Mainstreaming Islamism:

Islamist Institutions and Civil Society Organisations

Imam Sheikh Dr Usama Hasan, David Toube, Muna Khan
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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 Islamism\(^1\) 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

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\(^1\) 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.

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 events\(^7\), 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 Centre\(^10\), as well as at University ISOC events.\(^11\)

Shakeel Begg, head Imam at the Lewisham Islamic Centre\(^12\), has spoken at the East London Mosque\(^13\), and also has appeared on the Islam Channel.\(^14\) He has appeared at many CAGE events.

Al-Haddad has spoken at both the An-Noor\(^16\) and the East London Mosque’s London Muslim Centre,\(^17\) Lewisham Islamic Centre\(^18\) and numerous CAGE\(^19\) and University ISOC events.\(^20\)

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\(^6\) See Appendix A 1.1
\(^7\) See Appendix A 5.1
\(^8\) See Appendix A 3.1
\(^9\) BBC, *Islamist cleric Anwar al-Awlaki killed in Yemen*, 30 September 2011
\(^10\) See Appendix A 1.4; 4.1; 4.6, 4.7
\(^11\) See Appendix A 3.3
\(^12\) Lewisham Islamic Centre, *Meet the Imams*, Undated
\(^13\) See Appendix A 1.5
\(^14\) The Islam Channel, *IslamiQA: Sheikh Shakeel Beg*, 14 March 2019
\(^15\) See Appendix B 1, B 16
\(^16\) Islam21C, *Trump: a Blessing in Orange Disguise*, 16 July 2018
\(^17\) See Appendix A 4.3; 4.4
\(^18\) See Appendix A 1.2; 1.3
\(^19\) See Appendix B 2
\(^20\) See Appendices A 5.2 and B 3
He also makes or made regular appearances on the Islam Channel.\(^{21}\)

Abuz Zubair has spoken at Lewisham Islamic Centre\(^{22}\) and Queen Mary University ISOC.\(^{23}\)

Murtaza Khan has spoken at the East London Mosque’s London Muslim Centre\(^{24}\), the Lewisham Islamic Centre\(^{25}\), the An-Noor Mosque\(^{26}\) and a variety of university ISOCs.\(^{27}\)

Uthman Lateef has spoken at the East London Mosque’s London Muslim Centre\(^{28}\), An-Noor Mosque\(^{29}\) and many university ISOC\(^{30}\) events including Kingston University ISOC.\(^{31}\)

Bilal Philips has spoken at the East London Mosque\(^{32}\) and the Lewisham Islamic Centre\(^{33}\) 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 Islamists 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 2014\(^{36}\) and at the An Noor mosque in the same year.

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\(^{21}\) Twitter, Islam Chanel, 9 May 2017
[https://twitter.com/Islamchannel/status/861908890543419392](https://twitter.com/Islamchannel/status/861908890543419392)

Twitter, Islam Chanel, 31 May 2017
[https://twitter.com/islamchannel/status/869872485260505094](https://twitter.com/islamchannel/status/869872485260505094)

[https://www.islamchannel.tv/programme-video/islamiqa1011/](https://www.islamchannel.tv/programme-video/islamiqa1011/)

\(^{22}\) 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

\(^{33}\) 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.” 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.


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.” 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.

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.

Implementing the shari’ah

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

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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. 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, 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.

Philips gave the Friday sermon at the East London Mosque in 2008 and spoke at the Annual Dinner of the Queen Mary Islamic Society in 2009. He was advertised as speaking at a fundraising dinner for the Lewisham Islamic Centre in 2010.

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. Later in the same lecture, he described

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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.”


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


“Divine law has to be reintroduced in the many so-called Muslim countries where governments now rule according to 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.”


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.”

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, Anwar Al-Awlaki gave a speech 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”. Al-Awlaki’s conclusion is that Muslims should not “hand over” a “brother”, even if they are accused of terrorism.

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.”

“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

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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.”
Uthman Lateef has also opposed Muslims assisting the security services, which he has described as spying, leading to the “major sin” of “apostasy”. Since the publication of the lecture in which he advanced this argument, Lateef spoke at an event supported by Engage, the predecessor of MEND, in 2013 and at a UEL ISOC event in 2014.

