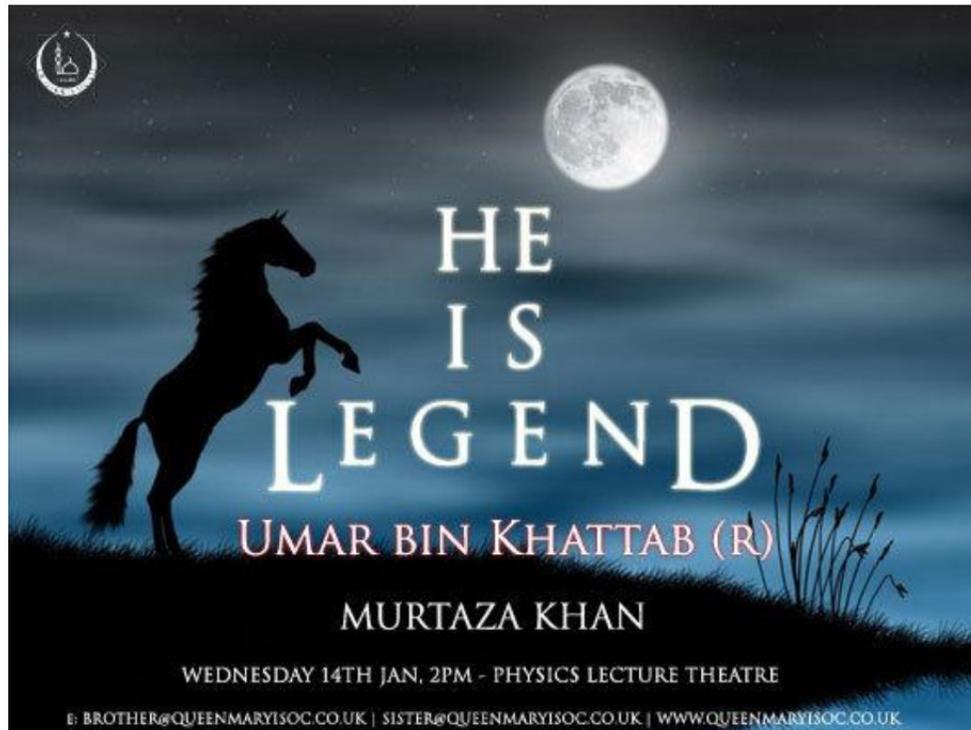
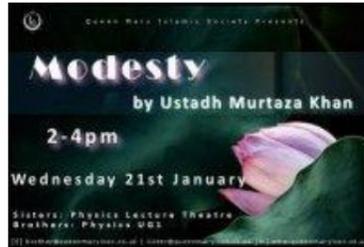
Friday 6th March 2009, doors open @ 5.30pm

The Great Hall, Queen Mary University, Mile End Rd, E1 4NS

£8 per ticket, includes dinner

Transport home provided for sisters only on first come first served basis (small sisters)
Limited free parking after 5.30pm | Tube: Mile End, Stepney Green | Bus: 25, D6

- 3.5.b&c Murtaza Khan 21 January Year unknown, 14 January Year unknown



3.6 Various Speakers: Uthman Lateef at Queen Mary's, Haitham al-Haddad at City University, Uthman Lateef at Guy's King's and St Thomas (sub. King's College London) 27 January, 11 March, Year unknown

Orphans Challenge Presents
Under Siege
 A CRY OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE
 27th January - 11th March

Tuesday 27th January
 Palestine: A Land Divided | Uthman lateef
 QUEEN MARY UNIVERSITY

Wednesday 4th February
 Life at Gunpoint | Sheikh Haytham Al-Haddad
 CITY UNIVERSITY

Thursday 5th February
 Gaza: The Lost City | Azzam Tamimi
 UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

Thursday 12th February
 Palestine: Where did it go?
 IMPERIAL COLLEGE LONDON

Wednesday 19th February
 The Barrier to Peace | Daud Abdullah tbc
 SOAS UNIVERSITY

Tuesday 24th February
 We will not die here | Ismail Patel
 KINGSTON UNIVERSITY

Wednesday 25th February
 Could you live here? | Anas Altikriti
 LONDON SCHOOL OF PHARMACY

Wednesday 11th March
 Once upon a time in Palestine | Uthman Lateef
 GUY'S KING'S AND ST THOMAS

With appearances from nasheed artists Abdullah Rolle and Labbayk

Supporters / Hosts: SOAS, ISOC, etc. As seen on ISLAM CHANNEL

Orphans Challenge Launching the Orphans Challenge Tour
PALESTINE: A LAND DIVIDED
 UTHMAN LATEEF
 TUESDAY 27TH JANUARY 5 - 7PM
 QUEEN MARY UNIVERSITY
 FRANCIS BANCROFT BUILDING
 ROOMS U3 & U3A

For more information contact: Uthman@orphanchallenge.org.uk
 Website: www.orphanchallenge.org.uk

Supporters / Hosts: SOAS, ISOC, etc.

3.7 Royal Holloway ISOC and Uthman Lateef 24 February 2009

RHUL ISoc PRESENTS

ISLAMIC AWARENESS WEEK

23rd to 27th February 2009

event | "MERCY TO MANKIND:
 who is the Prophet Muhammed (saws)?"

