

Challenging Extremists

Practical frameworks for our universities

By Rupert Sutton and Hannah Stuart

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This paper is written in the authors' personal capacities and the views expressed are theirs alone.

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About Student Rights

Student Rights is a non-partisan group set up in 2009 and is dedicated to supporting equality and freedom from extremism on university campuses. It focuses on a range of different issues including Islamist and far-right radicalisation, as well as exposing foreign funding streams coming in to UK universities from totalitarian dictatorships.

For more information about Student Rights please see www.studentrights.org.uk

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Foreword

Extremism on university campuses is a continuing and disturbing trend. As well as continuing demonstrations of support for extremist groups and principles there have also been a number of high-profile incidents in which British students have engaged in terrorist activity. Student Rights was founded in 2009 as a response to such activism and its underlying causes.

Since the 7 July 2005 bombings in London, the focus on extremism both on and off university campuses has increased. The UK government's Prevent Review identified university campuses as an area at risk of radicalisation.

While the Review acknowledged much of what think-tanks and experts in the field of counter-extremism have been saying for years, it also demonstrated the continuing tensions between freedom of speech claims and security challenges.

Among the issues highlighted in this report are fresh concerns relating to the advent of social media as a platform for disseminating extremist material. The situation in the past few years has changed drastically, as student societies, their members and external individuals looking to influence them have moved from using their own websites or forums to using social media spaces such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. Despite a consistent focus from the British security services, extremism on campuses persists through such online activism as well as through the guise of 'front groups' and on-campus speaker meetings.

Universities are obliged to uphold a duty of care to staff and students as well as wider society. Previous suggestions for how to deal with these issues have tended to be uneconomical as well as unrealistic. This report, by contrast, recognizes that we live in unpropitious economic times and that resources are limited. It therefore refrains from calling for any extra financial commitments on behalf of universities. Rather it suggests guidelines and a framework by which universities can find a way – via existing legislation and legal precedent – through this highly problematic terrain.

To ensure the security of students, university staff as well as the wider British public, it is imperative that the relevant stakeholders respond to this report's concerns and suggestions not just swiftly but also in the proportionate manner that this report's authors suggest.

Raheem Kassam, director, Student Rights

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is evidence of Islamism-inspired activism on British campuses during the current academic year 2011-12. Extremist speakers continue to address students on UK campuses, despite government concern. Additionally, external individuals are targeting universities by sharing violent and extremist material on student social media pages. In some cases, students themselves have shared videos of senior al-Qaeda cleric Anwar al-Awlaki. The extremist group Hizb ut-Tahrir, identified by the government as deliberately targeting British universities, continues to infiltrate campuses and remains influential among some students.

PART I

ISLAMISM-INSPIRED ACTIVISM

External Speakers

- External speakers continue to be invited to address students. These include individuals who promote ideas of a Western war against Islam, support for paramilitary violence in Israel, encourage intolerance of non-believers and obligate Islam as a political system for law and governance.

Extremist Material

- Some student society social media is used to share extremist material, including videos of Anwar Al-Awlaki. An external individual targeted student social media to share a video of an individual designated by the United States government as an al-Qaeda linked fighter, recruiter, facilitator and propagandist for a terrorist organisation as well as an audio recording of an individual convicted in the UK of inciting terrorism overseas.

Student Social Media

- A small number of student activists at London universities, as well as recent graduates that they interact with, engage in Islamist political activism and disseminate Islamist material. They promote Hizb ut-Tahrir and the Muslim Public Affairs Committee UK, two groups currently subject to the National Union of Students' 'No Platform' policy.

PART II

FRAMEWORKS FOR ADDRESSING ISLAMISM-INSPIRED ACTIVISM

- Free speech has special legal status on university campuses, and must be upheld for students, lecturers and any visiting speakers. The report includes case studies of convictions for Islamism-inspired unlawful speech and material, providing examples of conduct which falls outside of freedom of expression as protected by the law.
- In recent years British courts have emphasised the severity of conduct which presents violent activity as a religious duty or calls for the death of coalition forces.
- Charity law requires student unions to protect their charitable reputation and operate for the public benefit. The report highlights cases where the Charity Commission has been concerned about improper association, including with designated organisations (i.e. Union of Good and Hamas) or with those which promote inappropriate partisan views (i.e. Hizb ut-Tahrir).

PART III

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The Department of Business, Skills and Innovation should update its guidance on tackling extremism to reflect the 2011 Prevent Strategy and changes in student union charitable status.
- Higher Education providers should ensure all members of academic staff are aware of their legal responsibilities to protect public safety and their public sector equality duty to foster good relations between different groups of people.
- The NUS 'No Platform' policy is an existing framework for challenging extremist groups and should be applied consistently and transparently in the student unions that have voted for it. The policy should be extended to include external groups or student organisations which are fronts for banned organisations.
- Student unions and university authorities should put in place collaborative measures regarding external speakers and events. This should include a risk assessment of potential speakers containing relevant information on speaker affiliations and previous experiences on campuses. Student unions, in conjunction with the university, should be aware of their requirements under criminal, civil and charitable law. There should be transparent information-sharing at all levels.
- Universities should enforce a 'code of conduct' with regards to intimidation on campus to ensure that pastoral care responsibilities are met.
- Candidates for student union positions with suspected links to extremist groups should be investigated by the NUS and student union officers prior to elections. Banning individuals found to breach NUS rules would not be compatible with student union requirements to uphold freedom of expression and democratic representation and would be unworkable for student unions which have not adopted the NUS 'No Platform' policy. Instead, universities should allow candidates to stand for election but publicise the results of the NUS investigation in advance of and during the voting process.
- Student unions and societies should take responsibility for challenging unlawful or extremist material on affiliated student social media. Potentially unlawful material should be reported to the Home Office Counter-Terrorism Internet Referral Unit. Student societies should take steps to ensure that their social media does not promote extremist material, including considering pre-moderating content.

INTRODUCTION

Islamism-inspired activism and extremism on UK university campuses receives increasing policy and media attention in the wake of the 7 July 2005 London bombings. Freedom of speech has special legal status at universities, and must be upheld for students, lecturers and any visiting speakers. However, universities also have a legal duty of care to students. The question of how to address extremism on campuses is highly emotive and characterised by competing rights and obligations.

This report demonstrates that Islamist ideology is promoted to students in three ways. It focuses on the role of external speakers invited to address students and occasions when student society social media is used to share violent or extremist material. It also profiles a small number of students and recent graduates across London who promote Islamist political activism and disseminate Islamist or Islamist-sympathetic material.

The report goes on to provide universities, student unions, relevant government departments and student societies with practical recommendations for challenging the types of extremism highlighted while preserving an open environment on campuses.

Based on analyses of convictions when Islamism-inspired speech and conduct has fallen outside of the law, the recommendations account for stakeholders' legal and regulatory duties. They consider the requirement under charity law that student unions must preserve their charitable reputation. They also emphasise collaboration, information-sharing and transparency when challenging extremism on British campuses.

BACKGROUND

Part I of this report examines Islamism-inspired activism on British campuses during the academic year 2011-12. It includes an overview of frequent external speakers and organisations; analysis of extremist material found on student Islamic societies' social media;¹ and a case study of student/recent graduate online activism promoting Hizb ut-Tahrir and the Muslim Public Affairs Committee UK, two groups currently subject to the National Union of Students 'No Platform' policy for their unacceptable views.²

Part II outlines the existing policy, legal and regulatory frameworks for British university campuses. It includes precedents of unlawful speech and material, based on analyses of relevant Islamism-inspired convictions where conduct falls outside of the freedom of expression protected by the law.

The report concludes with practical recommendations for challenging extremism for stakeholders, including government departments, universities, student unions and student societies.

ISLAMISM-INSPIRED ACTIVISM

Acknowledging there is no accepted definition of Islamism, we have used adherence to the following key tenets of Islamist thought:³

- The belief that Islam is a socio-political system which provides a template for governance, including support for Sharia as state law or for Islamic economic governance;
- Belief that the Ummah – a worldwide Muslim community – should unite as a political entity, and the formation of a transnational state known as the Khilafah, or Caliphate;
- Belief in a global 'war against Muslims' orchestrated by the West which seeks to deny the implementation of these aims.

Adherents range widely from “*entry level*”⁴ civil activists, for example the Muslim Brotherhood, to supporters of violent jihad and militancy espoused by Al-Qaeda. While cases of students supporting violent Islamism are isolated, this report aims to examine the support for Islamist principles more broadly, and does not suggest that such support is synonymous with support for violent extremism.

HISTORY OF STUDENT ACTIVISM

Increased participation in student activism on campuses in the late 1960s is partly due to widened access to higher education, a result of the 1963 Robbins Report recommendation to triple higher education places by 1980-81.⁵ Historian David Crook describes “*an expanded student body, itself the result of a social democratic movement that had overturned old orthodoxies about higher education, felt empowered to challenge injustices, both at home and overseas.*”⁶ Later, new universities, established under the

1. See Demos, #Intelligence, 2012 pp 37-40 for an analysis of the ethical dimension of utilising 'open source' social media intelligence for research purposes. No intrusive methods of information gathering were used; in instances where individuals utilised high privacy settings the data set is incomplete.

2. HM Government, Prevent Strategy, 2011, pg 74, available at www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/counter-terrorism/prevent/prevent-strategy/prevent-strategy-review?view=Binary

3. For a definition of Islamism similar to that used in this report, see R. Simcox, H. Stuart, H. Ahmed, *Islamist Terrorism: The British Connections*, Centre for Social Cohesion (1st edition), July 2010

4. *Islamist Terrorism: The British Connections*, 2010, pg xii, available at www.socialcohesion.co.uk/uploads/1278089320islamist_terrorism_preview.pdf

5. Robbins Committee on Higher Education, *The Robbins Report on Higher Education*, 1963, pg 277

6. D. Crook, 'The Cambridge Garden House Hotel Riot of 1970 and its Place in the History of British Student Protests', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, Vol. 38, No.1, 2006, pg 27

Further and Higher Education Acts of 1992, created alternatives to traditional 'Red Brick' or 'Plate Glass' institutions, enabling more people from lower socio-economic backgrounds to attend university.⁷

With its origins in the international protest movements, the 'New Left' focused on challenging perceived imperialism, racism and supporting oppressed peoples and liberal values. Throughout the late 1960s, a wide range of international issues were framed in the language of class struggle and oppression. The election of Jack Straw as President of the National Union of Students (NUS) in 1969 signalled reform of the NUS constitution, removing the prohibition on discussion of political issues at the annual conference and enabling the NUS to officially support existing student campaigns, most notably those against the Vietnam War.⁸ In 1968, when students across Europe took to the streets in large numbers, attempts were made to make the London School of Economics (LSE) a central hub of campus activism.⁹

Students were heavily involved in the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), under the leadership of the former NUS International Policy Group head Mike Terry.¹⁰ Early campaigns included the disruption of a Springboks rugby tour in 1969-70; the Marylebone Cricket Club's decision to call off a South African cricket tour in 1970; and a campaign against banks providing services to the South African government, described as *"largely the product of a strong working relationship which developed between the AAM and the National Union of Students in the early 1970s"*.¹¹ In 1984, the AAM mobilised students across the country to join a 50,000-strong protest against the visit of the Prime Minister of South Africa.¹²

Early student activism coincided with increased access to foreign news, opinion and activism. Students in the UK, for example, watched US students protesting against the Vietnam War, and saw French students challenging the De Gaulle government almost as it happened.¹³ In recent years the internet, social networking and wireless communications have enabled rapid, portable information sharing. The direct action seen during the tuition fees demonstrations in 2010 was coordinated through social networks, enabling small groups to organise 'occupations' and split off from marches. Digital film and mobile devices give student activists the ability to post footage online in real time, gaining media attention and galvanising others to join their cause.

On domestic issues, student protest has tended to focus primarily on university budget cuts. Examples include: Keele University student union announcing a satirical Unilateral Declaration of Independence from the UK in 1980;¹⁴ 5000 students petitioning against Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's honorary degree from Oxford University in 1985;¹⁵ and several thousand students marching on Parliament in November 1984.¹⁶ Contemporary protest also focuses on funding, with up to 50,000 people estimated to have attended anti-tuition fee rise marches in 2010.¹⁷

International issues, however, remain significant among students: the protests against the invasion of Iraq in 2003 saw up to a million people protest on 16 February 2003.¹⁸ Many of these participants were students, and the 'Stop the War Coalition' runs affiliated student groups at universities across the country. Perhaps the most frequent subject of modern protest and direct action,¹⁹ however, comes from student activism concerning the Middle East conflict.

7. "In 2009-10, more than a third (37 per cent) of students at modern universities came from the lower socio-economic classification 4-7 compared to 22 per cent at Russell Group universities", Figures from Million +, available at <http://www.millionplus.ac.uk/newsandviews/10-ways-in-which-modern-universities-have-changed-lives-20-years-since-modern-universities-gained-the-university-title-;> 'Red Brick' refers to a group of universities which gained their status during the late 19th and early 20th Century and includes the Universities of Birmingham, Liverpool and Leeds. 'Plate Glass' refers to universities founded during the 1960s, the majority after the publication of the Robbins Report and includes Sussex, Kent, East Anglia, Warwick and York.

8. National Union of Students, 'A Brief History of the NUS', available at <http://www.nusconnect.org.uk/news/article/nus/A-Brief-History-of-NUS/>

9. 'Revolutionary call brings little response at LSE', Guardian, 25 May 1968; R. Fraser, 1968: A Student Generation in Revolt, Pantheon 1988

10. 'Obituary: Mike Terry', Guardian, 8 December 2008

11. N. John, 'The Campaign against British Bank Involvement in Apartheid South Africa', African Affairs, Vol. 99, 2000, pg 418

12. 'Obituary: Mike Terry', Guardian, 8 December 2008

13. See front page of Black Dwarf Magazine, Vol. 13, No. 1 for the effect this had on radical students

14. The declaration highlights the opposition to "all measures which restrict access to education or undermine its quality", which can be found at <http://www.keele.ac.uk/alumni/thekeeleorallhistoryproject/declarationofindependence/>

15. 'Thatcher snubbed by Oxford dons', BBC, 29 January 1985 available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/low/dates/stories/january/29/newsid_2506000/2506019.stm

16. 'Students in Parliament Siege', Glasgow Herald, 29 November 1984

17. 'Violence at Tory HQ overshadows student fees protest', BBC, 10 November 2010

18. 'Million march against Iraq war', BBC, 16 February 2003

19. Defined by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary as "action that seeks to achieve an end directly and by the most immediately effective means (as boycott or strike)"

The cause of self-determination for Palestinians is widely supported by students, with a proliferation of Palestinian societies on campuses and related activism occurring particularly during the Second Intifada in 2000, the Israeli-Lebanese War in 2006 and Operation Cast Lead in 2008-9.²⁰ Methods of activism include: creating forums for discussions; student union motions affirming the Palestinian right to self-determination; twinning the university with institutions in the Occupied Palestinian Territories;²¹ and boycotting Israeli companies and universities.²²

The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Campaign, an international coalition of activists, frequently run student campaigns against companies that work in Israel – for example, London students are currently focusing on Veolia (a waste disposal firm which operates in the West Bank), a campaign supported by the NUS.²³ Most recently students at King's College London (KCL) protested against research collaboration between their university and Ahava Dead Sea Laboratories, a company located in an Israeli settlement in the West Bank.²⁴

Pro-Palestinian activism is heavily supported by external speakers. On some occasions, speakers who have justified paramilitary violence against civilians in the Israel-Palestine conflict are given unchallenged platforms.²⁵ Some speakers have caused tensions between groups of students. When Abdel Bari Atwan spoke at the LSE, Jewish students in attendance were referred to as 'Nazis' by a fellow student.²⁶ In other cases, mock checkpoints have been set up by protestors featuring students dressed as Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) soldiers while volunteers playing Palestinians are mock blindfolded, beaten and shot. In one case, Talya Lador-Fresher, the Deputy Ambassador of Israel, was intimidated (and her car attacked) at Manchester University in April 2010.²⁷ However, Palestinian societies have also condemned the inflammatory nature of external speakers' remarks: after activist Ken O'Keefe compared Israel to Nazi Germany and said it was responsible for the 9/11 attacks at a Free Palestine Society event at Middlesex University,²⁸ six pro-Palestine societies publicly condemned anti-Semitic speakers as "*tainting campus Palestine activism*".²⁹

The role of pro-Israel groups in campus activism is a relatively recent development. Generally, pro-Israel activists constitute a far smaller presence on campus than pro-Palestinian activists and mostly offer reactive protest, but do also organise smaller scale protests and occasional direct action. There have been clashes between pro and anti-Israel demonstrators, including an incident at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in March 2011 when physical confrontations broke out between protestors, and in February 2012, when a water-bomb attack on a mock IDF checkpoint at the LSE led to a fight between members of the Palestine Society and the Israel Society.³⁰

Other causes have been popular among students. For example, environmental groups like Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace campaigned against a range of ecological issues including whaling and nuclear power during the late 1970s,³¹ and ecological groups still continue to encourage student participation, particularly on energy and climate change issues.³² In Northern Ireland the Catholic Civil Rights movement attracted a large portion of student activists.

Attempts by far-right activists to engage students have for the most part been unsuccessful. Student activism has focused on opposing far-right ideology: for example, the NUS 'No Platform' policy was designed to prohibit engagement with individuals from organisations declared as fascist, including the

20. 'Storm of Student Protest over Gaza gathers force', Guardian, 23 January 2009

21. Palestine Solidarity Campaign, 'LSE Students Union twins with Islamic University of Gaza', available at http://palestinecampaign.org/index7b.asp?m_id=1&l_id=4&l2_id=24&Content_ID=1000

22. BDS Movement Press Release, 'Largest Student Union in Europe joins boycott of Israel', 18 May 2011

23. National Union of Students, 'Global Justice: Eden Springs and Veolia', 10 January 2012

24. King's College, London Student Union, 'KCLSU condemns King's involvement in a research project with Ahava', 8 December 2011

25. See Student Rights, 'Unchallenged at Loughborough: Suicide bombing defender', 16 November 2011 for Dr Tamimi; 'Extremist speakers in conference at Cardiff University', 16 March 2012 for Daud Abdullah; and "Nazis", accusations against students and one very egregious man: The state of affairs at the London School of Economics', 8 December 2010 for Abdel Bari Atwan.

26. Student Rights, 'Abdel Bari Atwan video at the London School of Economics', 22 December 2010

27. Student Rights, 'Deputy Israeli Ambassador attacked after Manchester University speech', 29 April 2010

28. Student Rights, 'Dangerous, delusional speakers descend onto London Campus', 29 February 2012

29. Student Rights, 'Student Societies reject Ken O'Keefe's twisted views', 15 March 2012

30. Student Rights, 'Students clash over Israeli Apartheid Week event', 21 February 2012

31. Greenpeace have campaigned actively against weapons testing, whaling and waste dumping and claims multiple successes on its website whilst FOE has campaigned on recycling, anti GM foods and climate change issues.

32. See Young Friends of the Earth, 'Activists Handbook', which includes advice on how to organise a protest and a list of "198 methods of non-violent action"

British National Party (BNP), Combat 18, and the National Front.³³ Recently, increased activism by the far-right street-movement the English Defence League (EDL) has provoked student protest.³⁴ Student activism by the BNP and EDL appears minimal,³⁵ and far-right speakers are almost never featured as speakers at student events.

33. See motions passed by University of East Anglia, Buckinghamshire University as examples.

34. For example, in response to an EDL march planned in Leicester in February 2012, Unite Against Fascism (UAF) student organisers used Facebook to organise a counter-protest.

35. One recent study of EDL membership, however, estimated that 20 per cent of current members are students. J. Barlett, M. Littler, *Inside the EDL: Populist politics in a digital age*, 8 October 2011, pg 18

PART I

ISLAMISM-INSPIRED ACTIVISM

There is evidence of Islamism-inspired activism on British campuses during the academic year 2011-12. Extremist speakers continue to address students on UK campuses, despite government expressions of concern. External individuals also target universities by sharing violent/extremist material on student social media. In some cases, students themselves have shared videos of a senior al-Qaeda cleric, Anwar al-Awlaki. The extremist group Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT), identified by the government as deliberately targeting British universities, continues to be active on campuses and remains influential among some students.

This section includes an overview of external speakers, extremist material and online activism relevant to current students:

- **External speakers** on university campuses, promoted by individual Islamic societies or by the Federation of Student Islamic Societies (see overleaf);
- **Extremist material** on student Islamic societies' social media pages including external individuals promoting violent extremist material on student Islamic societies' social media pages and extreme material shared directly by Islamic societies;
- **Online student/recent graduate activism** promoting HT and the Muslim Public Affairs Committee UK (MPACUK), two groups currently subject to the National Union of Students 'No Platform' policy.

EXTERNAL SPEAKERS

Islamic Societies offer a range of activities for Muslim students with many joining *"as a means of connecting with and deepening their faith"*, as well as to *"socialize and/or get involved in political and charity events"*³⁶. The character of individual Islamic societies is subject to change in a relatively short space of time, as new student leaders emerge and older members graduate or leave. As such, the activities of any given Islamic society are not indicative of the opinions of all members, other Islamic societies or of all Muslim students. Furthermore, the make-up and political identities of individual societies varies, with a vast many emphasising religious and charitable work, and others more politically active. As the largest Muslim student society umbrella group in the UK, FOSIS provides guidance to individual student Islamic societies, including leadership and media training, coordination of charitable events, as well as promoting a variety of external speakers. In some cases, there is evidence of overt politicisation: external speakers have promoted ideas of a Western war against Islam, support for paramilitary violence in Israel, intolerance of non-believers and obligate Islam as a political system for law and governance.

36. M. Song, 'Part of the British mainstream? British Muslim students and Islamic Student Associations', *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2012, pg 147

THE FEDERATION OF STUDENT ISLAMIC SOCIETIES

FOSIS was founded in 1963 to represent Muslim students. While FOSIS is a diverse organisation which is not Islamist in its aims, some of its campaigning is supportive of prominent international Islamists or of Islamist groups. For example, FOSIS condemned the Irish and UK governments' decisions to deny entry to the spiritual head of the Muslim Brotherhood, Yusuf Qaradawi and the cleric Raed Salah. FOSIS has spoken out on behalf of convicted Al-Qaeda facilitator Dr Aafia Siddique.³⁷ FOSIS also released a press release in 2004 condemning the NUS decision to apply its 'No Platform' policy to HT, Al-Muhajiroun and MPACUK.³⁸ The group has since expressed their wish to see the NUS 'No Platform' policy on HT rescinded on several occasions, including at the NUS conference in 2006.³⁹ While some student opposition to the 'No Platform' policy is based on a defence of free speech or a desire to debate offensive ideas openly, FOSIS did not advocate rescinding the policy uniformly.

'War on Muslims'

The belief in a war against Muslims waged by the West is promoted by some speakers. This is a recurring idea among many of the most active students promoting Islamist material via social media.

- **Abu Salahudeen** addressed Aston University in February and March 2012. Videos of his speeches show him stating that 'the West' is a terrorist entity determined to oppress the 'Muslim world'.
- In a June 2011 video he said: *"As long as the west continues to use military power to suppress, oppress, torture, rape, murder, genocide, ethnocide Muslims off the face of the planet Earth, we must stand up and defend ourselves. I'm not telling you brothers to do it here in England, you have to do what your conscience and your Imaan feels is best for you. I can't tell you what to do, but I'll tell you this much. As long as the West continues to define the torture in a bloody manner, then maybe we have to go down a bloody route" [...]* *"in all capital crimes you execute the criminal. It's not for me to tell you how to undertake it, or even to undertake it, but I am merely giving you the verdict"*.⁴⁰

Apologists for Hamas terrorism

Speakers who sympathise with – and in some cases support – terrorist organisation Hamas' use of terrorism against Israel are not uncommon on UK campuses:

- **Dr Azzam Tamimi**, a self-professed Islamist and Hamas supporter, who frequently denies the legitimacy of Israel, approved suicide bombing and has been filmed declaring his support for *"the great jihad of Hezbollah"* and *"the great jihad of Hamas and Islamic Jihad"*.⁴¹
- Tamimi addressed students at Loughborough University in November 2011, Queen Mary University in February 2012 and Kingston University and Cardiff Universities in March 2012. At Queen Mary he said: *"I have a great honour to be close to Hamas"* and that *"all the leaders of Hamas are my friends"*.⁴²
- **Dr Daud Abdullah** is the head of the Middle East Monitor Organisation (MEMO) which seeks to *"bring the Islamic perspective to the discourse [of the Middle East conflict]"* and a senior figure in the MCB.⁴³

37. FOSIS, 'FOSIS disappointed at Irish government's refusal to let in Yusuf Qaradawi', 10 August 2011, available at <http://media.fosis.org.uk/press-releases/1408-fosis-disappointed-at-irish-governments-refusal-to-let-in-yusuf-qaradawi> (Accessed 06/05/2012); FOSIS, 'Muslim students call for the immediate release of Sheikh Raed Salah', 10 July 2011, available at <http://media.fosis.org.uk/press-releases/1400-muslim-students-call-for-the-immediate-release-of-sheikh-raed-salah> (Accessed 06/05/2012); FOSIS, 'Muslim students voice concern at Dr Aafia Siddiquis condition', 30 January 2012, available at <http://media.fosis.org.uk/press-releases/1422-muslim-students-voice-concern-at-dr-aafia-siddiquis-condition> (Accessed 06/05/2012)

38. FOSIS, 'FOSIS condemns motion to ban Islamic groups', 30 March 2004, available at <http://media.fosis.org.uk/press-releases/244-fosis-condemns-motion-to-ban-islamic-groups> (Accessed 06/05/2012)

39. See 'Adding their voice to the debate', Guardian, 4 April 2006; and FOSIS, 'FOSIS Expresses Disappointment at Middlesex University's actions', 27 September 2005, available at <http://media.fosis.org.uk/press-releases/221-fosis-expresses-disappointment-at-middlesex-universitys-action> (Accessed 06/05/2012)

40. Abu Salahudeen, 'Islam under Siege: The War on Terror or Islam', YouTube video available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kvAXZuAboz8>

41. See A. Tamimi, 'Advice to Islamist Politicians on Palestine/Israel', 28 January 2012, available at <http://azzamtamimi.blogspot.co.uk/2012/01/advice-to-islamist-politicians-on.html> (Accessed 06/05/2012); Tamimi: "Israel has no right to exist," BBC Hardtalk interview, 2004; BBC Hardtalk interview, 2004; 'Dr Azzam Tamimi declares support for terrorism', YouTube video available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zh6q02J6dJk> (Accessed 06/05/2012)

42. Student Rights, 'Dr Azzam Tamimi at Queen Mary University: Report', 1 March 2012

43. MEMO, 'About us', available at <http://www.middleeastmonitor.org.uk/about-us> (Accessed 06/05/2012)

In 2009 he was signatory to the Istanbul statement, which in relation to the Royal Navy monitoring weapons smuggling into Gaza said it is *“the obligation of the Islamic Nation to regard the sending of foreign warships into Muslim waters...as a declaration of war, a new occupation, sinful aggression, and a clear violation of the sovereignty of the Nation”*.⁴⁴

- Abdullah spoke at Cardiff University in February 2012 and was invited there alongside Tamimi in March 2012.
- **Zahir Mahmood**, who has been recorded saying *“Hamas are not terrorists,”* is a frequent speaker.⁴⁵ He addressed students at Aston and Sunderland Universities in October 2011, Queen Mary University in January 2012, the University of Sheffield in February 2012 and Greenwich, Bradford and Aston Universities in March 2012. His videos are frequently shared on Islamic society Facebook pages: twelve societies or individuals using their pages shared his work between November 2011 and April 2012.⁴⁶ He was also promoted by FOSIS speaking alongside Haitham al-Haddad (see page 18) at the East London Mosque in December 2012.

West v. Islam

Some speakers argue that Western governments want to ‘re-package’ Islam or de-politicise it:

- **Uthman Lateef (aka Abu Mujahid)** speaks of *“kuffar”* (widely considered a derogatory term for non-believers), objects to homosexuality and argues against secularism. Advocating a return to what he considers *“the Islam of Mohammed”*, he warns of a *“redefined, repackaged”* Islam: *“The so called Islam that speaks of the abolition of Sharia, like we don’t need Sharia anymore. The so called Islam that speaks about the fact that sovereignty does not belong to Allah”*.⁴⁷
- A frequent speaker, Lateef addressed students at the University of Westminster on the topic of ‘One Body, One Ummah’ as recently as 29 March 2012. Videos of Lateef, quotes by him or advertisements for his talks are also widely shared on Islamic society Facebook pages: five societies or individuals using their Facebook pages, as well as FOSIS shared his work between February 2012 and April 2012.⁴⁸

Similar views have been exhibited on some Islamic society Facebook pages. For example, in November 2011, **London South Bank Islamic Society** Facebook account posted: *“Muslims in a kuffar society...they lure us in, giving us a false sense of security...then our curiosity gets the better of us and we get to close. By that time their way of life has already pounced on us and we are powerless against it...conforming to their every move”*.⁴⁹

Other speakers advocate the incompatibility of Western culture and Islam and are hostile towards non-Muslims.

- **Abu Usamah at-Thahabi** has been recorded saying *“we ask Allah to bring about the means and the ways in which the Muslims will get the power and the honour of repelling the oppression of the kuffar, where we can go out and perform the jihad”*.⁵⁰ At-Thahabi spoke at the King’s College London Islamic Society end of term dinner in March 2012. His event at Warwick Islamic Society in January 2012, however, was cancelled after the society was informed of his views.
- **Murtaza Khan** has referred to Jews and Christians as *“enemies towards us”*, called non-Muslims *“filthy”*,

44. A copy of this declaration (‘A statement by the religious scholars and proselytisers (du’a) of the Islamic Nation (ummah) to all rulers and peoples concerning events in Gaza’) is archived by Student Rights. In March 2009, the government temporarily suspended their links with the MCB, after the Abdullah signed the Istanbul statement. See H. Blears, ‘Our shunning of the MCB is not grandstanding’, *Guardian*, 25 March 2009

45. ‘Hamas are not terrorist – Zahir Mahmood’, YouTube video available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ID05X-1iwaM>

46. Videos of Mahmood were shared twice at London South Bank University (LSBU) in November 2011, De Montfort University in December 2011, SOAS in January 2012, Loughborough University in January and March 2012, Sheffield Hallam University in February 2012, Lancaster University in February 2012, Nottingham Trent University in February 2012, University of Central Lancashire in March 2012, Westminster University in April 2012, City University in April 2012 and twice by the University of West London in April 2012. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

47. Centre for Social Cohesion, *Radical Islam on UK Campuses*, 2010, pg 11

48. Material was shared on the Facebook pages of Islamic Societies at Nottingham University in February 2012, Nottingham Trent University in March 2012, the University of East London in April 2012, Bradford University in April and Kingston University in February and April 2012, and was quoted by FOSIS in March 2012. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

49. Screenshots archived by Student Rights

50. Centre for Social Cohesion, *Radical Islam on UK Campuses*, 2010, pg 7

endorsed brutal punishments for adultery and fornication, and attacked democratic principles.⁵¹

- Khan has been invited onto campuses four times since January 2012;⁵² two student Islamic societies have shared videos of his lectures (University of West London and London Metropolitan University Facebook administrators); and advertised in up-coming speaking events.⁵³ Individuals also use society Facebook pages to advertise off campus events, for example when Khan's lecture at London Metropolitan University was moved off campus following pressure from campaigners.

