

PROFITING FROM PREJUDICE: How Mend's 'IAM' Campaign Legitimised Extremism

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Executive Summary

- A recent report by The Henry Jackson Society provided an extensive overview of the UK advocacy group Mend (Muslim Engagement and Development)¹ and its links to extremism.² Entitled 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians"', the research illustrated how the organisation has met the government's own definition of extremism, as outlined by the national Counter-Extremism Strategy. A considerable number of employees have espoused disturbing views with regard to terrorism, anti-Semitism and minority Muslim sects. This includes senior management staff who have supported terrorists overseas, dismissed recent attacks in the UK and promoted anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.
- This report demonstrates how Mend's Islamophobia Awareness Month (IAM) campaign has provided an uncontested platform for extremism across the UK's public and charity sector. This falls contrary to the national Counter-Extremism Strategy, which requires local authorities to ensure that "publicly-owned venues and resources do not provide a platform for extremists and are not used to disseminate extremist views".³ It is therefore concerning that the majority of IAM events took place on public property, with most on university campuses, where Prevent guidance necessitates the implementation of risk assessment policies to ensure that extremist speakers are subject to mitigation procedures.
- During IAM, Mend hosted exhibitions, presentations and workshops which claimed to inform the public about the roots of anti-Muslim hatred, and its institutional and civil manifestations. Locations included faith centres, schools, universities, a hospital and the UK Parliament. Throughout these events, Mend purported that Islamophobia results from biased media reporting, lack of Muslim political participation and discriminatory legislation that targets the Muslim community. Literature on the Mend website warned that without intervention, the current trajectory of Islamophobia in the UK could lead to genocide, making a comparison with the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. This fits with Mend's broader alarmist and divisive narrative: that the government, drivers of government policy and vast sections of British society are inherently anti-Muslim.
- The IAM campaign afforded a mainstream platform to Mend's affiliate partners, often individuals with a high-profile extremist history. These include Abdullah al-Andalusi, Hatem Bazian and Shakeel Begg, in addition to representatives from Cage and the Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC). Extremist views include incitement of violence, sympathy with convicted terrorists and support for corporal punishments against Jews, homosexuals, minority Muslim sects and "disbelievers".
- IAM events also played host to various parliamentarians, academics and activists who provided a layer of legitimacy to Mend's campaign and organisation as a whole. This report highlights how many speakers have appeared sympathetic to Mend's narrative, having worked with the organisation or an affiliated extremist partner in the past, or, in some cases, have defended the group against attacks from the mainstream media. It is therefore plausible to assume that Mend,

¹ Previously known as iEngage.

² Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading As Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/HJS-Mend-Report.pdf>, last visited: 20 February 2018, p. 24.

³ 'Revised Prevent Duty Guidance: for England and Wales', *HM Government*, 16 July 2015, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/445977/3799_Revised_Prevent_Duty_Guidance_England_Wales_V2-Interactive.pdf, last visited: 20 February 2018, p. 7.

and other problematic IAM speakers, were largely on uncontested platforms in which their divisive 'them v us' worldview and conspiratorial messaging, having permeated into anti-Semitism and intolerance on previous occasions, were insufficiently addressed. This is particularly concerning, as panels featuring an amalgamation of 'experts', with representatives from extremist organisations, enhance the credibility of the latter with the aesthetic of equal expertise. If unchallenged, extremist views can be aired as moderate and mainstream.

- The most senior high-profile speaker during Mend's 2017 IAM campaign was Jeremy Corbyn, who was involved with the group under its initial brand of iEngage. Corbyn spoke at the first IAM launch event in 2012 and the annual launch the following year, and was the guest speaker at its Parliamentary event in 2017. Moreover, Corbyn has had several points of contact with Mend activists in the past, most notably (former) director Azad Ali, in addition to Mend's affiliate partners, including Shakeel Begg, Hatem Bazian and the Islamic Human Rights Commission. In his current capacity as Leader of the Opposition, Corbyn's sustained engagement with the group has almost certainly contributed to its legitimacy and growing prominence on mainstream platforms.
- The report concludes with several policy recommendations to reduce the impact of non-violent extremist groups in the public and civil society sector. Universities' risk mitigating procedures, required as part of the Prevent statutory duty, ought to become more transparent in order to highlight why extremist groups continue to appear unchallenged on campus. Events hosted at public institutions featuring a speaker linked to extremism should be recorded and take place on balanced panels. This would evince whether extremist messages were promoted, ensure audience members felt free to challenge the views presented, and hold speakers to account. Moreover, extremist groups must be banned from profiting financially at events held at public institutions, particularly university campuses. Lastly, a guidance framework is required for politicians, members of the police and civil society groups, to raise awareness of how extremist groups operate and to ensure a unified stance against those who threaten societal cohesion, liberal values and individual freedoms.

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1. Introduction

This report details the Mend activities that took place during its November 2017 Islamophobia Awareness Month campaign (IAM). The research has arisen, in part, due to the alarming number of events Mend hosted at public institutions featuring uncontested platforms. It also emerged that Mend profit financially from their events, with their student volunteers raising money for the local Mend Working Group. The organisation's controversial history has been well documented – the anti-Semitic conspiracies, the vocal support for overseas terror groups, and the partnership with individuals who have promoted jihad and corporal punishments for homosexuals and adulterers. Notwithstanding the former Head of Engagement who expressed his “love” for Al-Qaeda ideologues,^{4,5} and the CEO who spoke of the “links” between Zionism and Islamophobia,⁶ Mend's highly publicised intolerance has elicited much press coverage over the years, including statements from NGOs and community groups.^{7,8}

Despite this, Mend's aesthetic objective of tackling Islamophobia has succeeded in exploiting genuine concerns of anti-Muslim hate, while providing a platform for extremism on the mainstream stage. The messages promulgated and speakers advertised during its six-week campaign are alarming, yet indicative of how Mend operates. Partnering with both credible and extremist speakers demonstrates the fallacious nature of the group's ‘moderate’ image, while providing an undue guise of legitimacy.

The majority of IAM events took place across the public and charitable sector. Activity focused on the student level, with most events hosted on university premises; however, several workshops occurred in schools and council-owned locations. This appears in direct contravention of the Counter-Extremism Strategy, established to restrict public institutions from providing undue legitimacy and publicity to extremist groups. The report will further shed light on the regions in the UK that formed a ‘hotspot’ for Mend and extremist-related activity, while detailing the network of individuals that repeatedly partnered with Mend over the course of the campaign.

A report released by Tell MAMA in 2017 showed that there were 2,840 Islamophobic crimes and incidents recorded across the UK in 2016, with a 5% proportional increase in the number of attacks occurring in public areas from the previous year.⁹ Seeking to prevent anti-Muslim prejudice is a necessary and crucial endeavour, and public officials, activists and academics seeking to highlight Islamophobia in all its forms should not be deterred from doing so. Indeed, whilst extremist groups may exploit genuine causes to achieve support and legitimacy, most faith, community and charitable groups work tirelessly to combat bigotry without fostering grievances to generate distrust, intolerance and social isolationism. One noteworthy initiative is ‘Islam Awareness Week’ (distinct from IAM),¹⁰ a community project that raises awareness of the positive contribution British Muslims make to society, promoting social cohesion and understanding about the Islamic faith.¹¹ This report intends to demonstrate why collaborating with extremist-linked organisations to promote social cohesion and tolerance elicits an antithetical effect.

⁴ Gilligan, A., ‘Mayor gives £30,000 of taxpayers’ money to Muslim group led by “extremist”’, *Evening Standard*, 12 March 2009, available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/mayor-gives-30000-of-taxpayers-money-to-muslim-group-led-by-extremist-6938333.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁵ Ali, A., ‘Iman, the new President and you’, *Wayback Machine*, 5 November 2008, available at:

<http://web.archive.org/web/20110108071214/http://blog.islamicforum.europa.com/2008/11/05/iman-the-new-president-and-you/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶ Ismail, S., ‘Setting the record straight: comments at Cheadle mosque, 2014’, *Sufyan Ismail Blog*, 4 January 2016, available at:

<http://www.sufyanismail.com/blog/setting-the-record-straight-comments-at-cheddle-mosque-2014/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁷ Rich, D., ‘Fighting hatred together or setting communities apart’, *CST*, 15 April 2015, available at: <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2015/04/15/fighting-hatred-together-or-setting-communities-apart>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁸ Moore, L., ‘In Plain Sight: MEND, CAGE, and So-Called “Non-Violent Extremism”’, *Quilliam*, 30 June 2017, available at:

<https://www.quilliaminternational.com/in-plain-sight/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁹ ‘A Constructed Threat: Identity, Prejudice and the Impact of Anti-Muslim Hatred - TELL MAMA ANNUAL REPORT 2016’, *Tell MAMA*, 2 November 2017, available at: <https://tellmamauk.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/A-Constructed-Threat-Identity-Intolerance-and-the-Impact-of-Anti-Muslim-Hatred-Web.pdf>, last visited: 8 March 2018.

¹⁰ Haroon-Iqbal, H., ‘This Islamophobia obsession does Muslims no favours’, *The Times*, 14 November 2017, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/this-islamophobia-obsession-does-muslims-no-favours-djrj5mxvk>, last visited: 8 March 2018.

¹¹ ‘Islam Awareness Week 2017’, *Islamic Society of Britain*, available at: <https://iaw.org.uk/>, last visited: 8 March 2018.

2. Methodology

Due to evidence presented in The Henry Jackson Society report 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians"', this paper considers that Mend meets the criteria of a non-violent extremist group, as laid out in the national Counter-Extremism Strategy. The UK government defines extremism as the:

Vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs. We also include in our definition of extremism calls for the death of members of our armed forces, whether in this country or overseas.¹²

Criteria for inclusion

This paper covers Mend activity throughout its 2017 Islamophobia Awareness Month campaign. Events that hosted Mend speakers or other individuals linked to extremism or featured explicit promotion of Mend and its IAM brand are included. Activity seeking to raise awareness of Islamophobia during this period without explicit link to Mend or extremism are omitted. This avoids tarnishing several events that used the Islamophobia Awareness Month slogan for promotional purposes, with no other endorsement or connection to extremism.

A note on sources

Events have been recorded predominantly using advertisements on Mend's website and social media page, corroborated with other social media sources if possible. The recording of events not hosted by Mend relied upon social media promotion that used the IAM branding, which were included if they met the criteria above. This report does not claim to be an exhaustive account of all Mend activity during this period. The disproportionate amount of information surrounding the events is recognised, with speakers often not advertised, and photographs rarely uploaded online by audience members or host groups. No official recordings of the events were published; the only footage available was taken by a member of the public who, it is presumed, did not have prior permission to film (see entry 4.1.43).

All of the information used in this report is open source.

¹² 'Counter-Extremism Strategy', *HM Government*, October 2015, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/470088/51859_Cm9148_Accessible.pdf, last visited: 6 February 2018, p. 32.

3. History of Islamophobia Awareness Month

Islamophobia Awareness Month (IAM) was created in 2012 by an alliance of organisations and activists. These included iEngage (Mend), the Muslim Council of Britain and the Enough Coalition, which consisted of several Islamist and extremist organisations.

Since its inception, the Enough Coalition has been at the core of various controversial campaigns. In 2012, it ran an event seeking to highlight “insulting” and “provocative” depictions of Mohammed in the press, with the advertisement singling out *Charlie Hebdo*’s “profoundly racist and offensive” cartoons, which took place three years prior to the attack in Paris.¹³ The talk was supported by the Muslim Brotherhood-linked Cordoba Foundation and the London Muslim Centre.¹⁴ Later in 2012, the Enough Coalition announced that IAM officially endorsed Justice Week, a campaign led by pro-terrorist group Cage and the Queen Mary Islamic Society.¹⁵ This campaign supported individuals convicted of terror offences, including Aafia Siddiqui, Talha Ahsan and Babar Ahmad, as well as Shaker Aamer who was detained by the US government for being a “recruiter, financier and facilitator” of terrorism.¹⁶ The following year, the Enough Coalition held another talk on free speech and Islamophobia featuring several hate preachers as speakers, including Haitham al-Haddad, Abdurraheem Green, Hamza Tzortzis, Zaheer Mahmoud and Uthman Lateef.¹⁷ Several extremist-linked organisations sponsored the event.¹⁸

The first IAM launch event took place in the London Muslim Centre on 2 November 2012. Speakers included Jeremy Corbyn, Sahar Al-Faifi, Daud Abdullah and Lutfur Rahman.¹⁹ (Abdullah has declared support for the terror group Hamas,²⁰ and Rahman was subsequently removed from his Mayoral post for bribery and corruption.²¹) The brother of Talha Ahsan, convicted in the US for aiding terrorists, was also invited to speak. It is unclear when the Enough Coalition disbanded, although by the time of the IAM campaign in November 2014, the newly rebranded Mend was the principal organiser.²²

Controversy has also surrounded the IAM graphic, a finger pointing upward, for bearing similarity to the gesture used by Islamic militants. It is said to signify the “oneness of God”, but has more recently been used in the jihadi propaganda of Al-Qaeda and Islamic State. In 2016, Bedfordshire Police removed their social media posts promoting the IAM logo, despite Mend insisting that the finger represented the ‘I’ in Islamophobia.²³

¹³ ‘French Nude cartoons of the Prophet and American anti-Islam film: Free Speech or Islamophobia?’, *Facebook*, 27 September 2012, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/203350386355580/photos/a.328916010465683.88254.203350386355580/491334590890490/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁴ Gilligan, A., ‘How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism’, *The Telegraph*, 8 February 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/11398538/How-the-Muslim-Brotherhood-fits-into-a-network-of-extremism.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁵ ‘#IAM is supporting Justice Week’, *Facebook*, 10 November 2012, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/203350386355580/photos/a.328916010465683.88254.203350386355580/512437088780240/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁶ ‘JTF-GTMO Detainee Assessment – Sawad al-Madani’, *United States Department of Defense*, 1 November 2007, available at: <https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/82693/isn-239-shaker-aamer-jtf-gtmo-detainee-assessment.pdf>, last visited: 20 February 2018, p. 1.

¹⁷ ‘Enough Coalition Against Islamophobia’, *Facebook*, 13 November 2013, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/203350386355580/photos/a.328916010465683.88254.203350386355580/703840636306550/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 28 February 2018.

¹⁸ These include iEngage (Mend), iERA, the Muslim Research and Development Foundation (MRDF), Ebrahim and the As-Suffa Institute.

¹⁹ Enough Coalition against Islamophobia, *Facebook*, 30 October 2012, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/203350386355580/photos/a.203408439683108.54493.203350386355580/506475082709774/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²⁰ Doward, J., ‘British Muslim leader urged to quit over Gaza’, *The Guardian*, 8 March 2009, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/mar/08/daud-abdullah-gaza-middle-east>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² Mend Community, ‘@mendcommunity’, *Twitter*, 30 November 2014, available at: <https://twitter.com/mendcommunity/status/539162020604411904>, last visited: 28 February 2018.

²³ Tonkin, S., ‘Police force deletes its Twitter posts promoting Islamophobia Awareness Month after using a logo similar to a hand gesture popular with ISIS jihadis’, *Daily Mail*, 16 November 2016, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3941926/Police-force-deletes-Twitter-posts-promoting-Islamophobia-Awareness-Month-using-logo-similar-hand-gesture-popular-ISIS-jihadis.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

4. List of events: 1 November to 16 December 2017

The following list documents the event organiser/s, speakers present and their professional associations, location and region.²⁴ It is alphabetised according to location. Background information about the speakers and any additional details related to the events themselves are provided where possible. The campaign focused on four areas, into which the list is split accordingly: events held at universities, in schools, at public institutions and in wider civil society. Unless otherwise stated, the events are presumed to have gone ahead as planned.

4.1 Events at Universities

As part of the 2015 Counter-Terrorism and Security Act, public bodies are subject to a statutory duty to ensure that they have “due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism”.²⁵ Universities are required to have effective welfare support systems for students, including the adoption of a safeguarding lead, and risk assessment procedures for external speakers who use their premises. This stands alongside universities’ existing responsibilities surrounding free speech protection, equality and diversity welfare and gender discrimination laws. Prevent Duty guidance stresses the need to challenge extremist views, and is clear that identifying risk to violent extremism includes non-violent extremism, which can “create an atmosphere conducive to terrorism and can popularise views that terrorists exploit”.²⁶

4.1.1 Aston University - Exhibition - 13/11/2017²⁷

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Aston University Campus

Region: Birmingham, West Midlands

4.1.2 Aston University - ‘Counterterrorism and Islamophobia’ - 30/11/2017²⁸

Host: School of Languages and Social Sciences

Speakers: Moazzam Begg - *Cage*, Malia Bouattia

Location: Lecture Theatre MB155, Main Building, Aston University

Region: Birmingham, West Midlands

This event was advertised as part of Islamophobia Awareness Month. The organiser, Tom Mills, is a lecturer at the University and a supporter of *Cage*.²⁹

²⁴ For the region of ‘Greater London’, the Borough Council is also included.

²⁵ ‘Revised Prevent Duty Guidance: for England and Wales’, *HM Government*, 16 July 2015, p. 2.

²⁶ ‘Prevent Duty Guidance: for higher education institutions in England and Wales’, *HM Government*, 16 July 2015, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/445916/Prevent_Duty_Guidance_For_Higher_Education_England_Wales_.pdf, last visited: 5 February 2018, p. 3.

²⁷ MEND Community, ‘@mendcommunity’, *Twitter*, 13 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/Mendcommunity/status/930057312827596800>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²⁸ AstonLLS, ‘@AstonLLS’, *Twitter*, 27 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/AstonLLS/status/935107307742089216>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

Cage is an advocacy group that defends individuals convicted of terrorism. Senior figures have praised Islamic militants and refused to condemn brutal practises such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and stoning. David Cameron condemned the group for claiming Mohammed Emwazi was radicalised as a result of harassment from MI5.³⁰ Cage regularly hosts Salafi-Islamist preachers such as Haitham al-Haddad, Shakeel Begg and Abu Qatada at its events. A Cage event in 2009 attempted to video link Al-Qaeda ideologue Anwar al-Awlaki.³¹

Moazzam Begg is Cage's Director of Outreach. He has argued that Al-Qaeda clerics are "the most credible voices against IS"³² and described two men imprisoned after joining an Al-Qaeda-linked terrorist group as "really good brothers".³³ According to a 2016 article in *The Telegraph*, Begg has encouraged people to go to Syria to "defend the revolution" against Assad, and accused the government of using ISIS as "a stick to beat" Muslims with.³⁴

Malia Bouattia, the former National Union of Students (NUS) President, has been criticised for making anti-Semitic remarks and for her links to extremist organisations.³⁵ She has said that the Prevent Strategy was fuelled by "all manner of Zionist and neo-con lobbies", described the University of Birmingham as a "Zionist outpost", and said that "Zionist-led media outlets" have convinced the public of Muslims' "non-violent and peaceful nature, so that we're ... dangerously condemning the resistance".³⁶

4.1.3 University of Birmingham - 'Islamophobia: This is How It Feels' - 30/11/2017³⁷

Host: University of Birmingham Islamic Society

Speakers: 'Mend speaker', Shahin Ashraf, Inam Malik, Ozlem Young

Location: Arts Lecture Theatre, University of Birmingham

Region: Birmingham, West Midlands

The advertising for this event promoted Mend as an organisation dedicated to human rights and empowering Muslim communities.

³⁰ Mills T., N. Massoumi and D. Miller, 'Apologists for terror or defenders of human rights? The Cage controversy in context', *Open Democracy UK*, 31 July 2015, available at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/tom-mills-narzanin-massoumi-david-miller/apologists-for-terror-or-defenders-of-human-right>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

³¹ Dominiczak, P., 'David Cameron condemns Cage for blaming MI5 over radicalisation of Jihadi John', *The Telegraph*, 27 February 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/11439605/David-Cameron-condemns-Cage-for-blaming-MI5-over-radicalisation-of-Jihadi-John.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

³² Lewis, J., 'Top charities give £200,000 to group which supported al-Qaeda cleric', *The Telegraph*, 6 November 2010, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/8114913/Top-charities-give-200000-to-group-which-supported-al-Qaeda-cleric.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

³³ Begg, M., 'Cameron will not engage with the only people able to stop the IS narrative', *Middle East Eye*, 30 June 2015, available at: <http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/david-cameron-refusing-engage-only-people-who-can-stop-1982739573>, last visited: 28 February 2018.

³⁴ Turner, C. and S. Quadri, 'Ex-Guantanamo Bay detainee Moazzam Begg says Isis is used as a "stick to beat" Muslims', *The Telegraph*, 21 May 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/20/ex-guantanamo-bay-detainee-moazzam-begg-urges-people-to-go-to-sy/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ 'Malia Bouattia faces questions over NUS leadership bid', *Student Rights*, 14 April 2016, available at: www.studentrights.org.uk/article/2385/malia_bouattia_faces_questions_over_nus_leadership_bid, last visited: 20 February 2018.

³⁷ Gilligan, A., 'Malia Bouattia elected NUS President after causing controversy over "anti-Semitism and refusing to condemn Isis"', *The Telegraph*, 20 April 2016, available at: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/04/20/malia-bouattia-elected-nus-president-after-causing-controversy/, last visited: 20 February 2018.

³⁸ 'Islamophobia: This Is How It Feels', *Facebook*, 30 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/UoBIslamicSociety/posts/10155432009697600>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

4.1.4 University of Bradford - 'Islamophobia: Don't Hate What You Don't Understand' - 16/11/2017³⁸

Host: Mend, Bradford Students' Union, Bradford Islamic Society

Speakers: Maria Battul - *Bradford Students' Union*,³⁹ Suhaimah Manzoor Khan - (blogger), Mark Burns-Williamson - *Police and Crime Commissioner for West Yorkshire*,⁴⁰ Salman Sayyid - *University of Leeds*, Mufti Abdulwaheed - (Imam)⁴¹

Location: Student Central, 0.51 Lecture Theatre, University of Bradford

Region: Bradford, West Yorkshire

The Human Relief Foundation sponsored this event,⁴² a charity linked to terror fundraising body Union of Good.⁴³

Manzoor Khan and Salman Sayyid both spoke at two other IAM events this year.⁴⁴ Manzoor Khan's poem 'A Virtue of Disobedience' features in Cage director Asim Qureshi's upcoming book of the same name.⁴⁵

Mend has had considerable interactions with Police and Crime Commissioners, particularly those of Merseyside, Greater Manchester and Lancashire.⁴⁶ Mend is involved with multiple Hate Crime forums, and has hosted several law enforcement officials at its events⁴⁷ including representatives from the West Yorkshire Police.⁴⁸ In 2016, the organisation produced a manifesto and arranged hustings for the Police and Crime Commissioner elections.⁴⁹ The 2017 IAM campaign received "support" from the Hate Crime Action Plan strategy for Greater Manchester, although it is unclear how such support was manifest.⁵⁰

4.1.5 Bradford College - Exhibition - 29/11/2017⁵¹

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: David Hockney Building, Bradford College

Region: Bradford, West Yorkshire

Mend and the exhibition were promoted by Bradford College.⁵² The advertisement suggests that volunteers would be available as guides, who are usually from the local Mend working group.⁵³

³⁸ 'Islamophobia: Don't Hate What You Don't Understand', *Facebook*, 16 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/878271945670501/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

³⁹ 'IAM2017 Bradford Event - Don't Hate What You Don't Understand', *Mend*, 14 December 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/news/iam2017-bradford-event-dont-hate-dont-understand/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁴⁰ ~, '@thatsinfulsoul', *Twitter*, 16 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/thatsinfulsoul/status/931229472757608450>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁴¹ Mend, *Facebook*, 15 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/878271945670501/permalink/878591252305237/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁴² Shahab Ud'deen, '@5haha8', *Twitter*, 16 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/5haha8/status/931216784144916480>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁴³ Turner, C., 'Government donation to Muslim Charities Forum denounced as "madness"', *The Telegraph*, 23 September 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/11114599/Government-donation-to-Muslim-Charities-Forum-denounced-as-madness.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁴⁴ For Manzoor Khan, see entries 4.1.20 and 4.4.3. For Sayyid, see entries 4.1.26 and 4.4.11.

