

WOLVES IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING: HOW ISLAMIST EXTREMISTS EXPLOIT THE UK CHARITABLE SECTOR

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**“What we end up with... is a topsy-turvy situation in which those seeking to destroy democracy
appear to be fighting for legitimate aims”**

- Jean Francois Revel, *How Democracies Perish* (1985)

Executive Summary

- Since the early days of jihadism, Islamist extremists have exploited charitable organisations, non-profit organisations and NGOs to provide financial and material support for terrorist activity. Efforts increased to tackle this problem in the wake of the attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001, and a vast body of research and policy work has developed in the area of counter-terrorism financing. However, the ways in which charitable organisations have been used by Islamist extremists to spread their divisive and intolerant ideology have received relatively less attention.
- On 12 July 2017, Home Secretary Amber Rudd made an official statement following the Home Office's internal review into the funding of Islamist Extremism in the UK. The review found that while a small number of extremist organisations received a significant proportion of their income from abroad, the majority did not, leading to the conclusion that "a comprehensive approach focused particularly on domestic sources of support for all forms of extremism is needed".¹
- The review found that some organisations were "purposefully vague" about their activities and charitable status, portray themselves as charities to increase their credibility and exploit the Islamic duty to give to charity, and that those donating money may not be aware of the organisations' agenda.² Yet, the Home Office did not make the details of these organisations public.
- It is vital that information about these organisations and the strategies they employ is in the public domain, not least because evidence shows that in the last year alone a selection of the charities mentioned in this report received a minimum of £6,066,952 from the British taxpayer through Gift Aid. As the case studies in this report are illustrative rather than comprehensive, it is likely that this sum represents only the tip of the iceberg.
- Contrary to claims that the problem is "negligible", the charities detailed in this report demonstrate that, despite more than a decade of attempts to improve regulation of the charitable sector, a concerning number of UK-registered charities continue to fund and support extremism. This is done by providing a platform for a network of Islamist extremist speakers, disseminating their literature, and giving them credibility, access to beneficiaries and the general public.
- For decades the Charity Commission, which is legally unable to simply de-register "bad" charities, has been particularly ill equipped to deal with charities that are institutionally problematic, that is, involved with extremism at all levels of their activity. The Commission has demonstrated increasing engagement with, and recognition of, the problem, and the extension of its powers under the Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016 has the potential to significantly improve regulation. Nevertheless, the public are yet to see if these powers will be used to maximum effect.
- While charities can be abused for criminal purposes by those involved in terrorist activities, this report focuses on abuse by those Islamist extremists whose views are not illegal but remain problematic and dangerous. On occasion, the line between the two forms of abuse are blurred, with some charities connected to terrorism also showing signs of extremism, as is seen in the case of some humanitarian aid charities and those with other activities

¹ 'Extremism: Written statement – HCWS39', *HM Government*, 12 July 2017, available at: <https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Commons/2017-07-12/HCWS39/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

² It is not clear whether the statement refers to organisations that are registered with the Charity Commission.

abroad. On at least one occasion, a prominent extremist figure banned from the UK continues to serve as the chairman to a UK-registered charity. This report is primarily concerned with charities that support the spread of harmful non-violent extremist views that are not illegal, by providing platforms, credibility and support to a network of extremists operating in the UK.

- Producing credibility and disproportionate influence in the public domain, the relationships between these charities function like a cartel, with many among the network of Islamist extremist speakers being involved in multiple charities, presenting themselves as representatives of 'true' Islam, delegitimising moderate voices and effectively squeezing them out of the market. The individuals involved come from across the Islamist spectrum, from backgrounds in the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamaat-e-Islami, and Salafism. Charities allow these individuals to maximise their influence, through print media, television channels, academic institutions, and through events and conferences.
- The involvement of some of these individuals in the UK's Islamist scene can be traced back to the early 2000s. This is most notable among the prisoner advocacy groups, in particular, Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS). HHUGS is an example of an institutionally problematic charity, with extreme and illiberal individuals involved at all levels, from trustees, to supporters, speakers and beneficiaries.
- Effectively challenging the views propagated by these charities and those involved with them is key in the struggle against radicalisation within the UK. This report finds that more needs to be done to prevent these organisations producing an environment conducive to radicalisation. In particular, Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs (HMRC), the Home Office, Ofcom, banks, fundraising platforms, the new Commission for Countering Extremism and the Extremism Analysis Unit (EAU) should work together with the Charity Commission to ensure the most effective response to eliminating Islamist extremism from the charitable sector.

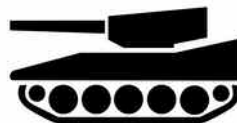


Tax-payer money given to a
selection of these charities over
one financial year

=



27,328
NHS hospital
beds (per day)



The annual
salary of 229
soldiers or 234
infantry
soldiers



The annual
salary of
264 new
teachers

(Department for Health/ BBC News, 2017) (Glassdoor.co.uk, 2018) (getintoteaching.education.gov.uk, 2017/18)

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Glossary of Arabic Terms³

Achera/Akhirah: the Next World, afterlife, Hereafter, what is on the other side of death

Dawah: proselytisation, inviting or calling people to worship Allah by following Mohammed

Deen: the life-transaction, literally, the debt between two parties – in this case, between Creator and created, religion or belief of a Muslim

Dunya: the world or earth

Fatwa: an authoritative statement or ruling on a point of Islamic law

Fitna: civil strife, sedition, schism, trial, temptation

Faqih (pl. *Fuqaha*): an Islamic jurist or lawyer, a man learned in the application of Islamic law who gives legal judgement

Harām: unlawful according to, proscribed by, Islamic law

Hijab: partition which separates two things; the covering for the hair and neck worn by Muslim women

Hadd (pl. *Hudud*): Allah's boundary limits for the lawful and unlawful; *hadd* punishments are specific fixed penalties laid down for specified crimes, often used in relation to the punishment of the most serious crimes prescribing punishments such as flogging, amputation and death

Hadith: reported speech of Mohammed

Iftar: meal eaten by Muslims after sunset during Ramadan following fasting

Imān: belief, faith, acceptance of Allah and his Messenger

Istihza: ridicule, mockery, insult

Jihad: struggle, particularly fighting in the way of Allah to establish Islam

Jizya: a protection tax payable by non-Muslims as tribute to a Muslim ruler

Kafir or *kuffar* (pl. *Kafirs*): a person who rejects Allah and his Messenger (derogatory)

Karba (or *Kaaba*): holy site, building at the centre of the Great Mosque, Mecca, faced by Muslims during prayer

Khair: good, goodness

Khalifah: caliph, head of the Islamic state, sometimes used in quotations referring to the caliphate itself

Maasjid al-Aqsa: the Great Mosque in Jerusalem

Mujahid (pl. *Mujahideen*): a person engaged in jihad, holy warrior

Munafiq (pl. *Munafiqun*): hypocrite, someone who outwardly professes Islam but inwardly rejects it

Niqab: veil which covers the entire face, including the eyes

³ Adapted from Bewley, A., *Glossary of Islamic Terms* (London: Ta-Ha Publishers, 1998).

Qadiani: derogatory term used to refer to members of the Ahmaddiya community, a persecuted Islamic movement

Sahabi (pl. *Sahabah*): a Muslim who saw the Mohammed once; a companion, friend of Mohammed

Shaheed: a witness, someone who testifies, often used to refer to a martyr who dies fighting for Allah

Sharia law: Islamic law; can refer to the traditions and interpretations of Islamic jurisprudence

Sunnah: customary practice of a person or group; has come to refer almost exclusively to the practice of Mohammed and the first generation of Muslims

Takfir: to declare that someone is a *kafir* or unbeliever

Tawhid: the doctrine of Divine Unity

Ummah: the body of Muslims as one distinct community

Yahood/Yahoudi: a derogatory term for a Jewish person

Introduction

The use of charities by extremists to promote and legitimise their message continues to be a timely challenge. Perhaps unwittingly, politicians across parties continue to engage with them,⁴ often in ways counter-productive in the uphill struggle to protect the charitable sector from this kind of abuse. This was seen in the misleading remarks of Conservative peer Baroness Sayeeda Warsi, on 22 November 2017, during a lecture organised by the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) in which she accused the Charity Commission of having a “disproportionate” focus on Muslim charities and claimed experts agree that “extremist abuse of the charity sector has and remains negligible”.⁵

Yet it is the ironic setting of Warsi's earlier comments on this issue that best illustrate the problem. In an inaugural Muslim Charities Forum Humanitarian Awards on 22 February 2017 Warsi again claimed that the charitable sector was not targeting extremists, but Muslims, to such an extent that it amounted to “vilification”.⁶ Yet the Muslim Charities Forum itself, as well some of its member charities given awards on the night, have been linked to the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas.⁷ Perennial accusations that the Charity Commission is targeting innocent Muslims, historically driven by extremists themselves who are invested in downplaying their activities and shielding themselves from scrutiny with accusations of Islamophobia, continue to receive mainstream support fostering denial of the problem.⁸ Yet the Charity Commission's own figures from 1 April 2016 to 31 March 2017 of the 286 statutory inquiries currently ongoing, show that only 2 out of 14 religious charities were Islamic,⁹ with the evidence presented in this report suggesting that extremist abuse is currently far from “negligible”.¹⁰

While the Prime Minister's *Task Force on Tackling Extremism and Radicalisation in the UK* committed to proactively disrupting extremist exploitation of charities in 2013,¹¹ it wasn't until the 2015 ITV documentary *Charities Behaving Badly*, that the broader public were alerted to ways in which the far right, Hindu and Islamist extremists abused charitable status to spread illiberal and

⁴ ‘Sir Keir Starmer reignites Labour's anti-Semitic row after inviting charity that praises killing Jewish kids to the Commons’, *Sun*, 6 December 2017, available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/5083864/sir-keir-statement-anti-israel-charity-parliament/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵ ‘Baroness Warsi criticises Commission chair over Muslim charities’, *Civil Society*, 22 November 2017, available at: <https://www.civilsociety.co.uk/news/baroness-warsi-accuses-commission-of-disproportionate-focus-on-muslim-charities-under-shawcross.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶ ‘Muslim charities have been vilified, says Baroness Warsi’, *Third Sector*, 23 February 2017, available at: <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/muslim-charities-vilified-says-baroness-warsi/policy-and-politics/article/1425226>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Human Appeal and Hamas: the evidence’, *Daily Telegraph*, 19 October 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11940489/Human-Appeal-and-Hamas-the-evidence.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷ ‘Muslim charities have been vilified, says Baroness Warsi’, *Third Sector*, 23 February 2017; ‘How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism’, *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

⁸ ‘“Terror link” charities get British millions in Gift Aid’, *Daily 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: 22 January 2018; ‘Quarter of Charity Commission inquiries target Muslim groups’, *Guardian*, 16 November 2016, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/nov/16/charity-commission-inquiries-muslim-groups>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹ ‘Baroness Warsi criticises Commission chair over Muslim charities’, *Civil Society*, 22 November.

¹⁰ Operational compliance case statistics also show that between 1 April 2017 and 30 September 2017 Christian charities were far more represented in compliance cases (38.6% n=51) than Islamic charities (17.4% n=23), see: ‘Operational compliance case statistics 1 April 2017 to 30 September 2017’, *Charity Commission*, 22 December 2017, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/operational-compliance-and-monitoring-case-statistics-1-april-2016-to-30-june-2017>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Statistics for monitoring cases between 1 April 2016 to 31 March 2017 show that Islamic represented 38% of cases and Christian charities 38.6%, see: ‘Monitoring case statistics: 1 Apr 16 to 21 March 17’, *Charity Commission* (2017), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/620847/Monitoring_case_statistics_1Apr2016_31Mar2017.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹ ‘Tackling extremism in the UK: Report from the Prime Minister's Task Force on Tackling Radicalisation and Extremism’, HM Government (2013), available at: www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/263181/ETF_FINAL.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, pp. 2-3.

extreme beliefs.¹² Later that year the Government further solidified acknowledgement of the problem in its Counter-Extremism Strategy, which confirmed the need to tackle the exploitation of charities by extremists as part of the overall approach.¹³

Most recently, Home Secretary Amber Rudd's official statement following the government's internal review into the "nature, scale and origin" of the funding of Islamist extremism in the UK, commissioned by then Prime Minister David Cameron in 2015, further confirmed that domestic funding is significant and must be addressed. The review found that whilst a small number of extremist organisations received support from abroad, the majority did not, suggesting a need for a focus on domestic funding and support for extremism. The Home Secretary importantly alluded to the tactics employed, stating that "some Islamic organisations of extremist concern portray themselves as charities to increase their credibility and to take advantage of Islam's emphasis on charity". Yet while the statement announced that the Charity Commission will require transparency about overseas funding, the details of these organisations found to be supporting extremism were not made public, and it is not clear if they are registered charities.¹⁴ The Home Secretary did, however, state that the Government would strengthen its work with the Commission in this area.¹⁵

Though the full sum is unknown, a selection of the charities detailed in this report alone received millions of pounds in the last financial year through Gift Aid (see Appendix 1),¹⁶ and many of those donating to these charities "may not know or support the organisations' full agenda".¹⁷ In addition, a relatively small number of extremists are maximising their influence through charitable organisations that denounce moderate Muslim voices, effectively squeezing them out of the market. This is particularly dangerous in spreading divisive views that corrode social cohesion and produce an environment conducive to radicalisation.

As a result, it is vital that the public and taxpayer are aware of which charities are involved in this abuse and how they operate. Whilst the Charity Commission, whose responsibility it is to regulate and protect charities, have made increasing efforts to deal with the problem and new legislation was introduced in 2016 to extend the Commission's powers, this exploitation of charities persists on a large scale, with some charities continuing to provide a platform for Islamist extremists following a statutory inquiry into their activity.

Charitable status affords Islamist extremists a number of benefits, such as being able to easily raise funds for strategic causes, access to taxpayer money through Gift Aid, access to a broader community who may or may not sympathise with their goals, recruiting vulnerable beneficiaries to their cause, financing and providing a platform for extremist speakers and the dissemination of literature, access to wider audiences, and increasing the appearance of legitimacy and credibility. Across the UK, a number of charities maximise the output of a network of Islamist extremists, from

¹² 'Exposure: Hatred and extremist views in charities', *ITV News*, 18 February 2015, available at: <http://www.itv.com/news/2015-02-18/exposure-the-charities-accused-of-promoting-hatred-and-extremist-views/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³ 'Counter-Extremism Strategy', HM Government (2015), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/470088/51859_Cm9148_Accessible.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 15.

¹⁴ 'Extremism: Written statement - HLWS40', *HM Government*, 12 July 2017, available at: <https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Lords/2017-07-12/HLWS40/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ Gift Aid is a form of tax-relief. When a donation is made through Gift Aid, charities are able to claim 25 pence for every 1 pound received. This can be claimed on most donations. To do this a charity's details must be registered with HM Revenue and Customs (HMRC). See: 'Get recognition from HMRC for your charity', *HM Government*, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/charity-recognition-hmrc> and 'Claiming Gift Aid as a charity or CASC', *HM Government*, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/claim-gift-aid>, both last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁷ 'Extremism: Written statement - HCWS39', *HM Government*, 12 July 2017, available at: <https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Commons/2017-07-12/HCWS39/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

dawah (proselytisation) organisations, 'academic' institutions providing speakers, online publications providing written platforms, television channels airing speakers and pro-terrorist prisoner advocacy groups, among others. These charities operate across the Islamist spectrum in the UK, including salafists and those affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami.

Beyond the substantial research that has been carried out into abuse of charitable organisations for terrorist purposes (outlined in section 1), the issue of abuse for the purpose of spreading non-violent extremist ideology has received comparably little attention. As a result, despite increasing awareness of the problem in recent years, there is a dearth of substantial primary research detailing non-violent extremist abuse of charitable status, types of abuse, those involved and the scale of the problem. This abuse has often been framed in terms of abuse by Islamist extremist entryists (outlined in section 2), but there is mounting evidence that some charities may also be *institutionally problematic*. Such charities appear to be established by extremists for the purpose of promoting their beliefs and thwarting the government's counter-extremism and counter-terrorism policies, an example of which is provided in section 3.

Challenging the spread of the ideology underpinning the process of radicalisation, has and continues to be, central to the UK government's approach to prevent individuals from becoming violent extremists.¹⁸ As Prime Minister Theresa May highlighted in her speech following the terrorist attack on London on 4 June 2017, the attacks were bound together by "the single evil ideology of Islamist extremism that preaches hatred, sows division, and promotes sectarianism".¹⁹ As former Prime Minister David Cameron had highlighted in his own speech on the subject in 2015, while not all of its adherents support violence, the intolerant ideas it promotes do "create a climate in which extremists can flourish".²⁰

Yet as the evidence presented in this report shows, UK charities continue to support individuals who preach this ideology. Preventing these organisations from spreading this ideology is crucial in the overall struggle to prevent radicalisation within UK communities. This report provides the most detailed overview to date of the ways in which UK-registered charities are used to support Islamist extremism and provides recommendations on how the challenge can be met. Sections 1 and 2 of this report explore the scale of the problem, the issues surrounding identifying Islamist extremism and the struggle to improve regulation of the sector. Sections 3 and 4 provide the details of a large range of charities, past and present, that are of concern for their activities supporting Islamist extremism, including an in-depth case study of one charity that can be regarded as institutionally problematic.

¹⁸ E.g. 'Extremism: PM Speech', *HM Government*, 20 July 2015, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/extremism-pm-speech>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Prevent Strategy', *HM Government* (2011), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97976/prevent-strategy-review.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁹ 'PM statement following London terror attack: 4 June 2017', *HM Government*, 4 June 2017, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-statement-following-london-terror-attack-4-june-2017>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁰ 'Extremism: PM Speech', *HM Government*, 20 July 2015.

Methodology

This report employs a composite definition of Islamist extremism, drawing on the government's definitions of Islamism and extremism (see below), exegesis of this definition as publicly provided by key political figures, legal precedents as found in the cases of *Shakeel Begg v The British Broadcasting Corporation (2016)* and *Dr Salman Butt v Secretary of State for the Home Department (2017)*, and the Charity Commission's own guidance relating to extremist abuse of charities, all of which is elaborated in section 1.2.

Islamism: “a philosophy which, in the broadest sense, promotes the application of Islamic values to modern government”, that is, an Islamic theocracy governed by *sharia law*, established by violent or non-violent means.²¹

Extremism: vocal or active opposition to our fundamental [British] values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and the respect and tolerance of different faith and beliefs, as well as calling for the death of members of the armed forces.²²

Non-violent Islamist extremist/extremism is used to refer to those who do not support violence in support of their goal (e.g. those who advocate using the democratic process to bring about the aims of Islamist extremist ideology). Violent Islamist extremist/extremism is used to refer to those that justify or support violence as a means of achieving this goal (e.g. terrorism).

The report details extremist involvement of a range of charities, including one major case study providing an in-depth example of an institutionally problematic charity. The charities in this report are UK-registered and were identified using a range of material, including: legal documents, annual accounts submitted to the Charity Commission, social media (Twitter, YouTube, Facebook, etc.), personal blogs, charity websites and literature, archived media (written, audio, visual), news articles, leaflets, video footage, audio recordings. The findings and recommendations were also informed by a series of interviews with legal professionals and those working in the charity sector.

The organisations listed are not comprehensive, but rather serves to illustrate the range of strategies employed by extremists abusing charitable status and to demonstrate their use by a network of key extremist figures in the UK. As a result, it provides details relating to a number of individuals. While the report does not claim that all of those named are extremists, it does provide a detailed account of the extreme and intolerant views expressed by certain individuals in accordance with the definition employed.

While the report does reference the criminal abuse of charities by those involved in terrorist activity, the primary focus is on non-criminal Islamist abuse. Charities were identified and included because of their involvement with Islamist extremists, most commonly providing a platform for these individuals, as outlined by Charity Commission guidance (see 1.2.3). In addition, this report defines charities that persistently invite Islamist extremist speakers and/or involve Islamist extremists at all

²¹ 'Prevent Strategy', HM Government (2011), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97976/prevent-strategy-review.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 108.

²² 'Counter-Extremism Strategy', HM Government (2015), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/470088/51859_Cm9148_Accessible.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

levels of involvement with the charity (e.g. trustees, management, speakers, supporters) as 'institutionally problematic'. Such a charity may exclusively involve extremists to the exclusion of any moderate voices, suggesting that the purpose of the organisation is solely extremist in nature.

1. Islamist Extremism within the Charitable Sector

1.1 Recent Developments in Context and the Scale of the Problem

Charities have long been used to support the Islamist extremist cause, with a network of charitable organisations playing a pivotal role in the funding of international jihadism.²³ Indeed, the precursor to Al Qaeda was the charitable organisation Makhtab al-Kidmat/Al Kifah Refugee Centre, which was established in the 1980s and channelled funding, material and recruits to jihadists fighting against the Soviets in Afghanistan.²⁴ It also assisted jihadists travelling to Bosnia and Islamist violence in the US, with Al-Kifah being managed by the “Blind Shiekh” Omar Abdel-Rahman, who played an important role in the bombing of the World Trade Centre in 1993 and was closely linked to Ayman Al-Zawahiri, now leader of Al Qaeda.²⁵ The charity also had links to International Islamic Relief Organisation (IIRO)²⁶ which is among those charities from this early network that continue to exist within the UK.

Beyond the exploitation of charitable status by violent Islamist extremists to support terrorist activities, they may also be used, wittingly or unwittingly, to provide violent or non-violent extremists with the platform and legitimacy they require to spread their illiberal and extremist views. This may take the form of an individual or small group of extremist entryists seeking to abuse a pre-existing charity for their own purposes, or the establishment of an organisation with charitable status specifically for Islamist extremist objectives. These charities, which for example provide platforms for extremist individuals and promote their literature, can be used to create a climate conducive to radicalisation and introduce potentially vulnerable members of the public to individuals who hold intolerant and extremist views.

Protecting UK-registered charities from this kind of abuse is just one area among many in the struggle to uproot Islamist extremism from UK institutions and public life and to reduce the risk of radicalisation. The day after the Islamist terror attack on London Bridge on 3 June 2017, Prime Minister Theresa May explicitly stated that in order to deal with the terrorist threat we must tackle domestic extremism, stating that there is “too much toleration of extremism in this country. So we need to be far more robust in identifying it and stamping it out – across the public sector and across society”.²⁷

The 2015 Counter-Extremism strategy recognises that charities were one of the institutions vulnerable to exploitation by extremists, who may use them to spread their ideology²⁸ and charities have in the past, for example, promoted hate literature inciting the murder of homosexuals and Muslims and have hosted speakers who promote homophobic, sexist or anti-Semitic views.²⁹

²³ Levitt M., ‘Charitable Organizations and Terrorist Financing: a war on terror status-check’, The Washington Institute, 19 March 2004, Available at: <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/charitable-organizations-and-terrorist-financing-a-war-on-terror-status-che>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ Schindler, J., *Unholy Terror: Bosnia, Al-Qaida, and the Rise of Global Jihad* (2007), pp. 121-122.

²⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 121-122.

²⁷ ‘PM statement following London terror attack’, *HM Government*, 4 June 2017, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pmi-statement-following-london-terror-attack-4-june-2017>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁸ ‘Counter-Extremism Strategy’, *HM Government* (2015), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/470088/51859_Cm9148_Accessible.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, pp. 21, 30.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 15.

Whilst foreign-funded extremism within the UK remains a concern and there is evidence to suggest that some UK-registered charities are receiving funds from countries such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar,³⁰ charities fundraising within UK communities are providing substantial backing for extremism. As mentioned above, the findings of the Home Office's internal review into the funding of Islamist extremist activity in the UK, found that "the most common source of support for Islamist extremist organisations in the UK is from small, anonymous public donations, with the majority of these donations coming from UK-based individuals". Some of these organisations, the review found, "receive hundreds of thousands of pounds a year" with these domestic donations being their "main source of income".³¹

The new measures proposed in the 2015 Extremism Bill, aimed at combatting non-violent extremism, and later by the 2016 Counter-Extremism and Safeguarding Bill, suggests that successive governments have been serious about restricting extremist activity in the UK.³² In addition to this the new Commission for Countering Extremism to "support the government in stamping out extremist ideology in all its forms", as announced in the Queen's Speech 2017, may also go some way to strengthening our national response to this issue.³³ In particular, the new Commission objective to identify and stamp out "extremism across society" and reduce "tolerance to extremism" has the potential to improve the government's ability to identify the abuse of charities, should it work closely with the Charity Commission.³⁴

1.1.1 Data on Terrorist and Extremist Abuse of Charities from 2014-2016

All registered charities in England and Wales, with the exception of exempt charities,³⁵ are currently regulated by the Charity Commission, a non-ministerial government department. Among their objectives is increasing public trust and confidence in charities, promoting compliance and enhancing the accountability of charities to donors, beneficiaries and the public. Its general functions include *inter alia* determining which institutions are charities, encouraging and facilitating the better administration of charities, identifying and investigating misconduct and mismanagement, including allegations of extremism and terrorism.³⁶

The below data comparing 2014-2015³⁷ with 2015-2016³⁸ suggests a trajectory of increasing overall engagement by the Charity Commission with charities on the issue of extremist abuse in general. It is unknown whether this reflects a rise in extremist abuse of charities or an increase in the Charity Commission's identification and handling of these cases. The below data is taken from the Charity

³⁰ Wilson, T., 'Foreign Funded Islamist Extremism in the UK', The Henry Jackson Society (2017), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Foreign-Funded-Islamist-Extremism-final.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³¹ 'Extremism: Written statement -HLWS40', HM Government, 12 July 2017, available at: <https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Lords/2017-07-12/HLWS40/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³² Malik, N., Wilson, T., Orton, K. and Rushchenko, J., 'Understanding CONTEST: The Foundation and The Future', The Henry Jackson Society (2017), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/FINAL-CONTEST.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 4.

³³ 'The Queen's Speech' HM Government (2017), available at: https://l.hypotheses.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/3671/files/2017/06/Queens_speech_2017_background_notes.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 6.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 52.

³⁵ Schedule 3, 'Exempt Charities', Charities Act (2011), available at: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/25/pdfs/ukpga_20110025_en.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁶ 'Charities Act 2006', (c.50), HM Government (2006), available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/50/pdfs/ukpga_20060050_en.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, para. 7.

³⁷ 'Tackling abuse and mismanagement 2014-15 - full report', HM Government, 17 December 2015, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/tackling-abuse-and-mismanagement-2014-15/tackling-abuse-and-mismanagement-2014-15-full-report>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Counter-Extremism Strategy', HM Government (2015), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/470088/51859_Cm9148_Accessible.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 15. Statistics from 2013-14 can be found here: 'Tackling abuse and mismanagement' HM Government (2014), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/455047/Tackling_abuse_and_mismanagement_2013_14.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 21.

³⁸ 'Tackling abuse and mismanagement 2015-16', HM Government, 20 December 2016, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/tackling-abuse-and-mismanagement-2015-16/tackling-abuse-and-mismanagement-2015-16-full-report>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Commission's casework statistics pertaining to allegations and concerns about terrorist and extremist abuse in general and does not differentiate between Islamist and non-Islamist cases.

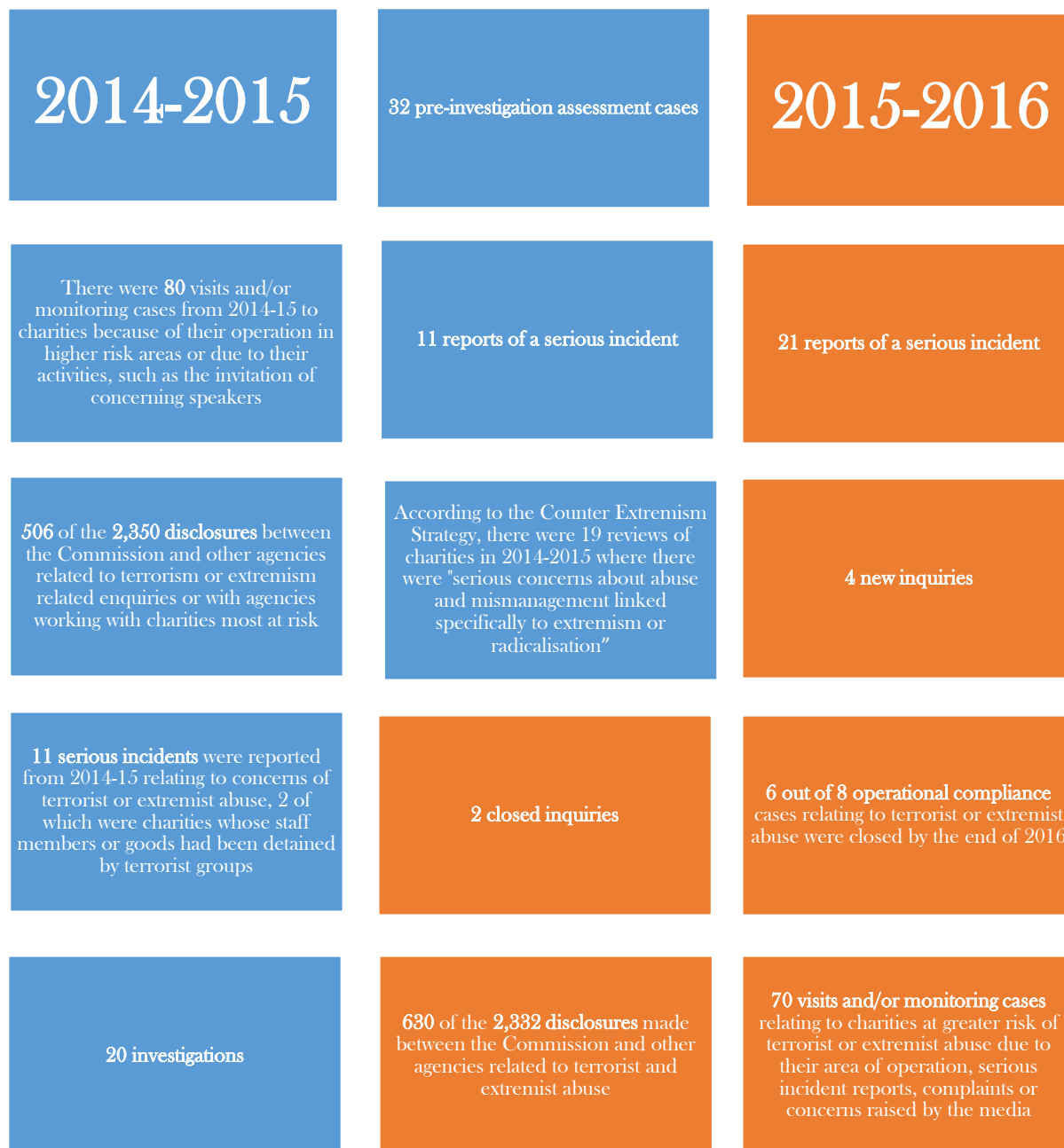


Figure 1: Casework Statistics: Allegations and Concerns About Extremism and Terrorist Abuse of Charities 2014-2016

1.1.2 Previous Research on Extremist Abuse of Charities: Criminal and Non-Criminal

The data presented in 1.1.1 encompasses both criminal (for terrorist purposes) and non-criminal abuse, such as promoting problematic extremist beliefs that create an environment conducive to radicalisation. Historically, charities across the world have been used to support terrorist activity. While the use of charities by terrorist groups stretches back to the early days of jihadism, particularly

in the 1980s,³⁹ since the attacks on 11 September 2001, increasing attention has been paid to the use of charitable organisations and NGOs in the financing of terrorist activities.⁴⁰

A significant body of academic and policy research has taken place in this area. For example, Evan Kohlmann in his report for the Danish Institute of International Studies *The Role of Islamic Charities in International Terrorist Recruitment and Financing* (2006/7) has shown how “by clothing their militant activity with charitable ideals” Islamist militants, including Al Qaeda amongst others, were able to provide financial and material support to jihadist activity, including the use of other criminal activities such as money laundering to render their financial networks invisible.⁴¹ The significance and details of this activity has also been highlighted in John Schindler’s book *Unholy Terror: Bosnia, Al-Qaida and the Rise of Global Jihad*.⁴² Matthew Levitt’s policy analysis for the Washington Institute, likewise, has been particularly informative in outlining the dimensions of terrorist funding through charitable organisations in the early jihadist movement and examining policy to tackle it, concluding in 2004 that despite progress “terrorist operatives remain adept at accommodating to the changing counterterrorism environment”.⁴³

This is only a small selection of the vast literature available on the financing of terrorism and counter-terrorist financing strategies, including the work of UK-based Nicholas Ryder,⁴⁴ Magnus Normark and Magnus Ranstorp of the Swedish Defence University,⁴⁵ to name but a few. Other examples include The Centre on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation’s report published in 2013 on the “Outcomes of a Global Dialogue to Counter Terrorist Abuse in the Nonprofit Sector” summarising the United Nations’ efforts to develop best practice in countering terrorist financing in the sector.⁴⁶

A report published by think-tank Demos in 2014, for example, has investigated the effects of banks seeking to reduce risk by imposing banking restrictions, and the concerns of particularly Muslim NGOs following increasing regulatory action. The report concluded that while it “would be wrong to dismiss entirely the risks within the NGO sector”, the claims made by the independent inter-governmental body Financial Action Task Force (FATF) that the NGO sector was particularly vulnerable was not justified given claims by the UK’s Charity Commission that instances of abuse were small given the size of the sector.⁴⁷ The report provided case studies of the action taken against a number of organisations, charitable and non-charitable, included in this report on account of their connections to non-violent extremism, including: Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS), the Ummah Welfare Trust (UWT), CAGE and the Cordoba Foundation. While the author argues that FATF claims regarding the sectors vulnerability to terrorism were not entirely

³⁹ Kohlmann, E., ‘The Role of Islamic Charities In International Terrorist Recruitment Financing’, DIIS Working Paper no. 2006/7 (2006).

⁴⁰ ‘Risk of Terrorist Abuse in Non-Profit Organisations’, Financial Action Task Force (FATF) (2014), available at: <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/Risk-of-terrorist-abuse-in-non-profit-organisations.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018; see also ‘Best Practices on Combatting the Abuse of Non-Profit Organisations’, FATF, June 2015, available at: <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/publications/fatfrecommendations/documents/bpp-combating-abuse-npo.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴¹ Kohlmann, E., ‘The Role of Islamic Charities In International Terrorist Recruitment Financing’, DIIS Working Paper no. 2006/7 (2006).

⁴² Schindler, J., *Unholy Terror: Bosnia, Al-Qaida, and the Rise of Global Jihad* (2007).

⁴³ Levitt M., ‘Charitable Organizations and Terrorist Financing: a war on terror status-check’, The Washington Institute, 19 March 2004, Available at: <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/charitable-organizations-and-terrorist-financing-a-war-on-terror-status-che>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁴ Ryder, N., *The Financial War on Terrorism: A Review of Counter-Terrorist Financing Strategies Since 2001* (Taylor and Francis, 2017).

⁴⁵ ‘Understanding Terrorist Finance: Modus Operandi and National CTF-Regimes’, Swedish Defence University (2015), available at: http://www.fi.se/contentassets/1944bdc9037c4fba89d1f48f9bba6dd7/understanding_terrorist_finance_160315.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁶ ‘To Protect and Prevent: Outcomes of a Global Dialogue to Counter Terrorist Abuse of the Nonprofit Sector’, Centre on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation (CGCC) (2013), available at: http://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Protect-Prevent_Final.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁷ Keatinge, T., ‘Uncharitable Behaviour’, Demos (2014), available at: <https://www.demos.co.uk/files/DEMOSuncharitablebehaviourREPORT.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

justified, this report evidences how the abuse of even a small percentage of a large sector can pose a substantial risk.

In the same year as the Demos report, FATF identified five categories of abuse or risk in relation to the use of non-profit organisations (NPOs) for terrorist purposes on an international level. Based on 102 case studies submitted by FATF member states and compiled from open sources and current research on the threat environment, the authors identified the following ways in which NPOs may be abused:⁴⁸

- The diversion of funds by actors within NPOs, or externally by foreign partners;
- NPOs or directing officials, knowingly or unknowingly, maintaining an affiliation with a terrorist entity, which could be used for example, to provide logistical support to that terrorist entity;
- NPOs used to support recruitment efforts of terrorist entities;
- NPOs targeted for 'abuse of programming', such as NPO programmes being abused at the point of delivery;
- Terrorist entities falsely representing themselves as NPOs or as agents of 'good works' to deceive donors.⁴⁹

According to Dr Timothy Wittig of the University of Amsterdam, terrorism financing cannot be separated from its socio-political roots and should be viewed as a continuum. Along these lines FATF describe what they call the 'terrorism support continuum'. At the lowest end of the continuum, there are the NPOs themselves, donors, beneficiaries and oversight bodies, where much of the risk can be mitigated through due diligence and safeguards. At the most severe end, FATF report that "the mitigation efforts of the sector and the detection abilities of intelligence organisations are reinforced by the enforcement and prosecution powers of law enforcement agencies and the judicial system" which must be used to punish ongoing abuse and deter it.⁵⁰ FATF have provided substantial 'best practice' recommendations to NPOs to improve regulation and protect against this kind of abuse.⁵¹

⁴⁸ 'Risk of Terrorist Abuse in Non-Profit Organisations', Financial Action Task Force (FATF) (2014), available at: <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/Risk-of-terrorist-abuse-in-non-profit-organisations.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 1.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 5.
⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵¹ 'Combating the Abuse of Non-Profit Organisations (Recommendation 8)', FATF (2015), available at: <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/BPP-combating-abuse-non-profit-organisations.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

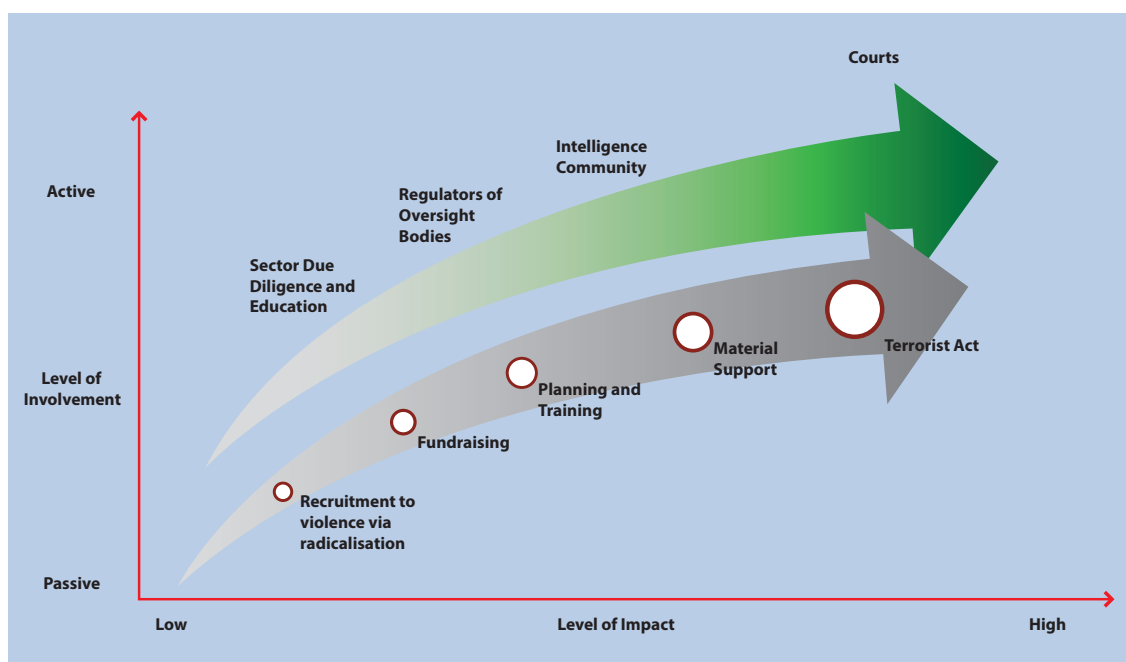


Figure 2: The Terrorist Support Continuum (Financial Action Task Force, 2014)⁵²

In line with the FATF recommendations, the World Bank also provides Risk Assessment Support for terrorist financing and money laundering and facilitates a “systematic and multidisciplinary participatory process” to aid countries in performing their own risk assessments.⁵³ The European Union has likewise stated that “countering the financing of terrorism is a core component of the EU’s strategy in the fight against terrorism” and has developed a series of measures to do this, including implementing the FATF’s recommendations. Specifically the EU recognises the vulnerability of NPOs.⁵⁴ Other international organisations involved include Interpol and Europol,⁵⁵ and the United Nations. In particular, the United Nations Counter-terrorism Implementation Task Force’s Charities Project (completed in 2013) investigated the ways in which terrorists obtain funds through non-profit organisations.⁵⁶

It is clear that the exploitation of charities for terrorist purposes has received substantial attention. This activity falls within the criminal space, and while the line between support for terrorism and non-violent extremism may be blurred within a single organisation, little attention has been paid to dealing with the latter. Despite increasing recognition of the need to tackle the ideological climate that leads people to violent extremism, there is no comparable support for dealing with the non-violent extremist exploitation of the sector, and the use of charities to promote and support the

⁵² ‘Risk of Terrorist Abuse in Non-Profit Organisations’, Financial Action Task Force (FATF) (2014), available at: <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/media/fatf/documents/reports/Risk-of-terrorist-abuse-in-non-profit-organisations.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 13.

⁵³ ‘Risk Assessment Support for Money Laundering/Terrorist Financing’, *The World Bank*, 29 February 2016, available at: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/financialsector/brief/antimoney-laundering-and-combating-the-financing-of-terrorism-risk-assessment-support>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁴ ‘Financing’, *Migration and Home Affairs—European Commission*, available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/crisis-and-terrorism/financing_en, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁵ ‘Assessing Measures to Combat the Financing of Terrorism’, *International Centre for Counter-terrorism (ICCT)*, available at: <https://icct.nl/update/assessing-measures-to-combat-the-financing-of-terrorism/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁶ ‘Charities Project’, *United Nations*, available at: <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/charities-project>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

spread of non-violent Islamist extremism in the UK has received less academic and policy-focused attention.

Some of the most illuminating investigative work has been journalistic, in particular the work of journalist Andrew Gilligan⁵⁷ and ITV's 2015 documentary *Exposure: Charities Behaving Badly*, mentioned above. In addition, a wealth of information has been gathered on the individuals involved in these charities on blogging platforms.⁵⁸ The most significant piece of research exposing a UK charity in detail for the promotion of extremism and intolerance is *Evangelising Hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA)* by the Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain. The report, published in 2014, provided an detailed account of the views of those involved in the charity, a *dawah* (proselytisation) organisation.⁵⁹ Therefore, most of the evidence available is in primary sources, as described in the methodology, and there has been no substantial and up-to-date investigation of this abuse on a broader scale and the individuals involved. It is this gap in current research that is addressed by this report.

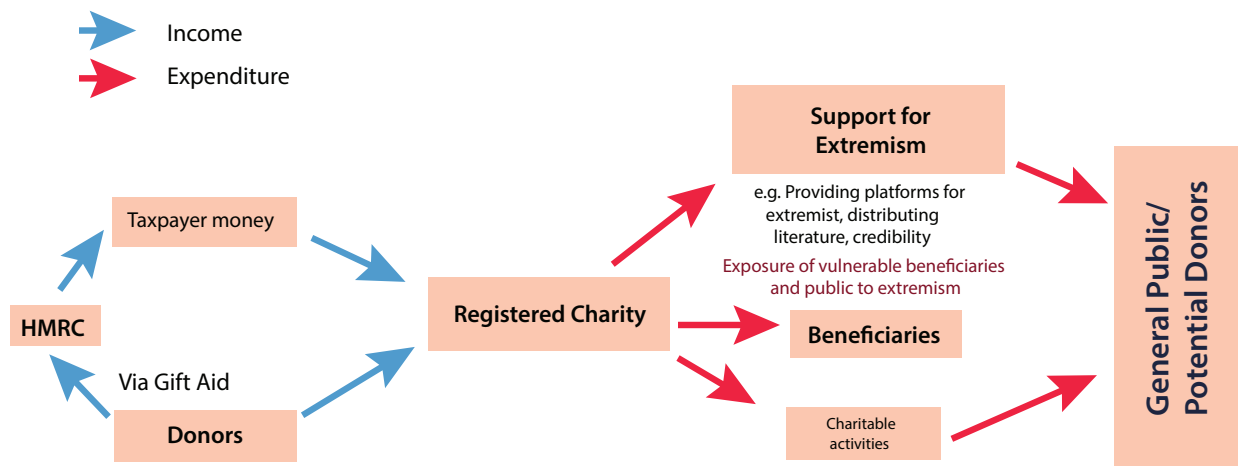


Figure 3: Funding of Islamist extremism in the UK as illustrated by this report

⁵⁷ For example: "‘Terror link’ charities get British millions in Gift Aid", *Daily 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: 22 January 2018; 'How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism', *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁸ For example, the blog Harry's Place has preserved a record of, an exposed, many of the individuals involved in the charities mentioned in this report.

⁵⁹ 'Evangelising Hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA)', Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (2014), available at: https://ex-muslim.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/EvangelisingHate_Report_Web.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

1.2 How to Identify Non-Violent Islamist Extremist Abuse of Charities?

It is not illegal to hold extremist views, but the importance of challenging them and thwarting their spread is key in the struggle against radicalisation. For this reason, it is vital to hone our ability to identify it. Furthermore, charities are a special case as they are required to “have regard” for public benefit.⁶⁰ Charities that support, or provide platforms for, extremists cannot reasonably be regarded as compatible with this requirement.

Whilst the government provides a broad and necessarily flexible definition of extremism that can encompass the full spectrum of extremism, including Islamist and far-right, there is no specific definition of Islamist extremism. However, a working definition of Islamist extremism is developing within political and legal discourse building on the government's more general approach.

1.2.1 The Government Definition and Islamist Extremism within Political Discourse

The government's Counter-Extremism Strategy, published in 2015, sets out the definition of extremism:

Extremism is the vocal or active opposition to our fundamental values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and the mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs. We also regard calls for the death of members of our armed forces as extremist.⁶¹

The Strategy recognises that extremist ideology and the actions it justifies or promotes that are contrary to these values can cause harm to society by, *inter alia*: justifying and glorifying violence, rejecting democracy; spreading divisive ‘us vs them’ messages, such as claims that there is a war being waged against Islam; motivating intolerance and hate crimes; encouraging isolation and damaging social cohesion; promoting alternative systems of law that are discriminatory; and promoting harmful and illegal practices such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), Forced Marriage and Honour-based Violence (HBV).⁶² The government's strategy correspondingly recognises that extremist ideology is the “root cause” of terrorism.⁶³

In July 2015, before the publication of the Counter-Extremism Strategy, then Prime Minister David Cameron provided further exegesis of his understanding of extremism. Cameron stated that the problem is not limited to violent extremism:

You don't have to support violence to subscribe to certain intolerant ideas which create a climate in which extremists can flourish. Ideas which are hostile to basic liberal values such as democracy, freedom and sexual equality. Ideas which promote discrimination, sectarianism and segregation.⁶⁴

The legality of these views does not mean that they should remain unchallenged. Cameron recognised that often non-violent extremist groups or individuals “are careful to operate inside the

⁶⁰ ‘Public benefit: rules for charities’, *HM Government*, 14 February 2014, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/public-benefit-rules-for-charities>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶¹ ‘Counter-Extremism Strategy’, *HM Government* (2015), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/470088/51859_Cm9148_Accessible.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 9.

⁶² *ibid.*, pp. 10-13.

⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁴ ‘Extremism’, *HM Government*, 20 July 2015, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/extremism-pm-speech>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

law, but [...] clearly detest British society and everything we stand for”.⁶⁵ Extremists may condemn violent extremism in whole or in part, but remain a problem that must be dealt with:

We've got to show that if you say “yes I condemn terror — but the *Kuffar* are inferior”, or “violence in London isn't justified, but suicide bombs in Israel are a different matter” — then you too are the problem. Unwittingly or not, and in a lot of cases it's not unwittingly, you are providing succour to those who want to commit, or get others to commit to, violence.⁶⁶

Illustrating some of the ideas espoused by individuals, the speech listed:

Ideas...based on conspiracy: that Jews exercise malevolent power; or that Western powers, in concert with Israel, are deliberately humiliating Muslims, because they aim to destroy Islam. In this warped worldview, such conclusions are reached – that 9/11 was actually inspired by Mossad to provoke the invasion of Afghanistan; that British security services knew about 7/7, but didn't do anything about it because they wanted to provoke an anti-Muslim backlash.⁶⁷

[...]

We should together challenge the ludicrous conspiracy theories of the extremists. The world is not conspiring against Islam; the security services aren't behind terrorist attacks; our new Prevent duty for schools is not about criminalising or spying on Muslim children. This is paranoia in the extreme.⁶⁸

In a similar way, the 2011 Prevent strategy definition of Islamism also recognises that:

There are no commonly agreed definitions of ‘Islamism’ and ‘Islamist’, and groups or individuals described as Islamist often have very different aims and views about how those aims might be realised. Some militant Islamists would endorse violence or terrorism to achieve their aims. Many Islamists do not.⁶⁹

1.2.2 Towards a Working Definition of Islamist Extremism

Whilst there is no legally binding definition of Islamist extremism, the increasing need to deal with the issue of Islamist extremism within a legal setting means that a working definition of Islamist extremism will likely continue to be clarified on a case by case basis.

Following claims made by broadcaster and journalist Andrew Neil on BBC programme *Sunday Politics* using Imam Shakeel Begg of Lewisham Islamic Centre as an example of “extremist speakers and speakers who espouse extremist positions”,⁷⁰ Begg brought a libel case against the channel. In 2016 the precedent-setting case was brought before the High Court and Judge Justice Haddon-Cave, who provided a ten-point list of distinguishing marks of Islamist extremism, some of which deal explicitly with non-violent extremism.⁷¹ Echoing the government's 2015 Prevent Duty Guidance, which includes in its definition of Islamist extremism the idea that the West is at “war

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ *ibid.*

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ ‘Prevent Strategy’, HM Government (2011), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97976/prevent-strategy-review.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 108.

⁷⁰ *Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016, para. 3.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, paras. 118-128.

with Islam”,⁷² Haddon-Cave included the “us versus them” world view in his definition. The “Manichean” world view, he described, divides the world into “those who are blessed or saved (*i.e.* the “right kind of Muslim)... and those who are to be damned for eternity (*i.e.* The wrong kind of Muslim and everyone else)”.⁷³ This may take the form of *takfir*, accusing another Muslim of apostasy for being the wrong kind of Muslim, such as a Shia or Ahmadi Muslims, and potentially justifies violence against them.

Particularly relevant pertaining to non-violent extremism among the ten points are:

- Interpreting sharia law in such a way that it requires breaking the ‘law of the land’;
- Classifying all non-Muslims as *kuffar* (derogatory: unbelievers), including Jews and Christians;
- The Salafist Islamist doctrine that claims “precepts of the Muslim faith” negate and supersede ties of nation, family and kinship;
- Citing with approval the religious rulings, *fatwas*, of extremist scholars, such as: former Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz; Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb; Palestinian academic Abdullah Azzam, who developed a doctrine of violent jihad; founder of Islamist group Jamaat e-Islami Abul A’la Maududi, who advocated violent jihad to eradicate non-Islamic forms of government; and Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna.⁷⁴

Significantly, the judgement explicitly names in a legal context a number of individuals regarded by the judge as extremist speakers including: Bilal Phillips, Abdullah Hakim Quick, Murtaza Khan, Sheikh Haitham al Haddad and Uthman Lateef.⁷⁵ All of these individuals have had involvement with UK registered charities.

A similar list was provided by then Prime Minister David Cameron in September 2015 including speakers regarded as extremist for expressing views “contrary to British values”. These individuals have also been involved with UK charities, including Haitham al Haddad, Uthman Lateef, Alomgir Ali, Imran Ibn Mansur (aka Dawah Man), Hamza Tzortzis and Salman Butt.⁷⁶

The ensuing case of *Salman Butt v Secretary of State for the Home Department* (2016) further clarifies, in a legal setting, the distinction between Islamic and political opinions, and extremism. The case was brought against the Home Secretary by Dr Salman Butt, chief editor of Islamist website Islam21c, who made various accusations against the Prevent strategy and its application in higher education.⁷⁷ In his ruling, which dismissed Butt’s claims, Justice Ouesely responded to arguments made by Dr Butt’s lawyer that it was unclear whether certain Islamic or political opinions,

⁷² ‘Revised Prevent Duty Guidance: for England and Wales’, HM Government (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: 22 January 2018, p. 3.

⁷³ *Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016, para. 1.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, paras. 124-127, 288, 294, 295, 305.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, para. 335.

⁷⁶ ‘Soas hits back at David Cameron's accusations that it played host to “hate preachers”’, *Independent*, 17 September 2015, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/soas-hits-back-at-david-camerons-accusations-that-it-played-host-to-hate-preachers-10506676.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁷ *Butt v the Secretary of State for the Home Department*, [2017] EWHC 1930 (Admin) (26 July 2017), available at: <http://www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/Admin/2017/1930.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

such as “characterising homosexuality as a sin or opposing UK foreign policy” would amount to non-violent extremism.

Justice Ouesely stated that “asking whether language is or is not non-violent extremism, is to aim off the true target which is whether what is said risks drawing people into terrorism [...] Homosexuality could be characterised as a sin and opposition expressed to UK foreign policy in the Middle East in language which was extreme, non-violent, and which, depending on the words used could or could not risk drawing people into terrorism”.⁷⁸ However:

Arguing that adulterers should be stoned to death is violent extremism. Arguing that the law should be changed through non-violent democratic Parliamentary means, so that adulterers can be stoned to death in fulfilment of divinely given law, could be non-violent extremism, and could be seen to create a risk of drawing people into terrorism. The argument might lead others, persuaded by it of the merit of the aim, to reject the means, as an impious impediment to God's rule on earth.⁷⁹

Importantly, Justice Ouesely recognises, as Cameron did during his 2015 speech, that those who may reject violent means and condemn terrorism must nevertheless be challenged, as some may advocate democratic participation with illiberal and extremist ends in mind. These views, whilst not illegal, remain harmful and charitable organisations who provide a platform and legitimacy to such individuals should not go unchallenged.

1.2.3 The Charity Commission's Approach

In January 2013 the Commission published specific guidance on *Protecting Charities From Abuse For Extremist Purposes* to advise trustees, staff and volunteers on protecting their charity from “anyone encouraging or condoning extremism, terrorism or illegal activity”.⁸⁰ It states that:

All charities must comply with UK law and so must not promote or support terrorism or extremism, or other illegal conduct, such as racial or religious hatred. Nor can a charity's name, premises or money be used to promote extremist or other activities which are inappropriate under charity law.⁸¹

The Guidance's ‘Legal Framework’ is clear that the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion cannot be used to protect the inappropriate use of charities to support or provide a platform for extremist positions:

Under human rights law, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of expression and freedom of association are guaranteed. But they are not absolute rights and can be restricted, for example on grounds of protection of public order or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

A charity's activities can only be in pursuit of lawful charitable purposes. Concerns about a charity involved in promoting, supporting or giving a platform to inappropriate radical and

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, para. 138.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, para. 138.