Muslims, all 1.3 billion of them, hold the Prophet Muhammed (saws) more sacred to them than their own selves.

Who is this person described as the 'most documented man in history'?
 Come along and find out!

TUESDAY 24th of FEBRUARY with Uthman Latif

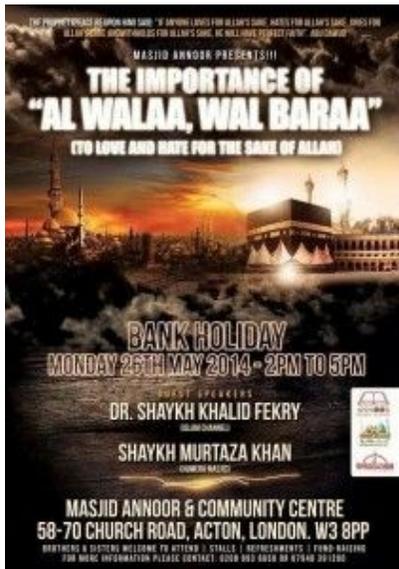
where | HLT
 when | 18:00

Horton Lecture Theatre

© RHUL ISoc 2009 1430h

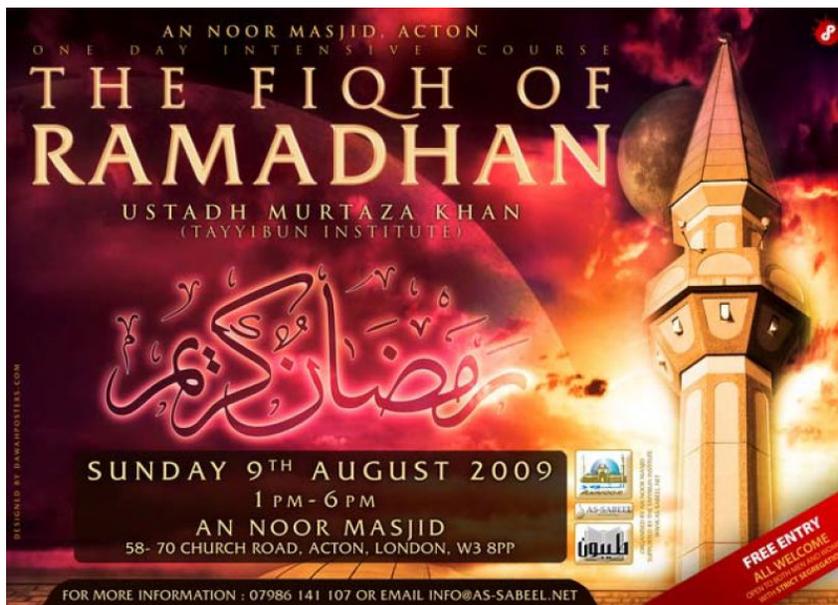
4. An-Noor Mosque

4.1 Sheikh Dr. Khalid Fikry and Murtaza Khan, 26 May 2014



4.2 Murtaza Khan and An-Noor

- 4.2.a 9 August 2009



- 4.2.b 24 April 2009

Organised By  Supported By 

“The believers are nothing else than brothers

so make reconciliation between your brothers, and fear Allah (swt) that you may receive mercy” (Surah al-Hujraat, Ayah 9)

Imam Abdus Samad (Kingston Masjid)
‘Brotherhood : The Missing Foundation’

Ustadh Murtaza Khan (Tayyibun Institute)
‘The Brotherhood and Unity amongst the Sahabah’

Saturday 25th April 2009
6.00pm
An Noor Masjid
58- 70 Church Road, Acton, London W3 8PP

Free entry, all welcome
Open to both men and women with strict segregation
For more info contact 07986 141 107

- 4.2.c 21 July 2007

ANNOOR PRESENTS

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MASJID

MURTAZA KHAN & BR. RAMEEZ

SAT 21st OF JULY
3:00- 6:00pm

A FUNDRAISING EVENT FOR ACCC TRUST

58- 70 CHURCH ROAD FREE ENTRY
ACTON STALLS
LONDON W3 8PT SEGREGATED FACILITIES

FOR MORE INFO TEL: 0208 993 6650/ 07903 675 737
FOR STALLS: 07956 468 081/ 07903 675 737

4.3 Murtaza Khan and Haitham al-Haddad 8 September 2009

ACCC TRUST PRESENTS

RAMADHAN RETURNS

SAT 8TH SEPTEMBER 2:00- 6:00PM

**SHAYKH HAITHAM AL- HADDAD-
OPEN FLOOR Q&A**

**IMAM ADAM ABU HANIFAH (ISLAM CHANNEL)-
SPIRITUAL AND INNER PREPERATION**

**USTADH MURTAZA KHAN-
RAMADHAN FOR THE COMPANIONS**

ACCC TRUST
58-70
CHURCH ROAD
ACTON
W3 8PT

FREE ENTRY
SEGREGATED FACILITIES
STALLS

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT: 0208 993 6650/ 07903 675 737
FOR STALLS: 07956 468 081

4.4 Haitham al-Haddad 11 August 2007

ACCC TRUST PRESENTS...