Islamic governance and law

Two external organisations work pro-actively to engage with and address students, and both advocate the belief that Islam provides the preferred template for socio-political governance, including religious law as state law.

THE MUSLIM RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

The Muslim Research and Development Foundation (MRDF), registered as a UK charity in 2007, is influential in promoting Islamist ideas to students. The promotion of Islam as a socio-political template is a key Islamist tenet exhibited by MRDF, which describes itself as a research organisation "*devoted to the articulation of classical Islamic principles in a manner that provides a platform for Islam to be the cure for all of humanities ills*".⁵⁴ The group runs a weekend retreat programme for students called Sabeel,⁵⁵ and an online magazine Islam21C.com. The magazine advocates adherence to Sharia: "*Islam is a comprehensive world view incorporating a way of life...and an extensive and divine system of law*,"⁵⁶ and in 2010 ran a piece by former HT member Hamza Tzortzis which called for an 'Islamic Social Model', which "*...cannot be established successfully without a fully functioning Islamic government, also known as the Khilafah*".⁵⁷

The role that this organisation plays in promoting Islamist ideas to students is threefold:

- Founder and director Haitham al-Haddad (who has frequently been filmed rhetorically supporting Hamas) is a regular speaker.⁵⁸ Al-Haddad has been advertised to students by societies on 15 occasions since October 2011, with two of the events later being cancelled by the university authorities due to his extreme views;⁵⁹
- Al-Haddad often chairs larger Sabeel events on campuses. (Universities are less likely to cancel events booked by large external organisations).⁶⁰ Sabeel events frequently take place on campuses and are promoted to students. The most recent event, the King of Kings Retreat at Leicester University in April 2012, featured Haitham al-Haddad and speakers from Islamic Education and Research Academy (see page 19);⁶¹

51. In 2007 Khan was recorded by a Channel 4 undercover reporter asking "...for how long to we have to see our mothers, sisters and daughters having to uncover themselves before these filthy non-Muslim doctors?" [...] "We have become Jews in our clothing, Jews in our eating, Jews in everything that we do, and the other half is Christian in everything we do. Muslims are following one of these accursed nations. And people are still not waking up to understand the fact that these people are enemies towards us". See Centre for Social Cohesion, *Radical Islam on UK Campuses*, 2010, pg 10; see also 'The Khilafah – We are Simple Muslims', YouTube video available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Edk-NT1SGq8&feature=player_embedded

52. At London South Bank University, Hertfordshire University, UCL School of Pharmacy and London Metropolitan University

53. Screenshot archived by Student Rights

54. MRDF, 'About MRDF', available at <http://www.mrdf.co.uk/content/view/23/73/> (Accessed 06/05/2012)

55. Sabeel, 'Why Sabeel', available at http://www.sabeel.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=93&Itemid=53 (Accessed 06/05/2012)

56. <http://www.islam21c.com/about-i21c>

57. H Tzortzis, 'Is Islamic Society Barbaric', 13 April 2010, available at <http://www.islam21c.com/islamic-thought/186-is-islamic-society-barbaric>

58. See 'Truth Exposed – Victory for Hamas', uploaded by MRDF onto YouTube, available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vtvffTtx_dE; and 'Hamas and the West: A Call for Justice', uploaded by Islam21c, available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9EESFO5MIIIE>

59. This included Queen Mary University in November 2011, City University, London Metropolitan University and the University of East London in December 2011, Roehampton University in February 2011 and Kingston University in March 2012. He was disinited by the London School of Economics in February 2012 and London Metropolitan University in March 2012.

60. See response from Leicester University which stated its "need to clarify that this conference is not a University conference but a private booking that makes commercial use of the University's conference facilities. Accepting a booking does not imply any endorsement of the event by the University" as well as the response from Exeter College, Oxford when they were criticised for allowing the homophobic Christian Concern to use their facilities for a conference in March 2012 which said that "the conference business of Exeter College, like many other colleges, has been handled by the Steward's Office, and like in several other colleges it is not established practice to filter organizations based on their ideological views".

61. Facebook event page available at <https://www.facebook.com/events/216847585065346/> (Accessed 04/05/2012)

- MRDF disseminates Islam21C.com articles as well as those written by Al-Haddad to students via Twitter and Facebook. Videos of Al-Haddad's lectures were shared online by five Islamic societies between January and March 2012.⁶²

THE ISLAMIC EDUCATION AND RESEARCH ACADEMY AND THE HITIN INSTITUTE

The Islamic Education and Research Academy (IERA), registered as a UK charity in 2010,⁶³ is a popular external group: speakers have addressed students on campuses on at least 64 occasions since October 2011.⁶⁴ Some IERA events are part of the organisation's Da'wah [preaching] programmes, which do not appear to be influenced by Islamism. However, the group's shared personnel with the Hittin Institute (HI) – accounting for over 75 per cent of said speaker events – warrants its inclusion. On four occasions the director of the HI Uthman Lateef was invited to speak to students.⁶⁵

IERA lecturers Hamza Tzortzis and Adnan Rashid, who both work for as researchers for HI, account for a further 49 of the 64 speaker events. HI promotes Islam as a holistic socio-political religious framework for governance: the 'about us' section of its website states it *"regards grossly erroneous any allusion to Islam's separating of politics with belief"*.⁶⁶ One HI report written by Tzortzis states that *"the Islamic Social Model cannot be established successfully without a fully functioning Islamic Government, also known as the Khilafah"*.⁶⁷ Following allegations of HT activism in 2009, Tzortzis stated he had left the organisation, but acknowledged that *"the work I engage in may seem similar to the work of Hizb ut Tahrir due to its intellectual nature"*.⁶⁸

Another HI publication, written by Rashid, argues for *"the return of the Islamic system [as] the only long-term and durable solution for Palestine"*, advocating a *"One State Solution based upon the Islamic model supported by Shari'ah"*.⁶⁹ There is a crossover of Islamist ideas as well as personnel between IERA and HI: another publication written by Rashid, this time published by IERA, offers the *"Islamic political system"* where *"Secularism and Capitalism have miserably failed"*.⁷⁰

IERA were accused of links to extremism in 2010 by the *Daily Telegraph*,⁷¹ which highlighted that their board of advisers included Dr Zakir Naik and Bilal Phillips, both of whom have been barred from entering the UK.⁷² Advisers are no longer acknowledged publicly on the IERA website. Furthermore, an IERA fundraiser and activist Yusuf Bonner shared six links to Anwar al-Awlaki videos on his social media profiles between 28 October and 18 November 2011.⁷³

62. This includes: Brunel University in December 2011, London South Bank University in January 2012, City University in January and March 2012, Kingston University in February 2012 and Leicester University in March 2012. Screen shots of this activity is archived by Student Rights

63. Charity Commission register entry for IERA available at <http://www.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=1134566&SubsidiaryNumber=0> (Accessed 06/05/2012)

64. Events archived by Student Rights

65. One event was cancelled by London Metropolitan University after the issue was raised by campaigners.

66. Hittin Institute, 'About Us', available at <http://web.archive.org/web/20090202063701/http://hittininstitute.com/AboutUs.aspx> (Accessed 06/05/2012)

67. H. Tzortzis, 'Liberalism and its Effect on Society', Hittin Institute, 2010, pg 34

68. H. Ahmed & H. Stuart, Hizb ut-Tahrir: Ideology and Strategy, Centre for Social Cohesion, November 2009; H. Tzortzis, 'Statement of Clarification', 2009, available at www.hamzatortzis.com/StatementofClarificationDec09.pdf

69. A. Rashid, One State Solution: A Jewish Dream, Hittin Institute 2009

70. A. Rashid, Islam's War on Terror: A Historical Consideration, IERA, March 2012, pg 55

71. 'The Guardian falls for an extremist lie', *Daily Telegraph*, 3 August 2010

72. See 'Indian preacher Zakir Naik is banned from the UK', BBC, 18 June 2010; and B. Phillips, 'Dr Bilal Phillips Banned from the UK', 22 June 2010, available at <http://blog.bilalphilips.com/2010/06/22/dr-bilal-philips-banned-from-the-uk/>

73. These included sharing links on his Facebook profile to videos entitled 'The Righteous Muslims', 'The Muslim Army and its Soldiers' and a playlist of entitled 'Life of Muhammad'. He also shared two tweets sharing 'The Hereafter Series' and 'Introduction to Umar Ibn Khattaab'. Screenshots of activity archived by Student Rights.

EXTREMIST MATERIAL

There is evidence of the promotion of violent extremist material on one student Islamic society Facebook page by an external user. Earlier this year, the University of Westminster Islamic Society Facebook page was targeted by an individual, who on three occasions shared violent extremist material that may constitute a terrorist publication under Section 2 of the Terrorism Act 2006 and features an individual designated as a 'Specially Designated Global Terrorist' by the United States government. The Facebook account sharing the material is called 'Names of Aweys,' possibly a reference to Hassan Dahir Aweys, a senior figure in the Somali terrorist group Al-Shabaab, and claims to be based in Mogadishu, Somalia.

1. VIDEO: 'WHAT IS THE LEAST WE CAN DO FOR THE MUJAHIDEEN', VOICEOVER BY ABDUL RAHMAN SALEEM

On 5 April 2012, 'Names of Aweys' posted a video featuring audio by Abdul Rahman Saleem over a slide show of images of insurgent fighters. Saleem was convicted in February 2007 of inciting racial hatred during the Danish Embassy cartoon protests; and in April 2008 of inciting terrorism overseas during speeches he made both in and outside Regent's Park Mosque in November 2004, in which he incited others to kill British and American soldiers in Iraq. A former spokesperson for al-Muhajiroun, Saleem has admitted to undergoing military training in Afghanistan and Pakistan in the 1990s, and recruiting Britons to be trained for jihad abroad.⁷⁴

A recording of some of the Regent's Park Mosque speeches, made at the time of battle between Iraqi insurgents and coalition forces over the city of Fallujah in Iraq, formed the basis of Saleem's conviction. The audio file shared on Islamic society Facebook page also references Fallujah and is similar in content to reported speech of the three men convicted alongside Saleem (see page 66 for more details of this unlawful speech). It is possible, therefore, that the recording posted by 'Names of Aweys' is the recording of the Regent's Park mosque speeches. In the Facebook video Saleem tells his audience to:

"Ask Allah to remove those Kuffar from our lands, ask Allah to let their blood run on the streets of Fallujah, let their blood run in the mountains of Afghanistan, let the Mujahideen kill them and destroy them one after the other".

"[Pray that the wives of Coalition soldiers] become widows, like our women become widows" and "...their children become orphans, like our children become orphans".

*"There is nobody like them today, the Mujahideen. When we speak about them, when we hear about them, we walk with our heads up high [...] we should make dua [pray] for them, that's the least that we can do, for those who can't go and fight. And know that if you don't go and fight you're not going to be following the shahada [martyrs]."*⁷⁵

The video has since been 'liked' by five individuals and has also been commented on by one student, who wrote *"may Allah honour us by meeting them Inshallah"*. (See appendix A for a transcript of this video).

2. VIDEO: 'GERMAN MUJAHID ABU IBRAHIM IN AFGHANISTAN'

On 8 March 2012, 'Names of Aweys' posted a video called 'German Mujahid Abu Ibrahim in Afghanistan'. The video is a speech to camera by Abu Ibrahim, aka Yassin Chouka, a German-Moroccan designated as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist by the United States government in January 2012. The US State Department describes Abu Ibrahim and his brother Abu Adam, aka Monir Chouka, as *"fighters, recruiters, facilitators and propagandists for the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), a designated Foreign Terrorist Organization [and] senior members of Jundallah Media, the IMU's media production arm."*⁷⁶ The brothers are also listed by the United Nations Security Council Committee (1267/1989) as al-Qaeda

74. Islamism Terrorism: The British Connections, 2010, pg xxviii & 95

75. All quotes from YouTube, 'What is the least we can do for the Mujahideen', available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZzXdXTbBS0> (Accessed 06/05/2012)

76. The Designation of Yassin Chouka, also Known as Yasin Chouka, also Known as Abu Ibrahim, also Known as Abu Ibraheem the German, also known as Abu Ibrahim al Almani, as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist pursuant to Section 1(b) of Executive Order 13224, as Amended, State Department notice, 2 February 2012, available at <https://federalregister.gov/a/2012-2348>

associated individuals.⁷⁷ The video also shows fighters posing with heavy machine guns and assault rifles before the viewer is asked to “make du’a [pray] for the Mujahideen”. ‘Names of Aweys’ then comments on his own video post: “Beautiful reminder/advice”.

3. VIDEO: ‘IS THE UMMAH LIVING IN THE NEW GOLD RUSH,’ VOICEOVER BY ANWAR AL-AWLAKI

On 29 March 2012 ‘Names of Aweys’ posted a video ‘Is the Ummah living in the new Gold Rush’ featuring audio by Anwar al-Awlaki. Awlaki was the spiritual leader of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) until he was killed in a US drone strike in Yemen in September 2011. Overlaying images of Mujahideen fighters and their leaders, including the “Godfather of Jihad” Abdullah Azzam⁷⁸ and Chechen militia leader Shamil Baseyev, Awlaki states:

“We just need to realise it, realise how much ajira [life after death] is out there waiting for us if we just go and do something [...] you can’t even imagine how much ajira is out there to be handed out...we don’t want to be waiting on the sidelines when all this is happening. People are going and making millions and you’re sitting at home doing nothing.”

The video has since been ‘liked’⁷⁹ by two individuals. Another individual, a user whose profile is no longer active but is likely not a student, shared a tribute video of Awlaki on the Westminster University Islamic Society Facebook page on 14 April 2012. In response, one member of the Islamic Society Facebook group said: “very inspirational brother...may Allah grant him jannatul firdous [highest level of paradise]. I recommend everyone to watch his talk the battle of hearts and minds”.

In the lecture ‘Battle of Hearts and Minds’ Awlaki states: “a moderate Muslim to them [the West], is in reality a non-Muslim!” and that “the fundamentalists and extremists, whom they [the West] despise, are not only going to win in Afghanistan and Iraq, but they will continue their march, until they drag your people, the Jews, out of the Holy Land and plant their black banners on the roof tops of Jerusalem”.⁸⁰

FACT BOX

ANWAR AL-AWLAKI AND STUDENTS IN THE UK

In June 2003, Awlaki was the advertised speaker at a series of events organised by the Muslim Association of Britain, held in conjunction with colleges within the University of London, including the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), Imperial College, King’s College London (KCL) and the London School of Economics. That year he was also a ‘distinguished’ guest at the FOSIS annual conference. He was further scheduled to address students via video-link: the Westminster University Islamic Society 2006 annual dinner was scheduled to include a video link with Awlaki; and the City University Islamic Society’s 2009 annual dinner was due to feature a video message from Awlaki, but was cancelled after campaigners protested his appearance.⁸¹

Awlaki was linked to two terrorist incidents involving students or recent graduates from British universities: he facilitated former University College London (UCL) student Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab’s attempt to bomb Detroit-bound Northwest Airlines Flight 253 on Christmas Day 2009;⁸² and inspired KCL student Roshonara Choudhry’s attempted assassination of a British MP in May 2010. The potential impact of Awlaki’s lectures is evident in Choudhry’s case: in police interviews she admitted listening to all of Awlaki’s videos; one analyst concluded she “...was clearly driven by belief in the ideology offered by Al Qaeda and its theoretician Anwar al-Awlaki”.⁸³

77. United Nations Security Council, Security Council Committee pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011) concerning Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, available at <http://www.un.org/sc/committees/1267/>

78. C. Suellentrop, ‘The godfather of jihad’, Slate, 16 April 2002, available at www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/assessment/2002/04/abdullah_azzam.html

79. A Facebook feature which allows users to respond to a post in a positive way

80. ‘Imam Anwar al-Awlaki battle of hearts and minds’, YouTube, available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k1R9ETzNiro> (Accessed 06/05/2012)

81. A. Meleagrou-Hitchens, ‘Anwar al-Awlaki: The UK Connection’, Centre for Social Cohesion, November 2009, available at www.socialcohesion.co.uk/files/1289579667_1.pdf

82. See United States District Court Eastern District of Michigan, Government’s Sentencing Memorandum, and S. Perry, ‘The Level of Danger Posed by Umar Farouk Abdul Mutallab’, United States Department of Justice, January 2012, for a full clarification of the relationship

83. R. Pantucci, ‘A Typology of Lone Wolves: Preliminary Analysis of Lone Islamist Terrorists’, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, 2011, pg 19

Lectures by Awlaki were recently shared on official student Islamic society social media:

- The London South Bank University Islamic Society shared video and audio of Awlaki on nine separate occasions on their Facebook page between 13 November 2011 and 10 January 2012.⁸⁴ While the recordings shared focused on Islamic history, students are being introduced to him as a scholar: in one case a video was shared with the message “*so many lessons*”, bolstering Awlaki’s status as a teacher;⁸⁵ in another case the Islamic Society shared links to more Awlaki material on request from an individual student.⁸⁶
- On 7 February 2012, a video of Awlaki was also shared with students by an administrator of the Sheffield Hallam University Islamic Society Facebook page. One student posted “*may Allah grant him jannah [paradise]*” in response. The video shared on Facebook was originally posted on YouTube by a user called ‘nevertrustthekuffar’, and when posted on the Islamic society Facebook page included a link to a Veoh.com channel which contains videos of coalition soldiers purportedly being shot by insurgents in Iraq.⁸⁷

84. R. Kassam & R. Sutton, ‘Online Radicalisation: A Case Study’, Student Rights, January 2012

85. Facebook page <https://www.facebook.com/lsbuisoc?sk=wall> (accessed 13/01/2012)

86. The Islamic Society shared parts one and three of a lecture after a student posted “direct me to part 1 please”, see Facebook page <https://www.facebook.com/lsbuisoc?sk=wall> (accessed 13/01/2012)

87. Veoh, <http://www.veoh.com/watch/v21059803z5EnkQme> (accessed 29/03/2012)

SOCIAL MEDIA

This section focuses on the sharing and dissemination of material related to two groups currently subject to the NUS 'No Platform' policy for their unacceptable views, namely HT and MPACUK. We followed a number of London based students or recent graduates who were most active in this regard. While only two were involved with MPACUK (which does not have a sizable presence on UK campuses), the majority were actively promoting or disseminating HT material, speakers or views. The level of activism correlates with the government's Prevent Strategy's view that HT has made systematic efforts to engage with students: *"We believe there is unambiguous evidence to indicate that some extremist organisations, notably Hizb ut-Tahrir, target specific universities and colleges (notably those with a large number of Muslim students) with the objective of radicalising and recruiting students"*.⁸⁸

CASE STUDY: HIZB UT-TAHRIR AND STUDENTS IN THE UK

HT is a radical Islamist political party which seeks to establish the Khilafah, an *"expansionist Islamist state"* in order to unify the Ummah, or worldwide Muslim population, through non-violent means.⁸⁹ While not proscribed, it has supported suicide bombing and the hijacking of aircraft; and written that violent groups Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Jama'ah Islamiyyah are legitimate *"Islamic Movements"*.⁹⁰ The British branch has taken steps to avoid glorification of terrorism since the introduction of the Terrorism Act 2006. Other branches are more transparent, with the Bangladeshi branch issuing a press release about a demonstration they organised in 2010: *"The Muslims joining the [HT] demonstration called upon the Muslim armies to march forth to fight the Jews, eradicate Israel and purify the earth of Jewish filth"*.⁹¹

The UK branch is arguably the most active Islamist group on UK campuses. During the early 1990s it *"began openly targeting young second generation British Muslims on UK campuses,"*⁹² but was forced to scale back its activity in 1996 following orders from the then global party leader Abd al-Qadim Zallum.⁹³ In recent years, HT activity on campuses appears to be twofold: the use of front societies, designed to circumvent the NUS 'No Platform' policy, to invite HT members onto campuses; and the infiltration of HT activists into positions of leadership within student Islamic societies or student unions.

There are a number of current societies which regularly promote HT's worldview and have invited senior members onto their campuses. Since November 2011, this has included the current head of the Executive Committee Abdul Wahid, the former head of the Executive Committee and current Head of Legal Jamal Harwood,⁹⁴ and Reza Pankhurst, a frequent speaker at the group's rallies.⁹⁵ Pankhurst is also the editor of the HT owned online magazine New Civilisation.⁹⁶ Wahid and Harwood are listed as contributors on the magazine's website, which a reverse IP request reveals is owned by HT Britain.⁹⁷

Societies which have either invited HT speakers or promoted HT material include the Queen Mary University Ideological Society, Kingston University Ideological Society, SOAS Belief and Reason Society,

88. Prevent Strategy, 2011, pg 73

89. H. Stuart & H. Ahmed, Hizb ut-tahrir: Ideology and Strategy, Centre for Social Cohesion, November 2009, pg 13

90. This includes statements saying that "All means and ways which a Muslim uses to kill unbelievers is permitted...whether you blow up their planes...or whether you blow yourself up amongst their military encampments or blow yourself and them up with a belt of explosives" and that "If the plane belongs to a country at war with the Muslims, like Israel, it is allowed to hijack it". See H. Stuart & H. Ahmed, Hizb ut-tahrir: Ideology and Strategy, pp 29-32, pg 126

91. Hizb ut-tahrir, 'Press Release: O Muslim Armies! Teach the Jews a lesson after which they will need no further lessons', 6 March 2010, available at http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.info/info/english.php/contents_en/entry_8271 (accessed 06/05/2012)

92. H. Stuart & H. Ahmed, Hizb ut-tahrir: Ideology and Strategy, pg 66

93. Ibid

94. See Hizb ut-tahrir, 'Media Information Pack', for confirmation of these positions, available at http://www.hizb.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/ht_media_pack.pdf (accessed 06/05/2012)

95. See YouTube, 'March for Syria. Abu Luqman [name used by Pankhurst] English Syrian Embassy Protest London Hizb ut Tahrir 18 February 2012', available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rqKvNrLiWZ8&feature=related> (accessed 06/05/2012)

96. See R. Pankhurst, 'About', available at <http://www.rezapankhu-rst.net/p/about.html> (accessed 06/05/2012)

97. DomainColeta, 'Domain analysis and whois report for newcivilisation.com', available at <http://domaincoleta.com/whois/newcivilisation.com> (accessed 06/05/2012)

University of Westminster Global Ideas Society, University of Westminster Perspective Society and possibly the City University Perception Society. At one Queen Mary University Ideological Society event, Tunisian blogger Ons Chafai was invited as a counterweight to Pankhurst, when in fact Chafai is also an HT member.⁹⁸ Student members of these societies have also attended HT rallies and conferences; some were photographed with the group's Media Representative Taji Mustafa at an HT conference in Denmark in 2011.

The second tactic is more subtle: one former HT member, Rashad Ali, claims that the group deliberately targets Islamic societies with a view to infiltrate them, with students who are HT members or activists aiming to take on senior positions in order to direct the society. Ali stated in 2008 that Bradford Islamic Society had been run by HT and that the group was active within Middlesex, Bristol and Nottingham Trent University Islamic societies.⁹⁹

More recently, there have been accusations that individuals sympathetic to HT have attempted to take control of student executives. For example, the University of Westminster Student Union President and Vice President for Education have both been 'No-Platformed' by the NUS and are not allowed to attend conferences after they refused to comply with an investigation into their links with HT.¹⁰⁰ Both heavily support HT or the HT worldview on social media platforms. The Vice President has shared HT documents on his Scribd page, including the "*Method to Re-establish the Khilafah*," published in 2000 in the UK.¹⁰¹ HT methods include military coups and the party has stated its willingness to kill "*millions*" of Muslims in order to achieve its aims.¹⁰² The President's Facebook page contained images with statements such as "*Sharia for Egypt*", "*Khalifah for Egypt*" and "*Khalifah for Tunisia*". He has also written lyrics for a song called "*Khalifah is Coming Back*".¹⁰³

STUDENT PROFILES AND HIZB UT-TAHRIR

SOAS STUDENT 1:

One student at SOAS, a senior figure of a student group called the Belief and Reason Society, appears to be a key figure in promoting Islamist ideology on campuses in London.¹⁰⁴

- He has frequently shared material from the HT website, as well as videos from HT's international branches and media spokespeople on Facebook;
- He has encouraged others to interact with HT members, stating on Facebook: "*Introducing brother Shaker Assem, Media representative of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Germany and the wider German speaking areas. Please feel free to add/network with him*";
- He shared articles from the HT owned online magazine New Civilisation;
- He regularly shares articles from Khilafah.com which describes itself as "*...dedicated to articulating the case for Islam as an ideology that provides solutions for all human problems and all human relationships*" and states that "*it is only by the establishment of the Khilafah State, that the practical solutions of Islam can once again provide a real alternative for the entire world*";¹⁰⁵
- He shared updates on his Twitter profile that demonstrate Islamist sentiments, including "*88th anniversary of the destruction of the Khilafah. The sons of salahuddin are waking up now!! Muslim youth mobilising in heart of kufr*".¹⁰⁶

98. Photograph shared on Facebook by SOAS student 1, archived by Student Rights

99. R. Ali, 'Don't deny campus radicalisation', Guardian, 6 December 2008, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/dec/06/islam-religion-edmunds>

100. Conversations between author and senior NUS figure

101. Scribd, 'Jamal Achchi', available at <http://www.scribd.com/jachchi> (accessed 06/05/2012)

102. Abdul Qadeem Zallum, *How the Khilafah was Destroyed*, Al Khilafah Publications, London, 2000, pg 197

103. Evening Standard, 'Two students linked to extremists are elected as college union leaders', 12 April 2011, available at <http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/news/two-students-linked-to-extremists-are-elected-as-college-union-leaders-6391552.html>

104. He appears to give talks to students on various issues and seems to be one of the more senior student Islamist activists examined by Student Rights in the research for this report.

105. Khilafah.com, 'About Khilafah.com', available at <http://www.khilafah.com/index.php/about-us> (accessed 06/05/2012)

106. Screenshots of activity archived by Student Rights

He also runs an online blog called Siyasah Press, alongside a recent graduate from Kingston University, which frequently features articles promoting Islamist ideas and values. Student 1 also promotes this blog with the Facebook pages of student societies.

- Siyasah Press blog states that its aim is to “...look after the Muslim youth by providing them with Islamic ideas essential for the reality we live in”;¹⁰⁷
- On 25 October 2011 the blog featured a video of Abu Luqman [a pseudonym for HT member Reza Pankhurst] but did not mention his HT connections;¹⁰⁸
- SOAS student 1 shared the blog with members of HT, ‘tagging’ Taji Mustafa in one article posted on Facebook;¹⁰⁹
- Siyasah Press publishes articles by Hassan Choudhury, a writer and TV presenter who regularly retweets senior HT figures including Taji Mustafa and Uthman Badar. Choudhury shared an Awlaki video on Facebook on 13 April 2011, and in reference to jihad, Choudhury wrote, “I prefer Imam Anwar Al-Awlaki’s view to Yasir Qadhi’s” on his blog in February 2011.

SOAS student 1 attends HT marches and conferences and promotes them to fellow students.