⁸⁰ ‘Compliance Toolkit: Protecting Charities From Harm’, HM Government (2013), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/572853/Chapter5.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 2.

extremist views, would call into question whether what it was doing was lawful under both the criminal law and charity law.⁸²

Instances in which the trustees may be expected to curtail free speech include when they are informed that speakers at their charity's event may:

- Discriminate against a protected group;
- Commit a criminal offence;
- Incite others to commit criminal acts;
- Act in any way contrary to the civil or human rights of the individuals or the charity itself.⁸³

This guidance provides clarification of the Commission's understanding of extremism:

Under charity law, charities must comply with the public benefit requirement. Views or activities which are violent or which encourage violence cannot be for the public benefit because they are illegal. In addition, there are other extreme views and activities, particularly activities which seek to radicalise or use radicalising materials which may be inappropriate for a charity to host or promote. Such views may not be in furtherance of the charity's purposes, or may breach the rules on political activities. Other extreme views may help to create an environment conducive to terrorism. In addition, promoting views which are harmful to social cohesion, such as denigrating those of a particular faith or promoting segregation on religious or racial grounds, or which seek to radicalise by making claims to which violence is subsequently presented as the only solution may well be inconsistent with the public benefit requirement even though such views might fall well below the criminal threshold. All these pose unacceptable risks to a charity.⁸⁴

According to the commission, extremists can seek to abuse charities in a number of ways, including "during the course of a charity's activities, through the use of its premises, by speakers at charity events, through the use of the charity's communications network to promote extremist literature. Abuse activities may be carried out by someone involved in or connected to a charity, by individuals outside of it or by other organisations."⁸⁵

Example scenarios include:

- The charity organises events promoting or condoning inappropriate extremist views;
- The charity's premises are used by someone to promote extremist views or terrorist activity;
- The charity invites speakers or uses volunteers they know are likely to promote extremist views to influence or direct the charity's work;
- The charity's event or meeting is used by a visiting speaker to promote extremist messages;
- Trustees, staff or other charity representatives engage in inappropriate behaviour or make inappropriate extremist comments in their personal capacity;
- Extremists using the charity to endorse them or give them status and credibility;

⁸² 'Chapter 5: The legal framework', *HM Government*, 5 January 2013, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/protecting-charities-from-abuse-for-extremist-purposes/chapter-5-the-legal-framework>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸³ 'Compliance Toolkit: Protecting Charities From Harm', *HM Government*, January 2013, p. 15.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 8.

- The charity uses or promotes extremist literature and makes it available to the charity's beneficiaries, such as posting material on the charity's website, making it available on the premises, bookshop, or through other media;
- The charity allows other groups to hire or use charity premises to hold events at which extremist views are expressed or promoted, or funds collected for extremist or terrorist purposes;
- The charity is used to support extremists, such as by providing funds or assistance only to people that hold certain extreme views or beliefs;
- The name of the charity is associated with an event that provides a platform for extremist views or hosts a speaker known to have made extremist comments. Likewise such an event may also be used to fund the charity or is using the charity's name in advertising to attract attendees;
- The charity's communications network is exploited by those who aim to promote or develop extremist views to help them contact and meet each other. The Commission recognises that a charity may be "simply provid[ing] the opportunity for them to meet".⁸⁶

According to the framework that emerges from the above definitions and guidance, a number of UK-registered charities currently active are being exploited by Islamist extremists to support and provide legitimacy for their illiberal and extreme beliefs.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p. 8.

Terrorist, or Violent Extremist Abuse

- The diversion of funds by actors within NPOs, or externally by foreign partners;
- Affiliation with a terrorist entity, which could be used for example, to provide logistical support to that terrorist entity;
- NPOs used to support recruitment efforts of terrorist entities;
- NPOs targeted for 'abuse of programming', such as NPO programmes being abused at the point of delivery;
- Terrorist entities falsely representing themselves as NPOs or as agents of 'good works' to deceive donors.

Non-Violent Extremist Abuse

- Employees have made extremist comments or hold extremist views;
- Provide a platform e.g. through events or publishing or distributing literature;
- Expose vulnerable individuals or beneficiaries to extremist ideas or individuals;
- Provide an opportunity for individuals to meet extremists;
- Partnered with or sponsored events by, or raising money for, extremist groups or individuals;
- Giving an individual credibility through endorsement.
- Vocal support of violent or non-violent extremists or their causes.

Figure 4: Examples of How Charities Can Be Used for Terrorist and Non-violent Extremist Purposes

2. The Struggle to Uproot Extremism from the Charitable Sector

2.1 2001-2013: Movements towards Regulatory Reform

Beyond definition, to actively challenge these organisations, effective regulation is required. Historically, it has been difficult to deal with this issue because the Charity Commission could not legally “deregister a charity because it is a bad charity”.⁸⁷ As counter-intuitive as it may seem, only the trustees have this power because UK Charity Law holds the trustees responsible for mismanagement and abuse, not the organisation itself. Among other issues, this has made it particularly difficult protect the sector against institutionally problematic organisations, where a statutory inquiry, new procedures or a change in personnel make little difference to the overall activity of the charity long term.

Significant advancements were made following almost two decades of discussion and the Commission was finally given increased powers with the aim of tightening the regulation of the charitable sector by The Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016.⁸⁸ As a result, more powers were given to the Commission to tackle a variety of abuses of the charities, including extremism. Section 7 of the Act now includes the power for the Charity Commission to, following a formal inquiry, “direct that a charity be wound up if satisfied that it does not operate or that its purposes can be more effectively carried out if it ceases to exist”.⁸⁹ The Act also improved the action that can be taken against the trustees of a charity, amongst other significant extensions of the Commission’s powers (detailed in 2.2).

The movement towards these powers began when in 2002 the Prime Minister Tony Blair’s Labour government published *Private Action, Public Benefit*, which intended to open a debate around reform in the charitable sector and allow charities to maintain public trust whilst operating effectively.⁹⁰ This became the basis of the 2004 Charities Bill and ultimately the Charities Act 2006.⁹¹

However, it was the Hodgson review of the 2006 Act that first made the recommendation that the government should “consider if and how to widen the types of criminal offences disqualifying individuals from charity trusteeship”.⁹² The consultation paper that followed on *Extending the Charity Commission’s Powers to Tackle Abuse in Charities* (2013) proposed 17 reforms for consideration, including the automatic disqualification of trustees with serious terrorism convictions, giving the Charity Commission the power to disqualify trustees and to close down charities that have

⁸⁷ Exposure: Charities Behaving Badly, ITV, 2015.

⁸⁸ ‘Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016’, HM Government (2016), available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2016/4/pdfs/ukpga_20160004_en.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁹ Quint, F., ‘Protection of Charities Under the Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016: Too Little or Too Much?’, The Charity Law & Practice Review, p. 8.

⁹⁰ ‘Trusted and Independent: Giving charity back to charities; Charities Act 2006 review’, HM Government (2012), available at: <http://www.philanthropy-impact.org/sites/default/files/downloads/review-of-the-charities-act-2006.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 12; ‘Private Action, Public Benefit: A review of Charities and the Wider not-for-Profit Sector’, HM Government (2002), available at: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/cabinetoffice/strategy/assets/strat%20data.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹¹ ‘Trusted and Independent: Giving charity back to charities; Charities Act 2006 review’, HM Government (2012), p. 13

⁹² *ibid.*, p. 43; Brindle, D., ‘The Charities Act: what you need to know’, *The Guardian*, 3 February 2016, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network/2016/feb/03/the-charities-act-what-you-need-to-know>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

been involved in abuse.⁹³ The proposal to extend the list of criteria triggering the automatic disqualification of trustees included:

- Terrorism related offences, including terrorist acts, financing, glorification of terrorism (Terrorism Act 2000 and 2006);
- Persons or entities “designated” under the Terrorist Asset-Freezing etc. Act 2010;
- The incitement of racial or religious hatred, or inciting hatred on the ground of sexual orientation (Public Order Act 1986 as amended).⁹⁴

On the same day the National Audit Office (NAO) published a report which claimed that the Commission did not “do enough to identify those trustees who may be seeking to abuse charitable status”. The NAO report stated that the Commission was “reactive rather than proactive” and had “reduced its monitoring of charities that are at high risk of causing serious harm and abuse”.⁹⁵ It concluded:

The Commission is not regulating charities effectively. It does important and necessary work and its independent status is highly valued, but it does not do enough to identify and tackle the abuse of charitable status. It uses information poorly to assess risk and often relies solely on trustees’ assurances. Where it does identify concerns in charities, it makes little use of its powers and fails to take tough action in some of the most serious cases. This undermines the Commission’s ability to meet its statutory objective to increase public trust and confidence in charities. We conclude that the Commission is not delivering value for money.⁹⁶

Later NAO reports, such as that published in 2015, assessed that the Commission was becoming increasingly proactive, particularly in sharing information with the police and making more effective use of its powers.⁹⁷

Following Lord Hodgson’s review, in January 2013 the Public Affairs Select Committee published its report scrutinising the 2006 Charities Act. The Committee concluded that the objectives of the Commission set out in the 2006 Act were too “vague and aspirational ... to determine what the Charity Commission should do, given the limitations of its resources, to fulfil its statutory objectives”, and represented an impossible task even before the cuts to their budget.⁹⁸ The Committee found that due to the budget cuts any tasks outside of its statutory objectives were an “unaffordable luxury”, and that it did not have the resources to deal with lobbying and legal pressure from well-resourced organisations. In addition, a conflict of interest was identified in the Commission’s role as advisor and regulator.⁹⁹ They therefore called for “ministers to revise the

⁹³ ‘Consultation on extending the Charity Commission’s Powers to Tackle Abuse in Charities’, HM Government (2013), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/263248/Consultation-on-Extending-the-Charity-Commissions-powers_4-December.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 13.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, para. 55, p. 18.

⁹⁵ ‘The regulatory effectiveness of the Charity Commission’, National Audit Office (2013), available at: <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/10297-001-Charity-Commission-Book.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 8.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹⁷ ‘Follow-up on the Charity Commission’, National Audit Office (2015), available at: <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Follow-up-on-the-charity-commission.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁸ ‘The role of the Charity Commission and “public benefit”: Post-legislative scrutiny of the Charities Act 2006’, HM Government (2013), available at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmpubadm/76/76.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 52.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 52.

statutory objectives of the Charity Commission, to allow the Commission to focus its limited resources on regulating the sector”.¹⁰⁰

Later that year, in December 2013, the call for more power for the Commission was emphasised by the Report from the Prime Minister's Task Force on *Tackling Radicalisation and Extremism*, that committed to “consulting on new legislation to strengthen the powers of the Charity Commission” to help tackle extremism and other abuses of charitable status.¹⁰¹

2.2 2014-2015: Prelude to the Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016

In the period following the 2006 Charities Act, between 2007-8 to 2013-14, the Commission saw a 50% real-terms cut to its budget from £31.7m to just £21.4m,¹⁰² whilst at the same time experiencing increasing criticism for its inability to properly regulate the sector. The Commission's Chair, William Shawcross, wrote, “Turning the Charity Commission into a robust regulator has not been easy, as our budget from the Treasury has been reduced by 50 per cent to £21 million over the past 6 years. We have 300 people overseeing a sector worth £69 billion”.¹⁰³ During his time as Chair, the Commission has sought to increase the use of its powers and in 2013 called for more.¹⁰⁴

In February 2014 the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) published a report on Gift Aid and other tax reliefs on charitable donations, criticising the Commission. The Chair of the Committee, Margaret Hodge MP, stated that:

The Charity Commission is still performing poorly and failing to regulate the charity sector effectively. It is obvious that it has no coherent strategy and has been simply buffeted by external events. It is clear the Charity Commission is not fit for purpose. The Commission too willingly accepts what charities tell it when it is investigating alleged abuses. It too often fails to verify or challenge the claims made. Some of the most serious cases of abuse have not been properly investigated. It has been too slow in removing or suspending trustees and in pursuing investigations promptly.¹⁰⁵

To provide the Commission with more power to regulate, new legislation was proposed. The *Draft Protection of Charities Bill* (2014) included 10 of the original 17 proposals.¹⁰⁶ The proposals dropped included giving the Commission the power to issue directions to charities without opening a statutory inquiry, the power to issue preventative directions if the charity is deemed at risk of mismanagement or misconduct, and to direct banks to monitor charities' accounts.¹⁰⁷

During this period the Commission, particularly its Chair, William Shawcross, was outspoken and clear about its desire to protect the sector from extremism. In the Commission's *Tackling Abuse*

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ ‘Tackling extremism in the UK’, HM Government (2013), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/263181/ETF_FINAL.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018. p. 3.

¹⁰² ‘Charity Finance Summit 2014’, Charity Commission (2014), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/362813/Charity_Finance_Summit_-_Paula_Sussex_-_presentation.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰³ Shawcross, W., ‘Charities must not abuse our great generosity’, *Daily Telegraph*, 5 February 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/12143506/Charities-must-not-abuse-our-great-generosity.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ ‘Charity Commission not fit for purpose’, *HM Government*, 5 February 2014, available at: <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/public-accounts-committee/news/publication-of-report-tax-reliefs-on-charitable-donations/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Draft Protection of Charities Bill’, HM Government (2014), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/365710/43820_Cm_8954_web_accessible_Draft_protection_of_charities_bill.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁷ Brindle, D., ‘The Charities Act: what you need to know’, *Guardian*, 3 February 2016, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network/2016/feb/03/the-charities-act-what-you-need-to-know>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

and Mismanagement 2014-15 report published in December 2015, it named countering the threat of extremist abuse of charities among their three strategic priorities, alongside tackling fraud and safeguarding vulnerable beneficiaries.¹⁰⁸ Shawcross wrote that terrorist and extremist abuse remains “one of the most deadly threats faced by some charities today. Although not the majority of our work, or an area that affects all charities in the same way, it is significant, and we work closely to support other agencies in this area, representing over 20 per cent of the disclosures made between us, the police and other agencies”.¹⁰⁹

The Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016 finally introduced a number of powers that can be used to protect charities from extremism, including (but not limited to):

- A new power to issue official warnings to a trustee or charity involved in a breach of trust, misconduct or mismanagement, irrespective of whether there has been a formal inquiry;
- A discretionary power of disqualification, allowing the commission to disqualify any person from being a trustee or management of a charity under certain conditions. These include: an individual who has been cautioned for an offence resulting in automatic disqualification, such as theft from a charity; an individual convicted outside the UK for an equivalent offence; an individual not regarded by HMRC as a ‘fit and proper person’ to act as a trustee; an individual involved in misconduct or mismanagement; an individual whose past or current conduct could damage public trust and confidence in charities generally or specifically;
- A provision expanding the power of suspension, to include failing to comply with an order or direction issued by the Commission as a form of misconduct or mismanagement and enabling this suspension to be renewed for up to 12 months with a limit of two years;
- An extension of the conduct considered relevant by the Commission when exercising its powers, to include the conduct of an individual in relation to any charity or any conduct that could damage trust and confidence;
- A power to remove trustees following a formal inquiry;
- Power to direct a trustee not to take or continue a specified action;
- The power to direct the winding up of a charity following a formal inquiry;
- Direction to apply property;
- An expansion of the circumstances under which the Commission has the power to automatically disqualify trustees.¹¹⁰

Chair William Shawcross said that the Charity Act 2016 will

enable us to tackle abuses more effectively. It will also close absurd loopholes such as the fact that, until now, people with terrorist convictions have in theory been able to run charities. The law will help us in our crucial counter-terrorism work, along with countering fraud and protecting the vulnerable. In counter-terrorism, our challenges range from the man in the high street with a bucket, claiming to raise funds for humanitarian relief but

¹⁰⁸ ‘Tackling abuse and mismanagement 2014-15’, HM Government (2015), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/486709/TAM_Foreword.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Quint, F. ‘Protection of Charities Under the Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016: Too Little or Too Much?’, *The Charity Law & Practice Review*, p. 7-10

actually funding jihadists in Syria, to the large national charity whose trucks end up in an Islamic State convoy. In trying to stop Islamist abuses, we are protecting good Muslim charities as well as the public.¹¹¹

It is yet to be seen how the new powers will be implemented, and whether they will be used effectively. The most recent information available on this comes from the National Audit Office report published in November 2017 that concluded the Commission was making use of its powers but that it “needs to manage the risk that its powers will not be sufficient in the future”. The report found that the Commission had used its new powers 50 times since May 2016, but that it did not have “systematic ways of identifying what powers it needs and whether its current powers continue to be sufficient as the risks of abuse of charities and non-compliance with charity regulations change”.¹¹² Whilst the Commission appears to be moving in the right direction, the evidence presented below suggests that the challenge is such that even the current powers may not be fit for tackling the nature of the problem.

¹¹¹ Shawcross, W., ‘Charities must not abuse our great generosity’, *Daily Telegraph*, 5 February 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/12143506/Charities-must-not-abuse-our-great-generosity.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹² ‘Charity Commission: Progress report’, National Audit Office (2017), available at: <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Charity-Commission-progress-report.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

3. Cases of Islamist Extremism within Charities: Past and Present

The cases detailed below focus not on abuse for terrorist purposes, but how charities can be used to spread non-violent extremism. As the cases show, the line is often blurred between violent and non-violent extremism within these organisations, with some organisations connected to terrorist activities also showing signs of extremism, and individuals involved in charities espousing both violent and non-violent ideas.

In the past, when the Charity Commission has attempted to prevent charities from funding extremist or pro-terrorist groups they have met with various difficulties. This is well illustrated by the case of the charitable funding to pro-terrorist prisoner advocacy group CAGE. In December 2013, The Charity Commission began looking into the Roddick Foundation and Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust that had been providing funds to CAGE.¹¹³ In March 2015 the Commission concluded that providing funds to CAGE was a threat to public trust and confidence in charities, and therefore they “required further unequivocal assurances from the two charities that they have ceased funding CAGE and had no intention of doing so in the future”.¹¹⁴

The High Court ruled that the Charity Commission should face a judicial review of this decision¹¹⁵ after CAGE claimed the Commission had gone beyond its lawful remit.¹¹⁶ After the parties agreed the Commission conceded that it “does not seek to fetter the charities’ exercise of discretion whether to fund CAGE for all time, irrespective of changed circumstances [and...] recognises that it has no power to require trustees to fetter the future exercise of their general powers under its general power to give advice and guidance. In consequence there is no obligation on the trustees [...] to fetter the proper and lawful exercise of their discretion in the future”.¹¹⁷ However, they maintained that “trustees risk breaching their duties for charity trustees by funding groups like CAGE”.¹¹⁸

Furthermore, the attempts to improve the Charity Commission’s regulatory powers as described above have been met with resistance. Some have taken a principled objection, concerned that the new powers lacked appropriate safeguards, and that, as the Directory of Social Change argued, it marks a shift of power from civil society to the state that is “fundamentally illiberal”, making the “commission judge, jury and executioner”.¹¹⁹

Others, as we saw echoed in Baroness Warsi’s comments, made accusations that the Charity Commission was targeting non-extremist *Islamic* charities – an argument that has been peddled by

¹¹³ ‘The 2015 charity fundraising controversy: lessons for trustees, the Charity Commission, and regulators’, Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee (2016), available at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201516/cmselect/cmpubadm/431/431.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 15.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 15.

¹¹⁵ ‘High court orders judicial review of Cage charity funding decision’, *Guardian*, 23 July 2015, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/jul/23/high-court-orders-judicial-review-of-cage-charity-commission-funding-decision>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁶ ‘Charity Commission and terrorism suspect campaigners Cage in high court’, *Guardian*, 21 October 2015, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/oct/21/charity-commission-cage-high-court-battle>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁷ ‘The 2015 charity fundraising controversy: lessons for trustees, the Charity Commission, and regulators’, Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee (2016), p. 16.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹⁹ ‘Charity Law: you have been warned’, *Third Sector*, 29 March 2016, available at: <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/charity-law-warned/article/1388644>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

extremists themselves. In November 2014 a report entitled “Muslim Charities: A Suspect Sector” received coverage in the mainstream media,¹²⁰ claiming that Muslim charities are being “disproportionately investigated and monitored” by the Charity Commission.¹²¹ The organisation behind the report, Claystone, describes itself as an “independent think tank formed to offer research, analysis and reasoned solutions to foster social cohesion in relation to Muslims in Britain”.¹²² However, in a 2014 article in the *Daily Telegraph*, journalist Andrew Gilligan wrote that Claystone “is in fact closely linked to extremists, including Haitham al Haddad”, a popular extremist speaker who has been regularly involved with UK-registered charities (see 4.4.6).¹²³ Some of the Muslim charities included in their list as unjustly targeted Muslim charities included Children in Deen, Al-Fatiha Global, Muslim Aid and Viva Palestina (see below).¹²⁴

The following section outlines the ways in which UK-registered charities in the near past, and present, have abused charitable status in support of Islamist extremism, including: the support for violent and non-violent extremism through humanitarian aid, the involvement of trustees in Islamist extremism, the abuse of *dawah* (proselytisation) charities providing platforms for a network of extremist preachers, and finally, an in-depth case study of Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS), providing a detailed illustration of an institutionally problematic charity.

3.1 The Ways in Which Charities Can Be Abused by Islamist Extremists

Whether a charity is created for the purpose of supporting extremism or it suffers entryism from extremist individuals, charities can, and have been, abused by Islamist extremists to further their ends in a number of ways, and in many cases, the line between non-violent and violent extremism is blurred. Based on the Charity Commission’s example scenarios, the following examples of charities past and present include cases where:¹²⁵

- Trustees have been involved with violent Islamist extremism;
- Employees have made extremist comments or hold extremist views;
- Charities facilitate, wittingly or unwittingly, travel to conflict zones where the individual engages in terrorism, such as through an aid convoy;
- Charities provide funding to violent or non-violent extremist groups, individuals or causes;
- Charities provide a platform, either through events or publishing or distributing literature of violent or non-violent extremists;
- Charities expose vulnerable individuals or beneficiaries to extremist ideas or individuals;
- Charities provide an opportunity for individuals involved with the charity, for example, at a fundraising event, to meet extremists;

¹²⁰ Belaon, A., ‘Muslim Charities: a suspect sector’, Claystone (2014), available at: http://www.claystone.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/MuslimCharities_SuspectSector_Claystone.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Charities investigated for radicalization and extremist links’, *Independent*, 17 November 2014, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/charities-investigated-for-radicalisation-and-extremist-links-9865169.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²¹ *ibid.*

¹²² ‘About Us’, *Claystone*, available at: <http://www.claystone.org.uk/why-claystone/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²³ ‘Terror link charities get British millions in gift aid’, *Daily 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?fb>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁴ Belaon, A., ‘Muslim Charities: a suspect sector’, Claystone (2014), available at: http://www.claystone.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/MuslimCharities_SuspectSector_Claystone.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁵ ‘Compliance toolkit: protecting charities from harm, chapter 5: Protecting charities from abuse for extremist purposes’, Charity Commission, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/572853/Chapter5.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 8.

- Charities partner with or sponsor events by, or raising money for, extremist groups or individuals;
- Charities give an individual credibility through endorsement;
- Vocal support of violent or non-violent extremists or their causes.

The cases below highlight the scale and variety of the challenge faced.

3.2 Aid Convoys and Humanitarian Aid

There are a number of well-reported incidents involving charities providing humanitarian aid and running aid convoys being involved in non-violent and violent extremism; above all, they highlight the blurred line between the two. On 16 October 2017 the Charity Commission published recent cases of individuals convicted of terrorism offences who were involved with charities.¹²⁶ On 23 December 2016 two individuals, Syed Hoque and Mashoud Miah were convicted of entering into funding arrangements that they knew to be for the purposes of terrorism (contrary to Sec 17 Terrorism Act 2000).¹²⁷

Syed Hoque had been involved with the East London-based charity Shade, which among other activities, provides humanitarian aid.¹²⁸ The Commission stated that the charity provided an open letter of accreditation to Hoque and that, without due diligence or monitoring his activities, Shade's trustees told the Commission that they accepted his assurances that his travel to Syria would promote the charity.¹²⁹

Mashoud Miah was connected to Helping Humanity, which is not a registered charity but claimed to be raising charitable funds. A Metropolitan Police investigation found that Miah possessed documents relating to Helping Humanity suggesting his involvement in its administration. The Commission intervened to get the directors to end the organisation's activities and close its bank account.¹³⁰

During their trial the Charity Commission stated that they were investigating a number of charities organising aid convoys, including Al Fatiha Global, with which one of the pair was also involved.¹³¹ Alan Henning, an aid worker who was kidnapped and executed by Islamic State, travelled with an aid convoy reportedly organised by either Al-Fatiha Global or Rochdale Aid 4 Syria, which raises money for Al-Fatiha and others.¹³²

¹²⁶ 'Regulator publishes reports of cases involving individuals convicted of terrorism offences', *Charity Commission*, 16 October 2017, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/regulator-publishes-reports-of-cases-involving-individuals-convicted-of-terrorism-offences>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁸ *ibid.*; 'SHADE', *Charity Commission*, 29 April 2017, available at: <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityWithoutPartB.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=1149699&SubsidiaryNumber=0>, last visited: 7 February 2018; 'Regulator publishes reports of cases involving individuals convicted of terrorism offences', *Charity Commission*, 16 October 2017.

¹²⁹ 'Regulator publishes reports of cases involving individuals convicted of terrorism offences', *Charity Commission*, 16 October 2017, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/regulator-publishes-reports-of-cases-involving-individuals-convicted-of-terrorism-offences>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*

¹³¹ 'Syria aid convoys: Two guilty over terror funding', *BBC News*, 23 December 2016, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-38419488>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³² 'Aid worker hostage Alan Henning "travelled to Syria with Al-Fatiha Global convoy"', *Third Sector*, 16 September 2014, available at: <http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/aid-worker-hostage-alan-henning-travelled-syria-al-fatiha-global-convoy/governance/article/1312327>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Al Fatiha Global is a UK-registered charity that had a total income of £218,778 in the financial year ending 2016.¹³³ It was investigated by the Charity Commission in 2014¹³⁴ after the son of its Chief Executive was photographed in Syria with two men holding assault rifles.¹³⁵ The Charity Commission had “serious concerns about [the charity’s] governance and financial management” and set out to investigate allegations of “inappropriate links between the charity and individuals purportedly involved in supporting armed or other inappropriate activities in Syria”.¹³⁶ As a result they had been monitoring the charity since 2013,¹³⁷ and appointed an interim manager who established new policies on the charity’s overseas work.¹³⁸

Additionally, Aid4Syria, whose parent charity was al-Fatiha,¹³⁹ and for which Alan Henning had been an ambulance driver, showed signs of extremism. The charity had promoted an event entitled “O’Ummah Wake Up and Rise!” on its Facebook page, involving speakers Zahir Mahmood and Moazzam Begg (see 4.5.8 and 4.4.19). The convoy’s team leader had posted on his Facebook page “Our men love death like your men love life”, alluding to a similar quote by Osama bin Laden.¹⁴⁰ Aid4Syria had also named its water project and emergency vehicles after Aafia Siddiqui,¹⁴¹ who was convicted in the US for attempting to kill US military personnel.¹⁴²

One of the charity workers on the convoy, Majid Freeman, had posted extremist comments online, including calling for prayers for the brothers of Islamic State fighter Ifthekar Jaman.¹⁴³ Jaman’s brothers were jailed in 2015 for helping others travel to Syria.¹⁴⁴ Freeman also had approvingly posted a link on Facebook to a video presenting Islamic State as a legitimate reaction to Western foreign policy. He tweeted “Britain join war of terror. Drop bombs in populated areas. Innocent civilians lose loved ones = Isis to get revenge”.¹⁴⁵ He likewise described Al Qaeda fighter Jaffar Deghayes as a martyr who died “defending the oppressed”.¹⁴⁶ Freeman had retweeted support for Al Qaeda affiliate Jabhat al Nusra, as well as the group’s propaganda, and on Facebook wrote that

¹³³ ‘Al-Fatiha Global report and financial statements’, Charity Commission (2016), available at:

http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends62/0001056562_AC_20161231_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁴ ‘Statutory inquiry: Charity Commission discharges Al-Fatiha Global’s interim manager’, *Al-Fatiha Global*, 2 December 2015, available at:

<https://www.alfatihaglobal.com/statutory-inquiry>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁵ ‘“Terror link” charities get British millions in gift aid’, *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁶ ‘Alan Henning murder: regulator takes over charity amid fears over extremist links’, *BBC News*, 14 January 2015, available at:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-30818412>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁷ ‘Charity Commission appoints interim manager to the aid charity Al-Fatiha Global’, *Third Sector*, 9 January 2015, available at:

<http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/charity-commission-appoints-interim-manager-aid-charity-al-fatiha-global/governance/article/1328632>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*

¹³⁹ ‘Friend of murdered hostage Alan Henning defends Isil online’, *Daily Telegraph*, 16 November 2014, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11233372/Friend-of-murdered-hostage-Alan-Henning-defends-Isil-online.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁰ ‘British hostage Alan Henning kidnapped half an hour after crossing Syrian border’, *Daily Telegraph*, 15 September 2014, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11098132/British-hostage-Alan-Henning-kidnapped-half-an-hour-after-crossing-Syrian-border.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴¹ ‘Alan Henning charity campaigned for release of “Lady al-Qaeda” Aafia Siddiqui’, *Daily Telegraph*, 16 September 2014, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11099969/Alan-Henning-charity-campaigned-for-release-of-Lady-al-Qaeda-Aafia-Siddiqui.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴² ‘US jails Pakistani scientist for 86 years’, *BBC News*, 23 September 2010, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-11401865>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴³ ‘Friend of murdered hostage Alan Henning defends Isil online’, *Daily Telegraph*, 16 November 2014, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11233372/Friend-of-murdered-hostage-Alan-Henning-defends-Isil-online.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Our brother died a martyr fighting in Syria’, *Channel 4*, 5 February 2014, available at: <https://www.channel4.com/news/ifukhar-jaman-syria-death-isis-jihad-british-portsmouth>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Brothers of ISIS poster boy Ifthekar Jaman who lived with their parents in Portsmouth while helping to sneak terrorists to Syria are jailed for six years each’, *Daily Mail*, 18 November 2015, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3324198/Brothers-ISIS-poster-boy-Ifthekar-Jaman-lived-parents-Portsmouth-helping-sneak-terrorists-Syria-jailed-six-years-each.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*

Jerusalem would be “conquered by jihad, not by peace”.¹⁴⁷ Freeman had publicised an event of iERA (see 3.5.4)¹⁴⁸ and has supported HHUGS (see 4) on Facebook.¹⁴⁹

Freeman continues to raise money for the charity One Nation,¹⁵⁰ which was also involved in the convoy.¹⁵¹ One of One Nation's trustees, Arshad Patel, was arrested, though not charged, during the investigations into the 7 July 2005 bombings in London. Patel's sister was the wife of Mohammed Sadiq Khan, one of the attack's suicide bombers.¹⁵² The Charity Commission's “concerns” regarding the charity were known in May 2014,¹⁵³ and after a follow-up visit to the charity in July 2016 an inquiry was opened the following November due to concerns regarding the charity's management and administration. The Commission's concerns were greater given that the charity's trustees had already been given regulatory advice regarding, among other things, its areas of operation and the use of funds.¹⁵⁴

In September 2014, One Nation organised an event including speaker Sheikh Mumtaz ul Haq.¹⁵⁵ Ul Haq has spoken against Shias¹⁵⁶ and Ahmadis, referring to them derogatively as *qadianis*.¹⁵⁷ Also speaking at the event was Dr Shameela Islam-Zulfikar.¹⁵⁸ Islam-Zulfikar was also on the board of the convoy funded by Al-Fatiha Global and Aid4Syria.¹⁵⁹ In the past she has expressed support for Aafia Siddiqui.¹⁶⁰ In addition, One Nation previously funded other organisations, such as the Hamas-affiliated Al Falah Benevolent Society.¹⁶¹

During the same year that the investigation began, though concerns were already public, the charity's finances rose dramatically; in the financial year ending 2016, One Nation had a total income of £2.7 million—an increase of almost £2 million on the previous year.¹⁶² During the financial year 2016, One Nation also received £80,901 in taxpayer money through Gift Aid (see Appendix 1).¹⁶³

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ ‘Friend of murdered hostage Alan Henning defends Isil online’, *Daily Telegraph*, 16 November 2014.

¹⁴⁹ Majid Freeman, *Facebook*, 5 September 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/MajidFreeman650/posts/636297316529656>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Emergency Rohingya Appeal – Majid’, *Total Giving*, available at: <https://www.totalgiving.co.uk/mypage/rohingyamajid#menu>, last visited: 22 January 2018; @Majstar7, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/majstar7?lang=en>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁵¹ ‘Friend of murdered hostage Alan Henning defends Isil online’, *Daily Telegraph*, 16 November 2014.

¹⁵² *ibid.*

¹⁵³ ‘7/7 bomber's brother in copy charity probe’, *Sun*, 14 May 2014, available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/archives/news/808035/77-bombers-brother-in-cop-charity-probe/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁵⁴ ‘New charity investigation: One Nation’, *Charity Commission*, 23 December 2016, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-charity-investigation-one-nation>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁵⁵ Archived poster.

¹⁵⁶ ‘The Natural Successor – Abu Bakr (ra) Sheikh Mumtaz Ul Haq’, *YouTube*, 12 May 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Tef94wQ1JA&list=PL2EB815CBC3248A3C&index=7>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁵⁷ Sahykh Mumtaz ul Haq Facebook post, *Facebook*, 28 March 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/shaykhmumtazulhaq/posts/479511612258469>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁵⁸ Archived poster.

¹⁵⁹ ‘British doctors leave for Syria despite Abbas Khan death’, *Guardian*, 21 December 2013, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/21/british-doctors-syria-abbas-khan>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁶⁰ Shameela Islam-Zulfikar Facebook post, *Facebook*, 3 August 2014, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/Shameela.AsianCreations.MUA/posts/689795384441095>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁶¹ Archived photo; ‘Hamas may not be moderate, but it's cracking down on extremism’, *Haaretz*, 3 December 2009, available at: <https://www.haaretz.com/hamas-may-not-be-moderate-but-it-s-cracking-down-on-extremism-1.2836>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Is Ajmal Masroor an extremist?’, *Harry's Place*, 2 May 2014, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2014/05/02/is-ajmal-masroor-an-extremist/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁶² ‘One Nation: trustee's report and financial statements’, Charity Commission (2016), available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends00/0001156200_AC_20160930_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁶³ *ibid.*

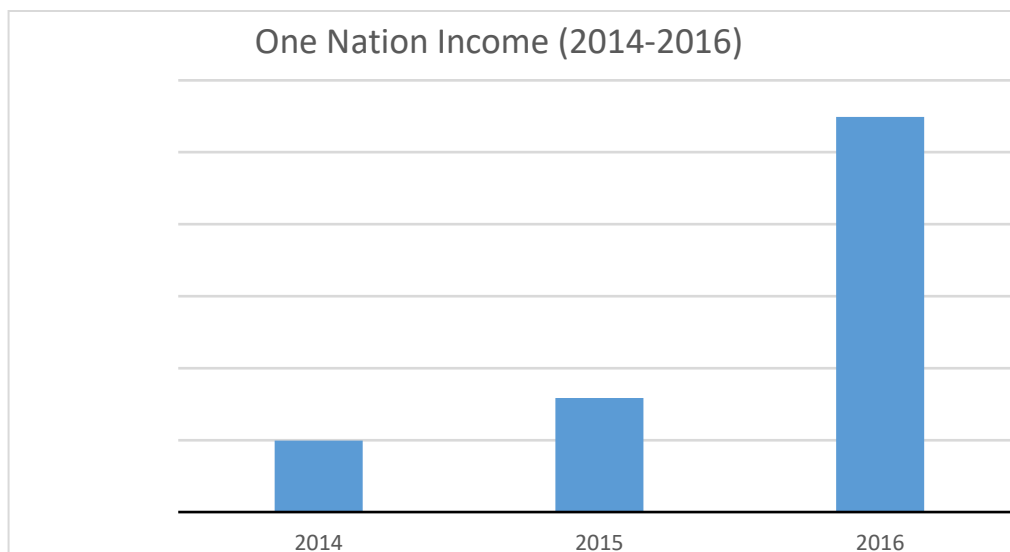


Figure 5: Rise of Income during Charity Commission's Investigation

Another example of how aid convoys may be exploited by extremists is the charity Children in Deen which was investigated after British suicide bomber, Abdul Waheed Majeed, travelled to Syria with the charity.¹⁶⁴ Like One Nation, Children in Deen has also reportedly provided funds to Al Falah Benevolent Society.¹⁶⁵

3.3 Trustees Involved in Terrorism: IQRA and Al Ikhlas

As suggested by the increased powers given to the Commission to deal with misconduct and mismanagement by trustees introduced in the Charities Act 2016, in the past, trustees of UK-registered charities have gone on to be involved in terrorist activities at home and abroad.

One historical example of this is IQRA, which was registered in 2003 for the purpose of advancing the Islamic faith and has since been removed from the charity register.¹⁶⁶ It was investigated after two of the charity's trustees and original signatories, Mohammed Siddique Khan and Shehzad Tanweer, were identified as the suicide bombers involved in the attacks on London on 7 July 2005.¹⁶⁷ Another former trustee, Khalid Kalik, was convicted in 2008 for possession of a document likely to be useful to a person preparing for an act of terrorism.¹⁶⁸

The resulting inquiry by the Charity Commission found no evidence that the charity's funds were used to fund the attacks but that around a fifth of the material removed from the charity's premises was "considered to be political, biased, propagandist or otherwise inappropriate for a charity advancing the Islamic faith".¹⁶⁹ They were unable to conclude whether the premises were used as a

¹⁶⁴ "Terror link" charities get British millions in gift aid', *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

¹⁶⁵ 'Is Aijmal Masroor an extremist?', *Harry's Place*, 2 May 2014, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2014/05/02/is-ajmal-masroor-an-extremist>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁶⁶ 'IQRA', *Charity Commission*, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1095966&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁶⁷ 'IQRA Inquiry Report', Charity Commission, available at: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110704123233/http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Library/iqra.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 2.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 8.

meeting place for the attackers or to provide a platform for airing terrorist views, but they could not exclude it.¹⁷⁰

Another example is the Al Ikhlas Foundation, which was founded in 1995 and used various names, including Muslim Prisoner Support Group, Muslim HIV and AIDS Support Service and Widow to the Heart.¹⁷¹ Its stated objectives ranged from advancing Islam nationally and globally to relieving poverty and sickness, and rehabilitating Muslim prisoners.¹⁷² It functioned as a prisoner advocacy group, campaigning for terror suspects and those convicted of terrorism offences, including Omar Abdel Rahman and Babar Ahmad.¹⁷³

In 2007 the Commission began a statutory inquiry after they were informed that one of the charity's trustees, Mohammed al Ghabra, had been added to the United Nations list of "designated persons" for the purposes of terrorism and the Al Qaeda Sanctions List.¹⁷⁴ The UN alleged that Al Ghabra had regular direct contact with senior Al Qaeda figures, and had met with their Director of Operations, Faraj al-Libi, in 2002. They claimed that he had radicalised young Muslims in the UK, recruited and facilitated the travel of individuals to attend Al Qaeda training camps, and supplied logistic and material support to Al Qaeda, among others. He was also believed to have attended terrorist training and have links to Harakat Ul-Mujahidin.¹⁷⁵ As a result of the inquiry Al Ghabra should be removed from acting as a trustee on 24 October 2007.¹⁷⁶

Another trustee of the charity, Abbas Taj,¹⁷⁷ was convicted for his role in firebombing the home of Martin Rynja, the publisher of the novel *Jewel of Medina*, after he drove the two men who carried out the attack to Rynja's house.¹⁷⁸ Even though The Foundation was removed from the charity register in May 2011,¹⁷⁹ many of the speakers that spoke at their Belmarsh Iftar, that ran annually since 2006, continue to be involved in other UK registered charities (see below).¹⁸⁰

A final illustration is the case of Green Crescent. In March 2009 the Charity Commission began investigating Green Crescent after a cache of weapons was discovered in a *madrassah* in Bangladesh run by the charity. Extremist materials relating to jihad were also found at the school.¹⁸¹ There were concerns that the school was being used as a training camp and arms factory for militants.¹⁸² The head of the charity, Faisal Mostafa, had been charged on three occasions over a 16 year period going back to 1996 for offences relating to the possession of weapons and explosives. In one

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁷¹ 'Al Ikhlas Foundation Inquiry Report', Charity Commission, available at: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090116100941/http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Library/investigations/pdfs/alikhlas.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 1.

¹⁷² *ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁷³ 'Self Help', *Harry's Place*, 16 May 2009, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2009/05/16/self-help/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁷⁴ Al Ikhlas Foundation Inquiry Report, Charity Commission, p. 1; 'Narrative summaries of reasons for listing: Mohammed Al Ghabra', *United Nations Security Council*, available at: https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/individual/mohammed-al-ghabra, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁷⁵ Narrative summaries of reasons for listing: Mohammed Al Ghabra, *United Nations Security Council*, available at: https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/individual/mohammed-al-ghabra, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁷⁶ Al Ikhlas Foundation Inquiry Report, Charity Commission, p. 3.

¹⁷⁷ 'Self Help', *Harry's Place*, 16 May 2009.

¹⁷⁸ 'Muslim extremist firebombed home of man who published book on Prophet Mohammed', *Daily Telegraph*, 16 May 2009, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/5330042/Muslim-extremist-firebombed-home-of-man-who-published-book-on-Prophet-Mohammed.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁷⁹ Al Ikhlas Foundation, Charity Commission.

¹⁸⁰ 'Uthman Lateef: imprisoning minds', *Harry's Place*, 10 March 2010, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/03/10/uthman-lateef-imprisoning-minds/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁸¹ 'UK to probe Bangladesh arms haul', *BBC News*, 25 March 2009, available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/7963609.stm, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁸² 'UK Charity linked with "terrorist camp"', *Third Sector*, 26 March 2009, available at: <http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/uk-charity-linked-terrorist-camp/governance/article/894000>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

instance he was acquitted of conspiracy to cause explosions following the discovery of bomb making equipment in his home, but convicted of possessing a gun “with intent to endanger life”. On another occasion he was acquitted for planning to cause explosions following the discovery of explosives, while his co-defendant was convicted. In 2008 he received a suspended sentence for attempting to take a gas-powered gun onto a UK-Bangladesh flight, which the court accepted he intended to use for “hunting purposes”.¹⁸³ As recently as 2015, accusations have been made in the *New York Times* and *Daily Telegraph* that Mostafa had been involved in the online grooming of an American woman who believed that he ultimately wanted her to travel to Islamic State.¹⁸⁴

The failure of the Commission to investigate the charity was at the time considered a serious oversight given Mostafa's criminal history, leading the US Department of Homeland Security to conclude that the case “uncovered serious problems with the UK Charity Commission's oversight process”.¹⁸⁵ Popular iERA speaker Hamza Tzortzis (see 4.4.8) had previously been a trustee of the charity, but resigned following the arrest and charge of Faisal Mostafa.¹⁸⁶

3.4 Al Muntada al Islami Trust: Allegations of Links to Violent and Non-Violent Extremism

A further example of a charity with alleged links to violent and non-violent extremism, that continues to be active, is the Al Muntada al Islami Trust. In the financial year ending 2016, the charity had an income of £2.5 million.¹⁸⁷ Al Muntada runs a primary (founded 1989)¹⁸⁸ and secondary girls school,¹⁸⁹ a travel centre,¹⁹⁰ and has a number of other activities including a foodbank and a campaign to house refugees.¹⁹¹

The charity has been successful in drawing mainstream support, with Rick Barnes, Deputy Mayor under Boris Johnson, calling it “one of the world's foremost Muslim charities”, and with ‘good wishes’ being sent to the Trust by then Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg.¹⁹² In 2011 Al Muntada was also welcomed in the House of Lords by Conservative peer Lord Sheikh, who is President of the Conservative Muslim Forum.¹⁹³ Lord Sheikh also addressed their 25th Anniversary Gala Dinner in 2011.¹⁹⁴

However, in 2012 concerns were raised that funds raised by Al Muntada may have made it into the hands of Boko Haram¹⁹⁵ and in 2013 a Nigerian Human Rights lawyer testified before the US House

¹⁸³ Ridley, N., *Terrorist Financing: The Failure of Counter Measures* (Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, 2012), p.87.

¹⁸⁴ ‘British chemist “groomed” Western woman into radical Islam’, *Daily Telegraph*, 28 June 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11704486/British-chemist-groomed-Western-woman-into-radical-Islam.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘ISIS and the Lonely Young American’, *New York Times*, 27 June 2015, available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/28/world/americas/isis-online-recruiting-american.html?emc=edit_th_20150628&nl=todaysheadlines&nliid=55199738&_r=1, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁸⁵ Ridley, N., *Terrorist Financing: The Failure of Counter Measures* (Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, 2012), pp. 88-7.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Speaker with extremist links to address Detroit bomber's former student group’, *Daily Telegraph*, 18 January 2010, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/7012827/Speaker-with-extremist-links-to-address-Detroit-bombers-former-student-group.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Hanza Andreas Tzortzis’, *iERA*, available at: <https://iera.org/our-work/request/meet-our-speakers/hanza-andreas-tzortzis/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Al-Muntada Al-Islami Trust’, *Charity Commission*, 31 July 2016, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=293355&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁸⁸ ‘Al Muntada Primary School’, *Al Muntada Trust*, available at: <http://almuntadatrust.org/al-muntada-primary-school/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁸⁹ Al-Muntada Al-Islami Trust, *Charity Commission*, 31 July 2016.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Al Muntada Travel’, *Al Muntada Trust*, available at: <http://almuntadatrust.org/al-muntada-travel/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁹¹ ‘Al Muntada: what we do’, *Al Muntada Trust*, available at: <http://almuntadatrust.org/what-we-do/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁹² ‘How our allies in Kuwait and Qatar funded Islamic State’, *Daily Telegraph*, 6 September 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/kuwait/11077537/How-our-allies-in-Kuwait-and-Qatar-funded-Islamic-State.html>

¹⁹³ Archive of events, *Lord Sheikh*, available at: <http://www.lordsheikh.com/?cat=47&paged=16>, last visited: 22 January 2018.; ‘Baron Sheikh of Cornhill in the City of London’, *Conservative Muslim Forum*, available at: <http://www.conservativemuslimforum.com/about-us/president>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁹⁴ ‘Lord Mohammed Sheikh’, *You Tube*, 1 August 2011, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a-Zn7fHbPvg>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Peer raises fears over UK charity's alleged links to Boko Haram’, *Guardian*, 9 September 2012, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/09/uk-charity-boko-haram>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee concerning Boko Haram's funding. The Al Muntada Trust was included among the organisations believed to be funding Boko Haram.¹⁹⁶ Nigerian media also alleged that Al Muntada's funds had been used by the terror group. At the time, the Charity Commission was notified, and its spokesman said that they were assessing the information but that "there are a number of registered charities with the same name to this organisation, so the commission is not able to confirm at this stage whether or not this relates directly to a UK registered charity".¹⁹⁷

Earlier, in 2004, Nigerian police arrested Sheikh Muhiddeen Abdullahi, allegedly director of the Al Muntada Trust, and he confessed to being a middle man between Al Muntada and Nigerian militants. The claims also extended to the spreading of extremist ideology, with the charity being accused of spreading Wahhabi ideology through its mosques in Nigeria.¹⁹⁸ The Charity Commission said it was aware that there were concerns that Al Muntada may have provided financial support to Boko Haram¹⁹⁹ and Al Muntada responded by stating that it had not provided funds to Boko Haram and condemned all forms of terrorism.²⁰⁰

Nonetheless, Al Muntada has been connected with a number of controversial Saudi charities and *dawah* organisations, including a number alleged by American and international investigators to be involved in financing terrorism: the World Muslim League (WML), World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), and International Islamic Relief Organisation (IIRO) and the al-Haramain Islamic Foundation.²⁰¹

The IIRO is also a UK-registered charity.²⁰² The IIROUK states that it is "primarily concerned with the provision of humanitarian aid for the benefit of those in need, especially orphans and widows, including the provision of the basic necessities of life, education and training".²⁰³ It also became incorporated as a limited company in June 2007.²⁰⁴

In addition to accusations of funding terrorism, the Saudi-sponsored IIRO is believed to have spread Wahhabi ideology by "found(ing) thousands of mosques, schools, colleges and Islamic centres all over the (non-Islamic) world and has sent out over 9,000 preachers. Over 13 million books have been printed²⁰⁵ IIRO has long been connected to terrorism, having supported jihadism in Bosnia in the early 1990s,²⁰⁶ and along with its parent organisation the WML, being part of the "Golden Chain" network of charities providing funds to Al Qaeda in the late 1980s.²⁰⁷

¹⁹⁶ 'The Rising Global Threat of Boko Haram & US Policy Intransigence', U.S House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee (2013), available at: <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA16/20131113/101479/HHIRG-113-FA16-Wstate-OgebeE-20131113.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁹⁷ 'Peer raises fears over UK charity's alleged links to Boko Haram', *Guardian*, 9 September 2012.

¹⁹⁸ 'Kano police arrest mastermind of bloody revolt', *All Africa*, 23 February 2004, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20040515181834/http://allafrica.com/stories/200402230169.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁹⁹ 'Peer raises fears over UK charity's alleged links to Boko Haram', *Guardian*, 9 September 2012.

²⁰⁰ *ibid.*

²⁰¹ Schwartz, S., 'Islamic extremism on the rise in Nigeria', *Jamestown Foundation*, 21 October 2005, available at: <https://jamestown.org/program/islamic-extremism-on-the-rise-in-nigeria/#.U2wZHKL69AI>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁰² International Islamic Relief Organisation (UK), *Charity Commission*, 31 March 2017, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charitydetails/?regid=1143863&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁰³ *ibid.*

²⁰⁴ International Islamic Relief Organisation (UK), *Charity Commission*, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/06281636>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁰⁵ Zee, M., *Choosing Sharia?* (2016), p. 71-72.

²⁰⁶ Orton, K., 'From Bosnia to Guantanamo' *The Syrian Intifada*, 23 January 2016, available at: <https://kyleorton1991.wordpress.com/2016/01/23/frombosnia-to-guantanamo/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*; "List of early al Qaeda donors points to Saudi elite, charities", *Wall Street Journal*, 18 March 2003, available at: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB104794563734573400>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

The Al Muntada Trust has been closely linked to al-Manar mosque in Cardiff.²⁰⁸ The mosque, which was attended by Islamic State fighters Nasser Muthana and Reyaad Khan, is known to have hosted a number of extreme speakers.²⁰⁹ Muhammad Mustafa al-Muqri, who is allegedly connected to the proscribed organisation *al-Gamaa al-Islamiya*, has been a frequent speaker at the mosque.²¹⁰

Other speakers include Mohammed al-Arifi, a Saudi cleric who was banned from entering the UK in 2014, and who has been accused in the media of radicalising three British citizens who are believed to have travelled to fight in Syria.²¹¹ A Home Office spokesperson stated that they made no apologies for refusing entry to individuals they “believe represent a threat to our society” and that they refuse to allow entry “to those who seek to subvert our shared values”.²¹² Al-Arifi has also been banned from Switzerland as a result of his extremist views.²¹³ Although Al-Arifi has now recanted on his view that Osama bin Laden was the victim of character assassination, he is known for urging young people to travel to Syria for jihad.²¹⁴ Even though he denies urging UK youths to fight in Syria, he has said “Muslims have no life without jihad. We will only overcome humiliation with jihad. May Allah support the Muhajideen in Syria”.²¹⁵ Along with other Salafi mosques, he spoke at Al Manar Mosque in Cardiff during his 2013 tour of the UK.²¹⁶

Al Muntada also run a mosque in West London, that had formerly employed Haitham al Haddad as an imam.²¹⁷ Al Muntada Mosque has, in the past, hosted the controversial individual Nabil al-Awadi.²¹⁸ Al-Awadi, who is reportedly close to the Muslim Brotherhood, has been stripped of his Kuwaiti citizenship for security reasons and stands accused by the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia of funding Islamic State using donations.²¹⁹ Until 2013 al-Awadi had also been a director of Al-Birr School, Birmingham,²²⁰ which is closely connected to Al Muntada mosque through its imam and director who were reported as co-directors of the school.²²¹

A conference held by Al Muntada in 2012 gave a platform to a number of extreme speakers, including Al-Arifi, al Haddad, and al-Awadi, alongside Abd al-Aziz Fawzan al-Fawzan.²²² Al-Fawzan allegedly said that “jihad is an individual duty applying to the Iraqi people. They need to wage this jihad against the enemy until it leaves their country”.²²³ He has also called Christians “infidels”, saying

²⁰⁸ ‘How our allies in Kuwait and Qatar funded Islamic State’, *Daily Telegraph*, 6 September 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/kuwait/11077537/How-our-allies-in-Kuwait-and-Qatar-funded-Islamic-State.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*

²¹⁰ ‘Proscribed terrorist organisations’, HM Government, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/648405/Proscription_website.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Revealed: the British jihadist who swapped boozing for terror – and the schoolboy charity fundraisers who are waging war for ISIS’, *Daily Mail*, 23 June 2014, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2666421/British-jihadist-swapped-boozing-football-terror-fresh-faced-schoolboys-grew-call-Sharia-law-Iraq-Syria.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²¹¹ ‘How our allies in Kuwait and Qatar funded Islamic State’, *Daily Telegraph*, 6 September 2014; ‘Britain bans controversial Saudi cleric al-Arifi’, *Al Arabiya English*, 25 June 2014, available at: <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/world/2014/06/25/Controversial-cleric-al-Arifi-banned-from-UK-.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²¹² *ibid.*

²¹³ *ibid.*

²¹⁴ *ibid.*

²¹⁵ ‘ISIS: Meet the cleric ‘encouraging British Muslims’ to fight jihad’, *Channel 4 News*, 26 June 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qnpfr9p7n4>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²¹⁶ *ibid.*

²¹⁷ ‘How our allies in Kuwait and Qatar funded Islamic State’, *Daily Telegraph*, 6 September 2014.

²¹⁸ *ibid.*

²¹⁹ ‘Revealed: Islamic State’s “banker” was director of a private Muslim primary school in Birmingham’, *Daily Mail*, 31 August 2014, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2738933/Revealed-Islamic-State-s-banker-director-private-Muslim-primary-school-Birmingham.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²²⁰ *ibid.*

²²¹ ‘How our allies in Kuwait and Qatar funded Islamic State’, *Daily Telegraph*, 6 September 2014.

²²² Month of Mercy Conference Poster, archived poster.

²²³ ‘Call to action: Grand Connaught Rooms to host jihadist conference’, *Harry’s Place*, 25 June 2012, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2012/06/25/call-to-action-grand-connaught-rooms-to-host-jihadist-conference/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

that “even if this person [the Christian] is my mother or father, God forbid, or my son or daughter; I must hate him, his heresy, and his defiance of Allah and His prophet. I must hate his abominable deeds. Moreover, this hatred must be positive hatred”.²²⁴ Al-Fawzan believes that globalisation is “supported by the political, economic, and cultural hegemony of the West” and spreads its values that “run counter, in many ways, to true Islamic values”.²²⁵ Likewise, he has said:

Some people want to Westernize our society in any possible way, but they know that if they advocate fornication, forbidden sexual relations, and homosexuality, the people would stone them. So what do they do? They come up with these deviant fatwas, which lay the ground for these crimes and abominations.²²⁶

In addition, Al Muntada has also been supported by Salafist Wasim Kempson (see 4.4.22).²²⁷

3.5 Dawah: Supporting Popular Extremist Thinkers and their Literature

3.5.1 Islamic Dawah Centre International (IDCI)

One of the key ways in which charities are used to support extremism is by providing a network of Islamist extremists with platforms to spread their message through literature and lectures. A number of these charities, particularly *dawah* organisations, are used to spread their extremist interpretation of Islam and present it, to both Muslims and potential converts, as normative Islam.