⁴⁵ 'A Virtue Of Disobedience', *Byline Books*, 15 January 2018, available at: <https://www.bvline.com/project/83>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁴⁶ 'Activity Report 2014', *Mend*, https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/MEND_Activity_Report_2014_Low_Res.pdf, last visited: 28 February 2018.

⁴⁷ Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading As Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/HJS-Mend-Report.pdf>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁴⁸ 'Tackling Islamophobia Together', *Facebook*, 11 October 2016, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/373909239615042/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁴⁹ 'Police and Crime Commissioner Elections MEND Manifesto 2016', *Mend*, 2016, available at: https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/PCC_Manifesto_2016.pdf, last visited: 22 October 2017.

⁵⁰ Archived screenshot.

⁵¹ 'MEND Exhibition - Bradford College', *Mend*, 29 November 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/mend-exhibition-bradford-college/>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

4.1.6 University of Bristol - 'IAMBristol: Reporting and Resilience Workshop' - 15/11/2017⁶²

Host: Mend, Bristol Students' Union

Speakers: Sahar Al-Faifi

Location: Richmond Building, University of Bristol

Region: Bristol, South West

Sahar Al-Faifi is the South Wales and West England Regional Manager at Mend. She has posted anti-Semitic tweets on social media, expressed disdain for Shia and secular Muslims, and peddled conspiracy theories with regard to terrorism. Al-Faifi has claimed that ISIS was created by "power structures" in the West, and insinuated that the terror group is loyal to America.⁵³ She has also suggested that British authorities intentionally fail to prevent terror attacks if the perpetrator is Muslim.⁵⁶ In displays of anti-Semitism, she has claimed that there is an "islamophobia industry" consisting of several Jewish philanthropists and members of the Conservative Party.⁵⁷ She has also tweeted, "What about the Rothschild Jews and their branches in Palestine, would such genetic research effect their banking empire[?]"⁵⁸ Al-Faifi displayed support for Islamism and contempt for Muslim minorities with the tweet, "Nothing worse than a Shia who flipped and became a secularist attacking Islamists! Combining the worst of the two!"⁵⁹

As part of the workshop promotion, a media clip of Al-Faifi was shared on the Facebook event.⁶⁰

4.1.7 University of Bristol - 'What is Islamophobia: the UK Counter-Terrorism Matrix' - 23/11/2017⁶¹

Host: Bristol Students' Union BME Network⁶²

Speakers: Asim Qureshi - *Cage*

Location: Richmond Building, Bristol Students' Union

Region: Bristol, South West

Originally advertised as a University of Bristol event, this talk appears to have taken place at the Students' Union.⁶³ It was promoted as part of the #IAMBristol campaign.⁶⁴

#IAMBristol was a student-oriented campaign driven by the UWE Student Union, who partnered with Mend to host an event programme in Bristol for Islamophobia Awareness Month. Zain Choudhry, the UWE Union President who led the campaign, has had several points of contact with extremist-linked

⁶² Bradford College, '@BradfordCollege' *Twitter*, 4 December 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/BradfordCollege/status/937630598071496704>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶³ Mend Community, '@Mendcommunity', *Twitter*, 27 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/Mendcommunity/status/935176137931595776>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶⁴ Bristol SU BME Network, 'IAMBristol: Reporting and Resilience workshop', *Facebook*, 15 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/388095018287954/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁵³ Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading As Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p. 24.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.25.

⁵⁷ Sahar Al-Faifi, *Facebook*, 4 June 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/sahar.alfai/posts/10154832688204247>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁵⁸ 'Sahar Al-Faifi and the Muslimah's Renaissance', *Student Rights*, 5 February 2014, available at:

http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/2171/sahar_al_faifi_and_the_muslimah_s_renaissance, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Bristol SU BME Network, *Facebook*, 15 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/388095018287954/permalink/391394544624668/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶¹ 'What is Islamophobia?', *Mend*, 23 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/what-is-islamophobia/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶² 'What is Islamophobia: The UK Counter-Terrorism Matrix', *Bristol SU*, November 2017, available at: <https://www.bristolsu.org.uk/groups/bristol-su-black-and-minority-ethnic-network/events/what-is-islamophobia-the-uk-counter-terrorism-matrix>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶³ Bristol SU BME Network, *Facebook*, 23 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/900739823422752/permalink/909146142582120/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶⁴ 'What is Islamophobia', *The Students' Union at UWE*, November 2017, available at: <https://www.thestudentsunion.co.uk/representation/campaigns/iambristol/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

speakers. He has previously spoken alongside Sahar Al-Faifi and Moazzam Begg,⁶⁵ and the Islamic Society of which he was Vice President invited Al-Faifi to speak in February 2016.⁶⁶ The following month, his society promoted a course by the extremist cleric Abu Easa Niamatullah.⁶⁷ Choudhry also promoted the charity Human Appeal in 2016,⁶⁸ exposed two years previous as having links to Hamas.⁶⁹ During the campaign for internal union elections, Choudhry urged students on Whatsapp not to vote for a candidate he saw as “a very Zionist type person who pushes for Israel flags to be put up outside of the SU [student union] and wants to end the BDS campaign”.⁷⁰ On 11 January 2017, UWE announced that Choudhry had received a month-long suspension for the comments.⁷¹

Asim Qureshi is Research Director at Cage. He has been filmed promoting violent jihad,⁷² refused to condemn FGM and stoning,⁷³ and has described a British suicide bomber's death as “selfless and sacrificial”.⁷⁴ Qureshi described ISIS killer ‘Jihadi John’ as a “beautiful young man”, and blamed his radicalisation on British authorities.⁷⁵ He has also expressed support for militants in Iraq and Afghanistan who wage war against British soldiers.⁷⁶

Promotion for the talk included a Cage video of Qureshi appearing on *Newsnight* shared on the event Facebook page.⁷⁷

4.1.8 Brunel, University of London - Exhibition - 03-08/11/2017⁷⁸

Host: Mend⁷⁹

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Hamilton Atrium and Eastern Gateway Atrium, Brunel University

Region: London Borough of Hillingdon, Greater London

This event was advertised as an educational exhibition dispelling “common myths” about Muslims, and highlighting the “media’s role in perpetuating anti-Muslim prejudice”.

⁶⁵ ‘Zain Choudhry Facebook Post’, Archived from 28 September 2017, available at: <http://archive.is/wSZr2>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶⁶ UWE Islamic Society, Facebook, 22 February 2016, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/uweislamicsociety/photos/a.253603338014495.57442.251828848191944/1068925983148889/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶⁷ UWE Islamic Society, Facebook, 30 March 2016, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/uweislamicsociety/videos/1097148676993286/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶⁸ ‘Zain Choudhry Facebook Post’ Archived from 7 June 2016, available at: <http://archive.is/EeqDy>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁶⁹ Gilligan, A., ‘Human Appeal and Hamas: the evidence’, *The Telegraph*, 19 October 2015, available at: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11940489/Human-Appeal-and-Hamas-the-evidence.html, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁷⁰ Sugarman, D., ‘Student leader suspended after urging union members to vote against “Zionist” candidate’, *The Jewish Chronicle*, 12 January 2018, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/student-leader-suspended-after-urging-union-members-to-vote-against-zionist-candidate-1.451968>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁷¹ ‘Statement regarding the Students’ Union President’, *The Students’ Union at UWE*, 11 January 2018, available at: <https://www.thestudentsunion.co.uk/news/article/TheSUatUWE/Statement-regarding-The-Students-Union-President/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁷² Mendick, R., ‘Jihadi John: Activist who praised Mohammed Emwazi as “beautiful” caught on video backing jihad’, *The Telegraph*, 27 February 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11440808/Jihadi-John-Activist-who-praised-Mohammed-Emwazi-as-beautiful-caught-on-video-backing-jihad.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁷³ Prince, R., ‘Cage director Asim Qureshi refuses to condemn stoning of adulterous women’, *The Telegraph*, 6 March 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/islamic-state/11453846/Cage-director-Asim-Qureshi-refuses-to-condemn-stoning-of-adulterous-women.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁷⁴ Qureshi, A., ‘On Cylons, Samson and sacrifice’, *Cage*, 20 February 2014, available at: <https://cage.ngo/uncategorized/cylons-samson-and-sacrifice/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁷⁵ Prince, R., ‘Cage director Asim Qureshi refuses to condemn stoning of adulterous women’, *The Telegraph*, 6 March 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/islamic-state/11453846/Cage-director-Asim-Qureshi-refuses-to-condemn-stoning-of-adulterous-women.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁷⁶ Mendick, R., ‘Jihadi John: Activist who praised Mohammed Emwazi as “beautiful” caught on video backing jihad’, *The Telegraph*, 27 February 2015, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11440808/Jihadi-John-Activist-who-praised-Mohammed-Emwazi-as-beautiful-caught-on-video-backing-jihad.html>, last visited: 28 February 2018.

⁷⁷ Bristol SU BME Network, Facebook, 20 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/900739823422752/permalink/907047776125290/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁷⁸ ‘MEND Exhibition - Brunel University’, *Mend*, 3 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/exhibition-brunel-university/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁷⁹ ‘Uxbridge | Islamophobia Exhibition’, Facebook, November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/127287407915193>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

The advertisement suggests that volunteers would be available as guides, who are often from the local Mend working group.⁸⁰ A “hijab experience” stall accompanied the exhibition.⁸¹

4.1.9 Brunel, University of London – ‘Islamophobia Awareness Discussion’ – 29/11/2017⁸²

Host: University of Brunel Students’ Union, Brunel Islamic Society

Speakers: Abdullah Al-Andalusi – *Muslim Debate Initiative*

Location: Lecture Theatre 067, Brunel University

Region: London Borough of Hillingdon, Greater London

This event was rescheduled from 14 November to 29 November for reasons unknown.⁸³

Al-Andalusi has contended that “democracy, secularism, feminism, humanism, and liberalism” are “blatantly un-Islamic” concepts,⁸⁴ and has criticised Muslims who participate in democracy.⁸⁵ He is an advocate for the implementation of Sharia Law,⁸⁶ has claimed that ISIS fighters are “no different to western armies”,⁸⁷ and stated that *Kufr* [disbelievers] will be “punished in hell”.⁸⁸ Furthermore, it has been reported that Al-Andalusi has been “closely associated” with the extremist group Hizb ut-Tahrir.⁸⁹

Invited to speak as part of Islamophobia Awareness Month, Al-Andalusi was promoted on the Union website as “an international speaker, thinker and intellectual activist”.⁹⁰

Mend has hosted Al-Andalusi at previous events.⁹¹

4.1.10 University of Cambridge – ‘Islamophobia: Causes and Cures’ – 29/11/2017⁹²

Host: Cambridge Students’ Union, Cambridge University Islamic Society

Speakers: Maz Saleem, Daisy Eyre – *Cambridge University Students’ Union*, Aman Ali – *Mend*, Mohammad Shoaib – *Mend*, Ilyas Nagdee – *NUS*

Location: Cripps Court Auditorium, Magdalene College

Region: Cambridge, East England

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ Union of Brunel Students, ‘Ammaar Ikram’s Post – 6 November 2017’, *Facebook*, 6 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/Brunelstudents/posts/10155033602767045>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁸² ‘Islamophobia Awareness Discussion’, *Union of Brunel Students*, 29 November 2017, available at: <https://brunelstudents.com/ents/event/3792/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁸³ Brunel Students, ‘@brunelstudents’, *Twitter*, 13 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/brunelstudents/status/930097968522424321>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁸⁴ ‘False Coins’, *Abdullah al Andalusi*, 19 September 2013, available at: <https://abdullahalandusi.com/2013/09/19/false-coins/>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

⁸⁵ ‘Muslim MPs, Gay Marriage and Democracy’, *Abdullah al Andalusi*, 7 February 2013, available at: <https://abdullahalandusi.com/2013/02/07/muslim-mps-gay-marriage-and-democracy/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁸⁶ ‘Imposing Sharia Law’, *Abdullah al Andalusi*, 7 December 2013, available at: <https://abdullahalandusi.com/2013/12/07/imposing-sharia-law/>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

⁸⁷ Austin, H., ‘Islamist extremist unwittingly employed at the heart of the British security establishment’, *The Independent*, 11 July 2015, available: www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/islamist-extremist-unwittingly-employed-at-the-heart-of-the-british-security-establishment-10383161.html, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁸⁸ ‘The Psychology of Kufr and the Justice of the Afterlife’, *Abdullah al Andalusi*, 22 May 2013, available at: <https://abdullahalandusi.com/2013/05/22/the-psychology-of-kufr-and-the-justice-of-the-afterlife/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁸⁹ Austin, H., ‘Islamist extremist unwittingly employed at the heart of the British security establishment’, *The Independent*, 11 July 2015.

⁹⁰ ‘Islamophobia Awareness Discussion’, *Union of Brunel Students*, 29 November 2017.

⁹¹ Wilson, T., ‘Mend: “Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians”’, *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p. 31.

⁹² Cambridge University Islamic Society, ‘Islamophobia: Causes and Cures’, *Facebook*, 29 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/179016882678327/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

4.1.11 University of Cardiff - Exhibition - 03/11/2017⁹³

Host: Mend, Cardiff University Students' Union⁹⁴

Speakers: Unknown

Location: VJ Gallery, Main Building, Park Place, Cardiff University

Region: Cardiff, South Wales

4.1.12 University of Cardiff - 'IAM: Causes and Cures' - 09/11/2017⁹⁵

Host: Mend, Cardiff University Students' Union⁹⁶

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Main Building, Lecture Theatre 1.122

Region: Cardiff, South Wales

This event was advertised as a presentation and Q&A session on Islamophobia. The IAM graphic and Mend logo featured on the promotional material.

4.1.13 University of Cardiff - 'Women Leaders' - 13/11/2017⁹⁷

Host: Cardiff University Careers and Employability

Speakers: Sahar Al-Faifi - *Mend* (see entry 4.1.6)

Location: Council Chamber, Main Building

Region: Cardiff, South Wales

It is unclear which, if any, other speakers joined Al-Faifi at the talk.

4.1.14 Cardiff Metropolitan University - Exhibition - 30/11/2017⁹⁸

Host: Mend and Cardiff Metropolitan Islamic Society

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Management Building, Cyncoed Campus

Region: Cardiff, South Wales

⁹³ 'MEND Islamophobia Awareness Month Exhibition', *Mend*, 3 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/islamophobia-awareness-month-exhibition/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁹⁴ Cardiff University Islamic Society University, 'Islamophobia Exhibition', *Facebook*, 3 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/405543249866143/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁹⁵ 'Islamophobia Awareness Month: Causes and Cures of Islamophobia', *Mend*, 9 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/islamophobia-awareness-month-causes-cures-islamophobia/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁹⁶ 'Causes and Cures of Islamophobia', *Cardiff University Students' Union*, 9 November 2017, available at: <https://www.cardiffstudents.com/ents/event/11143/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁹⁷ Sahar Al-Faifi, '@SaharAlFaifi', *Twitter*, 13 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/SaharAlFaifi/status/930123752230260736>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁹⁸ 'Islamophobia Awareness Exhibition', *Mend*, 8 November 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/islamophobia-awareness-exhibition/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

The advertisement suggests that topics such as “British Values”, “Shariah Law” and “Extremism” would be discussed, in addition to Mend’s activities and ways they can be supported.

The IAM graphic and Mend logo appeared on the advertisements.⁹⁹ A link to Mend’s Facebook page was also shared.¹⁰⁰

4.1.15 De Montfort University - Exhibition and Presentation - 27/11/2017¹⁰¹

Host: Mend, De Montfort University Islamic Society

Speakers: Azhar Qayum – *Mend*, ‘University Muslim Chaplain’, ‘Head of University Security’, Ahtesham Mahmood – *De Montfort Union*¹⁰²

Location: De Montfort Students’ Union Atrium¹⁰³

Region: Leicester, East Midlands

This two-day event was advertised as an educational exhibition, with Mend’s Midlands Manager Azhar Qayum as the keynote speaker. The advertising promoted the Mend logo and the IAM graphic.

4.1.16 University of Exeter - ‘Causes and Cures of Islamophobia’ - 16/11/2017¹⁰⁴

Host: Mend and the University of Exeter Islamic Society¹⁰⁵

Speakers: Sahar Al-Faifi – *Mend* (see entry 4.1.6)

Location: Laver Building, Lecture Theatre 3

Region: Exeter, South West

Advertising featured Mend’s logo and the IAM graphic, alongside the Exeter Islamic Society logo.

4.1.17 University of Exeter - ‘Islamophobia Resilience Workshop’ - 30/11/2017¹⁰⁶

Host: Mend¹⁰⁷

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Northcote House, The Queen's Drive, University of Exeter¹⁰⁸

Region: Exeter, South West

⁹⁹ Cardiff University Islamic Society, ‘Islamophobia Exhibition #IAM2017’, *Facebook*, 30 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/cardiffmetisoc/photos/a.371729859644782.1073741828.370919403059161/896781923806237/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁰⁰ Cardiff Met’s Islamic Society, *Facebook*, 10 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/cardiffmetisoc/videos/888595617958201/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁰¹ De Montfort University Islamic Society, ‘Islamophobia awareness week’, *Facebook*, 26 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/DMUIslamicSociety/photos/a.222910634433070.54009.183203441737123/1624076550983131/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁰² De Montfort University Islamic Society, ‘@DMUISoc’, *Twitter*, 28 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/DMUISoc/status/935570506190901249>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁰³ ‘Demontford University (Leicester) Exhibition and Islamophobia Presentation’ *Mend*, 14 December 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/news/demontford-university-leicester-exhibition-islamophobia-presentation/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Islamophobia: Causes and Cures’, *Facebook*, 16 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/144930409466143/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁰⁵ Uni of Exeter ISoc, ‘@UniExeterISoc’, *Twitter*, 15 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/UniExeterISoc/status/930781784324890624>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Islamophobia Resilience Workshop’, *Mend*, 30 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/islamophobia-resilience-workshop/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁰⁷ University of Exeter, ‘Islamophobia Resilience workshop’, *Facebook*, 30 November 2017, available at: https://www.Facebook.com/events/525692271096643/?active_tab=about, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Exeter | Islamophobia Resilience workshop’, *Allevants*, 30 November 2017, available at: <https://allevants.in/exeter/exeter-%7C-islamophobia-resilience-workshop/525692271096643>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

4.1.18 Goldsmiths, University of London - 'What does Islamophobia look like in 2017?' - 30/11/2017¹⁰⁹

Host: Goldsmiths' Student Union

Speakers: Narzanin Missouri, Tom Mills - *Aston University*,¹¹⁰ Ibrahim Mohamoud - *Cage*, Aiysha Qureshi - *UCL Students' Union*

Location: Goldsmiths Student Union

Region: London Borough of Lewisham (see entry 4.3.6), Greater London

This event was described as part of IAM, and a "discussion on the manifestation of Islamophobia, including the role of the state in enabling and enforcing it and exploring the concept in the context of racial oppression and empire".¹¹¹ The IAM logo with the upward finger was used as the promotional graphic. Cage was promoted as a "Human Rights NGO" and a link to its website was provided on the Facebook event page.

Ibrahim Mohamoud is the Communications Officer at Cage. In 2015, when the group faced criticism for failing to condemn the ISIS attacks in Paris, he contended that he and his colleague were at a restaurant and "very busy".¹¹²

Tom Mills and Narzanin Missouri have publicly supported¹¹³ Cage and defended¹¹⁴ its activism.¹¹⁵ Mills organised the Aston University IAM event with Cage (see entry 4.1.2).

4.1.19 King's College London (KCL) - Exhibition - 13-14/11/2017¹¹⁶

Host: KCL Islamic Society¹¹⁷

Speakers: Unknown

Location: The Shed, Guy's Campus (13/11) and The Lobby, Strand Campus (14/11)¹¹⁸

Region: City of Westminster, Greater London

This event was advertised as an informative guide about British Muslims, disposing of "common myths" and "highlighting the media's role" in the portrayal of Muslims.

The advertising suggests endorsement from the NUS Activities Fund.¹¹⁹ The online promotion featured Mend's IAM graphic alongside the KCL Islamic Society logo.

¹⁰⁹ Goldsmiths Students' Union, 'What does Islamophobia look like in 2017?', *Facebook*, 30 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/336497926817683/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹¹⁰ 'Dr Tom Mills: Lecturer in Sociology and Policy', *Aston University*, available at: <http://www.aston.ac.uk/lss/staff-directory/dr-tom-mills/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹¹¹ Cage, 'What Does Islamophobia Look Like in 2017?', *Facebook*, 30 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/CageUK/posts/1861477697199062>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹¹² Heffer, G., 'CAGE campaign group that defended Jihadi John were "too busy" to condemn Paris attacks', *Express*, 18 November 2015, available at: <https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/620166/CAGE-defended-jihadi-john-too-busy-condemn-paris-attacks>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹¹³ Mills T., N. Massoumi and D. Miller, 'Apologists for terror or defenders of human rights? The Cage controversy in context', *Open Democracy UK*, 31 July 2015, available at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/tom-mills-narzanin-massoumi-david-miller/apologists-for-terror-or-defenders-of-human-right>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹¹⁴ Mills T., N. Massoumi, D. Miller and M. Farrar, 'Why on earth would leftists go out of their way to support Cage?', *Open Democracy UK*, 12 August 2015.

¹¹⁵ Qureshi, A., 'The "Science" of Pre-Crime: The secret "radicalisation" study underpinning Prevent', *Cage*, 2016, available at: <https://cage.ngo/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Cage-Science-Pre-Crime-Report.pdf>, last visited: 20 February 2018, pp. 1-10.

¹¹⁶ 'Islamophobia Awareness Exhibition', *KCL Students' Union*, 14 November 2017, available at: <https://www.kclsu.org/ents/event/5045/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹¹⁷ KCL Islamic Society, '@KCLISOC', *Twitter*, 13 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/KCLISOC/status/930040375305261056>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹¹⁸ Soualhi, A., *Facebook*, 13 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1934530480133597/permalink/1937865636466748/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

4.1.20 King's College London (KCL) - 'Muslim Women in the West: Islamophobia Awareness Month' - 14/11/2017¹²⁰

Host: KCL Intersectional Feminist Society, KCL Women & Politics, Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS), NUS Women's Campaign

Speakers: Arzu Merali - *Islamic Human Rights Commission*, Irene Zempi - *Nottingham Trent University*, Suhaimah Manzoor Khan - (blogger), Momtaza Mehri - (blogger), Huma Malik - *Mend*, Hareem Ghani - *NUS*

Location: Stamford Street Lecture Theatre, King's College London

Region: City of Westminster, Greater London

The KCL Middle East Department endorsed the event online.¹²¹

Suhaimah Manzoor Khan and Hareem Ghani spoke at several other IAM events in November 2017.¹²² Huma Malik is Mend's Islamophobia Response Unit (IRU) Caseworker.