- In July 2011 he was listed as an attendee at the HT “*Khilafah Conference*”;
- On 6 October 2011 he shared an invite to an HT Scandinavia conference, which he appears to have attended along with several other students featured in these profiles.¹¹⁰

As with many students on Facebook he also lists his inspirations, which includes Sayyid Qutb, one of the most influential Islamist thinkers of the 20th Century.¹¹¹

Facebook likes include:

- ‘New Civilisation Magazine’
- ‘Hizb ut-Tahrir’
- ‘Khilafah Conference 2011: Uprising in the Muslim World’
- ‘Naveed Butt (Media Office HT)’
- ‘Release our sister Sidikova’¹¹²
- ‘We are all Imran Yousuzai - How many would you abduct O traitors’¹¹³

Articles shared:

- Shares Siyasah Press poem called ‘A tribute to you, my brother’ with Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 08/04/2012
- Shares New Civilisation article called ‘Democracy Paradox: Institutional versus Popular Legitimacy’ with SOAS Belief and Reason Society – 12/02/2012
- Shares article from HT website called ‘Hizb ut-Tahrir’s warm call to Ulema [scholars], people in authority and the Islamic Ummah in Syria’ with Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 27/03/2012
- Shares HT press release called ‘The Khilafah – A Shining Model for Women’s Rights and Political Role’ – 28/02/2012
- Shares article detailing release of HT Bangladesh head Mohiuddin Ahmed from prison, and comments

107. Siyasah Press, ‘About’, available at <http://siyasahpress.wordpress.com/about/> (accessed 06/05/2012)

108. Siyasah Press, ‘The Call to Tawheed, The legacy of the Prophets’, 25 October 2011, available at <http://siyasahpress.wordpress.com/2011/10/25/the-call-to-tawheed-the-legacy-of-the-prophets/> (accessed 06/05/2012)

109. Screenshots of all activity have been archived by Student Rights

110. Screenshots of all activity have been archived by Student Rights

111. See Q. Wiktorowicz, ‘A Genealogy of Radical Islam’, *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, No. 28, 2005, pp 75-97, for a discussion of Qutb’s influence

112. This refers to Sidikova Oomidjan Ganevna, arrested by the Russian security services in May 2011 due to alleged links to HT. This story was widely shared through HT media channels and led to a protest at the Russian embassy at which Taji Mustafa spoke. See <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Release-our-sister-Sidikova/189976187717913> (accessed 01/05/2012)

113. This refers to the arrest by the Pakistani authorities of the deputy spokesman of HT Pakistan in July 2011 and states “O sincere officers within Pakistan’s armed forces! The shebaab of Hizb ut-Tahrir are fulfilling their pledge before Allah...It is time now for you to fulfil [sic] yours. It is time now, O brothers, to grant Hizb ut-Tahrir the Nussrah [divine support] for the re-establishment of the Khilafah”. See <https://www.facebook.com/pages/We-are-all-Imran-Yousuzai-How-many-would-you-abduct-O-traitors/131411956945010?sk=info> (accessed 01/05/2012)

"His crime is a political call to replace an unjust political system without any legitimacy, with an Islamic political system that harmonizes with the beliefs, history and yearnings of the people! Allahu Akbar"
– 22/02/2012

- Shares article from HT website called 'Hizb ut-Tahrir Egypt advises Muslim groups engaged with the regime', commenting *"The Muslim Brotherhood remains silent in parliament while the regime attacks it. The 'Freedom and Justice Party' threatens to merely 'review' the Camp David Agreement if America stops its aid! Indeed, this is very strange!"* – 26/02/2012
- Shares article from New Civilisation called 'The Illusion of Economic Reform in the 'New' Middle East' – 29/02/2012
- Shares article by Dr Abdul Wahid on HT website called 'Dr Abdul Wahid's open letter to the Muslim community about the continuing repression in Syria' – 02/03/2012
- Shares article from HT website called 'Bashar is bad, but what may come after him may be worse (fitna)!' – 02/03/2012
- Shares article from New Civilisation called 'Liberal Extremism on Campus' – 07/03/2012
- Shares article from New Civilisation called 'My Fickle Friends – by Bashar Al-Assad' – 07/03/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article by former Kingston University student called 'Why you work 40 hours and week and yet you're still poor' with Hassan Choudhury – 07/03/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article by former Kingston University student called 'Why you work 40 hours and week and yet you're still poor' with SOAS Belief and Reason Society – 07/03/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article by former Kingston University student called 'Why you work 40 hours and week and yet you're still poor' with Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 07/03/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article by Hassan Choudhury called 'Then and Now' with Queen Mary University Ideological Society and says *"very interesting angle on the situation of the Muslims and how we can better our situation. Have a look and please share"* – 18/02/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Truly, Madly, Deeply' with Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 14/02/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Your Mum!!!*@\$%!!' with Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 11/02/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article by former Kingston University student called 'Why you work 40 hours and week and yet you're still poor Part 1' with Queen Mary University student 1 – 27/01/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article by former Kingston University student called 'Why you work 40 hours and week and yet you're still poor Part 1' with Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 27/01/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Gaza: The Truth' with Queen Mary University student 1 – 04/02/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Gaza: The Truth' with Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 04/02/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Your Mum!!!*@\$%!!' with Queen Mary University student 1 – 11/02/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article by Hassan Choudhury called 'Then and Now' and 'tags' three of the network members profiled in this report
- Shares article from the HT website called 'A statement from Hizb ut-Tahrir Syria to the Muslim Scholars' – 13/02/2012
- Shares article from HT website promoting HT march and states *"must attend"* – 14/02/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Gaza: The Truth' with Hassan Choudhury – 04/02/2012
- Shares article from HT website called 'Reject disgusting values that America and Britain are trying to establish in Muslim world' – 29/01/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article by former Kingston University student called 'Why you work 40 hours and week and yet you're still poor Part 1' – 25/01/2012

- Shares article about arrest of Mohiuddin Ahmed via another individual profiled in this report – 24/01/2012
- Shares article from Khilafah.com containing a response from the Media Office of HT Egypt concerning the arrest of one of its members – 22/01/2012
- Shares article from Khilafah.com called 'O Muslims of Syria: Stay firm upon the Haqq because verily this regime is on the brink of a pit of fire' – 17/01/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'The role of the Muslim Youth in the West' and states *"a brief discussion on the problems and solutions that we face in Western societies. Check them out!!"* – 17/01/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article by Hassan Choudhury called '10 Angles on the US Marines Abusing the Dead' with Hassan Choudhury – 15/01/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article by Hassan Choudhury called '10 Angles on the US Marines Abusing the Dead' with Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 15/01/2012
- Shares article about HT Russia member killed by police and states *"Rustam Yusupov member of Hizb ut Tahrir in Russia, just 35 years old was shot to death by the criminal Russian police. Ya Allah, give him the status of Shaheed and give us Nusrah (Help) so we can take care of these criminals"* – 17/01/2012
- Shares New Civilisation article called 'The Guantanamo Legacy – Ten years of criminality go beyond this one base and this one state' – 16/01/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Europe sacrifices at the altar of ritual capitalism' with Taji Mustafa and states *"an angle you may be interested in regarding the economics issue we talked about"* – 15/11/2011
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Review of 2011' with Queen Mary University student 1 – 31/12/2011
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Review of 2011' with Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 31/12/2011
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Fantasies' with Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 18/12/2011
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Review of 2011' with SOAS Belief and Reason Society – 31/12/2011
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'How Christmas is Capitalism's most holy day' – 25/12/2011
- Shares New Civilisation article called 'The Trojan Horse of Cultural Diplomacy' – 23/12/2011
- Shares article from HT website called 'Senior Al-Azhar Sheikh Emad Effat shot dead during Cairo protests' – 20/12/2011
- Shares Khilafah.com article called 'Hizb ut-Tahrir Conference in Tunisia' and states *"In the past few weeks Hizb ut-Tahrir has distributed more than 50,000 copies of its Islamic constitution across Tunisia"* – 27/12/2011
- Shares New Civilisation article called 'A new gold standard?' – 27/12/2011
- Shares article from HT website called 'Arab League observers in Syria – Deaf, dumb and blind' – 04/01/2012

Videos shared:

- Tweets video of Dr Abdul Wahid – 30/03/2012
- Tweets video of Uthman Badar and says *"Check this video out – Osama Bin Laden-Short interview with Media Representative Hizb ut-Tahrir"* – 05/05/2011
- Tweets video of Taji Mustafa – 28/04/2011
- Shares video by HT Indonesia Women – 23/02/2012
- Shares video by HT Ukraine Women – 26/02/2012
- Shares video of prayer circles by HT Palestine – 26/02/2012
- Shares video of Syrian protests and quotes HT Media Representative Okay Pala saying *"Hizb ut-Tahrir"*

demonstration in Aleppo. Allahu Akbar, Chanting 'The Ummah wants Al-Khilafah Islamiyyah'. May Allah give them succes [sic] and victory" – 28/02/2012

- Shares video of interview with the head of the Media Office of HT Jordan - 28/02/2012
- Shares interview with Osman Bakhash, the head of the HT Media Office in Lebanon talking about the attempts to cancel the 2012 HT Khilafah Conference and tags in Former student 1and Queen Mary University student 3
- Shares interview with Osman Bakhash giving response to the banning of HT Austria Khilafah Conference – 03/03/2012
- Shares video promotion of HT Tunisia Women's Caliphate conference – 03/03/2012
- Shares video by HT Australia called 'How the Islamic State was destroyed' and states "*On this day, the 3rd of March 1924, the Khilafah was finally destroyed after years of attempts. How did this happen and what can we learn from history? An important 20 minute documentary that explores the history of this tragic event*" – 03/03/2012
- Shares video of HT march – 19/02/2012
- Shares video promoting HT Tunisia Women's Caliphate Conference and states "*I wish I could go.... man brothers need to step their game up!!! For all sisters reading or watching this...YOU NEED TO GO DOWN*" – 18/02/2012
- Shares video of Taji Mustafa, Dr Abdul Wahid and Ons Chafai and states "*After a year on...from the arab springs*" – 30/01/2012
- Shares video of Press TV show featuring Dr Nasreen Nawaz, a Media Representative of HT Britain – 22/01/2012
- Shares video by HT Tunisia – 18/01/2012
- Shares video of Taji Mustafa called 'The return of al-Khilafah' – 27/12/2011

Facebook posts:

- Writes on HT event page "*Brothers and sisters be there iA!!!*" – 08/02/2012
- Shares invite to HT Conference and quotes it saying "*An invitation to Hizb ut-tahrirs [sic] annual conference in Bella Center [sic] Copenhagen. Dr Muhammad Salim Atchia from Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain invites you to participate in the conference on the 9th October 2011. The conference is organised by Hizb ut-Tahrir Scandinavia*" – 06/10/2011
- Posts link to Shaker Assem's Facebook page, saying: "*Introducing brother Shaker Assem, Media representative of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Germany and the wider German speaking areas. Please feel free to add/network with him*" – 13/03/2012
- Writes "*The Khilafah conference due to be held on the 10th of March in Vienna organised by Hizb ut-Tahrir Austria has been cancelled due to governmental pressures similar to that of Belgium where so called democracy and freedom exist! These western states need a lesson in practice what you preach!!!*" – 03/03/2012
- Promotes HT march to Queen Mary University Ideological Society and states "*march in support of the Muslims in Syria. Show support for your brothers and sisters and call for the real Islamic solution – the Islamic State – The Khilafah state which will protect the Muslim Ummah*" – 012/02/2012
- Shares photographs of HT march – 19/02/2012
- Shares photographs of HT march – 18/02/2012
- Shares photographs of HT march and states "*Thousands of people turned out in Central London to support the uprising in Syria. The demonstrators gathered at Paddington Green before setting off down Edgware Road in the heart of the Arab community. The protestors were chanting in Arabic; 'Labayk. Labayk. Labayk ya Allah' which means; 'We are here, We are here, We are here O' Allah, the same words the Muslims in Syria were chanting in their demonstrations against the brutality of the Bashar Asadr [r]egime. Placards protestors were holding read; 'Bashar Al-Asad -Killer of Muslims' and O' Syrian army support the people not the tyrant'. The crowd then headed down Park Lane towards the Syrian Embassy where there were a series of speeches made by members of Hizb-ut Tahrir, an*

Islamic Political party that is outlawed in many parts of the world but is allowed to operate within the UK. Their vision being to unify the Muslim countries into a single Islamic state called the Khilafah that will be governed by Islamic Shari'ah law" – 18/02/2012

- Promotes SOAS Belief and Reason Society event with Dr Abdul Wahid to Hassan Choudhury – 31/10/2011
- Promotes Queen Mary University Ideological Society debate with Reza Pankhurst and states "make sure you attend don't miss out on this opportunity" – 13/12/2011

Tweets:

- Retweets Taji Mustafa – 26/04/2012
- Tweets "Marking 1924 lets [sic] hope we work hard for the resumption of Islamic state as we do not want to be without our ahowid for any longer" – 02/03/2012
- Tweets "Jumma mubarak!! Crisis in Afghanistan lets [sic] get the word out there. US invasion needs to be met head on with Muslim rulers sending armies" – 16/03/2012
- Tweets "88th anniversary of thw [sic] destruction of the Islamic state whose seat was in Turkey, Istanbul 1924. The day Muslims lost protection and honour" – 02/03/2012
- Tweets "88th anniversary of the destruction of the Khilafah. The sons of salahuddin are waking up now!! Muslim youth mobilising in heart of kufr" – 04/03/2012
- Tweets 'at' Islamist profiles promoting HTKhilafahconference @shezanahafiz, @standforislam, @tajimustafa, @jazba2020, @majedsblog, @atifsal, @womenforkhilafa "jumma mubarak Vienna k conference 10th b there" – 01/03/2012
- Retweets @KhilafahYouth promoting "March to support the uprising in Syria, Sat 25th February/Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain" – 08/02/2012
- Tweets promoting HT march "#demo 2mrw at Paddington calling for Khilafah, come and join the Muslims" – 07/05/2011
- Tweets promoting HT march "demo 7th of may Saturday @Paddington green at 2pm. Call for real change call for Khilafah" – 05/05/2011
- Tweets "Sick of media confusing Osama and Obama. Clearly one is the leader of largest terror org in the world n the other is lying bottom of the ocean" – 03/05/2011
- Tweets "The cause of the war was never #binLaden, he was just used as a pretext. American vultures will continue with their #occupation" – 02/05/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying "Protestors led by Hizb ut-Tahrir Lebanon's Ahmad Qasas, marched to Nijmeh Sq chantn 'Oh #Syria, don't hesitate, revolt for victory is yours" – 22/04/2011
- Tweets "8 Hizb ut-Tahrir members arrested for flyers in support of #Syrian protests" – 20/04/2011

FORMER KINGSTON UNIVERSITY STUDENT:

SOAS student 1 runs Siyasah Press with a former Kingston University student. He graduated in 2011 but is still involved in student activism and is friends on Facebook with the majority of the more influential student activists examined in this report.

- He regularly shares Siyasah Press articles with other students profiled, including the head of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society and a student in the Kingston University Ideological Society;
- His Siyasah Press articles focus on the benefits of an Islamic economic system, including the use of the Gold Standard and an interest-free economy, reflecting HT's report on economics released on 27 December 2011;
- He recently listed himself as attending an event run by the Global Ideas Society at the University of Westminster in which Jamal Harwood spoke on the Islamic economic alternative;
- His articles promote an 'Islamic alternative': "...it's becoming increasingly clear that the capitalist model is not working" [...] "We need to be presenting the Islamic system as an alternative to capitalism";¹¹⁴ "We as Muslims at this critical juncture need to propagate Islam as a viable system";¹¹⁵
- His Facebook profile picture is one that declares "we need Khilafah".¹¹⁶

Facebook likes include:

- 'One Islamic State – Morocco to Egypt – Let's Unite'
- 'Dr Kamal Helbawy'

Articles shared:

- Shares Siyasah Press poem called 'The Camel's Neck' "about tyrants in the Muslim world" with the head of the Queen Mary Ideological Society' – 21/12/2011
- Shares New Civilisation article called 'Beheading the Cultural Zombie – Liberal Societies Illiberal response to Islam' – 07/11/2011
- Retweets Khilafah.com article on US drone strikes – 04/11/2011
- Retweets New Civilisation article called 'Criminality of US & Britain since 9/11 is more terrible than anything the "terrorists" have reaped' – 12/09/2011
- Retweets New Civilisation article called 'Ugly truth of Western collusion with Gadaffi's torturers & why no one can trust that NATO is on the side of the people' – 03/09/2011
- Retweets New Civilisation article 'Profile of Abdel Hakim Belhadj' – 30/08/2011
- Retweets New Civilisation article called 'After Gadaffi: Libya's next struggle – with NATO and the West' – 20/10/2011
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Why you work 40 hours a week and yet you're still poor Part 1' with Kingston University Ideological Society member – 26/01/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Why you work 40 hours a week and yet you're still poor Part 2' with Kingston University Ideological Society member – 06/03/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press poem called 'Truly, Madly, Deeply' with Kingston University Ideological Society member – 14/02/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Why you work 40 hours a week and yet you're still poor' with Queen Mary University student 1 – 26/01/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press poem called 'Gaza: The Truth' with Queen Mary University student 1 – 03/02/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press poem called 'Truly, Madly, Deeply' with Queen Mary University student 1 – 14/02/2012

114. Siyasah Press, 'Europe ritual sacrifices at the altar of capitalism', 15 November 2011, available at <http://siyasahpress.wordpress.com/2011/11/15/europe-ritual-sacrifices-at-the-altar-of-capitalism/> (accessed 06/05/2012)

115. Siyasah Press, 'Money makes the world go round...except when it loses its strength', 23 September 2011, available at <http://siyasahpress.wordpress.com/2011/09/23/money-makes-the-world-go-round-except-when-it-loses-its-strength/> (accessed 06/05/2012)

116. Screenshots of all activity have been archived by Student Rights

- Shares Siyasa Press article by Hassan Choudhury called '10 angles on the US marines abusing the dead' with Kingston University Ideological Society member – 15/01/2012
- Shares Siyasa Press article called 'Review of 2011' with Kingston University Ideological Society member – 31/12/2011
- Shares Siyasa Press article called 'Lessons from the tragedy of Karbala' with Kingston University Ideological Society member – 06/12/2011
- Shares Siyasa press article by head of SOAS Belief and Reason Society called 'Understanding the EU crisis through Shisha' with Hassan Choudhury – 11/01/2012
- Shares Siyasa Press poem called 'Yawmul Qiyamah' with Queen Mary University student 1 – 28/12/2011

Videos shared:

- Retweets Taji Mustafa video called 'Release the prisoners: Dr Aafia, Babar Ahmed, Mohiuddin Ahmed' – 05/04/2012

Facebook posts:

- Posts on Queen Mary University Ideological Society wall and states "Couldn't make it to the event yesterday :(but I heard it was big! QM ideological society is going mashallah" – 14/12/2011
- Comments on photograph of Queen Mary University student 1 at HT event – 31/12/2011

Tweets:

- Supplies details of lecture featuring an HT speaker to a student profiled who studies at City University. Responds to question "bro by any chance do you know if Jamal Hardwood [sic] is doin [sic] a talk this week? And with who?" by saying "Yeah, he's supposed to be doing a talk with Shaikh Haitham Al Haddad in Finchley. I can't 100% confirm it though" – 28/12/2011
- Confirms details of talk stating "8pm Saturday Finchley Masjid Shaikh Haitham Haddad...and J Harwood 'Islam mercy to mankind' dinner included!" – 30/12/2011
- Interacts with Dr Abdul Wahid through a Twitter conversation – 06/11/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying "If #Gadaffi's [sic] killing's confirmd [sic], Tony Blair and Western govs [sic] must b glad he wont [sic] be saying embarrassing things at some trial" – 11/10/2011
- Retweets New Civilisation saying "The development of the Mohammedan world in the direction of our culture, that is part and parcel of my life's work" – 14/09/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying "#Libya's new leaders must 'stand against extremism', US sec Clinton [Extremism? Usually [sic] code 4 'Islamic governance' #caliphate]" – 01/09/2011
- Interacts with Taji Mustafa, asking "@tajimustafa what do you make of #Assad praying salah tul-eid after murdering countless Muslims". Mustafa responds by saying "#Ramadan helps u undrstnd [sic] secular elite in #Egypt they pray &fast but whn [sic] u propose Islamic Khilafah they scream NO #caliphate" – 30/11/2011
- Tweets Urdu proverb "Don't leave todays [sic] work until tomorrow" at Taji Mustafa – 01/09/2011
- Tweets Arabic proverb "Tyrant, your day will come" at Taji Mustafa – 01/09/2011
- Interacts with Taji Mustafa in three tweet long conversation on Urdu proverbs – 31/08/2011
- Tweets New Civilisation article 'Profile of Abdel Hakim Belhadj' – 28/08/2011
- Tweets at Taji Mustafa "victory #onlyinramadan" – 28/08/2011
- Tweets at Dr Abdul Wahid "NO NATO troops on the ground please! do you think AbdulHakim Belhaj will be able to lead the TNC or break away?" – 28/08/2011
- Tweets "#whereisthejustice Baba Ahmed locked up for 7 years, no trial, no evidence. Help him fight extradition www.letsgetjustice.com" – 28/08/2011
- Tweets at CagePrisoners "While corrupt Pakistani politicians celebrate 'independence' our sister Aafia Siddiqui [sic] is being tortured in prison. #Pakistan" – 14/08/2011

- Retweets Dr Abdul Wahid saying “Starkey: “violent destructive nihilistic gangster culture has become the fashion”. Is that why the UK’s got “violent destructive” Foreign Policy?” – 13/08/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “Faduma’s fasting though she hasnt [sic] enough food 4 ifta “Its [sic] hard for me 2 fast, but I did fast 4 fear of Allah #somalia” – 12/08/2011
- Retweets Dr Abdul Wahid saying “#Pakistan ambassador @husainhaqqani went to Obama iftar even tho [sic] 168 Children Killed by US #DroneStrikes” – 12/08/2011
- Tweets promotion for CagePrisoners saying “This year, give your Zakah to @CagePrisoners Some have faced a decade in captivity. Also @hhugscharity doing fantastic work. Please support!” – 12/08/2011
- Retweets Dr Abdul Wahid sharing joke about 2011 London riots – 10/11/2011
- Retweets HT Pakistan saying “Justice delayed is justice denied Despite court insistence, agencies did not produce the members of Hizb ut-Tahrir” – 10/08/2011
- Retweets Dr Abdul Wahid saying “It’s disgusting that @husainhaqqani feels comfortable breaking fast with the man responsible for #drone bombing #Pakistan on a regular basis” – 10/08/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “PM Cameron: we need clear code of values & standards to live by. [Morals frm [sic] whr? [sic] MPs who fiddled expenses whn [sic] noone [sic] watchn? [sic]]” – 10/08/2011
- Tweets at Taji Mustafa saying “I propose that rioters should spend time in #Egypt/#Syria/#Yemen/#Bahrain to learn what a real revolution is! #londonriots” – 09/08/2011

QUEEN MARY UNIVERSITY

QUEEN MARY STUDENT 1:

- He promotes HT and has advertised an HT march, saying “what you doing tomorrow? Cos if it’s not this then you’re a wasteman [slang for someone who does nothing with their life]” and then shared video of it with his society;
- He was also involved in inviting Reza Pankhurst onto Queen Mary University’s Mile End Campus in December 2011. Student Rights attended this event and documented overtly anti-Western sentiment, including a call for the pro-Western speaker to “burn himself”;
- He is in a photograph taken at an HT event shared on Facebook by Queen Mary student 3.¹¹⁷

Facebook likes include:

- ‘The Caliphate’
- ‘Vote Islam not Kufr’
- ‘Hizb ut-Tahrir’
- ‘Back to Khilafah’
- ‘The Return of the Khilafah’

Articles shared:

- Shares Al-Jazeera article called ‘Islamists sweep early results in Egypt vote’ and comments “Plus, the Nour group get quarter of the ballots...alhamdulillah the sentiments are there...but if you’re gonna ‘impose strict Islamic law’ why go through kufr? Surely by putting Islam on the table next to ‘democratic Islam’ and secularism you’re only lowering the status of Allah’s laws no?” – 05/12/2011
- Retweets New Civilisation article called ‘After #Gadaffi: Libya’s next struggle – With NATO and the West’ – 20/10/2011

Videos shared:

- Shares video of HT march with Queen Mary University Ideological Society and comments “Heres [sic] the march vid! [sic] Alhamdulillah over 4000 people came down” – 24/02/2012

Facebook posts:

117. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

- Communicates with former student 2 about Muslims at Christmas – 22/12/2011
- Promotes an HT march and comments *“what you doing tomorrow? Cos if it’s not this then you’re a wasteman”* – 17/02/2012
- Comments on the Kingston University Ideological Society page saying *“Salam lol love the expansion of the IdeoSoc!”* – 31/10/2011
- ‘Tagged’ in photograph of HT event - 31/12/2011

Tweets:

- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying *“#Egypt: a country where 67% of Egyptians say that laws should strictly follow the Quran’s teachings”* – 25/11/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying *“Som1 woke up in #Syria 2day resolved 2 go & protest against #Assad even if killed. How things have chngd [sic]. How Umma has woken up Alhamdulillah”* – 25/11/2011
- Tweets support for Dr Abdul Wahid, saying *“I thought it was a very good debate – the atmosphere was intense! I thought Dr Wahid was brilliant and raised consistent points”* – 05/11/2011

QUEEN MARY STUDENT 2:

- He was listed as an attendee at the July 2011 Khilafah Conference, alongside a number of other student activists;
- He appears in photographs on Facebook with SOAS student 1 at an HT conference in Denmark;
- He was ‘tagged’ by another student at a HT march in February 2012;
- He encourages people on Facebook to attend HT marches and has shared a status update by the HT UK Media Representative Taji Mustafa.¹¹⁸

His belief in Islamist ideas can be seen in a number of his Facebook posts:

- He stated on Facebook *“Listen to this you American Dogs!!Don’t you know Hizb ut-Tahrir?? Our Shabbab have been boiled to death, hanged in universities, killed on streets but this could not stop the call of Islam...the call of Khilafah...You cannot stop the Shabbab of HIZB...WE are ready...Allah u Akbar!”*
- He defended Mohiuddin Ahmed, the HT Bangladesh spokesman after his release from prison in February 2012. HT is banned in Bangladesh due to suspected links to violent militants.¹¹⁹ The student stated *“His crime is a political call to replace an unjust political system without any legitimacy, with an Islamic political system that harmonizes with the beliefs, history and yearnings of the people! Allahu Akbar”*;
- Has shared links to HT’s New Civilisation, including an article which stated that *“The War on Terror was little more than a cover for preventing the rise of Islamic self-determination in the Muslim world”*,¹²⁰
- He wrote *“may this be the last Eid without he [sic] Khilafah”*;
- He wrote that *“Capitalism’s failure gives us an opportunity to engage with non-Muslims at all levels to provide an alternative solution... present Islam as an alternative ideology!”*
- He was involved in inviting Reza Pankhurst to speak at Queen Mary University, shared a video of Pankhurst on his Facebook page, and promoted his event to students via Facebook, declaring that it would be *“unmissable”*.¹²¹

Facebook likes include:

- ‘The Caliphate’

118. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

119. ‘Bangladesh Islamist group banned’, BBC, 23 October 2009, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8321329.stm> (accessed 05/04/2012)

120. J. Mohammed, ‘Forbidden Islam: British Courts bans “Political” Islam in move to McCarthyism’, New Civilisation, 14 December 2011, available at <http://www.newcivilisation.com/home/uk-europe/forbidden-islam-british-courts-bans-political-islam-in-move-to-mccarthyism>

121. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

- 'Support Hizb ut-Tahrir'
- 'Khilafah'
- 'Khilafah Movement Pakistan'
- 'Flag of Islamic Khilafah'
- 'New Civilisation Magazine'
- 'Release our sister Sidikova'
- 'We are all Imran Yousuzai - How many would you abduct O traitors'
- 'Nahda Productions'
- 'The Inevitable Caliphate'¹²²

Articles shared:

- Shares Independent article called 'Muslim woman's body found in hospital morgue covered with bacon' and comments *"Can't trust them when you're dead. Definety [sic] can't trust them when you're ALIVE"* – 15/12/2011

Videos shared:

- Shares video of Reza Pankhurst speech at HT protest 26/02/2011 and comments *"This is what I call powerful!"* – 05/03/2011
- Shares video trailer for HT march and comments *"To all Muslims a must see! P.S. BE THERE!"* – 21/04/2011
- Shares video of SOAS Belief and Reason Society event with Dr Abdul Wahid and comments *"see for yourself just how exciting Soas BeliefandReason [sic] debate was. Watch out for QMUL debate our battle is on and we will get our debate"* via SOAS student 1 – 30/11/2011
- Shares video of HT Denmark march and comments *"Our brothers in Denmark supporting the Muslims in Syria showing us how its [sic] done"* – 19/02/2012
- Shares Nahda Productions video called 'A passionate Message to the youth in the Muslim world from the youth of Australia' and comments *"Impact of London :)"*. Link is commented on by Hassan Choudhury who writes *"it's good video, don't you think?"* to which the student replies *"Just between us I love the video (y) Excellent production, we've got alot [sic] to learn from down under ;)"* – 17/04/2011
- Shares video trailer for event called '3rd March 1924' with Hassan Choudhury and three individuals profiled in this report¹²³ – 02/03/2011

Facebook posts:

- Shares update which reads *"First...Aftab from Multan...Imran Yousufzai from Islamabad and today.. Hayyan from Islamabad..All kidnapped by Agencies..Listen to this you American Dogs!!Don't you know HIZB UT-TAHRIR?? Our Shabbab have been boiled to death, hanged in Universities, killed on streets but this could not stop the call of ISLAM...the call of Khilafah...You cannot stop the Shabbab of HIZB...WE are ready...Allah u Akbar!"* – 14/07/2011
- Comments on Hassan Choudhury's status update – 27/06/2011
- 'Tagged' in photograph with SOAS student 1 at HT Denmark Conference – 10/10/2011
- 'Tagged' in photograph with SOAS student 1 and Queen Mary student 3 at HT Denmark Conference – 10/10/2011
- 'Tagged' in photograph posing with Taji Mustafa along with SOAS student 1 and Queen Mary student 3 at HT Denmark Conference – 10/10/2011
- Shares Khilafah Movement–Pakistan's¹²⁴ photograph attacking the arrest of Deputy Spokesman for HT Pakistan which calls it *"slavery to America"* and urges the *"sincere officers within Pakistan's armed*

122. R. Pankhurst, 'The Inevitable Caliphate?: A History of the Struggle for Global Islamic Union, 1924 to the Present', Hurst Publishing, 2012

123. This date refers to the abolition of the Caliphate and is often commemorated by Islamists

124. This Facebook page links to Khilafah.com as well as the websites and Twitter pages of HT Pakistan and it's Media Office

forces” to grant “the Nussrah [help] to Hizb ut-Tahrir for the establishment of the Khilafah so as to achieve liberation from America and its agent rulers in Pakistan” – 18/07/2011

- Promotes Queen Mary University Ideological Society event with Reza Pankhurst and comments *“spread this like a germ its winter people” – 30/11/2011*
- Shares Taji Mustafa’s status update saying *“Hijra – Muharram marks start of the Islamic year. Great month for upliftment [sic] and gaining closeness to Allah. Hijra – we need to remind people of its true significance. Before it, Muslims were weak & oppressed. After it we had strong state (Khilafah) that established justice Hijra – Prophet’s establishment of Islamic state, Madina. A new system, constitution & socio-economic order. Isn’t that d [sic] debate needed in Egypt, Tunisia?” – 27/11/2011*
- ‘Tagged’ by former student 2 at an event *“organised by Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain” – 20/02/2011*
- Interacts with former student 2 on Facebook – 17/03/2011
- Promotes Reza Pankhurst’s book ‘The Inevitable Caliphate’ and comments *“This is a book to look out for by Ustadh Reza Pankhurst, anyone at the QM Debate on arab sping can checck [sic]this out for more details” – 15/04/2012*
- Defends Mohiuddin Ahmed and comments *“His crime is a political call to replace an unjust political system without any legitimacy, with an Islamic political system that harmonizes with the beliefs, history and yearnings of the people! Allahu Akbar” – 23/02/2012*
- Shares 198 photographs of HT march in London and comments *“Mashallah pics [sic] of yesterdays [sic] demo by Hizb ut Tahrir. At least 4000 marched along with Muslims from the streets jumping in! May Allah make our efforts count and let this be a sign to bashar ul kalb that the Khilafah is the only thing that will replace your soon to be humiliated downfall insha’Allah” – 19/02/2012*
- Promotes HT march via Taji Mustafa and comments *“The March scheduled earlier, we cannot wait or waste any longer” – 10/02/2012*
- Shares picture called ‘Five things the Khilafah gave to the world’ with three of the individuals profiled here and comments *“And they say it was the Dark Ages...it was for them!” – 07/03/2011*

Tweets: NA

QUEEN MARY STUDENT 3:

Believed to be a current student at Queen Mary, this individual is a close associate of student 1 and 2 and is in photographs with them at HT events;

- He attends HT conferences abroad and has posted pictures of lectures he attended with senior members including the current chairman Abdul Wahid and Reza Pankhurst;
- He has also linked to both the HT website and to the online magazine New Civilisation on his Facebook page.¹²⁵

Facebook likes include:

- ‘Hizb ut-Tahrir’
- ‘Nahda Productions’¹²⁶
- ‘Khilafah Movement Pakistan’
- ‘The Caliphate (Khilafah)’
- ‘Khilafah’
- ‘Naveed Butt (Media Office HT)’
- ‘Kashmir – Integral Part of Global Islamic Khilafah State’

125. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

126. Nahda Productions is an Australian based Islamist media organisation heavily inspired by HT. Their influence can be seen in the number of students who have ‘liked’ their effort to get YouTube to rescind the ban on the organisation’s channel, as well as their claim to produce video for HT.

- 'In Remembrance of Sheikh Anwar Al-Awlaki, a Voice of a Generation'¹²⁷

Articles shared:

- Shares New Civilisation article 'Babar Ahmed: British Justice Exposed' – 06/04/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'The Honour of the Dollar' via head of SOAS Belief and Reason Society – 23/11/2011
- Shares New Civilisation article called 'Forbidden Islam: British court bans 'Political' Islam in move to McCarthyism' – 15/12/2011

Videos shared:

- Shares link to HT website video of Osman Bakhsh and comments "*go to www.htmedia.info and follow seminar of Islamic student association Al Furqan with guest speaker Dr Osman Bakhach, on the topic 'Future of the Middle East: Islamic spring or democratic winter?'*" – 15/11/2011

Facebook posts:

- Comments on photograph of Queen Mary University student 1 at an HT event and confirms that the speaker is the same as one seen by students at an HT conference in Denmark – 31/12/2011
- Shares photograph taken from audience of Reza Pankhurst talk at Turnpike Lane Masjid called 'The legacy of Umar' – 31/12/2011
- Shares photograph taken from audience of Dr Abdul Wahid talk at Turnpike Lane Masjid called 'Change we can believe in, the lessons from the Arab Spring' – 31/12/2011
- 'Tagged' in photograph alongside SOAS student 1 and Queen Mary University student 2 at an HT conference – 10/10/2011
- 'Tagged' in photograph posing with Taji Mustafa alongside SOAS student 1 and Queen Mary University student 2 at an HT conference – 10/10/2011
- Promotes Queen Mary University Ideological Society event with Reza Pankhurst and comments "*Big Boy event at QUEEN MARY UNI next TUESDAY!!!!!!*" – 16/11/2011

Tweets: NA

127. This page has since been deleted by Facebook. Screenshot of Queen Mary student 3 'liking' this page on Facebook archived by Student Rights.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER STUDENT 1:

A senior figure in the Global Ideas Society at the University of Westminster, he has been identified by a senior member of the NUS as an organiser for HT.¹²⁸ The NUS alleges he sets up student organisations to promote HT, but there is little online evidence of this.