Foremost among these is IDCI, which was founded in 2000 and describes itself as the “leading Dawah organisation in the UK” whose core activity includes the production and distribution of free Islamic literature based on “authentic sources of Islamic teaching”.²²⁸ Its literature is widely used by *dawah* stalls and at numerous Fresher’s fairs,²²⁹ and its leaflets have also been seen at colleges.²³⁰ In the financial year ending 2016 its income was £319,749.²³¹

In June 2010, the charity controversially invited popular extremist Zakir Naik to speak at a large event in Birmingham.²³² Naik’s Peace TV is banned in Bangladesh, India and Canada,²³³ there have been calls to ban him from Lebanon²³⁴ and his lectures are banned in Malaysia.²³⁵ In 2010 former

²²⁴ *ibid.*

²²⁵ ‘Saudi cleric Abd Al-Aziz Al-Fawzan blasts ‘deviant’ fatwas that permit “crimes and abominations” like fornication and homosexuality’, *Memri TV*, 9 July 2010, available at: <https://www.memri.org/tv/saudi-cleric-abd-al-aziz-al-fawzan-blasts-deviant-fatwas-permit-crimes-and-abominations>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²²⁶ ‘Call to action: Grand Connaught Rooms to host jihadist conference’, *Harry’s Place*, 25 June 2012.

²²⁷ ‘Support the Al Muntada Syria Village Campaign | message from Imam Wasim’, *You Tube*, 7 August 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NuJvBogJTts>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²²⁸ ‘About IDCI’, available at: <http://idci.co.uk/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²²⁹ City University Fresher’s Fair, collected 26 September 2017.

²³⁰ Leyton Islamic Society Brothers, *Facebook*, 22 March 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/LeytonISOC/photos/a.572591266159861.11073741828.566164360135885/965171746901809/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²³¹ ‘Report of the Trustees and Unaudited Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31 August 2016 for Islamic Dawah Centre International’, Charity Commission (2017), available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends39/0001092139_AC_20160831_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²³² ‘Midland charity invited radical Muslim preacher to speak to crowds’, *Birmingham Mail*, 27 June 2010, available at: <http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/local-news/midland-charity-invited-radical-muslim-248177>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²³³ ‘Banned in Bangladesh and India: What’s wrong with Zakir Naik’s Peace TV’, *Firstpost*, 11 July 2016, available at: <http://www.firstpost.com/world/banned-in-bangladesh-and-india-heres-what-was-wrong-with-zakir-naiks-peace-tv-2886568.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²³⁴ ‘Activists want India’s ‘hate-preacher’ Zakir Naik banned from Lebanon’, *New Arab*, 15 June 2017, available at:

<https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/News/2017/6/15/Activists-want-Indias-hate-preacher-Zakir-Naik-banned-from-Lebanon>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²³⁵ ‘Zakir Naik: Why India wants to arrest the preacher’, *AlJazeera*, 21 May 2017, available at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/05/india-arrest-preacher-zakir-naik-170521055023564.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Home Secretary Theresa May banned Naik from entering the UK because of his extremist remarks.²³⁶

Though there is no evidence of Zaik's direct involvement in terrorism, there are concerns about the radicalisation potential of Naik's lectures. One woman in India told the BBC that Naik had played a role in her son's radicalisation, who they now believe has joined a jihadist group abroad. His mother said, "Zakir Naik should know a mother's pain, God will never forgive Zakir Naik too, he is producing terrorists".²³⁷ In India, Naik has been charged with promoting religious hatred. Indian Government Minister, Satya Pal Singh, a former police commissioner in Mumbai investigating Naik said:

His organization Islamic Research Foundation [see 3.5.2] was getting foreign funding. Indirectly he was supporting [Osama] Bin Laden, he was supporting all these terrorist elements, spreading the message of violence against non-believers, against non-Muslims. He was the merchant of hate.²³⁸

In 1998, Naik was filmed saying "If he's terrorizing America the terrorist, the biggest terrorist, I'm with him. Every Muslim should be a terrorist. The thing is that if he's terrorizing a terrorist, he's following Islam".²³⁹ He has also stated that "When a robber sees a policeman he's terrified. So for a robber, a policeman is a terrorist. So in this context, every Muslim should be a terrorist to the robber".²⁴⁰

He was also filmed making anti-Semitic remarks: "There are many Jews who are good to Muslims, but as a whole ... The Koran tells us, as a whole, they will be our staunchest enemy".²⁴¹ Naik has also stated that the clothing worn by women in the West makes them "more susceptible to rape" and that "Western society has actually degraded [women] to the status of concubines, mistresses and social butterflies, who are mere tools in the hands of pleasure seekers and sex marketers".²⁴²

In 2006, Naik refused to condemn Osama bin Laden:

Beware of Muslims saying Osama bin Laden is right or wrong. I reject them ... we do not know.

But if you ask my view, if given the truth, if he is fighting the enemies of Islam, I am for him. I don't know what he's doing. I'm not in touch with him. I don't know him personally. I read the newspaper.

If he is terrorising the terrorists, if he is terrorising America the terrorist, the biggest terrorist, every Muslim should be a terrorist.²⁴³

In 2010 IDCI was found to be selling literature authored by extremist ideologues on its website. The literature included a pamphlet by Naik entitled "Islam and Terrorism". It was also found to be

²³⁶ 'Home secretary Theresa May bans radical preacher Zakir Naik from entering UK', *Daily Telegraph*, 18 June 2010, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/7836557/Home-secretary-Theresa-May-bans-radical-preacher-Zakir-Naik-from-entering-UK.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²³⁷ *House of Saud: A Family at War*, BBC, aired 9 January 2018.

²³⁸ *ibid.*

²³⁹ *ibid.*

²⁴⁰ 'Home secretary Theresa May bans radical preacher Zakir Naik from entering UK', *Daily Telegraph*, 18 June 2010.

²⁴¹ *ibid.*

²⁴² *ibid.*

²⁴³ *ibid.*

selling works such as *Milestones* by Sayyid Qutb,²⁴⁴ whose thought is widely recognised as influential on violent Islamism, and “Towards Understanding Islam” by Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi,²⁴⁵ the founder and former leader of Islamist group Jamaat-e-Islami.²⁴⁶

IDCI also publish and sell literature by Bilal Philips. Examples include, a pamphlet by Philips entitled “Did God Become Man?”.²⁴⁷ Through their website they recently sold an ‘Islamic Studies series’ authored by Philips and a book entitled *Polygamy in Islam*.²⁴⁸ Like Naik, in 2010 Philips was banned from entering the UK by former Home Secretary Theresa May as a result of his extremist views.²⁴⁹ He has been banned entering from Denmark.²⁵⁰

The US named Philips as an “unindicted co-conspirator” in the 1993 plot to bomb the World Trade Centre in New York.²⁵¹ He been banned from the US and Australia and deported from the Philippines, Germany, Kenya and Bangladesh.²⁵² With respect to the ideological risk posed by Philips, there have been suggestions of his influence on Taimour Abdulwahab al-Abdaly, who blew himself up in the Stockholm attack in 2010; the website of the British mosque attended by al-Abdaly hosted a video by Philips in which he justifies suicide attacks. In the recording Philips says:

The [enemy] is either too heavily armed, or they don't have the type of equipment that can deal with it, so the only other option they have is to try to get some people amongst them and then explode the charges that they have to try to destroy the equipment and to save the lives of their comrades. So this is not really considered to be suicide in the true sense. This is a military action and human lives are sacrificed in military action. This is really the bottom line and that's how we should look at it.²⁵³

Selected works by Qutb, Maududi and Philips have been banned in UK prisons for their opposition to British values. These include *Fundamentals of Tauheed* by Philips, *Milestones* by Qutb and the IDCI pamphlet *Towards Understanding Islam* by Maududi.²⁵⁴

Previous concerns about UK charities being connected to such individuals were made public through the Charity Commission's investigation into iERA. During the inquiry concerns were raised that the charity had been founded by Bilal Philips, “an individual who was publicly known to have been banned from entering the UK”.²⁵⁵ Philips, along with Zakir Naik, had both advised iERA.²⁵⁶

²⁴⁴ ‘Midland charity invited radical Muslim preacher to speak to crowds’, *Birmingham Mail*, 27 June 2010.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*

²⁴⁶ Bowen, Innes., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), pp. 83-84.

²⁴⁷ Philips, A.B., ‘Did God Become Man?’, *Islamic Dawah Centre International*, January 2016.

²⁴⁸ Philips, B., ‘Polygamy in Islam’, *IDCI Shop*, available at: http://idci.co.uk/details.php?id=3405#.WniGDahl_IU, last visited: 5 February 2018; Philips, B., ‘Islamic Studies Series’, *IDCI Shop*, available at: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://idci.co.uk/Islamic-Studies-Book-1-3151-d&gws_rd=cr&dc=0&ei=JeRYWsrDlpr0gAakipPIDA#.WljKqhl_IU, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁴⁹ ‘Leading Islamic charity told by watchdog to distance itself from extremism’, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 November 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/12/leading-islamic-charity-told-by-watchdog-to-distance-itself-from/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁵⁰ ‘Denmark bans six “hate preachers” from entering the country’, *Reuters*, 2 May 2017, available at: <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-denmark-security-religion/denmark-bans-six-hate-preachers-from-entering-the-country-idUKKBN17Y1N9>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁵¹ ‘Unindicted co-conspirator in 1993 World Trade Centre bombing deported to Canada’, *National Post*, 14 September 2014, available at: <http://nationalpost.com/news/canada/unindicted-co-conspirator-in-1993-world-trade-centre-bombing-deported-to-canada>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁵² *ibid.*

²⁵³ ‘Stockholm bomber's mosque website carries links to extremist preacher’, *Guardian*, 19 December 2010, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/19/abdaly-luton-mosque-stockholm-bomber>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁵⁴ “Extremist” books remained in prisons despite warning”, *BBC News*, 28 July 2016, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-36774358>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁵⁵ ‘Inquiry Report Islamic Education and Research Academy (IERA)’, Charity Commission (2016), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/565354/islamic_education_and_research_academy_iera.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁵⁶ ““Anti-semitic” charity under investigation”, *Daily Telegraph*, 24 May 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/10854579/Anti-Semite-charity-under-investigation.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

The Commission stated in 2010 that they were aware of concerns about IDCI, however, they continue to operate.²⁵⁷ This literature is still available on their website including multiple works by Bilal Philips,²⁵⁸ Qutb,²⁵⁹ Naik,²⁶⁰ and Maududi.²⁶¹ One pamphlet published by IDCI, entitled “Jihad in Islam”, quotes the Quran on its front cover: “Those who believe fight in the cause of Allah, those who disbelieve fight in the cause of Satan”.²⁶²

3.5.2 Islamic Research Foundation International (IRFI)

Whilst Naik is banned from entering the UK, he remains a trustee and chair of the Islamic Research Foundation International (IRFI), a UK-registered charity.²⁶³ In the financial year ending 2016, their income was £951,356.²⁶⁴ £994,848, in excess of its annual income, was paid to Peace TV, and an additional £11,000 to the Al Noor Foundation.²⁶⁵ In addition to its charitable status, IRF is also registered in the UK as a private limited company.²⁶⁶

In March 2017, The Delhi High Court upheld a decision to ban the IRFI from India due to concerns that individuals may be radicalised by the organisation. The judge said that the decision was taken “in the interest to safeguard the sovereignty, integrity and national security of India”.²⁶⁷

The 2016 ban came after India’s Home Ministry began an investigation into the organisation’s links with Peace TV, which officials believed to promote terrorism.²⁶⁸ Naik has had criminal cases registered against him by the Indian police alleging his involvement in the radicalisation of young people, as well as having transferred funds from IRF to Peace TV.²⁶⁹

Likewise Peace TV was banned in Bangladesh in July 2016 due to concerns that it incites terrorism.²⁷⁰ The decision was taken after the individuals behind the Dhaka café attack in July 2016, which resulted in 28 deaths,²⁷¹ were believed to have been influenced by Peace TV.²⁷² According to the Bangladesh’s Home Minister Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal, Naik’s activities were under investigation by Bangladesh’s intelligence agencies at the time of the ban.²⁷³

²⁵⁷ ‘Midland charity invited radical Muslim preacher to speak to crowds’, *Birmingham Mail*, 27 June 2010, available at: <http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/local-news/midland-charity-invited-radical-muslim-248177>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁵⁸ For example, Philips, B., ‘Polygamy in Islam’, *IDCI Shop*, available at: http://idci.co.uk/details.php?id=3405#.WniGDahl_IU, last visited: 5 February 2018; Philips, B., ‘Islamic Studies Series’, *IDCI Shop*, available at: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://idci.co.uk/Islamic-Studies-Book-1-3151-d&gws_rd=cr&dc=0&ei=JeRYWsrLpr0gAakipPIDA#.WljKqhl_IU, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁵⁹ Qutb, S., ‘In the Shade of the Quran’, *IDCI Shop*, available at: http://idci.co.uk/details.php?id=2591#.WniK3qhl_IU, last visited: 5 February 2018.

²⁶⁰ Naik, Z., ‘Answers to Non-Muslims Common Questions about Islam’, *IDCI Shop*, available at: http://idci.co.uk/-3261-d#.WniMPahl_IU, last visited: 5 February 2018.

²⁶¹ ‘Towards understanding Islam’, Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi, *IDCI shop*, available at: http://idci.co.uk/-3045-d#.WniNZahl_IU, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁶² ‘Midland charity invited radical Muslim preacher to speak to crowds’, *Birmingham Mail*, 27 June 2010.

²⁶³ ‘Data for financial year ending 31 January 2017 Islamic Research Foundation International’, *Charity Commission*, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?subid=0®id=1122086>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁶⁴ ‘Islamic Research Foundation International Trustees’ Report and Accounts for the Year Ended 31 January 2016’, *Charity Commission*, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends86/0001122086_AC_20160131_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶⁶ ‘Islamic Research Foundation International’, *Companies House*, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/06065201>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁶⁷ ‘India bans Zakir Naik’s Islamic Research Foundation to “safeguard national security”’, *Independent*, 17 March 2017, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/zakir-naik-india-ban-islamic-research-foundation-national-security-safeguard-muslims-a7633566.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁶⁸ ‘Zakir Naik’s IRF banned for five years under Unlawful Activities Prevention’, *The Indian Express*, 16 November 2016, available at: <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/zakir-naik-irf-ban-islamic-preacher-peace-tv-4377897/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*

²⁷⁰ ‘Bangladesh bans televangelist Zakir Naik’s Peace TV’, *The Hindu*, 10 July 2016, available at: <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/Bangladesh-bans-televangelist-Zakir-Naik%E2%80%99s-Peace-TV/article14481608.ece>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁷¹ ‘Dhaka café Attack ends with 20 hostages among dead’, *Guardian*, 3 July 2016, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/01/dhaka-bangladesh-restaurant-attack-hostages>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁷² ‘Bangladesh bans televangelist Zakir Naik’s Peace TV’, *The Hindu*, 10 July 2016.

²⁷³ *ibid.*

According to Peace TV, Naik is the “ideologue and driving force behind Peace TV Network” and launched Peace TV English in 2006.²⁷⁴ Peace TV is owned by IRF,²⁷⁵ and its English language website is clear that donations to the channel are to be made via the charity.²⁷⁶ According to their annual accounts, submitted for the financial year ending January 2016, the primary purpose of the charity is “securing donations for the continuation of Peace TV”. In 2015-2016 the charity made payments of £994,848 to Peace TV.²⁷⁷ In the same year, IRFI made payments of £11,000 to the al-Noor Foundation.²⁷⁸

Peace TV hosts a number of extreme speakers, including Abdurraheem Green (see 4.4.9) Haitham al Haddad (see 4.4.6), Bilal Philips, Abdur Raheem McCarthy (see Appendix 2) and Yasir Qadhi. Another speaker on Peace TV is Tawfique Chowdhury, the founder of Mercy Mission (see 3.5.8).²⁷⁹

Yasir Qadhi is dean of Academic Affairs at the Al Maghrib Institute, through which a number of extremists provide their services as lecturers.²⁸⁰ Among other extremist statements, Qadhi has claimed that killing homosexuals and stoning adulterers is part of the Islamic religion, and praised the societal benefits of cutting the hands off of thieves.²⁸¹ Though denied by Qadhi, there are claims that one of Qadhi's former students was Umar Abdulmutallab, who plotted to blow up a transatlantic flight in 2009.²⁸²

Although Qadhi has recanted his claims that the holocaust was a hoax,²⁸³ he stated that most Islamic professors in the United States are Jews who “want to destroy us [Muslims]”.²⁸⁴ In July 2014, he drew a comparison between the war in Gaza and the Holocaust, stating that the Israelis were “intentionally targeting innocent people ... merely for being ‘the Other’. Demonizing an entire population. Stereotyping an entire religion. Dehumanizing an entire ethnicity”. He went on “‘Never again!’ they said. Until they started doing it themselves”.²⁸⁵ Qadhi has also expressed anti-gay views stating that society has regressed with respect to gay rights, as in his generation “homosexuals were looked down upon”, called names, and society was disgusted by them.²⁸⁶

Qadhi has also retracted statements in which he said that Shia Muslims were liars.²⁸⁷ He has also taught that jihad is an Islamic obligation, on the condition that there is a caliphate, and recommended the use of guns.²⁸⁸ Qadhi denies having ever called for “violence against any person or nation state or army”.²⁸⁹

²⁷⁴ ‘Dr Zakir Naik’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/dr-zakir-naik>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁷⁵ ‘Bangladesh bans televangelist Zakir Naik’s Peace TV’, *The Hindu*, 10 July 2016.

²⁷⁶ ‘Donation Islamic Research Foundation International (IRFI) UK Registered Charity Number: 1122086’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/donations#>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁷⁷ ‘Islamic Research Foundation International Trustees’ Report and Accounts for the Year Ended 31 January 2016’, Charity Commission.

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*

²⁷⁹ ‘Speakers’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁸⁰ ‘Yasir Qadhi’, *Al Maghrib Institute*, available at: <https://www.almaghrib.org/instructors/yasir-qadhi>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁸¹ ‘Hardline cleric is invited to UK by Islamic charity for fundraising tour’, *The Times*, 11 April 2017, available at:

<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/hardline-cleric-is-invited-to-uk-by-islamic-charity-for-fundraising-tour-g638jlcqf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁸² *ibid.*

²⁸³ ‘The baroness, Islamic extremists and a question of free speech’, *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

²⁸⁴ ‘Why Yasir Qadhi Wants to Talk About Jihad’, *New York Times*, 17 March 2011, available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/20/magazine/mag-20Salafis-t.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁸⁵ Yasir Qadi, *Facebook*, 16 July 2014, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/yasir.qadhi/posts/10152351034493300>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁸⁶ ‘Anti-Gay Islamist Preacher Led Conference in a Bid to Affect UK Elections’, *Huffington Post*, 8 April 2015, available at:

http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/dan-littauer/antigay-islamist-preacher_b_7018216.html, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁸⁷ ‘Hardline cleric is invited to UK by Islamic charity for fundraising tour’, *The Times*, 11 April 2017.

²⁸⁸ *ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*

Peace TV has reportedly broadcast programmes that have praised the “muhajideen” fighting against the British army in Iraq, that called Jews the “enemy of Islam” and described 9/11 as an “inside job”.²⁹⁰ The channel continued to hold its licence from Ofcom even after the Home Secretary had banned Naik from entering the UK.²⁹¹

In 2016 Ofcom fined Peace TV Urdu £65,000 for violating its Broadcasting Code. This was the result of anti-Semitic content aired on 12 and 13 September 2015. During the programme, Preacher Israr Ahmad made a number of anti-Semitic statements:²⁹²

- He called Jews “this cursed people...this cursed race” and accused them as having “evil genius” and conspiring an “evil plan”;²⁹³
- He accused them of causing the First World War and filling Europe “with their poison”;
- He accused them of “hatching conspiracies” and regarding “non-Jews” as “not human” and believing it acceptable to “beat non-Jews, to rob and to deceive them”;
- He spoke of the “Jewish bankers” during the First World War “lay[ing] down their roots like cancer ... [to take] the whole of Europe in their grip” and claimed that “they want to bring the world to heel through the global banking network”;
- He made reference to, as factual, the anti-Semitic text “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”, which propagates the idea of a Jewish conspiracy to seize financial and political power.²⁹⁴

Ofcom ruled that his comments fell under the Council of Europe’s definition of “hate-speech”. Peace TV had twice previously been found in breach of Ofcom’s Broadcasting Code.²⁹⁵

Universal Broadcasting Corporation Ltd (UBCL), a registered company in the UK of which Naik is director and chairman, holds the licence for Peace TV.²⁹⁶ On a programme aired by the IRFI-funded channel on 8 March 2012, Naik himself made the following statement:

One group of scholars say that if a Muslim becomes a non-Muslim, he should be put to death. There is another group of scholars who say that if a Muslim becomes a non-Muslim and propagates his new faith against Islam, then he should be put to death. I tend to agree more with the second group of scholars, who say that if a Muslim becomes a non-Muslim propagates his new faith against Islam, that is the time this penalty is applied.²⁹⁷

Ofcom ruled that it was “potentially offensive for any service to broadcast comments suggesting that it is acceptable to apply a ‘penalty’ and kill any individual for renouncing their faith”.²⁹⁸ Peace TV responded that they were “disappointed” as the programme “is an exposition of certain teachings

²⁹⁰ ‘Banned hate preacher still broadcasting after “Jews are enemy of Islam” claim’, *Evening Standard*, 11 February 2011, available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/banned-hate-preacher-still-broadcasting-after-jews-are-enemy-of-islam-claim-6566248.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁹¹ *ibid.*

²⁹² ‘Sanction: Decision by Ofcom. To be imposed on Club TV Limited’, Ofcom (2016), available at:

https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0032/93866/Peace-TV-Urdu-Sanctions-Decision.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁹³ *ibid.*

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*

²⁹⁶ ‘Banned hate preacher still broadcasting after “Jews are enemy of Islam” claim’, *Evening Standard*, 11 February 2011.

²⁹⁷ ‘Preachers of hate on British TV: what they said that broke the broadcasting rules’, *Daily Telegraph*, 9 February 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/9859822/Preachers-of-hate-on-British-TV-what-they-said-that-broke-the-broadcasting-rules.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*

from the Quran” which they “felt were justified by the context” and did not receive viewer complaints.²⁹⁹

3.5.3 Mohiuddin Trust (formerly, Al Ehya Trust)

IRF is not the only charity to be involved in the funding of broadcast media providing platforms for extremism. The Mohiuddin Trust was founded in 2004 and describes itself as “striving to benefit people of all walks of life regardless of colour, creed or social stature”.³⁰⁰ They have a number of international projects, including: Mohiuddin Islamic University, Kashmir; Mohiuddin Medical College, Kashmir; and two hospitals in Trarkhal and Mirpur.³⁰¹ They also have an international girls college project and a community educational centre in Birmingham.³⁰²

Mohiuddin Trust was formerly called Al Ehya Trust.³⁰³ The charity is also a limited company³⁰⁴ and is related to Mohiuddin Digital Television Limited.³⁰⁵ The Charity Commission investigated the trust after, in March 2006, the trustees of Al Ehya Trust transferred £150,000 to the bank account of Al Ehya Digital Television Limited (trading as Noor TV). Two of the Trust’s trustees were also directors of Noor TV at the time.³⁰⁶

In August 2013 Noor TV was fined £85,000 by Ofcom after it aired extremist programming. On 3 May 2012, Noor TV broadcast a show during which the presenter, Allama Muhammad Farooq Nizami said that the punishment for disrespecting Muhammed was that he “should be eliminated”.³⁰⁷ Nizami told a caller that “One has to choose one’s method. Our way is the peaceful way but when someone crosses the limits, faith-based emotions are instigated ... The mission of our life is to protect the sanctity of our beloved Lord. May Allah accept us wherever there is a need [to kill a blasphemer]. We are ready and should be ready at all times [to kill a blasphemer]”.³⁰⁸

On 17 November 2015, Noor TV broadcast a programme during which a religious scholar told a parable, “whoever amongst you comes across a Jew, they should slay him immediately” and recounted the story of an individual who killed a Jewish trader as an example of the highest form of religious obedience.³⁰⁹ As a result, Mohiuddin Digital Television Limited was fined £75,000.³¹⁰

The Mohiuddin Trust is still active, and in the financial year ending 2016 had an income of £519,432 but an expenditure of £1.4 million.³¹¹

²⁹⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰⁰ ‘About us’, *Mohiuddin Trust*, available at: <http://mohiuddintrust.com/about-us/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁰¹ *ibid.*

³⁰² *ibid.*; ‘Mohiuddin Siddiquia – Birmingham’, *Mohiuddin Trust*, no date provided, available at: <http://mohiuddintrust.com/mohiuddin-siddiquia-birmingham/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁰³ ‘Inquiry Report Mohiuddin Trust’, Charity Commission (2010), available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100908164541/http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Library/mohiuddin_trust.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁰⁴ ‘Mohiuddin Trust’, *Companies House*, 2017, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/05066011>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁰⁵ ‘Mohiuddin Digital Television Limited’, *Companies House*, 2017, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/07160072>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁰⁶ ‘Inquiry Report Mohiuddin Trust’, Charity Commission (2010), available at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100908164541/http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Library/mohiuddin_trust.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 3.

³⁰⁷ ‘Islamic TV channel fined £85,000 by watchdog for broadcasting hate preacher’s saying it was “acceptable to murder anyone who disrespected Mohammed”’, *Daily Mail*, 22 August 2013, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2399313/Islamic-TV-channel-fined-85-000-watchdog-broadcasting-hate-preachers-saying-acceptable-murder-disrespected-Mohammed.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁰⁸ *ibid.*

³⁰⁹ ‘Sanction: Decision by Ofcom. Sanction: to be imposed on Mohiuddin Digital Television Limited’, Ofcom (2016), available at: https://www.ofcom.gov.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0022/96124/Noor-TV.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³¹⁰ *ibid.*

³¹¹ ‘Mohiuddin Trust Financial Statements For the Year Ended 31 March 2016’, Charity Commission, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends85/0001105585_AC_20160331_F_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018.

3.5.4 Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA)

iERA, perhaps the most well-known *dawah* organisation in the UK, operates worldwide, providing platforms to its speakers and offering *dawah* training and resources.³¹² It was founded in 2010 with the purpose of “creat[ing] awareness about the true nature of the Islamic faith and its rich traditions by rolling out value based campaigns globally, which assist in removing common misconceptions about Islam and Muslims on a grassroots level”.³¹³ They reportedly had also been recipients of Gift Aid, although this is unclear from their accounts.³¹⁴

In 2014 iERA was investigated by the Charity Commission following a number of articles in the media criticising the charity.³¹⁵ Concerns initially arose after reports that iERA had imposed gender segregation at its events held at universities. Further allegations included that the charity promoted anti-Semitism and had called for violence against homosexuals and female adulterers.³¹⁶ The Commission advised the charity that the duty to ensure guest speakers did not promote hate and violence extended also to those with whom iERA partnered.³¹⁷ iERA was found to be partnering with an organisation founded by Bilal Philips.³¹⁸ Adding to iERA's Islamist extremist credentials, both Philips and Zakir Naik had both functioned as advisors to iERA.³¹⁹

The inquiry also uncovered statements made by the charity's trustees and associated speakers.³²⁰ During the investigation, the Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain released an extensive report cataloguing the many extreme statements of those involved with iERA, including its leaders, speakers, advisors and preachers:³²¹ Abduraheem Green (see 4.4.9), Hamza Tzortzis (see 4.4.8), Adnan Rashid (see 4.4.3), Saleem Chagtai, Yusuf Chambers (see Appendix 2), Abdullah Hakim Quick, Salim al-Amry, Shady al Suleiman, Bilal Philips, Haitham al Haddad (see 4.4.6) and Hassan Farooq.³²²

Abdullah Hakim Quick is a controversial speaker who has promoted anti-Semitic views and the death penalty for homosexuality, reportedly describing the latter as a “filthy disgusting thing”.³²³ Quick was recorded saying “clean and purify *maasjid al Aqsa* [Al Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem] from the filth of the *yahood* [Jew]”.³²⁴ Similarly, Salim Al-Amry agrees with Quick on the punishment for homosexuality. In addition, he has spoken derogatively of non-Muslims.³²⁵ Shady al-Suleiman,

³¹² ‘Data for financial year ending 30 June 2016 Islamic Education And Research Academy (iERA)’, *Charity Commission*, 2017, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1134566&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³¹³ ‘About us’, *iERA*, available at: <https://iera.org/about-us/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³¹⁴ ‘“Terror link” charities get British millions in Gift Aid’ *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

³¹⁵ ‘Inquiry Report Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA)’, *Charity Commission* (2016), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/565354/islamic_education_and_research_academy_iera.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³¹⁶ ‘“Anti-Semitic” charity under investigation’, *Daily Telegraph*, 24 May 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/10854579/Anti-Semitic-charity-under-investigation.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³¹⁷ ‘Inquiry Report Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA)’, *Charity Commission* (2016), p. 5.

³¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 4.

³¹⁹ ‘Evangelising Hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA), Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (2014), available at: https://ex-muslim.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/EvangelisingHate_Report_Web.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, pp. 24, 30.

³²⁰ ‘Inquiry Report Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA)’, *Charity Commission* (2016).

³²¹ ‘Evangelising Hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA), Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (2014).

³²² *ibid.*

³²³ ‘Stop Hosting Hateful Speakers In The Name Of Religious Freedom’, *Huffington Post*, 13 January 2016, available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/junaaid-jahangir/hateful-speakers-religious-freedoms_b_8972744.html, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³²⁴ ‘6/6 The History of the Crusades by Sheikh Abdul Hakim Quick’, *YouTube*, 17 May 2012 [3:47], available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=hlOrJu9Oqyo#t=225s, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³²⁵ ‘Evangelising Hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA), Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (2014), pp. 29-30.

likewise, has stated that homosexuality is “spreading all these diseases”, and that the punishment for adultery is stoning to death.³²⁶

In addition, Hassan Farooq, a member of iERA's Newham Dawah team,³²⁷ was photographed alongside Islamic State fighter Iftheekar Jaman wearing iERA dawah T-shirt,³²⁸ and reportedly made anti-Semitic remarks, praising Hitler, and making comments on social media such as “The Hour will not come until the Muslims kill the Jews” and “Let's go Jew bashing”.³²⁹

Saleem Chagtai, who was at the time of the inquiry head of iERA's public relations³³⁰ and remains an instructor for iERA's Mission Dawah,³³¹ was recorded making a number of extremist statements. These include condoning the execution of apostates. This appears to include liberal Muslims, as he states that calling for “secularism and democracy over and above the established sharia is disbelief as is doubting the obligation of hijab”. Chagtai had defended Abdullah Hakim Quick, when the latter stated that homosexuals should be murdered,³³² and has praised Mohammed al-Arifi, who was hosted by iERA during his trip to the UK.³³³ Shady al Suleiman has likewise stated that extra-marital sex should be punished with lashes, and adultery by death. He has also described homosexuality as an “evil action” that spreads diseases.³³⁴

The report found cumulatively concerning evidence, including:

- iERA preachers had said that gays should be killed; wife beating and domestic violence are permissible and divinely mandated; women who are guilty of sexual crimes including adultery should be stoned to death; endorsed an anti-Shia preacher; apostates should be killed; anti-Semitism and related conspiracies; spread the hatred and dehumanisation of non-Muslims; liberal Muslims who oppose iERA are not Muslims; women are to blame for sexual abuse and rape; female genital mutilation is permissible; Islamic supremacism and the inferiority of democracy and secularism; Muslims have a duty to do jihad; claimed protesting against anti-gay hate preachers is bigoted; that Salafism aspires to be a supremacist “socially transformative theocracy”;³³⁵
- One activist had praised Hitler and expressed admiration for the holocaust;
- iERA advisors were linked to extremist Wahhabism.

In 2014 it also became known that Islamic State fighter Iftheekar Jaman had been a member of the Portsmouth Dawah Team, photographed wearing iERA T-Shirts. The group was described by iERA in 2013 as “our team from Portsmouth”.³³⁶

³²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 30.

³²⁷ *ibid.*

³²⁸ @I.Jaman_, *Twitter*, available at: <http://twitpic.com/dp1xg1>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³²⁹ ‘Evangelising Hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA), Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (2014), p. 38.

³³⁰ *ibid.*

³³¹ ‘Course Instructors’, *Mission Dawah*, available at: <http://www.missionDawah.com/training/course-instructors/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³³² ‘Evangelising Hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA), Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (2014), pp. 19-20.

³³³ *ibid.*, p. 21.

³³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 30.

³³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 5.

³³⁶ “‘Terror link’ charities get British millions in Gift Aid”, *Daily Telegraph*, 29 November 2014.

The Charity Commission concluded that the trustees of iERA should do more to prevent the charity associating with organisations and individuals who “encourage or support terrorism and/or extremist views” so that they could not take advantage of the “charity’s status, reputations, facilities or assets”.³³⁷

iERA maintained many of its original preachers that appeared in the 2014 report. Abdurraheem Green, iERA’s founder, remains its chairman and Hamza Tzortzis continues to be Head of Research.³³⁸

Many of iERA’s speakers appear on television stations, including Naik’s Peace TV, the Islam Channel, Ramadan TV and IQRA TV.³³⁹ iERA also have a publishing arm, One Reason, that produces *dawah* material and is currently managed by Subboor Ahmed.³⁴⁰ Ahmed has spoken on behalf of iERA at campus events, including a *dawah* training session entitled “Call of Duty” organised in collaboration with Muslim Brotherhood-founded FOSIS in January 2015.³⁴¹ Ahmed worked with Imran Ibn Mansur (see 4.4.20) and has openly stated that the aim of the event was to recruit students to iERA.³⁴²

After the Charity Commission’s inquiry iERA were told to distance themselves from extremism.³⁴³ Despite a number of new additions, iERA retain some of their old speakers. Familiar names are still found among iERA’s current Mission Dawah course instructors for example,³⁴⁴ Abdurraheem Green, Hamza Tzortzis and Saleem Chagtai. One new instructor is Fatima Barkatullah, who has also spoken for HHUGS (see 4.5.9).³⁴⁵ Similar overlap with the old instructors is found among their current list of international speakers.³⁴⁶

3.5.5 Islamic Network

The Islamic Network describe their mission as: “to bring our brothers and sisters [Muslims] to the practice of their faith [...] to increase their iman [faith]”.³⁴⁷ It is evident from their social media that they reach a large young audience through conferences and events.³⁴⁸ The Charity Commission opened a statutory inquiry into the Islamic Network in August 2014 after they posted homophobic remarks on their website, including calling homosexuality a “sick disease”, legitimising the murder of homosexuals and condoning or encouraging the murder of Muslims under certain circumstances.³⁴⁹

The problematic articles, “The prohibition of the blood of a Muslim and the reasons for shedding it” and “Homosexuality”, were uploaded in 2003 and 2004. The former states that it is obligatory to kill a Muslim who apostasises from the religion, commits adultery or murder. In the second article, homosexuality was described as “perverted sexual behaviour”, a “filthy and evil practice”

³³⁷ ‘Inquiry Report Islamic Education and Research Academy (IERA)’, Charity Commission (2016).

³³⁸ ‘Course Instructors’, *Mission Dawah*.

³³⁹ *ibid.*

³⁴⁰ *ibid.*

³⁴¹ ‘iERA Dawah training and its effects’, *Student Rights*, 21 January 2015, available at: http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/2242/iera_dawah_training_and_its_effects, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁴² *ibid.*

³⁴³ ‘Leading Islamic charity told by watchdog to distance itself from extremism’, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 November 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/12/leading-islamic-charity-told-by-watchdog-to-distance-itself-from/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁴⁴ *ibid.*

³⁴⁵ ‘Course Instructors’, *Mission Dawah*.

³⁴⁶ ‘Meet our Speakers’, *IERA*, available at: <https://iera.org/our-work/request/meet-our-speakers/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁴⁷ ‘Our Mission’, *Islamic Network*, available at: <http://www.islamicnetwork.net/our-mission/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁴⁸ ‘Photos’, *Islamic Network*, *Facebook*, available at: https://www.facebook.com/pg/IslamicNetwork/photos/?ref=page_internal, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁴⁹ ‘Inquiry Report Islamic Network’, Charity Commission (2015), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/446278/islamic_network.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

and “even viler and uglier than adultery” – the punishment for which is execution, either by burning, being thrown from a height, or stoning.³⁵⁰

The Commission consequently issued regulatory advice and guidance, including implementing guidelines for those who speak at events organised by the charity and having speakers sign an agreement to regulate what they are allowed to say. They were also advised to be careful which organisations and individuals they partner with.³⁵¹

In 2013, before this inquiry was opened, they held a conference entitled “The Final Testament”. Speakers at the event included: Yasir Qadhi, Abu Abdissalam (see 4.4.10), Yusha Evans and Wasim Kempson (see 4.4.22).³⁵² Likewise, in February before the inquiry, they hosted a dinner and event on 1 February 2014 featuring speakers such as Abdissalam and Abdur Raheem McCarthy (see Appendix 2) and Abu Bilal Sanel.³⁵³

Salafist preacher Yusha Evans is a US convert and has stated that it “sickens” him to see Muslims who have “love and affection for disbelief and disbelievers”, and wrote on Facebook:

One of the biggest threats to the success of this Ummah is not from it's [sic] outside enemies but from within from the so-called ‘moderate Muslims’ who want to make Islam conform to their feelings and opinions rather than conforming themselves to the Quran and Sunnah.³⁵⁴

The Charity Commission’s inquiry concluded that the trustees had implemented an action plan, had removed “historic” offending material from their website quickly, and that “trustees have put in place a greater improved process for risk assessing speakers”.³⁵⁵

However, since the inquiry very little appears to have changed in practice. They continue to provide a platform for extremists and bolster their legitimacy. For example:

- On 28 May 2016 an event entitled “How to Smash It This Ramadan”, at Wembley Central Maasjid (Mosque), raised money for the charity. Speakers included Uthman Lateef (See 4.4.5), Abdur Raheem McCarthy (see Appendix 2) and Asif Uddin.³⁵⁶ On the Islamist website Islam 21c, Uddin stated, for example, that the Jews are one of the obstacles to Muslims living under sharia law in an Islamic State and described them as an outside force “conspiring” to “stifle progress for Muslims”.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁰ *ibid.*

³⁵¹ *ibid.*

³⁵² ‘Steps to Allah: Annual Conference’, Islamic Network, *Facebook*, 10 December 2013, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamicNetwork/photos/a.366499316726177.81550.110107762365335/641464479229658/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁵³ ‘Love, Hope and Fear’, Islamic Network, *Facebook*, 24 January 2014 available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamicNetwork/photos/a.366499316726177.81550.110107762365335/664573293585443/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁵⁴ ‘Anti-moderate Muslim at “peace meet”’, *The Australian*, 10 March 2017, available at: <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/nation/antimoderate-muslim-convert-invited-to-peace-meet/news-story/94a8c6130035503edd862b0768631f5e>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁵⁵ ‘Inquiry Report Islamic Network’, *Charity Commission*, 20 July 2015, p. 7.

³⁵⁶ ‘How to Smash this Ramadan’, Islamic Network, *Facebook*, 27 May 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamicNetwork/photos/a.216264258416351.53047.110107762365335/1141129122596522/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁵⁷ ‘Reflection on Egypt: Are We Ready To Live Under the Sharia?’, *Islam 21C*, 15 August 2013, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/politics/reflection-on-egypt-are-we-ready-to-live-under-the-sharia/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

- From 24-28 March 2016 they hosted an event at venues in Cardiff, Reading, Middlesbrough, London and Bradford entitled “Signs of the Day of Judgement”. Speakers included Abu Hafsah, Abdur Raheem McCarthy, and Asif Uddin.³⁵⁸
- From 19-20 December 2015 they held a conference entitled “The Covenant: Our Pledge to Allah”. Speakers included: Alaa Elsayed, Abu Abdissalam, Abdul Bary Yahya, Asif Uddin, Abu Hafsah, Muslim Belal (see 4.4.2), Yusha Evans, Hamza Tzortzis (see 4.4.8).³⁵⁹
- On 26 October 2015 they held an event featuring Abu Hafsah and Asif Uddin.³⁶⁰
- On 23 August 2015 they held an event featuring Abu Abdissalam, Asif Uddin and Uthman Lateef.³⁶¹
- On 6 December 2015 they used a photograph of Suleiman Gani (see 4.4.18) at a lecture to advertise an event.³⁶²
- On 29 February 2016 they posted a photo showing Abdurraheem Green addressing a crowd of children.³⁶³

As with previous annual conferences that provided a platform for a similar selection of extreme and intolerant speakers,³⁶⁴ their annual Steps to Allah conference, organised for 4 February 2018 included speakers Abu Abdissalam, Asif Uddin, Zahir Mahmood, Abdurraheem Green and Wasim Kempson among others.³⁶⁵

3.5.6 Human Aid

Human Aid's objective is to “promote sustainable economic and social development by working with local communities regardless of race, religion or gender” and to respond to disasters and emergencies.³⁶⁶ The charity's total income in 2016 was £697,104, including £29,317 in Gift Aid via fundraising platform Just Giving and £84,049 via Virgin Giving.³⁶⁷

The Charity Commission opened a statutory inquiry into Human Aid on 15 August 2014.³⁶⁸ The primary concerns regarded the management of fundraising and the charity's activities in Turkey and

³⁵⁸ ‘Signs of the Day of Judgement’, Islamic Network, *Facebook*, 3 March 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamicNetwork/photos/a.216264258416351.53047.110107762365335/1085233078186127/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁵⁹ ‘The Covenant’, Islamic Network, *Facebook*, 14 December 2015, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamicNetwork/photos/a.216264258416351.53047.110107762365335/1043318979044204/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁶⁰ ‘Streams of Paradise’, Islamic Network, *Facebook*, 25 October 2015, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamicNetwork/photos/a.559974810711959.1073741824.110107762365335/1020821591293943/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁶¹ ‘Streams of Paradise’, Islamic Network, 23 August 2015, archived screenshot.

³⁶² Islamic Network, *Facebook*, 6 December 2015, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamicNetwork/photos/a.216264258416351.53047.110107762365335/1039589099417192/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁶³ ‘Islamic Network’, *Facebook*, 29 February 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamicNetwork/photos/a.216264258416351.53047.110107762365335/1083685795007522/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁶⁴ ‘The Final Testament’, *Steps to Allah*, 22 December 2013, available at: <http://www.stepstoallah.com/the-final-testament/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Reclaiming Our Religion’, *Steps to Allah*, 2 January 2011, available at: <http://www.stepstoallah.com/reclaiming-our-religion/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘When the Moon Split’, *Steps to Allah*, 13-14 February 2015, available at: <http://www.stepstoallah.com/when-the-moon-split/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁶⁵ ‘Confessions’, *Steps to Allah*, available at: <http://www.stepstoallah.com/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Annual Conference Steps to Allah 8–Confessions’, Evensi, available at: <https://www.evensi.uk/steps-allah-8-confessions-islamic-network/239019149>, last visited: 5 February 2018; ‘Steps to Allah 8 – Confessions’, Islamic Network, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/715785365299167/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁶⁶ ‘Data for financial year ending 31 March 2016 Human Aid UK’, *Charity Commission for England and Wales*, 2017, available at:

<http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?subid=0®id=1138111>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁶⁷ ‘Human Aid Trustee's Report & Financial Statements For the Year Ended 31 March 2016’, Human Aid UK (2016), available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends11/0001138111_AC_20160331_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁶⁸ ‘Inquiry Report Human Aid UK’, Charity Commission for England and Wales (2017), available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/596579/human_aid_uk.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 2

Syria. At the close of the inquiry, on 3 March 2017 they concluded that there was “no evidence of misapplication of charity funds” but that there was a lack of adequate documentation. The Commission believed that the trustees had mismanaged the charity and failed to adequately protect it. As a result they provided guidance to the trustees.³⁶⁹

However, during this period, Human Aid provided a platform for a number of extremist speakers, for example:

- In 3 June 2017, Uthman Lateef (see 4.4.5) spoke at their Annual Iftar.³⁷⁰
- In 13 June 2016, Adnan Rashid (see 4.4.3) spoke at their Annual Iftar.³⁷¹
- On 23 July 2014, Human Aid UK posted a video of Adnan Rashid speaking at one of their events on Syria.³⁷²
- Human Aid's 2014 Annual Iftar featured Yusha Evans.³⁷³
- Human Aid sponsored the 'Never Lose Hope' Winter Conference held 26 December 2012, which featured Shakeel Begg (see 4.4.4), among others.³⁷⁴ Begg also spoke at a Human Aid event published on YouTube on 13 May 2014.³⁷⁵
- Abdul Qayyum spoke for Human Aid UK at an event, the video of which they posted in 21 April 2014³⁷⁶ and features in a Human Appeal fundraising video posted in December 2013.³⁷⁷ Abdul Qayyum is a signatory of a statement addressed to the “Islamic nation, its religious scholars, its rulers and its peoples”. The statement praises the military defeat of “Zionist Jewish occupiers”, affirms the victory of the “muhajidin” and praises jihad and supports Hamas.³⁷⁸
- A video posted on 16 September 2012 featured popular extremist speaker Mohammed al-Arifi.³⁷⁹

In addition to hosting extreme speakers, in 27 December 2011, Human Aid posted a video about their convoys to Gaza which shows an activist wearing the headband associated with the proscribed terrorist group Hamas and features footage of the graves of ‘martyrs’.³⁸⁰

³⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁷⁰ ‘The Legacy of Bilal’, *Human Aid UK*, 3 June 2017, available at: <https://www.human-aid.org/iftar2017/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁷¹ Human Aid UK, *Facebook*, 4 June 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/humanaiduk/videos/1235442249801488/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁷² ‘Adnan Rashid: Syria - Help Our People’, *YouTube*, 23 July 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xizg9kwTB8>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁷³ ‘Human Aid UK - Annual Iftar 2014’, *YouTube*, 25 June 2014, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JLdfwd_orPQ, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁷⁴ ‘Never Lose Hope in the Mercy of Allah’, Winter Conference Poster, available at: http://hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/68605_423353937733545_1960346707_n.jpg, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁷⁵ ‘Imam Shakeel Begg - Syria: A Blessed Land’, *YouTube*, 13 May 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4lCqwMJy65Q>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁷⁶ ‘Shaykh Abdul Qayum - Bangladesh: The Forgotten Land’, *YouTube*, 21 April 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDebDbb2xB8>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁷⁷ ‘Human Aid UK: We are going “Medical aid to Syria”’, *YouTube*, 13 December 2013 available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tc8ZzZn8KnU>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁷⁸ ‘A statement by the religious scholars and proselytisers (du’a) of the Islamic Nation (ummah) to all rulers and peoples concerning events in Gaza’, available at: <http://www.hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/istpdf.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁷⁹ ‘Naseeha from Shaykh Muhammed AlArifi محمد شيوخ العريفي’, *YouTube*, 16 November 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZavaRzsC7I>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁸⁰ ‘Human Aid UK Road Convoy’s to Gaza’, *YouTube*, 27 December 2011, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L143jmSyY6w>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

3.5.7 *Al Maghrib Foundation*³⁸¹ and *Prophetic Guidance*³⁸²

There are a number of institutions with charitable status or connected to UK-registered charities that provide many of the speakers that are given platforms by other charities and organisations. Prominent among them is the Al Maghrib Foundation (a registered charity and limited company), which is closely related to Prophetic Guidance; both are registered charities and limited companies.³⁸³ The two foundations also share a trustee.³⁸⁴

Prophetic Guidance describes itself as a non-profit educational institute.³⁸⁵ One of its teachers is Abu Eesa Naimatullah,³⁸⁶ is also a lecturer at the Al Maghrib Institute.³⁸⁷ Other instructors at the Al Maghrib Institute include: Yahya Ibrahim (see Appendix 2), Yasir Qadhi and Abdullah Hakim Quick,³⁸⁸ who was explicitly counted among the extremist speakers listed in the *Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* (2016).³⁸⁹

Their promotion of these controversial speakers continues. In 2017, as advertised to students at SOAS university Fresher's Fair, their annual ILMfest featured a number of extremist speakers, such as Omar Suleiman (see 4.4.11), Yasir Qadhi, Yahya Ibrahim (see Appendix 2) and Abu Easa Naimatullah (see 4.4.16).³⁹⁰

3.5.8 *Mercy Mission, Al Kauthar Foundation and Charity Right*³⁹¹

Like the Al Maghrib Institute, The Al Kauthar Institute also provides a number of extreme and intolerant speakers. The Institute is a project of Mercy Mission,³⁹² a UK-registered charity.³⁹³ Separately, the Al Kauthar Institute is also a registered charity in Australia.³⁹⁴ Another of Mercy Mission's projects, Charity Right,³⁹⁵ is also a UK-registered charity³⁹⁶ and shares its CEO, Azim Kidwai, with that of Mercy Mission World,³⁹⁷ which also operates globally, has described itself as the proud "official charity partner" of the Al Kauthar Institute.³⁹⁸

Al Kauthar's instructors include, among others, Mercy Mission founder Tawfique Chowdhury,³⁹⁹ Abu Abdissalam (see 4.4.10), Wasim Kempson (see 4.4.22), Hamza Tzortzis (see 4.4.8), Alaa

³⁸¹ 'Data for financial year ending 31 January 2017 The Al Maghrib Foundation', *Charity Commission*, 2017, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1157315&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁸² 'Data for financial year ending 31 August 2016 Prophetic Guidance', *Charity Commission*, 2017, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1134082&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁸³ 'Data for financial year ending 31 January 2017 The Al Maghrib Foundation', *Charity Commission*, 2017; 'The Almaghrib Foundation', *Companies House*, 2017, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/08353213>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Data for financial year ending 31 August 2016 Prophetic Guidance', *Charity Commission*, 2017; 'Prophetic Guidance', *Companies House*, 2017, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/07000136>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁸⁴ 'Data for financial year ending 31 January 2017 The Al Maghrib Foundation', *Charity Commission*, 2017.

³⁸⁵ 'About', *Prophetic Guidance*, available at: <http://propheticguidance.co.uk/about/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁸⁶ 'Teachers', *Prophetic Guidance*, available at: <http://propheticguidance.co.uk/teachers/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁸⁷ 'Instructors', *Prophetic Guidance*, available at: <https://www.almaghrib.org/instructors>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁸⁸ *ibid.*

³⁸⁹ *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: 22 January 2018. para. 335.

³⁹⁰ 'Isoc Fresher's Stall, SOAS Fresher's Fair, collected 29 September 2017.

³⁹¹ 'Data for financial year ending 31 December 2016 Prophetic Guidance', *Charity Commission*, 2017.

³⁹² 'Our Projects', *Mercy Mission Canada*, available at: <http://www.mercymission.ca/projects>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁹³ 'Mercy Mission UK', *Charity Commission*, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?subid=0®id=1122922>

³⁹⁴ 'About Us', *Alkauthar Institute*, available at: <https://alkauthar.org/alkauthar-institute/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁹⁵ 'Mercy Mission World', *Mercy Mission*, available at: <https://simplygiving.com/NonProfit/mercymission>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁹⁶ 'Data for financial year ending 31 December 2016 Charity Right', *Charity Commission*, 2017, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1163944&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁹⁷ 'Who We Are', *Charity Right*, available at: <https://charityright.org.uk/who-we-are/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Data for financial year ending 31 December 2016 Charity Right', *Charity Commission*, 2017.

³⁹⁸ 'Charity Right Is Proud To Be The Al Kauthar Institutes Official Charity Partner This Ramadan', *Charity Right*, available at: <https://charityright.org.uk/alkauthar/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

³⁹⁹ 'Australian doctor Tawfique Chowdhury standing firm after being named on Islamic State "kill list"', *ABC*, 26 April 2016, available at: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-04-26/australian-doctor-named-on-apparent-islamic-state-kill-list/7360844>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Elsayed and Bilal Ismail,⁴⁰⁰ who has shared posts on Facebook in support of terrorist Aafia Siddiqui.⁴⁰¹ Alaa Elsayed, who is the Director of Public Relations for Mercy Mission World, is also the Director of Religious Affairs for the Islamic Centre of Canada (ISNA).⁴⁰² The ISNA had its charitable status removed by Canadian federal regulator's for "non-compliance" after tax receipts were discovered that had been issued for donations to a Pakistani group "linked to armed militancy".⁴⁰³

Another speaker provided with a platform by Al Kauthar is Assim Al Hakeem,⁴⁰⁴ who believes that apostates and Jews or Christians that speak against Mohammed should be executed.⁴⁰⁵ Assim Al Hakeem has openly stated that female circumcision (FGM) is recommended by the *Sunnah*,⁴⁰⁶ and that Muslims living in a "kaafir country" should have an "attitude of enmity and hatred of the kaafirs and will not befriend them and love them".⁴⁰⁷ Al Hakeem has also stated that it "is not permissible for a wife to refuse fulfilling her husband's desire. You should answer his calls as this is not phisically [sic] hurting you".⁴⁰⁸

On 24 July 2014 Mercy Mission held a large conference hosting a number of extremist speakers raising money in support of Charity Right.⁴⁰⁹ On 21-23 June 2017, the Night of Power annual conference was held in support of Charity Right, again hosting a number of concerning speakers.⁴¹⁰ The conference included Al Kauthar lecturers Tawfique Chowdhury, Alaa Elsayed, Yahya Adel Ibrahim and Wasim Kempson (see 4.4.22).⁴¹¹

A similar conference held on 1 July 2016 included a number of controversial speakers including: Adnan Rashid (see 4.4.3), Wasim Kempson, and Fatima Barkatulla (see 4.5.9).⁴¹² Hamza Tzortzis (see 4.4.8), among other regulars, spoke in 2015 conference.⁴¹³ Speakers at their other conferences have included: Bilal Philips,⁴¹⁴ Yasir Qadhi,⁴¹⁵ Yahya Ibrahim (see Appendix 2),⁴¹⁶ Abdurraheem

⁴⁰⁰ 'AlKauthar Instructor', *Alkauthar Institute*, available at: <https://alkauthar.org/instructors.php>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁰¹ Bilal Ismail, *Facebook*, 2 June 2014, repost Tariq Ramadan, *Facebook*, 28 May 2014, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/BilalIsmailZA/posts/783329725019155>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁰² 'Alaa Elsayed', *Alkauthar Institute*, available at: <https://alkauthar.org/instructor.php?id=5>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁰³ 'Government revokes group's charity status, audit cites possible funding of Pakistani militants', *Global News*, 19 July 2017, available at: <https://globalnews.ca/news/3606224/government-revokes-groups-charity-status-audit-cites-pakistani-militants/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁰⁴ 'AlKauthar Institute. Sheikh Assim alHakeem Khutbah - London 5 April 2013', *Soundcloud*, April 2013, available at: <https://soundcloud.com/alkautharinstitute/sheikh-assim-alhakeem-khutbah>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁰⁵ 'If truly there is no compulsion in religion, why then are apostates killed? Some end up hating islam and calling untruthful.', *Sheikh Assim Al-Hakeem.net*, 21 January 2013, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130716000210/http://www.assimalhakeem.net/node/5838>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'In case of some Christian or Jew talking against Mohammad(SAWW) etc, then will the penalty be the same in Islam in a Muslim state?', *Sheikh Assim Al-Hakeem.net*, 12 June 2011, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130715070725/http://www.assimalhakeem.net/node/2008>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁰⁶ 'Is female circumcision permissible', *YouTube*, 8 October 2011, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oVHWtXj_EDY, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁰⁷ 'This is an authentic hadeeth and it means that it isn't permissible to live in a non Muslim country for an to be like them without being able to practice Islam. Here is a question and answer from Islam Q&A that may clear that point a little bit. Shoul', *Sheikh Assim Al-Hakeem.net*, 15 April 2012, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130624070621/http://www.assimalhakeem.net/node/3332>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁰⁸ 'My husband libido is too high he is requiring me 3 times a day.What can I do?', *Sheikh Assim Al-Hakeem.net*, 15 April 2012, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20120427090238/http://www.assimalhakeem.net:80/node/108>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁰⁹ 'Night of Power Conference', *Hasina Suliman*, 24 July 2014, available at: <http://muslimahlifestyle.com/mercy-mission-night-of-power-conference/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴¹⁰ 'Night of Power Conference', Charity Right Malaysia, 20 June 2017, *pikore.co*, available at: http://pikore.co/media.php?id=1541212300438865033_3609800759, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴¹¹ *ibid*.