Arzu Merali is co-founder and Director of the Islamic Human Rights Commission. The charity has campaigned for the release of convicted terrorists,¹²³ shown support for the Iranian Hezbollah militia¹²⁴ and, in 2017, director Nazim Ali blamed the Grenfell fire on "the Zionists".¹²⁵ In March 2015, two months after the murder of twelve staff members at the *Charlie Hebdo* offices, the charity awarded the satirical magazine "Islamophobe of the year". In February 2017, the organisation lamented the death of Omar Abdel Rahman, imprisoned for his role in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, claiming "the world has lost a man of principle and unshakeable faith".¹²⁶ The charity jointly organise the annual Al-Quds Day march, which has attracted controversy for its "brazen" support of Hezbollah.¹²⁷

An IAM event with the same title drew criticism in 2015, when Islamophobia in the UK was compared to the plight of Jewish people in Nazi Germany.¹²⁸ Sahar Al-Faifi, a speaker at the event, also suggested that ISIS was a creation of "power structures" in the West "[as] it's within their interest to fuel Islamophobia".¹²⁹

4.1.21 King's College London (KCL) - 'Weaponisation of Language' - 14/11/2017¹³⁰

Host: KCL Islamic Society

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Lecture Theatre 2, New Hunts House, Guy's Campus

¹¹⁹ KCL Islamic Society, '@KCLISOC', *Twitter*, 12 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/KCLISOC/status/929836465726640129>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹²⁰ 'Muslim Women in the West: Islamophobia Awareness Month', 14 November 2017, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1887801261548110/>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

¹²¹ King's Middle East, '@KingsDMES', *Twitter*, 14 November, available at: <https://twitter.com/KingsDMES/status/930470333701816320>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹²² For Manzoor Khan, see entries 4.1.4 and 4.4.3. For Ghani, see entries 4.1.41, 4.1.43 and 4.4.22.

¹²³ 'Press Release: UK / USA - IHRC denounces extradition decision', *Islamic Human Rights Commission*, 5 October 2012, available at: <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/press-releases/10294-press-release-uk-usa-ihrc-denounces-extradition-decision>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹²⁴ 'Sadiq Kahn accused of "betraying Londoners" by Al Quds Day organisers', *The Jewish News*, 17 October 2017, available at: <http://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/sadiq-kahn-accused-of-betraying-londoners-by-al-quds-day-organisers/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹²⁵ Harpin, L. 'Al-Quds Day speaker blames Grenfell Tower fire on "Zionists"', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 18 June 2017, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/al-quds-day-speaker-blames-grenfell-tower-fire-on-zionists-1.440193>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹²⁶ 'Press Release: USA/Sheikh Omar Abdul Rehman: World has lost a man of principle and unshakeable faith', *Islamic Human Rights Commission*, 20 February 2017, available at: <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/press-releases/11857-press-release-usa-sheikh-omar-abdul-rehman-world-has-lost-a-man-of-principle-and-unshakeable-faith>, last visited: 26 February 2018.

¹²⁷ 'Flying terrorist flags in the capital is an insult to victims of the London attacks', *The Jewish News*, 16 June 2017, available at: <http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/flying-terrorist-flags-in-the-capital-is-an-insult-to-victims-of-london-attacks/>, last visited: 26 February 2018.

¹²⁸ Osborne L., S. Rashty and K. Faulkner, "It's fine to hit a wife who doesn't please you": What Islamic cleric is telling students as he tours British universities unchallenged... and he's not alone', *Daily Mail*, 9 January 2016, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3391194/Speaker-tells-students-s-fine-hit-wife-doesn-t-string-extremists-touring-British-universities-unchallenged.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*

¹³⁰ KCL Islamic Society, 'Weaponisation of Language', *Facebook*, 14 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1552274094837987&set=pcb.10155826032247902&type=3&theater&ifg=1>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

Region: City of Westminster, Greater London

The advertisement featured Mend's IAM graphic. The event was sponsored by the NUS Activities Fund.

4.1.22 King's College London (KCL) - 'From Fear to Freedom: Combatting the Psychosocial Determinants of Islamophobia' - 16/11/2017¹³¹

Host: KCL Islamic Society, KCL Psychiatry Society

Speakers: Dr Ahmed Hankir - *Mend*

Location: G73, Franklin-Wilkins Building, Waterloo Campus

Region: City of Westminster, Greater London

Ahmed Hankir is Chair of Mend's Leeds Working Group.¹³² He later spoke at two IAM events in Leeds (see entries 4.1.26, 4.4.15).¹³³

This event was advertised as a talk on the mental health effects of Islamophobia. Mend's IAM logo featured in the online promotion alongside the logos of KCL Islamic Society, KCL Islamic Society 'Welfare', and KCL Psychiatry Society.¹³⁴

4.1.23 King's College London (KCL) - 'Dismantling the Machine' - 17/11/2017¹³⁵

Host: KCL Islamic Society

Speakers: Asim Qureshi - *Cage* (see entry 4.1.7), Muhammad Rabbani - *Cage*, Sahar Al-Faifi - *Mend* (see entry 4.1.6), Chris Allen - *University of Birmingham*

Location: New Hunts House, Lecture Theatre 2

Region: City of Westminster, Greater London

King's College London has previously defended Cage speakers on its campus. In 2015, it released a statement justifying comments made by Moazzam Begg, after allegations emerged¹³⁶ that he had encouraged support for jihadi groups at a KCL talk.¹³⁷ The University stated that the talk took place after "robust" risk assessments, and denied Begg had made any such comments.¹³⁸

Chris Allen spoke at a Cordoba Foundation event in 2015, sponsored by Mend, alongside Shenaz Bunglawala, Alain Gresh and Catherine West MP.¹³⁹ The event was chaired by the Cordoba

¹³¹ 'From Fear to Freedom: combatting the psychological determinants of Islamophobia', KCL Islamic Society, *Facebook*, 16 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/1512930408755550/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹³² 'MEND at THE MINSTER - Landmark event at the Leeds Minster to raise awareness about Islamophobia', *Mend*, 14 December 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/news/Mend-minster-landmark-event-leeds-minster-raise-awareness-islamophobi>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

¹³³ Hankir, A., '@ahmed_hankir', *Twitter*, 21 November 2017, available at: https://twitter.com/ahmed_hankir/status/933109509966483457, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹³⁴ Hankir, A., '@ahmed_hankir', *Twitter*, 16 November 2017, available at: https://twitter.com/ahmed_hankir/status/931121862670774272, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹³⁵ Cage, '@UK_CAGE', *Twitter*, 17 November 2017, available at: https://twitter.com/UK_CAGE/status/931461386881859584, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹³⁶ 'Fanatics' campaign of hate on campus is revealed: Islamic zealots who backed Jihadi John are poisoning the minds of students', *The Daily Mail*, 7 January 2016, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3389444/Fanatics-campaign-hate-campus-revealed-Islamic-zealots-backed-Jihadi-John-poisoning-minds-students.html>, last visited: 26 February 2018.

¹³⁷ 'Statement on campus events', *Kings' College London*, available at: <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/newsevents/news/newsrecords/2016/01%20January/Statement-in-response-.aspx>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*

¹³⁹ '(Spectre of Hate) An Explanatory Guide to the Far Right in the UK', *The Cordoba Foundation*, 22 October 2015, available at: <http://www.thecordobafoundation.com/events.php?id=1&art=160>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

Foundation's CEO Anas Altakriti, who has expressed support for Hamas.¹⁴⁰ Allen had spoken at one of their earlier events in 2010, alongside IAM2017 speakers' Peter Osborne and Jeremy Corbyn.¹⁴¹ The Cordoba Foundation has been labelled a "political front for the Muslim Brotherhood" by David Cameron.¹⁴² Allen later spoke at an IAM event in Finsbury Park (see entry 4.4.11).

Muhammad Rabbani is a Director at Cage. He was recently arrested and convicted for wilfully obstructing a stop-and-search under Schedule 7 of the Terrorism Act.¹⁴³

The KCL 'Safe Space Policy' poster¹⁴⁴ seemed to be on the walls of the event.¹⁴⁵ From social media posts uploaded after the talk, it appeared to be largely gender segregated, which has become a concern at campuses where Islamist organisations operate.¹⁴⁶ Mend has worked closely with Islamist speakers who espouse misogynistic views, while attacking liberal Muslims who have criticised gender segregation.¹⁴⁷ Mend frequently hosts female-only events, three of which took place during IAM in 2017. One event in Armley had a separation curtain to gender-segregate the audience.¹⁴⁸

4.1.24 Kingston University - 'Manufacturing Hate' - 16/11/2017¹⁴⁹

Host: Kingston Students' Union, Kingston Islamic Society¹⁵⁰

Speakers: Moazzam Begg - *Cage* (see entry 4.1.2), Bashir Ibrahim - *KCL Alumni*

Location: John Galsworthy Building, Kingston University

Region: Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames, Greater London

This event was advertised as part of IAM, and the Mend graphic featured on the promotional material.¹⁵¹

Bashir Ibrahim has claimed that the UK government is seeking to engineer "a Government sanctioned Islam" and that the security services' "modus operandi" is harassing Muslims, using ISIS executioner Mohammed Emwazi and Lee Rigby murderer Michael Adebolajo as examples to that effect.¹⁵² He has

¹⁴⁰ Gilligan, A., 'How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism', *Daily Telegraph*, 8 February 2015, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/11398538/How-the-Muslim-Brotherhood-fits-into-a-network-of-extremism.html>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

¹⁴¹ 'Tackling Islamophobia: Reducing Street Violence Against British Muslims', *The Cordoba Foundation*, 3 March 2010, available at: www.thecordobafoundation.com/events.php?id=2&art=32, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁴² Gilligan, A., 'How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism', *The Telegraph*, 8 February 2015.

¹⁴³ Casciani, D., 'Why Cage director was guilty of withholding password', *BBC News*, 25 September 2017, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-41394156>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁴⁴ KCL IntFemSoc, '@KCLFemSoc', *Twitter*, 7 May 2013, available at: <https://twitter.com/kclfemsoc/status/331719152450560001>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁴⁵ KCL Islamic Society, '@KCLISOC', *Twitter*, 17 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/KCLISOC/status/931592864500518912>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁴⁶ Several institutions have faced criticism for promoting gender segregation, most recently the London School of Economics, which was found in breach of the 2010 Equality Act for enforcing gendered seating arrangements at a 2017 event. *iERA* were banned from University College London for enforcing separate seating for men and women. For more information, see: 'Top university accepts Islamic Society's gender-segregated event was unlawful', *The Independent*, 28 September 2017, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/london-university-islamic-society-gender-segregated-event-unlawful-london-school-economics-lse-a7972311.html>, last visited: 1 March. See also: 'UCL bans Islamic group from campus in row over segregated seating', *The Guardian*, 15 March 2013, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/15/ucl-bans-islamic-group-over-segregation>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

¹⁴⁷ 'Taking liberties', *Mend*, 10 December 2013, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/news/taking-liberties/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁴⁸ See entry 4.4.14.

¹⁴⁹ 'Manufacturing Hate: Kingston University', *Cage*, 13 November 2017, available at: <https://cage.ngo/event/manufacturing-hate-kingston-university/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁵⁰ Cage, 'Manufacturing Hate', *Facebook*, 14 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/CageUK/posts/1838594792820686>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁵¹ KingstonISOC, '@KingstonISOC', *Twitter*, 13 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/KingstonISOC/status/930116463884750848>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁵² 'The Rise of Islamophobia - Sheikh Sulaiman Ghani & Bashir Ibrahim', *YouTube*, 26 December 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ingVVcb5RTk&feature=youtu.be>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

spoken alongside speakers known to have espoused extremist views, such as Suleiman Gani¹⁵³ and Uthman Lateef,¹⁵⁴ on previous occasions at Kingston University.

4.1.25 University of Leeds - Exhibition - 16/11/2017¹⁵⁵

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: University of Leeds

Region: Leeds, West Yorkshire

4.1.26 University of Leeds - 'Women and Islamophobia' - 22/11/2017¹⁵⁶

Host: Mend, University of Leeds Students' Union, Leeds University Islamic Society, Leeds University Ahlul-Bayt Society¹⁵⁷

Speakers: Salman Sayyid - *University of Leeds*, Ahmed Hankir - *Mend*, Amina Easat-Daas - *University of Leeds*, Zahra Hankir (journalist), Conor Ibrahiem (director), Rania Awaad - *Stanford University* (video)¹⁵⁸

Location: Rupert Beckett Lecture Theatre, University of Leeds

Region: Leeds, West Yorkshire

At this event, Mend literature was placed on every seat in the lecture theatre, its billboard was placed at the front and its logo appeared on the digital slides.¹⁵⁹

Salman Sayyid and Ahmed Hankir both spoke at two other Mend events this month.¹⁶⁰

Ibrahiem spoke about his upcoming film, 'Freesia'. It was previously screened at a Cage event in August¹⁶¹ with Moazzam Begg and Sahar Al-Faifi.¹⁶² A later showing, advertised as part of IAM, hosted controversial activist Lauren Booth (see entry 4.4.2).

¹⁵³ KingstonISOC, '@KingstonISOC', *Twitter*, 30 December 2015, available at: <https://twitter.com/kingstonisoc/status/682227820651778048>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁵⁴ Black, R., 'Extreme Speakers and Events in the 2016-17 Academic Year', *The Henry Jackson Society*, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Extreme-Speakers-and-Events-in-the-2016-17-Academic-Year-Final.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018, p.8.

¹⁵⁵ 'Exhibition - Tackling Islamophobia', *Leeds University Union*, 16 November 2017, available at: <https://www.luu.org.uk/union-events/2017/november/kindness-festival-mend-exhibition/>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

¹⁵⁶ 'Women and Islamophobia', *Mend*, 22 November 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/women-and-islamophobia/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁵⁷ Mend, 'Women and Islamophobia', *Facebook*, 22 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/529450274066510/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁵⁸ RJ Shahab Ud'deen, *Facebook*, 26 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=821764098005131&set=pcb.821764864671721&type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁵⁹ RJ Shahab Ud'deen, *Facebook*, 26 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=821764188005122&set=pcb.821764864671721&type=3&theater>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

¹⁶⁰ For Sayyid, see entries 4.1.26 and 4.4.11. For Hankir, see entries 4.1.22 and 4.4.15.

¹⁶¹ 'Freesia Movie - Special Guest Q&A', *Cage*, 8 August 2017, available at: <https://cage.ngo/event/freesia-movie-special-guest-qa/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁶² Conor Ibrahiem, *Facebook*, 11 August 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1729815763725403&set=pcb.1729815970392049&type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

4.1.27 Leeds Beckett University - 'Challenge Islamophobia' - 02/11/2017¹⁶³

Host: Mend and Leeds Beckett Youth Work

Speakers: Shahab Adris - *Mend*

Location: Leeds Beckett University Campus

Region: Leeds, West Yorkshire

Student society Leeds Beckett Youth Work posted photos of this event¹⁶⁴ alongside promotion of Mend and the speaker present.¹⁶⁵

4.1.28 Leeds Beckett University - Exhibition - 23/11/2017¹⁶⁶

Host: Mend¹⁶⁷

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Leeds Beckett University campus

Region: Leeds, West Yorkshire

Mend lauded students at this event for their "standout performance" in hosting the exhibition, and raising £285 for the Leeds Working Group.¹⁶⁸ It is therefore evident that Mend profit financially from their exhibition events. Furthermore, it was suggested that students who volunteered with the exhibition attain academic credits, in some form, for doing so.¹⁶⁹

4.1.29 Leeds City College - Exhibition - 13/11/2017¹⁷⁰

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Park Lane Campus, Leeds City College

Region: Leeds, West Yorkshire

The event appears to have been organised by the Students' Union Deputy President.

¹⁶³ Youth Work Team, '@YouthWorkTeam1', *Twitter*, 2 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/YouthWorkTeam1/status/926046874687164416>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁶⁴ Youth Work Team, '@YouthWorkTeam1', *Twitter*, 2 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/YouthWorkTeam1/status/926026730132922368>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁶⁵ Youth Work Team, '@YouthWorkTeam1', *Twitter*, 2 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/YouthWorkTeam1/status/926124648621895681>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁶⁶ 'Mend Exhibition - Leeds Beckett University', *Mend*, 23 November 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/mend-exhibition-leeds-beckett-university/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁶⁷ 'Islamophobia Exhibition', *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/1623145337708800/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁶⁸ 'IAM2017 Exhibitions at Leeds Universities and Leeds College', *Mend*, 14 December 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/news/iam2017-exhibitions-leeds-universities-leeds-college/>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Leeds City College Students' Union - LCCSU, *Facebook*, 15 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/LCCSU1/photos/a.1402656246661125.1073741828.1393965224196894/1954569754803102/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

4.1.30 Leeds City College - 'Causes and Cures' Presentation - 15/11/2017¹⁷¹

Host: Mend

Speakers: Mend representative¹⁷²

Location: Park Lane Theatre, Leeds City College

Region: Leeds, West Yorkshire

The event appears to have been organised by the Students' Union Deputy President.

4.1.31 University of Leicester - Exhibition - 06/11/2017

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Leicester University Campus

Region: Leicester, East Midlands

A Mend stall with promotional literature accompanied the exhibition.¹⁷³

4.1.32 London School of Economics (LSE) - Exhibition - 08/11/2017¹⁷⁴

Host: Mend¹⁷⁵

Speakers: Unknown

Location: London School of Economics campus

Region: City of Westminster, Greater London

4.1.33 University of Newcastle - 'Islam and Muslims in Britain' - 10/11/2017¹⁷⁶

Host: Mend and Newcastle University Islamic Society

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Student Union Building, Newcastle University

Region: Newcastle, North East

The promotion for this event revealed that Mend provides training for students who express interest in volunteering at its events.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*

¹⁷² Leeds City College Students' Union - CCSU, *Facebook*, 14 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/LCCSU1/posts/1954095284850549>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁷³ Rukhsana Hussain, '@RukiHussain', *Twitter*, 9 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/RukiHussain/status/928661424922157057>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁷⁴ 'Mend Exhibition - LSE', *Mend*, 8 November 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/mend-exhibition-lse/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁷⁵ MEND - Muslim Engagement & Development, *Facebook*, 7 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/mendcommunity/posts/1962704457327048>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁷⁶ Newcastle University Islamic Society, *Facebook*, 6 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/NclISoc/photos/pcb.1465763726793676/1465763646793684/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

4.1.34 Queen Mary University - Exhibition - 20/11/2017¹⁷⁸

Host: Queen Mary Students' Union

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Queen Mary Students' Union

Region: London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Greater London

4.1.35 Queen Mary University - 'Causes and Cures of Islamophobia' - 24/11/2017¹⁷⁹

Host: Queen Mary Students' Union

Speakers: Mohammad Shoaib - *Mend*, Aman Ali - *Mend*

Location: Francis Bancroft Building, David Sizer Lecture Theatre, Queen Mary University

Region: London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Greater London

Mohammad Shoaib is a London Regional Coordinator of Mend, and Aman Ali is its Regional Manager.

4.1.36 School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS) - 'From Orientalism to Islamophobia... Where Next?' - 03/11/2017¹⁸⁰

Host: Ramadan Tent Project (RTP), SOAS Islamic Society

Speakers: Shenaz Bunglawala - *Mend* (former), Dr Rimla Akhtar - *Kick It Out/FA/Muslim Women's Sports Association*, Hussein Kesvani - *Theos*, Dr Hatem Bazian - *University of California, Berkeley* (Skype)¹⁸¹

Location: Main Building, Khalili Lecture Theatre

Region: London Borough of Camden, Greater London

Rimla Akhtar, Chair of the Board of Trustees for the Muslim Women's Sports Association, spoke at Mend's Islamophobia Awareness Month 2017 launch in Parliament.¹⁸²

Shenaz Bunglawala is the former Head of Research at iEngage/Mend. Concerns about the group's links to extremism¹⁸³ led to her removal as secretary for the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Islamophobia in 2011.

Hatem Bazian founded the controversial groups American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)¹⁸⁴ and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP).¹⁸⁵ He has been heavily criticised for his "sustained record" of intolerance

¹⁷⁷ Newcastle University Islamic Society, *Facebook*, 6 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/NclISoc/posts/1465763726793676>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

¹⁷⁸ 'Islamophobia Awareness Month', *Queen Mary University of London Students' Union*, available at: <https://www.qmsu.org/iam/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁷⁹ 'Causes and Cures of Islamophobia', *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/147593685785202/>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

¹⁸⁰ 'From Orientalism to Islamophobia...where next?', *Eventbrite*, available at: <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/from-orientalism-to-islamophobiawhere-next-tickets-39268326622#>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁸¹ Omar Salha, '@o_salha', *Twitter*, 3 November 2017, available at: https://twitter.com/o_salha/status/926586044220428290, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁸² 'Jeremy Corbyn launches Islamophobia Awareness Month in Parliament with Mend', *Islam21C.com*, 2 November 2017, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/news-views/jeremy-corbyn-launches-islamophobia-awareness-month-parliament-mend/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁸³ Gilligan, A., 'MPs walk out in battle over Islamist group', *The Telegraph*, 30 January 2017, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/journalists/andrew-gilligan/8290965/MPs-walk-out-in-battle-over-Islamist-group.html>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁸⁴ American Muslims for Palestine, *ADL*, available at: <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/profiles/american-muslims-for-palestine>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁸⁵ 'Profile: Students for Justice in Palestine', *ADL*, 2014, available at: <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/sjp-2015-background.pdf>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

towards Jews.¹⁸⁶ This includes equating Israel to the Nazis, claiming that Jewish and pro-Israel groups are the driving force behind Islamophobia,¹⁸⁷ and posting tweets that Israel harvests organs.¹⁸⁸ He has also been filmed at a rally calling for a violent uprising in America.¹⁸⁹ In 2017, the Islamic Human Rights Commission hosted Bazian to launch his book at an event chaired by the Iranian Press TV and which was attended by Jeremy Corbyn.¹⁹⁰

This event was advertised as a panel discussion and Q&A for Islamophobia Awareness Month. Mend's IAM logo was used on the promotional material.¹⁹¹

4.1.37 School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS) - Exhibition - 06/11/2017¹⁹²

Host: Mend

Speaker: Unknown

Location: SOAS Campus

Region: London Borough of Camden, Greater London

4.1.38 School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS) - 'The Others: Legal Discrimination in the UK' - 28/11/2017¹⁹³

Host: SOAS Islamic Society

Speakers: Moazzam Begg - *Cage* (see entry 4.1.2), Muhammad Rabbani - *Cage* (see entry 4.1.23), Malia Bouattia (see entry 4.1.2)

Location: DLT Lecture Theatre, Main Building, SOAS

Region: London Borough of Camden, Greater London

This was a charity event for Muntada Aid's Rohingya Appeal.¹⁹⁴ The event was advertised as part of Islamophobia Awareness Month.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁶ Zieve, T., 'UC Berkeley Jewish Students Demand Action Over "Antisemitic" Professor', *The Jerusalem Post*, 3 December 2017, available at: <http://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/UC-Berkeley-Jewish-students-demand-action-over-antisemitic-professor-515883>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁸⁷ 'Promoting Islamophobia - Occupy AIPAC 2012 Workshop', *YouTube*, 2 May 2012, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o8_pPscxHYo&feature=youtu.be&t=11m10s, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁸⁸ Zieve, T., 'UC Berkeley Jewish Students Demand Action Over "Antisemitic" Professor', *The Jerusalem Post*, 3 December 2017.