“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…”

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). …”

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)
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)
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”. At that event he explained:

“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.” Those imprisoned in Belmarsh at that time included a number of convicted terrorists.

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.”

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.”

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.”

63 See Appendix B 15
64 Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)
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)
66 Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)
67 Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)
In 2013, Shakeel Begg spoke at a CAGE event, held at the East London Mosque’s London Muslim Centre.

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. 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.” Rehman 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”.

In 2013, Al-Fikry spoke at the East London Mosque’s London Muslim Centre and at Kingston University ISOC.

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, 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.

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68 See Appendix A 1.5.a
69 See Appendix B 14
71 See Appendix A 1.4
72 See Appendix A 3.3
73 See Appendix B 20
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.  

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.” Both the East London Mosque and the Islamic Forum Europe (IFE) are members of TELCO.

In March 2010, the IFE was the subject of a documentary by Channel 4 Dispatches. 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”. The headquarters of the IFE are located in the East London Mosque.

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:

"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

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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
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”. Jamaat e Islami is a political party which was founded by Mawdudi in 1941.

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.” 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. 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 islamiist figures. 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 revealed 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:

"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
83 Encyclopedia Brittanica, Jama at-i Islami, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Jamaat-i-Islami#ref1041310
85 Appendix B 22
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 LinkedIn 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.

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:

“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. 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. It has received official visits from a wide range of politicians, civil society groups and public figures, including the then Mayor of London, Boris Johnson and the US Ambassador, who expressed his “great admiration” for the institution.

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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].

93 See Appendix B 23
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. 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.”

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. 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.”

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

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 Briereley, 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.”

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” 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”, 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.”

CAGE

CAGE, formerly CAGEprisoners, is an organisation which was established in October 2003. In 2006, it merged with another organisation: Stop Political Terror (SPT). 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. When SPT was disbanded in 2006, it directed its supporters to CAGE: an organisation in which Moazzam Begg is Outreach Director. CAGE continued the relationship with Al-Awlaki, who was the subject of interviews and video messages. A flavour

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98 Begg v British Broadcasting Company, [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)
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-3xg55c6
102 Stop Political Terror was previously called Stop Police Terror
103 Stop Political Terror website, 21 October 2004,
104 Stop Political Terror website,
105 Qureshi, 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. 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". 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”. CAGE also published a report which discussed Abu Rideh’s period of detention. 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”.

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

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

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-cp7qmwrk6b

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

"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

111 Gardham, Duncan, *British al-Qaeda refugee killed in Afghanistan*, The Telegraph, 16 December 2010

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

113 Pilkington, Ed, *Pakistani scientist found guilty of attempted murder of US agents*, 4 February 2010
In October 2014, CAGE published an article on Tarik Hassane. 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 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.

In 2014, CAGE published a “Practical Guide for Prisoners” on memorising the Qu’ran, written by John Walker Lindh. 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.

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.” 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.”

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

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
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
117 Johnson, Alex, ‘American Taliban’ John Walker Lindh released from prison after 17 years, NBC News, 23 May 2019
118 Video of Asim Qureshi, IS ‘Jihadi John’ suspect ‘a beautiful young man’ - BBC, 26 February 2015
total funding of £305,000 in 2007-9. 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. 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”.

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, 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:

“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 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. 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

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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-righ/
concerns over its activities.

The predecessor to MEND was an organisation called Engage. 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.

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.

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

“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. In that discussion, Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad” expressed the view that “strong Muslims” who could “represent us in the Parliament” should be
elected. He continued:

“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, and former CEO of MEND was filmed by Channel 4 “Dispatches” stating that he had made significant donations to CAGE. When the former Director of Engagement, Azad Ali, left MEND in December 2017, he transferred to a position as Community Relations Director at CAGE. While employed at MEND, Ali spoke at a CAGE event that took place in November

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

134 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.””

135 Form PSC07, MENDUK LTD, filed on 24 April 2018,
https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/09094528/filing-history/MzIwMzMzMTE0NmFkaXF6a2N4/document?format=pdf&download=0

136 See Appendix B 25

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

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

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


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?f=tweets&vertical=news&f=tweets&q=cage%20from%3Amendcommunity&src=typd&lang=en-gb

141 See Appendix A 6.6.b
he discussed his “love” for Anwar al-Awlaki. 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. 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. 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.” 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.