⁴¹² 'Night of Power', *Islamic events Malaysia*, available at: <http://www.islamiceventsmalaysia.com/night-of-power/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴¹³ 'Night of Power Conference 2015', *Vimeo*, 2015, available at: <https://vimeo.com/132423606>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴¹⁴ 'Night of Power Conference', *Muslimah Lifestyle*, 24 July 2014, available at: <http://muslimahlifestyle.com/mercy-mission-night-of-power-conference/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴¹⁵ 'Night of Power- A spiritual Journey with the Qur'an ~ Dr. Yasir Qadhi | 24th July 2014', *YouTube*, 25 July 2014, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8_IRdvf_8o, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴¹⁶ 'Night of Power Conference', *Muslimah Lifestyle*, 24 July 2014

Green (see 4.4.9),⁴¹⁷ Hamza Tzortzis (see 4.4.8),⁴¹⁸ Shady al Suleiman,⁴¹⁹ Alaa Elsayed,⁴²⁰ Muslim Belal (see 4.4.2),⁴²¹ Wasim Kempson (see 4.4.22),⁴²² Adnan Rashid (see 4.4.3).⁴²³

3.5.9 Muslim Research and Development Foundation (MRDF)

MRDF gained charitable status in 2007.⁴²⁴ Its founder and executive director is well-known Islamist extremist Haitham al Haddad (see 4.4.6).⁴²⁵ The charity's stated aim is to undertake "diverse activities including research and publishing programmes, corporate retreats and development programmes, organising conferences, seminars and lecture tours and analysis of news, information and media material".⁴²⁶ MRDF runs a number of projects, including Sabeel, which runs retreats and seminars,⁴²⁷ and online magazine Islam 21c.⁴²⁸

According to its website, Sabeel "believes that societal development and change will come through developing young Muslims will [sic] similar knowledge and understanding – making them leaders who are well founded in traditional Islamic principles and are able to promote the pristine teachings of Islam".⁴²⁹ To realise this it offers a number of activities, including a Retreats Development Programme which includes Quran classes and seminars, weekend retreats, weekend seminars and "Sabeel Masjid", involving lectures, workshops and activities in local mosques.⁴³⁰ Their lecturers include al Haddad, Alomgir Ali, Asif Uddin, Asim Khan (see 4.4.15), Shaqur Rahman, Farid Haibatani, Abu Rumaysah Refi Shaafi, and Fraz Farhat.⁴³¹ Alomgir Ali was specifically named by David Cameron as an extremist speaker.⁴³²

Many of the extremist speakers mentioned in this report are writers for Islam 21c,⁴³³ which has in the past published pieces condemning the integration of Western Muslims as a "secular disease".⁴³⁴ Figures such as co-director of CAGE Asim Qureshi,⁴³⁵ who famously called Islamic State executioner Mohammed Emwazi a "beautiful young man",⁴³⁶ Hizb ut Tahrir leader Abdul Wahid,⁴³⁷

⁴¹⁷ *ibid.*

⁴¹⁸ *ibid.*

⁴¹⁹ *ibid.*; 'Night of Power', *Islamic events Malaysia*.

⁴²⁰ 'Night of Power Conference', *Muslimah Lifestyle*, 24 July 2014.

⁴²¹ *ibid.*

⁴²² 'Night of Power', *Islamic Events Malaysia*.

⁴²³ *ibid.*

⁴²⁴ 'To see the rise and emergence of Muslims championing the values of Islam in the West...', *MRDF*, available at: <http://www.mrdf.co.uk/mrdf/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴²⁵ 'Shaykh Dr. Haitham Al-Haddad', *Family Retreat*, available at: <http://www.familyretreat.co.uk/speakers/shaykh-dr-haitham-al-haddad/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴²⁶ 'Data for financial year ending 31 December 2016 Muslim Research and Development Foundation', *Charity Commission*, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1119977&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴²⁷ 'Sabeel. Nurturing Success in our lives. Aspiring Leaders, Instilling Excellence and Nurturing Success', *MRDF*, available at: <http://www.mrdf.co.uk/our-projects/sabeel/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴²⁸ Sutton, R., 'Myths and Misunderstandings: Understanding Opposition to The Prevent Strategy', *The Henry Jackson Society* (2016), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Myths-and-Misunderstandings-PREVENT-Report-Final-29.09.2016.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 13.

⁴²⁹ 'About Sabeel. Aspiring Leaders, Instilling Excellence and Nurturing Success', *Sabeel Retreats & Seminars*, available at: <https://sabeel.org.uk/about-us/about-sabeel-2/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴³⁰ 'What we offer. Sabeel Retreats Development Programme', *Sabeel Retreats & Seminars*, no clear date, available at: <https://sabeel.org.uk/about-us/what-we-offer/>

⁴³¹ 'Instructors', *Sabeel Retreats & Seminars*, available at: <https://sabeel.org.uk/about-us/instructors-2/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴³² 'Soas hits back at David Cameron's accusations that it played host to "hate preachers"', *Independent*, 17 September 2017, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/soas-hits-back-at-david-camerons-accusations-that-it-played-host-to-hate-preachers-10506676.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴³³ 'Authors', *Islam 21C*, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/authors/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴³⁴ 'Extreme Speakers and Events: In the 2016-17 Academic Year', *The Henry Jackson Society* (2017), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Extreme-Speakers-and-Events-in-the-2016-17-Academic-Year-Final.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 7.

⁴³⁵ 'Author Archives: Asim Qureshi', *Islam 21C*, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/author/asimqureshi/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴³⁶ 'Jihadi John': Mohammed Emwazi was "extremely kind, gentle, beautiful young man", says Cage director', *Independent*, 26 February 2015, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/jihadi-john-mohammed-emwazi-was-an-extremely-kind-gentle-beautiful-young-man-says-cage-director-10073338.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴³⁷ 'Dr Abdul Wahid On The Recent Events In Paris', *Islam 21C*, 9 January 2015, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/special/dr-abdul-wahid-on-the-recent-events-in-paris/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

and Alomgir Ali are among Islam 21c's writers.⁴³⁸ Ali, who believes in gender segregation and discourages socialising between the sexes,⁴³⁹ is known for his remarks that a woman should "stay in her house, because her home is a natural form of hijab".⁴⁴⁰ Understandably, Ali was counted among those former Prime Minister David Cameron regarded as extremist speakers undermining British values.⁴⁴¹

The Chief Editor of Islam 21c, Salman Butt, was named by David Cameron among his list of extremist speakers in 2015.⁴⁴² While Islam 21c provides many of the Islamists with a written platform, MRDF continues to provide a platform for Haitham al Haddad and others to lecture and engage with the community, particularly a young audience. For example, on 23 July 2016, MRDF organised a trek on Mount Snowdon involving speaker Wasim Kempson (see 4.4.22)⁴⁴³ and more recently a Scarfell Pike hike fundraiser, organised by MRDF on 8 July 2017, was used as an opportunity to provide a platform for speakers including: al Haddad, Asim Khan (see 4.4.15), Omar Hajaj (see 4.4.12) alongside senior advisor to the Islamic Council of Europe and Sabeel lecturer Shaqur Rehman.⁴⁴⁴

Omar Hajaj was previously Head of Campaigns for the Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS), which was founded by Islamist activists from the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami in 1962, and had participated in the Muslim Prisoner Support Group's Belmarsh Iftar.⁴⁴⁵ FOSIS was condemned by former Home Secretary Theresa May and former Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg for its failure to "challenge terrorist and extremist ideology". FOSIS has in the past hosted violent extremists such as Azzam Tamimi, who has spoken in support of suicide bombing, and Al Qaeda preacher Anwar al-Awlaki.⁴⁴⁶ In addition, *The Telegraph* reported that several individuals convicted for terrorism offences have been affiliated with FOSIS.⁴⁴⁷

Among MRDF's course attendees was "Underwear bomber" Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, who grew up in Nigeria but was studying in London, attempted to bomb a transatlantic Amsterdam-Detroit flight on Christmas Day 2009,⁴⁴⁸ and explained in his short autobiography that he had attended a three day intensive programme organised by MRDF-Sabeel.⁴⁴⁹

⁴³⁸ 'Author Archives: Sheikh Alomgir Ali', *Islam 21c*, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/author/alongirali/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴³⁹ 'Soas hits back at David Cameron's accusations that it played host to "hate preachers"', *Independent*, 17 September 2017.

⁴⁴⁰ 'Queen Mary University under fire as "hotbed for Islamic extremism"', *Docklands & East London Advertiser*, 6 August 2015, available at: <http://www.eastlondonadvertiser.co.uk/news/education/queen-mary-university-under-fire-as-hotbed-for-islamic-extremism-1-4182266>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁴¹ 'Soas hits back at David Cameron's accusations that it played host to "hate preachers"', *Independent*, 17 September 2017.

⁴⁴² 'R on the application of Dr Salman Butt - v - Secretary of State for the Home Department', *Bindmans*, 26 July 2016, available at: <https://www.bindmans.com/news/r-on-the-application-of-dr-salman-butt-v-secretary-of-state-for-the-ho1>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Soas hits back at David Cameron's accusations that it played host to "hate preachers"', *Independent*, 17 September 2017.

⁴⁴³ 'Snowdon Charity Trek', MRDF, *Facebook*, 26 May 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/mrdffuk/photos/a.536026243100260.1073741828.536001749769376/1013190338717179/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁴⁴ Hajaj, O., 'Omar's #MRDFTrek 2017', *JustGiving*, 2017, available at: <https://www.justgiving.com/fundraising/omarhajaj2017>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Shaykh Shaqur Rehman', *Islamic Council of Europe*, available at: <https://iceurope.org/advisor/about-us/our-advisors/shakur-rahman/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Instructors', *Sabeel Retreats & Seminars*; 'Shaykh Shaqur Rehman', *Sabeel Retreats & Seminars*, No clear date, available at: <https://sabeel.org.uk/shaykh-shaqur-rehman/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁴⁵ 'Woolwich attack: 'Lone wolves' who run with the pack', *Daily Telegraph*, 25 May 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/10080864/Woolwich-attack-Lone-wolves-who-run-with-the-pack.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁴⁶ *ibid*; 'Anwar al-Awlaki Fast Facts', *CNN Library*, 1 March 2017, available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/08/23/world/meast/anwar-al-awlaki-fast-facts/index.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁴⁷ 'How taxpayers are still funding the extremists', *Daily Telegraph*, 3 March 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/journalists/andrew-gilligan/9121313/How-taxpayers-are-still-funding-the-extremists.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁴⁸ 'Underwear bomber Abdulmutallab sentenced to life', *BBC News*, 16 February 2012, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-17065130>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁴⁹ Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, 'About me', available at: <http://msnbcmedia.msn.com/i/msnbc/sections/tvnews/datetime%20nbc/autobiography.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

3.6 Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood-linked Charities

A number of UK-registered charities have, and continue to be, connected to the Muslim Brotherhood, and affiliated proscribed terrorist organisation Hamas.⁴⁵⁰

The Muslim Brotherhood is an international Islamist organisation founded by Hassan al-Banna in 1928, that's aim is to "establish a pure Islamic society; a sharia state".⁴⁵¹ Their creed reads, "Allah is our objective. The Quran is our constitution. The Prophet is our leader. Jihad is our way. Death for the sake of Allah is our greatest wish".⁴⁵² Despite charges of early violence, the Brotherhood can be considered a non-violent extremist group and it is not a proscribed group in the UK.⁴⁵³

Nonetheless, Justice Haddon-Cave included key Muslim Brotherhood figures Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb among his list of "political Islamists and violent extremists".⁴⁵⁴ Sayyid Qutb is a prominent ideologue within the Muslim Brotherhood and author of the influential work "Milestones", which along with al-Banna's work "The Way of Jihad", is banned from UK prisons.⁴⁵⁵

The Muslim Brotherhood recently came under public scrutiny and was subject to a government review. In 2015 former Prime Minister David Cameron stated that the group could be a "possible indicator of extremism" but that the Brotherhood would not be banned.⁴⁵⁶ Nonetheless, its extremism is acknowledged, with the UK government rejecting recommendations from a Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee (FAC) to engage more closely with the Muslim Brotherhood because it recognised its "highly ambiguous relationship with violent extremism".⁴⁵⁷

It is therefore concerning that a number of UK-registered charities connected to the Muslim Brotherhood continue to be active in the UK and receive mainstream support that shields them from criticism and legitimises them.

3.6.1 The Muslim Charities Forum (MCF) and Islamic Relief

The Muslim Charities Forum (MCF), has been outed in the past for alleged connections to the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas, yet it has received mainstream political support.⁴⁵⁸ In 2014 it was reported that the MCF had received a donation of £18,397 from the government,⁴⁵⁹ and more recently Conservative peer Baroness Sayeeda Warsi spoke out against what she perceived as the

⁴⁵⁰ 'Hamas was proscribed in the UK in March 2001. Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', Home Office: HM Government, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/648405/Proscription_website.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁵¹ Zee, M., *Choosing Sharia?* (2016), p. 60; 'What is the Muslim Brotherhood?', CNN, 3 July 2013, available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/03/world/africa/egypt-muslim-brotherhood-explainer/index.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁵² Bowen, Innes., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 102.

⁴⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 102.

⁴⁵⁴ '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: 22 January 2018, p. 288.

⁴⁵⁵ "Extremist" books remained in prisons despite warning', *BBC News*, 28 July 2016, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-36774358>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁵⁶ 'Muslim Brotherhood will not be banned from UK, David Cameron decides after long-delayed report published', *Daily Telegraph*, 17 December 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron/12055901/Muslim-Brotherhood-will-not-be-banned-from-UK-David-Cameron-decides-after-long-delayed-report-published.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁵⁷ 'UK: We will not talk to the Muslim Brotherhood', *The National*, 21 September 2017, available at: <https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/uk-we-will-not-talk-to-the-muslim-brotherhood-1.630699>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁵⁸ 'Government donation to Muslim Charities Forum denounced as "madness"', *Daily 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: 22 January 2018; 'Human Appeal and Hamas: the evidence', *The Telegraph*, 19 October 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11940489/Human-Appeal-and-Hamas-the-evidence.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁵⁹ 'Government donation to Muslim Charities Forum denounced as "madness"', *Daily Telegraph*, 23 September 2014.

unfair scrutiny of Britain's Muslim charities at MCF's Humanitarian Awards ceremony.⁴⁶⁰ Amongst the recipients of awards were MCF charities Human Appeal and Islamic Relief.⁴⁶¹

The MCF is an umbrella group for nine charities including Muslim Hands, Human Appeal International, Human Relief Foundation, Muslim Aid and Islamic Relief. These charities had formerly been involved in the fundraising group Union of Good which had connections to the Muslim Brotherhood and was designated by the United States as a sponsor for terrorism, believed to have been created by Hamas for the purpose of funding the organisation.⁴⁶² The Israel Security Agency (ISA) stated that the Union of Good had been established in 2001 and later "became the umbrella organization for Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Islamic charity funds" which was a "powerful economic body which gathers and coordinates donations from its affiliated bodies and transfers them to Territories-based Hamas charity societies".⁴⁶³

In 2014 the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) withdrew £140,000 of funding from the MCF due to concerns relating to extremism.⁴⁶⁴ Then Secretary of State Eric Pickles had terminated similar funding to MCF member Islamic Help, due to concerns over the invitation of extremist speakers.⁴⁶⁵

Uthman Lateef (see 4.4.5) spoke at Islamic Help fundraising event "A Night for Syria" on 31 August 2014, which includes "networking" as one of its purposes.⁴⁶⁶ Islamic Help's Chief Co-ordinator in Iraq previously said that, whilst he condemned the taking of civilian hostages, those who kidnap US soldiers "may have a point".⁴⁶⁷ In Gaza they have been closely related to Hamas front group Islamic Society, which operated a "terrorist kindergarten". It has also sponsored events providing a platform to extremist speakers, including Hizb ut Tahrir's Taji Mustafa.⁴⁶⁸ Hizb ut Tahrir, whose objective is the creation of a global caliphate, regard integration into British society as "dangerous" and call on Muslims to resist "assimilation".⁴⁶⁹ Taji Mustafa himself has spread 'us versus them' narratives by claiming that then Home Secretary Theresa May was branding the "Muslim Community 'Extremist'".⁴⁷⁰ Perhaps most concerning of all is that the secretary of Islamic Help had previously been employed as a senior official in the Charity Commission, until August 2010.⁴⁷¹

MCF member Muslim Aid was established by Jamaat-e-Islami activists, the ideological cousin of the Muslim Brotherhood in the sub-continent⁴⁷² that was founded by Islamist extremist Sayyid

⁴⁶⁰ 'Muslim charities have been vilified, says Baroness Warsi', *Third Sector*, 23 February 2017, available at: <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/muslim-charities-vilified-says-baroness-warsi/policy-and-politics/article/1425226>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁴⁶² 'Government donation to Muslim Charities Forum denounced as "madness"', *Daily Telegraph*, 23 September 2014.

⁴⁶³ 'The Union of Good - Analysis and Mapping of Terror Funds Network', Israel Security Agency (ISA), available at: https://www.shabak.gov.il/SiteCollectionImages/english/TerrorInfo/coalition_en.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁶⁴ 'DCLG withdraws £140,000 funding from Muslim Charities Forum', *Third Sector*, 23 December 2014, available at: <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/dclg-withdraws-140000-funding-muslim-charities-forum/policy-and-politics/article/1327607>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁶⁵ 'Integration update: written statement', *HM Government*, 18 December 2014, available at: <http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Commons/2014-12-18/HCWS154/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁶⁶ 'Night for Syria event poster', Islamic Help, *Facebook*, 28 August 2014, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/islamichelp/photos/a.117878288239140.17234.113007642059538/935164096510551/?type=1&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁶⁷ 'Charity watchdog loses its bite', *Daily Telegraph*, 25 December 2010, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/8225028/Charity-watchdog-loses-its-bite.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ 'Islamists who want to destroy the state get £100,000 funding', *Daily Telegraph*, 25 October 2009, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/6427369/Islamists-who-want-to-destroy-the-state-get-100000-funding.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁷⁰ 'Taji Mustafa: Theresa May brands Muslim community 'extremist'', *Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain*, 23 March 2015, available at:

<http://www.hizb.org.uk/viewpoint/taji-mustafa-theresa-may-brands-muslim-community-extremist/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁷¹ 'Charity watchdog loses its bite', *Daily Telegraph*, 25 December 2010.

⁴⁷² 'Government donation to Muslim Charities Forum denounced as "madness"', *Daily Telegraph*, 23 September 2014.

Abdul A'la Maududi.⁴⁷³ Justice Haddon-Cave listed Maududi among those “whose views and reputations for proselytising extremist and violent ideologies are widely known to many Muslims”.⁴⁷⁴ Muslim Aid has reportedly “admitted funding organisations closely linked to the banned terror groups Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad” and has been closely linked to the Islamic Forum of Europe which aims to create an Islamic State in Europe. It is also banned in Israel for funding terrorism.⁴⁷⁵

Leaked documents show the concern of the US over Human Appeal’s “activities and terror finance connections”.⁴⁷⁶ In addition, Human Appeal have hosted extremist speakers including Raed Salah in 2011.⁴⁷⁷ Salah has been closely aligned to Hamas, and his presence in the UK was described by the Government as “not conducive to the public good”.⁴⁷⁸ Salah is well known for his extremist views. He is alleged to have mourned for Osama bin Laden, describing him as a “martyr” and his killers as “satanic”.⁴⁷⁹ He has propagated anti-Semitic conspiracy theories about the attacks on the US on 11 September 2001, as well as alluding explicitly to the “blood libel” claim that Jews murder children and use their blood in religious rituals.⁴⁸⁰

Islamic Relief

Another of MCF’s member charities is Birmingham-based Islamic Relief⁴⁸¹ (registered as Islamic UK - 1112111 - and Islamic Relief Worldwide - 3285572).⁴⁸² The charity states that it aims to “fundraise for emergency relief to long-term development projects in areas such as water and sanitation, health and nutrition, [and] orphan sponsorship”.⁴⁸³ As the name suggests, it operates globally with various branches across Europe offering help to countries predominantly in the Middle East and Africa.⁴⁸⁴ As well as its own limited company, Islamic Relief Worldwide was incorporated in 1989,⁴⁸⁵ with its fundraising also supported by TIC International Limited, which recycles clothes, runs charity shops across the UK and procures food.⁴⁸⁶

TIC International was founded in 1993 by Islamic Relief Worldwide, and is owned by the charity, with all its profits being “covenanted back to Islamic Relief as un-allocated fund [sic] to be used for development projects”.⁴⁸⁷ The company partners with Islamic Relief’s branches in the UK, Italy,

⁴⁷³ Bowen, I., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 83.

⁴⁷⁴ *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: 22 January 2018, paras 307-308.

⁴⁷⁵ “‘Terror link’ charities get British millions in gift aid”, *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁷⁶ ‘UAE Charity – Human Appeal International’, *Wikileaks*, 15 May 2005, available at: https://search.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/05ABUDHABI2169_a.html, last visited: 22 January 2018.; ‘MBR Charity Establishment Promises to End Cooperation with Human Appeal International’, *Wikileaks*, 20 May 2006, available at: https://search.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/06DUBAI2853_a.html, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁷⁷ ‘Human Appeal and Hamas: the evidence’, *Daily Telegraph*, 19 October 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11940489/Human-Appeal-and-Hamas-the-evidence.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁷⁸ ‘Questions over Sheikh Raed Salah’s UK ban’, *BBC News*, 30 June 2011, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-13969105>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁴⁸¹ ‘Islamic Relief Worldwide’, Charity Commission (2016), available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends58/0000328158_AC_20161231_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 10.

⁴⁸² ‘Islamic Relief (UK)’, *Charity Commission*, 31 December 2016, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1112111&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Islamic Relief Worldwide, *Charity Commission*, 31 December 2016, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=328158&subid=0>, last visited: 5 February 2018; cf. Islamic Relief UK, available at: <https://www.islamic-relief.org.uk/>, last visited: 5 February 2018; Islamic Relief Worldwide, available at: <http://www.islamic-relief.org/>, last visited: 5 February 2018.

⁴⁸³ ‘Islamic Relief (UK)’, *Charity Commission*, 31 December 2016.

⁴⁸⁴ ‘Islamic Relief Worldwide’, Charity Commission (2016), p. 11.

⁴⁸⁵ ‘Islamic Relief Worldwide’, *Companies House*, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/02365572>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁸⁶ ‘Islamic Relief Worldwide’, Charity Commission (2016), p. 10.

⁴⁸⁷ ‘About Us’, *TIC International*, available at: <http://tic-int.co.uk/about-us/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Germany and France, as well as Hackney Council.⁴⁸⁸ The company's director from 8 March 1993 until 14 April 2016 was Hany Abdul Gawad El Bana. He was also director of Islamic Relief Worldwide Limited between 30 November 1992 and 6 January 1995.⁴⁸⁹ El Bana is the founder of Islamic Relief as well as the chair of the Muslim Charities Forum.⁴⁹⁰ In an interview with *Emel* magazine, El Bana speaks of how he read Sayyid Qutb when he became more religious and compares Hassan al-Banna to Nelson Mandela. Unsurprisingly, El Bana was also a member of FOSIS' Executive Committee in its early days, between 1985 and 1986.⁴⁹¹ In addition to his role in the MCF, El Bana is chairman of UK-registered charity Zakat House, as well as a number of other registered charities,⁴⁹² and, adding further legitimisation from the mainstream, has received an OBE.⁴⁹³

Working in around 30 countries worldwide,⁴⁹⁴ Islamic Relief is a member of the British Overseas NGO's for Development (BOND) and has a consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council.⁴⁹⁵ However, the charity has a long history of concerning associations and activities, and appears to have close ties with the Muslim Brotherhood.⁴⁹⁶ In 2016, Islamic Relief also received €2,049,000 from the European Commission.⁴⁹⁷

In 2014 Islamic Relief was placed on a terror watch list by the United Arab Emirates for its affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood.⁴⁹⁸ Its founder, Essam al Haddad, was part of Mohamed Morsi's Muslim Brotherhood presidential campaign in Egypt. Islamic Relief claim that he resigned as a trustee when he joined the campaign.⁴⁹⁹ Following the ousting of President Mohamed Morsi, the Egyptian Central Bank carried out an investigation into international charities financing the Muslim Brotherhood. Among them was Islamic Relief. According to the source the charity was founded by members of the Muslim Brotherhood and opened a branch in Cairo, chaired by Essam al Haddad, following pressure from the Brotherhood. Officials accused the Cairo Office of channelling large funds from London.⁵⁰⁰

Islamic Relief Worldwide was banned by the Israeli government in June 2014 as a result of its funding relationship with Hamas.⁵⁰¹ Islamic Relief Worldwide's finances have also been affected, with its UBS bank account being closed down in November 2012,⁵⁰² and again, in January 2016,

⁴⁸⁸ 'Partners', *TIC International*, available at: <http://tic-int.co.uk/about-us/partners/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁸⁹ 'Hany Abdul Gawad El-Bana', *Companies House*, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/officers/MqyRGY1F4wy9SHZuRfvVCQFIMd8/appointments>

⁴⁹⁰ 'Muslim charities: a question of identity', *Third Sector*, 24 October 2014, available at: <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/muslim-charities-question-identity/governance/article/1317839>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁹¹ 'Interview with Hany el Banna', *Emel Magazine*, 5 May/June 2004, available at: http://www.emel.com/article?id=&a_id=1568, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁹² 'Zakat House', *Charity Commission*, 30 April 2016, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?subid=0®id=1130399>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁹³ 'Hoodless leads sectors honours', *Third Sector*, 7 January 2004, available at: <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/hoodless-leads-sector-honours/article/612879>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Zakat House, *Charity Commission*, 30 April 2016.

⁴⁹⁴ 'Where we work', *Islamic Relief UK*, available at: <https://www.islamic-relief.org.uk/about-us/where-we-work/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁹⁵ 'About Us', *Islamic Relief UK*, available at: <https://www.islamic-relief.org.uk/about-us/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁹⁶ 'Islamic Relief: the case against IR', *Middle East Forum*, available at: <http://www.meforum.org/pics/Islamic-Relief-Dossier-other.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁹⁷ 'Islamic Relief- Financial Transparency System', European Commission, 2016, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/budget/fts/index_en.htm, last visited: 5 February 2018.

⁴⁹⁸ 'UAE publishes list of terrorist organisations', *Gulf News*, 15 November 2014, available at: <http://gulfnnews.com/news/uae/government/uae-publishes-list-of-terrorist-organisations-1.1412895>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁴⁹⁹ 'Islamic Relief defies Israeli ban and continues operations in Palestine', *Guardian*, 11 December 2014, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/dec/11/islamic-relief-charity-palestine-work-continues-israel>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁰⁰ 'Transfer of funds from World Relief to Issam Al-Haddad and information on their use in financing subversive activities', *ahram.org*, 12 November 2013, available at: <http://www.ahram.org.eg/NewsQ/232444.aspx&edit-text=&act-url&act-url>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁰¹ 'Charity Islamic Relief USA: strong ties to terrorism and US refugees', *Centre for Security Policy*, 8 June 2015, available at: <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2015/06/08/charity-islamic-relief-usa-strong-ties-to-terrorism-and-us-refugees/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁰² *ibid.*

with HSBC ceasing to offer financial services to Islamic Relief due to the charity's activities in "high-risk jurisdictions".⁵⁰³

Below are some examples of the many concerning reports regarding Islamic Relief's branches worldwide:

Islamic Relief in the US (IRUSA)

Islamic Relief's US branch is independent of Islamic Relief Worldwide but shares leadership and funds.⁵⁰⁴ This branch has worked with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNWRA) to deliver US\$6m worth of aid to Gaza.⁵⁰⁵ However IRUSA and Islamic Relief Worldwide have been accused of extensive ties to Islamist terrorist organisations. For example, in 1999, Islamic Relief Worldwide received US\$50,000 from Osama bin Laden⁵⁰⁶ and the project co-ordinator of its Gaza office, Iyaz Ali, was arrested in Israel in 2006 for channelling funds to Hamas.⁵⁰⁷

In addition, the President and Board Chairman of IRUSA, Mohamed Amr Attaiwa, was director of the New England branch of the Muslim Brotherhood and had formerly been Vice President of an organisation described by federal prosecutors in the US as "the overt arm of the Muslim Brotherhood in America".⁵⁰⁸ Its Operations Manager, Ahmed Shehata, is also reported as having been arrested among a number of Muslim Brotherhood leaders in Egypt in 2009 and his social media has suggested that he is pro-Muslim brotherhood.⁵⁰⁹ Another individual on its board of directors had spoken in favour of Hamas.⁵¹⁰

IRUSA has hosted a number of extreme speakers, including Suhaib Webb and Siraj Wahaj, who was an unindicted co-conspirator in the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre.⁵¹¹ Webb, who shared a platform with Anwar al-Awlaki at an event raising funds for Jamil Abdullah al-Amin, who was convicted in the US for shooting two police officers, has also been outed for his homophobic and anti-Semitic preaching.⁵¹²

Islamic Relief Canada

Islamic Relief Canada had its charitable status removed by the Canadian government in 2011, due to allegations that the charity transferred Can\$14.6m to Hamas between 2005 and 2009.⁵¹³ In addition, Yaser Haddara, a member of the board of IRUSA and IR-Canada, has been identified as a likely advisor to Muslim Brotherhood-backed Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi, and is active in North America's Muslim Brotherhood. His brother Wael Haddara, was also the former

⁵⁰³ 'HSBC bank cuts off services to Muslim charity', *Al Jazeera*, 4 January 2016, available at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/01/hsbc-bank-cuts-services-islamic-relief-charity-160104152429151.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁰⁴ 'Charity Islamic Relief USA: strong ties to terrorism and US refugees', *Centre for Security Policy*, 8 June 2015.

⁵⁰⁵ 'UNRWA.org: "Islamic Relief USA supports UNRWA"', *Islamic Relief USA*, available at: <http://irusa.org/unrwa-org-islamic-relief-usa-supports-unrwa/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁰⁶ 'Charity Islamic Relief USA: strong ties to terrorism and US refugees', *Centre for Security Policy*, 8 June 2015.

⁵⁰⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁰⁸ *ibid.*; *United States of America v Sabri Benkahla*, United States Court of Appeals (No. 07-4778), available at: http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/542.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁰⁹ 'Charity Islamic Relief USA: strong ties to terrorism and US refugees', *Centre for Security Policy*, 8 June 2015.

⁵¹⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹¹ *ibid.*

⁵¹² 'Don't Ignore Webb's Bigotry', *Washington Post*, 3 February 2017, available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dont-ignore-webbs-bigotry/2017/02/03/33865a36-e830-11e6-903d-9b11ed7d8d2a_story.html?utm_term=.e15e153159c8, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵¹³ 'IRFAN- Canada charitable status appeal put on hold', *CBC News*, 6 May 2014, available at: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/irfan-canada-charitable-status-appeal-put-on-hold-1.2633854>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

president of the Muslim Association of Canada (MAC), but resigned when he began working for Morsi. He had also been associated with other Islamist organisations.⁵¹⁴

Islamic Relief Sweden

Secretary General of Islamic Relief Sweden, Abdallah Salah,⁵¹⁵ wrote on Facebook that the Rothschilds are behind every war and that they “lent Hitler money to destroy the Jews and get sympathy and get Palestine” [translated from Arabic] and that they caused the 2007 economic crisis and killed John F Kennedy, who was president of the United States until his assassination in 1963.⁵¹⁶

Islamic Relief Australia

Fadullah Wilmot, Deputy CEO and Head of International Programmes for Islamic Relief Australia, former director of Islamic Relief Afghanistan and Country Director in Pakistan,⁵¹⁷ His book, *Gerakan Islam Kini* (Islamic Movement Now, 1978) is regarded as one of the most influential texts on Islamist activists in Malaysia, and calls for a return to Islam and uses the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Islamic Group in India as models.⁵¹⁸

Islamic Relief UK (IRUK)

IRUK is an affiliate of the Jamaat-e-Islami-influenced Muslim Council of Britain (MCB),⁵¹⁹ which claims to be an independent body “established to promote consultation, co-operation and coordination on Muslim affairs in the United Kingdom” representing Muslims in Britain.⁵²⁰ However, IRUK has a history of questionable associations alongside mainstream support.

As alluded to above, in 2006, the same year that it received £3.75m in funding from the Department for International Development (Dfid), Islamic Relief was accused by the Israeli government of providing funds and assistance to Hamas,⁵²¹ which became a proscribed organisation in the UK in 2001.⁵²² The charity’s then head of operations was detained and deported from Gaza, accused of providing funds to banned organisations and storing Neo-Nazi images on his computer.⁵²³

Alongside five Hamas signatories, former director of Islamic Relief’s UK registered company,⁵²⁴ Ahmed al-Rawi, signed a declaration in August 2004 supporting uprisings of Palestinians and Iraqis against the “filth of occupation”.⁵²⁵ Al-Rawi defended the declaration: “if they [the British] attack, it’s

⁵¹⁴ ‘Former MAC president Wael Haddara was senior advisor to Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi and member of the Egyptian delegation at the UN’, *Point De Bascule*, 19 August 2013, available at: <http://pointdebasculecanada.ca/former-mac-president-wael-haddara-was-senior-advisor-to-ousted-muslim-brotherhood-backed-egyptian-president-mohammed-morsi/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵¹⁵ ‘Swedish Communities Unite to Support Syrian Refugees’, *Islamic Relief Worldwide*, available at: <http://www.islamic-relief.org/swedens-christian-and-muslim-communities-unite-to-support-syrian-refugees/>, last visited: 12 February 2018.

⁵¹⁶ Abdallah Salah, *Facebook*, 15 May 2014, archived screenshot, translated from Arabic.

⁵¹⁷ ‘Mover and shaker back in Australia’, *AMUST Media*, 2 October 2014, available at: <http://www.amust.com.au/2014/10/mover-and-shaker-back-in-australia/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵¹⁸ ‘Radical Islamic Ideology in Southeast Asia’, The Combating Terrorism Centre at West Point (2010), available at: <https://ctc.usma.edu/v2/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Southeast-Asia-Report.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 15.

⁵¹⁹ ‘Affiliates’, *The Muslim Council of Britain*, available at: <http://www.mcb.org.uk/about-mcb/affiliates/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Bowen, I., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 89; ‘Radical links of UK’s moderate Muslim group’, *The Guardian*, 14 August 2005, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2005/aug/14/religion.immigrationpolicy>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵²⁰ ‘About MCB’, *Muslim Council of Britain*, available at: <http://www.mcb.org.uk/about-mcb/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵²¹ ‘Israel accuses British-funded Islamic charity of being front for terrorists’, *Guardian*, 31 May 2006, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2006/may/31/voluntarysector.israel>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵²² ‘Proscribed Terrorist Organisations’, HM Government, available at: <http://qna.files.parliament.uk/qna-attachments/156496%5Corigina%5CProscribedOrganisationsAug14.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵²³ ‘Israel accuses British-funded Islamic charity of being front for terrorists’, *Guardian*, 31 May 2006, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2006/may/31/voluntarysector.israel>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵²⁴ ‘Islamic Relief Worldwide’, *Companies House*, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/02365572>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵²⁵ ‘British Muslim says troops are fair target’, *The Sunday Times*, 31 October 2004, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/british-muslim-says-troops-are-fair-target-rf0nkl965wc>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

the right of the civilians to resist the British. Any people who are occupied, they have the right to resist. I prefer it to be peaceful, but if they choose to resist by other means it's their choice".⁵²⁶

Islamic Relief also reportedly provided funds to Hamas-associated institutions, such as the University of Gaza and Al-Falah Benevolent Society.⁵²⁷ The charity reportedly received large funds from terror-linked charitable organisations, such as the "Charitable Society for Social Welfare" founded by Abdul Majeed Al-Zindani, designated a terrorist by the US and loyal to Osama bin Laden.⁵²⁸ Islamic Relief UK have also provided a platform for a number of extremist speakers. In April 2017 the charity was questioned by the Commission on their invitation to Yasir Qadhi to speak as part of a fundraising tour.⁵²⁹

Examples of Extremist Speakers Hosted by Islamic Relief Worldwide:

- 1 April 2017, Islamic Relief USA and the Al Maghrib Institute hosted a fundraising event "Opening Our Hearts for Syrian Refugees". Speakers included: Yasir Qadhi, Abdullah Hakim Quick, Abu Eesa Naimatullah (see 4.4.16), Omar Suleiman (see 4.4.11) and Abdul Bary Yahya, among others.⁵³⁰
- In 2010 Zakir Naik was invited to Islamic Relief Canada's 'Journey of Faith' conference,⁵³¹ but was unable to attend after the Canadian government denied him entry.⁵³² Justin Trudeau was the keynote speaker.⁵³³
- On 14 June 2014, 'The Legacy of Uthman', Islamic Relief UK, supported by the Al Maghrib Institute, provided a platform for Omar Suleiman.⁵³⁴
- Islamic Relief UK held a fundraiser in 2010, at which Haitham al Haddad and Yasir Qadhi spoke.⁵³⁵

Other MCF charity members promote themselves widely. For example, their fundraising television adverts on the Islam Channel, which has 56,900 followers on Twitter.⁵³⁶ The Islam Channel was launched in 2004 headed by Mohamed Ali Harrath (see 4.4.13) and has provided leading Muslim Brotherhood activists with a platform.⁵³⁷

They also target the student population. For example, on 26 September 2017 Human Appeal leaflets were distributed at City University Fresher's Fair in London and Muslim Hands leaflets were found at Middlesex University Fresher's Fair on 27 September 2017.⁵³⁸ Human Appeal held

⁵²⁶ *ibid.*

⁵²⁷ 'British Jewry's Islamist Problem', *Harry's Place*, 1 May 2015, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2015/05/01/british-jewry-islamist-problem/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵²⁸ 'Islamic Relief: the case against IR', Middle East Forum, available at: <http://www.meforum.org/pics/Islamic-Relief-Dossier-other.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵²⁹ 'Hardline cleric is invited to UK by Islamic charity for fundraising tour', *The Times*, 11 April 2017, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/hardline-cleric-is-invited-to-uk-by-islamic-charity-for-fundraising-tour-g638jlcqf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵³⁰ 'Opening our hearts for Syrian refugees - donate below', *Islamic Relief USA*, available at: <http://irusa.org/opening-our-hearts-for-syrian-refugees-webinar/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Islamic Relief: the case against IR', Middle East Forum, available at: <http://www.meforum.org/pics/Islamic-Relief-Dossier-other.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵³¹ 'Justin Trudeau keynote speaker for Islamic Relief in Toronto', *Point De Bascule*, 6 December 2012, available at:

<http://pointdebasculecanada.ca/justin-trudeau-keynote-speaker-for-islamic-relief-in-toronto/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵³² 'Controversial televangelist Zakir Naik banned from Toronto conference', *National Post*, 22 June 2010, available at:

<http://nationalpost.com/news/canada/controversial-muslim-televangelist-zakir-naik-banned-from-toronto-conference>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵³³ 'Justin Trudeau keynote speaker for Islamic Relief in Toronto', *Point De Bascule*, 6 December 2012.

⁵³⁴ 'The Legacy of Uthman: An evening with Shaykh Omar Suleiman', *Islamic Relief supported by Al Maghrib Institute*, 14 June 2013, poster available at: <http://standforpeace.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Islamic-Relief-Omar-Suleiman.jpg>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵³⁵ 'Islamic Relief: the case against IR', Middle East Forum.

⁵³⁶ Muslim Aid and Human Appeal advertised on the Islam Channel, 12 November 2017, archived footage; @IslamChannel, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/islamchannel?lang=en>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵³⁷ Bowen, Imms., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 109.

⁵³⁸ Archived leaflets.

an event on 25 November 2017 with FOSIS at the University of Sussex, and again on 1 December 2017, the University of Salford's Islamic Society held a charity auction raising money for the charity,⁵³⁹ suggesting that the charity has and will continue to be active on UK campuses.⁵⁴⁰

In addition, of the MCF charities, Muslim Aid, Islamic Relief and Human Appeal are all listed as recommended charitable organisations by Muslim Engagement and Development (MEND),⁵⁴¹ a non-violent extremist group that has been described as "Islamists masquerading as civil libertarians".⁵⁴²

3.6.2 Ummah Welfare Trust (UWT)

The Ummah Welfare Trust is another charity recommended by MEND.⁵⁴³ The Trust (registered as Amanat Charity Trust), had an annual income in the last financial year of £30.2 million and reclaimed £2,667,346 in Gift Aid.⁵⁴⁴

The charity continues to flourish financially despite action taken against it by a number of banks. In 2014 HSBC took the decision to close UWT's bank account and Barclay's had done likewise in 2008. The Trust claimed that it was a result of their work in Gaza and the Muslim Charities Forum (MCF) stated that this represented a "worrying trend over the last few years of financial institutions withdrawing services".⁵⁴⁵ The bank, however, stated that their accounts fell "outside of their risk appetite", and it is likely that the risk related to money laundering or terrorism.⁵⁴⁶

It is possible that HSBC were made aware of the Ummah Welfare Trust's concerning activities. In one article by the Ummah Welfare Trust, archived in 2004, that describes the British government as "an enemy to Islam and the Muslims", the reader is told to:⁵⁴⁷

consider the Police and Intelligence as filthy human beings in your mind and that will help you win over them. Do not feel relaxed if they bring a 'Muslim' officer or 'scholar' to question you; he is on their side, not yours. It is a trap. Islam survives on its members being firm and steadfast... be firm and in the end, victory will be for you, for Islam, for Allah and His Messenger.⁵⁴⁸

Elsewhere they eulogised Sheikh Ahmad Yasin,⁵⁴⁹ the spiritual leader and founder of Hamas who was killed in March 2004, writing "may he find comfort in the dwelling in Jannah designated for

⁵³⁹ 'Islamic Society Charity Dinner', *Salford Students*, available at: <https://www.salfordstudents.com/groups/islamic-ca86/events/islamic-society-charity-dinner>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁴⁰ 'Khatech training and public speaking event poster', FOSIS South, *Facebook*, 12 November 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/fosisouthside/photos/gm.1564156210341177/785448801579931/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁴¹ 'Key Muslim Institutions and Organisations', MEND (2010), available at: <https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Key-Muslim-Organisations-and-institutions.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁴² Wilson, T., 'MEND: "Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians"', The Henry Jackson Society (2017), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/HJS-Mend-Report.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁴³ 'Key Muslim Institutions and Organisations', MEND (2010).

⁵⁴⁴ 'Amanat Charity Trust', *Charity Commission*, 30 November 2016, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1000851&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁴⁵ 'HSBC to close bank account of Muslim charity working in Gaza', *Civil Society*, 25 July 2014, available at: <https://www.civilsociety.co.uk/news/hsbc-to-close-bank-account-of-muslim-charity-working-in-gaza.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁴⁶ 'More UK bank accounts held by Muslim organisations risk closure', *Guardian*, 10 August 2014, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/aug/10/hsbc-muslim-accounts-close>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁴⁷ 'A practical guide to dealing with hassle from British authorities', *Ummah Welfare Trust*, 29 August 2004, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20040829232726/www.uwt.org/Download/whattodo.htm>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁹ 'Sheikh Ahmad Yasin: a tribute', *Ummah Welfare Trust*, 26 March 2004, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20040829232938/www.uwt.org/Download/ShaiKhAhmadYasin-Tribute.htm>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

martyrs".⁵⁵⁰ They have also shared material praising martyrdom.⁵⁵¹ UWT has in the past provided funds to Interpal (below) and Al Salah Islamic Association, which the US Treasury described as "one of the largest and best-funded Hamas charitable organizations in the Palestinian territories".⁵⁵² The UWT is also alleged to have provided funds to Hamas-controlled organisations Nablus Zakat Committee and the Tulkarem Zakat Committee.⁵⁵³

3.6.3 Palestinian Relief and Development Fund (Interpal)

In the financial year ending 2016, Interpal, which describes itself as a "one of the leading British charities" providing aid to Palestinians, received £6.1 million.⁵⁵⁴ The charity has worked as a partner of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)⁵⁵⁵ and has provided funds to UNRWA projects.⁵⁵⁶

However, as with the named charities that are members of the MCF, Interpal has also been connected to the Union of Good.⁵⁵⁷ Since 1996 it has been accused of supporting Hamas, and has been investigated three times by the Charity Commission, but found not to be misusing funds.⁵⁵⁸ Nevertheless, in 2003 the US designated Interpal a terrorist organisation for supporting Hamas' political and military wings.⁵⁵⁹ In 2006 there was increasing international pressure, particularly from the United States, to 'blacklist' the charity in the UK after then President George Bush blocked Interpal's bank account and designated them a global terrorist organisation.⁵⁶⁰ Ibrahim Hewitt, Chairman of Interpal as well as a trustee of two other charities,⁵⁶¹ claimed that the charity was being targeted "by the Israeli and US governments purely because we are a Muslim-run charity".⁵⁶²

Interpal has frequently been publicly accused of inappropriate activity, and its bank accounts were closed by Natwest in 2007 and Lloyds TSB in 2008, and HSBC and Co-Operative will not provide it with accounts.⁵⁶³ Senior figures within Interpal, including Hewitt and trustee Essam Mustafa, are banned from entering the US, Israel, Canada and Australia.⁵⁶⁴ In 2003 the US Treasury described Interpal as one of the organisations that "provide support to Hamas and form part of its funding network in Europe".⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁵⁰ 'Leader of Hamas killed by missile in Israeli strike', *The New York Times*, 22 March 2004, available at:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/22/world/leader-of-hamas-killed-by-missile-in-israeli-strike.html>

⁵⁵¹ 'Martyrdom', Unumah Welfare Trust (2004), available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20041017161343/www.uwt.org/Download/Martyrdom.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁵² 'Charity should be commended not commandeered', *Huffington Post UK*, 13 November 2012, available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/rupert-sutton/charity-should-be-commend_b_1880546.html, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁵³ Dyer, E., 'Banking restrictions on extremist-linked Muslim groups', Centre for the Response to Radicalisation and Terrorism (2014), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Banking-Restrictions-on-Extremism-Linked-Muslim-Groups.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁵⁴ 'Palestinians Relief and Development Fund (INTERPAL)', *Charity Commission*, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-search/?q=interpal>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁵⁵ 'Why is the Muslim charity Interpal being blacklisted as a terrorist organisation?', *Daily Telegraph*, 26 November 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/11255294/Why-is-the-Muslim-charity-Interpal-being-blacklisted-as-a-terrorist-organisation.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁵⁶ 'The vision project for blind and visually impaired children in Gaza successfully concluded', *United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East*, 7 February 2017, available at: <https://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/press-releases/vision-project-blind-and-visually-impaired-children-gaza-successfully>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁵⁷ 'Commission takes a charitable view of terrorism', *Daily Telegraph*, 28 March 2009, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/5066750/Commission-takes-a-charitable-view-of-terrorism.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁵⁸ 'Why is the Muslim charity Interpal being blacklisted as a terrorist organisation?', *Daily Telegraph*, 26 November 2014.

⁵⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁶⁰ 'Government urged to ban Galloway's Big Brother charity', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 January 2006, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1507845/Government-urged-to-ban-Galloways-Big-Brother-charity.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁶¹ The Al Aqsa Schools Trust and Long Ditton Trust, see: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1040094&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁶² 'Government urged to ban Galloway's Big Brother charity', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 January 2006.

⁵⁶³ 'Why is the Muslim charity Interpal being blacklisted as a terrorist organisation?', *Daily Telegraph*, 26 November 2014.

⁵⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁶⁵ 'Charity should be commended not commandeered', *Huffington Post UK*, 13 November 2012.

The charity has also hosted extremist speakers. In September 2013 Interpal supported an event entitled “Courage & Compassion in Crisis” with speaker Uthman Lateef (see 4.4.5)⁵⁶⁶ Around the same time, on 23 September 2013, Lateef was publicly supporting Mohammed Hamid and calling for his release from prison.⁵⁶⁷ Hamid was jailed in January 2017 for preparing for acts of terrorism after he planned for himself and a companion to travel abroad to engage in terrorism.⁵⁶⁸ On the same day he also recommended reading the work of “our unjustly imprisoned brother” Talha Ahsan.⁵⁶⁹ Ahsan, who ran a pro-jihadist website with Babar Ahmad (see 4.2), was sentenced in the US in 2014 for aiding terrorists, but was released because he had already served his sentence.⁵⁷⁰

Lateef has also worked closely with CAGE⁵⁷¹ and has called for the release of, and praised, his “dear brother” Tarek Mehanna.⁵⁷² Mehanna was convicted in the US of “conspiracy to provide material support to Al Qaeda, providing material support to terrorists (and conspiracy to do so), conspiracy to murder in a foreign country, conspiracy to make false statements to the FBI, and two counts of making false statements”.⁵⁷³ Mehanna had discussed with co-conspirators his “desire to participate in violent jihad” against the US.⁵⁷⁴

Likewise, Lateef is recorded as discouraging Muslims from helping the security services find those involved in terrorism:

Informing the authorities about the Muslims, when the Muslims are involved in *Khair* [good] and goodness and everything else, that the *kuffar* will still use for their own ends against the Muslims. And so we do not weaken the *ummah* by strengthening the *kuffar*. And that is exactly what spying is. You are a tool for the strengthening of their nation and the weakening of your own one.⁵⁷⁵

More recently, with the Bristol Muslim Cultural Society, they hosted event Night of Hope on 26 February 2017 with poetry recited by Muslim Belal (see 4.4.2).⁵⁷⁶ Like Muslim Aid and Human Appeal, Interpal have also raised money through live appeals on the Islam Channel.⁵⁷⁷ The charity has also been closely associated with controversial leader of the now defunct Respect Party, and former Labour MP, George Galloway.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁶⁶ ‘Interpal and Uthman Lateef’, *Harry’s Place*, 1 October 2013, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2013/10/01/interpal-and-uthman-lateef-2/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁶⁷ ‘Interpal and Uthman Lateef’, *Harry’s Place*, 1 October 2013, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2013/10/01/interpal-and-uthman-lateef-2/>

⁵⁶⁸ ‘Three men jailed for terrorism offences’, *ITV News*, 3 January 2017, available at: <http://www.itv.com/news/central/2017-01-03/three-men-jailed-for-terrorism-offences/>

⁵⁶⁹ ‘Interpal and Uthman Lateef’, *Harry’s Place*, 1 October 2013.

⁵⁷⁰ ‘Talha Ahsan still in US custody despite being freed by court’, *BBC News*, 12 August 2014, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-28699105>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁷¹ ‘Interpal and Uthman Lateef’, *Harry’s Place* 1 October 2013.

⁵⁷² *ibid.*

⁵⁷³ ‘Tarek Mehanna sentenced in Boston to 17 years in prison on terrorism-related charges’, *FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation*, 12 April 2012, available at: <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/boston/press-releases/2012/tarek-mehanna-sentenced-in-boston-to-17-years-in-prison-on-terrorism-related-charges>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁷⁵ ‘Interpal and Uthman Lateef’, *Harry’s Place*, 1 October 2013.

⁵⁷⁶ ‘Night of hope event’, Interpal, *Facebook*, 14 February 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/InterpalUK/photos/gm.256432724785034/1623977524285751/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁷⁷ ‘Live Ramadan Appeal’, Interpal, *Facebook*, 13 June 2016, available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/InterpalUK/photos/gm.1553088328331015/1357605790922927/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁷⁸ ‘Government urged to ban Galloway’s Big Brother charity’, *Daily Telegraph*, 15 January 2006.

3.6.4 Viva Palestina

Viva Palestina (also called Lifeline for Gaza) was founded by George Galloway in 2009. The charity, which ran aid convoys to Gaza, was removed from the charity register in 2013 following a statutory inquiry by the Charity Commission.⁵⁷⁹

Among other examples of partnership with Islamist groups, they have worked closely and publicly with Hamas leaders, including Osama Hamdan, the group's representative in Lebanon, and Hamas leader Abu Marzook.⁵⁸⁰ The Charity Commission's inquiry report stated that there was a risk to charitable funds because Galloway had handed money openly to Hamas on a Viva Palestina convoy and there was evidence to suggest that the charity had breached the financial sanctions against Hamas.⁵⁸¹ Whilst the Charity Commission cleared Viva Palestina of links with Hamas in March 2010,⁵⁸² Galloway has openly supported Hezbollah and Hamas.⁵⁸³

3.6.5 Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association (CADFA)

Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association had an annual income in the financial year ending 2016 of £102,272 and received £3,435 in tax payer money through Gift Aid.⁵⁸⁴ CADFA has received mainstream support from the European Union,⁵⁸⁵ the National Union of Teachers' website (NUT),⁵⁸⁶ as well as by the London Borough of Camden, by whom CADFA is described as a "charitable trust working to promote human rights and respect for international law in the town of Abu Dis in Palestine".⁵⁸⁷ CADFA has been working with the EU since 2008, including with Youth in Action and Erasmus+, through which they have organised educational exchanges between Europe and the Palestinian Territories.⁵⁸⁸ In the UK, the Youth in Action programme is delivered by the British Council.⁵⁸⁹ The National Union of Teachers' (NUT) report on their international work from 2010-2011 stated that the Union had appealed to branches of the NUT to support CADFA.⁵⁹⁰ CADFA also raises money through Virgin Money Giving.⁵⁹¹

The CADFA recently came into the spotlight when on 6 December 2017 it was reported that Labour Shadow Brexit Secretary Kier Starmer attended a meeting with them.⁵⁹² The outrage over the meeting related to controversial views expressed by the organisation, namely that an article posted on CADFA's website had praised two suicide bombers who had killed 11 young people,

⁵⁷⁹ 'Commission removes Galloway's Viva Palestina from the charities register', *Third Sector*, 5 November 2013, available at: <http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/commission-removes-galloways-viva-palestina-charities-register/finance/article/1219637>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁸⁰ 'Viva Palestina: A convoy for Hamas', *Harry's Place*, 5 January 2010, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/01/05/viva-palestina-a-convoy-for-hamas/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁸¹ 'Viva Palestina Inquiry Report', Charity Commission, available at: <http://web.archive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100908164555/http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/Library/viva.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁸² 'Charity Commission clears George Galloway charity of giving funds to Hamas', *Civil Society*, 4 March 2010, available at: <https://www.civilsociety.co.uk/news/charity-commission-clears-george-galloway-charity-of-giving-funds-to-hamas.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁸³ 'George Galloway supports Hezbollah and Hamas', *YouTube*, 16 July 2009, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zKKE3gbE61c>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁸⁴ 'Independent examiner's report to the trustees of Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association', Charity Commission, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends17/0001112717_AC_20160331_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁸⁵ 'Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association Education', *European Youth Portal*, available at: https://europa.eu/youth/volunteering/organisation/945012122_en, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁸⁶ 'Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association', *National Education Union*, available at: <https://www.teachers.org.uk/campaigns/international/resources/camden-abu-dis-friendship-association-cadfa>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁸⁷ 'Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association', London Borough of Camden, available at: <http://index.camden.gov.uk/kb5/camden/cd/service.page?id=boYFEbgX1Tc>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁸⁸ 'Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association Education', *European Youth Portal*.