- He commented on the Facebook page of the SOAS Belief and Reason society after attending one of their events: *“Abdul Wahid [current chairman of HT Executive Committee] was very articulate”*;
- He was listed as an attendee at the July 2011 Khilafah Conference.¹²⁹

He promotes HT’s brand of Islamist ideology and political action through his personal Facebook and Twitter page, as well as the various Global Ideas Society Facebook pages. This includes:

- Linking to HT’s website and to New Civilisation magazine;
- Promoting Reza Pankhurst’s book ‘The Inevitable Caliphate’ and sharing a link to HT’s Media Centre;
- Frequently retweeting the HT Twitter profile, as well as HT members Abdul Wahid, Taji Mustafa and Jamal Harwood;
- Retweeting Mustafa’s television appearances;
- Organising and promoting an event at Westminster University featuring Jamal Harwood;¹³⁰
- Answering a question on his Facebook page asking *“Is it allowed...for Muslims to integrate into British society?”* with *“No it is haraam [forbidden]”*;
- Responding to a tweet from the *New York Times* asking what they should focus on in Egypt by saying *“focus on the call for Khilafah and Islam as a ruling basis”*;
- Sharing a video of Uthman Lateef via his Facebook page;
- Communicating with a Muslim Brotherhood (MB) representative via Twitter asking them *“is Sharia on the menu?”* and criticising them when they responded *“democracy is on the menu”*.¹³¹

One student contacted Student Rights stating that the attitude expressed by the Global Ideas Society towards women made her feel uncomfortable on campus,¹³² while another student who had complained about HT’s anti-Semitism was jeered at by a large section of the crowd at a Global Ideas Society event when he said that he was Jewish.¹³³

Facebook likes include:

- ‘Vote Islam, Not Kufr’
- ‘Khilafah Movement Pakistan’
- ‘Hizb ut-Tahrir’
- ‘New Civilisation Magazine’
- ‘The Caliphate (Khilafah)’
- ‘The Return of the Khilafah’
- ‘Khilafah’
- ‘Flag of Islamic Khilafah’
- ‘Support Hizb ut-Tahrir (Hizbut Tahrir)’

128. Personal correspondence with the author 07/03/2012

129. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

130. Student Rights, ‘Hizb ut-tahrir member at University of Westminster: Report’, 9 March 2012

131. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

132. Email correspondence between Student Rights and students at University of Westminster

133. Student Rights, ‘Hizb ut-tahrir member at University of Westminster: Report’, 9 March 2012

Articles shared:

- Shares Jamal Harwood article called 'The real rogue traders' – 04/10/2011
- Shares HT report called 'Gold Standard – The Future for a stable global currency' – 22/03/2012
- Shares HT article called 'Capitalists seek the secret to happiness' – 04/12/2010
- Shares HT article called 'Wikileaks: Kayani, Zardari and Fazlur Rehman' – 01/12/2010
- Shares HT article called 'None of the new Muslim MPs voted to stop the Afghan War' – 29/09/2010
- Shares HT article called 'Hizb ut-Tahrir is not a gateway to terrorism claims Whitehall' – 01/08/2010
- Shares HT article called 'It is Cameron and the West that are exporting terror to the Muslim lands' – 29/07/2010
- Shares BBC article 'Ken Bigley beheading video 'found' in defendant's home' and comments *"his offences were distributing extremist material.....and that means what? Anyone know where you can find the exact legal text that outlines this?"* – 15/10/2011
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'A look at the death of Ghadafi and what is NEXT??' – 22/10/2011

Videos shared:

- Shares video of Syrian protestors calling for Islamic rule and comments *"Western superpowers have a solution to prolong the life of the regime – its [sic] called the UN but the Syrian people have a solution – its [sic] called the Khilafah"* – 22/02/2012
- Shares video of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society event with Reza Pankhurst with Queen Mary University Ideological Society and comments *"Salams, please share this widely"* – 31/03/2012
- Shares HT Media live stream and comments *"watching sisters conference in Tunis...mashallah - great speeches"* – 10/03/2012
- Shares HT Media live stream with The University of Westminster Islamic Society – 10/03/2012
- Shares video of Uthman Lateef called 'The Bystander Effect' – 29/02/2012

Facebook posts:

- Promotes Reza Pankhurst's book 'The Inevitable Caliphate' – 21/04/2012
- Likes Facebook update from Kingston University Ideological Society – 01/03/2012
- Promotes debate called 'Who will save Pakistan' featuring HT speaker Atif Salahudeen – 24/02/2012
- Promotes The University of Westminster Global Ideas Society event with Jamal Harwood to Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 30/01/2012
- Promotes The University of Westminster Global Ideas Society event with Jamal Harwood – 30/01/2012
- Shares 'Ramadhan: A Month of Virtues, Victories and Change' event with Hassan Choudhury on Facebook – 04/08/2011
- Answers Facebook poll asking *"Is it allowed, according to Islam, for Muslims to integrate into British society?"* with *"No it is haraam"* – No date available
- Shares Goldsmiths College event featuring Hassan Choudhury with Queen Mary University student 1and comments *"Salams, please share this event! They are looking for two students to argue that there is no god, so if you know any willing to speak then get in contact!"* – 15/11/2011
- Comments of the Facebook page of the SOAS Belief and Reason Society after event with Dr Abdul Wahid *"brilliant event today.....the most aggressive by far and quite insulting was Shabani [sic].....never seen that before from a speaker.....abdul wahid was very articulate and didn't respond to ad hominem attacks even when he had several opportunities to do so"* – 05/11/2011
- Promotes The University of Westminster Global Ideas Society event called 'UK Riots: Results of a society that believes in nothing?' – 06/11/2011

Tweets:

- Responds on Twitter to former student 2 retweeting Taji Mustafa by saying “yo *****, where you @?” – 25/09/2011¹³⁴
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “PM Cameron: we need clear code of values & standards to live by. [Morals frm [sic] whr? [sic] MPs who fiddled expenses whn [sic] noone [sic] watchn? [sic]]” – 10/08/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “MPs who fiddled expenses are like the #Tottenham looters. Mentality = when you think noones [sic] watchin [sic] smash & grab what u can #londonriots” – 08/08/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “U thought UK = Big Ben, 2012 Olympics but #londonriots and lootn [sic] in #Enfield #Brixton #Walthamstow shows pic [sic] of simmering antisocial unrest in UK” – 08/08/2011
- Interacts with Taji Mustafa about individuals met on HT march – 09/05/2011
- Tweets at MB asking “is Sharia on the menu?” – 13/04/2012
- Tweets at MB asking “why is ikhwaan [MB] sending two messages? 1 to America and 1 to masses in Misr [Egypt] Be brave” – 13/04/2012
- Sends two Tweets to MB representative saying “you permitted the constitution drafting committee to be composed of 50% parliamentarians and 50% of people outside parliament” and “whilst promising the people in demonstrations implementation of Islam but when meeting America there is no mention of this, why?” – 13/04/2012
- Tweets at MB representative saying “Did Abdul Mawgoud Dandery say ‘Jihad was an internal process and even eating was a form of Jihad?’” – 13/04/2012
- Tweets “this is the style the UK is removing Islam from us, not by laws but by making our lives difficult” – 25/03/2012
- Interacts with Jamal Harwood asking about the tax system of Islamic government and receives reply – 21/03/2012
- Tweets “Khilafah conference announced in London! 9th July” – 13/06/2011
- Promotes Khilafah conference on Twitter, asking “who is coming to this years [sic] #Khilafah conference?” – 13/06/2011
- Retweets Dr Abdul Wahid saying “International #Khilafah #conference in London by #HizbutTahrir started now mashallah. Sajjad Khan speaking on new political vision” – 09/07/2011
- Tweets “#Hizbuttahrir Sajjad Khan ansering [sic] question on how #Khilafah will deal with the assets” – 09/07/2011
- Tweets “why do #Hizbuttahrir not join elections in Pakistan?” – 09/11/2011
- Tweets “#Khilafah #conference email of the venue today info@thewaterlily.net pls [sic] send an email thanking them” – 09/07/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “Jzk 2 ALL who came to confernce [sic] frm [sic] Holland, Germany, Denmrk [sic], Saudi...Alhamdlilah [sic] 4 inspiring day. May Allah take u home safely #hizbuttahrir” – 10/07/2011
- Tweets “@nytimes focus on the call for Khilafah and Islam as a ruling basis” – 29/01/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “Cameron’s M East visit exposes hypocrisy, opportunism and capitalism nature of Britain’s foreign policy. Hizb ut-Tahrir” – 22/02/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “B4 dust settled in Tahrir Sq. #Cameron arrived to ensure #Egypt’s generals continue 2 serve Western agenda as #Mubarak did 4 last 30yrs” – 22/02/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “#Cameron has arrived #Kuwait 2 help #transform it – by selling more arms to tyrants and dictators” – 22/02/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “Doing talk 2day on Uprisings #Egypt #Tunisia & Real Change 1:45pm Next to Nth Watford Mosque, North Western Ave WD25 0AQ #jan25 #caliphate” – 13/02/2011

134. Individuals name removed, tweet included as it implies personal relationship

- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “#Assad – as expected, now threatens ppl [sic] saying ready to defend Syria against those who rise up and “conspire” #basharspeech #Syria” - 30/03/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “#Assad – He just quoted frm [sic] Quran but fights those who call 4 following the Islamic Khilafah system that applies guidance frm [sic] Quran #Syria” – 30/03/2011
- Tweets “Taji Mustafa on Islam Channel - 7pm tonight. World this week. Bin Laden’s legacy – sky 813” – 05/05/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “Slms [sic]. Those on the way and attending the demo ia [sic]. Make sure u tweet and #fb about it all day. Let the world know Lets use #may7” – 07/05/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “Join today’s solidarity demo supportin [sic] uprisins [sic] in Muslim world + AMSTERDAM 2:30pm +LONDON 2pm Paddington Grn [sic] #yemen #syria #Bahrain #Libya” – 07/05/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying “Slms [sic] all. Demo day at last. Coaches and cars heading to London frm [sic] Bradford, Derby, Rochdale, Manc [sic], Birm [sic]...Have a safe journey, C u soon iA” – 07/05/2011
- Retweets Dr Abdul Wahid saying ““Be a ‘real’ ally in the war against terror” Kerry tells #Pakistan – Dawn MEANING: Be a better slave to America!” – 14/05/2011

UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER STUDENT 2:

Students at Westminster have contacted Student Rights with concerns that this student misuses the student email system to advertise Global Ideas Society events across the institution’s four campuses.

- On 5 March 2012 he shared a Rising Time magazine quote about the Arab Spring on the University of Westminster Islamic Society Facebook page, stating it is: “A step towards the removal of tyranny and oppression and after that this will surely lead to implementing the Islamic Khilafah and ruling by the shari’ah of Islam”.¹³⁵ When he was questioned about this by another member of the Islamic Society the student responded that Muslims “...should point out to them [Arab revolutionaries] that its [sic] the solution for the ummah’s problems”;
- He stated on Facebook that “the west is using the media and agents to convince them to accept, secularism...and to reject shari’ah so we in the UK should counter their arguments”;
- He posts pictures on Facebook, one which declares “Khilafah for Syria”;
- He promoted an HT march, reading that “the only road to real liberation, revival and justice for the people in Syria is the establishment of the Islamic KHILAFAH STATE”;
- He shared a video of Uthman Lateef on his Facebook page.¹³⁶

Facebook likes include:

- ‘Hizb ut-Tahrir [Political Party]’
- ‘Hizb ut-Tahrir [Organisation]’
- ‘Khilafah’
- ‘New Civilisation Magazine’
- ‘Hizb ut-Tahrir Nederland’
- ‘Nahda Productions’
- ‘Overthrow the Saudi & Arab Puppet Government/Elites & ‘So Called’ Kings’
- ‘We, the Revolutionaries of the Ummah’
- ‘Naveed Butt (Media Office HT)’
- ‘Taji Mustafa’

135. Rising Time Magazine is part of the output of Nahda Productions. See ‘Interview with Sheikh Abu Adnan’, 1 March 2012, Rising Times Magazine, available at <http://nahdaproductions.org/nahda/risingtimes/item/564-interview-with-sheikh-abu-adnan-rising-times-magazine-feb-2012> (accessed 06/05/2012)

136. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

- Has also liked 'Kalamullah' Facebook page; Kalamullah is a website which contains large amounts of extremist Islamist material including lectures by Anwar Al-Awlaki.¹³⁷

Articles shared: NA

Videos shared:

- Shares video on Facebook of Uthman Lateef talk called 'The Bystander Effect' – 01/03/2012

Facebook posts:

- Shares update saying *"Tunisia 12 months after the uprisings. Islamic flags are openly on display"* – 13/03/2012
- Answers Facebook poll asking *"Which pre-Ramadan webinar/course are you attending?"* with *"Fasting not Feasting. Ustadh [teacher] Uthman Lateef"* – No date available
- Quotes Rising Times Magazine saying *"these uprisings come as a positive push to at least remove these regimes and thus take a positive step towards the future, a step towards the removal of tyranny and oppression and after that this will surely lead to implementing the Islamic Khilafah and ruling by the shari'ah of Islam"* – 06/03/2012
- Comments on Rising Times Magazine quote on Facebook when accused of taking the credit of those protesting by another student saying *"This however does not mean that we shouldn't point out to them that its [sic] the solution to the Ummah's problems. The West is using the media and agents to convince them to accept secularism (almaniya) and to reject shari'ah so we in the UK should counter their arguments"* – 06/03/2012

Tweets: NA

KINGSTON UNIVERSITY

KINGSTON UNIVERSITY STUDENT 1:

A member of the Kingston University Ideological Society, who interacts with members of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society and the University of Westminster Global Ideas Society.

- He shared articles from the Siyasah Press blog with the former Kingston student on six occasions between December 2011 and March 2012;
- On 16 January 2012, Queen Mary student 1 said *"love the expansion of the ideosoc! [sic]"* on the Kingston University Ideological Society page; Kingston student 1 commented *"salaam [name withheld]...just doing whats [sic] needed bro"*;
- He commented on the Queen Mary University Ideological Society Facebook page, saying *"Hello everyone as you can see we have also just started up in Kingston University"*;
- He posted HT material on his Facebook page, including videos of Reza Pankhurst and of protests organised by Tunisian and Lebanese HT branches;
- He promoted HT events on Facebook, including a march on the 18th February 2012 which attended by several of the students profiled. On 20th February 2012 he then shared video of this march on Facebook;
- He is listed on Facebook as an attendee at the July 2011 'Khilafah Conference';
- He posted on Facebook: *"Oh Allah, there is no time like the present to grant us Islamic Governance!"* and that *"work to re-establish the correct and legitimate authority, Islamic State (ie Khilaafah), still remains an obligation"*;
- He posted on Facebook: *"...that Islam cannot be implemented through democracy"* and that *"...taking part in the democratic process WILL force you to compromise Allahs [sic] ahkam [rules]"*;
- He posted on Facebook: *"America and Israhel [sic] kills women and children and no one questions their ideology...Oh Allah there is no time like the present to grant us Islamic Governance! and sincere"*

137. This website was mentioned by J. Barclay, Challenging the Influence of Anwar Al-Awlaki, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, 2010, as one of the many Islamist sites containing "sections devoted to Anwar Al-Awlaki's lectures".

leadership! so we can show the world how Islam deals with conflicts!”¹³⁸

Facebook likes include:

- ‘The Caliphate’
- ‘We, the Revolutionaries of the Ummah’
- ‘One Islamic State – Morocco to Egypt – Let’s Unite’
- ‘The Return of the Khilafah’.
- He likes a page called ‘IslamicRevolution.Org, Understand a Revolution in 7 Steps from SeeratUnNabi’. Their website lists seven stages required for an ‘Islamic Revolution’, the sixth step being “*armed conflict*” and the seventh being “*exporting the revolution*”¹³⁹.

Articles shared:

- Shares article on HT website promoting march to “*call for real change in the Arab World*” – 02/02/2011

Videos shared:

- Shares video on Facebook called ‘The Ulema’s and the Struggle for the Khilafah through History and in our Times’ which includes the line “*arise to aid Hizb ut-Tahrir in re-establishing the Khilafah*” – 23/03/2012
- Shares HT Tunisia video of protestors calling for Islamic rule on Facebook – 18/03/2012
- Shares video of Tunisian protestors calling for Islamic rule on Facebook – 17/03/2012
- Shares HT Lebanon video of Syrian protestors thanking them for their support on Facebook – 16/03/2012
- Shares video of Tareq Sweidan, a Kuwaiti TV presenter, called ‘Tareq Sweidan encourages the Ummah to work for the establishment of the Khilafah’ on Facebook – 09/03/2012
- Shares Nahda productions video called ‘Wajdi Ghunaim calls for Sharia, secularism’s death in Tunisia’ on Facebook – 22/02/2012
- Shares video trailer for HT Tunisia conference called ‘Khilafah: A Shining Model for Women’s Rights and Political Role’ on Facebook – 20/02/2012
- Shares video of HT march on Facebook – 20/02/2012
- Shares video of protest at Al-Aqsa Mosque via Hassan Choudhury on Facebook – 11/02/2012
- Shares video of Reza Pankhurst talk titled ‘Lessons from the life of Umar’ on Facebook – 25/01/2012
- Shares Press TV video featuring Dr Nasreen Nawaz on Facebook – 22/01/2012
- Shares video of SOAS student 1 giving a talk called ‘Role of the Muslim Youth in the West’ on Facebook – 16/01/2012
- Shares video called Sheikh Umar bin Abdul Aziz calls for Sharia implementation in Egypt on Facebook – 24/10/2011
- Shares HT video called ‘Britain rally in support of Muslim world Uprisings’ on Facebook, showing highlights of HT march – 09/05/2011
- HT Video shared on his Facebook page by an unknown individual called ‘The Struggle for Islam and the call for Khilafah’ – 22/12/2010

Facebook posts:

- Promotes Goldsmiths Islamic Society event with Hassan Choudhury – 21/01/2012
- Shares photograph of headline stating ‘Islam won’t be basis of new Tunisian constitution’ via HT spokesman Naveed Butt and comments “*Another proof that Islam can’t be implemented through*

138. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

139. <http://islamicrevolution.org/> (accessed 04/04/2012)

democracy...it is obvious that democracy was used to mislead the Muslims of Turkey, Tunisia and Egypt who clearly wanted Islam and nothing else” – 28/03/2012

- Shares Al-Arabiya article called ‘Salafi Presidential candidate says Egypt must follow Israel’s casino policy’ and comments *“Never mind forbidding casinos, belly dancers and other haram practices – the Salafi candidate found a new solution – the government looks the other way and shouldn’t take taxes from those business areas! This is what we have been warning every Muslim for more than fifty years, taking part in the democratic process WILL force you to compromise Allahs [sic] ahkam” – 26/03/2012*
- Shares status update, saying *“Is disgusted at the worlds [sic] hypocrisy! Just in the last few days America and Israhel [sic] kills women and children and no one questions their ideology? Soldiers burning Qur’an, raping our sisters! shooting women and children in the head! sending robots to massacre towns! and no one questions their evil Ideology? yet they have the audacity to question the ideology of Islam? sick sick people! Oh Allah there is no time like the present to grant us Islamic Governance! and sincere leadership! so we can show the world how Islam deals with conflicts!” – 12/03/2012*
- Shares update saying *“ARE RULERS OF THE MUSLIM LANDS TODAY KUFFAR OR NOT? 1. If they are, what is our duty – To remove them! (advocated by those who are labelled ‘takfirees’ and ‘qutubees’. But if you are in Syria you are to obey them says the well known scholar) 2. And if they are not, what is our duty? – To obey them and not to remove them! (advocated by most government scholars and their affiliates and blind followers...No surprise there!) If a sincere scholar amongst 2 believed the ruler is a kaafir he would be singled-out and labelled as one by others in 2, and then they would strip his scholarship! (anyone comes to mind?) BOTH (above) VIEWS ARE IRRELEVANT TODAY...as none of the Muslim lands in reality ruled by Islam nor is the security based on Islam, therefore not an Islamic state (regardless of their empty words in calling themselves it!) - Being Muslim is as condition for rulers in the Islamic state (e.g. for the Khilafah, walih, a’mil, qadi al quad). And rebellion against rulers in an Islamic state whether they are dhaalim [oppressors] or faajir [sinful] is strictly prohibited (unless they implement pure kufr). Hence the authority (sultan) of these rulers over today’s [sic] Muslim lands are either invalid (baatil) or by necessity. Whichever the case, work to re-establish the correct and legitimate authority, Islamic state (i.e. Khilaafah), still remains an obligation” – 11/02/2012*
- Promotes HT march – 09/02/2012
- Promotes HT march on the Facebook page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 09/02/2012
- Promotes Kingston University Ideological Society on Facebook page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 20/02/2012
- Promotes Kingston University Ideological Society on the Facebook page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society and comments *“Hello everyone as you can see we have also just started up in Kingston University just wanted to pop by and ask for your support!! All you have to do is like us!! Thanx [sic] and look forward to seeing you on our page” – 25/01/2012*
- Promotes Kingston University Ideological Society on the Facebook page of the University of Westminster Global Ideas Society – 18/02/2012
- Promotes Kingston University Ideological Society on his Facebook page saying *“Hello everyone new page, its [sic] all about different ideas and societal issues and conflicts...come through and express yours also keep sharing the page to others and don’t forget mostly to LIKE!! the page” – 25/01/2012*

Tweets: NA

CITY UNIVERSITY

CITY UNIVERSITY STUDENT 1:

A current City university student who works with the MRDF affiliate Sabeel, he frequently promotes Sabeel events and Haitham al-Haddad:

- He shared an event called ‘Souls Musk’ on his Facebook page, including details of where to get tickets, with the Queen Mary Ideological Society Facebook page;
- He shared information about a seminar called ‘The Hitchhikers Guide to the Quran’, taught by Haitham

al-Haddad,¹⁴⁰ on a City University Perception Society Facebook page;

- He promoted the 'The King of Kings' 'family retreat' featuring Haitham Al-Haddad on Facebook;¹⁴¹
- He was listed on Facebook as having joined the University of Westminster Islamic Society and Queen Mary University Islamic Society at a Sabeel retreat called 'Seeking the Truth: Principles of Understanding'. The retreat featured Haitham al-Haddad and was described as enabling students to "...understand the pristine principles of Islam and an insight into applying these principles within Western society";¹⁴²
- He has used Twitter to share articles by Haitham Al-Haddad with his 253 followers which include other students profiled in this report, as well as a number of student societies.¹⁴³

Facebook likes include:

- 'Kalamullah'
- 'Sheikh Murtaza Khan'
- 'Sabeel Seminar'
- 'Sabeel Birmingham'
- 'Sabeel – Nurturing Success'
- 'Islam21c'

Articles shared:

- Shares Islam21C article on Facebook called 'Encouragement for Muslims to support the people of Syria with Qunut [obedience] and supplication' – 17/02/2012
- Shares Islam21C article called 'Encouragement for Muslims to support the people of Syria with Qunut and supplication' on the Facebook page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 18/02/2012
- Shares Islam21C article by Haitham al-Haddad on Twitter and comments "*sickkkkkkkkkk [sic] article by Sheikh Haitham on @islam21c check islam21c.com*" – 20/03/2012
- Shares Islam21C article called 'Who is killing the Syrian people?' on the Facebook page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 12/01/2012

Videos shared:

- Shares video of Haitham al-Haddad on Facebook – 13/03/2012
- Promotes video trailer for Sabeel 'King of Kings' event with IERA's Yusuf Estes on Facebook – 31/03/2012
- Promotes video trailer for Sabeel 'The Souls Musk' event on Facebook. Liked by University of Westminster student 2 – 05/03/2012
- Promotes video trailer for Sabeel 'Hitchhikers Guide to the Quran' event with Haitham al-Haddad on City University Perception Society Facebook page and comments "*ATTEND THIS TOO!! Sure to benefit from it Inshallah*" – 16/11/2011

Facebook posts:

- Promotes Sabeel 'The Souls Musk' event – 05/02/2012
- Promotes Sabeel 'The Souls Musk' event on the Facebook page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 05/02/2012

140. Sabeel, 'The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Qur'an', available at http://www.sabeel.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=113:themagnificentmiracleseminar&catid=39:seminarinformation&Itemid=70 (accessed 06/05/2012)

141. Facebook, 'The King of Kings - Retreat for Brothers, Sisters & Families!' at <https://www.facebook.com/events/216847585065346/> (accessed 06/05/2012)

142. Sabeel, 'Seeking the Truth', available at http://www.sabeel.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=116:principles-of-understanding-and-reasoning&catid=38:retreatinfo&Itemid=76®pro_minical_month=8®pro_minical_year=2024 (accessed 06/05/2012)

143. These 253 followers include the former Kingston University student involved in running Siyasa Press, the University of Westminster Global Ideas Society, the University of Westminster Student Union President and the Head of the Queen Mary Ideological Society; screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

- Promotes Sabeel 'King of Kings' event, saying *"How can you not be going to the King of Kings – Retreat for Brothers, Sisters and Families?!"* – 07/03/2012
- Shares update saying *"brilliant Sabeel seminar this weekend"* – 12/03/2012
- Promotes Sabeel 'King of Kings' event on the Facebook page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society and asks students to fill in questionnaire for Haitham al-Haddad's research – 25/01/2012
- Promotes Sabeel 'King of Kings' event on the Facebook page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 21/01/2012
- Promotes Sabeel 'The Heart: It's Symptoms and Cures' event on the Facebook page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society – 23/01/2012
- Shares update on the Facebook page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society saying *"people need knowledge more than they need food and drink, because they need food and drink two or three times a day, but they need knowledge all the time"* – 02/01/2012
- 'Tagged' attending a Sabeel event called 'Seeking the Truth – Principles of Understanding' with the University of Westminster Islamic Society, Queen Mary University Islamic Society, IERA, MRDF Sabeel and Haitham al-Haddad.

Tweets:

- Tweets at former Kingston University student asking *"bro by any chance do you know if Jamal Hardwood [sic] is doin [sic] a talk this week? And with who?"* – 28/12/2011

RECENT GRADUATES

A number of other individuals involved in this activism either recently graduated or finished their studies several years ago but remain in contact with some of the students profiled above, either through attending events or interacting online.

INDIVIDUAL 1:

This individual, a current student or recent graduate, appears to have strong personal links to both the SOAS and Queen Mary University students profiled.

- He was photographed by SOAS student 1 at an HT conference in Holland in March 2012 (photograph shared by SOAS student on Facebook);
- He posts numerous links to HT videos and to the HT website;
- He promoted an HT march (18 February 2012) on Facebook;
- He also frequently shares video of protestors calling for Islamic rule on Facebook, and comments favourably on the idea;
- He commented negatively on Facebook after Ahmed Shebani, a Libyan politician, thanked NATO for their support in removing Gaddafi at a Queen Mary event (attended by Student Rights). In a discussion on the Facebook event page, he wrote *"geezas wen [sic] is the vid [sic] up, sellout doing sujood [prostration] needs to go viral"*;
- He shared a note on Facebook called 'Your Sister Need You! Oh Sons of Islam!' The note appears to have been written in December 2004 by the 'Jihad Unspun' website¹⁴⁴ after a letter alleging that Muslim women were being raped by coalition troops in Abu Ghraib prison was smuggled out. The Facebook note reproduces the letter and describes insurgents who subsequently attacked the prison as *"resistance fighters"* whilst asking *"Where are the Muslim men to defend their honor?"*
- He posted a poem on his Facebook page which says: *"Oh Allah give honour and dignity to islam and the muslims, and humiliate shirk and the mushrikeen, and kufr and the kaafireen [all terms for non-believers], and destroy the enemies of this deen"*.¹⁴⁵

Facebook likes: NA

144. Jihad Unspun, at <http://www.jihadunspun.com/> (accessed 06/05/2012)

145. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

Articles shared:

- Shares Russia Today article on Facebook called 'Up to 20 US troops behind Kandahar bloodbath' and comments *"Don't panic...I'm sure there's a perfectly reasonable explanation, one that only an ignorant close minded person would reject...like maybe all 20 had brain injuries"*. Hassan Choudhury comments underneath the link *"Rotten apples or rotten tree?"* – 17/03/2012
- Shares Voice of Russia article on Facebook called 'Hizb ut-Tahrir: the new face of Islam' and comments *"Hizb ut-Tahrir has advocated a three stage program of action which is modeled [sic] after the three stages the Prophet Muhammed experienced when he tried to establish the Islamic state"* – 13/03/2012
- Shares Egypt Independent article on Facebook called 'Brotherhood decides to drop 'Islam is the Solution' for Presidential race' and comments *"Turned their backs on hasan al-ban'a, syed qutb and the numerous martyrs who gave thier [sic] life for this deen...compromise will never succeed"* – 26/04/2012

Videos shared:

- Shares video on Facebook called 'Syrian General 'I killed for money' – 13/03/2012
- Shares video of Syrian fighters waving Islamic flags on Facebook and comments *"The West should be very afraid...the sleeping giant awakens! Allahuakbar!"* – 11/02/2012
- Shares video of Tunisian protestors demanding Islamic rule on Facebook and comments *"The masses in the Muslim world have become tired of the shackles of dictatorships and are calling for a democratic system that will secure their justice and freedoms...LOOOL NOT! I love this Ummah, not even a year since they were gifted 'democracy' [sic] and they've already realised its [sic] a used broken toy. Your move West :-)"* – 17/03/2012
- Shares video of Taji Mustafa discussing killing of civilians by rogue US soldier on Facebook and comments *"Was that soldier the only rogue entity out there in our Muslim lands?"* Asghar Bukhari [see page 52] shares link to photograph of racist sentiments by UK soldier underneath the link and the student interacts with him, using Bukhari's first name – 14/03/2012
- Shares video of Egyptian protestors calling for Islamic rule on Facebook and comments *"Massive demo on Tahrir Square Cairo, Egypt: "Oh Allah let your Shari'a rule over us. Oh Allah bring down the tyrants. And give us a leader (haakim) who rules by the Shar' [sic] of Allah" The Muslims in Egypt are calling for a new uprising called; "Ath Thawratul Islamiyyatul kubra" The Big Islamic Uprising to bring back Khilafah Rashida! Allahu Akbar"* – 22/04/2012
- Shares video called 'People of Binshiyye in Syria DEMAND the Khilafah!' on Facebook and comments *"And the call grows louder...Allahuakbar!"* – 01/04/2012

Facebook posts:

- Promotes HT march – 07/02/2012
- Promotes HT march and shares picture of dead Syrian fighter – 16/02/2012
- Shares 198 photographs of HT march and comments *"May Allah accept our efforts and let our brothers in Syria know we are with them"* – 20/02/2012
- Shares poem which states *"Oh Allah give honour and dignity to islam and the muslims, and humiliate shirk and the mushrikeen, and kufr and the kaafireen, and destroy the enemies of this deen"* – 23/03/2012
- Shares note called 'Your Sister Need You! Oh Sons of Islam!' – 05/09/2010
- Shares note called 'The challenge of developing the Islamic personality in the Western lands' – 25/01/2011
- 'Tagged' at HT march along with Queen Mary student 2 and former student 2 – 20/02/2011
- Comments about Ahmed Shebani on the Facebook event page of the Queen Mary University Ideological Society event with Reza Pankhurst saying *"geezas wen [sic] is the vid [sic] up, sellout doing sujood [prostration] needs to go viral"*
- 'Tagged' in photograph at HT Holland conference by SOAS student 1 – 16/03/2012
- 'Tagged' in post by SOAS student 1 which shares video of Osman Bakhsh of HT Lebanon – 01/03/2012

- Shares comment about Dr Aafia Siddique, saying *“the mother of Aafia Siddiqui spoke to her on the phone last Ramadan. She said, “I find the oppressive situation [sic] you are in unbearable”... Aafia replied; “o my mother. Do not worry about me. I see the Messenger of Allah (s) in my dreams every night. On one instant he said to me, “tell your mother not to grieve, as that which Allah has in store for her in the Hereafter is better”... In another dream the Messenger of Allah (s) took her to meet his blessed wife Aaisha(ra) and said, “meet our daughter Aafia,”... Sister Aafia inshallah has nothing to worry about - we do. What are we doing for the oppressed? Oh Allah awaken the lions of this Ummah so that we can restore honour back to Aafia and our Ummah” – 01/04/2012*
- Shares photograph of British and Afghan soldiers kicking in a door with the caption *“Knock, Knock! – Who’s there? – Democracy!”* and comments *“THIS PIC IS AN ABSOLUTE LIE!!!...they’ve never knocked” – 24/03/2012*

Tweets: NA

FORMER STUDENT 2:

This individual appears to be a recent graduate.