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. In April 2017, The Times reported that Azad Ali had spoken at a CAGE event, alongside Shakeel Begg. The article stated that Azad

143 See the Rebuttal Document
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 #istandbymyimam. \(^{148}\)

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, \(^{148}\) 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.”

148 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.”


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

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, which participated in the production of a report for that organisation. The foreword to that report was written by Dominic Grieve MP.

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

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

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. A number of MPs have spoken at MEND events. Fringe

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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.”

155 Citizens UK, Muslim Leadership Group, https://www.citizensuk.org/muslim_leadership_group
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
163 A summary of some of these events is 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. MEND has also regularly been hosted in Parliament. Notably, Jeremy Corbyn MP attended MEND’s event at Parliament in November 2017 to launch MEND’s Islamophobia Awareness Month. 


In 2017, speakers included Mend’s CEO Shazad Amin Nazir Afzal and Peter Oborne. Crispin Blunt MP withdrew from the event. see Oborne, 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.


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


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.


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

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. A number of MPs pulled out of the event.

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”).

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

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

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. 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.

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.

- 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/

“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. 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

![Poster for Anwar al-Awlaki, Uthman Lateef, Murtaza Khan](image)

1.2 Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad - 8 December 2011

![Poster for Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad](image)
1.3 Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad and Suleiman al-Ghani - 23 January 2011

SPRING FOUNDATION IN PARTNERSHIP WITH SINCERE NASEEHA PRESENTS

GHURABAABAH
‘Fa tooba lil Ghurabaabah’

23 JANUARY 2011
LONDON MUSLIM CENTRE
46-92 WHITECHAPEL ROAD
LONDON E1 1JX

1pm-5pm

SPEAKERS
Shaykh Haitham al-Haddad (MRDF)
Shaykh Suleyman Ghani (Islam Channel/Imam at Tooting Masjid)
Murti Abdu Rahman Ibn Yusuf (White Thread Press)
Shaykh Abdullah Haan (Spring Foundation)

CONTACTS
ghurabaabahbrothers@yahoo.co.uk
Brothers – 07946068999
ghurabaabahbrothers@yahoo.co.uk
Sisters – 07539390115/07932693564
Limited seats available – get booking now!

FUNDRAISER | QURAN RECITATION | NASHEEDS | STALLS & MUCH MORE
1.4 Sheikh Dr. Khalid Fikry, 16 March 2013

1.5 Shakeel Begg

- 1.5.a 27 July 2013
THE FOUR IMAMS
IN THE FACE OF OPPRESSION

DAYTIME CHARITY FUNDRAISER FOR ALL THE FAMILY

Join CapePrisoners for an afternoon exploring the tribulations of our Imams Abu Hanifa, Malik, Al-Shafi' & Ahmad and reflect on our stance for African American rights today.

SATURDAY 27TH JULY 2013 3PM - 6PM

FREE EVENT - REGISTER ONLINE

LONDON MUSLIM CENTRE
41-45 Whitechapel Rd, London E1 1JX
020 7737 8700 | info@capeprisoners.com | capeprisoners.com

1.5.b 27 December 2013

YOUNG MUSLIM ORGANISATION UK PRESENTS

YOUTH AROUND THE MESSENGER

FREE ENTRY

ANNUAL WINTER CONFERENCE

AN EVENING WITH:
SHAYKH ABU AHMED
IMAM SHAKEEL BEGG

PROGRAMME:
GLADIATOR COMPETITION
FIFA TOURNAMENT
BOXING
DRAMA
FOOD & CAKE STALL

FRIDAY 27TH DEC 2013 | DOORS OPEN 4:30PM - 7PM
LONDON MUSLIM CENTRE | 45 WHITECHAPEL RD | LONDON E1 1JX
2. Lewisham Islamic Centre

2.1 Bilal Philips and Murtaza Khan - 31 May 2010
3. University Islamic Student Societies

3.1 City University - Anwar al-Awlaki and Murtaza Khan - 1 April 2009
3.2 University of East London

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

- 3.2.b UEL ISOC and Uthman Lateef 25 February 2011
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
3.4 Haitham al-Haddad on Cambridge Abu Jamia mosque premises 13-15 April 2012
3.5 Queen Mary’s University ISOC

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

3.7 Royal Holloway ISOC and Uthman Lateef 24 February 2009
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.a 24 April 2009