¹⁸⁹ 'Profiles in Hate: Hatem Bazian', *Campus Watch*, 5 November 2011, available at: <http://www.campus-watch.org/article/id/11850>, last visited: 20 February 2018; 'Radical Hatem Bazian calls for Intifada (armed uprising) in the USA!!', *YouTube*, 23 March 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mfv5yaKxNgo>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁹⁰ 'Corbyn Attends Khomeinist Event with Press TV and Israel Hating Extremists', *Guido Fawkes*, 9 December 2016, available at: <https://order-order.com/2016/12/09/corbyn-attends-khomeinist-event-with-press-tv-extremists-and-israel-haters/>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

¹⁹¹ SOAS Islamic Society, *Facebook*, 1 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/soasisoc/posts/913684382113611>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

¹⁹² 'MEND Exhibition - SOAS', *Mend*, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/mend-exhibition-soas/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁹³ 'The Other: Legal Discrimination in the UK', *Eventbrite*, available at: <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/the-other-legal-discrimination-in-the-uk-tickets-39964605210#>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁹⁴ Abdul Hamid Faruki, '@TjpAbdul', *Twitter*, 28 November 2017, available at:

<https://twitter.com/search?l=&q=%22legal%20discrimination%20in%20the%20uk%22%20soas%20OR%20moazzam%20OR%20begg%20OR%20malia%20OR%20bouattia%20OR%20muhammad%20OR%20rabbani%20%23IAM2017%3B%20OR%20%23IAM%20since%3A2017-11-01%20until%3A2017-11-30&src=typd&lang=en>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*

4.1.39 University of Sussex - Exhibition - 27/11/2017¹⁹⁶

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Library Square, University of Sussex

Region: Sussex, South East

4.1.40 University College London (UCL) - Exhibition - 03/11/2017¹⁹⁷

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: UCL Campus

Region: London Borough of Camden, Greater London

4.1.41 University College London (UCL) - 'IAM: Students not Suspects' - 15/11/2017¹⁹⁸

Host: UCL Students' Union, NUS, FOSIS

Speakers: Muhammad Rabbani - *Cage* (see entry 4.1.23), Ilyas Nagdee - *NUS Black Students' Officer*, Hareem Ghani - *NUS*, Ayo Olatunji - *UCL*, Saffa Mir - *FOSIS*, Alia Malak - *Palestine Solidarity UK*¹⁹⁹

Location: Cruciform Building, Lecture Theatre 2, UCL

Region: London Borough of Camden, Greater London

Advertised as part of Mend's Islamophobia Awareness Month²⁰⁰, this event was part of the wider 'Students Not Suspects' campaign against Prevent. Mend's extensive involvement with this initiative, and its opposition to counter-terror and counter-extremism legislation, is well documented.²⁰¹

4.1.42 University of West England (UWE) Bristol - 'Students Not Suspects' - 22/11/2017²⁰²

Host: Mend, NUS, FOSIS

Speakers: Representatives from the NUS, UWE Students' Union, University of Bristol Students' Union²⁰³

¹⁹⁶ Sussex Isoc, *Facebook*, 10 November 2017, available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/usisoc/photos/a.173974183017328.1073741827.173974109684002/414070849007659/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁹⁷ 'MEND Exhibition - UCL', *Mend*, 3 November 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/exhibition-ucl/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

¹⁹⁸ 'IAM: Students not Suspects', *UCL Students' Union*, 15 November 2017, available at: <http://studentsunionucl.org/whats-on/representation/iam-students-not-suspects>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

¹⁹⁹ Union UCL BME Students' Network, *Facebook*, 14 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1942500619295205/permalink/1945862248959042/>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

²⁰⁰ 'Students not Suspects: join us to up the fight against Prevent', *National Union of Students*, 8 November 2017, available at: <https://www.nusconnect.org.uk/articles/students-not-suspects-join-us-to-up-the-fight-against-prevent>, last visited: 26 February 2018.

²⁰¹ Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017.

²⁰² MEND - Muslim Engagement & Development, *Facebook*, 18 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/mendcommunity/posts/1968448070086020>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

Location: Frenchay Campus, UWE Bristol

Region: Bristol, South West

This event was part of the wider #IAMBristol campaign.²⁰⁴

4.1.43 University of West England (UWE) Bristol - 'Islamophobia Conference' - 25/11/2017²⁰⁵

Host: Mend and UWE Bristol Students' Union²⁰⁶

Speakers: Sahar Al-Faifi - *Mend* (see entry 4.1.6), Rizwan Ahmed - *Bristol University*, Hareem Ghani - *NUS*, Mubarak Mahmoud - *UWE Bristol*, Abdul Malik, Alex Nunns, Ajmal Miah, Almas Talib²⁰⁷

Location: UWE Bristol Exhibition and Conference Centre

Region: Bristol, South West

This conference was part of the wider #IAMBristol campaign.²⁰⁸

Video footage of Sahar Al-Faifi's presentation was posted online by an audience member.²⁰⁹ The digital slides used for the talk may prove indicative of other Mend presentations delivered during its recent campaign.

In her presentation, Al-Faifi made problematic assertions with regard to anti-Muslim hatred in the UK. Feeding into genuine and legitimate concerns, she informed students that the main causes of Islamophobia are "biased media reporting", "weak legislation protecting Muslims" and a "lack of Muslim participation". However, she then used misinformation to qualify her statement, claiming that public support for a burka ban, antipathy towards the term 'Islamophobia' and government proposals to close down Mosques hosting extremists confirm institutional and societal prejudice toward Muslims. Furthermore, in her explanation for why the Prevent Duty is an exemplar case of state-sanctioned racism, Al-Faifi falsely alleged that the public are now at liberty "to detect the undefined signs of extremism, which can be from wearing a headscarf, to converting to Islam and so on".²¹⁰ Informing students about 'institutional islamophobia' is particularly concerning given Al-Faifi's endorsement of the conspiracy that there is an "islamophobia industry", comprised of several Jewish and Conservative politicians.²¹¹

Moreover, the accompanying slide, entitled 'Counter Terrorism', feeds into Mend's alarmist and conspiratorial narrative that Britain's security laws are a covert means of targeting the Muslim community. The slide features graphics of a crown, passport and camera to depict how the government uses the "Extremism Analysis Unit" [Home Office department], "Passport Seizure" powers and the "PREVENT" Strategy to propel an anti-Muslim agenda. The centre of the slide features an icon of a mosque beside the caption "Mosques shut down?" suggesting that security measures provide the

²⁰³ MaRiyah, '@mariyahzaman', *Twitter*, 22 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/mariyahzaman/status/933440807650119681>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²⁰⁴ #iambristol, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/search?f=images&vertical=default&q=%23iambristol&src=tydp>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²⁰⁵ 'Islamophobia Conference', *Mend*, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/islamophobia-conference/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²⁰⁶ 'Islamophobia Conference', *The Students' Union at UWE*, 25 November 2017, available at: <https://www.thestudentsunion.co.uk/ents/event/7861/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²⁰⁷ '#IAMBristol Islamophobia Conference', *Eventbrite*, available at: <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/iambristol-islamophobia-conference-tickets-39484706821#>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²⁰⁸ UWE Bristol, '@UWEBristol', *Twitter*, 24 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/UWEBristol/status/934064706112905216>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²⁰⁹ Archived video, 'Islamophobia Conference - Bristol 2017', available at: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Is0qsydinQszB0mU2cEOemBWxJUgs9aO/view>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²¹⁰ These assertions fall in direct contravention of Prevent policy guidance. "Outward expression of faith, in the absence of any other indicator of vulnerability, is not a reason to make a referral to Channel [Prevent de-radicalisation programme]." For more information, see: 'Channel Duty Guidance: Protecting vulnerable people from being drawn into terrorism', *HM Government*, April 2015, available at: https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/pdf/Channel_Duty_Guidance_April_2015.pdf, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²¹¹ Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017.

government a pretext to close down Islamic faith centres. The corner picture sees a protester hold a sign calling for “NO MORE MOSQUES”, explained by Al-Faifi as a depiction of the Far Right who obtain only “little focus” with regard to Counter Terrorism, furthering the notion that the Muslim community is whom the laws are intended to affect. Al-Faifi continued by stating that laws sanctioning incitement to religious hatred do not apply to the Muslim community. She argued that the designation as a group of faith, as opposed to a race, prevents Muslims from gaining legal protection against insults or prejudice in the same way as the Sikh, Jewish or Black community. She argued that this “loophole in the law” sees Muslims left more vulnerable to hatred or abuse.²¹²

4.1.44 University of West England (UWE) Bristol - ‘What is Prevent’ - 29/11/2017²¹³

Host: Mend and UWE Bristol Students’ Union²¹⁴

Speakers: Abu Ahmed - *Home Office* (pictured), Douglas Chalmers - *UCU Vice President* (pictured)

Location: Frenchay Campus, UWE Bristol

Region: Bristol, South West

This event was hosted by Mend and was part of the wider #IAMBristol campaign (see entry 4.1.7).

It appeared to be a debate between Ahmed and Chalmers on the Prevent Strategy.²¹⁵ This event exposes the erroneous assumption that all speakers who appear at IAM events share Mend’s wider worldview. It is clear that Ahmed was present to challenge misconceptions regarding Prevent, where Chalmers could give voice to the legitimate concerns raised by many members of the academic community.

4.1.45 University of Wolverhampton - ‘Mend Presentation’ - 07/11/2017²¹⁶

Host: Mend, Wolverhampton Students’ Union

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Wolverhampton Students’ Union

Region: Wolverhampton, West Midlands

This event was part of Wolverhampton’s Islamophobia Awareness Month campaign (#WolvesIAM), driven by the Community Officer Majid Akhtar of the Students’ Union.

²¹² Archived video, ‘Islamophobia Conference – Bristol 2017’.

²¹³ ‘Bristol: What is Prevent?’, *Facebook*, 29 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/2032084807077837/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²¹⁴ ‘What is Prevent?’, *The Students’ Union at UWE*, 29 November 2017, available at: <https://www.thestudentsunion.co.uk/ents/event/7860/#.WgXS503zvaY.twitter>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²¹⁵ Zain Choudhry, ‘@TheSUPresident’, *Twitter*, 29 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/TheSUPresident/status/935945039653502976/photo/1>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²¹⁶ Majid Akhtar, ‘@UWSUCommunity’, *Twitter*, 27 October 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/UWSUCommunity/status/924038509769486336>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

4.1.46 University of Wolverhampton - 'Muslim Women in the West' - 14/11/2017²¹⁷

Host: Mend, Wolverhampton Students' Union

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Wolverhampton Students' Union

Region: Wolverhampton, West Midlands

This event was part of the wider #WolvesIAM campaign.

4.1.47 University of Wolverhampton - Exhibition - 21/11/2017²¹⁸

Host: Mend and Wolverhampton Students' Union

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Millenium City Building, City Campus

Region: Wolverhampton, West Midlands

This event was part of the #WolvesIAM campaign.

Social media event promotion regularly cited Mend. This included daily video entries filmed by Community Officer Majid Akhtar during the campaign and posted on to social media,²¹⁹ citing and tagging²²⁰ the organisation.²²¹ On one occasion, Akhtar filmed a tour of the exhibition, informing his audience of the Mend literature available and advertising its stall at the event.²²²

It is unclear which, if any, Mend representatives were at the exhibition.

4.1.48 University of Wolverhampton - 'IAM: 5 Pillars of Islamophobia' - 28/11/2017²²³

Host: Mend and Wolverhampton Students' Union²²⁴

Speakers: Muslim Chaplain²²⁵

Location: Ambika Paul Building, City Campus

Region: Wolverhampton, West Midlands

It is unclear who spoke alongside the listed speaker.

²¹⁷ *ibid.*

²¹⁸ 'Islamophobia Awareness Month: Exhibition', *University of Wolverhampton Students' Union*, available at: <https://www.wolvesunion.org/ents/event/4588/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²¹⁹ Majid Akhtar, *Facebook*, 21 November 2017, available at: https://m.Facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=1942115306009268&id=100006324516762, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²²⁰ Majid Akhtar, '@UWSUCommunity', *Twitter*, 9 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/UWSUCommunity/status/928695505365987330>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²²¹ Wolves Union, '@WolvesSU', *Twitter*, 21 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/WolvesSU/status/93297994480825347>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²²² Majid Akhtar, '@UWSUCommunity', *Twitter*, 21 November 2017, available at: https://m.Facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=1942115306009268&id=100006324516762, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²²³ Mend, 'Wolverhampton | 5 pillars of Islamophobia', *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/1110711529032049/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²²⁴ 'Islamophobia Awareness Month: 5 Pillars of Islamophobia', *University of Wolverhampton Students' Union*, available at: <https://www.wolvesunion.org/ents/event/4589/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²²⁵ 'Wolverhampton University #IAM2017 #IAMWolves', *Mend*, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/news/wolverhampton-university-iam2017-iamwolves/>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

4.1.49 University of York - 'Islamophobia Hurts' - 24/11/2017²²⁶

Host: Mend, York Islamic Society, York St Johns' Islamic Society²²⁷

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Alcuin College, Seeboh Rowntree Building, University of York

Region: York, North Yorkshire

The advertising promoted Mend social media accounts, used Mend graphics and pictured the Mend logo alongside those of the two Islamic societies hosting the event.

4.2 Events in Schools

Publicly funded schools in the UK are subject to the Prevent Duty that seeks to safeguard institutions from becoming uncontested spaces for extremism. Compliance includes the implementation of safeguarding procedures to reduce the risk of radicalisation to terrorism, and the promotion of fundamental British values and community cohesion in accordance with the Education Act 2002.²²⁸ Independent schools are subject to similar requirements through the Independent Schools Standards.²²⁹ Prevent Duty Guidance is clear that being drawn into terrorism "includes non-violent extremism, which can create an atmosphere conducive to terrorism and can popularise views that terrorists exploit".²³⁰

Mend hosted three events in schools: at The Fatimah Elizabeth Cates Academy, Grangewood Independent Primary School and Leyton Sixth Form College. The two schools in Waltham Forest have a history of hosting high-profile extremist speakers. Two events were for women only.

4.2.1 Fatimah Elizabeth Cates Academy (FEC) - 'Islamophobia Causes and Cures: Parents Workshop' - 19/11/2017²³¹

Host: Mend²³²

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Fatimah Elizabeth Cates Academy (FEC), Frederick Bremer School, Siddeley Road

Region: London Borough of Waltham Forest, Greater London

The FEC delivers weekend classes of Islamic studies on the Frederick Bremer school premises, a community school for 11-16-year-olds.

The FEC has previously hosted Friends of Al-Aqsa, who ran a workshop at the school entitled 'History and the Importance of Masjid Al-Aqsa'.²³³ The government recently criticised the organisation for the

²²⁶ University of York Islamic Society, *Facebook*, 23 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/yorkislamicsociety/photos/pb.540201259390221.-2207520000.1513770820./1524570560953281/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²²⁷ University of York Islamic Society, *Facebook*, 24 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/yorkislamicsociety/posts/1525294264214244>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

²²⁸ Webb, E., 'For Our Children: An Examination of Prevent in the Curriculum', *The Henry Jackson Society*, July 2017, available on request.

²²⁹ 'Revised Prevent Duty Guidance: for England and Wales', *HM Government*, 16 July 2015, p. 11.

²³⁰ 'Revised Prevent Duty Guidance: for England and Wales', *HM Government*, 16 July 2015, p. 10.

²³¹ 'Islamophobia Causes and Cures: Parents Workshop', *Mend*, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/islamophobia-causes-cures-parents-workshop/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²³² Mend, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/333911620408465/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²³³ 'Culture', *Friends of Al-Aqsa: The Magazine*, February 2017, available at: <http://www.foa.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/FOAAiss3web.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018, p. 16.

extremist links of its senior leaders, and its public support of Hamas and Hezbollah.²³⁴ The FEC was planning to conduct a similar session on 4 February 2018, although it is unclear whether external speakers were invited.²³⁵

The school has also participated in a fundraiser with Muslim Aid.²³⁶ Muslim Aid has funded groups close to the proscribed Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. The group is banned in Israel for funding terrorism, and is closely linked to the extremist Islamic Forum of Europe, where Azad Ali served as community affairs coordinator.²³⁷

The school has also hosted Muslim Belal,²³⁸ a performer linked to the extremist charity HHUGS,²³⁹ who co-wrote a *nasheed* [song] in praise of Al-Qaeda associate Aafia Siddiqui.²⁴⁰

The FEC Headteacher, Hamid Mahmood, is a signatory²⁴¹ on the 'Free Shaker Aamer' campaign.²⁴² The US government believes Shaker Aamer to be a "recruiter, financier and facilitator" of Al-Qaeda, "close associate of Usama bin Laden [and] other senior extremist members", with a "history of participating in jihadist combat".²⁴³

The description of the Mend event asked: "Are we and our children living in an increasingly Islamophobic society?" and "What role does the media play in anti-Muslim hatred?" The FEC promoted the talk several times,²⁴⁴ including one tweet advertising an "excellent and insightful workshop in partnership with Mend. Add the dates to your diary!"²⁴⁵

4.2.2 Grangewood Independent Primary School - 'Launch of the IRU: Sisters Afternoon Tea' - 25/11/2017²⁴⁶

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Grangewood Independent School, Chester Road, Forest Gate

Region: London Borough of Newham, Greater London

This was a female-only event.

²³⁴ Harpin, L., 'Government threatens to cancel Palestinian festival over support for Hamas', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 26 June 2017, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/government-threatens-to-cancel-palestinian-festival-over-support-for-hamas-1.440528>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²³⁵ 'Scheme of Work - Lesson Overview of Academic year 2017-18', *Fatimah Elizabeth Cates Academy*, available at: https://www.fatimahelizabethcates.co.uk/uploads/2/3/7/9/23791465/lesson_overview.pdf, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²³⁶ 'School Children Helping With Food Donations', *Muslim Aid*, April 2016, available at: <https://www.muslimaid.org/media-centre/blog/lets-move-a-mountain/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²³⁷ Gilligan A., "'Terror link' charities get British millions in Gift Aid", *The Telegraph*, 29 November 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11263309/Terror-link-charities-get-British-millions-in-Gift-Aid.html>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²³⁸ Fatimah Elizabeth Cates Academy, '@fatimahelizabethcates', *Pictame*, 31 January 2017, available at: http://www.pictame.com/media/1440040469085372595_3955503896, last visited: 27 February 2018.

²³⁹ Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit The UK Charity Sector', *The Henry Jackson Society*, February 2018, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Wolves-in-Sheeps-Clothes.pdf>, last visited: 27 February 2018, p. 88.

²⁴⁰ 'Aafia Siddiqui 650', *YouTube*, 25 January 2011, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_RJFenIOsjo, last visited: 27 February 2018.

²⁴¹ 'Letter From British Imams, Community Leaders and Activists Call For The Release Of Shaker Aamer', *Save Shaker Aamer*, available at: <http://www.saveshaker.org/letter-from-british-imams-community-leaders-and-activists-call-for-the-release-of-shaker-aamer/563>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁴² Shaker Aamer was detained by the US government for being a military trained Al-Qaeda member, who recruited for extremist causes, and has connections to known terrorists. For more information, see: 'Britain's Last Guantanamo Detainee', *The Henry Jackson Society*, 9 February 2015, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Britains-Last-Guantanamo-Detainee.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁴³ 'JTF-GTMO Detainee Assessment - Sawad al-Madani', *United States Department of Defense*, 1 November 2007, available at: <https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/82693/isn-239-shaker-aamer-jtf-gtmo-detainee-assessment.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018, p. 1.

²⁴⁴ FEC Academy, '@FEC_Academy', *Twitter*, 12 November 2017, available at: https://twitter.com/FEC_Academy/status/929764691987107840, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁴⁵ FEC Academy, '@FEC_Academy', *Twitter*, 12 November 2017, available at: https://twitter.com/FEC_Academy/status/929764782072352774, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁴⁶ 'Launch of the IRU - Sisters Afternoon Tea', *Mend*, 25 November 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/launch-iru-sisters-afternoon-tea/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

4.2.3 Leyton Sixth Form College - 'Mend: Women's Badminton Tournament' - 12/11/2017²⁴⁷

Host: Mend

Speakers: Tuba Mazhari - *Mend*, Hafisa Patel - *Muslim Sports Association*

Location: Leyton Sixth Form, Essex Road, Leyton

Region: London Borough of Waltham Forest, Greater London

This event was promoted by Leyton College.²⁴⁸ Medals engraved with the Mend logo were awarded at the event.²⁴⁹

Leyton College has previously been criticised for hosting extremist speakers. During its 2012 'Discover Islam' week, the college invited Hittin Institute's Adnan Rashid and Hamza Tzortzis to speak, in addition to cleric Haitham al-Haddad,²⁵⁰ who had been banned from the London School of Economics two months earlier.²⁵¹

Leyton College's Islamic Society has promoted literature²⁵² and a campaign²⁵³ by iERA, an organisation whose advisors include Zakir Naik and Bilal Philips, both of whom were banned from the UK by former Home Secretary Theresa May for extremist views.²⁵⁴ Naik's leaflet is pictured at the event stall in 2016.²⁵⁵ The society has also raised money for the controversial²⁵⁶ Ummah Welfare Trust.²⁵⁷

This was a female-only event.

4.3 Events at Public Institutions

Mend hosted several events at venues owned by the local authority, including libraries, council community centres and a hospital. For all events that take place on public property, the local authority is required under the Prevent Duty Guidance to ensure that its premises do not provide a platform for extremists or for the dissemination of extremist views.²⁵⁸ With this in mind, it was particularly concerning that Lewisham Council's Deptford Lounge hosted Shakeel Begg, who has promoted violent jihad and

²⁴⁷ 'MEND Women's Badminton Tournament, *Mend*, 12 November 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/womens-badminton-tournament/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁴⁸ Estates 10, '@Estates10', *Twitter*, 11 November 2017, available at: https://twitter.com/Estates_10/status/929310416592916481, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁴⁹ Muslimah Sports Association, *Facebook*, 14 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/MuslimahSportsAssociation/posts/173789999563032>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁵⁰ Rashid has said that "any Muslim who rejects Sharia Law apostatises from Islam". Tzortzis has stated that apostates who "fight against the community ... should be killed". Haddad has described Jews as "the descendants of apes and pigs", and has spoken in support of female genital mutilation (FGM). For more information, see: Black, R., 'Extreme Speakers and Events in the 2016-17 Academic Year', *The Henry Jackson Society*, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Extreme-Speakers-and-Events-in-the-2016-17-Academic-Year-Final.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

See also: 'Recent successes highlight support for Prevent', *Student Rights*, 9 August 2017, available at: <http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/2470/recent-successes-highlight-support-for-prevent>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁵¹ 'Sixth Form College hosts Haitham al-Haddad', *Student Rights*, 26 April 2012, available at: <http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/1911/sixth-form-college-hosts-haitham-al-haddad>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁵² Leyton Islamic Society Brothers, *Facebook*, 23 March 2016, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/LeytonISOC/photos/a.566164466802541.1073741826.566164360135885/966104393475211/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁵³ 'Is Life Just a Game', *Mission Dawah*, available at: <http://www.missiondawah.com/life-just-game/>, last visited: 31 January 2018.