- He shared videos of current HT Executive Committee chairman Abdul Wahid on his Facebook profile. He commented on one video that it demonstrates how *“Islam secures the ruling system against the rife corruption we witness in this ‘democratic government’”*;
- He shared a video of Wahid and fellow HT Britain members Taji Mustafa and Ons Chafai on Facebook, asking people to *“please watch and share”*;
- He posted a video filmed at a HT rally outside the Libyan Embassy in February 2011 on Facebook and indicated that he was present at the rally, along with Queen Mary student 2 and former student 1;
- He repeatedly promoted the HT march on 18 February 2012 on both Facebook and Twitter. He posted on the Facebook event page for the HT 18 February 2012 march *“Everybody needs to attend this! We HAVE to stand by our brothers & sisters. Not the West, not Russia or China, but the Muslim Ummah”*.
- On 7 February 2012 he shared a status update on Facebook about the HT rally on 18 February 2012 declaring *“spread the word. We’ve all gotta [sic] attend this!”* He then posted a request on the Facebook event page for the march asking individuals to send videos of their views to an email address at info@hizb.org.uk;
- His Facebook profile picture is the black flag of Islam, or ‘al-riya’ flying over the globe, with the phrase *“Return of the KHILAFAH, Make History or Become History”* written underneath it;
- His twitter profile describes him as *“Calling the Muslim Ummah to restore dignity & honour. Carry the call to Re-establish Khilafah Rashidah!”*
- He lists his political views on his Facebook profile as *“Khilafah”*.¹⁴⁶

Facebook likes include:

- ‘New Civilisation Magazine’
- ‘Real Change Can Happen’¹⁴⁷

Articles shared: NA

Videos shared:

- Shares HT video of HT march on Facebook and comments *“Message to Syria from Muslims marching in UK...Please share with Ummah in #Syria” – 24/02/2012*
- Shares video of Dr Abdul Wahid on Facebook and comments *“Please watch and share. Excellent video on the Key questions about the future of the Arab Spring” – 29/01/2012*
- Shares video of Dr Abdul Wahid on Facebook and comments *“How can they still have the audacity to*

146. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

147. This is a Facebook page which claims that “The tyrant regimes in the Muslim world have to go and it is game over for the rulers” and that “The only real solution is the Khilafah”

tell us how we should rule?? Please watch and share with others how Islam secures the ruling system against the rife corruption we witness in this 'democratic government'!" – 30/03/2012

- Shares HT video on Facebook called 'Arab Spring: Islam or Democracy?' – 25/01/2012
- Shares video of HT demonstration on Facebook and 'tags' Queen Mary University student 2 and former student 1 as having attended with him – 20/02/2011
- Shares video of Taji Mustafa speech at HT demonstration on Facebook and comments "*Taji Mustafa addressing the demonstrators*" – 22/02/2011
- Shares video of Dr Abdul Wahid on Facebook called 'Message from Dr Abdul Wahid: David Cameron, Muslims don't want your Democracy!' and comments "*MUST SEE! Dr Abdul Wahid delivers an open and direct message to David Cameron. Please share as widely as possible*" – 15/04/2011
- Shares video of Jamal Harwood in debate on the financial crisis on Facebook – 11/04/2012

Facebook posts:

- Shares update on page of HT march, saying "*Everybody needs to attend this! We HAVE to stand by our brothers and sisters. Not the West, not Russia or China, but the Muslim Ummah. May Allah preserve the brave Muslims in Syria and throughout the Muslim world. Ameen*" – 07/02/2012
- Shares update on page of HT march, saying "*You may be aware of an upcoming march (Sat 18th Feb) in London, in support of the ongoing uprising in Syria against the brutal and oppressive regime of Bashar Al-Assad. In order to encourage as many people as possible to attend, we would like to create a video in which people have the chance to share their thoughts on the situation, their reasons for coming or why they think the event is so important. In order to achieve this we need to collect the views from as many brothers and sisters as possible, as quickly as possible. This is why we have sent out this request- and we really hope you are able to help! Please send your recorded messages over (phone cameras are fine), and we will compile them into a single video. Please keep the comment short, some examples of the kind of things you can address include: why you are planning to attend the march, why the events in Syria are so important to you, your personal message to the ummah or army in Syria, your message to muslims who are thinking of attending. Please email the videos to info@hizb.org.uk Your efforts are greatly appreciated, and may Allah reward you many times over in this life and the next*" – 07/02/2012
- Promotes HT march and comments "*Spread the word. We've all gotta [sic] attend this!*"
- Shares picture of HT march poster and comments "*Slm [sic] all, set this pic [sic] as your profile pic [sic] and share as wide as you can! Lets spread the message*" – 09/02/2012
- Interacts with Queen Mary University student 2 – 17/03/2011
- Shares update saying "*Can't believe how Christmas parties have become a norm for Muslims. This time of year can bring alot [sic] of pressure on Muslims to integrate into a way of life not compatible to Islam. How many times do I have to say..."no thanks, not even for orange juice" Why do they think we like Orange Juice so much??!! May Allah (swt) keep us all strong. Ameen*". Commented on by Queen Mary University student 1 – 22/12/2011

Tweets:

- Tweets at Dr Abdul Wahid and refers to HT march, saying "*Please use #LDNSyriaMarch when tweeting about #Syria #Homs*" – 09/02/2012
- Tweets at Taji Mustafa and refers to HT march, saying "*Please use #LDNSyriaMarch when tweeting about #Syria #Homs*" – 09/02/2012
- Promotes HT march on Twitter, saying "*Sat 19th March 11am Picket outside Pak embassy London Raymond Davis – time for Real Change, time for Khilafah #Pak #RaymondDavis #Khilafah*" – 18/03/2011
- Promotes HT march on Twitter, saying "*March to support the uprising in Syria, Sat 25th February| Hizb u-Tahrir Britain #LDNSyriaMarch*" – 09/02/2012
- Tweets link to photographs of HT march and comments "*Hizb-ut Tahrir organise march to support the uprising in Syria*" – 18/02/2012
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying "*How can we end Western interference in politics of Muslim world? Real*

change = End western interference #caliphate #Egypt – 17/02/2011

- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying *“Our brave ppl [sic] being massacred in #Libya. Prophet said master of matyrs [sic] is Hamza and 1 who stands up to a tyrant and is killed. We won’t forget”* – 19/02/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying *“#Saudi sendn [sic] troops to help Bahrain’s ruler show Muslim countries 1)hav [sic] troops 2)don’t need West 3)can act. Demand they help ppl [sic] in #Libya”* – 14/03/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying *“Saif al Islam (Saif al Shaytan) #Gadaffi claims he paid money 2 #Sarkozy’s election campaign and is demandin [sic] it back. Wonder if true #Libya”* – 16/03/2011
- Retweets Taji Mustafa saying *“Like Cameron today, on 19 Mar 2003 Blair was saying intervention was to save Iraqis! Remember Baha Mousa, 500k plus killed, shock and awe?”* – 25/09/2011

FORMER UCL STUDENT 1:

A 2011 UCL graduate who regularly communicates with students at Queen Mary University.

- He has shared several HT reports on Facebook, as well as links to articles from New Civilisation several times;
- He shared a Facebook update suggesting he had attended a SOAS Belief and Reason Society event featuring Dr Abdul Wahid;
- He was listed on Facebook as having attended the 2011 HT Khilafah Conference;
- He posted photographs and video footage of the 18 February 2012 HT March to the Syrian Embassy on Facebook. One of the photographs, a placard with *“Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain”* on it, is his profile picture on Facebook;
- He promoted the 18 February 2012 HT march, sharing a poster of the event on his Facebook page with former Kingston University student, and encouraging his Facebook friends to *“JOIN THE MARCH THIS SATURDAY TO SHOW YOUR SYRIAN BROTHERS THEY ARE NOT ALONE!”*
- He posted videos on Hassan Choudhury’s Facebook wall of a lecture which concludes: *“We ask that next year, on the 3rd of March, we will be celebrating the return of the Khilafah”*;
- He commented on the arrest of Pakistani Brigadier Ali Khan, detained for alleged links with HT (banned in Pakistan), on Facebook, saying: *“How dare he want to establish Islam and break Americas dominance over the pak [Pakistani] military forces”*.¹⁴⁸

Facebook likes: NA

Articles shared:

- Shares Shropshire Star article called ‘Muslim woman, 52, racially abused by Telford gang’ on Facebook with Hassan Choudhury – 06/12/2011
- Shares New Civilisation article called ‘Poppies: Political and Patriotic’ on Facebook and quotes Dr Abdul Wahid saying *“I will not be wearing a poppy this November. I cannot wear a badge that remembers the aggressor over the victim – especially when the victim is my sister, my brother, my father and my mother”* – 11/11/2011
- Shares article from HT website on called ‘Unreported rapes: the silent shame’ on Facebook and comments *“Government cuts funding to sexual violent support services as rape stats soar to 1 in 10!!! classic case of capitalism valuing money over the things that really matter, like protecting the honour of women”* – 13/03/2012
- Shares Express Tribune article called ‘Bigger Plot: ‘HT has formed a shadow govt for Pakistan’ on Facebook and comments *“how dare he want to establish Islam and break Americas [sic] dominance over the Pak military forces”* – 07/03/2012
- Shares HT report called ‘Gold Standard – The Future for a Stable Global Currency’ on Facebook and comments *“For those interested in Islamic Economics, this is for you. Hizb ut Tahrir will be holding an official launch of its gold standard report providing practical solutions from the Islamic economic*

148. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

system which economists and thinkers (both Muslim and non Muslim) will understand. The launch will be held this Thursday and is open to all” – 21/03/2012

Videos shared:

- Shares video of HT march on Facebook which appears to have been filmed personally – 18/02/2012
- Shares video of Dr Abdul Wahid at SOAS Belief and Reason Society event on Facebook and comments *“this is a vid [sic] from the debate a couple days ago on the future of the Arab world. The atmosphere was intense and Dr Abdul Wahid from Hizb ut-Tahrir really won the crowd by the end of the night. One of the best debates eveerrrr [sic]. Here’s his speech” – 09/11/2011*
- Posts video of convert speaker identified as ‘Brother Jamal’ in which the speaker *“explains the need for the Islamic Khilafah state”* on Facebook – 15/03/2012
- Shares video of convert speaker identified as ‘Brother Jamal’ with Queen Mary University student 1 and Hassan Choudhury on Facebook – 15/03/2012
- Shares video trailer for HT demonstration on Facebook – 23/04/2011
- Shares video of Syrian protestors stating *“victory is from Allah”* with Queen Mary University student 1 on Facebook and comments *“incredible video...so inspiring” – 29/12/2011*
- Shares graphic videos of tortured and mutilated Syrian demonstrators on Facebook and comments – *“I FEEL LIKE SCREEEEEEAAAAAMING! THE PICTURES AND VIDEOS OF TORTURED VICTIMS IS BRINGING ME TO BREAKING POINT!! AAAAAAAHHHHH!!! YA ALLAH DESTROY THAT PIG BASHAR AL ASSAD AND HIS SCUMBAG STOOGES! GIVE MARTYRDOM TO THE VICTIMS! GIVE MARTYRDOM TO SISTER ZAINAB! YA ALLAH FORGIVE ME FOR WITNESSING ALL OF IT AND NOT DOING ENOUGH! AMEEN” – 15/02/2012*

Facebook posts:

- Promotes HT march and comments *“JOIN THE MARCH THIS SATURDAY TO SHOW YOUR SYRIAN BROTHERS THEY ARE NOT ALONE” – 12/02/2012*
- Promotes HT march poster and comments *“MAKE THIS YOUR PROFILE PIC AND SHARE” – 14/02/2012*
- Shares 13 photographs which appear to have been taken personally of HT march and comments *“4500 protestors at the Syrian embassy” – 18/02/2012*
- Promotes Queen Mary University Ideological Society event with Reza Pankhurst and shares link to the Twitter page of Queen Mary student 1. Comments *“PENCIL IT INTO YOUR DIARIES!!” – 12/12/2011*

Tweets: NA

FORMER UCL STUDENT 2:

A 2007 UCL graduate who communicates with students including Queen Mary student 1.

- He frequently shares material from the HT website, New Civilisation and Khilafah.com on his Facebook page;
- He shared New Civilisation material with Queen Mary University student 3 on Facebook;
- He shared an HT report with former UCL student 1 on Facebook;
- He shared a link to the Siyasah Press blog on Facebook on 16 February 2012;
- He regularly shares posts by Taji Mustafa on Facebook;
- He promoted the 18 February 2012 march on Facebook;
- He posted a photograph of a HT march on Facebook with the comment *“This is call is [sic] worldwide, when will you join?”* on 4 April 2012.¹⁴⁹

Facebook likes include:

- ‘The Caliphate (Khilafah)’

149. Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

- 'Khilafah Movement Pakistan'
- 'Flag of Islamic Khilafah'
- 'Khilafah'
- 'Support Hizb ut-Tahrir'
- 'Hizb ut-Tahrir'
- 'The Return of the Khilafah'

Articles shared:

- Shares article from HT website called 'Democracy is the best political system money can buy' on Facebook via Taji Mustafa – 30/03/2012
- Shares article from HT website called 'British justice is not in the dock, it's on the gallows' on Facebook via Taji Mustafa – 06/04/2012
- Shares New Civilisation article called 'Babar Ahmed: British justice exposed' on Facebook via Queen Mary student 3 – 06/04/2012
- Shares article from HT website called 'Unreported rapes: the silent shame' on Facebook via former UCL student 1 – 13/03/2012
- Shares Siyasah Press article called 'Your Mum!!!*@\$%!!' on Facebook – 16/02/2012
- Shares article on Facebook about the arrest of Mohamamd Anisuzzaman, an alleged leader of HT Bangladesh – 24/01/2012

Videos shared:

- Shares video of heavy shelling in Homs on Facebook via Taji Mustafa – 05/04/2012
- Shares video of Syrian refugee camp with title saying 'We demand that the Muslims and the Arab leaders mobilise' on Facebook via Khilafah.com – 12/04/2012
- Shares video titled 'Syrian General 'I killed for money' on Facebook via Former student 1 – 13/03/2012
- Shares video from HT website called 'Trailer March to support the uprising in Syria' on Facebook – 14/02/2012
- Shares video of Taji Mustafa talk called 'The role of the Muslim Youth' at an event called 'Call of Duty: Rise of the Ummah' on Facebook – 14/02/2012

Facebook posts:

- Comments "Inshallah" on SOAS student 1's link from HT website promoting HT march – 14/02/2012
- Likes Siyasah Press article called 'Your Mum!!!*@\$%!!' shared by SOAS student 1 with Queen Mary University student 1 – 11/02/2012
- Likes Siyasah Press article called 'Truly, Madly, Deeply' shared by former Kingston student with Queen Mary University student 1 – 14/02/2012
- Promotes HT event called 'The Khilafah: A Shining Model for Women's Rights and Political Role' – 30/03/2012
- Shares HT photograph of HT protestors and comments "This call is worldwide when will you join?" – 04/04/2012
- Shares photograph of including a US soldier who was acquitted of killing civilians compared to Dr Aafia Siddique being sentenced to 86 years in prison and comments "The result of man legislating. These are the fruits that the tree of Capitalism (secularism) bears. Justice is only with the Shariah, where Allah is the legislator and His creation only implement" – 08/02/2012
- Shares link to HT Media Representative Uthman Badar's Facebook page – 14/02/2012
- Posts on Hassan Choudhury's Facebook page saying "Muslims are getting deleted from Facebook. Lol. Freedom. What Freedom!!!" – 05/05/2011

Tweets: NA

CASE STUDY:

MUSLIM PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE UK AND STUDENTS IN THE UK

Founded in 2000, MPACUK encourages young Muslims in the UK to get involved in politics. MPAC campaigns on four “core principles”: including “reviving the *fard* (obligation) of *Jihad*”,¹⁵⁰ which they make clear is “political *Jihad*,” citing Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf Qaradawi to support their ideas.¹⁵¹ While not strictly an Islamist organisation, the group was added to the NUS’s ‘No Platform’ policy list in 2004 as a result of alleged anti-Semitic statements and actions, including a donation to the Holocaust denier David Irving.¹⁵²

The primary focus of MPAC’s work is anti-Zionist. However, in 2008 co-founder Asghar Bukhari made anti-Semitic comments on Facebook, some of which appeared to glorify attacks on Israel: “*Muslims who fight against the occupation of their lands are ‘Mujahadeen’ and are blessed by Allah. And any Muslim who fights against Israel and dies is a martyr and will be granted paradise. [...] Any public attack on Islam and the Ummah is not going to be tolerated by men like me. I have dealt with these Zionists before, a veneer of reason, below which lies a crooked mind plotting and planning to extend their hatred against us.*”¹⁵³

QUEEN MARY REVIVING JIHAD:

Two students at Queen Mary, unconnected to the others profiled, promote MPACUK on their shared twitter profile ‘@RevivingJihad’.

- The YouTube videos they share on Twitter frequently state that jihad is an obligation and that all Muslims who do not defend the Ummah are “*part of the problem*”. They state, however, that they are referring to ‘political’ jihad;
- They have stated “...that a non-political Muslim is a Muslim who is a hypocrite to their own faith” and that “*political jihad is the priority of every Muslim*”;
- In one video they have uploaded to YouTube, ‘Your first priority after belief is jihad’, one of the students reads an English translation of a speech by Abdullah Azzam and states that jihad is “*fard ayn* [an obligation upon all individuals]”. She wrote underneath the video “*I have a lot of respect for Sheikh Abdullah Azzam who fought the Soviets and is now a martyr, may Allah bless his soul*”;
- They shared videos by Asghar Bukhari, and regularly retweet MPAC, Bukhari and MPAC media spokesperson Raza Nadim. Bukhari and Nadim, as well as a Twitter account called ‘@MPACUKWalsall’, also regularly retweet the students;¹⁵⁴
- One of the students appears in a video encouraging Muslims to join MPACUK for meetings to learn how to “*defend Islam*”. The MPACUK video was posted on Bukhari’s YouTube channel;¹⁵⁵
- One of the students videoed themselves disrupting a Friday Khutba at Masjid al-Tawhid in Leyton and posted it on their YouTube page. Under the video she wrote: “*I spoke against this Imam, and symbolically spoke to EVERY Imam in Britain who has failed to teach us to take up political Jihad to free our bleeding ummah.*”¹⁵⁶

Combined Facebook likes include:

- Muslim Public Affairs Committee UK (MPACUK)
- Sayid Qutb

150. MPACUK, ‘About MPACUK’, available at <http://www.mpacuk.org/about-mpacuk.html> (accessed 06/05/2012)

151. MPACUK, ‘Political Jihad’, 1 August 2010, available at <http://www.mpacuk.org/vote/political-jihad.html> (accessed 06/05/2012)

152. ‘Muslim leader sent funds to Irving’, Guardian, 19 November 2006

153. ‘Muslim Public Affairs Committee Spokesman Glorifies Terror’, Centre for Social Cohesion press release, 19 December 2008, available at http://www.socialcohesion.co.uk/files/1231430557_1.pdf

154. Screenshot archived by Student Rights

155. YouTube, ‘Learn to be an advocate for the Ummah’, available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7oFzKSvk8LU&list=UUqN4XfBU09Zt5LM_fGCgQJw&index=2&feature=plcp (accessed 06/05/2012)

156. YouTube video, ‘Lioness of Allah Shames Imam at Jummah’, available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=K42NyKxaqu0&feature=BFa&list=PLED121F52148CE2AE; screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights

- Hizb ut-Tahrir
- Shaykh Zahir Mahmood
- Asghar Bukhari
- Sheikh Murtaza Khan
- One Islamic State - Morocco to Egypt - Let's Unite
- Khalid Yasin
- Free Aafia Siddiqui

Articles shared:

- Retweets MPACUK sharing article called '#IRELAND Thanks Ottoman Caliphate For Humanitarian Aid Provided 160 Years Ago' – 26/04/2012

Videos shared:

- These videos are all available at the students' YouTube channel.¹⁵⁷
- 'Dear Muslims, You're Just Slaves' – 18/03/2012
- '9/11 was a good thing!' – 26/02/2012
- 'Muslim Hate: The Battle of Ideas' – 16/01/2012

They have also shared videos via their Twitter profile:

- Shares 'Dear USA, Stop being Israel's Bit*h'. Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari – 05/03/2012
- Shares '9/11 was a good thing!' Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari – 06/03/2012
- Shares 'Top 10 Zionist Lies'. Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari – 06/03/2012
- Shares 'Dear USA, Stop being Israel's Bit*h' – 06/03/2012
- Shares 'Muslim Hate: The Battle of Ideas' – 12/03/2012
- Shares 'Top 10 Zionist Lies'. Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari – 16/03/2012
- Retweets Asghar Bukhari video called 'A mosque for fools and cowards' – 16/03/2012
- Shares Asghar Bukhari video called 'Sunni Vs Shia: The War Your Enemies Want' and comment "*Set your differences aside and focus on what we all face today – oppression*" – 16/03/2012
- Shares 'Dear Muslims, You're Just Slaves' and comments "*If you're a Muslim, you are NOT free. You are a Slave*". Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari – 18/03/2012
- Shares 'Malcolm X: I charge the Zionist'. Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari – 19/03/2012
- Shares '5 ways to identify a non-political Muslim'. Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari – 24/03/2012
- Shares '[LIVE] Lioness of Allah shames Imam at Jummah' – 24/03/2012
- Shares 'Why ISOC's are sh*t: We Challenge You! (Part 2)' – 01/04/2012
- Shares 'Why ISOC's are sh*t: We Challenge You! (Part 2)'. Retweeted by MPACUK Walsall and Asghar Bukhari – 01/04/2012
- Shares 'Dear Muslims, You're Just Slaves' and comments "*Muslims are just slaves, Babar Ahmed is the proof of this*". Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari – 05/04/2012
- Shares '5 ways to identify a non-political Muslim' – 14/04/2012

Facebook posts:

High privacy settings have precluded the compilation of all Facebook posts. These updates were all shared in April 2012:

- Shares update saying "*All one needs to do is to take a look at USA's history to know who the true terrorists are... I mean, they were founded upon ethnic [sic] cleansing for crying out loud*" – 30/04/2012

157. YouTube, LionessAnd MehdiJahid, available at <http://www.youtube.com/user/LionessAndMehdiJahid/videos>

- Shares update saying *"Do you know America has killed over 4 MILLION MUSLIMS since 1991(first Iraqi War) and displaced over 12 MILLION. Do you also know there are 1.7 BILLION Muslims in the world that allowed this to happen! This is disproportionate!"* – 30/04/2012
- Shares update saying *"When 3000 people were killed in the Twin Tower attack, an entire coalition of nations destroyed 2 countries. When sanctions on food and medical care killed half a million children in Iraq before the invasion even began, the Muslim world stood by. So tell me, O Muslim - can you hear the chains holding you back yet?"* – 24/04/2012
- Shares update saying *"Non-political Muslims are the products of the defective version of Islam the imperialists promote in Islamic institutions"* – 24/04/2012

Tweets:

- Tweets *"#Anders #Breivik charged with #terrorism? I thought that term was exclusively for #Muslims?"* – 07/03/2012
- Tweets *"If you are afraid to use the word #Jihad, you are a slave... And you don't even know it".* Retweeted by MPACUK and MPACUK Walsall – 12/03/2012
- Retweets MPACUK saying *"Abdulahdi Khawaja >Bahraini HRD sentenced to life, now on hunger strike demanding freedom#KhawajaDay32 @mshafiquk @RevivingJihad"* – 12/03/2012
- Tweets *"Jihad is two things; #Resistance and #Reform - @Tariqramadan1"* – 12/03/2012
- Retweets individual saying *"Muslims arrested are political prisoners of the state. When you hear 'terrorist charges' replace it with political prisoners of conscience"* – 16/03/2012
- Tweets *"#ItsArabiaNotSaudiArabia, it belongs to the Muslim Ummah, not the Saud family"* – 16/03/2012
- Tweets *"The west always encourage peaceful protest etc but when they're in a foreign country, that's the last thing on their mind. #DoubleStandards"* – 17/03/2012
- Tweets *"The prophet pbuh [sic] said 'Whoever hears a Muslim calling upon the Islamic Ummah for help and does not respond, he/she is not a Muslim'"* – 18/03/2012
- Tweets *"'How can you defeat an army that looks into the barrel of your gun and sees Paradise?' - #Russian General in regards to #Chechen #Mujahideen".* Retweeted by MPACUK – 18/03/2012
- Retweets MPACUK saying *"Mayor Nutter attempts to criminalize the feeding of homeless and hungry Philadelphians - fine for feeding poor & hungry"* – 19/03/2012
- Retweets MPACUK saying *"Only tyrants & puppet dictators talk of reforms whilst assaulting their own innocent men, women & children. #BahrainKidAbuse"* – 21/03/2012
- Tweets *"The arrogance of Western govts [sic] is nauseating. They act as if they are the bastions of all that is good in the world. History shows otherwise"* – 24/03/2012
- Tweets *"'If I said I want to bomb a country I'd be classed a terrorist - When non Muslims in American say that, they become president" - @razanadim"* – 24/03/2012
- Tweets *"The concept of jihad is a continuous struggle. YOU may not break down the wall but if you are 1 of the millions who charge at it-it will fall"* – 25/03/2012
- Tweets *"StopApologising [sic], StopShoeShining [sic], StopBegging [sic] them to accept you, dont [sic] you get it fool-no wolf ever left a sheep alive because it said sorry"* – 27/03/2012
- Retweets MPACUK saying *"'If the Virgin Mary appears wearing veil on all her pictures how can you ask me to sign on a Hijab ban law?'"-Roberto Maroni Italian Minister"* – 28/03/2012
- Retweets Raza Nadim saying *"If you include the ppl that #US starves w/ sanctions&bombs [sic] they would be 1st "US Ranks 5th On Global Execution Scale""* – 29/03/2012
- Tweets *"Muslims are told not to "force their laws" on others yet they force their laws on us?! #NiqabBan#Hypocrisy#doublestandard"* – 29/03/2012
- Tweets *"An ignorant Muslim is worse than a non-believer. Only an ignorant accepts wat [sic] is right by who said it rather than wat [sic] is being said".* Retweeted by MPACUK – 30/03/2012
- Retweets Raza Nadim saying *"Uthman Lateef: if you're not remembering the oppression facing the*

Ummah every morning & night then there is something wrong with your imaan – 31/03/2012

- Retweets Raza Nadim saying “@MPACUK 1) this is a War OF Terror.2) USA govt is a terrorist govt by their own definition of terrorism & 3) we all must help #AafiaSiddiqui” – 31/03/2012
- Tweets ““Above every act of piety is a greater piety until a man is killed in the way of Allah, then there is no act of piety greater”” – 31/03/2012
- Retweets MPACUK saying “A human rights activist on his 54th hunger strike. He could die any day now. He only wants freedom & justice. #DontForgetKhawaja” – 02/04/2012
- Retweets individual saying “#US apparently wants to #extradite #BabarAhmad due to links to #terrorism. His #detainment of 8 years is an act of terrorism! #newsnight” – 05/04/2012
- Tweets “Freedom of speech? Muslims don’t even have the freedom to think #freebabarahmed”. Retweeted by MPACUK – 05/04/2012
- Tweets “There is freedom for the white man, black man, asian man, christian, jew, hindu but there is no freedom for the Muslim #freebabarahmed” – 05/04/2012
- Retweets individual saying “#freebabarahmad Because next time it’ll be you” – 05/04/2012
- Retweets MPACUK saying “If we can make Babar Ahmad a national issue, we can make #Islamophobia a national issue too. We just have to get political. #freebabarahmad” – 05/04/2012
- Retweets Raza Nadim saying “Today marks the 20th anniversary of the start of the genocide of the Muslims in Bosnia” – 06/04/2012
- Tweets “I say inna lillah...Not just to the brothers&sisters [sic] that died in the Bosnian massacre 20 years ago but also 2 the death of the Muslim Ummah” – 06/04/2012
- Retweets individual saying “@MPACUK we live in a world where morals, ethics and justice has dissolved and those that fight for justice are considered terrorists” – 06/04/2012
- Tweets “The HIGHEST priority of every #Muslim is to defend the #Ummah. Argue otherwise and you’re arguing there is no humanity in #islam” – 07/04/2012
- Tweets “The battle was nt [sic] lost today4 [sic] #BabarAhmad, it was lost when non-political Muslims were fast asleep while the Extradition Act 2003 was approv d [sic]” – 10/04/2012
- Tweets “The highest priority of every Muslim is to defend the Ummah If you argue otherwise, essentially you’re arguing there is no humanity in Islam”. Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari and Raza Nadim – 12/04/2012
- Tweets “The forgotten fard (obligation); #Jihad” – 12/04/2012
- Tweets “If a scholar doesnt [sic] preach the defence of the Ummah, he either doesnt [sic] understand Islam or is a sell out”. Retweeted by Raza Nadim – 12/04/2012
- Tweets “we have abandoned jihad. Allah will not change the condition of the people until they change it THEMSELVES = get up&change [sic] it” – 13/04/2012
- Retweets Raza Nadim saying ““The govt [sic] says that I was obsessed with violence...But as a Muslim living in these times I can think of a lie no more ironic” ~ Tarek Mehanna” – 13/04/2012
- Tweets “Islam did not spread from Indonesia2spain [sic] by following a rituals only version of Islam. It was done by fighting tyranny&establishing [sic] justice”. Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari – 14/04/2012
- Retweets MPACUK saying “You don’t hear it often, but it is your duty (fardh) for you to vote for the best person in elections. And for London, that person is Ken” – 14/04/2012
- Responds to @RestoreKhilafah saying “Can ANYONE explain why #Pakistan has agreed 2 [sic] open supply routes 2 [sic] #NATO...which just promised 2 [sic] keep bombing Pakistan? #Khilafah” by tweeting “@RestoreKhilafah cos [sic] its [sic] run by sell outs. The way Arabia is run by Munafiqs. Muslims need2know [sic] their highest priority - defending the Ummah” – 15/04/2012
- Tweets “@UmmahTrends it’s not harsh, it’s the truth. Every Muslim’s priority is to defend the Ummah - all four school of thoughts agree on this” – 15/04/2012
- Responds to a tweet asking “Lets [sic] say for argument sake that the #EDL get their way and, words become action, what would that mean for Muslims like me?” by saying “1 word: Bosnia” – 16/04/2012

- Retweets MPACUK saying “*#BBC challenged for ignoring plight of #Palestinian prisoners*” – 26/04/2012
- Retweets individual saying “*Oh #muslims What is the matter with u that u don’t work to establish the laws of Allah(SWT) in your lands #Syria #Egypt #Tahrir #Bahrain*” - 25/04/2012
- Tweets “*“everything has a middle path (inc defending the Ummah)” When Muslims are oppressed, you prioritise, not stay in the “middle” #JumahLive*”. Retweeted by MPACUK Walsall – 27/04/2012
- Tweets “*Many imams say “work4yr akhira” yet very few say what it truly means to work for your akhira in this day and age #PrioritiseJihad #JumahLive*”. Retweeted by MPACUK Walsall – 27/04/2012
- Retweets MPACUK saying “*Zionist media are gunning for Ken all the way from Israel. He is seen as quite a threat. Another reason to #Vote4Ken?*” – 27/04/2012
- Retweets MPACUK saying “*Tweeps! [sic] If you have not thank @CooperativeFood for boycotting Israeli goods, do so now, before you forget. Thank you*” – 29/04/2012
- Tweets “*Did u [sic] know America has killed over 4 MILLION MUSLIMS since 1991 and displaced over 12 MILLION... And 1.7 billion Muslims remained silent*”. Retweeted by Asghar Bukhari – 30/04/20

PART II

FRAMEWORKS FOR ADDRESSING ISLAMISM-INSPIRED ACTIVISM

Any regulation of student activism requires upholding freedom of speech, thought and expression while maintaining security (ranging from national security to the personal safety of individual students). This is a morally, philosophically and legally complex issue. Freedom of speech in the UK is not an unqualified right and anti-discrimination legislation can result in conflicting rights and responsibilities.