“The believers are nothing else than brothers
so make reconciliation between your brothers, and fear Allah (swt)
that you may receive mercy” (Surah al-Hujurat, Ayah 9)

Imam Abdus Samad (Kingston Masjid)
Brotherhood - ‘The Missing Foundation’
Ustadh Murtaza Khan (Noyabun 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

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
ACTON STALLS
LONDON W3 8PT
FREE ENTRY
SEGREGATED FACILITIES

FOR MORE INFO TEL: 0208 393 6690 0208 675 7727
FOR STALLS: 0208 393 6694 0208 675 727
4.3 Murtaza Khan and Haitham al-Haddad 8 September 2009

4.4 Haitham al-Haddad 11 August 2007
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

4.7 Sheikh Dr Khalid Fikry, 2008
5. CAGE/CAGEprisoners

5.1 CAGE and Anwar al Awlaki - 07 September 2008
5.2 Haitham al-Haddad 06 November 2015
https://www.facebook.com/CageUK/photos/basw.Abq6z_VqERZ8xJ9Bm9WZjhBZg5sUa34uJZkVPTDWkxFnXyrWbQMz2wNPEFzuOeZMwe2nactuqLmeecKlUSgn81cMWjHT-H1DPhtVNaUe0tuoKLguTmWrrinoBABDTd4E4x1XVXjevKiM3PwX_vgoSMCd.690728507665197.1585609244886470.1156634917683347.10152011247267517.1642545982526129.1431695193611210/1156634917683347/?type=1&theater
5.3 CAGE and Prevent

- 5.3.a 27 December 2016
  https://www.facebook.com/CageUK/photos/a.152434384770077/1489394647740704/?type=3&th= eater

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)
- Jehangir Muhammad (Centre for Muslim Affairs)
- Dr Sadia Habb (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
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 manja.ommar@kengage.org.uk

Panelists include:

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

Thursday 21st November 2013

6PM - 10.30PM

The Waterlily
69-69 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
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

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

Follow link to get involved:
mend.org.uk/volunteer
6.5 MEND and the MEND Muslim Manifesto - 04 March 2015
https://twitter.com/azadaliCCM/status/573111328874885120/photo/1

6.6 MEND and Islamophobia

- 6.6.a In Parliament 18 November 2015
https://twitter.com/SufyanGismail/status/667053590880649216
● 6.6.b at SOAS 2014
https://www.facebook.com/pg/mendcommunity/photos/?tab=album&album_id=1519054671692031

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. Panelists 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 Koizbar, 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
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
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.
7. Other

7.1 Junaid Ahmed - 16 January 2009

7.2 Lewisham Interfaith Walk for Peace 24 June 2018
7.3 Lewisham Labour Against Racism Public Meeting  06 November 18

7.4 Attacks on Muslim liberals

● 7.4.a Against Rashad Ali - 9 October 2016

Azad Ali
@azadaliCCM

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
7.4.b Against Mubin Shaikh 2 December 2016

Meet the Canadian spy now working for JIMAS. Be wary of this guy and don’t give him the time of the day.

---

Heart M.O.T - Ustadh Mubin Shaikh

Faisal Ahmed added 4 new photos.

Meet JIMAS’ new ‘ustadhi’, Mubin Shaikh. They’re rolling him out to defend the PREVENT policy.

For those who don’t know, Ibsahat Cop (as he used to refer to himself), he is a former Canadian spy. Several years ago he groomed young teens at a mosque, took them to a paintballing retreat and then stopped them to the authorities accusing them of ‘jihad training’.

Mubin Sakej got around $370,000 for his services. And as is the case with most of these spineless venoms, he went mad and blew it all on coke, magic mushrooms and hookers.

He proudly mentions his past, about selling out and entrapping Muslims, and even has threatened brothers on social media with MIB, just for disagreeing with him.

Now he’s back, this time as an ‘ustadhi’ for JIMAS telling everyone the virtues of PREVENT.

But they do make a good couple, Abu Muntakhas and Mubin Sakej.
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](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C0Mrkdxidb0) and [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2DzGz6fwave](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](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QyTOv81Mn1s)

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APPENDIX C: Glossary of Islamic Terms

*Al-wala’ wal-barā’* - 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

*I’zzah* - 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 *kufr*, 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