⁵⁸⁹ 'Youth in Action', *British Council*, available at: <https://www.britishcouncil.org/partner/international-collaboration/track-record/youth-action>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁹⁰ 'On the Global Stage, 2010 - 2011', National Union of Teachers, available at: <http://www.teachers.org.uk/files/global-stage-oct-11-7825-v2.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁹¹ 'Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association', *Virgin Money Giving*, available at: <http://uk.virginmoneygiving.com/charity-web/charity/finalCharityHomepage.action?uniqueVmgCharityUrl=camdenabudis>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁹² 'Sir Keir Starmer reignites Labour's anti-Semitic row after inviting charity that praises killing Jewish kids to the Commons', *Sun*, 6 December 2017, available at: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/5083864/sir-keir-statement-anti-israel-charity-parliament/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

aged 14 to 21, in an attack in Jerusalem in 2001, calling them “martyrs”.⁵⁹³ CADFA claimed that this had been posted on the website in error, did not represent CADFA’s views, and had been removed as soon as it was brought to their attention.⁵⁹⁴

However, concerns about CADFA are by no means new. In 2009, the then Chief Executive of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Jon Benjamin, wrote to the headmaster of Hampstead School, twinned with Abu Dis Boys’ School in Jerusalem, following concerns that the school, according to one parent, had an “atmosphere of fear and prejudice”.⁵⁹⁵ Jon Benjamin wrote of his concerns that CADFA, which facilitated the twinning activities, had distributed concerning leaflets at the school to benefit its “one-sided, partisan political campaign” making Jewish students feel uncomfortable and vulnerable.⁵⁹⁶ Claims were made, for example, that IDF soldiers were being referred to as “Jewish Soldiers”, which a parent described as “blatantly anti-Israeli and borderline anti-Semitic”.⁵⁹⁷

In addition, CADFA has in the past supported individuals such as Khader Adnan,⁵⁹⁸ who has been described as a “senior figure” in Hamas-allied group Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ),⁵⁹⁹ which was proscribed in the UK in 2001.⁶⁰⁰ In 2012 the charity’s former chair, Munir Nuseibeh,⁶⁰¹ spoke on Press TV, an Iranian government affiliated channel,⁶⁰² about his, and CADFA’s, support of Adnan.⁶⁰³

CADFA also has connections to other controversial organisations, with its former chair, Munir Nuseibeh⁶⁰⁴ having spoken on behalf of the Palestine Solidarity Campaign,⁶⁰⁵ a group exposed by the BBC as “radical”, which has supported anti-Semitic Islamist extremist Raed Salah, promoted an annual march of Hezbollah and Hamas supporters, provided a platform for Hizb ut Tahrir,⁶⁰⁶ a theocratic anti-democracy Islamist group.⁶⁰⁷

Whilst not necessarily indicative of his support, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn was photographed alongside CADFA activists, posted on the charity’s Facebook page in on 29 October 2017.⁶⁰⁸

⁵⁹³ ‘Abu Dis Martyrs’, *Camden Abu Dis*, 24 April 2012, available at:

<http://web.archive.org/web/20120424174414/http://www.camdenabudis.net/martyrs.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.; Sir Keir Starmer reignites Labour’s anti-Semitic row after inviting charity that praises killing Jewish kids to the Commons’, *Sun*, 6 December 2017.

⁵⁹⁴ ‘Abu Dis Martyrs’, *Camden Abu Dis*, 24 April 2012; ‘Sir Keir Starmer reignites Labour’s anti-Semitic row after inviting charity that praises killing Jewish kids to the Commons’, *Sun*, 6 December 2017.

⁵⁹⁵ ‘School under examination’, *Totally Jewish*, 3 December 2009, available at: <https://www.totallyjewish.com/news/national/c-12956/school-under-examination/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁵⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁹⁸ Archived Screenshot.

⁵⁹⁹ ‘Hamas armed wing warns PA over West Bank arrests’, *Reuters*, 6 October 2010, available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-hamas/hamas-armed-wing-warns-pa-over-west-bank-arrests-idUSTRE6953O020101006>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁰⁰ ‘Proscribed Terrorist Organisations’, HM Government (2017), available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/648405/Proscription_website.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁰¹ ‘Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association Trustee’s Annual Report 2011 - 2012’, Charity Commission, available at:

http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends17/0001112717_AC_20120331_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁰² ‘Iran’s Press TV loses UK license’, *Guardian*, 20 January 2012, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2012/jan/20/iran-press-tv-loses-uk-licence>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁰³ ‘Suicide bombers ‘martyrs’ according to UK taxpayer – supported charity’, *Jerusalem Post*, 24 September 2012, available at:

<http://www.jpost.com/Blogs/Fighting-Back/Suicide-Bombers-martyrs-according-to-UK-taxpayer-supported-charity-365312>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁰⁴ ‘Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association Trustee’s Annual Report 2011 - 2012’, Charity Commission.

⁶⁰⁵ ‘The Palestinian-Israeli conflict as a human rights cause (part 2)’, *YouTube*, 30 March 2011, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gdl-vMmIcMbk>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁰⁶ ‘Questions over Sheikh Raed Salah’s UK ban’, *BBC News*, 30 June 2011, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-13969105>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁰⁷ Ahmed, H. & Stuart, H., ‘Hizb Ut-Tahrir: ideology and strategy’, The Henry Jackson Society (2009), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/HIZB.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁰⁸ ‘Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association photo with Jeremy Corbyn’, *Facebook*, 29 October 2017, available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/camdenabudis/photos/a.945404332158809.1073741850.267060239993225/1711510965548138/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

4. Major Case Study: Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS)

4.1 What do HHUGS do?

Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS) was founded in 2004 by “a small group of mothers in response to the increasing raids and arrests leaving the families behind isolated and shunned by friends, family and members of the community”.⁶⁰⁹ On 8 June 2006 it became a UK-registered charity (1117924), with the aim of “reliev[ing] the financial and emotional hardship of Muslim detainees/former detainees & families held in the UK and Abroad, (so long as families are resident/citizens of the UK). By way of provision of counselling, emotional and practical support and financial assistance if the need arises”.⁶¹⁰

To this end, HHUGS:

- Provides “core support” to households;
- Provides pastoral care;⁶¹¹
- Organises a Social Recreational Programme (SRP) including coffee mornings, *iftars*, Eid parties, day trips, and summer outings to bring families together;⁶¹²
- Offers practical support, including providing transport to visit family members in prison, offering child care, food and drink;⁶¹³
- Helps with rehabilitation and reintegration back into society after release from prison, including business loans, educational scholarships, family and anger management counselling. Housing advice, rental contributions and counselling schemes;⁶¹⁴
- Empowers the families of those imprisoned.⁶¹⁵

These services are provided to:

- Ex-detainees and their families;
- Those who are facing deportation;
- Those under TPIMs;
- Families of individuals imprisoned outside the UK;
- Families of individuals imprisoned in the UK.⁶¹⁶

⁶⁰⁹ ‘Hanan’s Fundraising for HHUGS’, *Just Giving*, 2017, available at: <https://www.justgiving.com/fundraising/race2jannahhanan>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶¹⁰ ‘HHUGS – Helping Households Under Great Stress: Financial Statements’, Charity Commission (2016), available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends24/0001117924_AC_20160331_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018. p. 2.

⁶¹¹ ‘HHUGS Projects’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/projects>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶¹² ‘Social Recreational Programme’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/social-recreational-programme-srp/520>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶¹³ ‘Practical Support: providing support to our families’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/support/515>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶¹⁴ ‘Rehabilitation: rehabilitation programs for ex-detainees’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/rehabilitation/516>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶¹⁵ ‘Empowerment’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/empowerment/517>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶¹⁶ ‘Who We Help: beneficiaries of HHUGS’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/who-we-help>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

However, from the outset, HHUGS has close links with pro-terrorist organisation CAGE. Originally stating on its website that it is CAGE's "sister" organisation,⁶¹⁷ HHUGS was at one point run by the wife of former Guantanamo Bay detainee Moazzam Begg, CAGE's Outreach Director (see 4.5.19).⁶¹⁸ Despite CAGE's denial that the two organisations "work in partnership", HHUGS has continued to have close ties to CAGE.⁶¹⁹ Not only has the charity regularly hosted key figures from CAGE at its fundraising events, such as Begg and Cerie Bullivant (see 4.4.19 and 4.4.21),⁶²⁰ HHUGS trustee Fahad Ansari has been closely involved with CAGE (see 4.3.1).⁶²¹

In addition to the co-ordinated purposes of the organisations, with CAGE focusing on the individuals themselves and HHUGS supporting their families, they are also ideologically aligned. HHUGS often goes beyond supporting families to defending those convicted or accused of terrorism offences. For example, the charity has been accused in the past of supporting terrorists when it posted an article on its website claiming that there was "no evidence" of Osama bin Laden's involvement in the attacks on the US on 11 September 2001.⁶²²

HHUGS claimed that it "does not support or condone any form of terrorism" and "exists solely to provide help and support to the families of persons who have been detained by the authorities in relation to anti-terror legislation".⁶²³ Defending the post, HHUGS said that "there was only one article" and that it was not written by HHUGS but reposted by management from another website and had removed it when notified.⁶²⁴

Nonetheless, to raise funds, HHUGS has a number of appeals throughout the year⁶²⁵ and organises fundraising events with speakers and auctions.⁶²⁶ In doing so the charity consistently provides platforms for extremist and pro-terrorist speakers (cf. Appendix 3) and has been outspoken in support of those involved in terrorism. Unsurprisingly, therefore, HHUGS had its bank account closed by HSBC in 2007,⁶²⁷ by Lloyds TSB in 2012,⁶²⁸ and frozen by Barclays in 2014.⁶²⁹ HSBC, the only bank to provide a justification, stated that it had taken action because "the ethical and moral values held by the charity did not coincide with HSBC's own values".⁶³⁰

HHUGS currently has three trustees – Fahad Ansari, Adnan Aly, and Muhammed Junade Zakir – five employees and 160 volunteers.⁶³¹ In March 2017 the charity was re-registered (1172158)

⁶¹⁷ 'Cage: human rights advocates or apologists for terror?', *Channel 4 News*, 11 March 2015, available at: <https://www.channel4.com/news/cage-human-rights-advocates-or-apologists-for-terror>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶¹⁸ 'About Us', *CAGE*, available at: <https://cage.ngo/about-us/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Robin Simcox: Control order detainee – and darling of the Left – proves he was a terrorist all along', *Conservative Home*, 22 December 2010, available at: <https://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2010/12/control-order-detainee-and-darling-of-the-left-proves-he-was-a-terrorist-all-along.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶¹⁹ 'Cage: human rights advocates or apologists for terror?', *Channel 4 News*, 11 March 2015.

⁶²⁰ *ibid.*

⁶²¹ Stuart, H., 'Understanding CAGE: a public information dossier', The Henry Jackson Society (2015), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Understanding-CAGE.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 20.

⁶²² 'Campaigning on campus, group that helps families of IS killers: charity gave talk at university before students held Christmas appeal asking for donations', *Daily Mail*, 11 January 2016, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3393170/Campaigning-campus-group-helps-families-killers.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶²³ 'Response to Daily Mail article, 11 January 2016', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-statement/665>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶²⁴ *ibid.*

⁶²⁵ 'Appeals', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/appeals>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶²⁶ 'Events', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/events>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶²⁷ 'HHUGS bank account closed!', *Ummah: the online Muslim community*, 9 June 2007, available at: <http://www.ummah.com/forum/showthread.php?127743-HHUGS-Bank-Account-Closed!>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶²⁸ 'Keatinge, T., 'Uncharitable behaviour', Demos (2014), available at: <https://www.demos.co.uk/files/DEMOSuncharitablebehaviourREPORT.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶²⁹ 'Are UK banks targeting Muslim charities?', *Al Jazeera*, 5 August 2014, available at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/08/are-uk-banks-targeting-muslim-charities-20148582932885804.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶³⁰ 'Keatinge, T., 'Uncharitable behaviour', Demos (2014).

⁶³¹ 'HHUGS', *Charity Commission*, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1117924&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

extending its remit of operation from England to England and Wales.⁶³² Whilst the recently registered charity has no financial documentation available at present, the previously registered charity reported an income of £568,544 in the financial year ending 2016⁶³³ including £63,402 of tax-payer money through Gift Aid.⁶³⁴

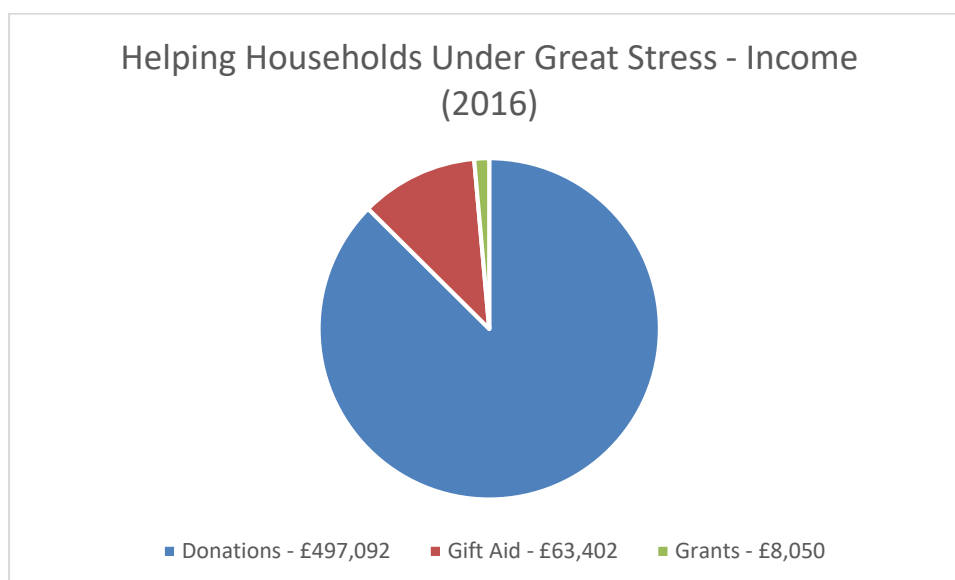


Figure 6: Breakdown of HHUGS' Income (2016)⁶³⁵

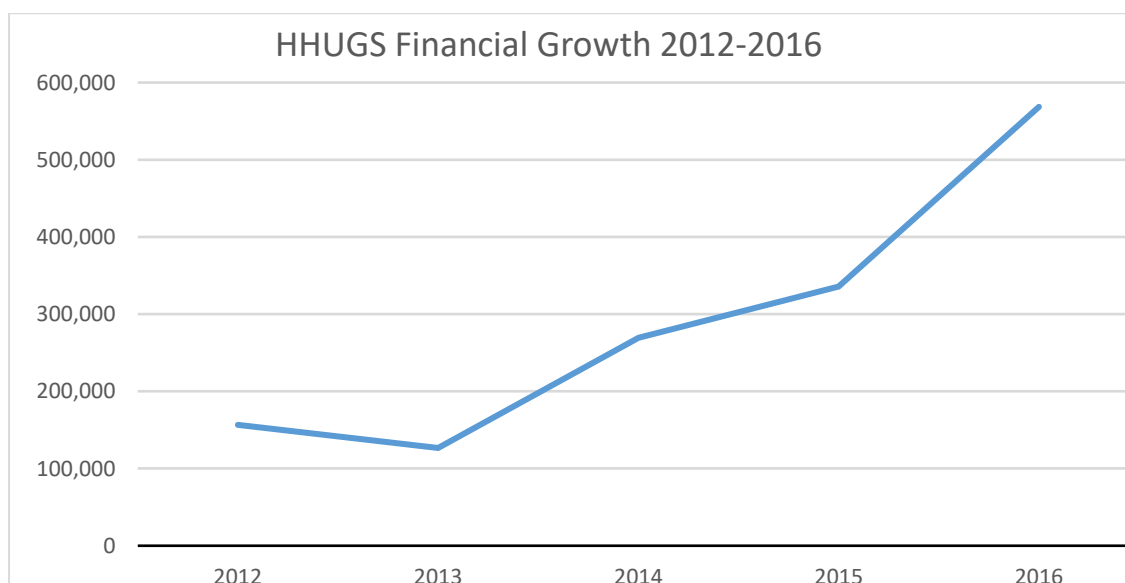


Figure 7: HHUGS' Financial Growth 2012-2016⁶³⁶

⁶³² *ibid.*; 'Operations - Hhugs - Helping Households Under Great Stress', Charity Commission, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1172158&subid=0>

⁶³³ 'HHUGS Financial Statements 2016', Charity Commission (2016), available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends24/0001117924_AC_20160331_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶³⁴ *ibid.*

⁶³⁵ *ibid.*

⁶³⁶ 'Hhugs - Helping Households Under Great Stress—Accounts and Trustees' Annual Reports', *Charity Commission*, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1117924&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Since 2008 (see Appendix 3), those individuals repeatedly provided with a platform by HHUGS and those supported by the charity have aligned with many of the key messages promoted by CAGE including: “Extremist Muslim organisations are unfairly demonised; that Muslims (rather than individuals holding extreme views) are under attack; that the authorities are acting without evidence; and that the threats of extremism and terrorism from non-Muslims are greater than the threats from Islamist extremism and terrorism”.⁶³⁷ HHUGS’ work with families makes it all the more concerning that it provides a platform for these speakers to influence and come into contact with vulnerable beneficiaries, including children.

Whilst supporting the innocent families of those convicted or accused of terrorism offences may be a legitimate purpose for a charity, HHUGS often goes beyond this to legitimise the terrorists and extremists themselves. As many of those who become involved in terrorism have a family member involved, it is all the more concerning that such individuals may be exposed to extremists and a climate conducive to radicalisation by a charity that purports to help them.

The extremist views of many of the individuals involved with HHUGS are so widely known that it is difficult to appeal to naivety or a failure of due diligence. That HHUGS repeatedly and disproportionately hosts extremist and intolerant speakers suggests that the problem is not the result of a single or small number of extremists abusing an otherwise legitimate charity, but rather that it is *institutionally problematic*. The following section details those supported by HHUGS and the backgrounds and problematic statements of those involved in HHUGS from trustees to speakers.

The evidence below highlights the many ways in which HHUGS conforms to the Charity Commission’s description of abuse of charities for extremist purposes, as well as the ways in which some of those involved conform to the definitions of extremism outlined in section 1.2, in particular, conforming to the precedent laid out in *Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* (2016).

4.2 Who Has HHUGS Supported?

Both those involved in HHUGS and those the charity chooses to support often blur the line between support for non-violent and violent extremism. Whilst HHUGS claims to support only the families of those who are perceived to “fall foul” of anti-terrorism laws, like CAGE the charity *de facto* “campaigns for actual terrorists convicted not by kangaroo courts but by juries, on strong evidence, in properly conducted trials”.⁶³⁸ This is clear from their support of Aafia Siddiqui, Abel Abdel Majed, and as shown by a video posted by HHUGS in 2010, Babar Ahmad, Mahmoud Abu Rideh, Faraj Hassan and Shaker Amer.⁶³⁹

In addition to a number of individuals involved in HHUGS openly defending and supporting Aafia Siddiqui (see below), on 14 September 2008, HHUGS held a Charity Ifar and Fundraiser “for prisoner 650 (Siddiqui)”, which raised money for HHUGS and Cageprisoners (now Cage) and

⁶³⁷ ‘Cage: the extremists peddling lies to British Muslims to turn them into supporters of terror’, *Daily Telegraph*, 28 February 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11442602/Cage-the-extremists-peddling-lies-to-British-Muslims-to-turn-them-into-supporters-of-terror.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶³⁸ *ibid.*

⁶³⁹ ‘HHUGS Charity Video – Helping Households Under Great Stress’, *YouTube*, 26 August 2010, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8XvzkcTE1y4>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

highlighted Siddiqui's case.⁶⁴⁰ Siddiqui, dubbed "Lady al Qaeda",⁶⁴¹ was jailed in the US for 86 years in 2010 after she "attempted to murder Americans serving in Afghanistan, as well as their Afghan colleagues" when she opened fire during an interrogation and shouted "death to Americans". When she was arrested she was also found to be carrying notes which included a list of landmarks in New York, sodium cyanide and references to construct "dirty bombs".⁶⁴² During her trial, Siddiqui demanded that there should be no Jewish jurors and asked that they undergo genetic testing.⁶⁴³ She is a popular figure amongst Islamist extremists and Islamic State were so determined to free her that they were willing to exchange US hostage James Foley for her release.⁶⁴⁴

HHUGS has also provided support for the family of Islamic State fighter Abdel-Majed Adel Bary.⁶⁴⁵ His father Adel Abdel Bary, who admitted working for Al Qaeda and Egyptian Islamic Jihad, was sentenced in the US to 25 years in prison in 2015 for plotting to kill Americans in the 1998 embassy bombings.⁶⁴⁶ However, two years after Bary admitted his connection to these terrorist groups, in January 2016 it was reported that HHUGS activists had handed out leaflets at an event at SOAS stating that Adel Abdel Bary had been "detained without charge since 1999".⁶⁴⁷ While HHUGS responded to the incident by claiming that the use of the leaflet had been an "oversight", as it had been produced in 2010 and the information was outdated,⁶⁴⁸ it appears that on assumption of his innocence, HHUGS provided support in the form of tuition fees, paying bills, food vouchers and driving lessons for his family.⁶⁴⁹ The fact that Bary's son left the UK in 2013 to fight for Islamic State in Syria shows the risk involved when providing finances and support to the family of those convicted of terrorism offences,⁶⁵⁰ even though HHUGS confirmed that it never provided support to Abdel-Majed Bary.⁶⁵¹

Of Mahmoud Abu Rideh, they write his "control order was revoked in July 2009 and he was allowed to leave the country. He was not found guilty of any offences in his eight years of suffering".⁶⁵² Yet there is ample evidence that he is not an appropriate choice of beneficiary. In 2001, Rideh, who arrived in the UK illegally on a false passport, was described by then Home Secretary David Blunkett as "an active supporter of various international terrorist groups, including those with links

⁶⁴⁰ 'Charity Iftar & Fundraising for Prisoner 650', *HHUGS*, 2008, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/charity-iftar-amp-fundraiser-for-prisoner-650/142>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'The Evidence Shows That Cage is a Pro-Terrorist Group', *Daily Telegraph*, 21 July 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/10981050/The-evidence-shows-that-Cage-is-a-pro-terrorist-group.html>, last visited: 6 February 2017.

⁶⁴¹ 'Lady al-Qaeda: the American-educated PhD the Islamic State desperately wants freed', *Washington Post*, 28 August 2014, available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/08/28/lady-al-qaeda-the-american-educated-doctor-the-islamic-state-desperately-wants-freed/?utm_term=.d9758b1ad497, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁴² 'US jails Pakistani scientist for 86 years' *BBC News*, 23 September 2010, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-11401865>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁴³ 'Aafia Siddiqui demands no Jewish jurors at attempted murder trial', *The Times*, 15 January 2010, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/aafia-siddiqui-demands-no-jewish-jurors-at-attempted-murder-trial-mgdmczpxtp>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁴⁴ 'Lady al-Qaeda: the American-educated PhD the Islamic State desperately wants freed', *Washington Post*, 28 August 2014.

⁶⁴⁵ 'Campaigning on campus, group that helps families of IS killers: Charity gave talk at university before students held Christmas appeal asking for donations', *Daily Mail*, 11 January 2016.

⁶⁴⁶ 'Father of one-time Jihadi John suspect is jailed in US over Africa embassy bombings', *Daily Telegraph*, 9 February 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/al-qaeda/11399596/Father-of-one-time-Jihadi-John-suspect-is-jailed-in-US-over-Africa-embassy-bombings.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018; '1998 US embassies in Africa bombings fast facts', *CNN*, 9 August 2017, available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/10/06/world/africa/africa-embassy-bombings-fast-facts/index.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁴⁷ 'Campaigning on campus, group that helps families of IS killers: Charity gave talk at university before students held Christmas appeal asking for donations', *Daily Mail*, 11 January 2016.

⁶⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁵⁰ 'The Islamic State Beatles: who are the murderous masked gang?', *Daily Telegraph*, 8 February 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/12145474/The-Islamic-State-Beatles-Who-are-the-murderous-masked-gang.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁵¹ 'Campaigning on campus, group that helps families of IS killers: Charity gave talk at university before students held Christmas appeal asking for donations', *Daily Mail*, 11 January 2016.

⁶⁵² 'HHUGS Charity Video - Helping Households Under Great Stress', *YouTube*, 26 August 2010, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8XvzkeTEly4> 3:25, last visited: 22 January 2018.

to Osama bin Laden's networks".⁶⁵³ The security services assessed that some bank transfers made by Rideh were for terrorist purposes and to school projects in Afghanistan linked to the families of jihadists.⁶⁵⁴

According to a statement made by Rideh in 2002 before the Special Immigration Appeals Commission (SIAC), he had worked for the Islamic Services Bureau, otherwise known as Makhtab al-Kidmat (MaK), in Pakistan.⁶⁵⁵ MaK, which is designated on the UN list of entities associated with Al Qaeda, was a charitable front group established by Abdullah Azzam for Osama bin Laden.⁶⁵⁶ The Bureau, which received some of its funding from the Saudi government, operated out of property owned by Bin Laden, and functioned as a "jihadist orientation centre", providing food, money and housing to the jihadists.⁶⁵⁷

In line with this, Rideh kept controversial company, being connected to a number of extremist figures, including Abu Zubaydah, a senior Al Qaeda member, and Mustapha Melki, an extremist linked to Abu Doha, described as Al Qaeda's "chief recruiter in Europe",⁶⁵⁸ and Abu Hamza al Masri.⁶⁵⁹ Abu Hamza, an infamous violent Islamist preacher formerly based at Finsbury Park Mosque, was convicted in 2015 of supporting terrorism in the US and sentenced to life imprisonment.⁶⁶⁰ He is also believed to have been mentioned in a letter in which Al Qaeda leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, asked Islamic State founder Musab al-Zarqawi, whether he was in contact with Rideh, and was an associate of Faraj Hassan, who was also subject to a control order and became a key activist for HHUGS (see 4.5.1).⁶⁶¹

Babar Ahmad is a similar figure who was not only supported by HHUGS, but by many of those involved with the charity (see below). Babar Ahmad's father has featured in HHUGS' videos,⁶⁶² and in 2010, HHUGS advertised a meet and greet with him at their stall at the Global Peace and Unity Event at London's Excel.⁶⁶³ In 2014 Babar Ahmad was sentenced to 12 and a half years in prison in the US for providing material support to Islamist terrorists. Ahmad ran a website called Azzam Publications (Azzam.com), that raised funds, recruited individuals to fight, and procured items such as gas masks for the Taliban in Afghanistan. He continued to garner support for the Taliban for months following the attacks on the US on 9 September 2001.⁶⁶⁴ Ahmad was awarded £60,000 compensation from the Metropolitan Police after accusations that he had been injured by officers,⁶⁶⁵ and used his mistreatment during his arrest to embellish the "Free Babar Ahmad" campaign's message that there is a war on Muslims and that it could happen to any British Muslim.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁵³ Simcox, R., 'Control Orders: strengthening national security', The Henry Jackson Society (2010), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/CONTROL-ORDERS.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 46.

⁶⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 47.

⁶⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 47.

⁶⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 47.

⁶⁵⁷ Weiss, M. and Hassan, H., *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror* (2015), p. 5.

⁶⁵⁸ Webb, E. & Sutton, R., 'An Enduring Threat: Europe's Islamist terror networks then and now', The Henry Jackson Society (2016), available at: <https://relayto.com/the-henry-jackson-society/92ha8IN0>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 78.

⁶⁵⁹ Simcox, R., 'Control Orders: strengthening national security', The Henry Jackson Society (2010), p. 47.

⁶⁶⁰ 'Abu Hamza profile', *BBC News*, 9 January 2015, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-11701269>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁶¹ Simcox, R., 'Control Orders: strengthening national security', The Henry Jackson Society (2010), p. 47.

⁶⁶² 'Ashfaq's Story - HHUGS Ramadhan 2017', *You Tube*, 2 June 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dJmnHRBPAGU>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁶³ 'HHUGS at the GPU 23 - 24th October', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-the-gpu-23-24th-october-/237>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁶⁴ 'Babar Ahmad sentenced to 12.5 years for supporting Islamic terrorists', *Daily Telegraph*, 16 July 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/10971189/Babar-Ahmad-sentenced-to-12.5-years-for-supporting-Islamic-terrorists.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁶⁵ *ibid.*

⁶⁶⁶ *ibid.*

Although he claimed to have not known what Osama bin Laden was “really up to”, Ahmad’s website had published bin Laden’s declaration of war against the West, a guidebook offering tips to those who wanted to become jihadists, and Islamic rulings on the “permissibility of martyrdom operations”.⁶⁶⁷ Ahmad is also believed to have radicalised people through personal contact, and was at the centre of the “Tooting Circle” which included Saajid Bedat.⁶⁶⁸ Bedat, who was sentenced for 13 years for his role in the 2001 shoe-bomb plot to blow up a transatlantic flight,⁶⁶⁹ said that Ahmad arranged weapons training for him: “when we talked about jihad it meant armed jihad, taking up arms”.⁶⁷⁰

While Ahmad later claimed to have done all this in “good faith” and regretted it in hindsight,⁶⁷¹ the judge said:

I view what you did as very serious. What you were doing was enabling bin Laden to be protected in Afghanistan and train the men who drove into the Pentagon and the World Trade Centre...

Your websites were a source of information [to jihadists] unlike anything that had been on the web before.⁶⁷²

HHUGS’ apologetics for Islamists connected to Al Qaeda does not stop here. In 2011 HHUGS encouraged people to write to Khalid Al-Fawwaz, Osama bin Laden’s former UK spokesperson⁶⁷³ and in 2012 published material claiming “until Osama bin Ladens [sic] death he was not charged with any crime related to 9/11 nor was any evidence produced”.⁶⁷⁴

The charity has also supported not just his family, but Munir Farooqi himself, writing that there was “no forensic evidence against” Munir Farooqi, and that he had been convicted solely on the basis of evidence given by two undercover police officers. HHUGS also wrote that Farooqi was “never convicted of being an Al Qaida terrorist” but was “convicted of trying to recruit men to go and fight against N.A.T.O forces in Afghanistan even though there was no proof that he ever managed to successfully recruit anyone”.⁶⁷⁵ HHUGS entitle their article on Farooqi’s case “Collective Punishment of an Innocent Family: British Justice”, yet they do not admit Farooqi’s guilt. Nor do they explicitly deny that he tried to recruit anyone, merely that he was unsuccessful. In addition, a piece written for HHUGS by Haitham al Haddad (see 4.4.6) openly criticised Farooqi’s conviction.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁶⁷ *ibid.*

⁶⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁶⁹ ‘Secret life of shoe bomber Saajid Mmuhammad Badat funded by the tax payer’, *Daily Telegraph*, 23 April 2012, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/9222249/Secret-life-of-shoe-bomber-Saajid-Muhammad-Badat-funded-by-the-taxpayer.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁷⁰ ‘Babar Ahmad – a convicted terrorist – is pulling the wool over the liberal media’s eyes’, *The Telegraph*, 14 March 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/12192864/Babar-Ahmad-a-convicted-terrorist-is-pulling-the-wool-over-the-liberal-medias-eyes.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁶⁷² *ibid.*

⁶⁷³ ‘Ten years of HHUGS’ highlight off-campus concerns’, *Student Rights*, 10 December 2014, available at: http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/2236/_ten_years_of_hhugs_highlight_off-campus_concerns, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁷⁴ ‘Collective punishment of an innocent family’, *HHUGS*, 27 February 2012, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20120514132816/http://www.lhugs.org.uk/collective-punishment-of-an-innocent-family-british-justice/384>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁷⁵ *ibid.*

⁶⁷⁶ ‘The Munir Farooqi issue by Sheikh (Dr) Haitham Al Haddad’, *HHUGS*, 14 February 2012, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20120809000846/http://www.lhugs.org.uk/the-munir-farooqi-issue-by-sheikh-dr-haitham-al-haddad/383>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

In 2011 Munir Farooqi was given four life sentences for preparing terrorist acts, soliciting to murder and disseminating terrorist literature.⁶⁷⁷ The court heard that Farooqi had plotted to radicalise and persuade young men to “fight, kill and die” in Afghanistan and ran a Dawah stall through which he disseminated extremist literature and videos. Farooqi told undercover officers that he had fought with the Taliban and that they could become “martyrs”, and was reportedly amused at the sight of the coffins of British soldiers returning from Afghanistan.⁶⁷⁸

The then head of the North West Counter Terrorism Unit (NWCTU), Detective Chief Superintendent Tony Porter, said that whilst they did not “recover any blueprint, attack plan or endgame for these men”:

What we were able to prove was their ideology. These men were involved in an organised attempt in Manchester to recruit men to fight, kill and die in either Afghanistan or Pakistan by persuading them that it was their religious duty.

That is not an expression of religious freedom, but a concerted effort to prepare people to fight against our own forces abroad. In law, that is terrorism.⁶⁷⁹

Yet the support HHUGS provided to the family included prison visits,⁶⁸⁰ even though evidence suggested Munir Farooqi had used his *dawah* stall to target vulnerable individuals and encourage them to “perform violent jihad abroad”.⁶⁸¹

The family remained involved through activism on behalf of HHUGS. On 14 September 2014 the charity held an event with the Munir Farooqi’s son, Harris Farooq, in which he promoted the idea of a “War on Islam”.⁶⁸² During his talk, Harris, who was arrested at the same time as his father but acquitted,⁶⁸³ said “The war on terror, is obviously you know, a war on Islam and it doesn’t seem to be going away anytime soon.”⁶⁸⁴ His daughter, Zulaikha Farooqi, has also appeared on a video of support for HHUGS.⁶⁸⁵

In their 2013 piece, HHUGS used scripture to bolster their support for Farooqi: “Whoever is present while a Muslim is humiliated before him, and is able to assist him [and yet does not], Allah will humiliate him before all of creation on the Day of Judgment”.⁶⁸⁶

4.3 HHUGS’ Trustees

4.3.1 Fahad Ansari

Fahad Ansari is a trustee of HHUGS. In 2014 pro-terrorist group CAGE described him as a “Human Rights lawyer and Caseworker for CAGE”.⁶⁸⁷ It is evident from his social media and

⁶⁷⁷ ‘Munir Farooqi given four life sentences for terror charges’, *BBC News*, 9 September 2011, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-14851811>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁷⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁸⁰ ‘Message from your sister Zulaikha Farooqi – support for HHUGS this Ramadhan 2013’, *YouTube*, 26 July 2013, available at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t-8Rx329F4g>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁸¹ ‘Munir Farooqi given four life sentences for terror charges’, *BBC News*, 9 September 2011.

⁶⁸² ‘10 years of HHUGS: embracing families, empowering lives’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/10-years-of-hhugs-dinner/585>; ‘10 Years of HHUGS – Harris Farooqi’, *YouTube*, 15 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H28KqE3N4CY>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁸³ ‘Munir Farooqi given four life sentences for terror charges’, *BBC News*, 9 September 2011.

⁶⁸⁴ ‘10 years of HHUGS – Harris Farooqi’, *YouTube*, 15 May 2015.

⁶⁸⁵ ‘Message from your sister Zulaikha Farooqi – support for HHUGS this Ramadhan 2013’, *YouTube*, 26 July 2013.

⁶⁸⁶ ‘Collective punishment of an innocent family’, *HHUGS*, 27 February 2012.

⁶⁸⁷ ‘Sweden does not need new terror laws’, CAGE, *Facebook*, 22 November 2014, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/CageUK/posts/952558724757635>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Islamist website 21c, for which he writes, that he still closely affiliates himself with the group.⁶⁸⁸ Ansari has also written for the Guardian on related topics such as the case of Babar Ahmad and extradition.⁶⁸⁹

As early as 2003 there were hints of where Ansari's sympathies lie. In an article about Guantanamo Bay prisoners he imagines the viewpoint of a Pakistani detainee reflecting on the attacks of 11 September 2001.

As you hear about the atrocities committed in the U.S., you cannot help but feel a little happiness that for once, the hunter has become the hunted. Yes, thousands of innocents perished in the attack but for once, the Americans will feel the pain and anguish felt by victims of American terror around the world from places as far apart as Guatemala to Iraq to Japan. As wrong as it may be, it is difficult to suppress the sentiment of justice being done.⁶⁹⁰

Ansari has also been involved with the Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC) as a researcher and spokesperson.⁶⁹¹ The IHRC is a Khomeinist group that has been described as campaigning for "Islamists in legal trouble".⁶⁹² The group has campaigned for, among others, Omar Abdel Rahman, "the Blind Sheikh",⁶⁹³ who was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1996 for planning a number of bomb plots in New York, had been accused of inspiring the bombing of the World Trade Centre in 1993, and was suspected of playing a part in attacks in Egypt.⁶⁹⁴ In 2007 IHRC called for prayers and support for Rahman, provided an address for those wanting to send material to him, and a model letter showing support and calling for his "immediate and unconditional release".⁶⁹⁵ At the time of this campaign, Ansari was working for IHRC and took part in their 2007 conference "Fighting a Decade of Injustice".⁶⁹⁶

During the conference Ansari defended "our dear sister" Samina Malik.⁶⁹⁷ Malik was the first Muslim woman in the UK found guilty of terror offences for possessing information useful to a person committing or preparing an act of terrorism.⁶⁹⁸ Although on appeal her conviction was eventually quashed in 2008, she had amassed a library of Islamist extremist and terrorist material.⁶⁹⁹ She became known as the "lyrical terrorist" after she wrote poems about her desire for martyrdom and beheading unbelievers.⁷⁰⁰ Despite her nickname, she was prosecuted for possessing documents that would practically assist a terrorist, including The Terrorist's Handbook, an Al Qaeda Manual and The Mujahideen's Poisons Book, not for her extremist poetry.⁷⁰¹ After her successful appeal,

⁶⁸⁸ @Fahadansari, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/fahadansari?lang=en>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Fahad Ansari', *Islam21c*, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/islam21c-writers/fahad/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁸⁹ 'Fahad Ansari', *Guardian*, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/profile/fahad-ansari>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁹⁰ 'Guantanamo Bay Prisoners', *Media Monitors*, 29 November 2003, available at: <https://www.mediamonitors.net/perspectives/guantanamo-bay-prisoners/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁹¹ 'Islamic Human Rights Commission 2007: A Decade of Fighting Injustice', *Innovative Minds*, available at: <http://www.inn minds.co.uk/ilrc10years.php#1.5>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁹² 'A hearing for Khomeinists', *Harry's Place*, 25 November 2009, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2009/11/25/a-hearing-for-khomeinists/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁹³ *ibid.*; 'Prisoners of Faith Campaign Pack', Islamic Human Rights Commission (2007), available at: http://www.ilrc.org.uk/attachments/5355_PFOmarAbdelRahmanFinal.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁹⁴ 'New York bomb plot mastermind Omar Abdel Rahman dies in prison', *BBC News*, 18 February 2017, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/39017259>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁹⁵ 'Prisoners of Faith Campaign Pack', Islamic Human Rights Commission (2007).

⁶⁹⁶ 'Islamic Human Rights Commission 2007: A Decade of Fighting Injustice', *Innovative Minds*.

⁶⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁶⁹⁸ 'Lyrical terrorist Samina Malik cleared on appeal', *Daily Telegraph*, 17 June 2008, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/2145506/Lyrical-Terrorist-Samina-Malik-cleared-on-appeal.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁶⁹⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰⁰ 'Man jailed for planning terrorist acts', *Daily Telegraph*, 8 January 2008, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1574923/Man-jailed-for-planning-revenge-terrorist-acts.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁰¹ *ibid.*

the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) said it was “right to bring the prosecution”, but that taking into account the time she spent on remand and the likelihood of her being given a non-custodial sentence, the CPS decided not to seek a retrial.

During the conference Fahad said of Malik:

Now what was Samina guilty of? Did she blow anything up? No. Was she caught by the police with a big cache of explosives? No. Was she caught trying a suicide belt around her waist? No. So what did Samina do? She wrote some poetry, downloaded some manuals of [sic] the internet out of curiosity, something that many people do, probably many people in this room have the same manuals on their PCs.

[...]

She wrote stuff like this: “The desire within me increases everyday to go for martyrdom, the need to go increase second by second”. I am sure this is a sentiment that rings true with most people in this room, and for Muslims its something which if you don't have this sentiment, according to the Prophet (SAW) if you die without this in your heart you will die in a branch of hypocrisy. So if Samina Malik is a terrorist then I am afraid the entire Ummah is a Ummah of terrorists [sic].⁷⁰²

As a lawyer, not only does Ansari show sympathy and imply the sympathy of the audience with these views, his misrepresentation of the case sets up an argument pitting the government against Muslims. Ansari goes on to say that “this isn't about terrorism, this is something, I have realised, this is not about violence, this is about what they call extremism” which he sums up as “the elimination of Israel, the removal of western troops and Sharia and Khalifa”. Ansari then calls on the audience:

If you want to do a hand count, I don't know how many police officers are here, so if you don't want to put up your hand it's perfectly understandable, but in your hearts you know if you believe in these things or not. And so if you do, if you believe in the issue of Palestine, and freedom for Palestinians; you believe in Jihad, as an integral part of our deen; you believe in Sharia and you believe in the Khalifa – you are an extremist, and you are a terror suspect.⁷⁰³

Two years later, on 2 October 2009, Ansari wrote an article for CAGE about their annual Ramadan fundraising *iftar*. In it, he writes “one of the highlights of the event was to be a video message from the inspirational Imam Anwar al-Awlaki, who was himself detained without charge in Yemen for two years”.⁷⁰⁴ At the time these comments were made, al-Awlaki had already been firmly connected with extremism and terrorism and had been interviewed after three of the September 11 attackers in 2001 had attended al-Awlaki's mosques and an investigator believed al-Awlaki was their “spiritual advisor”. Al-Awlaki's lectures were found to be widely possessed by those committing attacks in the West, including the attackers on 7 July 2005. In the two months following Ansari's post, al-Awlaki was linked to Major Nidal Hasan, who attacked an airbase in Texas in November, and in

⁷⁰² ‘Islamic Human Rights Commission 2007: A Decade of Fighting Injustice’, *Innovative Minds*.

⁷⁰³ *ibid.*

⁷⁰⁴ ‘Beyond Guantanamo – Review of Cageprisoners fundraising dinner’, *Cageprisoners*, 2 October 2009, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110708111846/http://old.cageprisoners.com/articles.php?id=30493>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

December, a follower of al-Awlaki attempted a suicide attack on a flight to Detroit.⁷⁰⁵ Al-Awlaki had already published his 44 Ways to Support Jihad 8 months before the event was scheduled.⁷⁰⁶ In March 2009 al-Awlaki delivered a lecture⁷⁰⁷ in which he recommended that his “brothers” in Pakistan physically and financially support “their brothers in Afghanistan”. He said that such support “is obligatory and not recommended or voluntary” citing Abdullah Azzam to enforce the instruction.⁷⁰⁸

Al-Awlaki's extremism was already a concern at the time of Ansari's praise as seen when the planned event was criticised by online blog, *Harry's Place*. Ansari described the blog as “islamophobic” and accused them of “hateful propaganda” against guest speakers at the event, including Yvonne Ridley,⁷⁰⁹ a journalist who is also a supporter of HHUGS.⁷¹⁰

In 2010 Ansari also attacked Gita Sanghal for attacking CAGE and Moazzam Begg, accusing her of islamophobia and claiming that she has “bought into the US propaganda”.⁷¹¹ In the same article Ansari criticises those who believe that “Islam and human rights cannot co-exist”.⁷¹² However, the chair of IHRC with whom he worked differentiates the concept of “universal human rights”, saying that the universal human rights originate with Hersch Lauterpecht, “a leading Zionist”, from “Islamic human rights”, stating that “what we can and must do is not just mobilise ourselves instead we need to promote Islam and the justice of Islam as a means of salvation for the whole world”.⁷¹³

Again, 2010 Ansari eulogised Faraj Hassan (see 4.5.1) calling him “beloved brother”:

Faraj's final and eternal smile is similar to the smiles we are used to seeing in videos of those martyred in the way of Allah while fighting in foreign war zones. Those who have physically seen such bodies can testify to how such an experience solidified their faith in Allah and the Hereafter more than a lifetime of studying texts could ever have done. The smile of the Shaheed after his death is one of the most powerful evidences of the Truth of Allah's promise to the believers who struggle in His way. It is no coincidence that those who are fortunate enough to witness it develop an unwavering certainty that their Lord and the Hereafter that inspires them to continue to struggle in Allah's way for the remainder of their lives. While there is no comparison between those martyred fighting in Allah's way and those who die by other means, the beaming smile on Faraj's face and the nature of his final deeds appears to have had a similar effect on the Muslims of Britain.⁷¹⁴

[...]

⁷⁰⁵ ‘Anwar al-Awlaki: terror plots linked to Yemen-based cleric’, *Daily Telegraph*, 21 December 2010, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/8215788/Anwar-al-Awlaki-terror-plots-linked-to-Yemen-based-cleric.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁰⁶ ‘Some innuendo from Fahad Ansari and Cageprisoners’, *Harry's Place*, 22 February 2010, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/02/22/some-innuendo-from-fahad-ansari-and-cageprisoners/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘44 ways to support Jihad’, *Hurry Up Harry* (2009), available at: <http://www.hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/awlaki.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁰⁷ Al Awlaki, A., ‘The State of the Ummah’ (2009), available at: http://www.hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/awlaki_pakistan.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁰⁹ ‘Beyond Guantanamo – Review of Cageprisoners fundraising dinner’, *Cageprisoners*, 2 October 2009.

⁷¹⁰ ‘Yvonne Ridley profile’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://hhugs.org.uk/yvonne-ridley/171>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘As-Sabeel charity Iftar fundraiser in aid of HHUGS’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-charity-iftar-fundraiser-in-aid-of-hhugs/151>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷¹¹ ‘Cageprisoners chooses the low jihadi road’, *Harry's Place*, 17 February 2010, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/02/17/another-cageprisoners-awlaki-fan-attacks-sahgal/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷¹² *ibid.*

⁷¹³ *ibid.*

⁷¹⁴ Author's Emphasis; ‘Inspired by a smile’, *Cageprisoners*, 25 August 2010, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20100828104257/http://www.cageprisoners.com/our-work/blog/item/494-inspired-by-a-smile>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Fearlessness and courage are qualities possessed by few individuals but whose nature tends to be infectious. Faraj's courage in speaking the Truth against tyranny and oppression inspired others to unshackle their own tongues. His death however may serve as the fertilizer that serves to **revive the spirit of jihad in the Muslims of Britain**.⁷¹⁵

Whilst Ansari may not be referring to a violent understanding of jihad, the possibility is implied by the context and his other statements. He also says that Faraj's final hours were spent supporting "our unjustly imprisoned sister, Aafia Siddiqui".⁷¹⁶

In November 2010 Ansari explicitly sympathised, if not supported, those taking up arms against coalition forces, including the UK, when referring to Afghan residents of the UK travelling to fight against "NATO forces" in Afghanistan, stating that it was not "surprising that Afghani citizens living abroad would return [to] their homeland to liberate their country from an occupying army".⁷¹⁷

There is no suggestion that Ansari has changed his position. During a HHUGS event held on 14 December 2014 at the Hilton London Metropole he speaks again on the topic of Faraj Hassan:

We have been like every other Muslim organisation or charity faced with trials, with tribulations... One of the biggest tragedies we had was in 2010 when our beloved brother, one of our former beneficiaries, who later became our spokesperson, Farah Hassan ... he tragically died in a motor accident. Faraj's death had a really really adverse impact on HHUGS. I think psychologically everybody was feeling down. **Yet when we think about Faraj's example and what he did and how he actually ... when we think about Faraj's example and the legacy he left behind it inspires us to work even further, it shows us that with a little support for these families there is light at the end of every tunnel.**⁷¹⁸

Later in his speech, he repeats a familiar argument of a war on Islam. After stating that HHUGS requires more support as the numbers of those in need, in other words, those arrested, is only "going to get higher"⁷¹⁹. He states "Every single sect within the Muslim community is being attacked".⁷²⁰

We are not in a war on terror anymore. The issue about fighting violent terrorism as we recognise it is not live anymore, the debate has moved on. In the last 10 years the issue about what we are fighting has shifted from violent terrorism, to terrorism, to extremism, to radicalisation and now what can only be described as conservative religious values. So people who have traditional views about homosexuality, who believe in gender-based seating arrangements as in this hall, who believe in the wearing of the veil, who believe in political Islamic concepts like the sharia, like the khilafah, these people are all being viewed through a counter-terrorism lens and deemed to be extremist.⁷²¹

Despite having never renounced these positions, Ansari presents himself as a Human Rights lawyer, and has enjoyed mainstream publicity, most recently appearing on BBC's *Newsnight* on 7

⁷¹⁵ *ibid.*

⁷¹⁶ *ibid.*

⁷¹⁷ 'From spy cameras to spy planes: British Muslims under surveillance again', *URUK Net*, 26 November 2010, available at: <http://www.uruknet.info/?p=m72219&hd=&size=1&l=c>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷¹⁸ '10 years of HHUGS - Fahad Ansari', *YouTUBE*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tOzrPG3Ivtc>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 2:18.

⁷¹⁹ *ibid.*, 10:10.

⁷²⁰ *ibid.*, 14:14.

⁷²¹ *ibid.*, 10:10-11:03.

December 2017 commenting on how to deal with returning foreign fighters. He has previously appeared on BBC Radio 5 on the topic of Abu Qatada and Babar Ahmad on 13 November 2012, on BBC News on 24 September 2012 and 6 October 2012 on the topic of Babar Ahmad.⁷²² He has also appeared on Sky News.⁷²³

4.3.2 Adnan Aly

Adnan Aly is a trustee of HHUGS.⁷²⁴ Aly's tweets suggest his opposition to liberal Muslims, support for extremist individuals, and spread misconceptions about the government's counter-extremism strategy.

On social media, he has openly denounced a number of liberal Muslim activists and reformists. On 24 June 2014 June 2017 Aly tweeted a condemnation of secular-liberal Muslim Maajid Nawaz, "Maajid Nawaz nods along with Sam Harris' eloquently genocidal rhetoric on Muslims".⁷²⁵ Following the Manchester attacks, Nawaz tweeted "The Manchester jihadist attacks left over 20 dead with dozens injured. How do we stop future attacks? JOIN Quilliam Circle now - our movement to tackle extremism". Aly retweeted a tweet calling Nawaz a "special kind of lunatic" for trying to "financially benefit" from a tragedy.⁷²⁶ Also in July 2015 he described Ex-Muslim Atheist activist Ayaan Hirsi Ali as a "neo-con hate preacher".⁷²⁷ He has retweeted Fahad Ansari's tweets, which call on Eric Pickles MP not to fund Tell Mama, because "we as a community have no faith in them #DontTellMama".⁷²⁸

Aly has retweeted a CAGE event originally tweeted by the Free Munir Farooqi campaign, and tweets from extremist group MEND.⁷²⁹ In July 2015 he also retweeted an article published in the Guardian by Hizb ut Tahrir leader entitled "extremist is the secular word for heretic".⁷³⁰ Other retweets include those of Babar Ahmad from the Free Babar Ahmad Twitter account.⁷³¹ Likewise, on 20 July 2015 he retweeted a tweet by FOSIS' Faisal Hanjra (see 4.4.12)⁷³² stating "No one convicted of terrorism displayed signs of radicalisation as a child. So why does PREVENT target school children?".⁷³³

4.4. HHUGS' Supporters

4.4.1 Ahmad Jibril

Sheikh Ahmad Jibril is a US-based cleric⁷³⁴ who has provided a public message of support used by HHUGS and was invited to speak at an event for the charity.⁷³⁵

⁷²² 'BBC Radio 5 - Fahad Ansari speaks about Abu Qatada and Babar Ahmad', *Free Babar Ahmad Youtube*, 16 November 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bSusrITlm1U>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'BBC News - Babar Ahmad campaigner Fahad Ansari: Our fight goes on', *Free Babar Ahmad*, 26 September 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h9GujZG-OGk>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'BBC News - Fahad Ansari gives his reaction to Babar Ahmad losing his extradition appeal', *Free Babar Ahmad Youtube*, 6 October 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=78bhWEEAfpo>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷²³ 'Sky News - Fahad Ansari speaks about Babar Ahmad's extradition to the US', *Free Babar Ahmad*, 7 October 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jx8FOHNij-U>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷²⁴ 'HHUGS', *Charity Commission*, 31 March 2016, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1117924&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷²⁵ @AdnanAly1, *Twitter*, 24 June 2017, archived tweet.

⁷²⁶ @AdnanAly1, *Twitter*, 27 May 2017, archived tweet.

⁷²⁷ @AdnanAly1, *Twitter*, 20 July 2015, archived tweet.

⁷²⁸ @AdnanAly1, *Twitter*, 24 February 2015, archived tweet.

⁷²⁹ @AdnanAly1, *Twitter*, 8 August 2015, archived tweet; @AdnanAly1, *Twitter*, 1 August 2015, archived tweet.

⁷³⁰ @AdnanAly1, *Twitter*, 24 July 2015, archived tweet.

⁷³¹ @AdnanAly1, *Twitter*, 18 July 2015, archived tweet.

⁷³² '10 years of HHUGS - Faisal Hanjra', *HHUGS*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZiLgp9EKABw>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'HHUGS at LSBU ISOC dinner in search of freedom and justice', *HHUGS*, 29 March 2010, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-lsbu-isoc-dinner-in-search-of-freedom-and-justice/230>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷³³ @AdnanAly1, *Twitter*, 20 July 2015, archived tweet.

⁷³⁴ Carter, J., Maher, S., and Neumann, P., 'Greenbirds: measuring importance and influence in Syrian foreign fighter networks', ICSR (2014), available at: <http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/ICSR-Report-Greenbirds-Measuring-Importance-and-Influence-in-Syrian-Foreign-Fighter-Networks.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 20.