ITIHAD WAL JAMA'AH UNITY & COMMUNITY SEMINAR

SHAYKH HAITHAM AL-HADDAD
STUDIED UNDER SHAYKH IBN BAZ, IBN JIBREEN
AND IBN 'AQEEL. BSC - LAW AND ISLAMIC
LAW FROM UMDURMAN UNIVERSITY,
SUDAN

WASEEM KEMPSON
A GRADUATE FROM MEDINA UNIVERSITY
AND AN ISLAMIC STUDIES TEACHER

Importance Of Unity

**Practical Steps Towards
Unity**

Manners Of Differing

SAT 11th August

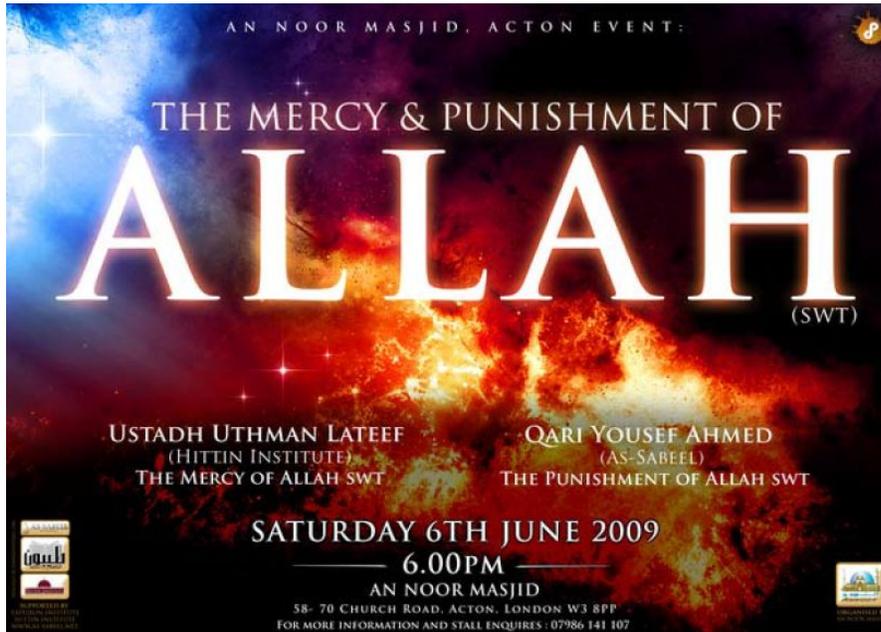
ANNOOR MASJID
58-70, CHURCH ROAD,
ACTON, W3 8PT

4:00pm- 8:30pm
FREE ENTRY
SEGREGATED FACILITIES & STALLS

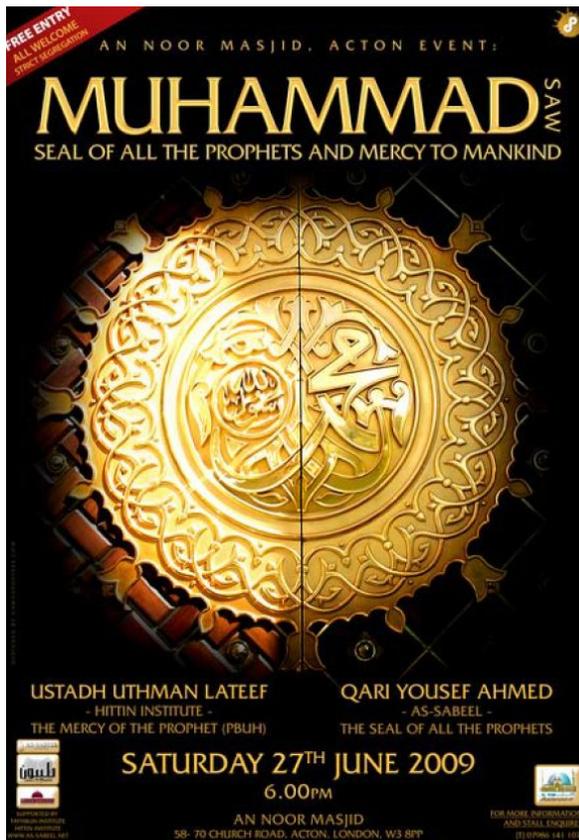
FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT: 0208 993 6650/ 07903 675 737
FOR STALLS: 07903 675 737

4.5 Uthman Lateef and An-Noor

- 4.5.a 06 June 2009



- 4.5.b 27 June 2009



4.6 Shakeel Begg and Sheikh Dr Khalid Fikry 25 July 2009

AN NOOR MASJID, ACTON ONE DAY EVENT

FREE ENTRY
ALL WELCOME
OPEN TO ALL MUSLIMS
WITH INTEREST

THE HARD JOURNEY OF *Marriage* & THE FRUITS THAT LIE AHEAD

SPEAKERS & TOPICS

IMAM ABDUL HADI (AN NOOR MASJID) WHY GET MARRIED	USTADH RAMIZ IBRAHIM (DISCOVER YOUR POTENTIAL) HOW TO BUILD A HAPPY HOME
IMAM SHAKEEL BEGG (LEWISHAM MASJID) HOW TO FIND YOUR PERFECT SPOUSE	DR KHALID FIRRI (MRDF) THE CURSE OF DIVORCE