²⁵⁴ Gilligan, A., 'The Guardian falls for an extremist lie', *Andrew Gilligan Wordpress*, 3 August 2010, available at: <https://andrewgilliganblog.wordpress.com/tag/iera/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁵⁵ Leyton Islamic Society Brothers, *Facebook*, 21 March 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/LeytonISOC/photos/a.572591266159861.1073741828.566164360135885/964123260339991/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

²⁵⁶ Student Islamic Societies Raise Money for Controversial Islamic Charity, *Student Rights*, 21 June 2017, available at: <http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/2464/student-islamic-societies-raise-money-for-controversial-islamic-charity>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁵⁷ Leyton Islamic Society Brothers, *Facebook*, 26 March 2014, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/LeytonISOC/photos/a.572591266159861.1073741828.566164360135885/602784693140518/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 1 March 2018.

²⁵⁸ 'Revised Prevent Duty Guidance: for England and Wales', *HM Government*, 16 July 2015, p. 6.

been declared “an extremist Islamic speaker who espouses extremist Islamic positions” by a High Court Judge.²⁵⁹

4.3.1 Brixton Tate Library - ‘Challenging Islamophobia in Britain Today’ - 29/11/2017²⁶⁰

Host: Stand Up To Racism (SUTR)

Speakers: Saleha Jaffra, *Lambeth Mayor*, Lubaba Khalid - *Mend*, Lucy Masoud - *London Fire Brigades Union*, Nahella Ashraf - *Stand Up To Racism*, Naima Omar - *Stand Up To Racism* (see entry 4.4.21)

Location: Brixton Library, Brixton Oval, London

Region: London Borough of Lambeth, Greater London

This event was endorsed by Lambeth Council²⁶¹ and featured the Mayor of Lambeth.

Mend’s extensive history of collaboration with Stand Up To Racism is not within the scope of this report.²⁶²

Nahella Ashraf has spoken alongside Ismail Patel,²⁶³ the founder of Friends of Al-Aqsa who has been filmed supporting Hamas.²⁶⁴

In July 2017, Mend’s Lubaba Khalid posted a violent anti-Semitic message online. With reference to Israel she stated, “I can only pray for the destruction of the people who are killing my people!”²⁶⁵

4.3.2 Caerphilly Leisure Centre - ‘Ask a Muslim’ - 21/11/2017²⁶⁶

Host: Mend

Speakers: Sahar Al-Faifi - *Mend* (see entry 4.1.6), Amanda Morris - *Mend*²⁶⁷

Location: Caerphilly Leisure Centre, Virginia Park²⁶⁸

Region: Caerphilly, South Wales

Amanda Morris is Chair of Mend’s Cardiff Working group. She also works at the Welsh affiliate of the Muslim Council of Britain, and has shown considerable²⁶⁹ support for Cage.²⁷⁰ In 2015, Morris wrote a

²⁵⁹ Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation, 2016, EWHC 2688(qb), 28 October 2016, available at: <https://www.judiciary.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018, p. 18.

²⁶⁰ Brixton Tate Library, ‘@brixtonlibrary’, *Twitter*, 28 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/brixtonlibrary/status/935486356050063361>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁶¹ ‘Challenging Islamophobia in Britain today’, *Lambeth*, available at: <https://www.lambeth.gov.uk/events/challenging-islamophobia-in-britain-today>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁶² Wilson, T., ‘Mend: “Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians”’, *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p. 45.

²⁶³ ‘Northern Rally: Sheffield’, *Palestine Solidarity Campaign*, 12 May 2007, available at: <https://www.indymedia.org.uk/media/2007/04/368532.pdf>, last visited: 2 March 2018.

²⁶⁴ ‘Ismail Patel: Stop the Gaza massacre Demonstration London 10 January 2009’, *YouTube*, 11 January 2009, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bCLNX9xvd6c>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁶⁵ Archived screenshot.

²⁶⁶ ‘Questions? Ask a Muslim! (Caerphilly Edition)’, *Mend*, 21 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/questions-ask-muslim-caerphilly-edition/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁶⁷ MaRiyah, ‘@mariyahzaman’, *Twitter*, 21 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/mariyahzaman/status/93305497717718784>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁶⁸ ‘Muslim group Mend to hold discussion at Caerphilly Leisure Centre in bid to build community bridges’, *Caerphilly Observer*, 21 November 2017, available at: <http://www.caerphillyobserver.co.uk/news/967083/muslim-group-Mend-to-hold-discussion-at-caerphilly-leisure-centre-in-bid-to-build-community-bridges/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁶⁹ ‘cage from:amandarabaab’, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/search?l=&q=cage%20from%3Aamandarabaab&src=typd&lang=en>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

piece in defence of extremist cleric Abu Easa Niamatullah, after a Muslim woman criticised his misogynistic views.²⁷¹

4.3.3 Fulwell Cross Library - Exhibition - 01/11/2017²⁷²

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Fullwell Cross Library, Ilford

Region: London Borough of Redbridge, Greater London

This event took place in the constituency of Wes Streeting MP. Streeting has had several points of contact with Mend, both on a national and local level (see entry 4.4.22).

4.3.4 Grandstand Community Centre - 'Islamophobia: what can we do?' - 02/12/2017²⁷³

Host: Mend and The Islamic Association of Lincoln

Speakers: Unknown

Location: The Grandstand Community Centre, Carholme Road, Lincoln

Region: Lincoln, East Midlands

The Grandstand Community Centre is owned by Lincoln Council. The Islamic Association of Lincoln is a registered charity.

4.3.5 Redbridge Museum and Library - Exhibition - 15/11/2017²⁷⁴

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Redbridge Central Library, Clements Road, Ilford

Region: London Borough of Redbridge, Greater London

Volunteers were advertised as part of this event although it is unclear which, if any, Mend representatives were present.

This event took place in the constituency of Wes Streeting MP (see entry 4.4.22).

²⁷⁰ Stand Up To Racism Wales, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/714927315373814/permalink/721910934675452/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁷¹ 'Is Shazia Awan serious about combatting Islamophobia and misogyny?', *5Pillars*, 10 December 2015, available at: <https://5pillarsuk.com/2015/12/10/is-shazia-awan-serious-about-combatting-islamophobia-and-misogyny/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁷² 'Mend Exhibition [sic] - Fulwell Cross Library', *Mend*, 1 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/55821/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁷³ 'Lincoln | Islamophobia: What can we do about it?', *Facebook*, 2 December 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/1984528405202839/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁷⁴ Mend, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/1398178763626394/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

4.3.6 Stand Up To Racism - 'Deaths in Custody, Rising Islamophobia - The Fight Against Racism' - 08/11/2017²⁷⁵

Host: Stand Up To Racism - South East London

Speakers: Shakeel Begg - *Lewisham Islamic Centre*, 'Mend speaker', Kedisha Burrell-Brown (activist), Stephanie Lightfoot-Bennett (activist), Jair Tavares (activist), Shakira Martin - *NUS*

Location: Deptford Lounge, 9 Giffin Square, London

Region: London Borough of Lewisham, Greater London

This event took place at the Deptford Lounge, a council-owned community centre.

Shakeel Begg is Head Imam at the Lewisham Islamic Centre. In 2016, he lost a libel suit against the BBC and was declared "an extremist Islamic speaker who espouses extremist Islamic positions" by the ruling High Court Judge.²⁷⁶ This was in relation to nine public statements in which Begg promoted and encouraged violent jihad.²⁷⁷ The Lewisham Islamic Centre disputed the judgement and Begg remains in his position as Head Imam, and on the board of trustees.²⁷⁸

Despite Shakeel Begg's highly publicised extremist statements, and promotion of violence, Lewisham Council has had several points of contact with Begg and the Islamic Centre. Of particular note is Begg's former membership of the Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education (SACRE).²⁷⁹ He has spoken at local schools²⁸⁰ and served as chaplain at the local Lewisham hospital.²⁸¹ In addition, the Islamic Centre's records show that the Local Authority has awarded financial grants to the Lewisham Mosque.²⁸² In 2015 the Islamic Centre received £99,210 in grants, and in 2016 the Mosque received £83,190.²⁸³ Later that year, the deputy mayor made a public visit to the Islamic Centre.²⁸⁴

Stand Up To Racism (SUTR) has hosted Shakeel Begg on previous occasions. In March 2016, Begg spoke on a SUTR panel at Goldsmiths University alongside the Labour MP for Lewisham and Deptford. Also, Begg was invited to speak at its vigil against Islamophobia in December 2016 with the former Lewisham mayor.²⁸⁵

Shakeel Begg has been hosted, and received support from, senior figures at Cage and Mend. Azad Ali spoke alongside Begg at a Cage event where he condemned the High Court ruling and used the hashtag #istandbymyiman.²⁸⁶ Notably, it was a Cage fundraising dinner in 2010 that was cited in the judgement, for it was there that Begg praised Muslims who travelled to conflict zones for jihad.²⁸⁷ Begg has also been hosted by Unite Against Fascism, where Ali is Vice-Chair. Jeremy Corbyn MP spoke alongside him at the University of London Union.²⁸⁸

²⁷⁵ Stand Up To Racism - South East London, 'Deaths in custody, Rising Islamophobia - The fight against racism', *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/719218994938360/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁷⁶ Shakeel Begg v. British Broadcasting Corporation (Case No: HQ14D04379), *Royal Courts of Justice*, 28 October 2016, available at: <https://www.judiciary.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018, p. 20.

²⁷⁷ Wilson, T., 'Extremism in the Community: The Case of Shakeel Begg', *The Henry Jackson Society*, March 2017, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Shakeel-Begg-FINAL-PDF.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁷⁸ 'Data for financial year ending 31 August 2016: Lewisham Islamic Centre', *Charity Commission*, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=285641&subid=0>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁷⁹ Shakeel Begg v. British Broadcasting Corporation (Case No: HQ14D04379), *Royal Courts of Justice*, 28 October 2016, p. 20.

²⁸⁰ Wilson, T., 'Extremism in the Community: The Case of Shakeel Begg', *The Henry Jackson Society*, March 2017, p. 14.

²⁸¹ Wilson, T., 'Extremism in the Community: The Case of Shakeel Begg', *The Henry Jackson Society*, March 2017, p. 17.

²⁸² 'Lewisham Islamic Centre Report of the Trustees and the Audited Financial Statements Year Ended 31st August 2016', available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends41/0000285641_AC_20160831_E_C.PDF, last visited: 21 February 2018, p. 18.

²⁸³ *ibid.*

²⁸⁴ Wilson, T., 'Extremism in the Community: The Case of Shakeel Begg', *The Henry Jackson Society*, March 2017, p. 17.

²⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁸⁶ Kennedy, D., 'Extremist leads Muslim lobby group', *The Times*, 10 April 2017, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/extremist-leads-muslim-lobby-group-7q2hg30zc>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁸⁷ Wilson, T., 'Extremism in the Community: The Case of Shakeel Begg', *The Henry Jackson Society*, March 2017, p. 7.

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 24.

4.3.7 Wanstead Library - Exhibition - 09/11/2017²⁸⁹

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Wanstead Library, Spratt Hall Rd, London

Region: London Borough of Redbridge, Greater London

4.3.8 Whittington Hospital - Exhibition - 04/11/2017²⁹⁰

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Whittington Hospital, Atrium Area A1, London

Region: London Borough of Islington, Greater London

The Whittington Health NHS Trust is a registered charity.

This event took place in the constituency of Jeremy Corbyn MP.²⁹¹

4.4 Civil Society and Political Engagement

Mend held several events with other campaign groups such as Stand Up To Racism and the NUT, as well as faith centres and registered charities. The IAM launch in Parliament elicited particular controversy, with negative publicity surrounding the event in the press, and high-profile MPs pulling out a few days prior. The event itself hosted the Leader of the Opposition as a keynote speaker alongside representatives from the political, media and charitable sectors. The event questioning the 'Trojan Horse' scandal in Birmingham also drew considerable criticism, prompting the venue to pull out and the local council to issue a statement. The event sought to cast doubt on investigations by Birmingham City Council and the Department for Education which revealed that there had been a "co-ordinated, deliberate and sustained" attempt to introduce an "intolerant and aggressive Islamic ethos" into schools in Birmingham.²⁹² Among the speakers was Tahir Alam, the former chair of governors at Park View School at the centre of the controversy, who is permanently barred from education. Of additional concern was the promotion of Mend at Al Manaar and Finsbury Park Mosque, owing to the vast history of extremism at both faith centres.

²⁸⁹ 'MEND Exhibition - Wanstead Library', *Mend*, 9 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/Mend-exhibition-wanstead-library/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁹⁰ 'MEND Exhibition - Whittington Hospital', *Mend*, 4 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/Mend-exhibition-whittington-hospital/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁹¹ 'IAM2017 Exhibition at Whittington Hospital', *Mend*, 20 December 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/news/iam2017-exhibition-whittington-hospital/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁹² 'Report into allegations concerning Birmingham schools arising from the "Trojan Horse" letter', *HM Government*, July 2014, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/340528/HC_576_print_ready.pdf, last visited: 21 February 2018, p. 96.

4.4.1 Al Manaar - 'Sisters: Causes and Cures of Islamophobia and Self Defence Class' - 11/11/2017²⁹³

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Al Manaar - The Muslim Cultural Heritage Centre, Ladbroke Grove

Region: Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, Greater London

This was a female-only event.

Al Manaar Mosque faced criticism after it was linked to nine British Islamic State fighters.²⁹⁴ These included Mohammed Emwazi ("Jihadi John") and Abdel-Majed Abdel Bary (the "hip-hop Jihadist"). It was reported that Emwazi had formed a relationship with Aine Davis and Alexandra Kotey at the Mosque, who formed part of the Islamic State "Beatles" cell.²⁹⁵ An interview with Kotey's friend revealed that he had "advocated suicide bombing" outside the Mosque, "arguing with those who said it was forbidden by the Qur'an".²⁹⁶ It was revealed during the trial of Davis' wife, convicted of funding for terrorism, that she had met her husband at the Mosque.²⁹⁷ Jihadi fighters Hamza Parvez and his best friend Mohammed Nasser are believed to have worshipped at Al Manaar.²⁹⁸ Their neighbour Mohammed el-Araj, an engineering student who died fighting with Syrian jihadist groups, and his friend Choukri Ellekhilfi also worshipped there.²⁹⁹ The "Shalaku Brothers", Flamur (a Greenwich University Student) and Fatlum (a pupil at Holland Park School), were also part of the Ladbroke Grove Mosque group that fled to Syria.³⁰⁰

Al Manaar is a registered charity.

4.4.2 Arakan Creative - 'Freesia Movie: Special Guest Q&A' - 24/11/2017³⁰¹

Host: Mend, Arakan Creative, Ento TV Live

Speakers: Conor Ibrahim - *Freesia* (director), Lauren Booth - (activist), Rob Ferguson - *NUT/Stand Up To Racism*,³⁰² Aqib Khan - *Freesia* (actor), Affie Dehrouyeh Dehrouyeh - *Freesia* (actress), Samantha Mesagno - *Freesia* (actress)

Location: Courthouse Hotel, Soho

Region: City of Westminster, Greater London

Lauren Booth has expressed several anti-Semitic sentiments, including assertions about "Jewish supremacism",³⁰³ the "Jewish, Zionist lobby" and the promulgation of anti-Semitic tropes in praise of

²⁹³ 'The Causes and Cures for Islamophobia, with a self-defence class. Sisters' only', *Mend*, 11 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/causes-cures-islamophobia-self-defence-class-sisters/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁹⁴ Parry, T., 'Inside the London mosque where the ISIS Beatles came together', *The Mirror*, 8 February 2016, available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/inside-london-mosque-isis-beatles-7334620>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁹⁵ 'Londoners Alexandra Kotey and Aine Davis identified as Islamic State "Beatles"', *The Guardian*, 8 February 2016, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/07/londoner-alexandra-kotey-identified-member-isis-group-jihadi-john>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*

²⁹⁷ Herrmann, J., "It's a wake-up call... we need to do more": Why do so many jihadists come from the streets of North Kensington?', *Evening Standard*, 17 October 2014, available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/lifestyle/london-life/it-s-a-wake-up-call-we-need-to-do-more-why-do-so-many-jihadists-come-from-the-streets-of-north-9801125.html>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰⁰ Webb, E., 'Spotting the Signs: Identifying Vulnerability to Radicalisation Among Students', *The Henry Jackson Society*, January 2017, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Student-Fighters-Project.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018, p. 71.

³⁰¹ Arakan Creative, *Facebook*, 15 November, available at: https://www.Facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=1688529741203624&id=253105098079436, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁰² Mend Community, '@mendcommunity', *Twitter*, 20 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/Mendcommunity/status/932683821128015872>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

Holocaust-denier Gilad Atzmon.³⁰⁴ Booth has worked for the Iranian-run Press TV,³⁰⁵ and in 2008 was awarded a VIP passport to Gaza by Iranian-backed Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh.³⁰⁶

Rob Ferguson was exposed in *The Telegraph* for working with representatives from Mend, Cage and a former Hizb ut-Tahrir activist in its campaign against Prevent.³⁰⁷ Ferguson's previous work with Mend is well documented.³⁰⁸

'Freesia' was previously screened at a Cage event,³⁰⁹ with Moazzam Begg and Sahar Al-Faifi³¹⁰.

4.4.3 The Atrium - 'Mirror to the State: Spoken Word' - 18/11/2017³¹¹

Host: Cage

Speakers: Sahar Al-Faifi - *Mend* (see entry 4.1.6), Moazzam Begg - *Cage* (see entry 4.1.2),³¹² Suhaimah Manzoor-Khan - *blogger* (see entries 4.1.4 and 4.1.20), Leanne Mohamad - *activist*, Usaama Minhas - *blogger*³¹³

Location: The Atrium, Cheshire Street, London

Region: London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Greater London

This event was promoted as a 'Spoken Word' competition. The advertisement for applicants stated: "In a time where words and expression itself are incriminated... speak your truth." The theme centred upon the UK's counter-terror legislation and institutional racism.

Aside from the speakers listed above, it is unclear who spoke at this event.

4.4.4 Bolton Council of Mosques (BCOM) - 'Let's get reporting - Islamophobia' - 18/11/2017³¹⁴

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Bolton Council of Mosques, Vicarage Street, Bolton

Region: Manchester, North West

BCOM is an affiliate³¹⁵ of the Muslim Brotherhood-linked Muslim Council of Britain,³¹⁶ and a registered charity.

³⁰³ 'Lauren Booth on "Jewish supremacism", why antisemitism is justified, & the wisdom of Gilad Atzmon', *UK Media Watch*, 6 October 2011, available at: <https://ukmediawatch.org/2011/10/06/lauren-booth-on-jewish-supremacism-why-antisemitism-is-justified-the-wisdom-of-gilad-atzmon/>, last visited: 2 March 2018.

³⁰⁴ Elgot, J., 'Lauren Booth's attack points up new split in PSC', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 1 December 2011, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/lauren-booth-s-attack-points-up-new-split-in-psc-1.29769>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁰⁵ 'Lauren Booth's embrace of Islam veils the truth', *Evening Standard*, 26 October 2010, available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/lauren-booth-s-embrace-of-islam-veils-the-truth-6528803.html>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁰⁶ 'Lauren Booth on "Jewish supremacism", why antisemitism is justified, & the wisdom of Gilad Atzmon', *UK Media Watch*, 6 October 2011, available at: <https://ukmediawatch.org/2011/10/06/lauren-booth-on-jewish-supremacism-why-antisemitism-is-justified-the-wisdom-of-gilad-atzmon/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁰⁷ Gilligan, A., 'NUT leaders "colluding to undermine anti-terror policies"', *The Telegraph*, 23 January 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/12117736/NUT-leaders-colluding-to-undermine-anti-terror-policies.html>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁰⁸ Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading As Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p. 45.

³⁰⁹ 'Freesia Movie - Special Guest Q&A', *Cage*, 8 August 2017, available at: <https://cage.ngo/event/freesia-movie-special-guest-qa/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³¹⁰ Conor Ibrahim, *Facebook*, 11 August 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1729815763725403&set=pcb.1729815970392049&type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³¹¹ 'Mirror to the State: Spoken Word Event and Competition', *Cage*, 10 October 2017, available at: <https://cage.ngo/mirror-to-state>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³¹² usaama minhas, '@yoUsaama', *Twitter*, 19 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/yoUsaama/status/932180774241136640>, last visited: 2 March 2018.

³¹³ Abdul Hamid Faruki, '@TjpAbdul', *Twitter*, 19 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/TjpAbdul/status/932402313125400581>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³¹⁴ 'Let's get reporting - Islamophobia', *Mend*, 18 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/lets-get-reporting-islamophobia/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

4.4.5 Bordesley Centre (Muath Trust) - 'Trojan Horse: The Facts' - 03/11/2017³¹⁷

Host: Mend

Speakers: Salma Yaqoob, Peter Osborne, Kevin Courtney – *General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers*, Shamim Miah – *University of Huddersfield*, John Holmwood – *University of Nottingham*, Tahir Alam – *Park View School* (former)

Location: Bordesley Centre (advertised)

Region: Birmingham, West Midlands

In 2014, findings by both Birmingham City Council and the Education Commissioner Peter Clarke demonstrated that there was a concerted effort by Islamists to gain influence over a number of schools in Birmingham. This came in response to a leaked document boasting the removal of secular school leaders “corrupting ... children with sex education, teaching about homosexuals, [making] children pray Christian prayers and [play mixed] sport” in favour of those that would implement strict Islamic principles, and outlining ways in which other schools could follow.³¹⁸ The allegations were the subject of challenge,³¹⁹ although investigations revealed that there had indeed been a “coordinated, deliberate and sustained” attempt to introduce an “intolerant and aggressive Islamic ethos” into several schools in the area.³²⁰

These findings are consistently rejected by Mend, who question the authenticity of the leaked document, and contend that the affair was a “hoax”, a “witchhunt” against Muslims and an example of “power, politics and systematic racism”.³²¹ The organisation often cites a report for the Education Select Committee which concluded that there was “no evidence of a conspiracy ... to promote violent extremism”,³²² as this had been found on only one occasion, yet the original document accepted that there had been a promotion of a culture that would lead children to be culturally isolated and vulnerable to extremism.³²³ The report was subsequently criticised by the government for “downplaying” the seriousness of events.³²⁴

The event hosted several speakers who have been particularly vocal in their opposition to the investigation’s findings.

Tahir Alam, the former chair of governors at Park View school, was labelled by *The Telegraph* as the “ringleader” in the Trojan Horse controversy.³²⁵ He has called for “girls [to] be covered except for their hands and faces”, advocated gender segregation and argued that homosexual relationships should not be taught as acceptable practices.³²⁶ He is permanently barred from education.