⁷³⁵ 'Shaykh Ahmad Jibril on why you should support HHUGS', *YouTube*, 22 October 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KH1IuJxpDI>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

In 2004 Jibril was convicted with his father for a number of offences including fraud, money laundering and possession of firearms and ammunition.⁷³⁶ The US government's "supplemental sentencing memorandum" stated that the family's albums contained photos of Jibril as a teenager dressed as a "mujihid or holy warrior" and young children holding guns and "'Playing' at holding each other hostage and aiming the weapons at each other's heads".⁷³⁷ Jibril was also reported to have run an anti-American extremist website, AlSalafyoon.com and taught classes on "radical Salafism". According to the memorandum, the website archived "fanatically anti-American sermons by militant Islamic clerics, in English and Arabic" and was used by Jibril to "encourage his students to spread Islam by the sword, to wage holy war, to hate and kill non-Muslims".⁷³⁸ The year before his arrest he had been dismissed from his local mosque for extremist views, before being banned from a second mosque. His lectures were, according to someone who knew him at the time, "angry rants about western crimes against Muslims... against Shi'a Muslims and called on God to turn Jewish children into orphans."⁷³⁹

Jibril's extremism stretches back to the 1990s. Following the 1995 car bombing in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia in a US owned building used by military and civilian personnel, Ahmad sent a facsimile under the alias "Thomas Saad" to CNN. It stated:

The first and main goal behind this first series of bombing is to kick the Jews, Christians and Infidels from the purified lands of the Arabian peninsula because it is the belief of every Muslim who bears witness that there is no God but One and Mohammed is his messenger. It is one of the last words of our profet [sic] said before his soul seperated [sic] his body when he said "Kick the Jews and Christians out of the Arabian peninsula. No two religions shall remain on the lands of the Arabian peninsula [...] that is the reason why we chose the building we chose."⁷⁴⁰

A 2014 report by ICSR looking at the social media profiles of Western and European Islamic State and Jabhat al Nusra fighters found that Jibril was one of "the two most prominent of these new spiritual authorities".⁷⁴¹ His was the most popular profile among IS fighters on Facebook and Twitter, and was ranked first in the top ten profiles. The report suggested that whilst there is no evidence to suggest that he physically facilitated the flow of fighters to Syria he was among those who became "important sources of religious and political support and motivation".⁷⁴²

His support for HHUGS appears in this light; published on YouTube in 2013, he states "we know that it's an obligation to free the captives, the Hadith has mentioned over and over again, but we

⁷³⁶ Carter, J., Maher, S., and Neumann, P., '#Greenbirds: measuring importance and influence in Syrian foreign fighter networks', ICSR (2014), p. 20.

⁷³⁷ 'United States v Ahmad Musa Jebri & Musa Abdallah Jebri', NEFA Foundation (2007), available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20071029194740/http://nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/FeaturedDocs/U.S._v_Jebril_USGSuppSentMemo.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018, pp. 2-3.

⁷³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 3

⁷³⁹ Carter, J., Maher, S., and Neumann, P., '#Greenbirds: measuring importance and influence in Syrian foreign fighter networks', ICSR (2014).

⁷⁴⁰ 'United States v Ahmad Musa Jebri & Musa Abdallah Jebri', NEFA Foundation (2007), p. 4.

⁷⁴¹ Carter, J., Maher, S., and Neumann, P., '#Greenbirds: measuring importance and influence in Syrian foreign fighter networks', ICSR (2014), p. 2

⁷⁴² Carter, J., Maher, S., and Neumann, P., '#Greenbirds: measuring importance and influence in Syrian foreign fighter networks', ICSR (2014), p. 8

also need to keep in mind that part of the obligation is to make sure their family and their children are taken care of".⁷⁴³ Jibril also appeared by video link at the HHUGS event *In The Footsteps of Hajar*, on 13 October 2013.⁷⁴⁴

4.4.2 Muslim Belal

Nasheed writer Muslim Belal spoke in a HHUGS support video in Ramadan 2013.⁷⁴⁵ Belal wrote and sang a *nasheed* about Aafia Siddiqui calling for her release, including the lines “650 650 [Siddiqui’s prisoner number] these are the numbers of a treasured soul”. The lyrics include obvious ‘us versus them’ themes:

When the situation's bad and it's looking like they're winning, remember Allah sees the one who's sinning. And he also sees the one who's looking out for his women... I cannot lose in this game, whether we live or die, they're both winning lanes, so things remain the same, I fight for a change. Because what kind of woman has a number for a name.⁷⁴⁶

$$[\dots]$$

We're all about talk. The Muslims don't move unless it's on their front door. My sister, my wife, it could have been us... it's time to stop fearing the blame of the blamers, there's young lions out here, why are they trying to tame us?"⁷⁴⁷

4.4.3 Adnan Rashid

Another speaker who has expressed his admiration for Aafia Siddiqui, comparing her to Nelson Mandela and describing her as an innocent victim of oppression worse than that suffered by Mandela, is Adnan Rashid.⁷⁴⁸ In 2012 Rashid featured in a video of support for HHUGS⁷⁴⁹ and was a speaker at their fundraising event ‘10 years of HHUGS’ on 14 December 2014.⁷⁵⁰ Rashid is a senior researcher and lecturer at the Hittin Institute.⁷⁵¹ The Hittin Institute is named after the Battle of Hittin, described by the Institute’s website as a “decisive setback in the fortune of the crusaders, enabling the Muslims to regain control of Jerusalem”. While the Institute states that it aims to “facilitate education in the fields of history, politics and Islamic thought, as well as provide opportunities to researchers and scholars to offer both Muslim and non-Muslim communities accurate analysis concerning affairs affecting our world”,⁷⁵² its ‘team’ consists of Rashid himself and Uthman Lateef (see 4.4.5).⁷⁵³ In addition, as a former senior researcher and lecturer at iERA, Rashid appeared in the 2014 report that exposed the extremism of iERA’s preachers.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁴³ ‘Shaykh Ahmad Jibril on why you should support HHUGS’, *YouTube*, 22 October 2013, 2:59.

14. In the footsteps of Hajar – HHUGS fundraising conference in the best days of the year", HHUGS, *Facebook*, 13 October 2013, available at: https://www.facebook.com/events/213165295515173/?paotext=%7B%22ref%22%3A%22%3C%22ref_newsfeed_story_type%22%3A%22regular%22%2C%22action_history%22%3A%22null%22%7D. Last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁶ 'Muslim Belal Ramadhan 2013 support HHUGS', *YouTube*, 4 July 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KEEnPLuSU440>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁴⁶ ‘Aafia Siddiqui 650’, *YouTube*, 25 January 2011, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_RJFenIOsjo, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Adnan Rashid, *Facebook*, 3 July 2013, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/MrAdnanRashid/posts/571687296202723>, last visited: 22 January 2018.; see also 'Adnan Rashid Facebook post', *Facebook*, 13 May 2013, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/MrAdnanRashid/posts/549133165124803>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁴⁹ ‘HHUGS 2012 - Adnan Rashid - Support an Ifatr for your local HHUGS family’, *YouTube*, 21 July 2012, available at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FzgHjMe6sm8>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷³⁰ '10 years of HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/10-years-of-hhugs-dinner/585>, last visited: 22 January 2018.; '10 years of

HHUGS - Faisal Hanjra, *YouTube*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZiLgp9EKABw>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷³¹ Adnan Rashid, *Facebook*, available at: https://www.facebook.com/pg/MrAdnanRashid/about/?ref=page_internal, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷³² 'About Us', *The Hittin Institute*, available at: <http://hittininstitute.co.uk/about-us/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁵³ 'Our Team', *The Hittin Institute*, available at: <http://hittininstitute.co.uk/our-team>, last visited: 22 January 2018./

⁷⁰¹ 'Evangelicalising hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy', The Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (2014), available at: https://ex-muslim.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/EvangelicalisingHate_Report_Web.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

In 2013 Rashid wrote on his Facebook page that “any Muslim who rejects Sharia law apostatises from Islam. A Muslim has no choice but to accept Sharia and submit to it”.⁷⁵⁵ Likewise, he wrote:

If one claims to be a Muslim and doesn't [sic] want Islam as the governing system in his/her country then this person doesn't [sic] know what Islam is. This person doesn't [sic] even know what a Muslim is ... They are either very ignorant or are a bunch of hypocrites, pretending to be Muslims.⁷⁵⁶

As the 2014 report highlighted, Rashid also believes that rape in non-Islamic societies is caused by the mixing of genders.⁷⁵⁷ In 2012, the same year he appeared in HHUGS fundraising video, he wrote that the rape statistics in the West are worse than those in Saudi Arabia, and that he would “rather women live in Saudi Arabia under the protection of Islam than get raped and prostitute themselves to feed their families”.⁷⁵⁸ He makes his position clear in a comment on the post: “Women are not free to work in mixed offices or to go to mixed colleges as they are free in the West. With this freedom comes a price and many pay by their honour”. In the same post he states, “Women in the Muslim world are generally not raped by their husbands because they don't [sic] usually refuse to have intimacy with them”.⁷⁵⁹

More recently, in January 2017, Rashid took offence at a satirical video released online mocking Islamic State, writing on his Facebook: “I cannot see any other reason for airing such an absurd programme than to escalate Islamophobic attacks on Muslim women living in Britain” accusing the BBC of behaving like “manipulative ISIS propagandists” stating: “It is clear that the Islamophobia industry is in bed with media outlets like the BBC and Daily Mail. Their aim seems to be the removal of any sense of respect or dignity from Muslims”.⁷⁶⁰ Likewise, when Channel 4 aired a music video of veiled women mocking Saudi Arabia's oppressive laws against women, Rashid wrote “Most Saudi women are happy with their culture. While jokers like this somehow find themselves “spotted” and “liberated” by the western media. An appropriate response to such people is education and marriage”.⁷⁶¹

Rashid has also written against the Ahmadi community, a group often persecuted and subject to violence from extremists.⁷⁶² On Facebook in August 2017 he described them as a non-Muslim cult and its adherents as “Fake-Muslims”. He described its founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiyani, as a “paid colonial agent” and called their form of Islam a “colonial creation” that is still loyal to “anti-Islam powers”. Conspiratorially, he writes that the Ahmadi community have been given mainstream platforms “under the pretext of fight against terrorism [sic]”.⁷⁶³

⁷⁵⁵ Adnan Rashid, *Facebook*, 18 November 2013, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/MrAdnanRashid/posts/640512389320213>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁵⁶ Adnan Rashid, *Facebook*, 10 September 2013, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/MrAdnanRashid/posts/601781913193261>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁵⁷ ‘Evangelising hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy’, The Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (2014), p. 19.

⁷⁵⁸ Adnan Rashid, *Facebook*, 14 June 2012, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/MrAdnanRashid/posts/105375629605436>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁵⁹ Adnan Rashid, *Facebook*, 14 June 2012, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/MrAdnanRashid/posts/105375629605436>, last visited: 22 January 2018, comment posted at 00:52.

⁷⁶⁰ Adnan Rashid, *Facebook Screenshot*, 6 January 2017.

⁷⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁷⁶² ‘Pakistan's long-persecuted Ahmadi minority fear becoming election scapegoat’, *Reuters*, 16 November 2017, available at: <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-pakistan-election-ahmadis/pakistan-long-persecuted-ahmadi-minority-fear-becoming-election-scapegoat-idUKKBN1DG04N>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁶³ Adnan Rashid, *Facebook Screenshot*, 3 August 2017.

In addition to his support for HHUGS, Rashid is the founder of the Convivencia Trust.⁷⁶⁴ It has worked with other speakers who have been involved in HHUGS, including Uthman Lateef⁷⁶⁵ and Muslim Belal.⁷⁶⁶ Whilst its website appears to be no longer available, YouTube videos and its Facebook account still shows evidence of the Trust's activity, with the Facebook page being still relatively active.⁷⁶⁷ The Trust has provided a platform for Rashid to lecture,⁷⁶⁸ and has fundraised through Ramadan TV.⁷⁶⁹

4.4.4 Shakeel Begg

Shakeel Begg is an official supporter of HHUGS,⁷⁷⁰ and speaker for HHUGS.⁷⁷¹ In June and July 2016 Shakeel Begg brought a libel case against the BBC for describing him as an extremist during a programme broadcast on 3 November 2013.⁷⁷² Despite testimony claiming that Begg, for example, had engaged with interfaith work, the judge assessed a number of his statements and concluded that Begg was indeed an extremist. While Begg has made a number of extremist statements, however, some examples below suffice to illustrate why Justice Haddon-Cave concluded that Begg is an extremist:

It is clear that on occasions when it has suited him, and he was speaking to predominantly Muslim audiences and/or audiences who might be receptive to his message, he has shed the cloak of respectability and revealed the horns of extremism.⁷⁷³

The judge stated he was a “Jekyll and Hyde” figure, “present[ing] one face to the general local and inter-faith community and another to particular Muslim and other receptive audiences. The former face is benign, tolerant and ecumenical; the latter face is ideologically extreme and intolerant”.⁷⁷⁴

Despite losing the libel case against the BBC confirming that he is an Islamist extremist, Begg remains the imam of Lewisham Islamic Centre,⁷⁷⁵ having been appointed in 1998.⁷⁷⁶ Begg attended Medina University and has been described as “closely associated with broadly Salafi approach to Muslim beliefs”.⁷⁷⁷ His extreme views have been provided with a platform by the charity; during a

⁷⁶⁴ ‘The battle of Qadisiya’, *Institute of Business Administration Karachi*, available at: http://www.iba.edu.pk/The_Battle_of_Qadisiya.php, last visited: 22 January 2018; Convivencia Trust, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/theconvivenciatrust/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁶⁵ Convivencia Trust, *Facebook*, 25 July 2015, available at <https://www.facebook.com/theconvivenciatrust/photos/rpp.263148840479165/734748096652568/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁶⁶ Convivencia Trust, *Facebook*, 12 July 2015, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/theconvivenciatrust/photos/a.374661955994519.1073741826.263148840479165/728859593908085/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁶⁷ ‘Adnan Rashid – What is Convivencia?’, *YouTube*, 24 January 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDcqUcmVPkk>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Convivencia Trust, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/theconvivenciatrust/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁶⁸ For example, Convivencia Trust, *Facebook*, 8 April 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/theconvivenciatrust/photos/a.374661955994519.1073741826.263148840479165/861919897268720/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Convivencia Trust, *Facebook*, 4 December 2015, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/theconvivenciatrust/photos/a.374661955994519.1073741826.263148840479165/792083864252324/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Convivencia Trust, *Facebook*, 26 November 2015, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/theconvivenciatrust/photos/a.374661955994519.1073741826.263148840479165/788419157952128/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Convivencia Trust, *Facebook*, 26 April 2015, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/theconvivenciatrust/photos/a.374661955994519.1073741826.263148840479165/694659383994773/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁶⁹ Convivencia Trust, *Facebook*, 30 June 2015, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/theconvivenciatrust/photos/a.374661955994519.1073741826.263148840479165/723716694422375/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁷⁰ ‘HHUGS Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁷¹ ‘10 years of HHUGS – Imam Shakeel Begg’, *HHUGS YouTube*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ciCoz8yXxU>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁷² *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: 22 January 2018, para. 1.

⁷⁷³ *ibid.*, para. 352.

⁷⁷⁴ *ibid.*, para. 352.

⁷⁷⁵ ‘Meet the Imams – Shakeel Begg’, *Lewisham Islamic Centre*, available at: http://lewishamislamiccentre.com/about_the_imam.php, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁷⁶ *Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016, para 14.

⁷⁷⁷ *ibid.*, para 13.

HHUGS event, “10 Years of HHUGS” on 14 December 2014, he openly denigrated the police set against an “us versus them” background:

One of these brothers was on a trip paintballing. So he was paintballing with other Muslims, and on this trip they had...a agent [sic], a *munafiq*, and sadly as time goes and we see positivity in the ummah growing like HHUGS, the *munafiqun* also increase, and the agents also increase. So because of this agent who recorded them secretly, playing around, paintballing, he was accused of training for jihad and going abroad. Arrested, spent five or six years in prison, *Alhamdulillah* [praise be to God] his family was not forsaken by HHUGS

[...]

HHUGS were there. He was given money to start a business, he was given money to go on training, he was given money to support himself and his family and so on. This is brotherhood, this Islam, this is iman.

[...]

Do you think things will get worse? Have you come across some of the legislation that is being discussed targeting Muslims. Some of the legislation being discussed is like, its uncomprehensible [sic...that the UK would] pass certain laws and legislation that will be making the lives of Muslims a nightmare [...] that legislation is terror towards the Muslim community.⁷⁷⁸

To put his comments about the police in the above HHUGS speech into context, a similar sentiment penned by Begg in 2009 was regarded by the court as extremist. On the topic of working with counter-terrorism officers, he wrote “I was deeply shocked and appalled by his [Tawfique Chowdhury’s] enthusiasm for collaboration with a body that has failed tis [sic] own war against Islam and the Muslims at home and abroad [...] he has clearly taken side with the enemies of Islam the Muslims”.⁷⁷⁹

One early speech used in the case as evidence of Begg’s extremism was given at Kingston University in 2006. During this event organised by Kingston University Islamic Society Begg made the following statements which were deemed extremist by the court. Begg stated that there was a “war upon Islam”, perhaps ideological rather than physical, and therefore a Muslim must be strong. He claimed that if Muslims compromise on issues such as the hijab or jihad then they are weak and “Islam is not [their] religion”.⁷⁸⁰ Of Palestinian, Chechen, Kashmiri and Iraqi Muslims who “want to defend themselves”, he stated that “this is not terrorism. This is courage this is good the person is defending himself and his family and his womenfolk and his land and his deen this is something which is good”.⁷⁸¹ Finally, he barely stops short of encouraging violent extremism:

We have lost our practicality of Islam. A person will scream about Jihad. A person will scream and shout yes we need to fight... you want to make jihad? Very good. Don’t shout and scream and fight with your Muslim brother who is doing something else for the deen.

⁷⁷⁸ ‘Shakeel Begg denigrating the police’, *YouTube*, 30 October 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zr3Bf8qVWjc>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘10 Years of HHUGS – Imam Shakeel Begg’, *YouTube*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6eiCoz8yXxU>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁷⁹ Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016, para 161.

⁷⁸⁰ *ibid.*, para. 137.

⁷⁸¹ *ibid.*, para. 139.

Take some money and go to Palestine and fight, fight the terrorists, fight the Zionists in Palestine if you want to do this.⁷⁸²

Begg has also cited other extremists approvingly. For example, he cited a number of passages by Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Baz in a May 2009 speech attacking Muslim societies that do not implement Sharia law and one advocating “fighting the Jews in an Islamic Jihad”. Begg states that jihad makes the “religion of Allah the Exalted supreme” and suppresses the “disbelievers and hypocrites... facilitating the propagation of Islam all over the world”. Jihad, he said “is one of the best methods of getting closer to Allah”.⁷⁸³

During another speech for CAGE in 2010, he cited a number of extremist figures approvingly, including Hassan al-Banna, Abdul Ala Maududi, Sayyid Qutb and Abdullah Azzam.⁷⁸⁴

In addition, in 2010, Begg spoke at the Justice for Aafia Coalition (JFAC) outside the US Embassy in London in support of Aafia Siddiqui, during which he was outspoken against the US stating that they are “the greatest oppressor on earth. The greatest tyrant on earth. The greatest bootlegger on earth. The greatest kidnapper on earth. The greatest criminal on earth and the greatest rapist on earth... [and] the greatest terrorist on earth”.⁷⁸⁵

Against this background, Begg has stated during HHUGS’ annual fundraising dinner on 28 March 2011 “helping the families of brothers who are in prison, giving to those families, supporting those families coming to their aid when they are in times of need and help, is like as if we are making jihad in the path of Allah. And we know jihad in the path of Allah is the greatest of deeds that a Muslim can take part in”.⁷⁸⁶ Begg claimed that he used the term *jihad* peacefully, and Justice Haddon-Cave concluded that too much weight should not be placed on this speech.⁷⁸⁷

Nonetheless, this is not the first time Begg has been involved with a prisoner advocacy group, having previously spoken at the Belmarsh Iftar in 2011.⁷⁸⁸ This Iftar was an annual event held at HMP Belmarsh and organised by the Muslim Prisoner Support Group and the Woolwich Dawah Network, and in 2010, was supported by the Tayyibun Institute, the Hittin Institute and HHUGS.⁷⁸⁹ At the 2010 Iftar, he spoke alongside Uthman Lateef.⁷⁹⁰

4.4.5 Uthman Lateef

Uthman Lateef is an official supporter of HHUGS, a presenter on the Islam Channel, senior lecturer and researcher at the Hittin Institute,⁷⁹¹ and an author at Islam 21c.⁷⁹² He is listed among Justice Haddon-Cave’s examples of “extremist speakers”.⁷⁹³

⁷⁸² *ibid.*, para. 140

⁷⁸³ *ibid.*, paras. 191- 206, 246.

⁷⁸⁴ *ibid.*, para. 271.

⁷⁸⁵ *ibid.*, para. 259.

⁷⁸⁶ ‘HHUGS Annual dinner – Imam Shakeel Begg (part 3), *HHUGS YouTube*, 28 June 2011, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ewV_wV4Ccbk, last visited: 22 January 2018, 5:00.

⁷⁸⁷ *Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016, paras. 314 and 318.

⁷⁸⁸ ‘Shakeel Begg speaking up for terrorists’, *YouTube*, 4 September 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k1K-S126wLI>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁸⁹ ‘Belmarsh Muslim Prisoners Solidarity Iftar’, *Maniac Muslim Forums*, 14 August 2010, available at: <http://maniacmuslim.ipbhost.com/topic/24109-belmarsh-muslim-prisoners-solidarity-iftar-290810-ramadhan-2010/>

⁷⁹⁰ ‘Belmarsh Muslim prisoners solidarity Iftar’, *Maniac Muslim Forums*, 14 August 2010, available at: <http://maniacmuslim.ipbhost.com/topic/24109-belmarsh-muslim-prisoners-solidarity-iftar-290810-ramadhan-2010/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁹¹ ‘HHUGS Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁹² ‘Author Archives: Dr Uthman Lateef’, *Islam21c*, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/author/dr-uthman-lateef/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁹³ *Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016, para. 335.

On 12 December 2007, Lateef addressed Queen Mary University's Islamic Society: "We don't accept homosexuality... we hate it because Allah hates it".⁷⁹⁴ He also expressed support for Mohammed Hamid who he described as "our dear brother" and claimed he was "locked up unfairly under false terror charges".⁷⁹⁵ On his Facebook page he links to a petition calling for Hamid to be freed, stating that his conviction was politically motivated:

- Paintballing = Weapons training;
- Cutting a watermelon = Terrorism training;
- Propagating Islam = Terror recruitment.⁷⁹⁶

The petition reads:

It is our contention that it is no more of a crime for Muslims to go paintballing or camping than it is for the thousands of other people who go paintballing and camping every year [...] It is our fear that this sentence will be the first for many Muslims in the United Kingdom – and by extension of the precedent of Hamid's case has set, for non-Muslims too – indeed anyone who does not champion the British government's foreign policy or who have a different world view.⁷⁹⁷

However, Hamid was jailed on 3 January 2017 for two counts of preparing for acts of terrorism.⁷⁹⁸ The judge concluded that Hamid was "dangerous":

You used your charm and knowledge of the Koran to influence others to terrorism... You continue to be a danger, not directly from your own actions, but from your ability to persuade others by criminal actions to commit terrorism offences themselves.⁷⁹⁹

In addition, in 2009, alongside Murtaza Khan, he shared a platform with Anwar al-Awlaki.⁸⁰⁰ Whilst sharing a platform does not in itself indicate agreement among panellists, this was not a one off, as the three men also taught a course on the "Virtues of the Sahabah from Salih Muslim" at the Al Wasatiyyah Foundation.⁸⁰¹

Akin to Begg, in 10 October 2010 Lateef spoke at an event in support of Aafia Siddiqui alongside Ilyas Townsend.⁸⁰² The event was organised by the Justice for Aafia Coalition (JFAC), and supported by Al-Jalal Masjid and the Hittin Institute.⁸⁰³ Lateef also spoke in support of Siddiqui and Faraj Hassan at the 2010 annual Belmarsh Iftar, organised by the Muslim Prisoners Support Group and the Woolwich Dawah Network, and supported by the Tayyibun Institute, HHUGS and the Hittin

⁷⁹⁴ 'Extremist to speak at University of East London', *Centre for Social Cohesion*, 17 June 2009, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20090927200934/http://www.socialcohesion.co.uk/blog/2009/06/extremist-to-speak-at-university-of-east-london.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁹⁵ Uthman Lateef, *Facebook*, 13 September 2013, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/uthman.lateef/posts/512492785504546>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁹⁶ *ibid.*; 'Free Mohammed Hamid', *Freehamid.blogspot*, available at: <http://freehamid.blogspot.co.uk/p/fmh-petition.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁹⁸ 'Three men jailed for terrorism offences', *ITV News*, 3 January 2017, available at: <http://www.itv.com/news/central/2017-01-03/three-men-jailed-for-terrorism-offences>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁷⁹⁹ 'Mohamed Hamid: From petty criminal to tutor of terrorists', *Independent*, 30 May 2013, available at:

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/profiles/mohamed-hamid-from-petty-criminal-to-tutor-of-terrorists-8638594.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁰⁰ 'The end of time... a new beginning', *Eventbrite*, 1 January 2009, available at: <https://www.eventbrite.com/e/the-end-of-time-a-new-beginning-tickets-227799354#>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁰¹ 'Virtues of the Sahabah', *Alwasatiyyah*, 25 April 2009, available at:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20090425100811/http://www.alwasatiyyah.com:80/courses.php?courseID=5>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁰² 'Aafia Siddiqui: when does the injustice end?', *Islamic Board*, 10 May 2010, available at: <https://www.islamicboard.com/islamic-events/134300929-aafia-siddiqui-injustice-uthman-lateef-amp-br-ilyas-10-10-10-a.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁰³ *ibid.*

Institute.⁸⁰⁴ Both events advertised the same contact phone number, suggesting shared organisers.⁸⁰⁵ Interestingly, the same phone number has been advertised as the contact for Sunnah Foods, which has provided food to be auctioned in aid of HHUGS.⁸⁰⁶ Finally, on another occasion, Lateef spoke in support of Siddiqui on 21 February 2010 alongside Usman Ali, of the Woolwich Dawah Forum,⁸⁰⁷ a former member of al-Muhajiroun arrested in 2006 in connection to a Canadian terrorist plot but not charged.⁸⁰⁸ This fully-segregated event was also organised by Muslim Prisoners Support Group, The Hittin Institute and the Tayyibun Institute.⁸⁰⁹

Evidence suggests Lateef's support and ultimate aspiration for an Islamic theocracy. During his speech at the 2010 Annual Iftar, Lateef gave the example of Caliph Umar bin al-Khattab during a famine in Medina, saying "take it as an example for the Muslim rule that we aspire to have on this earth, to rule by the book and the Sunnah".⁸¹⁰ Furthermore, at the annual Iftar on 21 September 2008, where Lateef spoke alongside speakers such as Moazzam Begg and Yvonne Ridley,⁸¹¹ he promoted the idea of a war between Islam and the West, using this to call for support for Muslim prisoners:

Guard your post in the land of the enemy. Don't renounce your religion in the land of the enemy. Guard your post. Guard Islam. Hold on to Islam in the land of the enemy so that you will be successful in the last day, towards the end.

[...]

What was he [Mohammed] in need of? Response. He needed his companions to support him. The same way that Muslims today require our support. The same way that those who found themselves in prison require our support. The same way that those who are humiliated require our support, our voice, our assistance.⁸¹²

Using the example of Aafia Siddiqui, Lateef said:

Those Muslims who are in prison, Aafia Siddiqui, our sisters, our brothers, in the dungeons that they found themselves in, the same words that they want to hear from us, the Muslims, that we're with you. We're supporting you. You're struggling, we're struggling right with you. We're struggling on your right, on your left, from before, from behind you. And we're not going to do to you what others may have done to you by abandoning you but we're going to assist you.⁸¹³

During the same speech he appears to discourage cooperating with the police and the law on the basis of religious ties, saying "A Muslim is brother to another Muslim. He does not wrong him. He

⁸⁰⁴ 'Belmarsh Muslim prisoners solidarity Iftar', *Maniac Muslim Forums*, 14 August 2010; '5th annual Belmarsh Iftar, Ustadh Uthman Lateef part 1', *YouTube*, 31 August 2010, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4QjX3_n8qJg, last visited: 22 January 2018, 6:10; '5th annual Belmarsh Iftar, Ustadh Uthman Lateef part 2', *YouTube*, 31 August 2010, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KrBY2q_PsUQ, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁰⁵ 'Aafia Siddiqui: When does the injustice end?', *Net Muslims*, 2010, available at: [http://forum.netmuslins.com/showthread.php?p12015-Aafia-Siddiqui-When-does-the-Injustice-End-Uthman-Lateef-amp-Br-Ilyas-\(10-10-10\)](http://forum.netmuslins.com/showthread.php?p12015-Aafia-Siddiqui-When-does-the-Injustice-End-Uthman-Lateef-amp-Br-Ilyas-(10-10-10)), last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁰⁶ 'Sunnah food hamper for HHUGS', *GiveBid*, available at: <https://givebid.co/auction/sunnah-foods-hamper-for-hhugs/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁰⁷ 'Dr. Aafia Siddiqui: Tried before Trial', *Islamic Board*, available at: <https://www.islamicboard.com/islamic-events/134293697-aafia-siddiqui-tried-trial-uthman-lateef-amp-usaman-ali-luton-21-02-10-free.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁰⁸ 'The moderation and tolerance of Uthman Lateef', *Harry's Place*, 8 March 2010, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/03/08/the-moderation-and-tolerance-of-uthman-lateef/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁰⁹ 'Dr. Aafia Siddiqui: Tried before Trial', *Islamic Board*.

⁸¹⁰ '5th annual Belmarsh Iftar, Ustadh Uthman Lateef part 2', *YouTube*, 31 August 2010, 4:20.

⁸¹¹ Archived poster, Annual Iftar in Support of Muslim Prisoners, 21 September 2008; Lateef uses the *kunya* Abu Muhajid ("father of a holy warrior"), see: 'Radical Islam on UK Campuses', Centre for Social Cohesion (2013), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/RADICAL-ISLAM-ON-CMAPUS.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 10.

⁸¹² 'Uthman Lateef: imprisoning minds', *Harry's Place*, 10 March 2010, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/03/10/uthman-lateef-imprisoning-minds/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸¹³ *ibid*.

does not oppress him. He does not look down on him, does not imprison him, does not hand him over to be imprisoned by anyone".⁸¹⁴ Lateef warns that this could happen to any Muslim, and intimates that those who do not help Cageprisoners will not do well on the Day of Judgement.⁸¹⁵ At other Belmarsh Iftars, Lateef has spoken alongside, for example, Shakeel Begg in 2011⁸¹⁶ and Usman Ali.⁸¹⁷

Lateef has spoken out against moderate Islam in favour of political Islam in apocalyptic terms:

They tell you about a secular Islam, right? Islamic Secularism. New Islam. They will sell you a democratic Islam, a socialist Islam, a social democratic Islam, every Islam except the Islam of Mohammed. A new talk. Beware of new things. The unrefined, repackaged Islam. This so-called Islam that speaks about abolition of sharia, like we don't need sharia anymore. The so-called Islam that speaks about the fact that sovereignty does not belong to Allah. The so-called Islam that speaks about the fact that, you know, we don't need the laws of Islam anymore. There is no politics in Islam.

[...]

There will always remain a party of my ummah, a group from my ummah, who will fight for the truth. Who are always engaging, struggling, fighting for the truth. And they are manifest upon that, clear upon that, evident upon that, until the end of time. In several hadith, he [Mohammed] was asked, where are those people, he said in and around Jerusalem. May Allah give aid and support to those who are struggling in Palestine at this moment in time, may Allah give them victory, like Allah gave victory at [the battle of] Badr, for them and for the Muslims in other places.

[...]

The dajjal [devil] will come from the Jews of Isfahan [in Iran] and he will have with him 70,000 Jews.⁸¹⁸

When speaking of Islamic conquest, he appears to support violent jihad, again echoing the idea of a remnant of 'true' Muslims who will be victorious: "they you will conquer Rome and Allah will grant that to you... The Muslims will take for their army a people. Not the Joe Bloggs of humanity. A people who will have response and they will fight for death, they will fight to die, for martyrdom in Allah's cause, for victory, not to come back as losers".⁸¹⁹

His extremism having been flagged up, namely, by the blog *Harry's Place*, which he attacked with accusations of Islamophobia after they reported on his activities,⁸²⁰ Lateef provided evidence in his defence before a Home Affairs Select Committee in 2014. He defended having protested the innocence of, and calling people to pray for, Talha Ahsan, and his defence of Mohammed Hamid; and on the issue of sharing a platform with Anwar al-Awlaki, he claimed that al-Awlaki's allegiance to Al Qaeda was not known before 2009. As part of the evidence in his favour he emphasised his

⁸¹⁴ *ibid.*

⁸¹⁵ *ibid.*

⁸¹⁶ 'Annual Belmarsh Iftar at HMP Belmarsh 2011', *Flickr*, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/12499405@N05/6020467842>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸¹⁷ 'The moderation and tolerance of Uthman Lateef', *Harry's Place*, 8 March 2010.

⁸¹⁸ *ibid.*

⁸¹⁹ *ibid.*

⁸²⁰ 'Home Affairs Committee: Written Evidence Counter-terrorism', HM Government, available at: <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-committees/home-affairs/CT-Written-Evidence.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 206; see also: Uthman Lateef, *Facebook*, 18 October 2013, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/uthman.lateef/posts/525108787576279>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

work for “justice for the oppressed”, supporting this claim with his work with two organisations already mentioned in this report: Interpal and Cageprisoners.⁸²¹ In addition, as argued in 4.3.1, we could reasonably expect that Anwar al-Awlaki’s problematic views were known by 2009.

HHUGS is not the only charity Lateef is involved with. He has also fundraised for MCF member charity Islamic Help, speaking at their event “A Night for Syria” on 31 August 2014, which includes “networking” as one of its purposes.⁸²²

4.4.6 Haitham al Haddad

Haitham al Haddad is an official supporter of HHUGS,⁸²³ and has spoken at a number of HHUGS events.⁸²⁴ Al Haddad is the founder and executive director of MRDF.⁸²⁵ MRDF runs the weekend retreat programme, Sabeel, as well as the online magazine Islam 21c.⁸²⁶ The website provides a platform for a number of individuals mentioned in this report. In the past it described itself as advocating adherence to sharia law: “Islam is a comprehensive world view incorporating a way of life... and an extensive and divine system of law”. The magazine also published a piece by Hamza Tzortzis in 2010, which called for an “Islamic Social Model” which “cannot be established successfully without a fully functioning Islamic government, also known as the Khalifah”.⁸²⁷

Al Haddad has served as a judge of the Islamic Sharia Council in the UK and Ireland and is an advisor to the Islamic Sharia Council of Europe.⁸²⁸ He is also an advisor to Reconcile, an Islamic arbitration and mediation body,⁸²⁹ and a speaker on Peace TV.⁸³⁰ Al Haddad studied in Saudi Arabia as a student of Abdul Aziz bin Abdullah bin Baz, one of those specified by Justice Haddon-Cave as an extremist.⁸³¹

Al Haddad himself was listed among those counted by Justice Haddon-Cave among “extremist speakers”.⁸³² His extreme views are well-known, particularly his statement that “a man should not be questioned why he hit his wife”. Similarly, while Al Haddad denies it, he has faced allegations from one woman that he ignored her husband’s previous legal convictions and tried to get her to sign over custody of her child.⁸³³

While most of his statements are explicitly non-violent, after the death of Osama bin Laden, in May 2011 on Islam 21c he wrote, “Osama bin Laden, may Allah have mercy on him [...] he died as a Muslim and it is an established part of our Islamic creed that every Muslim, unlike the disbelievers,

⁸²¹ ‘Home Affairs Committee: Written Evidence Counter-terrorism’, HM Government, p. 206

⁸²² Islamic Help, *Facebook*, 28 August 2014, available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/islamichelp/photos/a.117878288239140.17234.113007642059538/935164096510551/?type=1&theater>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸²³ ‘HHUGS – Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸²⁴ ‘HHUGS at QM ISOC annual dinner 2010 – the hearts have been drawn’, *HHUGS*, 2010, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-qm-isoc-annual-dinner-2010-the-hearts-have-been-drawn/206>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘HHUGS at women in Dawah 12: shackled by shariah’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-women-in-Dawah-12-shackled-by-shariah/203>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸²⁵ ‘Shaykh Haitham Al-Haddad’, *Family Retreat*, available at: <http://www.familyretreat.co.uk/speakers/shaykh-dr-haitham-al-haddad/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸²⁶ Sutton, R. and Stuart H., ‘Challenging Extremists: practical frameworks for our universities’, *Student Rights*, 2012, available at: [http://www.studentrights.org.uk/userfiles/files/SRSocialMedia\(1\).pdf](http://www.studentrights.org.uk/userfiles/files/SRSocialMedia(1).pdf), last visited: 22 January 2018. p. 18.

⁸²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 18

⁸²⁸ ‘Dr Shaykh Haitham Al-Haddad’, *Islamic Council of Europe*, 2017, available at: <https://iceurope.org/advisor/about-us/our-advisors/haitham-al-haddad/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Zee. M., *Choosing Sharia?* (2016), p. 116.

⁸²⁹ ‘Our Advisors’, *Reconcile*, available at: <http://reconcile.org.uk/about-us/our-advisors/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸³⁰ ‘Haitham Al Haddad’, *PeaceTV*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Haitham-Al-Haddad>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸³¹ Zee. M., *Choosing Sharia?* (2016), p.116.

⁸³² *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: 22 January 2018, para. 335.

⁸³³ ‘Does sharia law allow a man to beat his wife?’, *Channel 4 News*, 14 July 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cd4A4fPejXE>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 2:18; 3:40.

will eventually enter paradise”.⁸³⁴ In addition, on Salman Rushdie he stated “and this reminds us, O Servants of Allah, of the stories of those who compose heretical writings, that you cannot tolerate esoteric interpretation, you rule on their apostasy and desertion of the religion [...] in the West they are known as creative writers, and are considered as amongst the most innocent, but to us they are apostates, and **their blood is halal**”.⁸³⁵

Al Haddad advocates a non-violent approach to the creation of an Islamic State, and appears to disagree with the method of terrorism. In other words, he has condemned the use of violence and terrorism,⁸³⁶ but advocates establishing political Islam through the existing political process:

It is obligatory for those Muslims living under the shadow of man-made law to take all the necessary steps and means to make the law of Allah, the Creator and the Sustainer, supreme and manifest in all aspects of life. If they are unable to do so, then it becomes obligatory for them to strive to minimise the evil and maximise the good.

In democratic countries which are ruled by man-made law, candidates from the various parties compete to attain power. Some of these parties or candidates are working against the benefit of humanity (i.e. against the law of the Creator), while the policies of others are less detrimental. Therefore, it is obligatory on the Muslims to utilise all means to promote the candidate who will best ensure the welfare of the people according to Islam, the law of their Creator, to be elected to the decision-making posts.⁸³⁷

In a speech given on 18 April 2010, Al Haddad outlined exactly what this process would look like. He states that his primary concern is not voting but the state of Muslims in the UK and Europe.⁸³⁸ During this talk, he states that assimilation is *haram*⁸³⁹ but tells the audience:

Until we reach to a level when we have Islamic Khilafah, we have the Islamic State and Islam become superior, that stage. We should look at ourselves as part of the Ummah... not the only part of the Ummah that is going to bring that into existence. We are part of that, we contribute. So some people think that it is upon them only, and they are the only people who are going to bring victory for Islam in general and for the Muslim ummah, that is wrong.⁸⁴⁰

Rather, he says, “We need to reach to a level... whereby Islam and Muslims are officially recognised within the system... Maybe you know that Islam is not officially recognised within Britain... Are not officially recognised as part of that landscape of Britain, official system of Britain, the legal system of Britain”.⁸⁴¹ He justifies voting in the following way:

So if some people would like to say “we are voting for a kafir system”, don’t say “we are voting for a kafir system”. Don’t check, don’t ask a scholar that “is it allowed to vote for a

⁸³⁴ *ibid.*, 4:17; ‘Advice to Muslims on the death of Osama bin Laden’, *Islam21c*, 3 May 2011, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/politics/2644-advice-to-muslims-on-the-death-of-osama-bin-ladin/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸³⁵ Author’s emphasis; Zee. M., *Choosing Sharia?* (2016), p. 117.

⁸³⁶ ‘Does sharia law allow a man to beat his wife?’, *Channel 4 News*, 14 July 2014, 7:08.

⁸³⁷ ‘The Islamic Forum of Europe and political participation’, *Standpoint*, 1 April 2010, available at: <http://www.standpointmag.co.uk/node/2901>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸³⁸ ‘Advice on voting by Sheikh Haitham al Haddad’, *YouTube*, 6 May 2010, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NdBDyXNX1yc>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Advice on voting by Sheikh Haitham al Haddad part 2’, *YouTube*, 6 May 2010, available at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lvGRmG1luSU>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Advice on voting by Sheikh Haitham al Haddad part 3’, *YouTube*, 6 May 2010, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hJa6-m1W0PM>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Advice on Voting By Sheikh Haitham Al Haddad part 4’, *YouTube*, 7 May 2010, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NqmFiMGaQd8>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸³⁹ ‘Advice on voting by Sheikh Haitham al Haddad’, *YouTube*, 6 May 2010, 4:22.

⁸⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 7:40.

⁸⁴¹ *ibid.*, 8:40.

kafir system?” He will say “of course it’s not allowed”. But tell him “am I allowed to vote for a kafir system in order to avoid a bigger kafir system taking power?”⁸⁴²

Al Haddad is against violent means because “it is impossible” and “not viable... to carry weapons in order to change the system”, you cannot “kill the leaders and make revolution against them”. He says that *dawah* and electoral participation are the way to achieve this: “We will not have an Islamic state immediately... many people will become Muslim, the majority would become Muslim”, and then eventually “you are going to have a Prime Minister who is Muslim”. He regards this as a necessary evil to establish *sharia law*: “I know that it is filthy, okay. I know all the kuffar will go to hellfire. I know all the kuffar hate Muslims. I know all of these statements that many brothers are saying, but in many cases you have to deal with it”.⁸⁴³

His comments on Islamic State make it clear that he does not accept the means of violent extremists but agrees with their end goal. For example, he does not agree with Islamic State, but acknowledges that it is good that women are wearing hijabs, are implementing *sharia*, flogging individuals for drinking or adultery. His objection is that these isolated images are used to paint an overall “positive picture” of Islamic State, with whom he disagrees.⁸⁴⁴ In another video, it is clear that he disagrees with their violent method and criticises them implementing sharia law too soon.⁸⁴⁵

However, ultimately it is unclear how far his condemnation of the violent approach stretches, having stated that:

Muslims should prevent [non-Muslims] from ruling in any country with a law other than the shari’ah and Muslims should rule the entire planet with this Islamic law, and should this lead to fighting the People of the Book, Allah said “And fight them until there is no more Fitnah (disbelief and worshipping of others along with Allah) and (all and every kind of) worship is for Allah (alone)”.⁸⁴⁶

Al Haddad also has a number of concerning views on women, including:

- **Child marriage:** with regards to the age at which a girl can be married, he has stated that “Islamic law has no minimum age”.⁸⁴⁷
- **Inferiority of women:** “It is the nature of women, she enjoys the protection of man, she enjoys him being superior to her”.⁸⁴⁸
- **Inequality:** he says that equality between men and women “cannot be implemented” and is “irrational”: “if you implement equality between men and women you are doing injustice”.⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴² ‘Advice on voting by Sheikh Haitham al Haddad part 4’, *YouTube*, 7 May 2010, 0:12.

⁸⁴³ *ibid.*, 1:43.

⁸⁴⁴ Archived video.

⁸⁴⁵ Archived video.

⁸⁴⁶ Zee. M., *Choosing Sharia?* (2016), p.116.

⁸⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.116.

⁸⁴⁸ ‘Does sharia law allow a man to beat his wife?’, *Channel 4 News YouTube*, 14 July 2014, available at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cd4A4fPejXE>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 6:34.

⁸⁴⁹ ‘How to explain to liberal Muslims that Sharia is superior to democracy?’, *Islam Net Video YouTube*, 2 January 2014, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lf_15bPg7M&t=489s, last visited: 22 January 2018, 11:09.

- **Domestic abuse and rape:** during a talk on HudaTV, he stated that before a man divorces his wife he should advise her, stay away from her, and finally smack her.⁸⁵⁰ He also stated that if a woman is still legally married to a man and “he wants to sleep with you, unless there is a very fundamental, or there is a huge problem, which I cannot mention now, you have to give him his right”.⁸⁵¹ In another instance, he described marital rape as “so-called rape” and said that “by force is a very elastic word”.⁸⁵²
- **Female Genital Mutilation (FGM):** he has as condoned FGM in some cases. When it is done is such a way that “causes harm to the female”⁸⁵³ or has an “impact” on the husband,⁸⁵⁴ or when there is extensive cutting, this is against Sharia law. However, “The Sunnah way of doing it, the proper way of doing it... it is the consensus of all the scholars that female circumcision is Sunnah”.⁸⁵⁵ In this case, he says is a virtue or honour for a woman and that it results in chastity and is better for the husband.⁸⁵⁶
- **Sex slavery:** he has stated that according to Islamic law, a man is allowed to have sexual intercourse with a female prisoner of war.⁸⁵⁷

In addition to this, Al Haddad has described Jews and Christians as the “enemies of Allah” who will “all go to the hellfire”, advised Muslims not to integrate⁸⁵⁸ and ruled that a Sunni woman must not marry a Shia Muslim.⁸⁵⁹ He has described homosexuality as a “crime against humanity”⁸⁶⁰ and, once an Islamic state is established, believes the punishment for apostasy is death:⁸⁶¹

The punishment for the apostate is the capital punishment according to the Islamic law, and this is the mainstream Islam. In fact, all the scholars agreed on this, from an Islamic perspective... This is not to be applied here because there is no Islamic country here or there is no Islamic law to be binding on everyone here.⁸⁶²

Despite this, he claims that his views are representative of mainstream Islam and are not extreme, and frames opposition to this as persecution of orthodox Islam more generally: “I think now any Muslim who is preaching orthodox Islam will be seen as a hate preacher. All my opinions are nothing but mainstream Islam”.⁸⁶³

⁸⁵⁰ ‘The Art of Divorce with sheikh Haitham Al-Haddad’, *YouTube*, 24 June 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z28T6noGJpo>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁵¹ ‘The Art of Divorce with sheikh Haitham Al-Haddad 03_512kb’, *YouTube*, 24 June 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UcX5qAnBJII>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 11:07.

⁸⁵² Archived video.

⁸⁵³ ‘Haitham al-Haddad - Female circumcision’, *YouTube*, 23 October 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wM23QsE7Rd4>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 2:25.

⁸⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 4:10.

⁸⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 4:38.

⁸⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 6:18.

⁸⁵⁷ ‘Haddad supports sex slavery’, *YouTube*, 10 August 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cYF7Qycr21E>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁵⁸ ‘The baroness, Islamic extremists and a question of free speech’, *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁵⁹ ‘Does sharia law allow a man to beat his wife?’, *Channel 4 News YouTube*, 14 July 2014, 2:06.

⁸⁶⁰ Zee, M., *Choosing Sharia?* (2016), p. 116.

⁸⁶¹ ‘Haitham al-Haddad - Apostates’, *YouTube*, 9 May 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w4XnuUlsclQ>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 1:12.

⁸⁶² ‘Death to Apostates Sh Dr Haitham al Haddad’, *YouTube*, 5 June 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjrUm2dw23o>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 0:23.

⁸⁶³ ‘Does sharia law allow a man to beat his wife?’, *Channel 4 News YouTube*, 14 July 2014, 4:33.

4.4.7 Said Rageah

Canadian preacher Said Rageah appeared in a message of support for HHUGS in 2015.⁸⁶⁴ However, many of his views speak out against integration, non-Muslims and moderate Muslims. For example, Rageah has discouraged mixing with non-Muslims, stating derogatively that, “you will see a lot of them [Muslims] going to the kuffar, taking them as supporters and helpers and friends and allies... if they were true believers in Allah and the messenger... they would never take them as allies”.⁸⁶⁵ On another occasion, responding to a question from a member of the audience about his non-Muslim in-laws, Rageah said “If you have non-Muslim family it is good to go and visit them for a very short time, but to leave a child, especially at that age, that young age, I would not recommend it”.⁸⁶⁶

Rageah also stated that the niqab is necessary in a non-Muslim society because of the behaviour of non-Muslims, asking “when your sister and your daughter and your wife and my wife and they go out, do these kuffar lower their gaze?”.⁸⁶⁷ Rageah frames the debate in terms of a war on Islam, asking what will come after those who want to get rid of the niqab:

They used to call you terrorist, Taliban, because you have beard. They can no longer do that because so many Muslims with the ultimate skills work for the kuffar and they keep their beard. So they realised they can't stop that. Now with niqab, tomorrow its hijab, the day after that its Islamic schools teaching something that is unacceptable in the West [sic].⁸⁶⁸

In the same ‘us versus them’ context, Rageah has criticised Muslim women who wear the hijab with tight jeans:

If she wants to free herself from what we call the ‘Western mental slavery’, because it’s a mental slavery. Before, they used to come to our countries and they used to enslave us, they used to colonise us. But now we brought our children, and we brought ourselves, and we said to them these are our children, go and enslave them. And they mentally enslave. And I hear... one of the ulema, he said ‘when they were in our country we were waiting for the opportunity to fight back but now we are giving ourselves willingly so we can be there slaves’ So mentally they enslave us. And what the sisters need to do to free herself from this, that she must respect what Allah has designed for her and decreed for her.⁸⁶⁹

Rageah believes that a Muslim woman’s freedom should be based on the Quran and Sunnah, not on her understanding of Western society, non-Muslims or “so-called liberal Muslims”. This includes staying indoors, not “go[ing] outside unnecessarily”. He tells men that they are “the maintainers and protectors of women” and if they don’t do anything about their wives, sisters and daughters working with “non-mahram” men, or talking to men on social media, they will not go to heaven.⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁴ ‘A message from Sheikh Said Rageah’, *YouTube*, 21 June 2015, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f_nQdnoWCOE, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁶⁵ ‘Said Rageah – Abu Huraira Centre’, *YouTube*, 8 April 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vNpMV07hXXk>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 1:03.

⁸⁶⁶ Archived video.

⁸⁶⁷ ‘Said Rageah – Abu Huraira Centre’, *YouTube*, 8 April 2013, 3:40.

⁸⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 4:35.

⁸⁶⁹ Archived video.

⁸⁷⁰ Archived video.

Rageah has also lamented that Muslims do not tell the Canadian government to ban drinking, gambling and prostitution, and posters displaying women in swimming costumes.⁸⁷¹ He appears to agree that the punishment for apostasy is death, but that there is no country implementing Islamic law currently.⁸⁷² Likewise, he says that if you insult Muhammed or any other prophet in a Muslim country you will receive punishment and that, whilst the penalty depends on whether he did it purposely, the death penalty is a possibility.⁸⁷³

4.4.8 Hamza Tzortzis

Hamza Tzortzis has featured on videos of support calling for donations to HHUGS.⁸⁷⁴ Hamza Tzortzis is perhaps most well-known as a speaker for iERA,⁸⁷⁵ but was also formerly a researcher at the Hittin Institute,⁸⁷⁶ a lecturer at the Al Kauthar Institute⁸⁷⁷ and an author on Islam 21c.⁸⁷⁸

Tzortzis is a former member of Hizb ut Tahrir (HT) but maintains that he is no longer involved in the group.⁸⁷⁹ He was also a trustee of Green Crescent, a charity investigated for terrorism links. After the arrest and charge of the charity's head in Bangladesh, Tzortzis resigned.⁸⁸⁰ In 2016 an event at Keele University featuring Tzortzis was cancelled because of his previous claims that "we as Muslims reject the idea of freedom of speech, and even the idea of freedom", and that apostates who "fight against the community should be killed". Tzortzis has since retracted his comments.⁸⁸¹

4.4.9 Abdurraheem Green

Salafist preacher Abdurraheem Green is the founder of iERA and an official supporter of HHUGS.⁸⁸² He has also been a speaker on Peace TV since 2007.⁸⁸³ In addition, registered charity Al Fouz Trust, states "sponsoring the programs of Mr Abdur Rahim Green on Peace TV" as one of its aims.⁸⁸⁴

Green has made a number of extremist statements in the past, advocating violent jihad by stating that "Islam teaches its followers to seek death on the battle field"⁸⁸⁵ and that "dying while fighting

⁸⁷¹ 'Said Rageah - Abu Huraira Centre', *You Tube*, 8 April 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vNpMVo7hXXk>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 7:20.

⁸⁷² Archived video.

⁸⁷³ Archived video.

⁸⁷⁴ 'Urgent appeal HHUGS winter campaign Hamza Tzortzis', *You Tube*, 3 March 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k3pRAMi8RBs>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'HHUGS 2012 - Hamza Tzortzis - support an Iftar for your local HHUGS family', *You Tube*, 21 July 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x2QgreD9HCU>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁷⁵ 'Hamza Andreas Tzortzis', *iERA*, available at: <https://iera.org/our-work/request/meet-our-speakers/hamza-andreas-tzortzis/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁷⁶ 'Speaker with extremist links address to address Detroit bomber former student group', *The Telegraph*, 18 January 2010, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/7012827/Speaker-with-extremist-links-to-address-Detroit-bombers-former-student-group.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁷⁷ 'Hamza Tzortzis profile', *Al Kauthar Institute*, available at: <https://alkauthar.org/instructor.php?id=23>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁷⁸ 'Author - Hamza Andreas Tzortzis', *Islam21c*, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/author/hamzaandreas-tzortzis/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁷⁹ 'Not a member of Hizb Ut-Tahrir', *Hamza Tzortzis*, 5 May 2013, available at: <http://www.hamzatzortzis.com/clarifications-and-responses/not-a-member-of-hizb/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁸⁰ 'Speaker with extremist links address to address Detroit bomber former student group', *Daily Telegraph*, 18 January 2010.

⁸⁸¹ 'Discover Islam Week and iERA', *Student Rights*, 29 February 2016, available at: http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/2354/discover_islam_week_and_iera, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁸² 'Sheikh Abdur Raheem Green video', *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/sheikh-abdur-raheem-green/783>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Bowen, L., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 69.

⁸⁸³ 'Abur Rahim Green profile', *PeaceTV*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/abdur-rahim-green>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Bowen, L., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 79.

⁸⁸⁴ 'Al-Fouz Trust', *Charity Commission*, 5 April 2016, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1133675&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁸⁵ 'BBC promotes 'radical' preacher in documentary', *Student Rights*, 22 July 2011, available at: http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/1694/bbc_promotes_radical_preacher_in_documentary, last visited: 22 January 2018.

jihad is one of the surest ways to paradise and Allah's good pleasure".⁸⁸⁶ He has also preached violent punishments for adultery, which he said deserves a "slow and painful death by stoning".⁸⁸⁷ Many of his most extreme and intolerant statements surfaced most during the Charity Commission's investigation of iERA, and in the wake of a report by the Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain, which highlighted the ways in which iERA were "evangelising hate".⁸⁸⁸

Green has propagated anti-Semitic and anti-Christian views. Whilst preaching in Hyde Park, he said about a Jewish member of the audience "Why don't you take the Yahoudi (Jew) over there, far away, so his stench doesn't disturb us".⁸⁸⁹ In one lecture, he says:

Open Bukhari you will find the hadith that if you find a Jew or a Christian walking down the street, push them to the side... that the Jew and Christian was not allowed to ride on a horse when the Muslim is riding on a horse. They have to walk [...] The purpose of jizya is to make the Jew and the Christian know that they are inferior and subjugated to Islam, OK? In the Muslim state, although the Jew and Christian is free to practice their religion, this is allowed, but they cannot display their cross and even in the time of Umar they were not allowed to re-construct or construct new churches [sic].⁸⁹⁰

In a similar tone, he described Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the secularist-nationalist founder of the Republic of Turkey, as "an extremely, thoroughly unpleasant nasty kafir. He was a Jew, he was a Jew. And not only was he a Jew, he belonged to a sect of the Jews that even the Jews think are far astray".⁸⁹¹

In another video, Green derogatively refers to non-Muslims as a threat that must be dealt with, not through violence, but through *dawah*: "We are surrounded by the kuffar... if you want to criticise Muslims go to Muslim land... Go and reform Muslims there. Here we need to concentrate on our immediate problem and that is kuffar, we're surrounded by them... one of the only reasons that it is permissible to dwell and to live in the land of the kuffar is to call them to Islam".⁸⁹²

The perceived threat posed by non-Muslims also emerges from his condemnation of those who speak against the Taliban:

Brothers and sisters you can support the kuffar against the Muslims even by a word...Even by some statement that you can make. For example, slandering and attacking Muslims unjustly, such as you find many Muslims have done this about the Taliban. Slandering them and attacking and reviling them based upon news that has come from the disbelieving media, helping the kuffar against the Muslims.⁸⁹³

Green holds a number of other controversial views. Green wrote a piece permitting a man to have sex with a female slave, which, although written in 2006, is still available on his personal blog.⁸⁹⁴ In

⁸⁸⁶ 'Muslim preacher who advocated dying while fighting jihad given platform at London university', *Evening Standard*, 24 November 2016, available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/muslim-preacher-who-advocated-dying-while-fighting-jihad-given-platform-at-london-university-a3400911.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁸⁷ 'BBC promotes 'radical' preacher in documentary', *Student Rights*, 22 July 2011.