SATURDAY 25TH JULY 2009
2PM - 7PM
AN NOOR MASJID
58-70 CHURCH ROAD, ACTON, LONDON W3 8PP

FOR MORE INFORMATION & STALL ENQUIRES:
TEL: 07986 141 107
TEL: 07986 141 107
WWW.AS-SABEEL.NET

ORGANISED BY AN NOOR MASJID
SUPPORTED BY THE FOLLOWING INSTITUTES:
LEWISHAM ISLAMIC CENTRE
WWW.DISCOVERYOURPOTENTIAL.COM
WWW.AS-SABEEL.NET

4.7 Sheikh Dr Khalid Fikry, 2008

AN NOOR MASJID, ACTON PRESENTS:

FREE
FULLY ACCREDITED
INTERACTIVE COURSE

WINTER TARBIYAH C O U R S E S

ASIF UDDIN (MRDF) A Summary Of Islamic Jurisprudence (Sheikh Saalih Al Fawzaan) Wednesdays @ 7pm Starting from 14 th October	ADNAN RASHID (HITTIN INSTITUTE) Seerah Fridays @ 7pm Starting from 16 th October	RAMIZ IBRAHIM (DYP) Ahadeeth from 'Adab Al Mufrad' regarding Self development Saturdays @ 4pm Starting from 17 th October	DR KHALID FIKRI Tafseer Ul Quran Date T.B.C
---	--	--	--

FOR MORE INFORMATION [TEL] 07986 14 1107 [EMAIL] ANNOORMASJID@LONDON.COM

SUPPORTED BY

MRDF HITTIN INSTITUTE SPOT DYP

5. CAGE/CAGEprisoners

5.1 CAGE and Anwar al Awlaki - 07 September 2008

PRESENTS ANOTHER RAMADAN 2008
 IFTAAR & FUNDRAISING DINNER

Imprisonment without charge or trial is one of the greatest injustices facing Muslims today. Help Cageprisoners, during this blessed month, 'when the doors of Paradise are open', to open the doors of justice for those wrongfully imprisoned.

**Sunday 7th September
 6pm**

Speakers:
Imam Anwar al-Awlaki
 (via video conference)
 C Lord Nazir Ahmed of Rotherham
 C Moazzam Begg
 C Yvonne Ridley

Followed by Prayers (Taraweeh) led by
 C Qari Hassen Rasool
 C Moussa Zemmouri (ex-Guantanamo Detainee)

t 07973 264197 or for Bookings call 07809 531663
 e contact@cageprisoners.com
 w www.cageprisoners.com

Venue: Wandsworth Town Hall, Wandsworth, London SW18 2PU
 Nearest train station: Wandsworth Town

Sponsored by: SAPSA Amnesty

Tickets £50
 Book early to avoid disappointment

5.2 Haitham al-Haddad 06 November 2015

https://www.facebook.com/CageUK/photos/basw.Abq6z_VqERZ8xJ9Bm9WZhjBZg5sUa34uJZkVPTDWkxFnXyrWbOMs2wNPEFzuOeZMwe2nactuqLmееckIUSgn81cMWjHT-H1DPhVNaUe0tuoKLlguTmWrrjnoBABDTd4E4x1XVXjevKiM3PwX_vqoSMCd.690728507665197.1585609244886470.1156634917683347.10152011247267517.1642545982526129.1431695193611210/1156634917683347/?type=1&theater

https://www.facebook.com/CageUK/photos/basw.AbrwGh-OFVQis33Vvx8qnyKyhW0hHI5djimDsJIeUqPvJQrQAawhk-4A...
me Home Hom... Wine & Spirits Google Calendar SharePoint Australia Project Living Safe Togeth... Countering violen...

CAGE
Like This Page · 6 November 2015 ·

Sheikh Haitham Al Haddad
See Translation

6

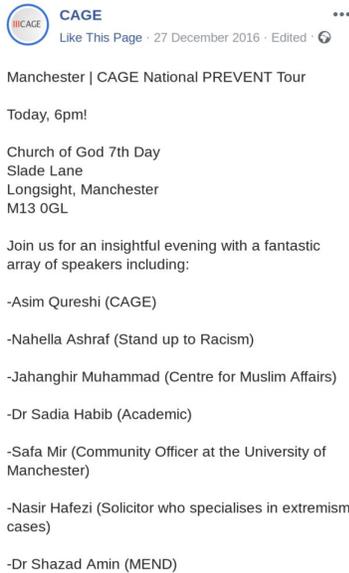
Like Comment Share

Write a comment...

5.3 CAGE and Prevent

- 5.3.a 27 December 2016

<https://www.facebook.com/CageUK/photos/a.152434384770077/1489394647740704/?type=3&theater>



CAGE
Like This Page · 27 December 2016 · Edited ·

Manchester | CAGE National PREVENT Tour

Today, 6pm!

Church of God 7th Day
Slade Lane
Longsight, Manchester
M13 0GL

Join us for an insightful evening with a fantastic array of speakers including:

- Asim Qureshi (CAGE)
- Nahella Ashraf (Stand up to Racism)
- Jahanghir Muhammad (Centre for Muslim Affairs)
- Dr Sadia Habib (Academic)
- Safa Mir (Community Officer at the University of Manchester)
- Nasir Hafezi (Solicitor who specialises in extremism cases)
- Dr Shazad Amin (MEND)

- 5.3.b 29 September 2016

<https://twitter.com/mendcommunity/status/781456052315426816>



MEND Community @mendcommunity · 29 Sep 2016

You can view @UK_CAGE's groundbreaking report on PREVENT here:
cage.ngo/publication/th... #EndPREVENT #PreCrime #ERG22



The 'science' of pre-crime: The secret 'radicalisati...
(NOTE: CAGE represents cases of individuals based on the remit of our work. Supporting a case does not mean we agree with [...])
cage.ngo

🗨️ ↻ 5 ❤️ 6 ✉️

6. ENGAGE/MEND

6.1 Engage Meeting, Shakeel Begg, Uthman Lateef, 21 November 2013

Freedom of Speech - Are Muslims Excluded?