³¹⁵ ‘Affiliates’, Muslim Council of Britain, available at: <http://www.mcb.org.uk/about-mcb/affiliates/>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

³¹⁶ Norfolk, A., Savage, M., Hanif, F., and Trew, B., ‘Muslim Council “secretly linked” to Brotherhood’, *The Times*, 18 December 2015, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/muslim-council-secretly-linked-to-brotherhood-jwvmrwbmg75>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

³¹⁷ ‘Trojan Horse - The Facts’, *Mend*, 3 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/trojan-horse-facts/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³¹⁸ Mackie, P., ‘“Islamic takeover plot” in Birmingham schools investigated’, *BBC News*, 7 March 2014, available at: www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-birmingham-26482599, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³¹⁹ Coughlan, S., ‘Trojan Horse: Ofsted says schools were targeted’, *BBC News*, 9 June 2014, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-27763113>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³²⁰ ‘Report into allegations concerning Birmingham schools arising from the “Trojan Horse” letter’, *HM Government*, July 2014, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/340528/HC_576_print_ready.pdf, last visited: 21 February 2018, p. 96.

³²¹ Archived screenshot.

³²² ‘Department for Education continues to use “Trojan Horse” scandal’, *Mend*, 5 October 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/news/department-education-continues-use-trojan-horse-scandal/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³²³ ‘Extremism in schools: the Trojan Horse affair - Education Committee’, *Parliament*, available at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmeduc/473/47304.htm#a3>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³²⁴ ‘Trojan Horse: Government criticises education select committee’, *BBC News*, 27 June 2015, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-birmingham-33296268>, last visited: 2 March 2018.

³²⁵ Gilligan, S., ‘Guide to school Islamisation, by “ringleader” of Trojan Horse plot’, *The Telegraph*, 26 April 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/10790441/Guide-to-school-Islamisation-by-ringleader-of-Trojan-Horse-plot.html>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³²⁵ *ibid.*

³²⁶ *ibid.*

Salma Yaqoob was former leader and vice-chair of the Respect Party. She leads the 'Hand off Birmingham Schools' group that rejected Ofsted's findings.³²⁷

Peter Osborne has been affiliated with Mend for several years. He spoke at IAM's initial launch in 2012, iEngage's rebrand event in 2014³²⁸ and Mend's Conservative Party fringe events in 2014³²⁹ and 2017.³³⁰

Shamim Miah spoke at a Mend event in January 2015 with Azad Ali.³³¹ That same year he spoke at an IAM event with Sufyan Ismail.³³²

The Muath Trust has previously hosted extremist-linked speakers, including cleric Yasir Qadhi³³³ and representatives from Cage and the Muslim Public Affairs Committee (MPACUK).³³⁴ *The Telegraph* reported that at one event, MPACUK chairman Raza Nadim praised jihad and compelled audience members to donate to Cage.³³⁵ The Muath Trust is a registered charity. Birmingham City Council published a statement clarifying that it unequivocally did not endorse the event, and pointed to the indisputable "facts and findings of the 2014 Kershaw and Clarke inquiries ... which must not be forgotten".³³⁶

This event went ahead as planned, although the location was changed.

4.4.6 Broomhall Centre - 'Sheffield Against Islamophobia' - 25/11/2017³³⁷

Host: Mend

Speakers: Paul Blomfield MP - *Sheffield Central*

Location: Broomhall Centre, Broomspring Lane, Sheffield

Region: Sheffield, South Yorkshire

The event advertised a 'Causes and Cures' presentation and a talk by the local MP.

The Broomhall Centre is a registered charity.

³²⁷ 'Salma Yaqoob brands Ofsted probe into Trojan Horse schools as "politically motivated"', *Birmingham Live*, 9 June 2014, available at: <http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/salma-yaqoob-brands-ofsted-probe-7236168>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³²⁸ Mend, *Facebook*, 22 July 2014, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/Mendcommunity/photos/a.1457007614563404.1073741829.1433739670223532/1457010921229740/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³²⁹ 'Mend Newsletter', *Mend*, available at: https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/MEND_Newsletter_Final_Draft_20.11.17_low-res.pdf, last visited: 2 March 2018, p. 9.

³³⁰ Mend, *Facebook*, 2 October 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/Mendcommunity/posts/1947539228843571>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³³¹ *ibid.*

³³² 'Oldham say "No" to Islamophobia', *Asian Lite Newsdesk*, 21 January 2015, available at: <https://asianlite.com/news/uk-news/oldham-say-no-to-islamophobia/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³³³ 'Islamophobia Is The New Racism Says Oldham MEND', *Revolution96.2*, 10 November 2015, available at: <http://www.revolution962.com/news/revolution-news/islamophobia-is-the-new-racism-says-oldham-Mend/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³³⁴ The Muath Trust, *Facebook*, 4 June 2014, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/309864541792/photos/a.398661571792.170542.309864541792/10152037521006793/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³³⁵ Heighton, L. and S. Singh, 'Event hosted by Muslim charity fundraised for Cage', *The Telegraph*, 6 January 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/investigations/12085794/Event-hosted-by-Muslim-charity-fundraised-for-Cage.html>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³³⁶ *ibid.*

³³⁷ 'Statement in relation to an event organised by the Muslim Engagement and Development (MEND) campaigning group', *Birmingham City Council*, 3 November 2017, available at: https://www.birmingham.gov.uk/news/article/184/statement_in_relation_to_an_event_organised_by_the_muslim_engagement_and_development_mend_campaigning_group, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³³⁸ 'Sheffield Against Islamophobia', *Mend*, 25 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/sheffield-against-islamophobia/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

4.4.7 *Carlton Hill Quaker Meeting House - 'How do we understand Islamophobia?' - 23/11/2017*³³⁸

Host: Mend, Leeds Quakers, Concord Interfaith Leeds³³⁹

Speakers: Shahab Adris - *Mend*, David Randolph-Horn - *Concord*³⁴⁰

Location: Carlton Hill Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds

Region: Leeds, West Yorkshire

Leeds Quakers are part of The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), a registered charity.

4.4.8 *Castleland Community Centre - 'Ask a Muslim' - 14/11/2017*³⁴¹

Host: Mend

Speakers: Sahar Al-Faifi - *Mend*, Amanda Morris - *Mend*

Location: Castleland Community Centre, Belvedere Crescent, Barry

Region: Vale of Glamorgan, South Wales

Castleland Community Centre is a registered charity.

Representatives of the police were present.³⁴²

4.4.9 *The City Retreat Leicester - 'Islamophobia: Causes and Cures' - 19/11/2017*³⁴³

Host: Mend

Speakers: Irfan Mohamed³⁴⁴

Location: The City Retreat, Church Gate, Leicester

Region: Leicester, East Midlands

This event was promoted by iERA's Yusuf Chambers³⁴⁵ who has worked with Mend in the past.³⁴⁶

The City Retreat is a registered charity.

³³⁸ 'How do we understand Islamophobia?', *Mend*, 23 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/how-do-we-understand-islamophobia/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³³⁹ 'IAM2017 "Causes and Cures" with Concord at the Leeds Quaker House', *Mend*, 14 December 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/news/iam2017-causes-cures-concord-leeds-quaker-house/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁴⁰ Ahmed Hankir, '@ahmed_hankir', *Twitter*, 23 November 2017, available at: https://twitter.com/ahmed_hankir/status/933783993669111808, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁴¹ 'Questions? Ask a Muslim! (Barry Edition)', *Mend*, 14 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/questions-ask-muslim-barry-edition/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁴² MaRiyah '@mariyahzaman', *Twitter*, 14 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/mariyahzaman/status/930517704871735296>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁴³ The City Retreat, *Facebook*, 19 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/CityRetreatLeicester/posts/1516108088484063>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

³⁴⁴ 'Exhibition with Islamophobia Causes & Cures Presentation', *Mend*, 14 December 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/news/exhibition-islamophobia-causes-cures-presentation/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁴⁵ 'Live presentation by MEND - Muslim Engagement and Development at the The City Retreat', *Muslim Minds*, 19 November 2017, available at: <http://muslinminds.net/19353/yusuf-chambers/live-presentation-by-Mend-muslim-engagement-and-development-at-the-city-retreat>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁴⁶ Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading As Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p. 29.

4.4.10 Craven Development Education Centre - 'Countering Islamophobia' - 02/11/2017³⁴⁷

Host: Craven Development Education Centre (CDEC)

Speakers: Mend speaker

Location: St Andrew's Church, Skipton

Region: Skipton, North Yorkshire

CDEC is part of the Consortium of Development Education Centres that deliver "global learning" to schools and communities. CDEC is a registered charity.

CDEC has previously hosted Mend at a workshop for primary and secondary school teachers.³⁴⁸

Mend literature was distributed at the event.³⁴⁹

4.4.11 Finsbury Park Mosque - 'Confronting Anti-Muslim Hate Crimes in Britain: Challenges and Opportunities' - 29/11/2017³⁵⁰

Host: Finsbury Park Mosque³⁵¹

Speakers: Chris Allen - *Birmingham University*, Gwen Griffith-Dickson - *Lokahi Foundation*, Salman Sayyid - *Leeds University*, Susann Wiedlitzka - *Sussex University*, Hugh Tomlinson - *Matrix Chambers/Hacked Off, Law*, Jordan Morgan - *Forward Thinking*, Abdullah Faliq - *London Metropolitan University*

Location: Finsbury Park Mosque, The Meeting Room, St Thomas' Road

Region: London Borough of Islington, Greater London

Finsbury Park Mosque has been at the centre of controversy surrounding extremism for several years. Once described as an "al-Qaeda guesthouse in London", the mosque was previously headed by extremist cleric Abu Qatada, and assisted in the radicalisation of "shoebomber" Richard Reid and one of the 9/11 terrorists.³⁵² Under new leadership, the Mosque vows dedication to diversity, tolerance and community cohesion, and in 2014 won an award for tackling extremism.³⁵³ Despite this, current chairman Mohammed Kozbar, who has had previous contact with Mend,³⁵⁴ has called for Israel to be destroyed³⁵⁵ and is the vice President of the Muslim Brotherhood-linked Muslim Association of Britain.³⁵⁶ Furthermore, Mohammed Sawalha, described by the BBC as a "fugitive Hamas commander"

³⁴⁷ Craven DEC, '@cravenDEC', *Twitter*, 2 November 2017, available at:

<https://twitter.com/cravenDEC/status/926165834900426752><https://twitter.com/cravenDEC/status/925989572542128128>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁴⁸ 'Craven Development Education Centre - Newsletter, Autumn 2017', *Craven DEC*, Autumn 2017, available at: http://www.cravendec.org.uk/assets/newsletter-autumn17_email.pdf, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁴⁹ Craven Development Education Centre, '@cravenDEC', *Twitter*, 2 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/cravenDEC/status/926165834900426752>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁵⁰ 'Confronting Anti-Muslim Hate Crimes In Britain: Challenges And Opportunities', *Eventbrite*, 29 November 2017, available at: <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/confronting-anti-muslim-hate-crimes-in-britain-challenges-and-opportunities-tickets-38819352729#>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁵¹ 'FPM Launches Seminar Series As Part Of Islamophobia Awareness Month', *Finsbury Park Mosque*, available at: <https://www.finsburyparkmosque.org/fpm-launches-seminar-series-as-part-of-islamophobia-awareness-month/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁵² Lusher, A., 'Finsbury Park Mosque: How religious centre went from "al-Qaeda guesthouse" to model of moderation', *The Independent*, 19 June 2017, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/finsbury-park-mosque-terror-attack-latest-abu-hamza-changed-since-won-awards-for-community-relations-a7798171.html>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁵³ Richards, A., 'Three years ago Finsbury Park Mosque won an award for their efforts against extremism', *The Independent*, June 2017, available at: <https://www.indy100.com/article/finsbury-park-mosque-award-tackling-extremism-terror-attack-7797241>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁵⁴ Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p. 67.

³⁵⁵ 'UK Labour Leader Adds To List Of Anti-Israel "Friends"', *The Jerusalem Post*, 13 March 2016, available at: <http://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/UK-Labour-leader-adds-to-list-of-anti-Israel-friends-447725>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

³⁵⁶ Gilligan, A., 'How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism', *The Telegraph*, 8 February 2015.

and “the most influential” Muslim Brotherhood member in Britain,³⁵⁷ is listed as an active director and Mosque trustee.³⁵⁸

Finsbury Park Mosque is a registered charity. The Mosque is located within the constituency of Jeremy Corbyn MP (see entry 4.4.22).

This event was advertised as having the support of several higher education institutions and NGOs. Directly below these listed partners it was promoted as part of IAM. Mend also advertised this event as part of its campaign.³⁵⁹

Both Allen and Sayyid have spoken at Mend events in the past.

4.4.12 Goodge Street Mosque - ‘Islamophobia Sisters Afternoon Tea’ - 16/12/2017³⁶⁰

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Goodge Street Mosque, London

Region: London Borough of Camden, Greater London

Guest speakers are advertised, although it is unclear who spoke at the event.

Goodge Street Mosque is a registered charity.

4.4.13 Indian Muslim Welfare Society (IMWS) - ‘Tackling Islamophobia Together’ - 26/11/2017³⁶¹

Host: Mend and IMWS

Speakers: Sufyan Ismail - *Mend*

Location: IMWS, Track Road, Batley

Region: Batley, West Yorkshire

Sufyan Ismail is the former CEO of Mend. He has made several anti-Semitic comments, including reference to a 300-year-old “Israeli lobby”,³⁶² and the assertion that there is a “meaningful link between Zionism and Islamophobia”.³⁶³ He has also drawn an equivalence between fighting for ISIS and the

³⁵⁷ ‘Faith, hate and charity: Transcript’, *BBC Panorama*, 30 July 2006, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/5234586.stm>, last visited: 2 March 2018.

³⁵⁸ ‘Finsbury Park Mosque’, *Companies House*, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/07229018/officers>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁵⁹ Mend Community, ‘@mendcommunity’, *Twitter*, 22 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/mendcommunity/status/933368226356039680>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁶⁰ ‘Let’s Talk! Islamophobia Sisters Afternoon Tea’, *Mend*, 16 December 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/lets-talk-islamophobia/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁶¹ ‘Tackling Islamophobia Together’, *Mend*, 26 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/tackling-islamophobia-together/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁶² Wilson, T., ‘Mend: “Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians”’, *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p. 19.

³⁶³ ‘Setting the record straight: comments at Cheadle mosque, 2014’, *Sufyan Ismail*, 4 January 2016, available at: <http://www.sufyanismail.com/blog/setting-the-record-straight-comments-at-cheddle-mosque-2014/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

Israeli military.³⁶⁴ Ismail has been further criticised for claiming that British society “hates” Muslims, and that the law sanctions violence against the Islamic Community while protecting other groups.³⁶⁵

IMWS is an official affiliate of the Muslim Council of Britain³⁶⁶ and a registered charity.

4.4.14 Jamia Masjid Ghousia Armley - ‘Islamophobia: Causes and Cures’ - 18/11/2017³⁶⁷

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Jamia Masjid Ghousia Armley, Brooklyn Terrace, Leeds

Region: Leeds, West Yorkshire

Mend literature was placed on every seat in the room, and two Mend billboards were erected at the front.³⁶⁸ The event had a separation curtain to gender-segregate the audience.³⁶⁹

Jamia Masjid Ghousia Armley is a registered charity. It has failed to meet its financial legal obligations and a warning notice is displayed on the Charity Commission website.³⁷⁰

4.4.15 Leeds Minster Church - ‘Mend at The Minster’ - 04/11/2017³⁷¹

Host: Mend

Speakers: Rev Sam Corley - *Leeds Minster*, Ahmed Hankir - *Mend*, Richard Burgon MP, Shahab Adris - *Mend*

Location: Leeds Minster Church

Region: Leeds, West Yorkshire

The Mend website reveals some details from the event. The Reverend of the Church provided an opening address, followed by Richard Burgon, Labour MP for Leeds East, who “praised” the Mend Leeds working group, the organisation as a whole, and said that he was “proud” that Jeremy Corbyn had attended the IAM launch in Parliament in spite of criticism. Following this, the two Mend speakers delivered talks.³⁷²

³⁶⁴ Fariha Moghul, ‘@farihamoghul’, *Twitter*, 28 September 2014, available at: <https://twitter.com/farihamoghul/status/516134195374997504>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁶⁵ Gilligan, A., ‘Muslim group with links to extremists boasts of influencing election’, *The Telegraph*, 4 April 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/general-election-2015/11515630/Muslim-group-with-links-to-extremists-boasts-of-influencing-election.html>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁶⁶ ‘Affiliates’, *The Muslim Council of Britain*, available at: <http://www.mcb.org.uk/about-mcb/affiliates/>, last visited: 28 February 2018.

³⁶⁷ ‘Masjid Islamophobia Causes & Cures’, *Mend*, 18 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/masjid-causes-and-cures/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁶⁸ Haris Muhammad, ‘@HarisGTJ’, *Twitter*, 18 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/harisGTJ/status/931915441416568832>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁶⁹ ‘IAM2017 Leeds Ghausia Masjid Event’, *Mend*, 14 December 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/news/iam2017-leeds-ghausia-masjid-event/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁷⁰ Jamia Masjid Ghousia Armley, *Charity Commission*, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?subid=0®id=1142052>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁷¹ ‘Mend @ The Minster’, *Mend*, 4 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/Mend-the-minster/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁷² ‘MEND at THE MINSTER – Landmark event at the Leeds Minster to raise awareness about Islamophobia’, *Mend*, 14 December 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/news/Mend-minster-landmark-event-leeds-minster-raise-awareness-islamophobi>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

Mr Burgon attended Mend's Leeds hustings in 2015³⁷³ and promoted the IAM campaign last year.³⁷⁴ In 2016, he was reported to have encouraged his Labour colleagues to quit the Labour Friends of Israel group, contending, "Zionism is the enemy of peace."³⁷⁵

Leeds Minster is a registered charity.

***4.4.16 Newcastle Central Mosque - 'Islam and Muslims in Britain' - 12/11/2017*³⁷⁶**

Host: Mend³⁷⁷

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Newcastle Central Mosque, Grainger Park Road, Newcastle

Region: Newcastle, North East

The event held stalls and activities including 'Try a Hijab',³⁷⁸ a 'Quran Corner', a film screening, a 'Food and Medicine' stall and a quiz.

Newcastle Central Mosque is a registered charity. It was previously investigated by the Charity Commission for failing to meet its legal financial obligations.³⁷⁹

***4.4.17 Newport Train Station - Exhibition - 01/11/2017*³⁸⁰**

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Newport Train Station

Region: Newport, South Wales

***4.4.18 NUT Black Teachers' Conference - 'Keynote Speaker: Sahar Al-Faifi' - 03/11/2017*³⁸¹**

Host: NEU - NUT Black Teachers

Speakers: Sahar Al-Faifi (see entry 4.1.6), Phyll Opoku-Gyimah

Location: Birmingham Conference & Events Centre

Region: Birmingham, West Midlands

Sahar Al-Faifi was the keynote speaker.

³⁷³ 'mend Hustings: Leeds', *Mend*, 17 April 2015, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/MEND-hustings-leeds/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁷⁴ Labour MP Richard Burgon promotes MEND', *Harry's Place*, 6 December 2016, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2016/12/06/azad-ali-of-Mend-%E2%80%93-no-time-of-day-for-the-good-and-the-brave/labour-mp-richard-burgon-promotes-Mend/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁷⁵ Peev, G., 'Storm as Corbyn's "great pals" compare Israel to ISIS terrorists: Row over Labour anti-Semitism grows after comments by two MPs', *Daily Mail*, 8 August 2017, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3728588/Storm-Corbyn-s-great-pals-compare-Israel-ISIS-terrorists-Row-Labour-anti-Semitism-grows-comments-two-ministers.html#ixzz556DOHLnB>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁷⁶ 'Islam & Muslims in Britain', *Mend*, 12 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/islam-muslims-in-britain/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁷⁷ 'Mend: Islam & Muslims in Britain', *Facebook*, 12 November 2017, available at: https://www.Facebook.com/events/129259364449706/?active_tab=about, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁷⁸ Arif Moothadeth '@arif8677', *Twitter*, 12 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/arif8677/status/929706226241490945>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁷⁹ 'Inquiry Report: Newcastle Central Mosque Masjid Al-Tawhid', *Charity Commission*, 27 June 2014, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/433077/newcastle_central_mosque_masjid_al-tawhid.pdf, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁸⁰ MEND Community, '@mendcommunity', *Twitter*, 31 October 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/i/web/status/925450479139786752>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁸¹ 'NUT Section', *Facebook*, 3 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/nut.campaigns/posts/952848278205977>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

4.4.19 R2R Wellbeing Centre - 'Revert Experiences' - 18/11/2017³⁸²

Host: Mend

Speakers: Tuba Mazhari - *Mend*, Jay Ananthan - *Mend*

Location: R2R Wellbeing centre, Leabridge Road, Leyton

Region: London Borough of Waltham Forest, Greater London

The event advertised two speaker panels chaired by representatives of Mend's Waltham Forest Working Group.

Revert2reality is a registered charity.

4.4.20 Saint Barnabas Church - 'How Woke Are You?' - 25/11/2017³⁸³

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Foster Hall, Saint Barnabas Church, Wellesley Road, London

Region: London Borough of Waltham Forest, Greater London

The event was advertised as a ticketed games and networking event as part of IAM.

Stephen Saxby is the vicar of Saint Barnabas Church. He has been accused of "defend[ing] extremists" and speaking alongside representatives from Cage and the Muslim Public Affairs Committee (MPAC).³⁸⁴ He has also been criticised for comments appearing to dismiss the threat of extremism, and focusing on the Israel-Palestine conflict during a talk on Holocaust Memorial Day.³⁸⁵

4.4.21 Stand Up To Racism (SUTR) - 'IAM2017: Fighting Islamophobia with Moazzam Begg' - 21/22/2017³⁸⁶

Host: Stand Up To Racism, Camden Stand Up To Racism, Student Stand Up To Racism

Speakers: Moazzam Begg - *Cage* (see entry 4.1.2), Colette Levy, Naima Omar - *Stand Up To Racism*, Mend speaker advertised³⁸⁷

Location: Friends Meeting House, London

Region: London Borough of Camden, Greater London

This event was promoted as a collaboration with Mend as part of IAM. The Mend IAM logo was the advertising graphic for the talk.

³⁸² 'Mend: Waltham Forest: Revert Experiences', *Facebook*, 18 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/1660765507321271/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁸³ 'How woke are you?', *Mend*, 25 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/how-woke-are-you/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁸⁴ 'Stephen Saxby - Corbynista Vicar for Extremism', *Harry's Place*, 31 January 2016, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2016/01/31/stephen-saxby-corbynista-vicar-for-extremism/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁸⁵ *ibid.*

³⁸⁶ Stand Up To Racism, '@AntiRacismDay', *Twitter*, 19 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/AntiRacismDay/status/932262845957406720>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁸⁷ 'IAM2017: Fighting Islamophobia with Moazzam Begg', *Facebook*, 21 November 2017, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/events/723792167813695/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

Naima Omar has spoken alongside Azad Ali,³⁸⁸ and at a Cage event, alongside Moazzam Begg and Suleiman Gani.³⁸⁹

Friends Meeting House is part of The Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), a registered charity.