In addition, Islamism-inspired activism and extremism on UK campuses has received increasing policy and media attention in the wake of the 7 July 2005 London bombings. Responses range from accusations that some universities, by way of a neglect of duty, are “*hotbeds of extremism*” to the perception that Muslim students are unfairly associated with terrorism and staff required to “*inform on*” them.¹⁵⁸ The issue of whether or how to address Islamism-inspired activism is highly emotive and characterised by competing rights and obligations.

It is necessary to understand the various frameworks that are currently in place, before assessing how they can be improved upon. The purpose of this section is to present the policy, legal and regulatory frameworks relevant to universities and student unions in relation to Islamism-inspired activism, before presenting practical recommendations for the various stakeholders. This includes:

- **POLICY** – overview of the relevant section of the preventative strand of the government’s counter-terrorism policy;
- **LEGAL** – summary of relevant legislation and examples of unlawful speech and conduct based on analysis of relevant Islamism-inspired convictions;
- **REGULATORY** – duties relevant to universities and student unions under equality and charity law.

POLICY FRAMEWORK

Two of the four strands of the current counter-terrorism strategy, known as CONTEST, relate to universities. Activities on campus by students, staff or visiting speakers that involve breaches (or imminent breaches) of anti-terrorism legislation (or non-terrorism legislation terrorist offences such as soliciting to murder or conspiracy to cause explosions) fall under Pursue, which aims to stop terrorist attacks. Islamism-inspired activism more generally falls under Prevent, which “*seeks to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism*”.¹⁵⁹

PURSUE

Pursue is “*the strand of the counter-terrorism work stream that aims to stop terrorist attacks in the UK and against our interests overseas*” and is the government’s “*most immediate priority*”.¹⁶⁰ According to a 2011 study of Islamism-inspired terrorism convictions in the UK, 10% of convictions involved individuals who were students at the time of arrest. However, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the convictions were not directly related to activities on campus.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, agencies responsible for Pursue are the police, security and intelligence agencies; unlike Prevent, it is not the role of universities to engage in Pursue-related work, and as such is outside of the scope of this report.

However, one area of potential overlap which universities should consider is the reporting of staff concerns about individual student behaviour. Two examples highlight the dangers of staff involvement with the policing of campuses. Mohammed Atif Siddique, convicted in 2007 for a weapons training offence and a

158. ‘Muslim student ‘witch hunt’ opposed’, Metro, available at <http://www.metro.co.uk/news/51084-muslim-student-witch-hunt-opposed>

159. Prevent Strategy, Home Office website, available at <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/counter-terrorism/review-of-prevent-strategy/>

160. Pursue, Home Office website, available at <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/counter-terrorism/uk-counter-terrorism-strat/pursue/>

161. R. Simcox, H. Stuart, H. Ahmed, D. Murray *Islamist Terrorism: The British Connections*, Henry Jackson Society (2nd edition), July 2011

dissemination of terrorist publication offence,¹⁶² was found on at least three separate occasions accessing extremist websites during university classes. However, according to the Scottish Appeal Court, “*staff were reluctant to do anything for fear of some accusation of racist conduct*”.¹⁶³ Conversely, Nottinghamshire police wrongfully arrested and imprisoned Nottingham University student Rizwaan Sabir for seven days in 2008 after he downloaded an al-Qaeda training manual from a United States government website for research purposes.

PREVENT

The government’s revised Prevent Strategy provides impetus to tackle extremism on campuses, identifying universities as an area of concern.

The Prevent review noted three broad trends among students or former students who have gone on to commit acts of terrorism or breach anti-terrorism legislation:

- “*Some students were already committed to terrorism before they began their university courses*”;
- “*Other students were radicalised while they studied at university, but by people operating outside of the university itself*”;
- “*A third group of students appear to have been attracted to and influenced by extremist ideology while at university and engaged in terrorism-related activity after they had left*”.

Prevent further identified two typical avenues for radicalisation on campus, noting:

- “*unambiguous evidence to indicate that some extremist organisations [...] target specific universities and colleges [...] with the objective of radicalising and recruiting students*”;
- “[evidence that] *extremist preachers from this country and from overseas [...] have also sought to repeatedly reach out to selected universities and to Muslim students*”.¹⁶⁴

The Prevent review stated that, “*more than 30 per cent of people convicted for Al Qa’ida-associated terrorist offences in the UK between 1999 and 2009 are known to have attended university or a higher education institution. Another 15% studied or achieved a vocational or further education qualification. About 10% of the sample were students at the time when they were charged or the incident for which they were convicted took place.*”¹⁶⁵ While these figures are taken from open source research, the report accepts that they correlate with classified data.¹⁶⁶ However, the Home Affairs Select Committee report on the roots of violent radicalisation, published in February 2012, was more cautious, stating: “*our evidence suggests that there may be a much less direct link than was thought in the past, and a recent Home Office document suggests that individuals involved in violent extremism are little different to others around them in terms of their education.*”¹⁶⁷

While the open source figure of 30 per cent does not suggest that radicalisation occurred because they attended university, familiar themes emerge when the individual cases are examined. For example: all purported to be acting in the name of their faith; many had been exposed to, or sought out, charismatic radical preachers or listened to recordings of radical sermons (Abdullah El-Faisal, Abu Hamza al-Masri, Omar Bakri Mohammed and Anwar al-Awlaki, for example); some were affected by extreme videos shown at university Islamic society events of torture and rape during international conflicts, notably Bosnia and Kashmir; others knew their cell’s charismatic ringleader at school/university or through a mosque, community centre, Islamic bookshop or Muslim organisation. In many cases there was an overt politicisation of faith during late teens and/or university years, whereby anger at Western foreign policy developed into a belief in a Western war against Islam where acts of violence in order to protect an oppressed Muslim populace was not only legitimate, but a religious duty.

Not all of these factors are unique to university life, but there are legitimate concerns about whether

162. A further conviction for possessing an article for terrorist purposes contrary to section 57(1) of the Terrorism Act 2000 was overturned on appeal in February 2010.

163. Siddique v Her Majesty’s Advocate [2010] ScotHC HCJAC_7, 29 January 2010, available at <http://www.scotcourts.gov.uk/opinions/2010HCJAC7.html>

164. Prevent Strategy, 2011, pp 71–76

165. Ibid, pg 72

166. Islamist Terrorism: The British Connections, Centre for Social Cohesion, 2010; Prevent Strategy, 2011, pg 72

167. HASC 19th report, pg 13

campus activism – through external speakers or organisations’ online sharing of material – contributes to politicisation and possible radicalisation of faith. Giving evidence at the Home Affairs Select Committee, Charles Farr, Director of the Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism (OSCT) confirmed that the government’s concern was the role universities can play in legitimising extreme ideology. The report stated: *“Charles Farr claimed that the Prevent Review had not stated that terrorists themselves were active recruiters in universities, but rather that the Government was concerned about people ‘who are speaking regularly against core UK values and whose ideology incidentally is also shared by terrorist organisations’ and the fact that this appeared to be going unchallenged”*.¹⁶⁸

Written evidence provided to the Home Affairs Select Committee expanded on the types of visiting speakers invited to UK campuses: *“Speakers include supporters of the proscribed terrorist group Hamas and members of HT (despite a National Union of Students (NUS) ban) as well as those who: publicly support armed jihad and the Taliban; warn Muslims not to integrate into western societies; promote domestic violence and; advocate the destruction of Israel.”*¹⁶⁹

The Prevent review and the Home Affairs Select Committee report reaffirmed that universities have ‘a duty of care’ to their students, and specifically highlighted:

A lack of university engagement with Prevent – the Prevent review criticises the manner in which universities have responded to radicalisation threats: *“In 2009, BIS [Department for Business, Innovation and Skills] identified about 40 English universities where there may be particular risk of radicalisation or recruitment on campus. BIS invited these universities to assess their ability to manage this risk. Not all of the institutions responded to the request [...] we are concerned that some universities and colleges have failed to engage in Prevent”*.¹⁷⁰

Problematic external speakers – the Home Affairs Select Committee stated *“we are not convinced that extremists on campus are always subject to equal and robust challenge”*, recommending that the government issue *“clearer guidance to universities about their expected role in Prevent”* and designate a *“contact point”* within government to help universities make *“difficult decisions about speakers”* especially as *“some universities may have been complacent about their role”*.¹⁷¹

The issue of external speakers was further highlighted in University College London’s (UCL) internal investigation into former student Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab and the role his time at UCL may have played in his radicalisation, noting: *“The panel has nevertheless identified a number of areas of UCL and/or UCL student union operations where there is scope for strengthening current processes and recommends that UCL and/or the UCL student union as appropriate review these processes.”*¹⁷²

Islamic societies and external speakers – the Prevent review criticises some student Islamic societies for facilitating extremist speakers on campus: *“We also judge that some extremist preachers from this country and from overseas, not connected to specific extremist groups, have also sought to repeatedly reach out to selected universities and to Muslim students. There is evidence to suggest that some people associated with some Islamic student societies have facilitated this activity and that it has largely gone unchallenged.”*¹⁷³

Federation of Student Islamic Societies – the Prevent review singled out FOSIS for not taking a clear stand against extremism: *“We judge that FOSIS has not always fully challenged terrorist and extremist ideology within higher and further education sectors. [...] There are several examples of students engaging in terrorism or related activities while members of university societies affiliated to FOSIS. Such extremists must have no part in any organisation that wishes to be recognised as a representative body. It is critical that [...] their [FOSIS] members take a clear and unequivocal position against extremism and terrorism.”*¹⁷⁴

168. Op Cit, pg 13

169. Ibid, Evidence no. 107

170. Prevent Strategy, 2011, pg 73

171. HASC 19th report, pp 22-23

172. While the Caldicott enquiry stated there was not enough evidence to conclude that Abdulmutallab was radicalised at UCL, the Prevent Review stated that he “appears to have been attracted to and influenced by extremist ideology while at university.” See Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab: Report to UCL Council of independent inquiry panel, September 2010, available at <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/caldicott-enquiry/>

173. Prevent Strategy, 2011 pg 73

174. Ibid, pg 75

British values and Islamist ideology – the Prevent review defined British values using existing principles of British law as well as explaining what it considers problematic within Islamist ideology. The review affirmed that the government would no longer engage with or fund groups that fail to support “*universal human rights, equality before the law, democracy and full participation in our society*”; and identified ideology as the primary driver of radicalisation, specifically key narratives, some inherent to Islamism: “*So we believe that radicalisation – in this country – is being driven by: an ideology that sets Muslim against non-Muslim, highlights the alleged oppression of the global Muslim community and which both obliges and legitimises violence in its defence...*”¹⁷⁵ Both these definitions are pertinent (but not binding) to universities and student unions when making decisions about external speakers utilising public spaces. What is binding, however, are the obligations under UK law.

175. Op Cit, pg 1 & pg 18

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

This section provides a brief overview of legislation pertinent to the issue of external speakers and extremist material online, including the Education Act 1986 as well as anti-terrorism and public order legislation. Two independent reviews into extremism on campus were conducted in 2010–2011 but while both recognised the issue of external speakers and outlined the legal duties of universities, neither provided guidance for universities on how to identify speakers whose Islamism-inspired speech or conduct may break the law.¹⁷⁶ Drawing on open source research into Islamism-inspired convictions in the UK, appeal court documents and Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) statements upon conviction, this section will provide a unique catalogue of precedents of Islamism-inspired speech or conduct (relevant to campus events) which have gone beyond the boundaries of free speech and resulted in convictions.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND FREE SPEECH

Every individual and body of persons concerned in the government of any [university, Higher Education Institute or college] shall take such steps as are reasonably practicable to ensure that freedom of speech within the law is secured for members, students and employees of the establishment and for visiting speakers.

The Education Act, 1986 [sec. 43]

Freedom of speech enjoys special status on UK campuses, in recognition of the critical role institutions play in the free flow of debate and ideas. Members of academic staff are also protected by the legal right to academic freedom which prevents them from “*being disciplined, dismissed or suffering other detriment on the grounds that they have exercised academic freedom*”.¹⁷⁷ Students and external speakers, however, cannot claim this right, which – like the Education Act 1986 – is qualified by the phrase “*within the law*”.

Section 43 further tasks universities – but not student unions – with issuing (and updating) a code of practice regarding the organisation of meetings and other activities on university premises. 2011 guidance by Universities UK, an umbrella group of university Vice-Chancellors or Principals, explains that, “*the code must set out the conduct required of members, students and employees in connection with any such meeting or activity and the procedures they must follow [and] will typically include the right to refuse permission for, or to close, an event in lawful circumstances, and will detail the responsibilities of event organisers and members of the university, including the requirement to observe good order during an event.*”¹⁷⁸

Less clear is what kinds of speech or conduct are likely to break the law and how that decision should be made. The Prevent review affirms the government’s commitment to freedom of speech, but also states that it is “*vital to challenge apologists for terrorism*”,¹⁷⁹ urging that extremist ideas should be debated and, where necessary, existing laws should be enforced. Similarly, the Home Office’s preferred approach for disrupting terrorist activity is “*the prosecution and conviction of terrorists in open court,*” and one of the aims for 2011–2015 is to “*improve [the CPS] ability to prosecute and deport people for terrorist-related offences.*”¹⁸⁰

There is therefore a public interest in upholding freedom of speech within the law; debating intolerant views which fall short of breaking the law; and ensuring that the CPS investigates possible breaches of the law with a view to prosecution. These steps require that universities and student unions are aware of the laws and the types of speech and conduct that may contravene it.

VIOLENT EXTREMISM: TERRORISM & PUBLIC ORDER OFFENCES

The CPS defines violent extremism as “*the demonstration of unacceptable behaviour by using any means or medium to express views which*”:

176. Freedom of speech on campus: rights and responsibilities in UK universities, Universities UK, February 2011; Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab: Report to UCL Council of independent inquiry panel

177. Freedom of speech on campus: rights and responsibilities in UK universities, Universities UK, February 2011

178. Ibid

179. Prevent Strategy, 2011 pg 8

180. Pursue, Home Office website

- *foment, justify or glorify terrorist violence in furtherance of particular beliefs;*
- *seek to provoke others to terrorist acts;*
- *foment other serious criminal activity or seek to provoke others to serious criminal acts; or*
- *foster hatred which might lead to inter-community violence in the UK.*¹⁸¹

The types of activities identified that are relevant to students and external speakers are: “*offences arising through spoken words, creation of tapes and videos of speeches, internet entries, chanting, banners and written notes and publications*”.¹⁸²

The CPS will only prosecute “*when they are satisfied that the broad extent of the criminality has been determined and that they are able to make a fully informed assessment of the public interest*”, i.e. if the case passes the evidential and the public interest test.¹⁸³ The Code for Crown Prosecutors lists a number of public interest factors in favour of prosecution. In relation to potential offences on campuses, relevant factors likely include: if the offence involved the threat of violence; if the offence was motivated by any form of discrimination against a victim or group sharing protected characteristics, most likely race, religion or sexual orientation; if the offence was committed in order to facilitate more serious offending; or if a prosecution would have a significant positive impact on maintaining community confidence.¹⁸⁴

The offences most relevant to activism on campuses are terrorism and public order offences, which include:

TERRORISM OFFENCES

- **Murder offences**

- Soliciting to murder, s. 4 Offences against the Person Act 1861 (Encouraging or persuading any person to murder any other person)
- Inciting murder for terrorist purposes overseas, s. 59 Terrorism Act 2000

- **Fund-raising offences**

- Fundraising for terrorist purposes, s. 15-18, Terrorism Act 2000

- **Proscribed organisation offences**

- Belonging or professing to belong to a proscribed organisation, s. 11 (1) Terrorism Act 2000
- Inviting support for a proscribed organisation, s. 12 (1-2) Terrorism Act 2000

- **Dissemination of terrorist publication offences**

- Distributing or circulating a terrorist publication, s. 2 (1) (a) and 2 (a) Terrorism Act 2006
- Possessing a terrorist publication with view to distribute/sell/loan/read/listen/see, s. 2 (1) (a) & (1) (f) Terrorism Act 2006

- **Encouragement of terrorism**

- Encouragement of terrorism, s.1, Terrorism Act 2006

- **Collection of information offences**

- Collecting or making a record of information of a kind likely to be useful to a person committing or preparing an act of terrorism, s. 58 (1a) Terrorism Act 2000
- Possessing a document or record containing information of a kind likely to be useful to a person committing or preparing an act of terrorism, s. 58(1b) Terrorism Act 2000

181. Violent Extremism and Related Criminal Offences, Crown Prosecution Service, available at www.cps.gov.uk/publications/prosecution/violent_extremism.html

182. Ibid

183. Director of Public Prosecutions, The Code for Crown Prosecutors, February 2010

184. Ibid

The majority of terrorism offences include the necessity to prove intent. Significant exceptions relate to encouragement of terrorism and dissemination of terrorist publications, where a person may also be found guilty if he/she is “reckless” either “as to whether members of the public will be directly or indirectly encouraged or otherwise induced by the statement to commit, prepare or instigate such acts or offences”,¹⁸⁵ or if the result of his/her recklessness is “the provision of assistance in the commission or preparation of such acts [the direct or indirect encouragement or other inducement to the commission, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism].”¹⁸⁶ In collection of terrorist information offences – relevant to staff or students engaged in terrorism-related research – it is “a defence for a person charged with an offence under this section to prove that he had a reasonable excuse for his action or possession.”¹⁸⁷

PUBLIC ORDER OFFENCES

• Racial hatred offences

- Using threatening/abusive/insulting words or behaviour or displaying written material with intent/likely to stir up racial hatred, s. 18 Part III Public Order Act 1986
- Publishing/distributing written material which is threatening/abusive/insulting with intent/likely to stir up racial hatred, s. 19 Part III Public Order Act 1986
- Distributing/showing/playing a recording of visual images or sounds that are threatening/abusive/insulting with intent/likely to stir up racial hatred, s. 21 Part III Public Order Act 1986
- Possessing a recording of visual images or sounds which is threatening, abusive or insulting for display/publication/distribution with intent/likely to stir up racial hatred, s. 23 Part III Public Order Act 1986

• Religious hatred offences

- Using threatening/abusive/insulting words or behaviour or displaying written material with intent to stir up religious hatred, s. 29B Part IIIA Public Order Act 1986
- Publishing/distributing written material which is threatening/abusive/insulting with intent to stir up religious hatred, s. 29C Part IIIA Public Order Act 1986
- Distributing/showing/playing a recording of visual images or sounds that are threatening/abusive/insulting with intent to stir up religious hatred, s. 29E Part IIIA Public Order Act 1986
- Possessing a recording of visual images or sounds which is threatening, abusive or insulting for display/publication/distribution with intent to stir up religious hatred, s. 29F Part IIIA Public Order Act 1986

• Harassment

- Using threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress, s. 5 Public Order Act 1986

There is an important distinction between inciting racial hatred or harassment offences and inciting religious hatred or incitement to hatred because of sexual orientation. In religious and sexual orientation cases legislative provisions upholding freedom of speech, including the right to be insulting and abusive, require the CPS to prove intent.¹⁸⁸ Intent is not necessary in racial hatred or harassment cases. In racial hatred cases, it is a defence to show that there was no awareness that the words, behaviour, written material or recording concerned might be threatening, abusive or insulting. In harassment cases, it is a defence to show that there was no reason to believe that there was any person within hearing or sight likely to be caused harassment, alarm or distress.

185. Encouragement of terrorism: s.1 Terrorism Act 2006

186. Dissemination of terrorist publication, s. 2 Terrorism Act 2006

187. Collection of information, s. 58 Terrorism Act 2000

188. For example, with regard to religious hatred the provision states that the offences cannot be applied “in a way which prohibits or restricts discussion, criticism or expressions of antipathy, dislike, ridicule, insult or abuse of particular religions or the beliefs or practices of their adherents or of any other belief system or the beliefs or practices of its adherents, or proselytising or urging adherents of a different religion or belief system to cease practising their religion or belief system.” See Part IIIA, Public Order Act 1986 as amended by the Criminal Justice and Immigration Bill

CASE STUDY:

UNLAWFUL ISLAMISM-INSPIRED SPEECH OR CONDUCT

The following study provides an overview of unlawful Islamism-inspired speech or conduct relevant to external speakers and online material, based on analysis of cases which went beyond free speech and resulted in convictions. Included are: examples of unlawful speech and audio recordings; examples of statements, material and online documents/websites which when distributed or possessed constitute unlawful conduct; and relevant contextual information.

SOLICITING TO MURDER

High severity – Abdullah El-Faisal; Abu Hamza Al-Masri; Atilla Ahmet & Mohammed Hamid

Abdullah El-Faisal, seven year sentence, February 2003

Court of Appeal on unlawful speech:

“[El-Faisal] encouraged his listeners to kill. He encouraged them to wage Jihad against the enemies of Islam as he deemed them to be. He asserted that it was compulsory for all Muslims to undertake Jihad and that the meaning of that word was the killing of those who did not believe in the Islamic faith (Kaffars).

“[It] involved a persistent and protracted course of conduct aimed at indoctrinating young Muslims into committing terrorist murder.”¹⁸⁹

Specific examples:

Solicitations against *“a person or persons who did not believe in the Islamic faith”*:

- *“Before continuing let us define the word Jihad... whenever Allah used the word Jihad in the Koran it means to kill the Kaffars... That’s the legitimate meaning of Jihad.”¹⁹⁰*

Solicitations against *“a person or persons who did not believe in the Islamic faith, in particular Indian Hindus”*:

- *“Is there any peace treaty between us and Hindus and Indian? No, so you can go to India and if you see a Hindu walking down the road you are allowed to kill him and take his money, is that clear, because there is no peace treaty between us and him his wealth isn’t sacred nor his life because there is no peace treaty between us and him...”¹⁹¹*

Solicitations against *“a person or persons who did not believe in the Islamic faith, Americans and Jewish people”*:

- *“Hence the first duty, the first compulsive act upon you, after your declaration of faith... is for you to fight and kill the Americans and the Jews and drive them out of the Arabian peninsular.”¹⁹²*

A full list of El-Faisal’s solicitations to murder can be found in appendix B.

Abu Hamza Al-Masri, seven year sentence, February 2006

The Court of Appeal on Abu Hamza’s unlawful speech:

“[He] incited people to murder those whom he regarded as not true believers.”¹⁹³

The CPS on Abu Hamza’s speeches:

189. R v El-Faisal [2004] EWCA Crim 456, [2004] All ER (D) 107 (Mar), available at <http://www.bailii.org/cgi-in/markup.cgi?doc=/ew/cases/EWCA/Crim/2004/456.html&query=el-Faisal&method=boolean>

190. Ibid

191. Ibid

192. Ibid

193. R v Abu Hamza [2006] EWCA Crim 2118

*"[H]e was directly and deliberately [...] encouraging murder of those he referred to as non-believers. Not only did he repeatedly advocate that Muslims should kill non-believers, he set out to persuade his listeners that it was part of their religious duty to do so."*¹⁹⁴

CPS examples of Abu Hamza demonstrating "violent hostility to certain classes of people":

- "A video recorded speech advocating the killing of those who do not believe in the Islamic faith. The defendant emphasises the importance of 'fighting' and identifies those who are legitimate targets. He states that 'there is no drop of liquid loved by Allah more than the liquid of blood in the cause of Allah' whether this is achieved by a Serb, a Jew or any enemy of Allah. He emphasises the importance of using the 'sword' in the cause of Allah;
- A speech advocating the killing of non-believers. The defendant addresses whether killing is 'haram' or 'halal'. He stated that it was acceptable to kill a non-believer, even for no reason;
- A speech providing 'rules' of killing those who do not believe in the Islamic faith. The defendant states that suicide bombing is a legitimate form of Jihad and is a form of martyrdom."¹⁹⁵

Atila Ahmet, six year 11 month sentence, September 2007; Mohammed Hamid, indeterminate sentence for public protection, February 2008

The CPS on their unlawful speech:

"[Both men] were involved in the radicalisation and training of Islamic youths and young men in the London area [...They] used the meetings as a grooming mechanism for those attending, preparing them and radicalising them for Jihad and encouraging them to murder non-believers.

*"No-one should be in any doubt as to how serious Hamid and Ahmet were in encouraging their recruits to inflict casualties on innocent people. Hamid is a man for whom the indiscriminate killing of 52 people on 7 July 2005 was, in his own words: 'not even breakfast for me'."*¹⁹⁶

Lower severity – Umran Javed, Abdul Muhid & Mizanur Rahman, soliciting to murder at a protest at the Danish Embassy in February 2006; sentences reduced on appeal¹⁹⁷

CPS on their unlawful speech and placards:

*"[They contained] a direct encouragement to those present to commit acts of murder."*¹⁹⁸

Director of Public Prosecutions:

*"[I]f you march down the streets of London calling for people to be beheaded and for European cities to be bombed, you have crossed a line."*¹⁹⁹

Court of Appeal on severity:

*"[The cases] fell at the lower end of the range of conduct that was capable of amounting to soliciting to murder" [and involved a] "one-off demonstration mounted at short notice without sophisticated planning."*²⁰⁰

Following the precedent set in Abdullah El-Faisal's appeal, their sentences were reduced by approximately one third accordingly.

Specific examples:

- "Denmark you will pay, with your blood";

194. Crown Prosecution Service, Abu Hamza convicted of eleven charges, 7 February 2006, available at www.cps.gov.uk/news/press_releases/105_06/

195. Crown Prosecution Service, Abu Hamza, Violent Extremism and Related Criminal Offences

196. Crown Prosecution Service, Terror training camps trial marks another first for the Crown Prosecution Service, 26 February 2008, available at www.cps.gov.uk/news/press_releases/112_08/

197. R v Rahman [2008] EWCA Crim 2290, 2 October 2008

198. Crown Prosecution Service, Cartoon protestor convicted for soliciting murder, 5 January 2007, available at www.cps.gov.uk/news/press_releases/101_07/

199. Crown Prosecution Service, Cartoons protestors sentenced for soliciting murder, 18 July 2007, available at www.cps.gov.uk/news/press_releases/145_07/

200. R v Saleem, Muhid and Javed [2007] EWCA Crim 2692, 30 October 2007; see also Guideline Judgments Case Compendium – Update 4

- *“There is no God but Allah. Jihad is the way to Allah”;*
- *“Bomb, bomb Denmark. Bomb, bomb USA”;*
- *“Annihilate those who insult Islam”;*
- *“We want to see [British and American soldiers in Iraq] coming home in body bags. We want to see their blood running in the streets of Baghdad. We want to see the Mujahideen shoot down their planes the way we shoot down birds. We want to see their tanks burn in the way we burn their flags.”*
- Speech stating that those who have launched a crusade against Islam and the Muslims or who have declared war against the Muslim Nation will *“pay a heavy price”*.²⁰¹

INCITING MURDER FOR TERRORIST PURPOSES OVERSEAS

High severity: Younes Tsouli, Waseem Mughal & Tariq Al-Daour, based on material posted on extremist websites created by the men, July 2007 (sentences increased on appeal)

Court of Appeal examples of online material:

- Material which *“included assertions that it was the duty of Muslims to fight armed jihad against Jews, crusaders, apostates, and their supporters in all Muslim countries and that it was the duty of every Muslim to fight and kill them wherever they are, civilian or military”*;
- *“Graphic and emotive media,”* which showed *“very explicit acts of terrorist murder”*, including videos of: *“attacks by the mujahedeen on American forces”*; *“attacks on Iraqi government forces, positions and offices”*; *“attacks on coalition forces including British forces”*; beheadings; and *‘living wills’*;
- Material which – defined jihad as *“fighting by armed conflict, with the express purpose of visiting death, destruction and humiliation on all enemies of Islam”* – as the *“religious duty”* of *“every true Muslim”*;
- *‘Arousing the Slaves,’* a document which *“sought to incite believers to fight and kill disbelievers”*;
- The first issue of a magazine stating it was *“the duty of young men everywhere ... to undertake Jihad against the Jews by all means, including killing them, targeting their interests and those who support them”*;
- The second issue of the same magazine stated: *“One of the primary missions entrusted to young men ... should be to oppose all forms of Jewish presence, first American, British second ... Every Muslim ... must fight them and kill them wherever they are, civilians and military. We mean every word of this sentence.”*²⁰²

The Court of Appeal on impact and intent:

*“The power of this sort of publicity is obvious to all those engaged in the struggle and was well known to the defendants.”*²⁰³

Lower severity: Omar Brooks; Simon Keeler; Abdul Rahman Saleem & Ibrahim Abdullah Hassan, speeches made at Regent’s Park Mosque in November 2004 (sentences reduced on appeal)

CPS on unlawful speech:

The men were recorded *“incit[ing] others to join in the jihad in Iraq, to join the insurgency and to take up arms against American and British forces serving there”*.²⁰⁴

The Court of Appeal on reducing the sentences:

*“[The] speeches were delivered in private...in the context of religious observance and when emotions were running very high.”*²⁰⁵

201. All examples taken from: Crown Prosecution Service, Cartoon Protesters, Violent Extremism and Related Criminal Offences and statements dated 5 & 18 January 2007; R v Rahman [2008] EWCA Crim 2290, 2 October 2008; and R v Saleem, Muhid and Javed [2007] EWCA Crim 2692, 30 October 2007

202. R v Tsouli and others [2007] EWCA Crim 3300

203. Ibid

204. Crown Prosecution Service, 2008 prosecutions, available at www.cps.gov.uk/publications/prosecution/ctd_2008.html

205. Ibid

Specific examples:

- *“So we are terrorists – terrify the enemies of Allah. The Americans and British only understand one language. It’s the language of blood”;*
- Speeches warning that anybody in Iraq who helped Americans should be killed; encouraging the audience to physically go to Iraq and fight; to support *“the brothers”* in Iraq or Afghanistan; as well as that they needed to train in weaponry; prepare for jihad; and obey the *“amir of jihad”* Osama bin Laden.²⁰⁶

FUNDRAISING FOR TERRORIST PURPOSES

Omar Brooks, Simon Keeler, Abdul Muhid & Shah Jalal Hussain speeches made at Regent’s Park Mosque in November 2004

The CPS on unlawful speech:

*“[The men] jointly sought to raise money to be sent to Iraq to support the terrorist insurgents in their attacks on Coalition Forces.”*²⁰⁷

Specific examples:

- *“Your money must go to the mujahideen; your money must go to Sheikh Osama bin Laden, to the Muslims in Falluja”;*
- Speeches asking the audience to give the mujahideen money for weapons, tanks, RPGs and M16 rifles, and to al-Qaeda.²⁰⁸

INVITING SUPPORT FOR A PROSCRIBED ORGANISATION

Ishaq Kanmi, May 2010

Kanmi’s indictment read:

*“[He] invited support for a proscribed organisation by posting a message on a website calling for Muslims to join with Al Qaeda in Britain [AQ-GB] and prepare themselves for ‘martyrdom operations’.”*²⁰⁹

CPS on unlawful speech:

Kanmi used the online forum to outline *“the strategic direction and objective of AQ-GB [including:] “large scale attacks against Western interests [as well as] attacks on political figures [and] the execution of all those who oppose the Mujahideen.”*²¹⁰

Specific example:

- *“[The aim of AQ-GB is] huge attacks, God willing, on centres and places of benefit to the crusaders. As God said: ‘Kill the participants as you find them, take them, guard them and wait for them’.”*²¹¹

206. Crown Prosecution Service, 2008 prosecutions

207. Ibid

208. R v Saleem and ors [2009] EWCA Crim 920

209. Ishaq Kanmi, Forfeiture Order, Case No. T20090946

210. Crown Prosecution Service, 2010 prosecutions, available at www.cps.gov.uk/publications/prosecution/ctd_2010.html

211. Ibid

DISTRIBUTING OR CIRCULATING A TERRORIST PUBLICATION

Mohammed Atif Siddique, September 2007; Bilal Mohammed, March 2008; Shella Roma, February 2009; Ishaq Kanmi, May 2010

Mohammed Atif Siddique set up websites and linked to illegal documents.