On Thursday 21st November, in London, join an esteemed panel of scholars, thinkers, academics and speakers for a contemporary discussion on Freedom Of Speech - Are Muslims Excluded?

Register for free, email manija.omar@iengage.org.uk

Panelists include:

Shaykh Haitham Al Haddad
 Dr. Uthman Lateef
 Shaykh Shams Adduha Muhammad
 Abdurraheem Green - Official Page
 Shaykh Zahir Mahmood
 Hamza Andreas Tzortzis
 Yusuf Chambers
 Imam Shakeel Beg
 And Others

Thursday 21st November 2013

6PM - 10.30PM

The Waterlily
 69-89 Mile End Road
 E1 4TT
 London

Event supported by:
 ENGAGE, Ebrahim College, MRDF, IERA, As-Suffa Ins.

6.2 MEND event featuring Haitham al-Haddad - 14 May 2017

WEBINAR

ISLAM21C
THE BIG DISCUSSION

GENERAL ELECTION 2017

Can we **vote**?

Should we **vote**?

Does **voting** make any difference?

Who should I **vote** for?

Sh Haitham al-Haddad & Azad Ali
 (Islamic Council of Europe) (MEND)

Host **Dr Salman Butt** (Islam21c)
 Join us to answer **YOUR** questions

Nothing is off the table in this General Election special

Sunday 14th May @ 3pm

online on www.islam21c.com/GeneralElection
 Submit your questions now. Full recording available next week

Supported by **mend** **ISLAMIC COUNCIL OF EUROPE** **HUDA** **ISLAM CHANNEL**

FB/121Century TW/Islam21c YT/Islam21c

6.3 MEND PSHE Islamophobia lessons - 08 April 2018

<https://www.facebook.com/mendcommunity/photos/a.1438970063033826/2020529081544585/?type=1&theater>



6.4 MEND and British Transport Police Wales - 10 October 2017

<https://twitter.com/i/web/status/917796877608747009>



Follow

Cardiff MEND team teaching British Transport Police Wales about Islam & Islamophobia

Follow link to get involved:

mend.org.uk/volunteer



10:00 AM - 10 Oct 2017

6.5 MEND and the MEND Muslim Manifesto - 04 March 2015

<https://twitter.com/azadaliCCM/status/573111328874885120/photo/1>



Azad Ali
@azadaliCCM

Follow

Launch of the [#MuslimManifesto](#) in Parliament @NorthWestFOP @islam21c @5Pillarsuk



5:22 AM - 4 Mar 2015

6.6 MEND and Islamophobia

- 6.6.a In Parliament 18 November 2015

<https://twitter.com/SufyanGIsmail/status/667053590880649216>



Sufyan Ismail
@SufyanGIsmail

Follow

Fantastic MEND event on 'hidden Islamophobia' in Parliament today supported by mainstream parties @AnneMcLaughlin



10:55 AM - 18 Nov 2015

- 6.6.b at SOAS 2014

https://www.facebook.com/pg/mendcommunity/photos/?tab=album&album_id=151905467169203

1

Islamophobia: Causes and Cures - SOAS University #IAM2014

17 photos · Updated 4 years ago

Pictures from today's event on Islamophobia at SOAS University that was organised by SOAS Islamic Society in association with MEND and CAGE. MEND's London Regional Manager, Shiplu Miah, and NUS Black Students' Officer, Malia Bouattia, spoke at the event.

6.7 MEND - Unite Against Fascism: Round Table Discussion in Parliament, 20/11/2014

Round-table Discussion in Parliament on 'Tackling Islamophobia'

21 photos · Updated 4 years ago

Round-table Discussion in Parliament on 'Tackling Islamophobia' 20.11.14 MEND and Unite Against Fascism (UAF) organised this event as part of November's Islamophobia Awareness Month. The event provided an opportunity to address some of the pressing issues facing the Muslim community with a diverse panel that discussed issues including government policy regarding the Muslim community, the rise in Islamophobic hate crimes, policing and the Muslim community, and the impact of media portrayal of Muslims. Panellists included: -Diane Abbott MP -Sufyan Ismail CEO of MEND -Hugh Lanning, Vice-Chair, Unite Against Fascism -Dr. Mark Walters, Senior Lecturer in Law at Sussex University -Dr. Omar Khan Director - Runnymede Trust -Talha Ahmed, Muslim Council of Britain -Mohammed Kozbar, Vice President MAB and Chair of Finsbury Park Mosque -Maz Saleem, Daughter of murdered Mohammed Saleem -Weyman Bennett - Joint National Secretaries, Unite Against Fascism

6.8 Ian Duncan Smith MP and Mend

- 6.8.a <https://twitter.com/mendcommunity/status/1057760104265797632>



MEND Community
@mendcommunity

Follow

Iain Duncan Smith: we are united a lot more by what we agree on than what we disagree on. What we should really be afraid of is the people who try to divide us.