4.4.22 UK Parliament - 'Islamophobia Awareness Month 2017 Launch' - 01/11/2017³⁹⁰

Host: Mend

Speakers: Jeremy Corbyn MP, Stephen Kinnock MP, Wes Streeting MP, Naz Shah MP, Afzal Khan MP, Kate Green MP, Lord Brian Paddick, Shakira Martin - *NUS*, Hareem Ghani - *NUS*, Hashi Mohammed - *Barrister*, Rimla Akhtar - *Muslim Women's Sports Foundation* (see entry 4.1.36), David Miller - *Spinwatch*, Shazad Amin - *Mend*, Sufyan Ismail - *Mend* (see entry 4.4.13), Peter Jukes - *Byline Media*, Rev. Steven Saxby, Evan Harris - *Hacked Off*

Location: Boothroyd Room, Portcullis House

Region: City of Westminster, Greater London

In spite of Mend's highly publicised links with extremism, and the controversy surrounding its ousting from the APPG on Islamophobia in 2011, several MPs have continued to engage with the group. Mend has hosted talks in Parliament on four occasions, attended by Kate Green, Wes Streeting and Naz Shah. Each elected politician who gave an address at the 2017 launch has previously spoken at Mend events,³⁹¹ and has voiced support for the organisation's campaign work.³⁹²

Wes Streeting spoke at a 2016 Mend event in Ilford, alongside Shenaz Bunglawala (see entry 4.1.36) and chaired by Mend's Ilford coordinator Vaseem Ahmed, whom Streeting has met³⁹³ on previous occasions.³⁹⁴ Ahmed has promoted several anti-Semitic posts on social media,³⁹⁵ including his Twitter background picture which, at the time of writing, depicts Israel gradually taking over the United Kingdom.³⁹⁶ Streeting also met with Mend's Redbridge group in July 2017.³⁹⁷

Naz Shah was suspended by the Labour Party for anti-Semitic posts shared online in 2014. These included supporting the deportation of Israelis to the US, equating Israel to the Nazis,³⁹⁸ and claiming that Zionism "groom[s] Jews to "exert political influence at the highest levels of public office".³⁹⁹ Shah attended the IAM launch in 2016,⁴⁰⁰ spoke at Mend's 2017 fringe event at the Labour Party

³⁸⁸ 'Stand Up To Racism', *Facebook*, 29 April 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/StandUTR/photos/a.494417047336802.1073741829.485067858271721/1141606619284505/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 2 March 2018.

³⁸⁹ 'Stand up to Islamophobia: Tooting Public Meeting', *Cage*, 18 November 2016, available at: <https://cage.ngo/event/stand-up-to-islamophobia-tooting-public-meeting/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁹⁰ 'Jeremy Corbyn launches Islamophobia Awareness Month 2017 in Parliament with Mend', *Mend*, 3 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/news/jeremy-corbyn-launches-islamophobia-awareness-month-2017-parliament-Mend/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁹¹ 'Mend Newsletter', *Mend*, available at: https://Mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Mend_Newsletter_Final_Draft_20.11.17_low-res.pdf, last visited: 7 February 2018, p. 9.

³⁹² Ahmed '@_AhmedTweets_', *Twitter*, available at: https://twitter.com/_AhmedTweets_/status/584035929007984640, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁹³ Justice '@v4seem1968', *Twitter*, 10 November 2016, available at: <https://twitter.com/v4seem1968/status/796836058776436736>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁹⁴ Nair, A., 'Redbridge mosque neighbours learn about Islam', *Ilford Recorder*, 15 June 2015, available at: www.ilfordrecorder.co.uk/redbridge-mosque-neighbours-learn-about-islam-1-4112836, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁹⁵ Justice '@v4seem1968', *Twitter*, 13 October 2015, available at: <https://twitter.com/v4seem1968/status/654049446561497093>, last visited: 23 February 2018.

³⁹⁶ Justice '@v4seem1968', *Twitter*, 13 October 2015, available at: <https://twitter.com/v4seem1968>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁹⁷ Wes Streeting MP '@wesstreeting', *Twitter*, 28 July 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/wesstreeting/status/890849536306020352>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁹⁸ Elgot, J., 'Naz Shah: timeline of events leading to MP's suspension from Labour', *The Guardian*, 27 April 2016, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/27/naz-shah-timeline-of-events-leading-to-mps-suspension-from-labour>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

³⁹⁹ 'Labour MP Naz Shah backed plan to relocate Israelis to America', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 26 April 2016, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/labour-mp-naz-shah-backed-plan-to-relocate-israelis-to-america-1.64398>, last visited: 2 March 2018.

⁴⁰⁰ Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading As Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p.68.

Conference⁴⁰¹ and was a listed speaker⁴⁰² at a Mend conference for teachers in Leeds alongside Sufyan Ismail.⁴⁰³

Kate Green spoke at a Mend event in 2015, alongside Baroness Warsi, which was addressed by Abu Easa Niamatallah.⁴⁰⁴ Abu Easa has called British people “animals”,⁴⁰⁵ demanded that women should not work,⁴⁰⁶ and said that Jews “blow up babies like ... a computer game”.⁴⁰⁷

Jeremy Corbyn's history with IAM can be seen from 2012. The Enough Coalition (EC), with which iEngage/Mend was involved, hosted Corbyn as a speaker at a Finsbury Park Mosque event in February 2012.⁴⁰⁸ In November of the same year, he spoke at the first IAM launch event (see Executive Summary) and then at another IAM event in Finsbury Park Mosque with Azad Ali.⁴⁰⁹ He was also a key speaker at IAM's 2013 launch.⁴¹⁰ Corbyn's affiliation with Mend expands beyond the IAM campaign. His support of Unite Against Fascism, of which Ali is Vice-Chair, has seen him speak at several events with activists from Mend, such as the 2013 UAF rally⁴¹¹ (where Shakeel Begg also spoke – see entry 4.3.6), and later remarks by Ali suggest the two have known each other for a long time.⁴¹² Corbyn has also spoken at Muslim Brotherhood-linked Cordoba Foundation events, two of which were chaired⁴¹³ by Anas Alakriti⁴¹⁴, who has expressed support for Hamas.⁴¹⁵ Representatives from the Cordoba Foundation frequently share platforms with Mend activists and its affiliate partners. Another Cordoba Foundation event saw Corbyn speak alongside Moazzam Begg.⁴¹⁶ Corbyn was not listed on the 2017 IAM launch event advertising⁴¹⁷ averting the negative press that surrounded his parliamentary colleagues.⁴¹⁸

David Miller was criticised for an article he wrote in 2015 claiming that Jewish groups drive Islamophobia and influence government policy.⁴¹⁹ He co-authored the piece, and several others defending Cage,⁴²⁰ with Tom Mills and Narzanin Missouri (see entry 4.1.18).⁴²¹ Miller apologised in 2010 after publishing work by anti-Semite Kevin MacDonald on his website 'Spinwatch'.⁴²² The site has

⁴⁰¹ 'MEND fighting to empower Muslim women alongside Shadow Home Secretary', *Mend*, 27 September 2017, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/news/mend-fighting-empower-muslim-women-alongside-shadow-home-secretary/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁰² Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading As Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p.78.

⁴⁰³ It is unclear whether this event went ahead.

⁴⁰⁴ Gilligan, A., 'Muslim group with links to extremists boasts of influencing election', *The Telegraph*, 4 April 2015.

⁴⁰⁵ Gilligan, A., 'The baroness, Islamic extremists and a question of free speech', *The Telegraph*, 22 March 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/11488175/The-baroness-Islamic-extremists-and-a-question-of-free-speech.html>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁰⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ Sugarman, D., 'Why controversy surrounds Mend', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 2 November 2017, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/comment/analysis/why-controversy-surrounds-Mend-1.447301>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁰⁸ Enough Coalition Against Islamophobia, *Facebook*, 4 February 2012, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/203350386355580/photos/a.351246618232622.92263.203350386355580/351246891565928/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁰⁹ 'Combating Islamophobia & Anti-Muslim Hatred: A community Approach', *Finsbury Park Mosque*, 26 November 2012, available at: <https://www.finsburyparkmosque.org/combating-islamophobia-anti-muslim-hatred-a-community-approach/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴¹⁰ Enough Coalition Against Islamophobia, *Facebook*, 27 November 2013, available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/203350386355580/photos/a.712840105406603.1073741828.203350386355580/712840402073240/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴¹¹ Mackin, A., 'Victory as Unite Against Fascism stops BNP from marching in London', *Socialist Worker*, 1 June 2013, available at: <https://socialistworker.co.uk/art/33493/Victory+as+Unite+Against+Fascism+stops+BNP+from+marching+in+London>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴¹² Kempell, R., 'Azad Ali on Jeremy Corbyn', *YouTube*, 8 November 2017, available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tYUYRv_iRHc, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴¹³ '(Spectre of Hate) An Explanatory Guide to the Far Right in the UK', *The Cordoba Foundation*, 22 October 2015, available at: <http://www.thecordobafoundation.com/events.php?id=1&art=160>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

⁴¹⁴ 'Book Launch: The Muslim Community and Countering al-Qaeda', *The Cordoba Foundation*, 7 September 2011, available at: <http://www.thecordobafoundation.com/events.php?id=1&art=50>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

⁴¹⁵ Gilligan, A., 'How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism', *Daily Telegraph*, 8 February 2015, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/11398538/How-the-Muslim-Brotherhood-fits-into-a-network-of-extremism.html>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

⁴¹⁶ 'Launch Event: An Introduction to Effective Lobbying & Campaigning', *The Cordoba Foundation*, 1 March 2012, available at: <http://www.thecordobafoundation.com/events.php?id=1&art=68>, last visited: 27 February 2018.

⁴¹⁷ 'Invitation: Islamophobia Awareness Month Launch 2017', *Harry's Place*, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/MEND-in-Parliament.png>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴¹⁸ Sugarman, D., '"You should be ashamed": Labour MPs Streeting and Kinnock condemned over Mend meeting', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 31 October 2017, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/you-should-be-ashamed-labour-mps-streeting-and-kinnock-condemned-over-mend-meeting-1.447048>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴¹⁹ Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading As Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October, 2017, p. 59.

⁴²⁰ Mills, T., N. Massoumi and D. Miller, 'Apologists for terror or defenders of human rights? The Cage controversy in context', *Open Democracy UK*, 31 July 2015.

⁴²¹ Mills, T., N. Massoumi, D. Miller M. and Farrar, 'Why on earth would leftists go out of their way to support Cage?', *Open Democracy UK*, 12 August 2015.

⁴²² Meleagrou-Hitchens, A., 'Spinwatch must offer right of reply', *The Guardian*, 13 July 2010, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/libertycentral/2010/jul/13/spinwatch-right-reply-david-miller>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

received funding from Mend (£12,000), the Cordoba Foundation (£5,000), Friends of Al-Aqsa (£10,000) and the Middle East Monitor (£5,000).⁴²³

Peter Jukes is the CEO of the Byline media platform. Byline has published articles making light of anti-Semitism,⁴²⁴ and is partnered with Norman Finkelstein⁴²⁵ who has argued that the terror group Hezbollah has the “right to target Israeli civilians”.⁴²⁶ Byline is set to publish Asim Qureshi’s new book, *A Virtue of Disobedience*, in April 2018.⁴²⁷

Suleiman Gani is pictured at the event.⁴²⁸ He was listed on Mend’s website as the Group Coordinator for South London until early 2017. He has opposed homosexuality, described women as subservient to men, and spoken disparagingly towards the Ahmadi Muslim community.⁴²⁹ He spoke at a rally for the convicted Al-Qaeda terrorist Aafia Siddiqui,⁴³⁰ and photographs appear to show him attending an al-Muhajiroun rally preceeding its proscription as a terrorist group.⁴³¹

Prior to the IAM 2017 launch, Conservative MP Crispin Blunt, Liberal Democrat MP Sir Ed Davey and Scottish National Party MP Joanna Cherry pulled out, citing the “controversy over Mend’s record and claims of links between the organisation and extremist views”.⁴³² Anna Soubry MP, co-chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims, also refused to attend, stating that Mend “don’t have the best of reputations”.⁴³³

After the event, Mend posted a video depicting Jeremy Corbyn, Vince Cable and Sayeeda Warsi voicing support for the organisation and the IAM campaign.⁴³⁴

4.4.23 Vue Cinema Romford - ‘Freesia Movie: Special Guest Q&A’ - 17/11/2017⁴³⁵

Host: Mend and Arakan Creative

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Vue Cinema Romford, Brewery Road, Romford

Region: London Borough of Havering, Greater London

This event was advertised as a film screening and discussion on Islamophobia. An earlier screening organised by Cage hosted Sahar Al-Faifi and Moazzam Begg.

This event was cancelled owing to lack of ticket sales.⁴³⁶

⁴²³ Spinwatch, ‘Our funding’, available at: <http://www.spinwatch.org/index.php/about/funding>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴²⁴ Azizi, M., ‘What Is Antisemitism?’, *Byline*, 18 June 2017, available at: <https://www.byline.com/column/36/article/1736>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴²⁵ Byline Investigations, ‘Norman Finkelstein: Amnesty’s Gaza Reports Are “Just Israeli Propaganda”’, *Byline*, 15 July 2015, available at: <https://www.byline.com/column/3/article/176>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴²⁶ Stoakes, E. ‘It Was a Massacre – Interview with Norman Finkelstein’, *WaybackMachine*, 4 June 2011, available at:

https://web.archive.org/web/20131006204354/http://palestinechronicle.com/old/view_article_details.php?id=16783, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴²⁷ ‘A Virtue Of Disobedience’, *Byline Books*, 15 January 2018, available at: <https://www.byline.com/project/83>, last visited: 21 February 2018

⁴²⁸ Shazad Amin, ‘@DrShazadAmin’, *Twitter*, 2 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/DrShazadAmin/status/925985697655291904>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴²⁹ Wilson, T., ‘Mend: “Islamists Masquerading As Civil Libertarians”’, *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p. 27.

⁴³⁰ *ibid.*

⁴³¹ Lips, L., ‘Is this Suliman Gani?’, *Harry’s Place*, 6 October 2016, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2016/10/06/is-this-suliman-gani/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴³² Ramzan, I., and A. Gilligan, ‘MPs ditch meeting with Muslim group Mend over Islamist claims’, *The Times*, 29 October 2017, available at:

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/mps-ditch-meeting-with-muslim-group-Mend-over-islamist-claims-rqxqn0s05>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴³³ *ibid.*

⁴³⁴ Mend Community, ‘@mendcommunity’, *Twitter*, 2 November 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/Mendcommunity/status/926065002175451137>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴³⁵ Mend, ‘Romford | Freesia + Q&A’, *Facebook*, 17 November 2017, available at: https://www.Facebook.com/events/177092989512444/?active_tab=discussion, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴³⁶ ‘Freesia Movie: Special Guest Q&A’, *Ourscreen*, November 2017, available at: <https://www.ourscreen.com/screening/44775>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

4.4.24 Waltham Forest Mend - 'Football Tournament' - 11/11/2017⁴⁸⁷

Host: Mend

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Wadham Lodge, Kitchener Road, London

Region: London Borough of Waltham Forest, Greater London

This event was hosted by Mend's Waltham Forest Working Group. It was advertised as a community tournament, followed by an informative discussion on Islamophobia in football culture.

4.4.25 Z-arts Manchester - 'Community Curry and Solidarity Social' - 30/11/2017⁴⁸⁸

Host: Mend, Stand Up To Racism Manchester

Speakers: Unknown

Location: Z-arts Centre, Stretford Road, Hulme, Manchester

Region: Manchester, North West

This event was advertised as a social, with speeches and campaign stalls.

Z-arts Centre is a registered charity.

⁴⁸⁷ 'Football Tournament (Waltham Forest MEND)', *Eventbrite*, November 2017, available at: <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/football-tournament-waltham-forest-mend-registration-39037104029#>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁸⁸ Z-arts Centre, 'Manchester | Community Curry & Solidarity Social', *Facebook*, 30 November 2017, available at: https://www.Facebook.com/events/262874620906408/?active_tab=about, last visited: 21 February 2018.

5. Analysis

Throughout the Islamophobia Awareness Month campaign, Mend utilised genuine concerns about Islamophobia to promote its brand and to provide a platform for extremism on the mainstream stage. Mend's campaign saw academics, politicians and senior officials - many of whom with a genuine concern to combat anti-Muslim prejudice - sit alongside individuals with a history of extremist views paying lip service to the values of tolerance and cohesion. This report highlights the network of organisations and individuals that are sympathetic to Mend's worldview, have worked closely with the organisation in the past, have defended the group against critique, or have themselves expressed extremist opinions. Nevertheless, the endorsement of such perceived authorities in the political, criminal justice and education sectors awards Mend undeserved legitimacy as an organisation tackling prejudice and promoting tolerance.

Over the course of the IAM campaign, 85 events across public and civil institutions were advertised in partnership, or with promotion of, Mend. Forty-nine events occurred on university campuses, three in schools and eight in council-owned locations. The statutory Prevent duty is clear: public institutions are required to avoid providing legitimacy or uncontested spaces for those who promote extremism. There is little evidence to suggest that the narratives promoted at the events, by the speakers present or literature distributed, were subject to challenge or critique.⁴³⁹ A further 24 events took place at the civil society level (one was cancelled), and the majority of these saw Mend partner with a registered charity. Greater London hosted the largest number of events (37), followed by Yorkshire (15) and South Wales (7) - the region where Mend's Sahar Al-Faifi is based. Of note, the City of Westminster saw the highest activity of any London Council, with eight events. Al-Faifi was the organisation's most active speaker in November, representing Mend at nine events, followed by Cage's Moazzam Begg, who spoke on five separate occasions during the course of the campaign.

Mend continually promulgated its divisive and conspiratorial narrative with regard to anti-Muslim bigotry throughout the IAM campaign. The causes of Islamophobia are reduced to three factors: the "media", "weak legislation" and "a lack of Muslim political participation". Given that the organisation has promoted the conspiracy that Jewish, pro-Israel and liberal Muslim groups drive anti-Muslim sentiment, enjoying significant influence in government and "the media", it is deeply problematic that Mend spoke on university campuses with a view to informing students about "those behind the multi-million pound Islamophobia industry".⁴⁴⁰ Moreover, these three factors conflate intention with effect as sensationalist media headlines and controversial legislation are used to demonstrate that societal institutions deliberately target Muslims, stoking misunderstanding and fear.

During the campaign, Al-Faifi warned that the Prevent Strategy, proposals to close down mosques hosting extremists, and antagonism towards the term 'Islamophobia' prove indicative of institutional and societal bigotry. Literature on Mend's website states that "ridiculing our religion" and "inciting hatred towards Islam and Muslims" are also manifestations of Islamophobia - conflating hatred towards Muslims as people and disagreement with, or descent from, beliefs in the Islamic religion.⁴⁴¹ False allegations of prejudice sow misunderstanding, feed into the 'them versus us' narrative, and undermine genuine cases of discrimination. Moreover, Al-Faifi claimed that the Prevent duty holds that signs of extremism include "wearing a headscarf" or "converting to Islam", which lies in direct contravention to

⁴³⁹ A debate on the Prevent Strategy at UWE Bristol appears to have been an exception (see entry 4.1.44).

⁴⁴⁰ 'What is Islamophobia?', *Mend*, 23 November 2017, available at: <https://Mend.org.uk/event/what-is-islamophobia/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁴¹ 'Islamophobia Khutbah', *Mend*, 24 October 2014, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/MEND-Islamophobia-Khutbah.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

policy guidance and strengthens the notion that British society views the Muslim community with suspicion and hostility.

Mend's alarmist and divisive narrative is further evinced by the 'Islamophobia Khutbah' [sermon] published on its website, dated from 2014 and still available at the time of publication.⁴⁴² The sermon instructs Muslims to "ACT! Immediately!" on the "harm", "evil" and "oppression" in the UK, otherwise "those that hate us will create that narrative for us!" Muslims are portrayed as a persecuted people living under British tyranny, fuelling the divisive 'us versus them' mentality, while stoking undue anxiety and resentment. The speech continues by cautioning Muslims to "do SOMETHING", otherwise Islamophobia may reach "what we saw in Bosnia". These proclamations portray a frightening state of pervasive suffering to which Muslims must respond, otherwise an ethnic genocide is imminent. Worse still, the narrative of grievance deepens vulnerability to extremist ideologies. These scaremongering tactics stand in stark contravention of an organisation promoting social cohesion and integration.

On review of the campaign, it is clear that Mend spent considerable focus on brand promotion. IAM events appear to have been officially endorsed by several universities, teachers' unions and local councils. Speakers sat on panels between Mend billboards, the talks and stalls distributed Mend guides and leaflets, and the sports events saw prizes engraved with the Mend logo. One picture from a university event shows every seat in the lecture hall covered with Mend literature.

In contrast, when publishing details about the events themselves, Mend exercised particular caution. No official recordings, speeches or presentations have been made publicly accessible, and events were consistently advertised with no mention of who was to speak or further evidence that they went ahead. Extensive focus on event publicity seems indicative of IAM's primary function to further Mend's credibility.

Of greater concern was the promotion of Mend by external partners and institutions. Bradford College thanked Mend for its work,⁴⁴³ and one school publicised an "excellent and insightful workshop" in partnership with the group on its Twitter feed.⁴⁴⁴ The campaign launch in Parliament provided Mend with the optimum stage to raise its profile and enhance its mainstream credibility. In a display of naivety with the way in which Mend operates, politician Wes Streeting praised the organisation and its "laudable" aims,⁴⁴⁵ while his colleague Stephen Kinnock commended its values "rooted in equality, pluralism and community".⁴⁴⁶ As the IAM campaign appeared to be largely a marketing exercise for Mend to present itself as a moderate representative voice for the Muslim community, the support of high-profile Parliamentarians rewards the group a wholly undeserved respectability. With several employees having attacked minority Muslim sects, supported anti-Semitic terror groups, and hosted speakers who promote jihad and homophobia and legitimise the killing of "infidels", Mend ought not to be praised for its purported promotion of tolerance and cohesion.

Another worrying trend was the number of events hosted at centres with a problematic history of extremism. The Fatimah Elizabeth Cates Academy had previously invited Friends of Al-Aqsa to deliver a workshop,⁴⁴⁷ an organisation condemned by the government for supporting terror groups, and had participated in a fundraiser for the Hamas-linked charity Muslim Aid. Similarly, Leyton Sixth Form had

⁴⁴² *ibid.*

⁴⁴³ Bradford College, '@BradfordCollege' *Twitter*, 4 December 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/BradfordCollege/status/937630598071496704>, last visited: 20 February 2018.

⁴⁴⁴ FEC Academy, *Twitter*, 12 November 2017, available at: https://twitter.com/FEC_Academy/status/929764782072352774, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁴⁵ Streeting, W., 'Islamophobia Awareness Month Speech', *Wes Streeting Blog*, 2 November 2017, available at:

http://www.wesstreeting.org/islamophobia_awareness_month_speech, last visited: 28 February 2018.

⁴⁴⁶ Kinnock, S., 'Islamophobia Awareness Month Speech', *Stephen Kinnock Blog*, available at:

http://www.stephenkinnock.co.uk/islamophobia_awareness_month_speech, last visited: 28 February 2018.