Examples include:

- Quotation from Siddique's website: *"And at what time on earth was Jihad more needed than it is now when the enemies of Islam have surrounded our land like wolves, taking from there what they wish...if not the time for Jihad, O Sons of Adam, when? We need the Jihad, the Jihad does not need us";*
- One of Siddique's websites hosted multiple editions of a magazine which the court accepted had regular features on *"weapons, survival, religion and Jihad"* and claim authorship by the *"Military Committee of Al Qaeda to spread military education among young men"*;
- Another linked to a magazine discussing jihad in the Arabian Peninsula which asked *"young men of the nation to follow the example of the martyrs who targeted western oil companies and to join the jihad"*.²¹²

Bilal Mohammed sold material on his market stalls *"designed to induce young British Muslims to be recruited to the terrorist cause"*.²¹³ (Sentence reduced on appeal after it was determined his crime stemmed from recklessness.)²¹⁴

Examples include:

- Material glorifying the 9/11 attacks;
- Material glorifying terrorist acts by Hamas against Israel;
- A video produced by the media production house of al-Qaeda;
- Recordings of terrorist training;
- Extracts from the lives of terrorists;
- Glorification of terrorist activities and those who committed them.²¹⁵

Shella Roma published 200 copies of a leaflet which *"encouraged others to carry out violent acts"*.²¹⁶

The unlawful leaflet included:

- Conspiracy theories that the 9/11 attacks took place to benefit the Freemasons and to smear Muslims;
- Calls for its readers to *"join the ranks of Osama bin Laden and to take up arms against the US and the UK"*;
- The final phrase said: *"Will you go to Jihad (holy war)? Jihad: the choice is yours"*.²¹⁷

Ishaq Kanmi was sentenced to five years for posting *Harvest of the Mujahideen*, published by the proscribed group Ansar al-Sunna, as well as two other electronic publications on extremist websites.

Court forfeiture order on unlawful material:

*"[All three were designed] to be either direct encouragement of the commission, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism or the provision of assistance in the commission or preparation of such acts."*²¹⁸

212. Siddique v Her Majesty's Advocate [2010] ScotHC HCJAC_7, 29 January 2010

213. Crown Prosecution Service, 2008 prosecutions

214. R v Abdul Rahman and Bilal Mohammed [2008] EWCA Crim 1465

215. Ibid; see also Crown Prosecution Service, 2008 prosecutions

216. Crown Prosecution Service, 2009 prosecutions, available at www.cps.gov.uk/publications/prosecution/ctd_2009.html

217. Crown Prosecution Service, 2009 prosecutions

218. Ishaq Kanmi, Forfeiture Order, Case No. T20090946

POSSESSING A TERRORIST PUBLICATION WITH VIEW TO DISTRIBUTE

Abdul Rahman, November 2007; Ishaq Kanmi, May 2010

Abdul Rahman admitted possessing a “*call to arms*” letter with the intention of circulating it to encourage Muslims to join the jihad in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The letter was written by Aslam Awan (killed in a drone strike in North Waziristan in January 2012), and included references to Awan’s “*participation in fighting, the need for assistance to combat air power and reference to his own terrorist training*”.²¹⁹

Specific examples:

- “A description of visits to the graves of Al-Qaeda fighters killed in 2001 and 2006;
- Instructions for the distribution of CD’s featuring the dead Al-Qaeda fighters;
- A description of Aslam’s participation in fighting;
- A discussion of the need of assistance to combat air-power – Mohammed Iqbal (one of the intended recipients of the letter) is asked to contact a mutual friend about this;
- Descriptions of life under Sharia law;
- Reference to his own terrorist training;
- An instruction to [Rahman] to disseminate the information contained in the letter to six named people [including two under control orders]”.²²⁰

Ishaq Kanmi was convicted in relation to the contents of two pen drives, a memory card and a mobile phone found on his arrest.

The CPS on unlawful material:

*“[T]he memory card and one of the pen drives contained documents relating to jihad. The other pen drive contained a training video demonstrating a technique to attack airline staff from the rear of the plane using a plastic knife.”*²²¹

RACIAL HATRED OFFENCES

High severity – Abu Hamza Al-Masri, 7 February 2006; Abdullah El-Faisal, 24 February 2003

Abu Hamza was found guilty of racial hatred offences against Jews, based on video and audio recordings of his speeches.²²²

The CPS on unlawful speech:

*“[H]is sermons were designed incite racial hatred [and] he was directly and deliberately stirring up hatred against Jewish people.”*²²³

Specific examples:

- “[A] speech advocating the killing of Jewish people in which the defendant states that Allah will send people to torture and humiliate them until judgment day and that is why He sent Hitler for them;
- Speeches describing Jewish people as sons of monkeys and pigs. The defendant advocates the killing of them. It includes references to Jewish people controlling the US and UK Governments. He endorses the jihad of ‘*the gun and the bomb*’;
- Speeches stating that the Jews had insulted Allah and deserved to be killed and describes them as

219. 2007 prosecutions, CPS

220. R v ABDUL RAHMAN and BILAL MOHAMMED [2008] EWCA Crim 1465

221. 2010 prosecutions

222. Abdullah El-Faisal, Violent Extremism and Related Criminal Offences

223. Abu Hamza convicted of eleven charges

being ‘the most tight people on Earth’ and ‘dirty monkeys’.”²²⁴

Abdullah El-Faisal was also found guilty of racial hatred offences against Jews. El-Faisal’s section 18 offences were based on the “said words and behaviour on a tape labelled ‘No peace with the Jew’ [and] on a tape labelled ‘Jewish Traits’.”²²⁵

According to the CPS, both tapes included “many attacks on Jewish people”.²²⁶

Mizanur Rahman, Umran Javed & Abdul Rahman Saleem, inciting racial hatred at a protest at the Danish Embassy in February 2006; sentences reduced by 12-18 months

Court of Appeal on context:

“[T]he demonstration took place only six months after the London bombings of 7 July and, at times, both these, the Madrid bombings and the attack of 9/11 were the subject of approbatory chanting. The exhortations on some of the placards and the subject matter of the chanting were offensive in the extreme. They were a demonstration of and an incitement to racial hatred.”²²⁷

Specific examples:

- Javed’s offence “concerns a speech calling those who insulted Islam the enemies of Allah, who have launched a crusade against Islam and the Muslims....who have declared war against the Muslim Nation for which they will pay a heavy price. ...take lessons from Theo Van Gough [a reference to the murder of the Dutch film director] and the Jews of Khyber.”²²⁸

Lower severity – Iftikhar Ali & Zaheen Mohammed, inciting racial hatred through leaflets distributed in Whitechapel, North East London in October 2000 (non-custodial sentences)

The leaflets, advertising an al-Muhajiroun event, called for a holy war against the Jews and quoted a hadith, or reported speech of Islam’s Prophet Mohammed – “The hour will not come until Muslims fight the Jews and kill them” – which the judge considered racially inflammatory.

The judge said, “there is no defence for the charge put to you that you were relying on religious texts... words used in a holy text are capable of inflaming race hate.”²²⁹

USING THREATENING, ABUSIVE OR INSULTING WORDS OR BEHAVIOUR LIKELY TO CAUSE HARASSMENT, ALARM OR DISTRESS

Munim Abdul, Jalal Ahmed, Yousaf Bashir, Shajjadar Choudhury & Ziaur Rahman threatened the public order while protesting a homecoming parade in Luton in 2009 for soldiers returning from Iraq and Afghanistan.

Examples of chants and placards:

- “British soldiers murderers”, “British soldiers go to hell”;
- “Terrorists”, “murderers”;
- “Anglian soldiers: Butchers of Basra”;
- “Baby killers”, “Rapists all of you”.²³⁰

The judge on context and intent:

224. Abu Hamza, Violent Extremism and Related Criminal Offences

225. R v El-Faisal [2004] EWCA Crim 456, [2004] All ER (D) 107 (Mar)

226. Abdullah El-Faisal, Violent Extremism and Related Criminal Offences

227. R. v. Saleem, R. v. Muhid, R. v. Javed, 2007 WL 3130840, [2007] EWCA Crim 2692, [2007] All ER (D) 462

228. Ibid

229. ‘Muslim guilty of inciting racial hatred’, BBC, 3 May 2002, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/1966839.stm>

230. Islamist Terrorism: The British Connections, Henry Jackson Society, 2011, pp 223–232

“[The men] were fully aware that shocking phrases in such circumstances would inevitably cause distress. [Prosecution was] a proportionate response to the legitimate aim of protection of society and maintenance of public order”.²³¹

231. Op Cit

REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

Universities and student unions have a legal duty to protect staff and students from discrimination and to foster an atmosphere in which tolerance of others is respected; as well as to operate for charitable purposes and for the public benefit. This section will outline responsibilities under discrimination law and charity law.

DISCRIMINATION LAW

The Equality Act 2010, which contains the UK's discrimination laws, protects academic staff, students and employees from discrimination based on protected characteristics. Protected characteristics are: age; disability; gender reassignment; pregnancy and maternity; race; religion or belief; sex; and sexual orientation.²³² Key issues for universities and student unions in relation to Islamism-inspired activism include: harassment; free speech; the public sector equality duty; and the obligations/dispensations awarded to student societies

Harassment

As well as discrimination, the Equality Act further prohibits harassment of academic staff, students and employees. Of particular relevance is unlawful harassment related to a protected characteristic, which occurs when an individual engages in *“unwanted behaviour which is related to a relevant protected characteristic and which has the purpose or effect of: violating a student’s dignity or; creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment”*.²³³ The term *“related to a relevant protected characteristic”* widens the scope of unlawful speech or conduct; previously harassment was defined against the victim’s protected characteristic. According to Universities UK this means, for example, that *“offensive remarks relating to race or ethnicity are now actionable regardless of the claimant’s own race or ethnicity”*.²³⁴ Furthermore, harassment of employees by third parties – including contractors and visitors (i.e. external speakers) – is now unlawful. This extends to university staff and students working for the student union, but not students more generally.

Free speech

The promotion of free speech has special legal status within the higher education sector.²³⁵ Universities UK guidance notes that *“equality and discrimination legislation is a significant civil law constraint on the freedoms of speech and expression and on academic freedom”*.²³⁶ Essentially, where speech or conduct relating to a protected characteristic amounts to unlawful harassment it falls outside of the s.43 freedom of speech caveat *“within the law”*. According to Equality Challenge Unit guidance, however, *“courts and tribunals will continue to be required to balance competing rights on the facts of a particular case; this includes consideration of the value of freedom of expression and of academic freedom.”*²³⁷ It is worth noting that the NUS was able to introduce ‘No Platform’ policies against far-right groups because s.43 does not apply directly to student unions; however, it applies indirectly through the code of practice adopted by their university.

Public sector duty

The Equality Act brings former public sector duties relating to race relations, gender and disability into one new duty, which covers all protected characteristics, and requires *“public authorities to have due regard to the need to: eliminate discrimination, harassment and victimisation; advance equality of*

232. Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), What equality law means for you as an education provider – further and higher education, pg 10, available at www.equalityhumanrights.com/advice-and-guidance/new-equality-act-guidance/equality-act-guidance-downloads/

233. Ibid, pp 25-26

234. Freedom of speech on campus: rights and responsibilities in UK universities, Universities UK, February 2011

235. S.43 Education Act 1986; s.202 Education Reform Act 1988

236. Freedom of speech on campus: rights and responsibilities in UK universities, Universities UK, February 2011

237. Equality Challenge Unit, Equality Act 2010: implications for students’ unions, 2012, pg 2

*opportunity between different groups; and foster good relations between different groups of people.”*²³⁸ While universities are defined as public sector education providers, student unions are defined as service providers and not directly tasked with upholding the public sector equality duty. However, in practice, student unions are expected to support their institutions in meeting it. Furthermore, they can be affected by the duty directly: if the student union has a contractual agreement with the university (for example leasing property), or if student union activities take place on university premises or require use of the university’s services (for example catering or security) then the university would need to consider whether the agreement or the activities comply with its public sector duty. In cases of Islamism-inspired activism the requirement to eliminate harassment and foster good relations is of note.

Student unions and societies

The Equality Act protects members, potential members, guests and potential guests from unlawful discrimination – in relation to accessing membership and services as well as inviting guests – based on a protected characteristic, and applies to societies which have 25 or more members. There are two significant exceptions to this: societies can be formed for the benefit of a group of people sharing a particular protected characteristic, for example, a women’s network or a lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) group; and due to a lack of case law, religious organisations may be able to discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation. Equality Challenge Unit guidance states: *“religion-based students’ unions and student religion or belief societies will still be able to restrict membership, participation, services provision and premise use to people of a particular sexual orientation if this is necessary to comply with doctrine or to avoid conflict with strongly held religious convictions. This exemption may, in some specific circumstances, allow societies to treat LGBT members differently. There is currently little case law in this area and so the scope of the exemptions remains unclear.”*²³⁹ It should be noted, however, that discrimination is distinct from harassment and the latter remains unlawful.

Complaints

The 1994 Education Act places a number of legal requirements on the governing body of a university vis-à-vis the student union, including a complaints procedure which *“should include provision for an independent person appointed by the governing body to investigate and report on complaints”* and ensure that complaints are *“dealt with promptly and fairly and where a complaint is upheld there should be an effective remedy”*.²⁴⁰ Breaches of the Equality Act are the responsibility of the institution’s governing body; in virtually all universities the members of the governing body are also its charitable trustees.²⁴¹

CHARITY LAW

Traditionally universities and student unions were exempted charities, meaning that they were exempt from registration with, and oversight by, the Charity Commission. However, as a result of recent changes in charity law, the majority of universities are regulated by the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) and student unions are registered with and overseen by the Charity Commission. This section will outline the responsibilities of relevance to Islamism-inspired activism for student unions, and includes a case study of recent regulatory developments in the charitable sector which may impact Islamism-inspired activism within student unions.

Universities

The Charities Act 2006 introduced the requirement of a *“principal regulator”* to oversee the compliance

238. ECHR, What equality law means for you as an education provider – further and higher education, pg 62

239. Ibid

240. S.22, 1994 Education Act; see also Committee of University Chairs and National Union of Students, Guide for Members of Higher Education Governing Bodies, Supplementary guide regarding the role of university governing bodies in relation to student’s unions, March 2011, available at <http://www.lfhe.ac.uk/governance/govpublications/cucsuppguide.pdf>

241. Committee for University Chairs, Regulating HEIs as charities, newsletter, Issue 29, April 2010, available at www2.bcu.ac.uk/docs/cuc/cuc_news_29.pdf; HEFCE, Regulating HEIs as charities, Frequently asked questions, available at www.hefce.ac.uk/whatwedo/reg/charityreg/goodpracticeguidanceforinstitutionsascharities/charityregulationfaqs/

of the exempt charities with charity law.²⁴² While some universities have given up their exempt status, choosing to register independently with the Charity Commission, the majority are now regulated by the HEFCE.²⁴³ HEFCE's responsibilities include: promoting charity trustees' compliance with their legal obligations to control and manage their charity; monitoring charity law compliance; where necessary asking the Commission to open an inquiry; and working with the Commission to ensure that its exempt charities are accountable to the public.²⁴⁴

Student unions

As of 1 June 2010, student unions are required to register independently with the Charity Commission, under the charitable objective of advancing education. By November 2010, 18% of student unions were registered;²⁴⁵ in 2010-11, 36 Student Unions joined the register.²⁴⁶ As such, it is the charity trustees – including elected student union officers – who are responsible for compliance, both as a board and individually.

Charity law requirements

As registered charities, student unions have a number of additional administrative requirements, namely the production of accounts and audit of accounts; completing an annual return; and drafting an annual report. Student unions must also comply with all relevant legislation, including: data protection, equalities law, health and safety, employment law, company law (for incorporated students unions) and licensing law (where applicable).

As well as relevant criminal and civil law considerations, under charitable law student unions must:

- Comply with provisions relating to campaigning and political activities;
- Work for the public benefit;
- Act to avoid damage to the charity's reputation, assets and associated individuals.

Political activity

Student unions must affirm their charitable commitment to the furtherance of education within the Charity Commission's rules on campaigning and political activity, meaning:

- **Political parties:** Student unions must not support political parties; it must be clear that the charity is politically neutral and independent. The Charity Commission does not recognise Hizb ut-Tahrir as a political party for these purposes;²⁴⁷
- **Campaigns:** Student unions can campaign to ensure that existing laws are observed and campaign for a change in the law, policy or decisions *only* where such change would support their charitable objectives.²⁴⁸ In such cases, a student union's trustees must ensure that any proposed political activity would not call into question the propriety of the union's actions;²⁴⁹
- **External groups/individuals using premises:** Student unions can allow external political or

242. While the Charities Act 2011 (which came into force on 14 March 2012) supersedes the 2006 Act, it makes no substantive changes, rather it consolidates previous legislation

243. For example, the independent colleges of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham Universities have registered with the Charity Commission; a full list can be found in appendix B of the Memorandum of Understanding between HEFCE and the Charity Commission, 1 June 2010, available at www.charitycommission.gov.uk/Library/mou_HEFCE.pdf

244. Charity Commission, Changes to the Regulation of Excepted and Exempt Charities, August 2011, available at www.charitycommission.gov.uk/Start_up_a_charity/Do_I_need_to_register/regreq.aspx

245. Charity Commission, Board Paper 10 OBM 31, 25 November 2010, available at www.charity-commission.gov.uk/library/about_us/paper10obm31.pdf

246. Charity Commission, Annual Report Charity Commission 2010-2011, available at www.charity-commission.gov.uk/library/about_us/charity_commission_annual_report_10_11.pdf

247. Private correspondence with the Charity Commission

248. Charity Commission, Speaking out: Guidance on Campaigning and Political Activity by Charities, March 2008, available at www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Publications/cc9.aspx

249. Charity Commission, Operational Guidance Students' Unions: The Activities Of Charitable Students' Unions, 15 March 2000, available at www.charity-commission.gov.uk/about_us/ogs/g048b003.aspx

campaigning groups to use its premises, but only on the same terms as other non-commercial user organisations, i.e. student unions should not discriminate against a group on the basis of its views;²⁵⁰

- **Freedom of speech:** However, possible restrictions on freedom of speech in such cases are subject to charitable law, meaning that student unions may refuse permission to use premises because: *“the organisation’s aims or an individual’s activities would conflict with the charity’s purposes, or because of the risk of public disorder or of alienating the charity’s beneficiaries or supporters (for example, an organisation which was associated with racist beliefs)”*.²⁵¹

Public benefit

Charity law requires that charities are established and operate for charitable purposes and for the public benefit.

- **External speakers:** Speaker events must have the public benefit in mind: the Prevent review makes clear that, *“higher education institutions and student unions can be challenged on whether they have given due consideration to the public benefit and associated risks notably when they, or one of their affiliated societies, invite controversial or extremist speakers to address students.”*²⁵²

Reputation

Student unions must avoid taking action that might place the student union, its members, staff property, assets or reputation at risk.

- **Activities, events and external speakers:** Student union trustees must act in the best interests of the student union and consider the risks involved, including the risk to the student union’s reputation, assets and students as well as the risk of breaching criminal and civil law;
- **Impropriety of association:** Student union trustees must assess any potential impropriety of association by either the union as a representative body and its individual student societies in relation to the union’s reputation. The following case study of Charity Commission regulatory case reviews examine the position vis-à-vis designated organisations and non-designated extremist organisations.

CASE STUDY:

IMPROPRIETY OF ASSOCIATION – UNION OF GOOD & HIZB UT-TAHRIR

1. Designated organisations – Union of Good

The Union of Good, an umbrella organisation that transfers money between international charities and Hamas-controlled organisations in Gaza and the West Bank, was proscribed by Israel in 2002 and designated as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist group by the United States treasury in 2009. Founding member and executive director Dr Essam Mutafta (aka Essam Yusuf) is also a trustee and vice-chairman of Interpal, a registered charity in the UK. While three Charity Commission investigations into suspected terrorist fundraising found no evidence that the organisation directly funds Hamas, Interpal was warned against the impropriety of a registered UK charity having connections with the Union of Good. Specifically, the 2008-2009 review of Charity Commission compliance cases stated Interpal was ordered to sever its ties with the Union of Good:

*“The charity’s relationship with the Union for Good [sic] had not been adequately managed, and was not appropriate given that its members included designated entities, allowing a link to be made between the charity and designated entities through membership of and association with it [...] we consequently took action by using our powers of remedy to legally direct the trustees to end the charity’s membership of the Union for Good [sic].”*²⁵³

250. Speaking out: Guidance on Campaigning and Political Activity by Charities

251. Speaking out: Guidance on Campaigning and Political Activity by Charities

252. Prevent Strategy, pg 72

253. Charity Commission, Charities Back on Track: Themes and lessons learned from the Charity Commission’s compliance work, 2008–09, available at www.charitycommission.gov.uk/RSS/News/track.aspx

This case shows that membership or association with a designated entity is considered inappropriate by the Charity Commission. Student unions and student societies should be aware of this precedent when working with individuals who are known to support Hamas.

2. Non-designated extremist organisations – Hizb ut-Tahrir

The Islamic Shakhshiyah Foundation (ISF) is an educational charity registered in the UK which runs two primary schools and a nursery. The Charity Commission undertook a regulatory case review of the ISF in 2009 following allegations in the *Sunday Telegraph* that trustees were members of HT and that the schools were teaching HT ideology. While the case review found one trustee had since left HT and the other trustee had resigned, it clearly stated that had current trustees been members of HT it would have raised issues relevant to charity law requirements:

*“Charity trustees are entitled to be members of political parties but are not permitted to use a charity to achieve party political aims. In addition, educational charities cannot promote a particular political or any partial point of view. If any of the four trustees were current members of Hizb ut-Tahrir, the Commission would have had to go on to consider what their involvement was, and whether it inappropriately impacted on the charity’s integrity, purposes or activities.”*²⁵⁴

Furthermore, the review stated that had it found that the school taught HT ideology in its curriculum this would be a matter of regulatory concern, as the charity *“must remain an independent organisation. It must not be used to further or support the ideology of Hizb ut-Tahrir, or any political organisation, and must never be used to achieve party political purposes”*.²⁵⁵

Case reviews are often used by the commission to identify issues for the wider sector. In this case the commission identified a charity’s promotion of partisan viewpoints as being potentially damaging to the reputation and integrity of the charity, and even in breach of charity law. Specifically:

*“Charity trustees need to ensure the charity’s reputation and independence is protected. Furthermore, the expressing of strongly controversial or partisan views on a particular subject may seem to compromise a charity’s integrity, purposes or activities.”*²⁵⁶

This case shows that association with an extremist or partisan group, even one which is not proscribed, may compromise the reputation of the charity. This case is particularly relevant to student unions where there are concerns about the associations with non-proscribed extremist groups of elected student officers, especially those who serve as student union trustees.

Part II has provided the policy, legal and regulatory frameworks relevant to the higher education sector, and examples to demonstrate the types of speech and material that constitute prosecutable conduct. It has also highlighted the rights and obligations of universities and student unions towards staff and students. The examples and frameworks provided can help universities, student unions and student societies tackle unlawful conduct on their campuses.

254. Case review available from the Charity Commission on request; see Charity Commission, Charity Commission publishes report on Islamic Shakhshiyah Foundation, 7 June, 2010, available at www.charitycommission.gov.uk/RSS/News/pr_isf.aspx

255. Islamic Shakhshiyah Foundation case review

256. Ibid

PART III

RECOMMENDATIONS CONSIDERATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Department: Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism (OSCT), Home Office

ISSUE: EMPIRICAL DATA ON THE PROCESSES OF RADICALISATION

Recommendation: Commission independent analysis into the potential role of universities in radicalisation processes

The Home Affairs Select Committee report into the roots of violent radicalisation noted that *“not enough systematic, longitudinal research has been done to paint an accurate picture of...how they [supporters of Islamist terrorism] come to be radicalised”*.²⁵⁷

- OSCT should commission research examining the role universities and extremist groups or individuals operating within this space have had in radicalising individuals, paying particular attention to:
 - Online communities existing in these spaces;
 - The role online material plays in self-radicalisation;
 - The impact of external speakers in legitimising extremist ideologies.
- Research should be undertaken by independent bodies and should not include individuals with conflicts of interest. Note: the Caldicott Review panel into radicalisation at UCL included three individuals affiliated with UCL and no independent experts on radicalisation or terrorism.

Department: Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS)

ISSUE: GUIDANCE ON VIOLENT EXTREMISM

Recommendation: Update policy regarding extremism in the higher education sector

- BIS should develop updated guidelines, taking into account the 2011 Prevent review and changes under charitable law requiring student unions to become registered charities;²⁵⁸
- BIS should liaise with the Charity Commission to identify groups whose association may damage the charitable reputation and integrity of universities and student unions;
- The guidelines should account for the changes which have occurred in the online environment since 2008, specifically the increased use of social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter by students and their societies to share material, and the potential for individuals to target these spaces in an attempt to radicalise students.

The Prevent review stated that BIS would *“appoint regional champions in each of the nine regions in England and host a central point of information where practitioners can share information, advice and good practice”* for the further and higher education sector.²⁵⁹

- Regional Prevent champions should be the first point of external Prevent-related contact for student unions and universities;
- Encourage data sharing – specifically the risk register recommended to universities and student unions (see page 79) – between regional Prevent champions to develop experience-led best practice.

257. HASC 19th report, pg 11

258. Guidelines originally released by the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills and re-released in 2008; see Dept. Innovation, Universities and Skills, ‘Promoting good campus relations, fostering shared values and preventing violent extremism in Universities and Higher Education Colleges’, January 2008

259. Prevent Strategy, 2011, pg 76

FOR FURTHER AND HIGHER EDUCATION SERVICES

ISSUE: STUDENTS EXHIBITING EXTREMIST BEHAVIOUR

Recommendation: Ensure all members of academic staff are aware of their responsibilities to public safety

The Nottingham student wrongly detained for downloading an al-Qaeda manual for research purposes and the reluctance of tutors to report the extremist behaviour of convicted terrorist Mohammed Atif Siddique are two serious mistakes regarding the policing of campuses. It is important to remember that while almost all students are aged 18 or above, universities have traditionally taken on pastoral care duties, including appointing personal tutors as a point of contact for welfare issues.

The university governing body should affirm that:

- University staff should never be treated as a substitute for policing. However, where a staff member is genuinely concerned that a student is engaged or imminently about to engage in terrorism, then there is a legal duty under section 19 ('Disclosure of information: duty') and section 38B ('Information about acts of terrorism') of the Terrorism Act 2000 to report the behaviour to the relevant authorities;
- If a student exhibits repeated behaviour suggesting support for violent extremism, appropriate pastoral care procedures should be in place. The concern could be raised with the student's personal tutor, who after liaising with the student and all relevant staff, would decide whether to escalate the issue, for example to the university chaplain or the government Channel project, a multi-channel initiative which seeks to intervene "*at an early stage preventing [individuals] from being drawn into violent extremism*".²⁶⁰

ISSUE: STAFF AFFILIATION WITH EXTREMIST GROUPS AND/OR PROMOTING EXTREMIST MATERIAL

Recommendation: Ensure all members of academic staff are aware of their responsibilities to foster good relations between different groups of people as part of their public sector equality duty

The free flow of ideas, thought and speech is essential to the integrity of a university and staff are afforded the legal protection of academic freedom. However, the employment of the Hizb ut-Tahrir member Reza Pankhurst by the London School of Economics demonstrates a situation where universities must balance that right with the duty of care to their students, as well as requirements under discrimination and charitable law. Higher and Further Education providers should:

- Be aware that members of academic staff have a legal right to be affiliated with any organisation which is not proscribed, including extreme organisations;
- Be aware of the Charity Commission's position in relation to Hizb ut-Tahrir that "*the expressing of strongly controversial or partisan views on a particular subject may seem to compromise a charity's integrity, purposes or activities*";²⁶¹
- Where necessary, affirm the legal duty of academic staff to promote race relations and community cohesion, and provide guidance on responsible teaching compared to advocating a partisan view;
- Consider disciplinary measures for sustained abuse of academic freedom which may breach anti-harassment measures under discrimination law.

260. For more information see the Association of Chief Police Officers briefing on Channel, available at <http://www.acpo.police.uk/documents/TAM/Channel.pdf>

261. Charity Commission publishes report on Islamic Shakhsiyah Foundation, 7 June 2010

FOR STUDENT UNIONS AND UNIVERSITIES

ISSUE: EXTERNAL SPEAKERS AND COMPLIANCE WITH CRIMINAL, CIVIL AND CHARITABLE LAW

Recommendation: Student unions and university authorities should put in place collaborative risk assessment procedures regarding external speakers and events

The overlap of responsibility between student unions and universities is complex. The student union board of trustees is collectively and individually responsible for the governance of the student union, including ensuring the student union's compliance with charitable law, and the university governing body is likewise responsible for the university.

The university must uphold Section 43 of the Education Act regarding free speech and has a public sector equality duty to foster good relations, neither of which directly applies to student unions. Furthermore, the university is not responsible for a breach of charity law such as harm to the student union's reputation and vice versa.

In reality, because of shared use of resources, premises or facilities, responsibilities often overlap and should be seen as such to generate good practice and ensure compliance with criminal, civil and charitable law.

Risk assessment measures to consider include:

1. Establish a sustainable working relationship between the student union and the university with regard to external speakers:

- All requests for external speakers or use of premises by external organisations should be shared by designated members from the student union and the university, most likely the student union activities officer and a senior member of the universities facilities department;
- Ensure coordination between the relevant student union officer and member of university staff on the following decision-making procedures.