#IAM2018



- 6.8.b



Iain Duncan Smith MP

6 November 2018 · ⚙️

Last week I was invited to attend a Parliamentary meeting whose purpose was informed was to help tackle racial and religious prejudices towards minority communities particularly Muslims - a cause about which I am passionate. I was not scheduled to speak however after a very short time was asked to say a few words about the issue which I did, making the point that we should never tolerate those who stoke up fear amongst communities of British Citizens.

Since speaking briefly, I have seen that my attendance is being used to suggest I was there to support the organisation MEND. This is incorrect, as I did not attend in support of that or any such organisation. Furthermore I also recognise that there are genuine concerns that this organisation may not be the force for community cohesion as is claimed. I note that most recently they criticised the appointment of a female British Muslim, Sara Khan, as Britain's first ever Commissioner for Countering Extremism, an appointment I very much welcome and which I believe will help community cohesion.

It is my intention to discuss with Sara Khan how we in Parliament can ensure that my colleagues are made aware of the nature of groups whose activities do not promote community cohesion.

It is a matter of pride for me that, over the course of my lifetime, the UK has become a more tolerant society, as social attitude surveys repeatedly show. We are more appreciative of different cultures and regularly celebrate the diversity of our communities. Nowhere is this more evident than in my constituency Chingford and Woodford Green.



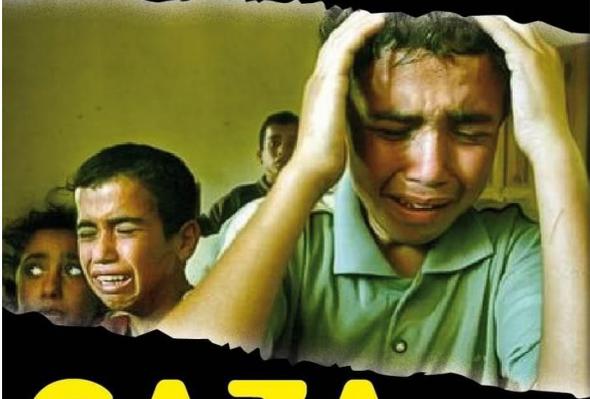
24

15 comments 7 shares

7. Other

7.1 Junaid Ahmed - 16 January 2009

EMERGENCY EASY TALK EVENT ON THE WAR ON GAZA



**GAZA:
THE MARTYRS MEADOW!**

>> **DATE:** Friday 16 January 2009 >> **TIME:** 6pm till 8pm

>> **VENUE:** Oxford House, Derbyshire Street, Bethnal Green, London E2 6HG

For more info: 07903 558 067

SPEAKERS:

- >> Dr AZZAM TAMIMI - Hamas Bringing death to Gazans or symbol of resistance
- >> Sr YVONNE RIDLEY - Beyond the Myth - Israel's act of calculated Terror
- >> Cll ABJOL MIAH - Towards Justice for Palestine
- >> Br JUNAID AHMED - Heroes of Palestine
- >> Also Featuring MUSLIM BILAL

 www.easy-talk.org Fundraising for Interpal 

7.2 Lewisham Interfaith Walk for Peace 24 June 2018

SUNDAY 24 JUNE 2018



**LEWISHAM
INTER FAITH
WALK FOR PEACE**

2.00 pm Sivan Temple, Clarendon Rd SE13 5ES
2.30 pm Lewisham Salvation Army, Albion Way SE13 6BT
3.00 pm Lewisham Islamic Centre, Lewisham High St SE13 6NZ
(with 'Peace of Cake')

4.15 pm Civic Centre
4.45 pm Catford Synagogue, Crantock Rd SE6 2QS
5.00 pm Finish

Lewisham Interfaith Walk for Peace is organised by Lewisham Interfaith Forum in partnership with Lewisham Met Police and Lewisham Council. We will be collecting donations towards future similar events over tea at Lewisham Islamic Centre

Welcome and tour at each stop along the route



aviyan.zahams@met.police.uk 07393 006929

7.3 Lewisham Labour Against Racism Public Meeting 06 November 18

Lewisham Labour Against Racism public meeting

CHALLENGING THE HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT
STOP TOMMY ROBINSON'S FAR RIGHT ALLIES AND THE RACIST DEMOCRATIC FOOTBALL LADS ALLIANCE
OPPOSE ISLAMOPHOBIA AND ANTI-SEMITISM



Tuesday 6 November 7.15pm

New Cross Learning Centre 283 New Cross Road, SE14 6AS

Organised by New Cross Labour Party with the support of Lewisham TUC, Stand Up To Racism and Lewisham Deptford Labour Party

Speakers: ■ Janet Daby MP ■ Vicky Foxcroft MP ■ Lewisham Windrush ■ Dijon Joseph (stopped & searched with unnecessary force in Deptford) ■ David Rosenberg (Jewish Socialists Group) ■ Imam Shakeel Begg (Lewisham Islamic Centre) ■ Cllr. Alan Hall ■ Unite the Union ■ Goldsmiths Student Union ■ Momentum ■ Adam Abdullah (Labour) ■ Jovan Owusu-Nepaul (Goldsmiths SU) ■ Stand Up To Racism ■ Lewisham TUC ■ RMT ■ Battle of Lewisham, Refugee Campaign, plus update on the racist 'Democratic Football Lads Alliance'