⁸⁸⁸ 'Evangelising hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy', The Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (2014), available at: https://ex-muslim.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/EvangelisingHate_Report_Web.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁸⁹ Archived video.

⁸⁹⁰ Archived video.

⁸⁹¹ Archived video.

⁸⁹² Archived video.

⁸⁹³ Archived video.

⁸⁹⁴ 'Slavery in Islam', *IslamsGreen*, 2 March 2006, available at: http://www.islamsgreen.org/islams_green/2006/03/slavery_in_isla.html, last visited: 22 January 2018.

another available blog from 2006, Green condones the stoning of adulterers. He draws a comparison with homosexuality, explaining that both acts are treated harshly because of the harm they cause.⁸⁹⁵ In one lecture, Green airs his views on homosexuality. He states that homosexuality is “evil and vile” and that instead of the word “gay” a “more derogatory term like sodomites” should be used.⁸⁹⁶ In addition, he has condoned the use of physical force by a man against a woman in order to ensure she follows Islam correctly.⁸⁹⁷

Green has also argued that Islam is not compatible with democracy.⁸⁹⁸ “Islam”, he says, “is a complete way of life”:

As for government, as for the rulership [sic], as for the laws, through which and by which we live, then that is not in their [secular westerners] mind the realm of religion... this is not the case with Islam at all. Islam is comprehensive. It covers, the sharia covers, every single aspect of the human being's life... when we practiced our religion we were strong, and we became weak... and we became backward when we left our religion. When we abandoned Islam, and we tried to imitate the West then all that happened to us was humiliation as we find ourselves today, nations humiliated because we have abandoned the law of Allah, the deen of Allah, the deen of Allah...

They want us to change our religion, they've made it clear they now want us to so called 'liberate our women' as they call it. They want us to adopt democracy, and I talked about democracy the other night, which is kufr - making man the ruler and not Allah.⁸⁹⁹

These are just a few examples of many known extremist statements made by Green in the past.⁹⁰⁰

4.4.10 Abu Abdissalam

Abu Abdissalam has featured in videos of support for HHUGS.⁹⁰¹ During one of these videos, posted in 2015, in line with the idea propagated by HHUGS that counter-terrorism legislation is unjustly targeting innocent Muslims, he says of those convicted under these laws: “some of them may well be innocent people, in fact I would probably expect that some of them could be innocent people”.⁹⁰²

Abdissalam, who has expressed support for Taliban recruiter Ali al-Tamimi, has made a number of statements suggesting that he believes in the violent imposition of Islam. For example, he has stated that Muslims who do not pray or “conform to the Islamic State” (it is unclear if this means The Islamic State or the concept of the caliphate) should be punished.⁹⁰³ Elsewhere, in a video

⁸⁹⁵ “Terrible and brutal punishments or wise and just guidance from Allah?”, *IslamsGreen*, 14 February 2006, available at: http://www.islamsgreen.org/islams_green/2006/02/terrible_and_br.html, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁹⁶ Archived video.

⁸⁹⁷ “RE: Wife beating in Islaam - Abdur Raheem Green”, *YouTube*, 16 December 2007, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BXJBj7Rj0yg>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁹⁸ “Abdurraheem Green - Stoning, homosexuality and democracy”, *YouTube*, 12 September 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T2iXVuQoILY>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁸⁹⁹ “Abdurraheem Green - Not just a religion, not compatible with democracy”, *YouTube*, 12 September 2012, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=36&v=YvRyYoo3MD0, last visited: 22 January 2018, 0:36.

⁹⁰⁰ “Evangelising hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy”, The Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (2014).

⁹⁰¹ “Why help HHUGS? - A message from Abu Abdissalam”, *YouTube*, 2 July 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2P8zCFYnUoo>, last visited: 22 January 2018; “A message from Sheikh Abu Abdissalam”, *HHUGS YouTube*, 16 June 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kB9uU9Z4LqY>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁰² “Why help HHUGS? - A message from Abu Abdissalam”, *YouTube*, 2 July 2015, 1:00.

⁹⁰³ Quotation from article, not from Abdissalam himself, see: “Aston University: anger after hate preachers billed as appearing at city event”, *Birmingham Mail*, 26 August 2014, available at: <http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/aston-university-anger-after-hate-7660102>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

carrying the Islamic Network logo (see 3.5.5) Abdissalam has said, “we don’t want people’s hands to be chopped off but you have a system in place when you have this God consciousness when you have the whole system in place then you won’t have the kind of crimes that you have today”.⁹⁰⁴

Like Shakeel Begg,⁹⁰⁵ Abdissalam responded to Tawfique Chowdhury’s decision to address a meeting including “anti-terrorism chiefs and prevention of extremism experts”. Propagating the now familiar ‘war on Muslims’ argument, excerpts of his response are below:

I don’t think it is at all possible for any sincere Muslim to be an ally of the ‘West’, natural or otherwise, in its war against extremism and terrorism.

What is the definition of terrorism? What is the definition of extremism? There is no international agreed-upon definition of “terrorism” and this is because if it were defined it would only expose the mass terrorism and genocide of the US and UK governments. Therefore, the last people on earth to use this term should be the Muslims as we are the ones this term was invented to attack.⁹⁰⁶

Abdissalam claims that those who work with the Muslim community know that anti-terrorism personnel are “abusing our religion and brutalising our youth”, giving Babar Ahmad as one example. “The perception”, he writes, “is that this is not a war against terrorism but a war against Islam itself. We can never work with people who are at war with Islam”.⁹⁰⁷

He clarifies that the Islam with which Tony Blair was at war includes beliefs “such as the stoning to death of the adulterer, cutting the hand of the thief, obligation of hijab, and so on”.⁹⁰⁸ Abdissalam claims that “they [the West] will never be pleased with you until you follow their way... We need to stop trying to be accepted by them just so that our lives become easier”.⁹⁰⁹

Addressing Chowdhury directly, he states:

I believe that your intention was very noble: your goal was to ask them to stop harassing Muslim preachers as they are the ones imparting the correct Islamic teachings which are against extremism. However, this in itself is also untrue because the very definitions of extremism are completely different as mentioned above. We are not against the same ‘extremism’ that they are against.⁹¹⁰

Abdissalam believes that the true interpretation of Islam, as he espouses it, is being persecuted:

They have defined extremism as Islam and therefore they harm the preachers of this true Islam...I know you don’t believe that Sh. Ali Tamimi was an extremist. They do and that is why they harmed him. There are countless cases like this and aiding them and allying with them in this war on terror is aiding them against more and more Ali Tamimis.⁹¹¹

⁹⁰⁴ ‘Abu Abdissalam on the wisdom of stoning people to death’, *YouTube*, 9 March 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gMJgWq8Lg70>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁰⁵ *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: 22 January 2018. paras. 159-190.

⁹⁰⁶ ‘Abu Abdissalam and War on Islam’, *Harry’s Place*, 6 August 2010, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/08/06/abu-abdissalam-and-%E2%80%9Cwar-on-islam%E2%80%9D/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁰⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁰⁸ *ibid.*

⁹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

⁹¹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹¹ *ibid.*

Ali Tamimi was sentenced to life imprisonment in 2005⁹¹² for, according to the FBI, recruiting 11 young Muslims in Virginia to fight with the Taliban against US troops in Afghanistan in the wake of the attacks on 9 September 2001.⁹¹³ Tamimi espoused extreme views, for example, about Shia Muslims and Jews,⁹¹⁴ and had been a student of Bilal Phillips.⁹¹⁵

4.4.11 Omar Suleiman

Omar Suleiman is an American preacher,⁹¹⁶ lecturer at the Al Maghrib Institute, and President of Yaqeen Institute for Islamic Research among other roles.⁹¹⁷ Suleiman, an official supporter of HHUGS,⁹¹⁸ reportedly advocated implementing sharia law in the United States and described Israel as “JSIL” (Jewish ISIS), comparing them to the Islamic State.⁹¹⁹

Suleiman has described homosexuality as a “disease” and a “repugnant shameless sin”. On 4 April 2013 on his Facebook page, he wrote:

When Allah describes homosexuality as a repugnant shameless sin and details his punishment of a people that practiced sodomy, how can anyone who believes in Allah not find it immoral?⁹²⁰

Although in another post he clarifies that “the sin should be condemned, and the sinner should be called to the path of the Most Merciful”, he also warned Muslims that if they fail to take a “clear stance” on homosexuality “we will be forced to conform and watch this disease destroy our children”.⁹²¹

Suleiman is also a lecturer at Mishkah University.⁹²² Although no longer available, in 2016, his biography for the Al Maghrib Institute reportedly stated that he had studied under Salafists, such as Mishkah University’s president and founder Salah As-Sawy and Hatem al Haj, who also has a senior role at the university. Suleiman has described As-Sawy as a “dear friend” and encouraged people to study with him.⁹²³ He says that he has “not seen anyone in the West who parallels his knowledge... who even comes close to him”. “It’s a shame”, he says, “when people don’t take advantage of his

⁹¹² ‘Muslim lecturer sentenced to life’, *Washington Post*, 14 July 2005, available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/07/13/AR2005071302169.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹¹³ *ibid.*; ‘Ali Al-Timimi profile’, *Investigative Project on Terrorism*, available at: <https://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/104/ali-al-timimi>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹¹⁴ ‘Abu Abdissalam and War on Islam’, *Harry’s Place*, 6 August 2010.

⁹¹⁵ ‘Ali Al-Timimi profile’, *Investigative Project on Terrorism*.

⁹¹⁶ ‘Trojan Horse fear over six leading Muslim schools: Ofsted to warn ministers of serious concerns’, *Daily Mail*, 20 November 2014, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2841916/Islamic-extremism-rife-CofE-school-East-London-institution-special-measures-inspectors-discovered-pupils-segregated-sixth-formers-posted-links-hardline-preachers-Facebook.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹¹⁷ ‘Omar Suleiman’, *Al Maghrib Institute*, available at: <https://www.almaghrib.org/instructors/omar-suleiman>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Sh. Omar Suleiman’, Yaqeen Institute for Islamic Research, available at: <https://yaqeeninstitute.org/team/omar-suleiman/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹¹⁸ ‘HHUGS – Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘A message from Ustadh Omar Suleiman’, *YouTube*, 15 February 2015, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=20&v=eBOuLbN_7Ew, last visited: 22 January 2018, 0:23.

⁹¹⁹ ‘Who is Omar Suleiman?’, *Harry’s Place*, 29 May 2016, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2016/05/29/who-is-omar-suleiman/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹²⁰ Omar Suleiman, *Facebook*, 4 April 2013, available at: <http://www.peaceandtolerance.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2016/05/os2.jpg>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹²¹ ‘Trojan Horse fear over six leading Muslim schools: Ofsted to warn ministers of serious concerns’, *Daily Mail*, 20 November 2014, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2841916/Islamic-extremism-rife-CofE-school-East-London-institution-special-measures-inspectors-discovered-pupils-segregated-sixth-formers-posted-links-hardline-preachers-Facebook.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹²² ‘Omar Suleiman’, *Mishkah University English Faculty*, available at: <http://mishkahu.com/about/faculty/english-faculty/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Who is Omar Suleiman?’, *Harry’s Place*, 29 May 2016, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2016/05/29/who-is-omar-suleiman/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹²³ ‘Sh. Omar Suleiman explains why you should study with Dr. Salah Assawy’, *Mishkah University YouTube*, 30 April 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4a6NsYVn8WA>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Who is Omar Suleiman?’, *Harry’s Place* 29 May 2016.

presence and don't take advantage of his lectures, and also just being around him and observing his character and the way that he demonstrates the Sunnah so beautifully".⁹²⁴

As-Sawy is President of the Assembly of Muslim Jurists of America (AMJA).⁹²⁵ AMJA has allegedly issued fatwas sanctioning the killing of apostates, blasphemers and adulterers, and has condoned marital rape.⁹²⁶ On the question of whether "the Islamic missionary effort in the West... [was] to the point where it could take advantage of offensive jihad", As-Sawy has also issued a fatwa in which he said:

The Islamic community does not possess the strength to engage in offensive jihad at this time. With our current capabilities, we are aspiring toward defensive jihad, and to improve our position with regards to jurisprudence at this stage. But there is a different discussion for each situation. Allah Almighty knows best.⁹²⁷

He has also reportedly issued rulings encouraging deception and lying for "repulsing evil", claimed that Muslims had been misled by the devil into thinking Sharia punishments were "barbarous and harsh" and called for the revival of the obligation of jihad against Israel.⁹²⁸

In addition, Hatem al Haj, described by Suleiman as "beloved" and a "mentor" has advocated FGM and said that women should not leave their homes to work.⁹²⁹

4.4.12 Omar Hajaj

On 7 October 2017 HHUGS posted a message of support from Omar Hajaj.⁹³⁰ Hajaj is the founder and director of Yaseen Youth Development,⁹³¹ which was incorporated as a limited company on 30 January 2017.⁹³²

Hajaj has been involved in a number of charities and campaigns with alleged connections to extremism. He has been public relations executive of the Muslim Research and Development Foundation (MRDF) since July 2016.⁹³³ Since 2015 he has been the Head of Department at West London Cultural Centre, which is run by the al Muntada al Islami Trust.⁹³⁴ From 2009 Hajaj appears to have been involved in the mosque in different roles.⁹³⁵ He was also a committee member of the Free Shaker Amer campaign and executive committee member of the Free Babar Ahmad campaign.⁹³⁶

⁹²⁴ Sh. Omar Suleiman explains why you should study with Dr. Salah Assawy', *YouTube*, 30 April 2013.

⁹²⁵ 'Salah Alsawy—Our Scholars - Fatwa Committee', *Assembly of Muslim Jurists of America*, available at: <http://www.amjaonline.org/en/about-us/our-scholars-fatwa-committee>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹²⁶ 'Mainstream American Muslim jurists blueprint for undermining America's legal system', *Andrew Bostom*, 14 March 2012, available at: <https://www.andrewbostom.org/2012/03/mainstream-american-muslim-jurists-blueprint-for-undermining-americas-legal-system/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹²⁷ *ibid.*

⁹²⁸ 'Who is Omar Suleiman?', *Harry's Place*, 29 May 2016.

⁹²⁹ *ibid.*

⁹³⁰ 'HHUGS - A message of support from Omar Hajaj', *YouTube*, 7 October 2017, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oWAc_b6Da0U, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹³¹ *ibid.*

⁹³² 'Yaseen Youth Development LTD', *Companies House*, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/10589846>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹³³ 'Omar Hajaj', *LinkedIn*, available at: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/omar-hajaj-8012782a/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹³⁴ *ibid.*

⁹³⁵ Omar Hajaj, *Facebook*, screenshot available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Omar-Hajaj-Employment.png>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹³⁶ 'Omar Hajaj', *LinkedIn*.

In addition Hajaj was head of campaigns at the Muslim Brotherhood-founded Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS) between August and October 2012.⁹³⁷ During this time, on 23 September 2012, he spoke at a protest on “2nd Anniversary of Aafia Siddiqui’s Sentencing” outside the US Embassy in London.⁹³⁸ Other speakers listed included: Uthman Lateef, Adnan Rashid, Suleiman Gani, Hamza Tzortzis, Ilyas Townsend, Taji Mustafa and Abdullah Hassan.⁹³⁹

In addition, Hajaj attended Holland Park School in Chelsea between 2002 and 2006;⁹⁴⁰ though there is no suggestion that the school itself is involved in extremism, in 2015 it became known for having a high number of students joining Islamic State in Syria and Iraq.⁹⁴¹ He continued his education at the University of Medina.⁹⁴²

Another individual from FOSIS who has spoken for HHUGS is Faisal Hanjra.⁹⁴³ Hanjra has also represented the think-tank Claystone (mentioned above) in the mainstream media⁹⁴⁴ and is described on HHUGS’ YouTube account in May 2015 as a board member.⁹⁴⁵

4.4.13 Mohammed Ali Harrath

Mohammed Ali Harrath is CEO of the Islam Channel and an official supporter of HHUGS.⁹⁴⁶

Harrath was arrested in South Africa in 2010 on terrorism charges, after being sought by Interpol and the Tunisian authorities over claims that he was linked to a terrorist organisation. He was convicted *in absentia* for a number of terrorism-related offences in Tunisia and sentenced to 56 years in prison. The Islam Channel condemned the arrests as “harassment and intimidation”, and stated that his offences included belonging to an unauthorised political party. Harrath founded *Front Islamique Tunisien* (Tunisian Islamic Front – FIT) in 1986, which he says is a “non-violent political party”.⁹⁴⁷ However, the FIT has been regarded as:

A Tunisian Militant Islamic group [that has] been allegedly working in conjunction with the Algerian Armed Islamic Group (AIG) by sending its members to train in AIG camps [...] the group has claimed responsibility for a number of attacks and deaths [...] and] warns all foreigners to leave Tunisia.⁹⁴⁸

⁹³⁷ *ibid.*

⁹³⁸ ‘Sentenced – Protest: 2nd anniversary of Aafia Siddiqui’s sentencing’, *Facebook Event*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/483901911635114/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹³⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁴⁰ Omar Hajaj, *Facebook*, screenshot available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Hajaj-School-details.png>

⁹⁴¹ ‘Five pupils from west London comprehensive dubbed the socialist Eton are killed waging jihad in Syria and Iraq’, *Daily Mail*, 25 May 2015, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3094904/Five-pupils-west-London-comprehensive-dubbed-socialist-Eton-killed-waging-jihad-Syria-Iraq.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁴² ‘Omar Hajaj’, *LinkedIn*.

⁹⁴³ ‘10 years of HHUGS – Faisal Hanjra’, *YouTube*, 11 May 2015 available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZiLgp9EKABw>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘HHUGS at LSBU ISOC dinner in search of freedom and justice’, *HHUGS*, 2010, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-lsbu-isoc-dinner-in-search-of-freedom-and-justice/230>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁴⁴ ‘Claystone Think Tank on BBC respond to David Cameron’s Speech on Tackling Radicalisation’, *YouTube*, 20 July 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oisTYxQ7ILA>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁴⁵ ‘10 years of HHUGS – Faisal Hanjra’, *YouTube*, 11 May 2015.

⁹⁴⁶ ‘Mohamed Ali Harrath CEO of Islam Channel’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/mohamed-ali-harrath-ceo-of-islam-channel/542>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁴⁷ ‘Islam Channel chief executive arrested in South Africa’, *Guardian*, 26 January 2010, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2010/jan/26/mohamed-ali-harrath>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁴⁸ Guidère, M., *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalism*, (2012), p. 352.

In 2003 an MI5 witness claimed before the UK's Special Immigration Appeals Commission that FIT had been involved in terrorist activities in France.⁹⁴⁹ Harrath had also been accused by the Tunisian authorities of seeking help from Osama bin Laden, but the charges were contested.⁹⁵⁰

In addition, the Islam Channel has been accused of “sowing suspicion between different religious communities and promoting intolerance and prejudice”. A report on the Islam Channel's output, carried out in 2010 by the Quilliam Foundation, found that there were several concerning trends in the material broadcasted, including: promoting a backwards view of women influenced by Wahhabism; intolerance towards other sects and religions, including derogatory remarks made during programmes such as IslamiQA; and the promotion of extremism, including advertising the lectures of Anwar al-Awlaki and hosting members and supporters of Hizb ut Tahrir.⁹⁵¹ The author of the report, Talal Rajab, said that the channel was “promoting a single narrow version of Islam – namely Saudi Wahhabism – at the expense of more diverse and tolerant schools of Islamic thought”.⁹⁵² In addition, two other charities mentioned in this report, Muslim Aid and Human Appeal, both advertise on the Islam Channel.⁹⁵³

4.4.14 Rizwan Hussein

Rizwan Hussein is an official supporter of HHUGS.⁹⁵⁴ HHUGS describe him as a human rights activist, barrister, and presenter on the Islam Channel and Channel S.⁹⁵⁵ Hussein was formerly the Chief Executive of Global Aid Trust, but resigned after the charity was exposed for extremism by ITV documentary *Charities Behaving Badly*.⁹⁵⁶

4.4.15 Asim Khan

Asim Khan is an official supporter of HHUGS.⁹⁵⁷ He is a presenter on the Eman Channel and has appeared regularly on the Islam Channel. He is also an instructor at Sabeel and author at Islam21c, which are projects of MRDF.⁹⁵⁸ In an article for Islam21c, published on 15 April 2013, Khan described homosexuality as an “evil”, “wretched”, an “abomination”, “shameful”, “disgusting” and “criminal”. He compares it to “burglary, theft and sexual abuse”.⁹⁵⁹

4.4.16 Abu Eesa Niamatullah

Abu Eesa Niamatullah is listed among HHUGS' official supporters⁹⁶⁰ and has spoken in support of the charity.⁹⁶¹ In a message posted on 22 July 2013, speaking of detainees' experience and inserting ‘scare quotes’ around “anti-terrorism laws”, he describes them as being “thrown into prison, for no

⁹⁴⁹ ‘Met anti-terror adviser is wanted for terrorism’, *Evening Standard*, 15 December 2008, available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/met-anti-terror-adviser-is-wanted-for-terrorism-6825318.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁹⁵¹ ‘Re-programming of British Muslims: A study of the Islam Channel’, Quilliam Foundation, 26 March 2010, available at: <https://www.quilliaminternational.com/new-quilliam-report-re-programming-british-muslims-a-study-of-the-islam-channel/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁵² *ibid.*

⁹⁵³ Archived footage, aired 12 November 2017 at 13:57.

⁹⁵⁴ ‘HHUGS – Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁵⁵ ‘Rizwan Hussain’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/rizwan-hussain-barrister-human-rights-activist-and-presenter-on-islam-channel-and-channel-s/543>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁵⁶ ‘Rizwan Hussein: Chief of Global Aid Trust resigns over charity's alleged links to extremism’, *Independent*, 19 February 2015, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/rizwan-hussein-chief-of-global-aid-trust-resigns-over-charity-s-alleged-links-to-extremism-10054948.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁵⁷ ‘HHUGS – Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁵⁸ ‘Shaykh Asim Khan’, *Sabeel*, available at: <https://sabeel.org.uk/shaykh-asim-khan/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Author archives: Imam Asim Khan’, *Islam21c*, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/author/asimkhan/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁵⁹ ‘And remember Lüt...’, *Islam21c*, 15 April 2013, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20150407162935/http://www.islam21c.com/politics/9557-and-remember-lut/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁶⁰ ‘HHUGS – Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁶¹ ‘A message from Abu Eesa Niamatullah’, *YouTube*, 22 July 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XR8oVUAsu2c>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

reason, complete injustice, lies a lot of the time as well, whether that be the extreme end of the gulag of Guantanamo or whether that be the prisons in this country under 'anti-terrorism laws'".⁹⁶² Using Islamic obligations to garner support for HHUGS, Niamatullah quotes a Hadith, saying "whoever conceals the faults of a Muslim *Allah (Subhanahu wa Ta'ala)* will conceal the faults of that believer in this dunya [world] and in the Acherah [afterlife]".⁹⁶³

There is ample evidence of Niamatullah's extreme views going back a decade. In 2007 he wrote a piece for the website Prophetic Guidance, which has since been removed,⁹⁶⁴ in which he condones the death penalty for blasphemy, reportedly writing:

for the record, the Fuqahā' [experts in jurisprudence] have agreed that the intentional *istihzā'* (insulting) of the Prophets (upon whom be peace) is an act which leads to the death penalty, whether the perpetrator is a Muslim or non-Muslim.⁹⁶⁵

Niamatullah has frequently spoken on behalf of MEND, an extremist group that advocates for Muslim democratic participation.⁹⁶⁶ However, Niamatullah believes that "the inherent weakness of democracy" is that it is "all down to the masses, to the people, to decide what is right and what is wrong". For Niamatullah, the British people are "animals... there is very little difference between our behaviour and the behaviour of dogs or animals and that's why Sharia is so noble". As a result, he states, "the Creator [who] is the one who should decide what the laws should be".⁹⁶⁷

In line with this, Niamatullah has spoken derogatively of liberal Muslims, describing them as being "closer to kufr than iman" and claiming that they are "trying to hijack" Islam in order "to dilute Islamic religious practice. They want to try and get away with individual cultural expression in a multicultural society."⁹⁶⁸ He refers to them "brown sahibs, as we used to call them, or as Malcolm X used to call them, house negroes". Niamatullah jests that if this is what a progressive Muslim is then "we need the stone age, definitely. The stone age is definitely better for our deen and our dunya."⁹⁶⁹ At a conference organised by MEND in April 2017, Niamatullah stated that friendships with non-Muslims, "absolute rights", women's freedom, and permitting homosexuality will lead Muslims to lose their religion.⁹⁷⁰ For him liberal Muslims are "the biggest danger within our community at the moment" because they wish to create a "new Western Islam" that will be in line with those "who want Islam to be washed away."⁹⁷¹

In addition, Niamatullah holds anti-Semitic views. In a video about the war in Gaza, posted in 22 July 2014, Niamatullah speaks not of modern Israelis but of the historical "children of Israel" (Jews) to explain the violence, stating that they:

⁹⁶² *ibid.*

⁹⁶³ *ibid.*

⁹⁶⁴ Niamatullah, A.E., 'Teddy Bears, Picnics and other Delusions of Grandeur', Prophetic Guidance, https://web.archive.org/web/20100401071722/http://propheticguidance.co.uk/pdf/Teddy_Bears_Picnics_and_other_Delusions_of_Grandeur.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁶⁵ 'The wisdom of Abu Eesa Niamatullah', *Harry's Place* 23 March 2015, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2015/03/23/the-wisdom-of-abu-eesa-niamatullah/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁶⁶ Wilson, T., 'Mend: Islamists masquerading as civil libertarians', The Henry Jackson Society (2017), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/HJS-Mend-Report.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁶⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁶⁸ 'Abu Eesa - Progressive Muslims', *YouTube*, 15 May 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CYBEjUH3fkU>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁷⁰ 'Abu Eesa Niamatullah losing my religion', *YouTube*, 29 April 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CMTpuSgf9dU>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁷¹ 'Abu Eesa - Progressive Muslims', *YouTube*, 15 May 2016.

Have a track record in this insanity... understand what Allah tells us about these people. They find it so easy to [...] do what they do [...] for unjustly killing their prophets, for saying our hearts are closed. Allah gave them a specific warning not to kill, knowing this about them. But they didn't stop. Look at them today. Look at the way they massacre. They blow up babies like it is a computer game. They have no humanity, no morality, no ethics, no deen, no guidance, no light, nothing. So don't be surprised from what's going on, out there from them. We expect nothing less from them. [...] "and they were killing the prophets without any right" Allah says. To murder the best of people walking (the prophets) that's what they did. So what of a few Arabs and their kids these days? So what? Allah tells them "Even after that, your hearts became as hard as rocks. No, even harder! And so with their hearts closed, dead, emotionless like stones. So what's left after that? So good luck to them (they will see in the hereafter). By Allah they will see, so there is nothing new here."⁹⁷²

In the same video, Niamatullah says "let's talk about the resistance, let's talk about our heroes", by which he appears to be referring to Hamas or other jihadist groups involved in the conflict.⁹⁷³

In addition, Niamatullah has stated in 2015 that Western Society was destined to "go to the dogs".⁹⁷⁴ As an example, he places incest and homosexuality in the same category; suggests incest is being debated on a daily basis in places like the Netherlands, saying "I guarantee you that the same way the sexual permissiveness in society has spread, and the same way that homosexuality has spread is only gonna be the same way that incest is gonna spread [sic]".⁹⁷⁵

Likewise, his views on women are illiberal in the extreme. A Change.Org petition called for the Al Maghrib Institute, where Niamatullah is a senior instructor,⁹⁷⁶ to fire Niamatullah for comments he made on his social media accounts about International Woman's Day, including:

Today is my favourite bakwas (bullshit) day of the year: Int'l Women's Day. Be warned feminists. Prepare to earn your big moment.

Int'l Women's Day is great, but starting tomorrow, it's 364 International Men's Days again, so stick that in your oven and cook it.

Don't try to understand women... Women understand women, and they hate each other.

His sarcastic apology joked about rape and FGM:

You're right, I apologise. I don't understand women and thell [sic] the guys not to bother either, and we make jokes about them too. The aforementioned two crimes power my thirst and desire to rape women, beat them b(l)ack and blue, harass them, abuse them, lock them in the boiler room at home and in the Masjid, belittle their hijab and niqab and tell everyone to mutilate their girls' private parts and then marry them off whilst they're still at Nursery. Right. Got it. Lads, feel free to do all of the above. I give you the fatwa to do it dammit!⁹⁷⁷

⁹⁷² 'The Decree Upon Israel - For killing #FreePalestine', *YouTube*, 22 July 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qQ-z8GTszgo#t=9>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 0:09.

⁹⁷³ *ibid.*, 0:09.

⁹⁷⁴ 'Abu Eesa Niamatullah denigrates Western society', *YouTube*, 23 March 2015, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=45&v=nybSC3gSqSU, last visited: 22 January 2018, 0:45.

⁹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 0:45

⁹⁷⁶ 'Abu Eesa Niamatullah profile', *Al Maghrib Institute*, available at: <https://www.almaghrib.org/instructors/abu-eesa-niamatullah>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁷⁷ 'Fire Abu Eesa Niamatullah', *Change Petition*, available at: <https://www.change.org/p/al-maghrib-institute-fire-abu-eesa-niamatullah>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Whilst these comments are clearly intended to be humorous, they can be taken in the context of other comments he has made about women. On the topic of women in the workplace, Niamatullah has said “I am an absolute extremist in this issue in that I don’t have any time for the opposing arguments...Women should not be in the workplace whatsoever. Full stop. I simply can’t imagine how we will safeguard our Islamic identity in the future and build strong Muslim communities in the West with women wanting to go out and becoming employed in the hell that is out there”. He also said that, from the position of Islamic law, it is not permissible to carry money in your pocket because it shows “pictures of a non-mahram [forbidden] woman” (the Queen) but said that “regretfully” this rule had to be broken to live normally.⁹⁷⁸

4.4.17 Anas Al Tikriti

Muslim Brotherhood activist Anas Al Tikriti is an official supporter of HHUGS.⁹⁷⁹ On 3 October 2017 HHUGS uploaded a message of support and a call for donations by Al Tikriti,⁹⁸⁰ founder of the Muslim Brotherhood-linked Cordoba Foundation.⁹⁸¹ Al Tikriti has also been a regular speaker on the Islam Channel.⁹⁸²

Al Tikriti has enjoyed mainstream platforms, including a meeting with US President Barack Obama and his advisers in 2014⁹⁸³ and on news channels defending the Muslim Brotherhood.⁹⁸⁴ Al Tikriti has openly stated that the Muslim “Brotherhood supports Hamas. I believe that if you are occupied you need to fight back”.⁹⁸⁵ The Cordoba Foundation is based in the same building as the Hamas-linked charitable umbrella organisation the Muslim Charities Forum (see 3.6.1).⁹⁸⁶

Al Tikriti is connected to the Muslim Brotherhood through involvement in a number of their organisations. While the Cordoba Foundation was described by former Prime Minister David Cameron as a “political front for the Muslim Brotherhood”,⁹⁸⁷ Al Tikriti himself has served as president of the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB), an organisation founded by the Brotherhood.⁹⁸⁸

Al Tikriti also co-founded the British Muslim Initiative with Azzam Tamimi, a Hamas special envoy, and Mohammed Sawalha.⁹⁸⁹ Sawalha, who is a trustee of Finsbury Park Mosque, was

⁹⁷⁸ ‘The baroness, Islamic extremist and a question of free speech’, *Daily Telegraph*, 22 March 2015.

⁹⁷⁹ ‘HHUGS – Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hluugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018; Bowen, I., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 109.

⁹⁸⁰ ‘HHUGS – urgent appeal – Anas Altikriti’, *YouTube*, 3 October 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0PWqOSr8kkM>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁸¹ ‘Altikriti: You can’t wage a war on an idea’, *Al Jazeera*, 11 January 2015, available at:

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2015/01/altikriti-you-can-wage-war-an-idea-20151911252741289.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁸² Bowen, I., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 109.

⁹⁸³ ‘Altikriti: You can’t wage a war on an idea’, *Al Jazeera*, 11 January 2015.

⁹⁸⁴ ‘Anas Al-Tikriti | UK Government to investigate the Muslim Brotherhood’, *YouTube*, 1 April 2014, available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pqQFy_oCvTk

⁹⁸⁵ ‘How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism’, *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁹⁸⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁸⁸ Dyer, E., ‘Banking Restrictions on Extremist-Linked Muslim Groups’, The Henry Jackson Society (2014), available at:

<http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Banking-Restrictions-on-Extremism-Linked-Muslim-Groups.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 10; Bowen, I., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p.107.

⁹⁸⁹ ‘How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism’, *Daily Telegraph*, 8 February 2015.

appointed as a member of the political bureau of Hamas in November 2017.⁹⁹⁰ However, because only the military wing of Hamas is proscribed in the UK, this is not an offence.⁹⁹¹

Tamimi has been a spokesperson for the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB), and according to the Guardian, advised Hamas on its media strategy.⁹⁹² In a video posted in 2009, Tamimi criticised Swiss MP Oskar Freysinger stating “He belongs to a movement that wants to prevent the Islamisation of Europe” and argues that the MP is part of a Zionist-Christian conspiracy to weaken Muslims to “destroy their existence” in Europe, “just like Hitler collaborated with Zionism”.⁹⁹³ He goes on to say that “The Europeans are a wretched people” and that “Europeans lead a life of stupidity” whereas Islam “liberates them”.⁹⁹⁴ In another video, he laughs whilst Raed Salah reminisces about children drawing a swastika on the blackboard of a Jewish teacher.⁹⁹⁵

In addition, at a rally, published online in 2006, he says that we must “eradicate this cancer [Israel] from the body of humanity” and gives thanks to Khomeini and praises Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad and Hamas.⁹⁹⁶ Alluding to violence, he says “If they don’t want peace, we have another language... and we have every right to use that language”.⁹⁹⁷ Likewise, in 2010 Tamimi was investigated by police after he told students that he longs to be a martyr.⁹⁹⁸ At an event at SOAS, Tamimi had said:

Today Hamas is considered a terrorist organisation because that’s what the Americans and Israelis and cowardly politicians of Europe want, but what is so terrorist about it?

You shouldn’t be afraid of being labelled extreme, radical or terrorist. If fighting for your home land is terrorism, I take pride in being a terrorist. The Koran tells me if I die for my homeland, I’m a martyr and I long to be a martyr.⁹⁹⁹

In 2004 he told the BBC that “sacrificing myself for Palestine is a noble cause. It is the straight way to pleasing my God and I would do it if I had the opportunity”.¹⁰⁰⁰

4.4.18 Suleiman Gani

Suleiman Gani is listed as an official supporter of HHUGS.¹⁰⁰¹ Gani is a graduate of Al Azhar University in Egypt and, like many other preachers involved in these charities, Medina University in Saudi Arabia.¹⁰⁰² Al Azhar has been working against Islamist extremism, but has been criticised that lecturers promote Salafi-Wahhabi ideology or are Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁰⁰³ Similarly, Medina

⁹⁹⁰ ‘Finsbury mosque leader Mohammed Sawalha part of Hamas politburo’, *The Times*, 7 November 2017, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/finsbury-mosque-leader-mohammed-sawalha-part-of-hamas-politburo-0cdn3gs80>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹⁹² ‘Home Affairs Committee: Written evidence Counter-terrorism’, *HM Government*, available at: <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-committees/home-affairs/CT-Written-Evidence.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 2; ‘End the siege of Gaza’, *Guardian*, 21 November 2008, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/nov/21/israel-palestine-gaza>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁹³ ‘London-based Muslim scholar Azzam Tamimi: “The Europeans are Wretched People”’, *YouTube*, 28 December 2009, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dLxXhZCSIdA>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

⁹⁹⁵ ‘Dr Azzam Tamimi laughs with Muslim sheikh about a swastika on a blackboard’, *YouTube*, 23 February 2011, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nfv5SEoqT2M>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁹⁶ ‘Dr Tazzam Tamimi declares support for terrorism’, *YouTube*, 10 July 2006, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zh6q02J6dJk>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁹⁸ ‘Police to investigate Azzam Tamimi SOAS talk’, *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 February 2010, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/police-to-investigate-azzam-tamimi-soas-talk-1.14019>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

⁹⁹⁹ ‘Home Affairs Committee: Written evidence Counter-terrorism’, *HM Government*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰⁰ ‘Hamas supporter who condones suicide bombing to speak at Birmingham University’, *Daily Telegraph*, 19 January 2010, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/7019734/Hamas-supporter-who-condones-suicide-bombing-to-speak-at-Birmingham-University.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁰¹ ‘HHUGS – Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁰² ‘Shaykh Suliman Gani’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/shaykh-suliman-gani/539>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁰³ ‘Top Muslim body Al-Azhar faces criticism in fight against extremism’, *France 24*, 7 June 2017, available at: <http://www.france24.com/en/20170607-focus-egypt-al-azhar-mosque-university-online-observatory-islam-salafism-extremism>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

University has long been associated with Wahhabism, Salafism and the Muslim Brotherhood,¹⁰⁰⁴ with “some of the most dedicated young Salafis” being “recruited with Saudi-funded scholarships” to study there before “return[ing] home as preachers, setting up mosques and bookshops and spreading the Salafi message in English to another generation of potential recruits”.¹⁰⁰⁵

Gani is also a teacher with Al Buruj Press,¹⁰⁰⁶ alongside Suhaib Webb.¹⁰⁰⁷ Other teachers for the Al Buruj have included Yasir Qadhi,¹⁰⁰⁸ and in the past the organisation has organised courses on university campuses, including one with speaker Uthman Lateef.¹⁰⁰⁹

Like Al Haddad, Gani has encouraged tactical voting for Islamist ends. At an event hosted by extremist Islamist group Hizb ut Tahrir during the 2010 general election campaign,¹⁰¹⁰ he encouraged Muslims to vote tactically to ensure that they can vote against legislation protecting homosexuality, alcohol, gambling, drugs, bans on burkas and the banning of minarets.¹⁰¹¹ Gani warns the audience that if they do not elect individuals who share their views, then a “moderate Muslim”, such as someone from the liberal Muslim organisation the Quilliam Foundation, will be elected.¹⁰¹²

During the same speech Gani made dangerous remarks about an Ahmadi candidate, stating that one of the candidates is a “Qadiani” and there is a risk that people may “think he is a Muslim”.¹⁰¹³ These remarks were made with reference to Nasser Butt, an Ahmadi Muslim standing in the Tooting elections for the Liberal Democrats.¹⁰¹⁴ Extremists attempted to shut down the hustings at Tooting Islamic Centre (TIC) on 14 April 2010, with the Conservative candidate being locked in a room for safety reasons after being mistaken for Butt. At the time it was reported that “worshippers were given precise orders at TIC to urge Muslims not to vote for Ahmadi candidates”.¹⁰¹⁵ Defending this position, Gani stated that:

We never recommend any political candidate on religious grounds. Like all organisations, we only recommend political candidates based on how their stated policies affect our community. The Ahmadiyya community has been actively distributing leaflets claiming they are the only Muslims who love peace and harmony and thereby maligning the vast majority of the Muslim community.¹⁰¹⁶

However, it is evident from his statements about Butt and referring to him as a “Qadiani” that he does not regard the Ahmadiyya community as Muslim.

Gani has a number of other concerning views. For example, while Gani has been employed by the NHS, he also opposes abortion and has described homosexuality as “unnatural”. He has also

¹⁰⁰⁴ Olidort, J., ‘The Politics of Quietist Salafism’, The Brookings Institution (2015), available at: https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Brookings-Analysis-Paper_Jacob-Olidort-Inside_Final_Web.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Bowen, I., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 5.

¹⁰⁰⁶ ‘Shaykh Sulayman Ghani’, *Al Buruj Press*, available at: <http://www.alburujpress.com/teachers/teacher/3/>

¹⁰⁰⁷ ‘Teachers’, *Al Buruj Press*, available at: <http://www.alburujpress.com/teachers/2/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁰⁸ ‘Shaykh Amer Jamil’, *Al Buruj Press*, archived 2015, available at:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150203005711/http://www.alburujpress.com:80/teachers/2/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁰⁹ ‘Burma is Bleeding event promotes Uthman Lateef to students’, *Student Rights*, 14 September 2012, available at:

http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/1962/_burma_is_bleeding_event_promotes_uthman_lateef_to_students, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁰¹¹ ‘Voting in Islam debate part 2’, *YouTube*, 11 May 2010, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZqpHJUw4YNE&feature=related>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 2:44.

¹⁰¹² *ibid.*, 4:00.

¹⁰¹³ *ibid.*, 4:55.

¹⁰¹⁴ ‘Tooting election race infected by anti-Ahmadiyya hate campaign’, *Wimbledon Guardian*, 14 October 2010, available at:

http://web.archive.org/web/20120314071559/http://www.wimbledonguardian.co.uk/news/ahmadiyya/8451614.Election_race_infected_by_anti_Ahmadiyya_hate_campaign/, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁰¹⁶ *ibid.*

described women as “subservient”, stating that “any countries that entrust their affairs in the hands of women will not be successful”.¹⁰¹⁷

Like many of those involved in HHUGS Gani has spoken in support of Aafia Siddiqui. In 2012, Gani spoke for the Justice for Aafia Coalition in support of Aafia Siddiqui, citing Muhammed’s guidance for “securing the release of the captive”.¹⁰¹⁸ Gani describes her as “our Muslim sister who has *iman* (faith) in her heart”.¹⁰¹⁹ Unsurprisingly, Gani has also been a speaker for CAGE.¹⁰²⁰ More recently, in 2016, images emerged of Gani attending a Savior Sect/Al-Muhajiroun rally outside the US embassy in 2005,¹⁰²¹ only a year before the group were proscribed.¹⁰²²

In April 2016 then Prime Minister David Cameron defined Gani as an extremist when the former criticised Sadiq Khan, then the Labour party’s mayoral candidate, for appearing alongside Gani nine times, stating “this man [Gani] supports IS [Islamic State]”.¹⁰²³ While Cameron later corrected himself, stating that Gani does not support Islamic State, but “an Islamic State”, the Prime Minister clearly regarded Gani as an individual whose extremism justifies violence, as he addressed the House:

If we are going to condemn not just violent extremism, but also the extremism that seeks to justify violence in any way, it is very important that we do not back these people and we do not appear on platforms with them.¹⁰²⁴

Yet, in July 2013 Gani spoke for HHUGS in a fundraising video calling on Muslims to get an eschatological reward by giving money to HHUGS during Ramadan¹⁰²⁵ as well as at their event ‘In the Footsteps of Hajar’ on 13 October 2013.¹⁰²⁶

4.4.19 Moazzam Begg

Ex-Guantanamo detainee Moazzam Begg, outreach director of controversial pro-terrorist organisation CAGE,¹⁰²⁷ has been a regular speaker for HHUGS since 2008.¹⁰²⁸ CAGE has been described as a “terrorism advocacy group” that is “part of a closely connected network of extremists

¹⁰¹⁷ ‘Revealed: The NHS imam who opposes organ transplants but has been employed in a hospital for three years’, *Daily Mail*, 23 March 2013, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2298203/Revealed-The-NHS-imam-opposes-organ-transplants-employed-hospital-years.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰¹⁸ ‘JFAC sentenced protest – Sheikh Suliman Gani’, *YouTube*, 28 September 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IL2l5pTM0Rk>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰¹⁹ *ibid.*, 3:54.

¹⁰²⁰ ‘Imam Suliman Gani | Aiding in a time of fear’, *YouTube*, 23 September 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u-ngm8tgTXQ>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰²¹ ‘Is this Suliman Gani?’, *Harry’s Place*, 6 October 2016, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2016/10/06/is-this-suliman-gani/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰²² ‘Groups banned by new terror law’, *BBC News*, 17 July 2006, available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/5188136.stm, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰²³ ‘David Cameron called racist after accusing Sadiq Khan over links to IS’, *YouTube*, 20 April 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qvERNWIG1XA>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰²⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰²⁵ ‘Shaykh Sulaiman Ghani – Support HHUGS this Ramadhan 1331’, *YouTube*, 15 July 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IEKx7M6HcGU>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰²⁶ ‘Shaykh Suliman Gani: In the Footsteps of Hajar’, *YouTube*, 4 November 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ZUci0zSpyQ>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘In The Footsteps of Hajar’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/in-the-footsteps-of-hajar/478>, last visited: 5 February 2018.

¹⁰²⁷ ‘CAGE – About Us’, *CAGE*, available at: <https://cage.ngo/about-us/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰²⁸ ‘Charity Iftar & fundraiser for prisoner 650’, *HHUGS*, 2008, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/charity-iftar-amp-fundraiser-for-prisoner-650/142>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘As-Sabeel Charity Iftar fundraiser in aid of HHUGS’, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-charity-iftar-fundraiser-in-aid-of-hhugs/151>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Ease after hardship fundraising dinner’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/ease-after-hardship-fundraising-dinner/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Ease after hardship – embrace HHUGS this Ramadhan’, *HHUGS*, 14 August 2010, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/ease-after-hardship-embrace-hhugs-this-ramadhan/289>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘An evening of unity: HHUGS midlands fundraising dinner’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/an-evening-of-unity-hhugs-midlands-fundraising-dinner/450>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘10 years of HHUGS event’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/10-years-of-hhugs-dinner/585>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

relentlessly – and successfully – lying to young British Muslims that they are hated and persecuted by their fellow citizens in order to make them into supporters of terror”.¹⁰²⁹

The organisation has been involved in a number of controversial and concerning incidents. In 2015 Asim Qureshi of CAGE described Islamic State executioner Mohammed Emwazi as a “beautiful young man”¹⁰³⁰ and the organisation previously had their bank accounts closed and assets frozen.¹⁰³¹ CAGE has lobbied on behalf of and supported convicted terrorists such as Aafia Siddiqui, Nizar Trabelsi, convicted in Belgium for plotting a suicide attack on a US military base, and Djamal Beghal.¹⁰³² Not only was Beghal imprisoned in France in 2005 on terrorism charges,¹⁰³³ he was a prolific recruiter,¹⁰³⁴ who is believed to have mentored and radicalised Cherif Kouachi and Ahmedy Coulibaly, who were behind the 2015 attacks on satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo and the Kosher Supermarket, in Paris.¹⁰³⁵ Since 2006, Cageprisoners, the name by which CAGE was formerly known, also supported Anwar al-Awlaki.¹⁰³⁶

Begg has been involved with the ‘extremist scene’ since the 1990s. In the late 1990s Begg ran a bookshop in Birmingham that sold jihadist literature, including a book commissioned by him, *The Army of Medina in Kashmir*, written by Dhiren Barot.¹⁰³⁷ Barot was later jailed in 2006 for 40 years for conspiracy to murder in relation to Al Qaeda’s “dirty bomb” plot targeting the underground tube network in London and US financial institutions.¹⁰³⁸

Begg himself tried and failed to travel to fight in Chechnya.¹⁰³⁹ In 2008 he wrote an article for the Cordoba Foundation, in which he says of Abdullah Azzam:

In his magisterial discourse on jihad during the soviet occupation, Defence of Muslim Lands, the charismatic scholar, Sheikh Abdullah Azzam resurrected the famous 13th century fatwa of Ibn Taymiyyah which states: ‘As for the aggressive enemy who destroys life and religion, nothing is more incumbent [upon the believer] after faith than his repulsion.’¹⁰⁴⁰

Defined by Justice Haddon-Cave as a “violent Islamist ideologue”,¹⁰⁴¹ Abdullah Azzam was an influential Islamist leader in Pakistan and Afghanistan, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, and studied at Al-Azhar University, Egypt. Azzam was a “proponent of the doctrine that jihad (holy war)

¹⁰²⁹ ‘Cage: the extremists peddling lies to British Muslims to turn them into supporters of terror’, *Daily Telegraph*, 28 February 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11442602/Cage-the-extremists-peddling-lies-to-British-Muslims-to-turn-them-into-supporters-of-terror.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰³⁰ ‘Jihadi John: Mohammed Emwazi was extremely kind, gentle, beautiful young man’, says Cage director’, *Independent*, 26 February 2012, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/jihadi-john-mohammed-emwazi-was-an-extremely-kind-gentle-beautiful-young-man-says-cage-director-10073338.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰³¹ ‘The evidence shows that Cage is a pro-terrorist group’, *Daily Telegraph*, 21 July 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/10981050/The-evidence-shows-that-Cage-is-a-pro-terrorist-group.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰³² *ibid.*

¹⁰³³ *ibid.*

¹⁰³⁴ Webb, E. and Sutton, R., ‘An Enduring Threat: Europe’s Islamist Terror Networks Then and Now’, The Henry Jackson Society (2016), available at: <https://relayto.com/the-henry-jackson-society/92ha8IN0>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 50.

¹⁰³⁵ ‘Charlie Hebdo attackers: born, raised and radicalized in Paris’, *Guardian*, 12 January 2015, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/12/-sp-charlie-hebdo-attackers-kids-france-radicalised-paris>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰³⁶ ‘Radical Islam on UK Campuses: a comprehensive list of extremist speakers at UK universities’, The Centre for Social Cohesion (2010), available at: http://web.archive.org/web/20110304042900/http://www.socialcohesion.co.uk/files/1292336866_1.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰³⁷ ‘Moazzam Begg: it’s the FBI, the CIA and MI5 who should be questioned’, *New Statesman*, 5 February 2015, available at: <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2015/01/mc-bain-begg>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰³⁸ ‘Al Qaeda plotter jailed for life’, *BBC News*, 7 November 2006, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/6123236.stm>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰³⁹ ‘Moazzam Begg: it’s the FBI, the CIA and MI5 who should be questioned’, *New Statesman*, 5 February 2015.

¹⁰⁴⁰ ‘European East and West: Conflict and Continuum’, *Arches Quarterly* - Cordoba Foundation (2008), available at: http://www.thecordobafoundation.com/attach/Arches_issue_02x_Web.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁴¹ ‘Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation’, *Judiciary*: HM Government, 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: 22 January 2018, para. 222.

is central to the liberation of the Muslim world from the tyranny of the secular West".¹⁰⁴² One of Abdullah Azzam's students was Osama bin Laden.¹⁰⁴³

In 2015, Begg described Anwar al-Awlaki, for whom CAGE have campaigned, as "someone who had been detained, somebody who had been a prominent figure, and somebody who had had the US War on Terror mechanism affect him". He stated that:

We campaign for him even more now so, in the sense that he is somebody who has been targeted for assassination by the US president. We see that as something extrajudicial. We would have campaigned for Osama bin Laden, had he been detained, and we would have fought for his rights just as we have fought for the rights of Abu Qatada or Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. We make no apologies about that.¹⁰⁴⁴

Others defended by Begg include Mohammed Ahmed and Yusuf Sarwar.¹⁰⁴⁵ Begg said that the pair "never joined Islamic State nor expressed intention to do so"; however, the two men are known to have joined Al Qaeda.¹⁰⁴⁶ Despite having traces of explosives found on their clothing, Begg claimed that they had "no intention of harming anyone".¹⁰⁴⁷ However, the judge clearly concluded that the two men were "dangerous" and are "fundamentalists who are interested in and deeply committed to violent extremism".¹⁰⁴⁸ Unsurprisingly, Begg has also encouraged university students to "sabotage" the government's counter-extremism strategy.¹⁰⁴⁹

While such documents are not always to be trusted, according to Begg's Guantanamo Combatant Status Review from 15 September 2004, he had been defined as "an individual who was part of or supporting the Taliban or al Qaeda forces, or associated forces that are engaged in hostilities against the United States or its coalition partners. This includes any person who committed a belligerent act or has directly supported hostilities in aid of the enemy armed forces".¹⁰⁵⁰ The US Government determined that he had: recruited individuals to attend Al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan; provided financial and material support to Al Qaeda training camps; had received training at Al Qaeda training camps since 1993; had provided support to Al Qaeda terrorists by housing their families.¹⁰⁵¹ It was also believed that he had been armed and prepared to fight against the US and its allies and had provided support to Al Qaeda's terrorist network.¹⁰⁵²

According to the Joint Task Force Guantanamo documents from 11 November 2003:

Detainee [Begg] has admitted to attending training at Al-Badr training camp near Khowst, in December 1993, as well as the Harakat Al-Ansar terrorist training camp. Detainee was also an instructor at Derunta training camp, another Al-Qaida supported terrorist camp. The detainee has been associated with a senior Al-Qaida financier, as well as other key

¹⁰⁴² Atkins, E., 'Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremists Groups' (2004), pp. 35-36.

¹⁰⁴³ Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016, para. 222.