2. Standardise transparent procedures for granting permission to external speakers or organisations, for example:

- Requests for permission should be made no later than three weeks in advance of the event taking place;
- If speakers are to be changed then the process must begin again, precluding societies from changing to extremist speakers at very short notice;
- Requests should be clearly advertised on the student union website, as well as on the affiliated social media of the student union and the host society/societies;
- Students/staff should then have a period of time, for example ten days, in which to lodge objections;
- If any objections are made or the activities officer or facilities team has any cause for concern, the elected student union officers should utilise an internal risk register recommended below.

3. Create an internal risk register of previous or proposed speakers, including the following details:

- Name and association;
- Affiliations (if relevant), specifically with: proscribed organisations (i.e. al-Muhajiroun); internationally designated individuals (i.e. Anwar al-Awlaki) or internationally designated organisations (i.e. Union of Good); legal groups identified by government as extreme (i.e. Hizb ut-Tahrir); or any individual or organisation with known links to any of the above;
- Title of proposed talk;
- Complaints (current or previous) by students;
- Institutional experience with the speaker, including whether previous events resulted in any impact

on individuals or the student body; or whether there was any negative outcome including negative publicity in the media;

- Speaker history – details of any problematic reports of unlawful or intolerant speech or conduct, including details of all sources.

4. Be aware of requirements to comply with:

Criminal law

- Be aware of the types of speech and conduct which may breach criminal law.

Key questions to consider:

- Is there the possibility that the speaker's speech or conduct will result in terrorism or public order offences and how?
- Is the speaker's right to free speech likely to affect public order or infringe the rights and freedoms of others on campus?
- Is the speaker likely to incite/stir up racial or religious hatred and how?

See case study for relevant examples of unlawful speech (pages 64-71).

Civil discrimination law

- Ensure that the student union complies with the Equality Act 2010;
- Be aware of the legal duty to protect students and staff from harassment on the basis of a protected characteristic, most pertinently race, religious belief, gender or sexual orientation (including any manifestation of that orientation).

Key questions to consider:

- Is the speaker's attendance/conduct likely to discriminate against staff or students, or lead to an environment that is intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive? Is it likely to cause others to fear that violence will be used against them? How is this likely to manifest itself?
- Is the speaker's presence likely to cause public disorder and why?
- Is there likely to be a threat to public safety as a result of the speaker's presence on campus and why?
- Is the speaker likely to breach the requirement to promote good race relations? How would it be breached?

Charitable law

- Be aware of the legal responsibility under charity law not to allow premises to be used by groups or individuals who may damage the reputation or integrity of the student union or act against the public benefit.

Key questions to consider:

- Is it likely that groups of students will protest the speaker's attendance and how might that affect public order?
- Is it likely that the speaker's attendance will result in negative media coverage?
- Is the speaker affiliated to any organisation that may be of concern regarding the charity's reputation?

5. Share information:

- Develop relationships with local student unions to share data on this internal register where appropriate;
- Share data with the relevant regional Prevent champion.

6. Develop a range of responses, including:

Gathering information

- Ask the relevant student society for more details on the event topics likely covered or, if necessary, to see a copy of the speech in advance;
- Where necessary, consult with the regional Prevent champion.

Encouraging free and fair debate

- When necessary, ask the relevant student society to invite an opposing speaker to ensure balance;
- Ensure there is an impartial moderator at any debates;
- Ensure sufficient security at controversial events where risk of intimidation and/or violence may occur.
- Ensure that there is an open and transparent policy regarding the recording of any event. This should either be open to all attendees or should be solely the preserve of the student union

Making a responsible decision

- Ensure that student union/university responses are based on evidence and are proportionate;
- Grant permission for the event, while ensuring that at least one student union officer attends in order to update the risk register;
- Grant permission for the event, subject to conditions (opposing speaker, impartial moderator and security) or to developments in relation to public order in the run-up to the event;
- Where necessary prohibit the speaker from speaking on student union/university premises or under the auspices of a student society.

Being open and transparent about decisions made with regard to external speakers:

- Hold termly student union board of trustee meetings where previous situations, decision and outcomes can be discussed in order to develop institutional experience and best practice;
- Publish minutes of these meetings on the student union website;
- Publish statements on the student union website outlining the position taken when external speakers are declined, the reason for the decision and the relevant statutory concern;
- Brief the university communications or media department on the decision.

ISSUE: INTIMIDATION OF STUDENTS

Recommendation: Enforce a 'code of conduct' with regards to extremism and intimidation on campus efficiently and consistently

Recently, student societies at two universities have complained of intimidation from students with radical views: students received death threats at Queen Mary University because of an event on Sharia law; there were accusations of extremists intimidating students during the recent student union elections at Westminster University. There was little response from the student unions or universities involved on either occasion.

- University authorities should investigate allegations of intimidation in line with their duty of care to students;
- Student unions have a responsibility to comply with any investigation;
- Any threats of violence should be referred to the police;
- If the issue is believed to relate to Islamist or far-right extremism the student union should liaise with the regional Prevent champion;
- If the complaint relates to student union officers, as in the case at Westminster University, there should be a complaints procedure which by-passes the student union.

FOR THE NATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS, STUDENT UNIONS & STUDENT SOCIETIES

BODY: NATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

ISSUE: EXTREMIST ORGANISATIONS TARGETING CAMPUSES

Recommendation: Apply the 'No Platform' policy consistently and transparently

The Prevent review identified Islamist groups such as Hizb ut-Tahrir, stating that they “*target specific universities and colleges...with the objective of radicalising and recruiting students.*”²⁶² The Home Affairs Select Committee report into the roots of violent radicalisation concluded that they “*were not convinced that extremists on campus are always subject to equal and robust challenge.*”²⁶³ The NUS 'No Platform' policy, originally designed to combat far-right activism, was extended in 2004 to include al-Muhajiroun (proscribed in January 2010), Hizb ut-Tahrir and MPACUK.²⁶⁴ The policy is optional and voted on by individual student unions.

The 'No Platform' policy is an existing framework for challenging extremist groups and should be applied consistently and transparently in the student unions that have voted for it.

NUS staff should liaise with individual student unions and regional Prevent champions to identify external speakers from organisations currently subject to the 'No Platform' policy;

- The 'No Platform' policy should be extended to include external groups or student organisations which are fronts for banned organisation;²⁶⁵
- The decision to designate a front group should be made by the relevant student union in conjunction with the NUS;
- There should be clear procedures for organisations and associated student groups subject to the 'No Platform' policy to appeal the decision; this is particularly relevant for student groups, which naturally change with the student body;
- Organisations and associated student groups subject to the 'No Platform' policy should be listed on the NUS website and individual student union websites;
- NUS staff should advise student unions and university facilities managers responsible for authorising events in enforcing the 'No Platform' policy more effectively;
- Student unions reserve the right to authorise a group or individual subject to the policy, but should publish a statement explaining the procedures behind the decision and how it relates to the institution's Code of Conduct as well as the various criminal, civil and regulatory obligations it has.

BODY: STUDENT UNIONS

ISSUE: ELECTED STUDENT UNION OFFICERS HOLDING EXTREMIST VIEWS

Recommendation: Candidates for student union positions with suspected links to extremist groups should be investigated by the NUS and student union officers prior to elections, with a view to further action

At the University of Westminster several individuals who have been elected as student union officers are currently barred from attending NUS events due to their suspected links to Hizb ut-Tahrir, as well as their refusal to co-operate with an NUS investigation into the matter. Despite this, they were re-elected to their positions in April 2012.

This creates a serious issue for student unions as it causes a direct conflict between the rights of individual

262. Prevent Strategy, 2011, pg 73

263. HASC 19th report, pg 23

264. 'FOSIS condemns motion to ban Islamic groups', FOSIS press release, 30 March 2004, available at <http://fosis.org.uk/21-blogs/head-of-finance-blog/244-fosis-condemns-motion-to-ban-islamic-groups>

265. A Hizb-ut-Tahrir or other Islamist front group could be identified if it promoted all of the following: Advocacy of an Islamic Khilafah or super state, belief that all Muslims are part of a global Ummah or political community, interpretation of Islam as a holistic socio-political system, support for a divine Sharia law, rejection of democracy and a belief that this will solve the current 'problems' faced by society. See H. Stuart & H. Ahmed, Hizb-ut-Tahrir: Ideology and Strategy, Centre for Social Cohesion, 2009, pg 139

students to freedom of expression and democratic representation.

This could be challenged by student unions in one of two ways:

Option 1: Ban individuals subject to the NUS 'No Platform' policy from standing in student elections

Student unions need to ensure that extremism does not affect the well-being of the student body, infringe students' protections under civil discrimination law or damage the reputation of the student union. Some students may feel unsafe when individuals associated with extremist politics take office; if officers are barred from the NUS the student union is also isolated.

- Permanent staff in student unions in conjunction with the NUS could utilise the 'No Platform' policy to bar anyone affiliated with a listed group from standing for election in the same way that the NUS prevents such individuals from attending conferences;
- Student unions should be aware of the possible negative outcomes of this option. Banning candidates is a drastic measure: it is not compatible with student unions' requirement to uphold freedom of expression and democratic representation; it is unworkable for student unions which have not adopted the NUS 'No Platform' policy; and could prove counter-productive. For example, a campaign at Westminster University revealing candidates' extremist beliefs resulted in many students feeling that the candidates were being victimised because of their religion.

Option 2: Allow candidates to stand for election but publicise the results of the NUS investigation in advance of and during the voting process

Instead of a ban, a more objective process should take place which would simply provide students with the information and highlight the consequences of voting for such individuals.

- Candidates found to be affiliated with a listed group should be allowed to stand for election;
- The student union should publish an explanation of the outcome of the NUS investigation and how this will affect the candidate's ability to represent the union at the NUS on its website during the election campaign;
- This information should also be posted publicly (i.e. on the student union website) to ensure that students are a) aware of the investigation and b) aware of the consequences for their union vis-à-vis the NUS;
- Care should be taken to ensure that this process is transparent and objective. It must not become a personal attack on a student for holding lawful, albeit extreme, views.

BODY: STUDENT UNIONS

ISSUE: UNLAWFUL OR EXTREMIST MATERIAL ON STUDENT SOCIAL NETWORKING

Recommendation: Challenge unlawful or extremist material on affiliated student social media

The right to freedom of speech is particularly relevant to social media as the relationship between these online spaces and universities and student unions is complex. The content of individual Facebook profiles and twitter feeds are not the responsibility of universities or student unions, nor should they be. However, there are cases where universities and student unions should have oversight, namely: student society web-pages hosted by the student union website; and official student society Facebook groups or twitter feeds. The following recommendations are limited to material posted on these forums.

- **Potentially unlawful material should be reported to the Home Office Counter-Terrorism Internet Referral Unit**
 - Student societies or student unions who believe potentially unlawful material has been posted on any of their web-pages or affiliated social media should report the incident to the Home Office Counter-Terrorism Internet Referral Unit. See case study for relevant examples of unlawful material (pages 64-71).
- **Student societies and student unions should take steps to ensure that their social media does not promote extremist material**

- The NUS should consider developing guidance on social media affiliated to student unions which accounts for freedom of speech as well as the unions' requirement to comply with criminal, civil and charitable law.

Sharing material can be viewed as endorsement of that material: for example, the head of the University of Westminster Islamic Society said on the society's Facebook page, "*sharing it is agreeing*".²⁶⁶

- Student societies which administer social network pages likely to be targeted (either by external individuals or other students) for sharing extremist material should consider pre-moderating material;
- Administrators of student society social media should consider monitoring problematic material posted by individuals who are not studying at the relevant university. For example, the violent extremist videos posted on the University of Westminster Islamic Society Facebook page were posted by an external individual.

In isolated cases, videos which could be seen to glorify violence have been posted by the administrators of the page rather than regular members of the society.²⁶⁷

- Student unions should discourage the use of affiliated social media to post extremist material, particularly that which may be seen to promote violence;
- Student unions should be aware that such use of social media may damage the integrity and charitable reputation of the student union;
- Student unions should reserve the right to disaffiliate any student society which it feels repeatedly promotes such material or does not cooperate with requests to remove such material.

BODY: STUDENT UNIONS AND STUDENT SOCIETIES

ISSUE: LAWFUL INTOLERANCE ON CAMPUSES

Recommendation: Foster an atmosphere conducive to free debate which challenges lawful intolerance

Student unions have traditionally done much to confront bigotry on campuses, particularly that coming from the far-right. While upholding freedom of speech within the law student unions could encourage a civic stigma around extreme yet lawful activism, in the way that many students already view participation in BNP and EDL related political activity.

- Highlight the similarities between the intolerance of Islamist organisations and the far-right;
- Hold events in open settings, and avoid the promotion and endorsement of off-campus events involving extremist speakers;
- Challenge extremist views on affiliated social media.

266. University of Westminster Islamic Society official Facebook page, www.facebook.com/groups/155911641088037/

267. See the videos of Anwar Al-Awlaki posted by both London South Bank University Islamic society and Sheffield Hallam University Islamic societies on page 22

CONCLUSION

Campus activism has been a major part of students' university experience since the late 1960s. Traditionally, student activism has been politically left-leaning, with the language of the New Left driving opposition to the South African government and opposing far-right organisations like the BNP. Attempts to generate support for the far-right on campuses have received little support.

Sustained Islamism-inspired activism has been a more recent development, exemplified by aggressive campus activism from Hizb ut-Tahrir during the early 1990s and more recently from Hizb ut-Tahrir front groups. A minority of individual Islamic societies have also demonstrated support for Islamist principles by consistently inviting extremist individuals to speak on campus.

Social media enables rapid dissemination of material and facilitates interaction with other activists and political figures. Online profiles of a small number of students studying across London, as well as several recent graduates they interact with, demonstrate Islamism-inspired activism. Some student society social media is used to share extremist material, including videos of Anwar Al-Awlaki or insurgent fighters. In one case, an external individual targeted student social media to share an audio recording of an individual convicted of inciting terrorism overseas and racial hatred.

Obviously this provides a challenge for the higher education sector. Free speech has special legal status at universities and must be upheld for students, lecturers and any visiting speakers. This report also includes a case study of unlawful speech and material, based on analysis of relevant Islamism-inspired convictions in the UK. Previous convictions for unlawful speech and terrorist material emphasise the significance of conduct which presents violent activity as a religious duty and calls for the death of coalition forces, and the severity with which it is taken by the British legal system.

Such precedents provide tangible examples of where conduct falls outside of the freedom of expression protected by the law, and should be used in conjunction with existing policy, legal and regulatory frameworks for student activity. Similarly, further requirements under charitable law demand student unions protect their integrity and reputation, by avoiding association with extremist-linked organisations.

The report concludes with practical recommendations for challenging extremism for stakeholders, including government departments, universities, student unions and student societies. They emphasise the importance of collaborative efforts and information sharing at all levels in challenging intolerant Islamism-inspired activism on campuses.

APPENDIX A:

TRANSCRIPT OF ABDUL RAHMAN SALEEM VIDEO POSTED ON THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER ISLAMIC SOCIETY FACEBOOK PAGE 05/04/2012:

“There is nobody like them today, the Mujahideen. When we speak about them, when we hear about them, we walk with our heads up high. We are proud of them because they are our sons. They are the ones who are the lions of Tawhid, they are the lions of jihad, they are the lions of this Ummah. When they roar, the kings and the queens, the presidents, prime ministers stand still to listen to those people.

They left their women, they left their children to go and fight for the sake of Allah. Who amongst us left their women and left their children, who amongst us left their millions to go and fight for the sake of Allah. They left their houses and their palaces to go and fight. They sleep in the caves, the skies are their blankets, the ground that they sleep on is their mattress, the rocks and the stones that they sleep on are their pillows. How dare anybody attack them, they are the people of Isa, because of them we walk with our heads up high, anybody who attacks them are from the kuffar and from the munafiqeen [hypocrites]. Nobody loves them but they are muwahid [monotheists] and but they are Muslims.

We are the ones who should follow them my dear Brothers and Sisters; there isn't nobody on this Earth today like them. Nobody! We should not say “uff” against them. When we speak about them, we speak about them with adab [respect], because maybe they are the ones who are shahada, which Allah mentioned together with [...inaudible...] who Allah mentioned from amongst us?

No one should say anything against them, yet Muslims [inaudible] attack them day and night. The little that you can do for them, you do not even do that. The small that you can do, we don't do. The dua, the small dua that you can raise your hands to Allah and do, no you don't do that, at all. Make dua for yourselves. The one who wants a job make Allah please, make that I pass my exams for this job. Who wants to pass his driving test, he makes exam for that. He wants a child? He makes dua for that. He wants a wife; he looks in the heavens and earth for that. But you cannot make dua for them. And yet Allah said [Arabic 2:36 – 2:38] the dua itself is the Ibada [worship].

2:42 – 2:50 [Arabic]

If we ask, we ask Allah, if we beg, we beg Allah, nobody else. That little that you can do, you don't make dua? Yes we should make dua for them, that's the least that we can do, for those who can't go and fight. And know that if you don't go and fight you're not going to be following the shahada. Don't think that that dua will remove the sinner from your neck, no. Make the dua for them, and when you make dua believe that Allah is going to respond to your dua, believe that Allah is going to listen to your dua, believe that He is going to respond before you put your hands down, when you ask Allah He is going to respond. Before your hands are dropped, somewhere on this earth Allah is going to respond. So you ask, don't ask half-heartedly, ask with full conviction in your heart. Ask Allah to remove those Kuffar from our lands, ask Allah to let their blood run on the streets of Fallujah, let their blood run in the mountains of Afghanistan, let the Mujahideen kill them and destroy them one after the other. Allahhum ansur [prayer for success] Mujahideen is what you want to ask. Allahhum ansur Sheikh Osama is what you want to ask, let their heavens throw their planes out of the skies, let the oceans swallow their ships, let the mountains around them crumble, let the ground beneath them shake, that is what you want to ask my dear brothers.

When you ask Allah, ask Him for the victory of the Mujahideen. Let their women become widows, like our women become widows. Let their children become orphans, like our children become orphans. Do not be ashamed when you ask for the victory of the Mujahideen, they are the ones who are out there fighting for the sake of Allah. If anybody deserves to be from the citizens of jannah [paradise], they deserve to be from the citizens of jannah. If anybody deserves to be from the [inaudible], they deserve to be from the [inaudible]. My dear brother and sisters, that is the least that you can do for those Mujahideen. And hope and pray that one day we will be with them, and we will be amongst them. Ameen

APPENDIX B

UNLAWFUL SPEECH BY ABDULLAH EL-FAISAL

Abdullah El-Faisal's convictions relate to the following solicitations to murder found on three tapes of his speeches labelled "*Jihad DAT*", "*Jihad*" and "*Declaration of War*"²⁶⁸

"Jihad DAT" – solicitations against "a person or persons who did not believe in the Islamic faith"

Before continuing let us define the word Jihad... whenever Allah used the word Jihad in the Koran it means to kill the Kaffars... That's the legitimate meaning of Jihad.

(1:28 minutes)

So the 1st condition for you to call your war Jihad is that is, it has to be against Kaffars.

(4:11 minutes)

The Jihad of a woman is to bring up her male children with a Jihad mentality. Is that clear? So when you buy toys for your boys you buy tanks and guns... [laughter]. Helicopter gunships and so forth. This is the Jihad of a woman, to bring up her sons with a Jihad mentality not to be wimps but to be Mojahedeens. And whenever you are a Muslim boy and you are 15 you are a solider automatically... So all of you, sitting down in front of me are soldiers. Is it sensible for you to be a solider and you don't know how to shoot a Kalashnikov. A soldier who doesn't know how to shoot therefore Jihad training is compulsory on all of you...

(12:12 minutes)

...anytime you love the world-earthly life and fear death the Kaffars will not fear you anymore. Therefore for you to be a formidable foe... you need to conquer your fear for death... and you need to look to die in the path of Allah...

(16:45 minutes)

So at this particular moment in time your Islamic scholars are dumped in prison like Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman and Moulana Masood Azhar until they hijacked a plane and freed him and this person wrote a book and advised Osama Bin Laden who wrote the book Sheikh Bin Baz advising Osama Bin Laden about terrorism, hijacking and suicide bombing... Sheikh Bin Baz is a Kaffar so who is he to advise Osama Bin Laden. You understand. Would you take advice from a Kaffar?

(17:08 minutes)

The greatest Jihad is for your feet to blister and for your blood to run...

(29:32 minutes)

So many of you, you don't want to do a Jihad but I have news for you... Even if you don't want to do Jihad the Kaffars are going to bring the Jihad to your doorstep...

(31:14 minutes)

So the Jews brought Jihad to you, one billion Muslims and the Russians bring it to you and the French bring it to you. So even if you don't have it on your agenda the Kaffars are forcing you to include Jihad on your agenda because they are coming to get your natural resources and they are coming to kill your scholars and rape your women. They are coming to get you. So you have absolutely no choice.

(33:23 minutes)

So the way forward can never be the ballot. The [way] forward is the bullet.

(36:07 minutes)

We spread Islam by the sword and so what, and today we are going to spread by the Kalashnikov and there is nothing you can do about it

(37:41 minutes)

268. R v El-Faisal [2004] EWCA Crim 456, [2004] All ER (D) 107 (Mar)

I'm sure that after September 11th everybody knows about Islam and Muslims [laughter in audience]

(44.31 minutes)

Mullah Omar has passed a Fatwa that Jihad is an individual duty for the protection of Afghanistan...against America the Great Satan. However it was brought to my attention that some people tried to enter and they sent them back...This was on the Kaffar news media. So we shouldn't believe it...The Kaffars are saying this because they don't want you to do Jihad. Go for Jihad on the path of Allah

(10:23–11:02 minutes)

The fifth aim and objective of Jihad is to lessen the population of the Kaffars...Even today in modern times you should cut the throat of the Kaffars with machete.

(11:06 minutes)

Allah used the word to terrorise...So we terrorise the Kaffars. However you are only allowed to strike at military targets. You are not allowed to strike at civilian targets. This is debatable. Is that clear? What I've just said to you is debatable because I've read to you a Fatwa from Saudi Arabia last week and the Sheikh said there is no such thing as an innocent Kaffar because before they attack Muslims they will vote for war...They take a poll and 90% of Kaffars said kill them...so whenever a Kaffar vote for war they are like Kaffar soldiers.

(12:22–12:53 minutes)

...one of the aims and objectives of Jihad is to lessen the population of the Kaffars and in order to inspire us to kill Kaffars the messenger of Allah said any time a Muslim kill a Kaffar that Kaffar will take his place in hellfire...If you kill a Kaffar on the battlefield that Kaffar will take your place in hellfire.

(16:22–17:17 minutes)

By you killing you will crawl on his back and go to paradise while you are pushing him down to hellfire [laughter in audience]. This is how wonderful it is to kill a Kaffar...the Muslim didn't really kill the Kaffar. The Kaffar was already dead. All the Muslim did was to finish him off

(16.58 minutes)

The sixth aim and objective of Jihad is to terrorise the Kaffars...Allah said you should terrorise them

(18.52 minutes)

"Jihad" – solicitations against "a person or persons who did not believe in the Islamic faith, in particular Indian Hindus"

There is a lot of difference of opinion among the four groups of Imams in regards to the Islamic Jurisprudence of Jihad. I will be mentioning the difference to the text but at the same time I will be telling you which of them is most accurate...

(0:29 minutes)

Jihad is to wage war against the unbelievers

(1:56 minutes)

You need to wage Jihad to repel the aggression of NATO...the UN...the USA [and] ...the UK, only with Jihad we can repel the aggression so don't entertain the idea of voting... our methodology is the bullet not the ballot.

(18:41 minutes)

Is there any peace treaty between us and Hindus and Indian? No, so you can go to India and if you see a Hindu walking down the road you are allowed to kill him and take his money, is that clear, because there is no peace treaty between us and him his wealth isn't sacred nor his life because there is no peace treaty between us and him...

(21:24 minutes)

...assassination is Hallal Lawful, so if you know that the person is plotting, you are allowed to send somebody to kill him.

(30:57 minutes)

Allah is not going to use what he used to wipe [unbelievers] out in the time of Noah...he will use you to wipe them out.

(35:43 minutes)

Those who want to go to Jenna paradise it's easy just kill a Kaffar unbeliever...by killing that Kaffar unbeliever you have purchased your ticket to paradise.

(36:47 minutes)

The sixth aim and objective of Jihad is to spread terrorism. To terrorise the unbelievers...if terror didn't work Allah wouldn't have commanded you to terrorise the unbelievers and the best way to terrorise them is to exterminate them with Jihad.

(37:43 minutes)

Allah prescribed for you fighting, and you can't say well Allah meant you fight with a pen, you can't go to the battlefield with a pen...and there is only one explanation for fighting and that is to kill the unbelievers.

(0:12 minutes)

Every Muslim hates the unbelievers and you want to see their extermination...Allah said kill them and did Allah tell you what to use. That means you can use anything, even chemical weapons...to exterminate unbelievers.

(4:56 minutes)

When you travel together...think about travelling to the battlefield to kill unbelievers and spread the deed.

(19:53 minutes)

Osama Bin Laden, he is hiding from America in the mountains of Afghanistan if America should capture him, say the Taliban hand him over to America, have you got the power to defeat America and take back Osama Bin Laden

(27:43 minutes)

The apostate leaders and the scholars of the apostate leaders, you have to kill them because they preach the wrong Islam...you have to abduct them and kill them and you kill the unbelievers and you kill the hypocrites and...the apostates...these are the 5 people you kill when you do Jihad

(28:34 minutes)

"Declaration of War"— solicitations against "a person or persons who did not believe in the Islamic faith, Americans and Jewish people"

By Allah's permission we will be taking a look at a speech that was delivered by Osama Bin Laden...he has given a speech in regards to the importance of liberating the Holy Land and...I will be translating his speech word for word, because in my opinion everything he said is of extreme importance – every word is like [a] gem...

(00:08 minutes)

[El-Faisal translating]: *The high blow, maybe many times, the high blows, maybe are many. But the short and swift blow which causes the enemy to bleed is the best of blows.*

(13:16 minutes)

[tape of Osama Bin Laden]: *One of the most imperative duties, which is the most obligatory after declaration of faith, is to seek jihad to fight the Americans and the Jews to drive them out of the holy places of Islam.*

(25:15 minutes)

[El-Faisal translating]: *Hence the first duty, the first compulsive act upon you, after your declaration of faith...is for you to fight and kill the Americans and the Jews and drive them out of the Arabian peninsular.*

(27:39 minutes)

[tape of Osama Bin Laden]: *Some may ask the question, what's compulsory on them at this time and how can they get to fight the Americans and Jews?*

(33:30 minutes)

[El-Faisal translating]: *Some may ask the question, what's compulsory on me and how can I fight and kill the Americans and the Jews and the Christians and their allies?*

(35:22 minutes)

Afghanistan is the only country in the world today that has the Sharia, therefore it is compulsory on all the Muslims all over the world to help Afghanistan, and to make migration to this land, because it is from this land we will dispatch our armies to smash the disbelievers all over the world.

(42:03 minutes)

Whenever the holy months expire, kill the pagans wherever you find them.

(48:07 minutes)

These are the words of Allah...commanding us to fight and kill the disbeliever even when they are in their own countries...so if you were commanded to fight them, even when they are in their own countries, how can you have them in the holiest land of Islam...It is incumbent upon us Muslims to remind the believers of the importance of killing these disbelievers, finding them and killing them...Brothers and sisters let me remind you that all of you will die except the martyr, you will all die except the martyr.

(00:50 minutes)

This was the speech of Osama Bin Laden to the nation. He spoke from the heart...

(2:47 minutes)

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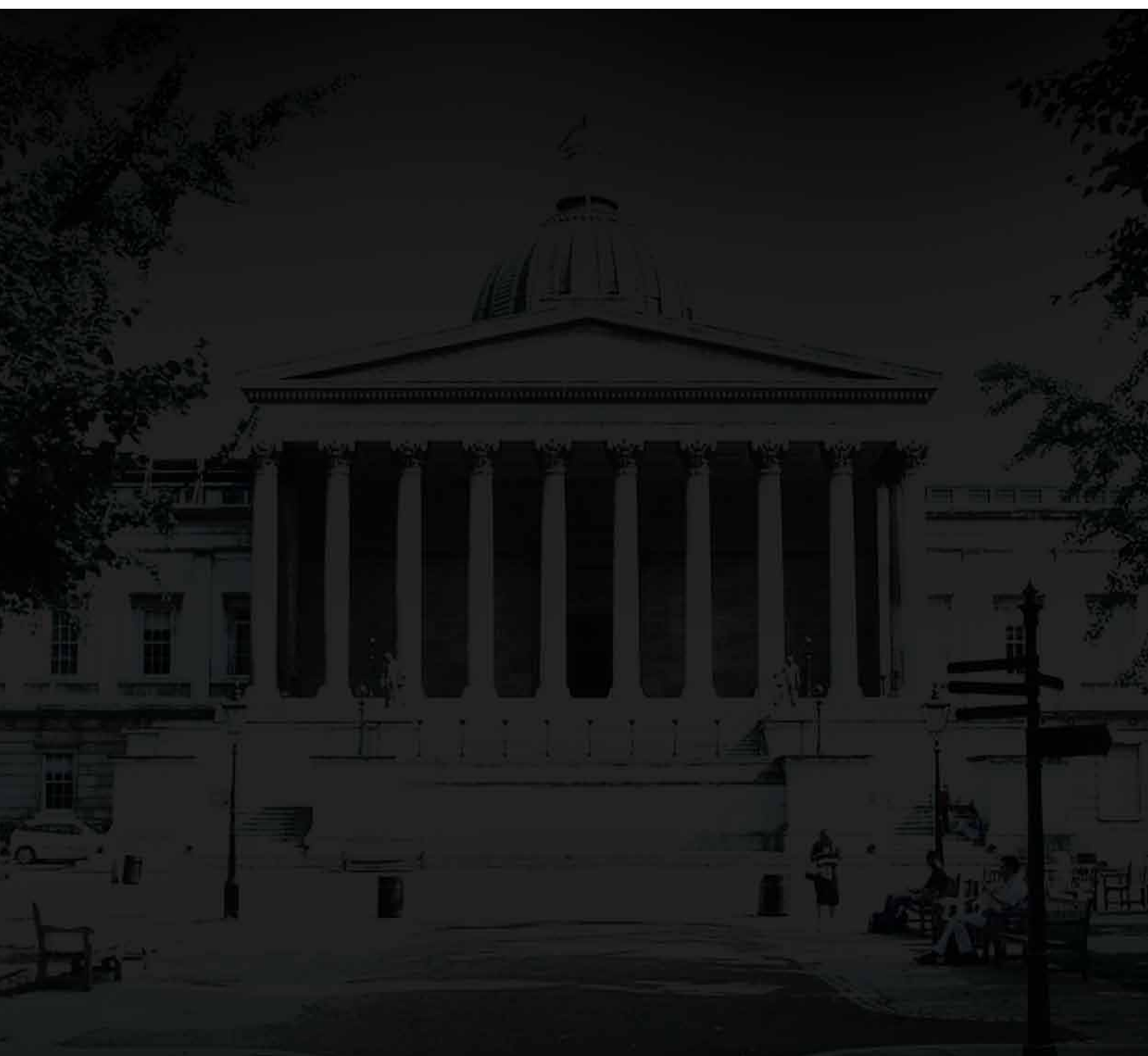
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