National Unity Demonstration Against Fascism and Racism:
Saturday November 17th, Central London
Organised by Stand Up To Racism

7.4 Attacks on Muslim liberals

- 7.4.a Against Rashad Ali - 9 October 2016



Azad Ali
@azadaliCCM

Follow

Rashad Ali a sell out #Prevent purveyor tried 2 heckle Corbyn what else can a neo-con war monger do to a man of principle. #Syria



12:29 pm - 9 Oct 2016

1 Retweet 1 Like

Stop the War, 5Pillars, Majid Freeman and 2 others



- 7.4.b Against Mubin Shaikh 2 December 2016

Azad Ali shared **Faysal Ahmed's** post.
2 December at 09:34 · €

Meet the Canadian spy now working for Jimas. Be wary of this guy and don't give him the time of the day.
#prevent #spy



Heart M.O.T - Ustadh Mubin Shaikh

1,936 views

Category Education
Licence Standard YouTube Licence

Like 8 Dislike 8

JIMAS UK [Subscribe](#)



This is what \$370,000 gets you, a beard trim, shades and a matrix jacket.
@CaliphateCop



shaikh

Mubin Shaikh
You just won a spot on my watch Khawarij Khabeeth. London you might need to put in a call to 5.
Just now · Sent from Web

Write a message...

APPENDIX B: Audiovisual material

1. *Imam Shakeel Begg on Trump: a Blessing in Orange Disguise*, published by Islam21c on 7 August 2018: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C0Mrkdxidb0>, and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2DzGz6fwaVE>
 “Imam Shakeel Begg | Moazzam Begg, an example of positivity and steadfastness”, published by CAGE on 23 September 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QyTOv81Mn1s>
2. *Lewisham Islamic Centre Khutbah - Brotherhood & Love - Sh Haitham Al-Haddad*, published by Lewisham Islamic Centre on 21 July 2011: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDfM8u7g6Tw>
Lewisham Islamic Centre - Applying Rulings from Seerah (Part 2) - Sh. Haitham Al-Haddad, published by Lewisham Islamic Centre on 12 August 2011: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Bx-uO59Klc&app=desktop>
Lewisham Islamic Centre Khutbah - Sh Haitham al Haddad published by Lewisham Islamic Centre on 28 May 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R6WNNl_RIFg
3. *"CAGE is Writing History for Islam in Britain", Dr Haitham Al Haddad, Citizens Not Subjects*, 5 November 2015, Amanah Centre, London, published by CAGE on 24 November 2015: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9bpEYPmSbi0>
Protect the Dawah | #keepCAGEgoing | Dr Haitham al Haddad, published by CAGE on 26 December 2016: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f_GxG4Ylyq8
Being Hopeful and Involved | Dr Haitham al-Haddad, published by CAGE on 12 January 2017: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oXFstRNT3P8>
Shiekh Haitham Al Hadad - III CAGE, published by Killua Zoldyck on 1 January 2017: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cdCWAF5Y1jw>
Shaykh Haitham Al-Haddad @ Cage Demo 02/03/14, published by SimplyHaqq on 3 March 2014: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s0HJ2nSgJy0>
4. *UNSHAKABLE FOSIS LONDON DINNER 2011, 8/12/2011*, London Muslim Centre, published by LONDONFOSIS on 4 December 2011: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ktXCZDP2EM>
5. *QM ISoc - "Traditional Islam | An Orthodox Discussion Concerning `Aqeedah" - Abuz-Zubair, 18/1/2012, Queen Mary University*, published by Queen Mary Islamic Society on 20 January 2012: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4H4KiOAQlqk>
6. *The Report Episode 68 | Part 2/2 (08/09/14) - Caliphates and Islamic State(s)*, published by islamchanneltv on 12 September 2014: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1P4oBiZ0bGk&feature=youtu.be>
7. *Can we live in peace with non-muslims under Sharia-rule? - Q&A - Sh. Dr. Haitham al-Haddad*, published by Islam Net Video on 11 June 2015: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cx2NTEUbtLE&feature=youtu.be&t=144>