⁴⁴⁷ *Friends of Al-Aqsa: The Magazine*, issue 3, February 2017, available at: <http://www.foa.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/FOAAiss3web.pdf>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

once hosted Adnan Rashid, Hamza Tzortzis and Haitham al-Haddad at its school, the latter of whom was barred from the LSE two months prior.⁴⁴⁸ The School Islamic Society had distributed literature from the Islamist iERA charity, including leaflets by banned cleric Zakir Naik.⁴⁴⁹ Moreover, Al Manaar Mosque has a disturbing connection to nine Islamic State fighters, including reports that it was where Mohammed Emwazi formed a relationship with members of the ISIS “Beatles” cell, and under Abu Hamza, Finsbury Park Mosque had been labelled the “al-Qaeda guesthouse in London”. It is alarming that both Mosques, having vowed to shed their associations with extremism, continue to host⁴⁵⁰ or endorse⁴⁵¹ Mend at their institutions.

⁴⁴⁸ ‘Sixth Form College hosts Haitham al-Haddad’, *Student Rights*, 26 April 2012, available at: http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/1911/sixth_form_college_hosts_haitham_al_haddad, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁴⁹ Leyton Islamic Society Brothers, *Facebook*, 21 March 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/LeytonISOC/photos/a.572591266159861.1073741828.566164360135885/964123260339991/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁵⁰ ‘The Causes and Cures for Islamophobia, with a self-defence class. Sisters’ only’, *Mend*, available at: <https://mend.org.uk/event/causes-cures-islamophobia-self-defence-class-sisters/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁵¹ ‘Confronting Anti-Muslim Hate Crimes in Britain’, *Islamic Research and Information Centre*, 12 November, 2017, available at: <http://www.irc.org/tabid/99/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/1244/Confronting-Anti-Muslim-Hate-Crimes-in-Britain.aspx>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

6. Policy Recommendations

Issue: Universities' risk assessment procedures have not succeeded in ensuring that external speakers with a history of extremist views are challenged on campus.

Recommendation: Universities should review their procedure for determining external speaker risk, and publicise the mitigating actions carried out for escalated events.

As part of the Prevent statutory duty, universities are required to implement risk assessment procedures in order to reduce the risk of radicalisation to terrorism, and to ensure that non-violent extremist views are challenged. The Higher Education Funding Council of England (HEFCE) is the regulatory body tasked with ensuring that these duties are met, and its report analysing Prevent implementation in 2015–2016 stated that 95% of providers demonstrate due regard for the duty.⁴³²

These statistics confirm that higher education institutions have in place the appropriate mechanisms to comply with their legal duties. However, they fail to demonstrate whether these procedures are effectively enforced. Details surrounding external speaker 'high-risk' events, such as the circumstances in which risk mitigation is triggered or the steps put in place remain vague and evidently flawed.

Despite Mend's highly publicised links to extremism, 49 IAM events were advertised on university campuses over the course of November 2017, with only one appearing to be on a balanced platform. Twenty-four events were promoted without listing the speaker present, and Mend literature seems to have been freely distributed. Of greater concern, it is evident that Mend 'trained' students who expressed an interest in volunteering at their events, presumably attracting many young people wishing to raise awareness of islamophobia, and used their exhibitions as a means to raise money for the local Working Groups. It must be factored into due diligence assessments should extremist groups be found recruiting students for their cause and gaining financially from events at universities. Furthermore, there was no evidence to suggest that any form of mitigation was employed at the events, or that the universities were aware of Mend activity on their campus and could assure students that action was being taken. Greater transparency is necessary to determine the precise failings with the policy and procedure implementation.

Issue: Details about the content of extremist-linked events remain unclear.

Recommendation: Public bodies that host extremist or problematic speakers should record event proceedings, and ensure a balanced platform, as part of risk mitigation and monitoring requirements.

It is evident that organisations and individuals who have met the definition of extremism are being hosted at public institutions on uncontested platforms. Reliable evidence that speakers promote extremist narratives, or intolerance of any kind, is difficult to obtain without video or audio recordings, and events of this nature ought not to be clandestine. Moreover, these records could be used for future reference when evaluating risk mitigation for events of a similar nature.

⁴³² 'Analysis of Prevent annual reports from higher education providers for activity in 2015–16', *Higher Education Funding Council for England*, August 2017, available at: http://www.hefce.ac.uk/media/HEFCE,2014/Content/Pubs/2017/201711/HEFCE2017_11.pdf, last visited: 21 February 2018, p. 3.

Despite Mend's heavy focus on brand promotion, the organisation released little video footage of its events, and only sparingly uploaded a blog for its website or a picture on social media. The recording of Sahar Al-Faifi's presentation at the Bristol IAM Conference, taken covertly by a member of the public, proved particularly illuminating for detailing how Mend's divisive and misleading messages are promulgated.

Nonetheless, a policy of balanced platforms must be the first and most preferable action of risk mitigation. The Prevent Strategy emphatically states "There should be no 'ungoverned spaces' in which extremism is allowed to flourish without firm challenge", yet of the forty-nine events in November promoting Mend, only one appeared subject to robust opposition.⁴⁵³ Presenting an alternate viewpoint through the imposition of an interlocutor, panel or individual speaker compels audience members to discern between, and critically engage with the views propagated. This further serves to increase resilience to extremist ideologies and hold speakers to account.

The promotion of extremist views can induce a hostile climate in which audience members feel intimidated to speak out or criticise the views presented. Of equal concern, there have been instances where the promotion of violence has been alleged and subsequently disputed by the various parties involved.⁴⁵⁴ Requiring public institutions to record events at risk of promoting extremism, and implement a policy of balanced platforms, ensures clarity on occasions of dispute, speakers are held responsible for their views and spectators feel able to vocalise dissent. These proposals complement existing mandatory risk mitigation procedures and are a step forward in exposing and challenging intolerance.

Issue: Politicians, charities and civil society groups continue to provide extremist-linked organisations with publicity and legitimacy.

Recommendation: The production of a guidance framework for public officials.

The IAM campaign saw Mend partner with elected politicians and representatives from the police and the charitable sector, alongside schools and universities. Although educational institutions are subject to Prevent statutory requirements, a guidance framework should be produced that outlines how civil society groups can avoid hosting extremist speakers, with advice on due diligence and resources for working with reputable bodies on campaigns. Many individuals who engaged with IAM would have done so based on a genuine commitment to tackling islamophobia, and such guidance would reduce the exploitation of a laudable endeavour for extremist purposes.

The foreword to the Prevent Strategy emphatically states, "we will not work with extremist organisations that oppose our values of universal human rights, equality before the law, democracy and full participation in our society".⁴⁵⁵ Elected parliamentarians should have a unified stance against working with those who have met the definition of extremism, pose a threat to social cohesion, disregard minority rights and liberties, and promulgate divisive and alarmist messaging to achieve their aims.

A guidance framework produced for Members of Parliament, with reference to officials in the public and civil society sector, would raise awareness of how extremist groups use high-profile actors to

⁴⁵³ Prevent Strategy, *HM Government*, June 2011, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97976/prevent-strategy-review.pdf, last visited: 27 February 2018.

⁴⁵⁴ 'Response to recent media reports', *KCL Students' Union*, 8 January 2016, available at: <https://www.kclsu.org/news/article/0/Response-to-recent-media-reports/>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁵⁵ Prevent Strategy, *HM Government*, June 2011, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97976/prevent-strategy-review.pdf, last visited: 21 February 2018.

enhance their legitimacy and expand their audience. Much like the mainstream political alienation of extremist organisations on the Far Right, this ought to be consistent for all those who seek to undermine liberal values and individual freedoms.

7. Conclusion

The 2017 IAM campaign provided a platform for extremism at the public and civil society level. Utilising genuine concerns about anti-Muslim prejudice, Mend hosted events at universities, schools, faith centres, an NHS hospital and the UK Parliament. While hosting events with senior officials and academics, Mend gave its affiliated partners linked to extremism an uncontested space to promote their views and organisations. This includes individuals who have incited violence, expressed sympathy with terrorists and voiced contempt for Jews, homosexuals and 'disbelieving' Muslims. One event saw a terror-linked charity promoted (see entry 4.1.4).

The IAM campaign provided ample opportunity for Mend to increase its credibility, raise money and promote its brand to a wider audience. Mend literature was distributed at talks and stalls in exhibitions, and the advertising suggested official endorsement from several universities and city councils. The report also reveals how Mend offers training to students who express an interest in its events, who subsequently raise money for the organisation. In addition, speaking alongside academics and senior officials within the police and charitable sector furthers the aesthetic of equal expertise. Gaining the vocal support of politicians serves only to increase its legitimacy as a positive force against hate crime and a model for community cohesion. It is therefore indicative that Mend's 2017 campaign, a marketing strategy to rejuvenate its image, came just before its National Community Head Azad Ali's move to Cage.⁴⁵⁶ Ali had praised Al-Qaeda ideologues, voiced support for Hamas,⁴⁵⁷ suggested that Islamic religious law should supersede democracy,⁴⁵⁸ and justified the killing of British troops.⁴⁵⁹ It is reasonable to assume that Ali's highly publicised comments were a constant thorn in the side of the organisation's efforts to present a moderate image.

The campaign saw Mend promulgate its divisive 'us and them' narrative that risks alienating British Muslims from their society. Audience members were told of the institutional crusade of Islamophobia stemming from the government and 'the media', warned that Muslims are not protected against hate crimes, and cautioned that, without intervention, society is bearing towards ethnic genocide. This is indicative of how Mend use genuine concerns, such as biased media reporting and discriminatory government legislation, to foster grievances and generate distrust, before making wider conspiratorial claims around state-sponsored suffering and encroaching genocide. Their alarmist and divisive narrative creates undue fear and tension. Contending that Muslims are inherently unsafe and unwanted within their own society, prevented from equal access to the law and the subject of discrimination from the media fuels divisions and exploits anxiety. Contending that Jews and members of the Conservative Party prop up these institutions incites further resentment and suspicion.

The Government Counter-Extremism Strategy stresses that public bodies should avoid providing uncontested spaces for extremism and giving extreme groups an "air of legitimacy" by meeting or working with them.⁴⁶⁰ Responsible public figures, civil society groups and charities should also avoid legitimising those who side with extremism and intolerance. Raising awareness of anti-Muslim hate is vital, yet hosting extremist-linked groups in order to do so has the antithetical effect, deepening intra-societal divisions and hostility.

⁴⁵⁶ Azad Ali, '@azadaliCCM', *Twitter*, 31 December 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/azadaliCCM/status/947580778082439169>, last visited: 21 February 2018.

⁴⁵⁷ Wilson, T., 'Mend: "Islamists Masquerading As Civil Libertarians"', *The Henry Jackson Society*, October 2017, p. 16.

⁴⁵⁸ Gilligan, A., 'The baroness, Islamic extremists and a question of free speech', *The Telegraph*, 22 March 2015.

⁴⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁰ Counter-Extremism Strategy, *HM Government*, available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/470088/51859_Cm9148_Accessible.pdf, last visited: 23 February 2018, p. 32.

8. Appendix

Figure 1: Number of 2017 IAM events according to location⁴⁶¹

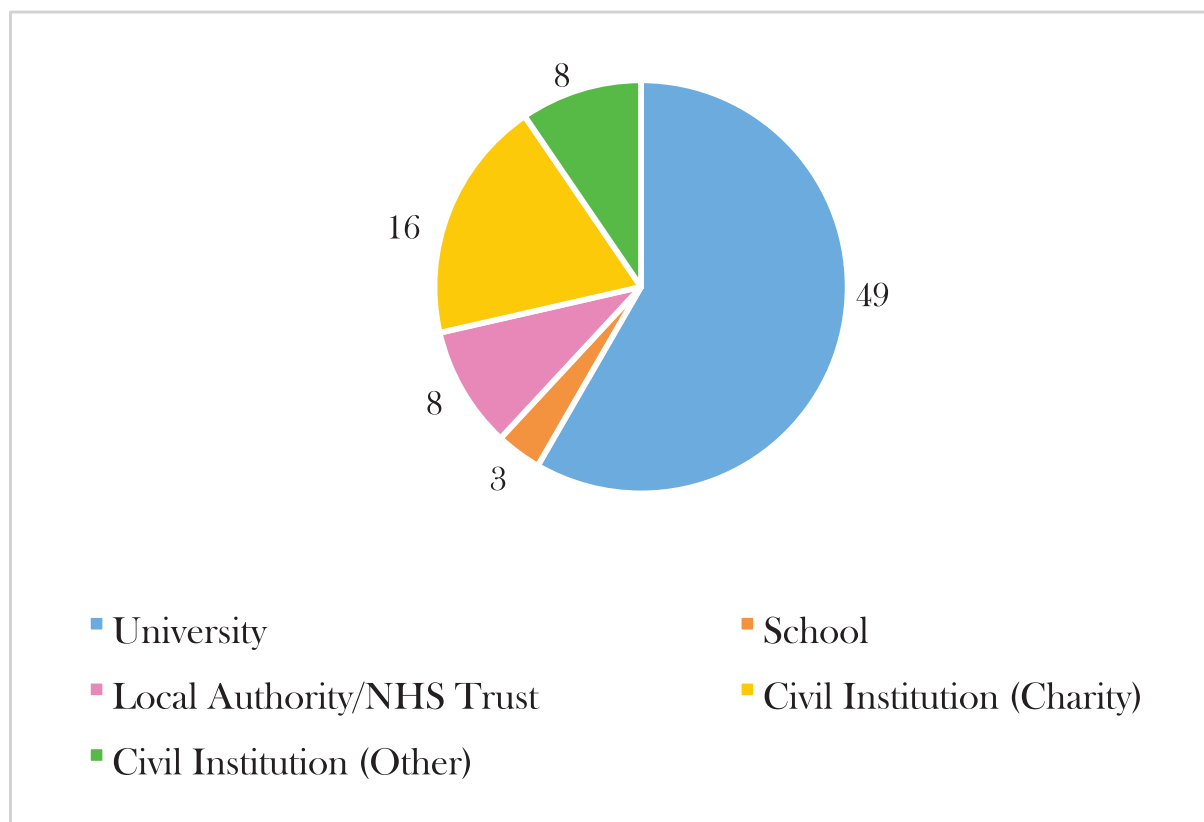
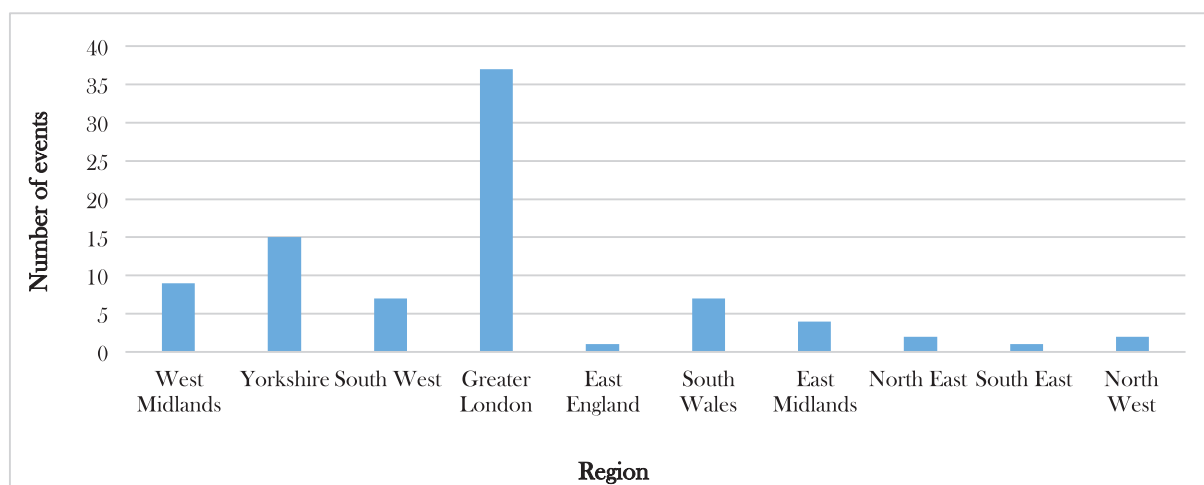


Figure 2: Number of 2017 IAM events according to region



⁴⁶¹ The event that was cancelled is excluded.

Figure 3: Number of 2017 IAM events in Greater London, according to Borough Council

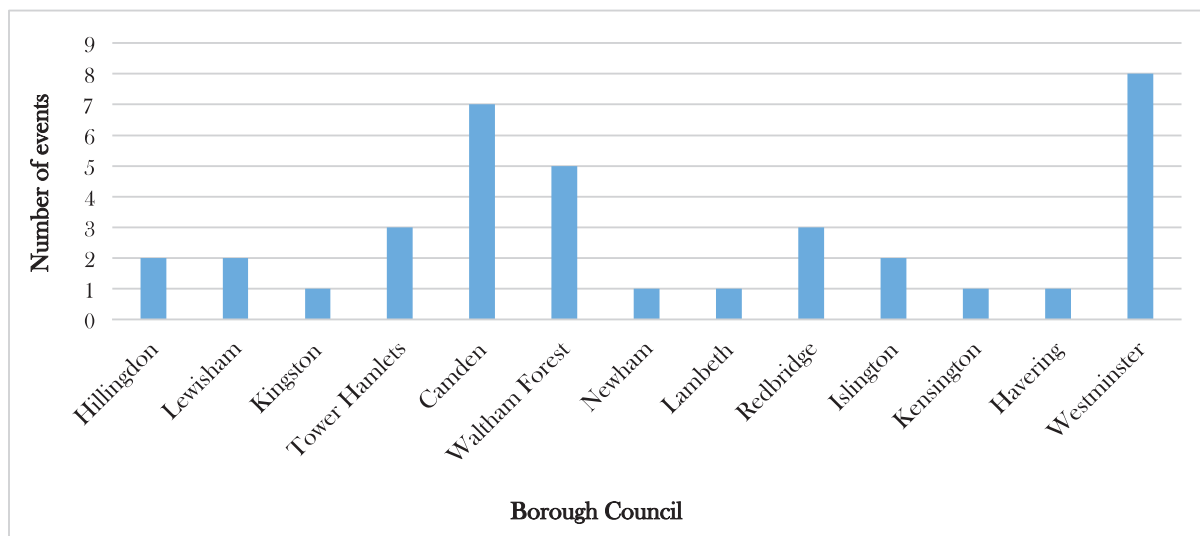


Figure 4: Number of 2017 IAM events on university campuses

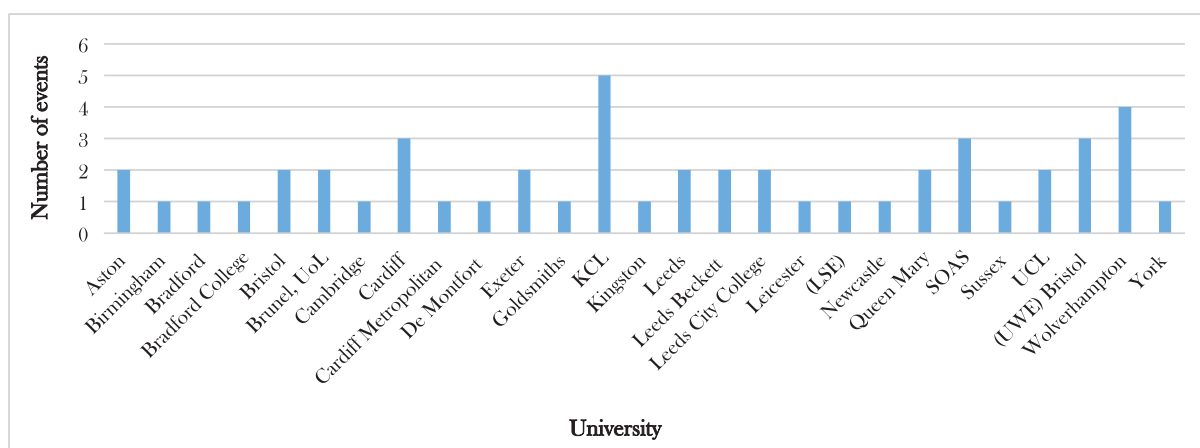
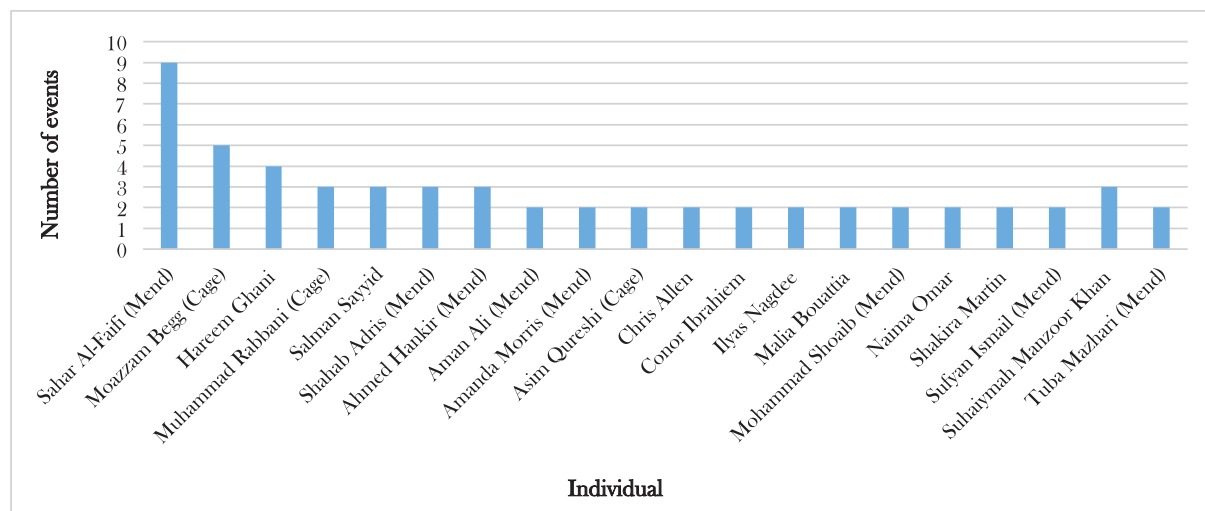


Figure 5: Individuals who spoke on more than occasion at an IAM 2017 event. (Note that 44 speakers were unknown and may or may not account for some of the individuals listed below).



About the Author

Emma Fox is the National Organiser for Student Rights at The Henry Jackson Society. Emma specialises in the study of extremism at university campuses. She delivers talks and workshops to students surrounding non-violent extremism, free speech and the Government Counter Extremism Strategy. Prior to joining HJS, Emma worked as a Public Affairs intern, taught Classics and volunteered at the Calais refugee camp. She holds a BA in Classical Civilisation from the University of Leeds.



About Student Rights

A project of The Henry Jackson Society, Student Rights is a non-partisan group dedicated to supporting equality, democracy and freedom from extremism on university campuses. We were set up in June 2009 as a reaction to increasing political extremism and the marginalisation of vulnerable students on campus.



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The Centre for the Response to Radicalisation and Terrorism at The Henry Jackson Society (CRRT) is the first-of-its-kind institute providing top-quality, in-depth research coupled with the execution and implementation of targeted, tangible and impactful activities to combat the very real threat radical Islam poses to our society.



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