8. Q & A with Sheikh Khalid Fikry: *Issue of Khilafah*, published by Khayr Media on 7 September 2013: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bZPFJ98fnuY>
9. 1 January 2009, London Muslim Centre, from 19 minutes in at <http://kalamullah.com/Various%20Lectures/End%20of%20Time/The%20Return%20of%20Jesus%20-%20Uthman%20Lateef.mp3>
10. *Remembering the Ummah on Ramadan*, Murtaza Khan, 16 August 2009, at Lewisham Islamic Centre
<https://soundcloud.com/peter-jones-941716421/remembering-the-ummah-in-ramadan-murtaza-khan>
<http://web.archive.org/web/20130121220731/http://www.lewishamislamiccentre.com/media.php>
11. *Obligation to Muslim Prisoners / Sheikh Murtaza Khan - Part 03*, published by AlMuslimoonWalsall on 19 January 2011:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TKsexhPxFOc&feature=youtu.be&t=525>
12. *Stop Police Terror*, Anwar Al-Awlaki, 26 November 2003, East London Mosque,
<https://soundcloud.com/who-sen-areef/anwar-al-awlaki-stop-police-terror>
13. This article first appears in the Web Archive on 1 May 2012.
<http://kalamullah.com/spying.html>
http://web.archive.org/web/20120501000000*/http://kalamullah.com/spying.html
14. *Belmarsh Iftar 2012 - Shaykh Khalid Al Fikry - Muslim Prisoners*, 5 August 2012, published by 2wintradez on 6 August 2012: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MruYlsU4j0c>
15. *0:01 / 8:09 HHUGS Annual Dinner - 03/11 - Imam Shakeel Begg (Part 3)*, 19 March 2011, Novotel London West, published by HHUGS on 28 June 2011:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ewV_wV4Ccbk
16. *Shakeel Begg - Cageprisoners Annual Dinner - Extrajudicial Killings*, 21 August 2010 at the Water Lily, London, published by Y0unis on 15 May 2011:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qUQpMyOysbQ>
17. *Shakeel Begg speaking up for terrorists*, 7 August 2011, Belmarsh prison, published by habibi on 4 September 2017: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k1K-S126wLI>
18. *Sharia: Barbaric or Perfect? - Sh. Dr. Haitham al-Haddad*, published by Islam Net Video on 28 December 2014: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2b3gp8_wvNI
19. *Abuz Zubair's response to Usama Hasan*, published by SalahuddinAyyubi1 on 26 January 2011: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cf1Rwfeuk7Y>
20. *Al Walaa wal Baraa by Sheikh Khalid Fikry*, 9 November 2012, Al Noor mosque, Acton, published by Islamic Reminders upon Sunnah on 10 October 2016:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lb2BU1owc4w>

21. *Destruction of the Muslim Youth - Murtaza Khan*, published by Digital Mimbar on 23 November 2011: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=slAS9idollg>
22. *Neil Jameson of London Citizens on the East London Mosque and the IFE - part 2*, March 2010, Islam Channel, published by habibi on 28 May 2011: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_gEE73nY0kc
23. *MAYOR VISITS LONDON MOSQUE*, published by BritishSatelliteNews on 4 September 2009: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Qy5FPnZrDY>
24. *General Election 2017 | Islam21c Big Discussion | Sh Dr Haitham al-Haddad | Azad Ali | Dr. Salman*, published by Islam21c on 26 May 2017: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vraPL1uP2yk&feature=youtu.be&t=1h16m30s>
25. *Dispatches 2018 Who Speaks for British Muslims:* <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x6hycl>
26. *We Need to Engage with the Mainstream | Azad Ali | Citizens Not Subjects*, 5 November 2015, Amanah Centre, London, published by CAGE on 24 November 2015: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=blG1R9U--rA>
27. *Lewisham Islamic Centre - The Challenges of Islamophobia in the UK by Azad Ali*, published by Lewisham Islamic Centre on 7 February 2014: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FqJwuNR9eUU&feature=youtu.be&t=1468>
28. Sufyan Ismail speaking at the Cheadle mosque in 2014. The original video at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IQIbBkfZOII> has been removed following a copyright claim by CMA Welfare Trust. A copy of the video has been retained by the authors.
29. Sufyan Ismail speaking at the Zakariyya Central Mosque in Bolton in 2014. The original video at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ojugvuZdJek> has been removed following a copyright claim by Zakariyya Jaam'e Masjid. A copy of the video has been retained by the authors.
30. *And The Life of This World is but a Deceiving Enjoyment*, Uthman Lateef, published by Kingston ISOC on 11 November 2010: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8MtYRg4Yb2k>
31. *Junaid Ahmed of the IFE on the Heroes of Palestine*, speaking in January 2009. The original video at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kPrRS9j4zzk> has been removed following a copyright claim by EasyTalkDaroon. A copy of the video has been retained by the authors.

APPENDIX C: Glossary of Islamic Terms

Al-wala' wal-bara' - lit. "loyalty and disavowal", to love or hate for Allah's sake

Bayt al mal - lit. "house of money", a financial institution responsible for the administration of taxes in Islamic states

Dua, du'a - prayer, supplication

Fitna - 1) temptation, 2) sedition/civil strife

Hijra - the Prophet Muhammad's migration (622 CE) from Mecca to Medina

Hudud - corporal and capital punishment prescribed under *shari'ah*

Iftar - the fast-breaking meal eaten by Muslims after sunset during Ramadan

Imaan, iman - faith

'Izzah - honour, dignity

Jannah - "garden", i.e. heaven or Paradise

Jihad - to strive or struggle against an enemy or opponent. This may be internal or external, social, physical or military, etc.

Kafir, pl. *Kuffar* -, one that subscribes to *kufur*, infidel/unbeliever

Khayr - goodness

Khilafa, Khilafah - caliphate, or the concept of governance

Khilafah Islamiyyah - an Islamic caliphate

Kufr - unbelief

Mujahideen - pl. *mujahid*, one that is engaged in jihad

Murtadd - an apostate

Muslimaat - Muslim women

Muslimeen - Muslims

Qital - fighting physically the enemies of Islam

Shari'ah - Islamic law and ethics, considered holistically

Shaytan - Satan

Shirk - ascribing partners to God, i.e. idolatry, polytheism

Taqwa - piety, fear of God

Tawhid - asserting the oneness of God, declaring absolute monotheism

Ummah - a nation or group of people

Zani - fornicator or adulterer