¹⁰⁴⁴ 'Cage: human rights advocates or apologists for terror?', *Channel 4 News*, 11 March 2015, available at: <https://www.channel4.com/news/cage-human-rights-advocates-or-apologists-for-terror>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁴⁵ 'Jihadists' defender to give speech on airport security', *The Times*, 6 November 2016, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/jihadists-defender-to-give-speech-on-airport-security-bpkt3xcj9>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁴⁶ 'Cage: the extremists peddling lies to British Muslims to turn them into supporters of terror', *Daily Telegraph*, 28 February 2015.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴⁸ 'Two Britons jailed for 13 years for joining jihadi group in Syria', *Guardian*, 5 December 2014, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/dec/05/two-britons-jailed-13-years-joining-jihadi-group-syria>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁴⁹ 'Ex-Guantanamo Bay detainee Moazzam Begg says Isis is used as a stick to beat Muslims', *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁵⁰ 'Combatant Status Review Tribunals Summary - Moazzam Begg', United States Department of Defense, 15 September 2004, available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/guantanamo/detainees/558-moazzam-begg/documents/5>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁵¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵² *ibid.*

suspects currently under investigation by the US authorities. Detainee is a confirmed member of Al Qaeda.¹⁰⁵³

Five years after his release Begg also told *Nation* magazine that he had fought in Bosnia.¹⁰⁵⁴ Yet CAGE had campaigned for Begg, and after his release in 2005, he became the organisation's director in 2009.¹⁰⁵⁵ Begg was arrested again suspected of "Syria-related terrorism offences" in 2014,¹⁰⁵⁶ believed to have attended a terrorist training camp and facilitated terrorism overseas.¹⁰⁵⁷ While the charges were eventually dropped,¹⁰⁵⁸ on the topic of involvement in the conflict in Syria, Begg said:

If I were able to stand at the ports of entry and exit of this country and say to people: if you want to go to Syria to do and defend the revolution, Alhamdulillah [praise be to Allah], go ahead, but the government will regard you as the same... they see it all as terrorism.¹⁰⁵⁹

During the event at which these words were spoken Begg did state that Islamic State were "evil" but went further to state that the government used it as a "stick to beat us [Muslims] with".¹⁰⁶⁰ While denouncing Islamic State, on another occasion he reportedly told an audience that they should have sympathy for jihadists killed fighting for Al Nusra.¹⁰⁶¹

4.4.20 Imran ibn Mansur (Aka Dawah Man)¹⁰⁶²

In November 2014, Bradford Dawah's YouTube channel posted a HHUGS video advertising a HHUGS fundraising event and calling for donations, featuring "Dawah Man".¹⁰⁶³ "Dawah Man", whose real name is Imran Ibn Mansur, is a highly popular speaker with 83,145 subscribers on YouTube,¹⁰⁶⁴ 22,000 followers on Twitter,¹⁰⁶⁵ and 201,570 likes on Facebook.¹⁰⁶⁶

In November 2014, Mansur was banned from the University of East London because he had spoken of the "filthy Western culture" of homosexuality, which should be "suppressed" because "homosexuality, sodomy, is an act that in the sharia... comes under the category of 'obscene, filthy, shameless' acts" and that "it's not something you were born with, the same way a person who's sick, we're all born healthy but then you get an illness so you take the treatment to get rid of not only the

¹⁰⁵³ JTF-GTMO Detainee Assessment – Moazzam Begg, United States Department of Defense, 11 November 2003, available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/guantanamo/detainees/558-moazzam-begg/documents/11>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Simcox, R., 'Guantanamo and Its Critics', *Wall Street Journal*, 18 January 2012, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140310001852/http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052970204468004577164904145708474>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁵⁵ 'Moazzam Begg: it's the FBI, the CIA and MI5 who should be questioned', *New Statesman*, 5 February 2015; for more information on CAGE see Stuart, H., 'Understanding CAGE: A Public Information Dossier', The Henry Jackson Society (2015), <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Understanding-CAGE.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁵⁶ 'The Real Moazzam Begg', *Weekly Standard*, 25 February 2014, available at: <http://www.weeklystandard.com/the-real-moazzam-begg/article/783423>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁵⁷ 'Ex-Guantanamo detainee Moazzam Begg arrested by terror police', *BBC News*, 25 February 2014, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-birmingham-26335261>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁵⁸ 'Moazzam Begg released after terror charges dropped', *BBC News*, 1 October 2014, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-29442623>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁵⁹ 'Ex-Guantanamo Bay detainee Moazzam beg says Isil is used as a stick to beat Muslims', *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶¹ 'John McDonnell attends protest event organised by Cage', *Daily Telegraph*, 11 January 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/12093408/John-McDonnell-attends-protest-event-organised-by-Cage.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁶² Dawah Man, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/Dawahman/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁶³ 'Dawah Man – HHUGS 10th Anniversary', *YouTube*, 28 November 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NGtE-2YH86M>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Dawah Man, *YouTube*, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/user/OfficialDawahMan>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁶⁵ @ImraniibnMansur, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/ImraniibnMansur?lang=en>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Dawah Man, *Facebook*.

symptoms, but the disease". In another video he was filmed telling a man in the street to remove his earring because it is "gay".¹⁰⁶⁷

Mansur has spoken for a number of organisations, including iERA.¹⁰⁶⁸ Perhaps most notably, his extremism was exposed by the ITV documentary *Exposure: Charities Behaving Badly* after he had spoken at a Global Aid Trust event.¹⁰⁶⁹ Before the event, Mansur was filmed being told by the organisers that he could talk about whatever he liked. Mansur replies "I'm telling you if you say that to me, I'll say some stuff... give me guidelines or I'll talk about jihad or something or the ISIS crisis".¹⁰⁷⁰ The speech that followed was described by ITV as "apparently anti-Semitic":

America, European countries, whatever you call it, these countries are controlled by Zionists. Because if you look at the biggest bankers in the world, that fund these countries, they are Zionists. And Zionists run Israel. So we can safely say that any time there was an American or English invasion of Muslim lands it's all a problem coming back to the Children of Israel. Allah, it would seem is punishing the greatest Ummah alive by the worst Ummah alive.¹⁰⁷¹

After this talk, the following conversation was recorded with Mansur and fellow speaker Musa Adnan:

Adnan: Essentially, we cannot tell them "go on jihad". We can't tell them that. You know why we can't tell them that. But what we can tell them is to learn the Quran, to start praying. Once they have the iman in their heart and they feel that the ummah's problem is their problem they will start to act by themselves.

Mansur: The first level is to worship; the second level is on top of that worship with more action. The more action you give, the more charity you give, the more Dawah you make, the more you go there, whether you make jihad peaceably or you make jihad defending your brothers and sisters.¹⁰⁷²

He then tells the undercover reporter that if he has an opportunity to go and is already praying, then he should go. Mansur, however, wouldn't go himself, but not because he disagrees with the cause: "if I go over there, I'll probably be less helpful there as I can be here, but there could be someone here, who's a doctor maybe, who's got money, who's got strength, he can go over there. He'll be more help there than he will be here". He then offers the undercover reporter a blessing should he want to go to Syria to fight jihad. Responding to the accusations, he defended his comments claiming that they were anti-Zionist, not anti-Semitic.¹⁰⁷³

In September 2015, Mansur was included in then Prime Minister David Cameron's list of those he regarded as extremist speakers for having expressed views "contrary to British values".¹⁰⁷⁴

¹⁰⁶⁷ 'London university bans preacher who calls homosexuality a filthy disease', *Evening Standard*, 24 November 2014, available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/london-university-bans-preacher-who-calls-homosexuality-a-filthy-disease-9879579.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Charities Behaving Badly*, *ITV*, 2015.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷² *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁴ 'SOAS hits back at David Cameron's accusations that it played host to hate preachers', *Independent*, 17 September 2015, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/soas-hits-back-at-david-camerons-accusations-that-it-played-host-to-hate-preachers-10506676.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

4.4.21 Cerie Bullivant

Cerie Bullivant is a spokesperson for CAGE¹⁰⁷⁵ and has spoken for HHUGS at events on at least eight occasions since 2010.¹⁰⁷⁶

Bullivant is a convert to Islam from Christianity.¹⁰⁷⁷ After his conversion he became friends with Ibrahim Adam and Lamine Adam, both of whom were placed on control orders and were believed to have been abroad to fight jihad.¹⁰⁷⁸ The brother of the two men was Anthony Garcia,¹⁰⁷⁹ jailed for life in 2007 for his part in the “fertiliser bomb plot”.¹⁰⁸⁰ The cell was connected to those behind the attack on London on 7 July 2005.¹⁰⁸¹

In January 2006 a friend of Bullivant's mother contacted the anti-terrorism unit with concerns that he was becoming secretive, owned a “brain washing” tape, and had been given a large sum of money to travel to study abroad by his local mosque.¹⁰⁸² He was then stopped whilst attempting to travel to Syria with Ibrahim Adam. The security services believed that rather than travelling to study Arabic (Bullivant only had a visa valid for 15 days), as they claimed, they intended to carry out “Islamist extremist activities which would involve assisting in fighting against western forces in Iraq and Afghanistan or training for such fighting”.¹⁰⁸³

Following further plans to travel to Bangladesh he was placed on a control order in 2006.¹⁰⁸⁴ The decision to place him on the control order to prevent him from undertaking terrorist activities abroad was eventually quashed.¹⁰⁸⁵

In November 2013 Bullivant said that Mohammed Ahmed Mohamed should “keep on running”.¹⁰⁸⁶ Mohamed was a terrorism suspect when he escaped dressed in a burqa. Mohamed, like Bullivant, was subject to a control order due to claims he had trained and fought abroad for Al Shabaab.¹⁰⁸⁷ The arrest warrant was withdrawn.¹⁰⁸⁸ Mohamed left the country and in 2015 the charges against him

¹⁰⁷⁵ ‘Mosque linked to member of Cage campaign’, *The Times*, 6 June 2017, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/mosque-linked-to-member-of-cage-campaign-8dfkq8pzl>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁷⁶ ‘Ease after hardship fundraising dinner’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/ease-after-hardship-fundraising-dinner/312>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘HHUGS at LSBU ISOC dinner in search of freedom and justice’, *HHUGS*, 2010, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-lsbu-isoc-dinner-in-search-of-freedom-and-justice/230>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘With hardship comes ease’, *HHUGS*, 2010, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk-with-hardship-comes-ease-/248>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Children need HHUGS’, *HHUGS*, 2010, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/-children-need-hhugs-/249>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Ease after hardship – embrace HHUGS this Ramadhan’, *HHUGS*, 14 August 2010, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/ease-after-hardship-embrace-hhugs-this-ramadhan/289>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘As-Sabeel 4th Annual Iftar’, *HHUGS*, 29 August 2010, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-s-4th-annual-iftar/288>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Why everybody needs HHUGS make sure you attend!’, *HHUGS*, 2013, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/why-everybody-needs-hhugs-make-sure-you-attend-/421>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Event: suffering in silence’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/event-suffering-in-silence/442>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁷⁷ ‘Profile: Cerie Bullivant’, *BBC News*, 13 December 2007, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7142880.stm>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Simcox, R., ‘Control Orders: Strengthening National Security’, The Centre for Social Cohesion (2010), available at: <https://cryptome.org/2013/09/uk-control-orders.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 65.

¹⁰⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁸⁰ ‘Fertiliser bomb plotters jailed for life’, *Guardian*, 30 April 2008, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2007/apr/30/terrorism.world>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁸¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸² Simcox, R., ‘Control Orders: Strengthening National Security’, The Centre for Social Cohesion (2010), p. 65.

¹⁰⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Simcox, R., ‘Control Orders: Strengthening National Security’, The Centre for Social Cohesion (2010).

¹⁰⁸⁶ ‘Like Mohammed Ahmed Mohamed, I went on the run as a terrorist’, *Guardian*, 8 November 2013, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/nov/08/mohammed-ahmed-mohmed-on-the-run-security-services>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *ibid.*; ‘Burqa fugitive Mohammed Ahmed Mohamed “faced 20 charges”’, *Guardian*, 8 November 2013, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/nov/08/burqa-fugitive-mohammed-ahmed-mohamed-20-charges>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁸⁸ ‘Burqa terror suspect no longer a wanted man after fleeing Acton mosque’, *Get West London*, 18 September 2015, available at: <https://www.getwestlondon.co.uk/news/west-london-news/burqa-terror-suspect-no-longer-10085803>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

were dropped and he was able to return; nonetheless, he remained “wanted by police” for questioning.¹⁰⁸⁹

On 26 February 2015 Bullivant commented on CAGE’s contact with Islamic State executioner Mohammed Emwazi. Bullivant claimed that he had contact with him in January 2012:

CAGE had dealings with this individual for around two years. During which time he was being harassed by the security services and the police. We helped him put in complaints to the IPCC after the police had assaulted him and strangled him. We helped him after the security services had approached his fiancé and told her that she shouldn’t be getting married to this man. And we helped him when he couldn’t return to his parent’s country of origin to get work. These created in his life a feeling where he actually had no options and position within UK society anymore. He tried to go through the media, he tried to go through the usual complaints mechanisms and all options were closed for him. We feel that this constant harassment and beratement [sic] from the security services and the authorities in the UK are potentially very important in understanding this case.¹⁰⁹⁰

Bullivant made a number of concerning statements at HHUGS event “Why Everybody needs HHUGS”, held at Lewisham Islamic Centre (LIC) on 26 January 2013.¹⁰⁹¹ In line with the typical themes of CAGE’s message, he says:

Imagine what it is to be taken by the police, by undercover police without being arrested. To be held without being told the evidence. And to be tried without being able to stand in court. When I talk about these things, we are not talking about Nazi Germany, or Apartheid Israel, or these countries that do these things regularly all around the world. We are talking about the UK.¹⁰⁹²

During his talk, Bullivant shows admiration and respect for two of the UK’s most prominent violent Islamist preachers: “I am not a scholar, I’m not like Abu Qatada (May Allah protect him) or Abu Hamza... I’m an ordinary person like you. And yet this happened to me, as it can happen to you”.¹⁰⁹³ Abu Qatada, likewise, was a key UK-based Al Qaeda-linked cleric who has been described as the “spiritual head of the mujahideen in Britain”.¹⁰⁹⁴ Qatada was finally deported from the UK in 2013.¹⁰⁹⁵

When talking about the restrictions imposed by control orders, he includes “if you want to have a guest to come and visit you have to get Home Office approval. Your child would like their friends to come over for tea, those children, small children, have to be cleared by the Home Office. Is this child a terrorist? Is this eight-year-old going to blow something up?” According to Bullivant, the one thing all of those affected by terror legislation have in common is that they are Muslim.¹⁰⁹⁶

¹⁰⁸⁹ “Terror suspect who fled Britain in burkha free to return after Government abandons charges”, *Daily Express*, 28 August 2015, available at: <http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/601502/Mohammed-Ahmed-Mohamed-burkha-return-Britain-government-drops-charges>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁹⁰ “Cerie Bullivant – Cage & Mohammed Emwazi aka Jihadi John”, *YouTube*, 26 February 2015, available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r_rTjJdRZPc, last visited: 22 January 2018, 1:01.

¹⁰⁹¹ “Why everybody needs HHUGS – Cerie Bullivant”, *YouTube*, 9 February 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=atHsPaKebPM>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁹² *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹⁴ “Profile: Abu Qatada”, *BBC News*, 26 June 2014, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-16584923>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁹⁵ “Abu Qatada deported from UK to stand trial in Jordan”, *BBC News*, 7 July 2013, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-23213740>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁰⁹⁶ “Why everybody needs HHUGS – Cerie Bullivant”, *YouTube*, 9 February 2013.

In a speech for HHUGS, Bullivant tied CAGE and HHUGS together as working towards a co-ordinated aim: “CAGE Prisoners do a very good job, but they do a different job. They campaign for the release of the prisoners; they campaign for the rights of the prisoners. HHUGS are the people who support the families... and they both need our support”.¹⁰⁹⁷

He praises Faraj Hassan (see 4.5.1), who Bullivant describes as a role model that “he spent time out there... and defended this Ummah”.¹⁰⁹⁸ “Speaking on behalf of his Ummah” in the days running up to his death, Bullivant mentions three events Hassan did for HHUGS, including one for Aafia Siddiqui, at which, according to Bullivant, Hassan said that it is “incumbent” on Muslims to “defend the ummah”.¹⁰⁹⁹

Whilst not necessarily advocating violence, during his speech for HHUGS, Bullivant frames the anti-terrorism laws in terms of a war on Muslims: “Muslims don’t deserve this common courtesy anymore... nowadays if you’re a Muslim regardless of your nationality, regardless of your skin colour, these things don’t apply to you anymore”. Claiming that Muslims are unjustly targeted, Bullivant respectfully gives examples of two Islamist extremist thinkers: “if you’re a Muslim who likes to read Sayyid Qutb and thinks that Abdullah Azzam may Allah be pleased with him, was a pious man you’re a terrorist, whether you pick up a gun or not”.¹¹⁰⁰

In another HHUGS event on 1 August 2010, Cerie Bullivant propagates the same grievance that Muslims are being unjustly targeted stating that, “These legislations [sic], these acts that have been brought in, that are mainly used to oppress Muslims” and that the increase of detention up to 29 days “isn’t for everybody, that’s only for Muslims”.¹¹⁰¹

4.4.22 Wasim Kempson

Kempson is listed as an official supporter of HHUGS¹¹⁰² and is a regular speaker at their events.¹¹⁰³ In line with HHUGS’ message, in a video posted in 2012, Kempson called Shaker Amer “dear brother” and advocated on his behalf¹¹⁰⁴ and has publicly expressed his support for Aafia Siddiqui.¹¹⁰⁵

Kempson, who is a graduate of Medina University where he studied a BA in Islamic Law,¹¹⁰⁶ is connected to a number of other charities in this report. Kempson is a trustee at Discover Islam, under the name Jamie Charles Kempson.¹¹⁰⁷ The charity’s income in the financial year ending in 2016 was £134.6k.¹¹⁰⁸ He has been imam at West London Islamic Centre, which is run by Al

¹⁰⁹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹⁸ *ibid.*, 10.40.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, 24.20.

¹¹⁰¹ ‘Cerie Bullivant (Ex-Control Order Detainee) – HHUGS presentation & anti-terror legislation’, *YouTube*, 28 December 2010, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JZAZ0dqEQ1s>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁰² ‘HHUGS – Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁰³ ‘HHUGS at women in Dawah 12: shackled by Shariah’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-women-in-Dawah-12-shackled-by-shariah/203>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Why everybody needs HHUGS make sure you attend!’, *HHUGS*, 2013; ‘Event: suffering in silence’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/event-suffering-in-silence/442>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘In the footsteps of Hajar’, *HHUGS*, 13 October 2013, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/in-the-footsteps-of-hajar/478>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘10 years of HHUGS’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/10-years-of-hhugs-dinner/585>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁰⁴ ‘Free Shaker Amer – Imam Wasim Kempson’, *YouTube*, 18 July 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=duRIH38rR0s>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁰⁵ ‘Extreme speakers at genocide event’, *Student Rights*, 21 November 2014, available at: http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/2231/extreme_speakers_at_genocide_event, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁰⁶ ‘Wasim Kempson LinkedIn Profile’, *LinkedIn*, available at: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/wasim-kempson-767161101/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*; ‘Discover Islam Europe Limited’, *Charity Commission*, 30 June 2016, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1146212&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁰⁸ ‘Discover Islam Europe Limited’, *Charity Commission*, 30 June 2016, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1146212&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Muntada Islami Trust, since May 2017.¹¹⁰⁹ Since April 2015, Kempson has been an instructor for the Al Kauthar Institute, and in 2013 became a trustee of the Board of Sharia Councils.¹¹¹⁰

Discover Islam describes itself as “committed to bringing about Peace, Harmony and Goodwill through knowledge of Islam. We are dedicated to educate people about the true message of Islam and promote a better understanding of religion clear of misconceptions”.¹¹¹¹ Discover Islam organises “bespoke services” for primary and secondary schools, colleges and other educational institutions, and mosque tours, exhibitions, presentations on Islam and question and answer sessions in the UK.¹¹¹² They also have an online order form for educators to order literature on Islam¹¹¹³ and organise Discover Islam’s Islam Awareness Week.¹¹¹⁴ They host regular events across the UK, at universities, mosques, town halls, supermarkets and in public areas.¹¹¹⁵

4.5 Speakers for HHUGS

4.5.1 Faraj Hassan

Libyan Faraj Hassan (b. 1980¹¹¹⁶ and d. August 2010) was a spokesperson for HHUGS¹¹¹⁷ and a regular speaker, appearing at at least five events from May 2010 until his death in a motorcycle accident.¹¹¹⁸ Hassan and his family had formerly been beneficiaries of HHUGS during his time on a control order.¹¹¹⁹

Between 1997 and 2001 Hassan was assessed by the Italian authorities to have attended terrorist training in Afghanistan and the UK security service concluded that he attended a terrorist training camp and could have engaged in fighting.¹¹²⁰ A witness had stated that he had travelled with Hassan from Afghanistan to Pakistan and that Hassan had intended to travel to Sweden or Switzerland. The witness said that “the guides belong to Al Qaeda and it is they who organised the trip to Karachi”. The witness claimed that Hassan had links to Al Qaeda,¹¹²¹ and there was evidence that he “provided logistical support for terrorism related activity” to individuals linked to Al Qaeda.¹¹²² The Italian authorities held him “responsible for contacts with Middle East countries such as Iran and Pakistan where numerous terrorists belonging to AQ [Al Qaeda] and other formations took refuge”.¹¹²³ The control order imposed on Hassan was intended to disrupt contact between him and Al Qaeda, as the security services believed that Hassan was known to the former Al Qaeda leader in Iraq, Al Zarqawi, and that they may attempt to re-establish contact.¹¹²⁴

¹¹⁰⁹ ‘Wasim Kempson LinkedIn Profile’, *LinkedIn*.

¹¹¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹¹¹ ‘Discover Islam – About Us’, *Discover Islam*, available at: <http://www.discoverislam.co.uk/about/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹¹² ‘Discover Islam – Schools’, *Discover Islam*, available at: <http://www.discoverislam.co.uk/services/schools/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹¹³ ‘Discover Islam – Literature’, *Discover Islam*, available at: <http://www.discoverislam.co.uk/services/literature/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹¹⁴ ‘Discover Islam – Galleries’, *Discover Islam*, available at: <http://www.discoverislam.co.uk/gallery/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹¹¹⁶ England and Wales High Court (Administrative Court) Decisions >> Secretary of State for the Home Department v Saadi [2009] EWHC 3390 (Admin) (21 December 2009), available at www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/Admin/2009/3390.html, last visited: 22 January 2018, para. 10.

¹¹¹⁷ ‘Meet Faraj’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://hhugs.org.uk/meet-faraj/570>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹¹⁸ ‘Faraj Hassan Al-Saadi killed in North Harrow motorbike crash after release from terror detention’, *Harrow Times*, 18 August 2010, available at: http://www.harrowtimes.co.uk/news/8339333.Motorcyclist_killed_months_after_release_from_8_year_terror_detention/, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Ease after hardship fundraising dinner’, *HHUGS*; “With hardship comes ease”, *HHUGS*; ‘Everybody needs HHUGS’, *HHUGS*; “Children need HHUGS”, *HHUGS*; ‘Ease after hardship - Embrace HHUGS this Ramadhan’, *HHUGS*.

¹¹¹⁹ ‘Meet Faraj’, *HHUGS*; ‘10 Years Of HHUGS - Fahad Ansari’, *YouTUBE*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tOzrPG3Ivtc>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 2:18.

¹¹²⁰ England and Wales High Court (Administrative Court) Decisions >> Secretary of State for the Home Department v Saadi [2009] EWHC 3390 (Admin) (21 December 2009), para. 30.a,b,d.

¹¹²¹ *ibid.*, para. 31.

¹¹²² *ibid.*, para. 33.

¹¹²³ *ibid.*, para. 37.

¹¹²⁴ *ibid.*, para. 39.

Hassan lived throughout the Middle East and Europe before claiming asylum in the UK in 2002. During this period he had lived with a group of Libyans who were later accused of being members of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) and deported.¹¹²⁵ Hassan appears to have been aware of the group's connection to the LIFG but claimed to be disinterested.¹¹²⁶ He lived with the LIFG-connected group for a year in Peshawar whilst studying the Quran but parted ways after allegedly being pressured to join the group.¹¹²⁷

Hassan entered Britain using false documents but claimed asylum under his real name once he arrived.¹¹²⁸ Hassan was convicted by an Italian court in 2006 and sentenced to five years and ten months in prison for membership of a terrorist association. He was accused of attending Afghan training camps, and there was allegedly evidence of his communication with al-Zarqawi, that he had procured satellite phones to communicate with groups abroad, and that he was one of the first Al Qaeda trained operatives to plot attacks within the EU. Other members of the cell were charged with obtaining false documents, funding terrorism and "brainwashing" others to carry out terrorism. The Italian government requested his extradition because of evidence that the cell was planning an attack in Europe.¹¹²⁹ In addition, the security services assessed that he had been a prominent figure and the main contact for Al Qaeda-linked individuals in other countries.¹¹³⁰

On entering the UK he was arrested for unlawful entry.¹¹³¹ In December 2004 a piece of paper was found in his cell containing illustrations of weapons and a slogan written in Arabic, but he denied the authorship alleged by the security services.¹¹³² The document contained slogans described as "Islamist extremist" including one which read "my country needs these to fight for freedom". During his detention at Brixton prison in 2005 he was sent DVDs including one entitled "The Twin Towers" and "Al Qaeda".¹¹³³ The Special Immigration Appeals Commission (SIAC) took this as evidence that he was an extremist and "supporter of violence in the Islamist cause".¹¹³⁴ The security services assessed him to have a "wide range of extremist contacts and that, following his detention, he continues to have a wide range of extremist contacts such that, but for the control order, he could use them to engage in terrorism related activity".¹¹³⁵

HHUGS, however, describe Faraj as: "A young man along with his family who endured great pain and distress over his detention without trial or charges, and battled to live a normal life over the course of seven years".¹¹³⁶ HHUGS overlook that Faraj was eventually convicted, stating that "In May 2005 Faraj was acquitted by the Italian government of the terror charges against him yet he remained in detention as the UK government sought to deport him to Italy. It also sought to deport him to Libya on the basis of "secret evidence".¹¹³⁷

¹¹²⁵ *ibid.*, paras. 10, 18-19.

¹¹²⁶ *ibid.*, para. 10.

¹¹²⁷ *ibid.*, para. 11.

¹¹²⁸ *ibid.*, para. 17.

¹¹²⁹ 'Muslim terrorist living in the Midlands', *Birmingham Mail*, 22 March 2009, available at: www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/local-news/muslim-terrorist-living-in-the-midlands-238989, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹³⁰ *ibid.*, para. 40.

¹¹³¹ *ibid.*, paras. 18-19.

¹¹³² *ibid.*, para. 23.

¹¹³³ *ibid.*, paras. 61-62.

¹¹³⁴ *ibid.*, paras. 61-62.

¹¹³⁵ *ibid.*, paras. 66.

¹¹³⁶ 'Meet Faraj', *HHUGS*.

¹¹³⁷ *ibid.*

HHUGS “assist[ed] Faraj and his family in several ways such as offering transportation for shopping visits, to help pay for everyday living costs, paying for his sports course to get him back into work”.¹¹³⁸ Faraj states “HHUGS tried to help me financially but I was under the United Nations money sanction where no one was allowed to give me money, even buy me a coffee...”.¹¹³⁹

Article 2 of Regulation 467/2001 regarding the UN sanction states that:

2. No funds shall be made available, directly or indirectly, to, or for the benefit of, a natural or legal person, group or entity designated by the Sanctions Committee and listed in Annex 1.¹¹⁴⁰

This article is applicable to all those included in Annex 1 of Regulation 881/2002.¹¹⁴¹ Hassan was added to this list in November 2003.¹¹⁴² Whilst HHUGS does not explicitly state that it provided funds to Hassan, he is described as a beneficiary during this period, and there may have been a risk that financial assistance to his family may have made funds indirectly available to Hassan. This requires clarification.

HHUGS, who continued to support Hassan's family after his death, eulogised Hassan:

Described as a man who touched a thousand hearts, his sudden death sent shockwaves of grief through the community, sorrow that was shared by those he knew as well as many who did not know him; but who were upset, touched and inspired by reading about the harrowing period spent in detention, and thereafter, his dedication in campaigning tirelessly for those who were oppressed and in need of help.¹¹⁴³

4.5.2 Shaker Amer

Ex-Guantanamo Bay detainee Shaker Amer has spoken for HHUGS. On 19 November 2016 Amer spoke at “A Mother's Tale” HHUGS fundraising event, where he auctioned his Guantanamo Bay jumpsuit for the charity. In a video of the event, two children can be seen holding up the jumpsuit for the audience.¹¹⁴⁴

The US government believes that Amer is “a member of al Qaeda tied to the European support network” and a “close associate of Usama bin Laden (UBL) and has connections to several other senior extremist members”. They believed that he had “travelled internationally on false documents and is associated with al Qaeda cells in the US”. Amer was believed to be a recruiter, financier and facilitator with experience in combat.¹¹⁴⁵ He is also believed to have received advanced training including the use of explosives.¹¹⁴⁶

¹¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴⁰ England and Wales High Court (Administrative Court) Decisions >> Secretary of State for the Home Department v Saadi [2009] EWHC 3390 (Admin) (21 December 2009), para. 12.

¹¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, para. 13.

¹¹⁴² *Ibid.*, para. 63.

¹¹⁴³ ‘Meet Faraj’, *HHUGS*.

¹¹⁴⁴ ‘HHUGS - A Mother's Tale - Shaker Amer - Story and Auction’, *YouTube*, 16 December 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jMKqHla2Z6Q&t=1s>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘10 Years Of HHUGS - Fahad Ansari’, *YouTube*, 12 December 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GEu8gqKUmfs>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁴⁵ ‘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-amer-jtf-gtmo-detainee-assessment.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 1.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

According to Amer's Detainee Assessment, he was believed to be a close associate of senior Al Qaeda figures Abu Musab al-Suri and Sheikh Abu al-Walid.¹¹⁴⁷ In addition he was believed to have travelled with senior Al Qaeda operative Walid Muhammad Salih Bin Boughiti.¹¹⁴⁸ Amer spent six months in Bosnia in 1994 working with relief organisations including the Revival of Islamic Heritage Society (RIHS).¹¹⁴⁹ On 11 January 2002 RIHS was listed on the United Nations Security Council Committee's 'Al Qaeda Sanctions List' in accordance with paragraph 8 (c) of resolution 1333 (2000) "as being associated with Al-Qaida, Usama bin Laden or the Taliban".¹¹⁵⁰ RIHS was affiliated with the Al Qaeda funding Afghan Support Committee (ASC) and had funded Osama bin Laden. Its Pakistan office had "diverted funds ostensibly marked for supporting orphans to Al-Qaida terrorists".¹¹⁵¹

In Bosnia he met Babar Ahmed who reportedly "convinced him to actively practice Islam".¹¹⁵² During a stay in London, Amer stayed with Ahmed and, later moved in with Al Qaeda operative Zacharias Moussaoui after meeting him at Brixton Mosque.¹¹⁵³ After briefly staying with Moussaoui, he moved in with another individual near Tooting Mosque, which was known for its connections to Al Qaeda in the UK. During this period Amer "sold items at Abu Qatada's hall and attended the Four Feather's Club", where Qatada held meetings and prayers.¹¹⁵⁴ In 1998 Amer visited Moazzam Begg in Afghanistan.¹¹⁵⁵ Begg would later identify Amer as a recruiter for Al Qaeda, according to documents from the US Defence Department.¹¹⁵⁶ During one of his visits to Afghanistan, he is believed to have attended Khalden training camp and dined with Ali Muhammed Abdul Aziz al-Fakhri, the camp's commander.¹¹⁵⁷ Amer claimed that he had travelled to Afghanistan for a second time in 2000 specifically for the purpose of fighting.¹¹⁵⁸ He was detained by Afghan forces in Jalalabad on 22 or 23 December 2001 before being sent to Guantanamo. The US government assessed him to be a "high risk" and that he had "shown willingness to become a martyr for his cause".¹¹⁵⁹

According to the Detainee Assessment, Amer admitted frequently attending Finsbury Park Mosque, which has a history of extremism and links to Al Qaeda recruitment. At the mosque Amer met Abu Hamza,¹¹⁶⁰ and Richard Reid, jailed for attempting to blow up a plane using explosives hidden in his shoe.¹¹⁶¹ He has also been linked to Libyan extremists operating in Ireland in the late 1990s, including Hisham Seifelnasr and Aberhim Busher.¹¹⁶² Busher, who was director of the Islamic Relief Agency (Ireland) until late 2002 was a "terrorist facilitator who [held] a leadership position in the Al Qaeda European cell".¹¹⁶³ The US believed that he may also have had contact

¹¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 2.

¹¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 2.

¹¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹⁵⁰ 'Q.E.R.70.02. REVIVAL OF ISLAMIC HERITAGE SOCIETY', *United Nations Security Council Committee* pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011) concerning Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities, 11 January 2002, available at: https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/entity/revival-of-islamic-heritage-society, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁵¹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁵² 'JTF-GTMO Detainee Assessment - Sawad al-Madani', United States Department of Defense, 1 November 2007, p. 3.

¹¹⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹⁵⁶ 'EXCLUSIVE: How human rights boss sent British friend to rot in US terror jail camp', *Express*, 23 March 2015, available at: <http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/565540/Cage-human-rights-group-Moazzam-Begg-Guantanamo-evidence-Shaker-Amer>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁵⁷ 'JTF-GTMO Detainee Assessment - Sawad al-Madani', United States Department of Defense, 1 November 2007, p. 4.

¹¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 8.

¹¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.9; 'Shoe bomber Richard Reid shows no remorse after a decade in prison for failed terror atrocity', *Independent*, 4 February 2015, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/shoe-bomber-richard-reid-shows-no-remorse-after-a-decade-in-prison-for-failed-terror-atrocity-1002074.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁶² 'JTF-GTMO Detainee Assessment - Sawad al-Madani', United States Department of Defense, 1 November 2007, pp. 9-10.

¹¹⁶³ *ibid.*, p.10.

with Umar Abdul Rahman, “The Blind Shaykh” and his operatives during a visit to the US.¹¹⁶⁴ These are only a few examples of Amer’s alleged extensive links with terrorism.

Painting an image of the persecution of Islam, during his speech for HHUGS in 2016, Amer said:

We know we’ve been suffering a lot. For a long time before 9/11. Some of you didn’t realise that but people who were in the front-line in Islam, and they try to preach the words, and truly calling for Islam, calling for the genuine Islam: making *dawah*; going in the street; having *dawah* tables. We’ve been chased from that time, back in the days. We’ve been intimidated. So it’s an old story, but it builds on.¹¹⁶⁵

4.5.3 Feroz Abbasi

Ex-Guantanamo Bay detainee Feroz Abbasi has spoken at As-Sabeel’s 2010 Annual Iftar, which raised money for Cageprisoners and HHUGS.¹¹⁶⁶

According to the US Department of Defence’s Detainee Assessment, Abbasi had stated that while living in the UK he had been convinced by the book “The Virtues of Jihad – The Shortest Path to Paradise” that he was obligated to fight jihad. He had contacted Abu Hamza al Masri, and was invited to Finsbury Park Mosque to receive instructions on how he could fight. He then travelled to Afghanistan via Pakistan and attended a training camp. The Detainee Assessment states that the reason for his detention was that he is:

A confirmed member of Al-Qaida, who has received advanced training and who has pledged to martyr himself in Jihad against the West and the United States in particular. [He has] personal contact with some of Al-Qaida’s most senior operatives and planners and is assessed to have considerable information pertaining to Al-Qaida personalities and future operations.¹¹⁶⁷

The US Department of Defence assessed that he was also a candidate for future prosecution as a terrorist under the President’s Military Order of 2001.¹¹⁶⁸

Saajid Bedat claimed to have met Abbasi in Kandahar, Afghanistan, in 2001 where the former acted as a translator between Abbasi and “two of al-Qaeda’s most senior leaders” who according to Bedat, asked Abbasi if he would attack “American and Jewish targets”. He also claimed to have seen Abbasi at an Al Qaeda training camp in 2001 but only saw him doing manual work.¹¹⁶⁹ There were concerns when in 2014 he was given compensation of £1 million by the UK, despite unresolved accusations that he was “at the heart of an Islamic terrorist group”.¹¹⁷⁰

¹¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 10.

¹¹⁶⁵ ‘HHUGS - A Mother's Tale - Shaker Aamer’, *You Tube*, 12 December 2016.

¹¹⁶⁶ ‘As-Sabeel’s 4th annual Iftar’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.lhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-s-4th-annual-iftar/288>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁶⁷ JTF-GTMO Detainee Assessment – Feroz Abbasi, United States Department of Defense, 11 November 2003, available at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/guantanamo/detainees/24-feroz-ali-abbasi>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁹ ‘Questions raised over £1million pay-out to former Guantanamo detainee: Al-Qaeda “supergrass” told U.S. that Feroz Abbasi was “sent to Afghanistan for jihad training”’, *Daily Mail*, 18 May 2014, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2631784/Questions-raised-1million-pay-former-Guantanamo-detainee-Al-Qaeda-supergrass-told-U-S-Feroz-Abbasi-sent-Afghanistan-jihad-training.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*

4.5.4 Omar Deghayes

Omar Deghayes is an ex-Guantanamo Bay detainee who has spoken for HHUGS on a number of occasions.¹¹⁷¹ During one HHUGS event, held in January 2013 at Lewisham Islamic Centre, Deghayes says:

Those people who are accused of terrorism usually, brothers, are the best among us. Usually they are accused of terrorism because they stand and speak the truth. They're usually accused of terrorism because they uncover the falsehood and they are active. And they are angered by what happens to our *ummah* and they strive in the cause of Allah. And because of that they are targeted as examples to make everybody else as a community scared... HHUGS helps those people who are best among us.¹¹⁷²

He was arrested in Lahore in 2002 before being deported to Guantanamo Bay. There have been allegations that during his time there he was tortured.¹¹⁷³ His lawyers argued that the US misidentified him on the basis of video footage of a man holding an assault rifle, and believed that he had fought in Chechnya.¹¹⁷⁴

However, according to the US Department of Defence (April 2004), Deghayes was regarded as “a member of Al-Qaida and its global terrorist network”. It stated that he had “demonstrated a commitment to jihad”, had “personal links to key operatives and facilitators in both the European Al-Qaida network and the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group”, and had likely “participated in terrorist training and possibly funded their operations through personal resources or NGO affiliation”.¹¹⁷⁵ According to the documents, Deghayes admitted being associated with the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) and its Kabul-based NGO, Sanabil.¹¹⁷⁶ He was therefore regarded by the Department of Defence as a “high risk”.¹¹⁷⁷ It was believed that Deghayes had attended Regents Park Mosque, London, where he met a member of the LIFG who financed his trip to Afghanistan. He was also believed to have fought in Bosnia in 1993 before spending time in Spain with other members of Al Qaeda.¹¹⁷⁸

In July 2017 there were concerns that taxpayer money given to Deghayes may have been used to send his nephews to a gym where they were “vulnerable to radicalisation”.¹¹⁷⁹ His nephews, Jaffar, Abdullah and Amer Deghayes all travelled to Syria to fight.¹¹⁸⁰ Amer joined Jabhat al Nusra and was killed alongside Abdullah in April 2014.¹¹⁸¹ Jaffar was later killed in October 2014.¹¹⁸²

¹¹⁷¹ ‘HHUGS at LSBU ISOC dinner - In search of freedom and justice’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-lsbu-isoc-dinner-in-search-of-freedom-and-justice/230>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘As-Sabeel charity Iftar fundraiser in aid of HHUGS’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-charity-iftar-fundraiser-in-aid-of-hhugs/151>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Why everybody needs HHUGS! Make sure you attend!’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/why-everybody-needs-hhugs-make-sure-you-attend-/421>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁷² ‘Omar Deghayes salutes terror suspects’, *YouTube*, 19 December 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gPfn5nVy6Ws>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁷³ ‘From Brighton to the battlefield: how four young Britons were drawn to jihad’, *Guardian*, 31 March 2016, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/31/brighton-to-battlefield-how-four-young-britons-drawn-to-jihad-syria>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*

¹¹⁷⁵ ‘JTF-GTMO Detainee Assessment – Omar Deghays’, United States Department of Defense, 10 April 2004, available at:

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/guantanamo/detainees/727-omar-amer-deghayes?mcubz=1>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 4.

¹¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 1.

¹¹⁷⁹ ‘UK taxpayers’ money given to Guantanamo detainee was ‘passed’ to teenage jihadists who died in Syria’, *Firenews*, 2017, available at: <https://firenewsfeed.com/incident/299430>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸¹ ‘Who are Britain’s jihadists?’, *BBC News*, 12 October 2017, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-32026985>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁸² *ibid.*

4.5.5 Abdullah Hassan

Abdullah Hassan spoke at HHUGS event “In the Footsteps of Hajar” on 13 October 2013, alongside Wasim Kempson, Uthman Lateef, Suleiman Gani and Ahmad Musa Jibril.¹¹⁸³ On 10 October 2014, he spoke at another event entitled “Beginning of the End: Minor Signs of the Day of Judgement” at East London Mosque.¹¹⁸⁴

Hassan is an activist for the controversial Islamic Forum of Europe (IFE).¹¹⁸⁵ The IFE has been described as “fundamentalist”,¹¹⁸⁶ and “believes in jihad and sharia law, and wants to turn Britain into an Islamic state”.¹¹⁸⁷ In 2010 Labour MP and former Environment Minister Jim Fitzpatrick expressed concerns that the group were behaving as an entryist organisation to infiltrate political parties, including the Labour Party. A Channel 4 investigation also found that IFE activists had “boasted” that they had “consolidated... a lot of influence and power” in Tower Hamlets. Channel 4 found that IFE leaders opposed democracy, supported sharia law, made racist remarks about black people, had organised meetings with extremists, including Taliban allies, an individual described as an “unindicted co-conspirator” in the 1993 World Trade Centre bombing (likely Bilal Philips) and another individual under investigation by the FBI in connection to the attacks on September 11 2001.¹¹⁸⁸ The IFE were, according to former councillors, instrumental in installing Luftur Rahman in Tower Hamlets Council.¹¹⁸⁹

Like many other HHUGS speakers and supporters, he has defended Aafia Siddiqui. At a lecture given at “Justice of Aafia Coalition”, where he spoke alongside Uthman Lateef, Hamza Tzortzis and Ilyas Townsend at Lewisham Islamic Centre, Hassan said “She’s not a terrorist... How can she be a terrorist if she had children... She’s not a terrorist, she is a Muslim trying to practice Islam”.¹¹⁹⁰ Speaking about Guantanamo Bay prison, Hassan speaks in the context of a war on Islam itself:

There are many other brothers and sisters in Bagram, in Guantanamo Bay, who are being harmed, day in, day out. Their blame was nothing but they believe in Allah. This is why they are being tortured day in, day out. And we have to respond to the call of Allah [to support them].

[...]

If we do not help them, we will be asked, we will be questioned on the Day of Judgement. And it is very, very important to give Dawah [propagation] in this society, we highlight the plight of our brothers and sisters in Palestine, highlight the plight of our sister Dr. Aafia Siddiqui.¹¹⁹¹

¹¹⁸³ ‘In the Footsteps of Hajar’, *HHUGS*, available at: www.lhugs.org.uk/in-the-footsteps-of-hajar/478, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘In the Footsteps of hajar – HHUGS Fundraising Conference in the Best Days of the Year’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/213165295511953/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁸⁴ “Beginning of the End”, *Facebook*, 8 October 2014, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/meadowsparadise/photos/a.478684605561900.1073741826.189968697766827/684840768279615/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 10 February 2017.

¹¹⁸⁵ ‘Abdullah Hasan’s brothers and sisters and the East London Mosque’, *Harry’s Place*, 4 August 2011, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2011/08/04/abdullah-hasans-brothers-and-sisters-and-the-east-london-mosque/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁸⁶ ‘IFE: not harmless democrats’, *Guardian*, 4 March 2010, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2010/mar/04/islamic-forum-europe-dispatches-gilligan>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁸⁷ ‘Islamic radicals ‘infiltrate’ the Labour Party’, *Daily Telegraph*, 27 February 2010, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/labour/7333420/Islamic-radicals-infiltrate-the-Labour-Party.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*; For Luftur Rahman controversy see: ‘Tower Hamlets: the rise and fall of Luftur Rahman’, *Guardian*, 10 June 2015, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/davehillblog/2015/jun/10/tower-hamlets-the-rise-and-fall-luftur-rahman>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁹⁰ ‘Abdullah Hasan’s brothers and sisters and the East London Mosque’, *Harry’s Place*, 4 August 2011, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2011/08/04/abdullah-hasans-brothers-and-sisters-and-the-east-london-mosque/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁹¹ *ibid.*

Among other extreme comments is one made on his Facebook on 9 March 2013, in which he said “The Jews are still waiting for their Masih and they will be amongst the followers of the dajjal. In the city of Asfahan their [sic] will be 70,000 Jews who will be his followers”.¹¹⁹² He is also reported as having spoken against Jews and homosexuals at a segregated prayer meeting outside the Houses of Parliament organised in conjunction with Islamic Relief.¹¹⁹³

On 7 May 2008, Hassan wrote a blog that attacked secular-liberal Muslim organisations and implied that Islamism is not “inherently violent and extreme”. On his blog he also posted a piece by another individual who, despite being not entirely uncritical of Osama bin Laden, said that:

There is no doubt that many in the Islamic world and the non-Islamic world... are privately mourning the death of Usamah Bin Laden, seen as a symbol of resistance to Western imperialism. Unlike Saddam Hussein and his ilk, Usamah Bin Laden died fighting like a Muhajid, as the old proverb says, he who lives by the sword, dies by the sword.

[...]

It is simplistic to call Usamah Bin Laden a terrorist, when his opponent has murdered much more civilians in Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan, that pre-dates 9/11

[...]

Regardless if you agree with the methods used by Usamah and his men, as an individual he outdid his opponents. He was far more eloquent than George Bush, a semi-literate guy with a drink problem, who often embarrassed the US by his numerous idiotic statements. Usamah also had far more integrity than Tony Blair, unlike Blair he never lied and was generous with his wealth, constantly helping the needy.¹¹⁹⁴

Another on Hassan's personal blog posits a link between child abuse and homosexuality, stating that research suggests “that adverse life circumstances create gay men”.¹¹⁹⁵

4.5.6 The Tipton Three

On 14 September 2008, HHUGS held an event fundraiser for Aafia Siddiqui, at which the “Tipton Three” were speakers.¹¹⁹⁶ The three men from Tipton in the Midlands, Ruhel Ahmed, Asif Iqbal and Shafiq Rasul, were detained in northern Afghanistan on 28 November 2001 and handed over to US forces before being sent to Guantanamo Bay where they remained until March 2004.¹¹⁹⁷

After their release the men became “poster-children” for those protesting against Guantanamo and the war in Afghanistan.¹¹⁹⁸ The group spontaneously decided to travel to Afghanistan with an aid convoy before a friend's wedding, to “sightsee and smoke some dope”. They claimed to merely be

¹¹⁹² ‘UK Imam Who Led Parliament Square Prayer Defended Al-Qaeda Terrorist’, *Middle East Forum*, 10 October 2015, available at: <http://www.meforum.org/5560/uk-imam-defended-al-qaeda>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁹³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁹⁴ ‘Death of Usamah Bin Laden: Freedom Fighter or Terrorist?’, *Abdullah Hasan.net*, 2 May 2011, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20150515070748/http://abdullahhasan.net/?p=6670>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁹⁵ ‘Does Child Sexual Abuse Cause Homosexuality?’, *Abdullah Hasan.net*, 19 March 2010, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20151023010131/http://abdullahhasan.net/?p=5205>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁹⁶ ‘Charity Iftar & fundraiser for prisoner 650’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/charity-iftar-amp-fundraiser-for-prisoner-650/142>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁹⁷ ‘Afghanistan to Guantanamo Bay - the story of three British detainees’, *Guardian*, 4 August 2004, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/aug/04/afghanistan.usa>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*; ‘The Tipton Three: Things Not Quite Adding Up’, *ICSR*, 27 April 2011, available at: <http://icsr.info/2011/04/the-tipton-three-things-not-quite-adding-up/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

in the wrong place at the wrong time.¹¹⁹⁹ However, in 2007 during an appearance on Channel 4 Ruhul Ahmed admitted that the group had visited a training camp and learnt how to handle an assault rifle.¹²⁰⁰ In 2010, during a BBC Radio 5 live interview, Rahul Ahmed admitted:

We went to a Taliban training camp from the start. Even when we was in Guantanamo, we told the interrogator that we had been, because when we was in Kanduz, the whole province was under siege from the Northern Alliance, so we couldn't, nobody could leave that province. And, for our information, the Taliban training camp was in the centre of the town. Now, we all went to know what was happening. So we, I went, Shafiq went, we all went to the Taliban training camp on many occasions to find out what was happening. Because they were the government at the time [sic].¹²⁰¹

During the same interview Shafiq Rasul admitted that they had held a gun but “were never there to do any training”.¹²⁰² However, new light was shed on the men's motivations when Wikileaks released their Detainee Assessment from October 2003. According to the documents, the men became interested in jihad towards the end of 1999-2000. Rasul stated that the group attended a Muslim community centre where they had been encouraged by a visiting cleric to “commit themselves to armed struggle against the West”. Ahmed stated that he had been thinking about jihad since the summer of 2000 “after reading books on Afghanistan and the Taliban” and “listening to tapes” and watching “videos on the Chechnya Jihad” that had been purchased from a Birmingham bookshop established by Moazzam Begg. Iqbal stated that he also had become interested in jihad in 2000.¹²⁰³

According to this report, Iqbal and Ahmed travelled in September 2000 to “receive military training” and attended “a 40-day training session sponsored by the Harakat al-Islami Bangladeshi”. After that they travelled to the front lines, became bored, and returned to the UK. Following the attacks on 11 September 2001, they returned. Iqbal stated that he wanted to “go and fight the ‘crusades’” and that “the Jews had been the ones who attacked America”. They returned, and whilst their stories diverge slightly, appear to have attended a training camp, been caught up in the fighting, before being finally detained.¹²⁰⁴

Although evidence from the Guantanamo accounts should be treated with caution, not least because there is evidence that some false information was confessed by Rasul and therefore likely under duress, a question mark remains over their activity in Afghanistan and the motivations for their visit.¹²⁰⁵

¹¹⁹⁹ ‘Guantanamo guard reunited with ex-inmates’, *BBC News*, 12 January 2010, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/8452937.stm>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁰⁰ ‘The Tipton Three: Things Not Quite Adding Up’, *ICSR*, 27 April 2011; ‘Sisters are doing it for themselves’, *The Guardian*, 3 June 2007, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2007/jun/03/broadcasting.observerreview>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁰¹ ‘BBC Publishes Tipton Three Lies’, *Harry's Place*, 12 January 2010, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/01/12/bbc-publishes-tipton-three-lies/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Guantanamo guard reunited with ex-inmates’, *BBC News*, 12 January 2010.

¹²⁰² *ibid.*

¹²⁰³ ‘The Tipton Three: Things Not Quite Adding Up’, *ICSR*, 27 April 2011.

¹²⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹²⁰⁵ *ibid.*

4.5.7 Murtaza Khan

Salafist preacher Murtaza Khan has spoken at a number of HHUGS events, on occasion speaking as a representative of the Tayyibun Institute.¹²⁰⁶ Khan has also been a teacher at Al-Noor Muslim Primary School in Ilford.¹²⁰⁷

Khan's extremism became well known after Channel 4's "Undercover Mosque" documentary filmed him making a number of extremist statements.¹²⁰⁸ Khan was recorded saying, "For how long do we have to see our mothers, sisters and daughters having to uncover themselves before these filthy non-Muslim doctors? We should have a sense of shame".¹²⁰⁹ He also made clearly anti-Semitic remarks:

We have become Jews in our clothing, Jews in our eating and Jews in everything that we do, and the other half is Christian in everything we do. Muslims are following one of these accursed nations. And people are still not waking up to understand the fact that these people are enemies towards us."¹²¹⁰

Khan has stated that:

- "Any woman who comes out of her house perfuming herself, every single eye that looks at her... she is an adulterous woman".¹²¹¹
- Fornicators should be flogged 100 times, and adulterers should be stoned to death.¹²¹²
- Homosexuality is an "abominable action which goes against humanity" and an "evil sin".¹²¹³
- "The mental capacity of this [Western] society teaches you 'I'm a woman in my own right. I can get my own job, I can get my own funding, I can get my own welfare, I can get my own flat, I can get my own home, I can get my own state benefits, I don't need you in my life!' What is that? Deception of the devil".
- "Man is stronger than women. But men today don't know how to take care of their families. That's why their women walk loose. Their women speak loose. And that's their evil society that Muslim society has become like that today".¹²¹⁴

Unsurprisingly, Khan was listed among Justice Haddon-Cave's example of extremist speakers.¹²¹⁵ Khan can be described as an "Islamic Supremacist". During a lecture recorded in August 2009, Khan tells his audience:

¹²⁰⁶ 'Ease after hardship fundraising dinner', *HHUGS*; "With hardship comes ease", *HHUGS*; "Children need HHUGS", *HHUGS*; 'Ease after hardship - embrace HHUGS this Ramadhan', *HHUGS*.

¹²⁰⁷ 'TV 'preachers of hate' escape police action', *Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 2007, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1540081/TV-preachers-of-hate-escape-police-action.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁰⁸ *ibid.*

¹²⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹²¹⁰ 'The Reality of Murtaza Khan', *Student Rights*, 4 January 2012, available at: http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/1871/the_reality_of_murtaza_khan, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²¹¹ 'Free Love - Murtaza Khan (3/6)', *YouTube*, 5 October 2009, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DqD-JO-xgtE>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 8:44.

¹²¹² 'Free Love - Murtaza Khan (6/6)', *YouTube*, 5 October 2009, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sF1zErRdn4U>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 1:11.

¹²¹³ *NEW* murtaza khan THE RISE AND FALL OF NATIONS (4)', *YouTube*, 1 August 2008, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CRVDYi5ORSg>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 5:00.

¹²¹⁴ 'Dispatches - Undercover Mosque: The Return - Real Stories', *YouTube*, 23 April 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3WgVa3VRfb4&t=1677s>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 16:00.

¹²¹⁵ *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: 22 January 2018, para. 335.

When the time is right, [be] stern towards the disbelievers. I am not promoting these views, even in the *hadith* you will find that you walk in the road, when Muslims are dominant, they made sure that the non-Muslims were pushed against the wall.

That's what Islam says but I'm not pushing that view in these days because I could be on my way to Belmarsh very soon [the audience laughs]. But the point is that when Islam is dominant, you have the right to show the power and the dominance of Islam. Even walking in the streets you shouldn't give them way.¹²¹⁶

Elsewhere he has said "That is the reality of Islamic law, that it has come to supersede, to override all other ways of life. It is a faith that one should not begin to turn aside, a faith which is a dominant faith..."¹²¹⁷

In addition, in a video posted in 2012, he states:

How should the laws of *Allah subhana wa ta'ala* be implemented? That's the biggest debate that exists amongst us because many of us in our hearts are following the Dawah of modernisation. That can the *hudud* of Allah be implemented in the 21st century? Is it possible? Is it really applicable in Western society today? That the Sharia will come?... He is the one who sent his messenger with wuduh with guidance and the right deen to prevail over all other ways of life. If you don't believe that in your heart, you already lost. You have already lost. If you don't believe that in your heart that Islam is going to be victorious, Islam will always be victorious. People will not be victorious, (Islamic quote) the word of Allah (SAW) will always be supreme.¹²¹⁸

It is clear from the videos of HHUGS event "Ease After Hardship" that the audience exposed to Khan included children, and therefore the platform provided by HHUGS exposed vulnerable individuals to an extremist speaker.¹²¹⁹

4.5.8 Zahir Mahmood

Zahir Mahmood has spoken for HHUGS on at least two occasions,¹²²⁰ and in July 2015 provided a video message of support for the charity.¹²²¹ During HHUGS' "A Mother's Tale" event, on 19 November 2016, Mahmood seems to draw a direct comparison of the families of terrorists to the story of Mary.¹²²² During the story he speaks of Mary as the mother of a martyr and of her stigma: "The greatest stigma that you could have at that time was to have a child out of wedlock. You would be alienated, you would be side-lined, your neighbours wouldn't want to talk to you, your family would disown you".¹²²³ He goes on to say "in today's society, one of the greatest stigmas to have

¹²¹⁶ 'Dispatches - Undercover Mosque: The Return - Real Stories', *Harry's Place*, 30 January 2015, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2015/01/30/murtaza-khan-and-the-lewisham-islamic-centre/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²¹⁷ 'Murtaza Khan - Shariah Law Barbaric or Merciful (Steps to Allah Conference 2011)', *YouTube*, 25 June 2011, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T9JXU-4_-30, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²¹⁸ 'Murtaza Khan - Islamic supremacy (1)', *YouTube*, 27 January 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9AqBfBmp6Fw>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²¹⁹ 'Al Wala Wal Bara (Love and Hate) For The Sake Of Allah By Murtaza Khan', *YouTube*, 16 October 2012, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=byX_izZjk7I, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²²⁰ 'A Mother's Tale', HHUGS, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'An evening of unity: HHUGS Midlands fundraising dinner', *HHUGS*, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²²¹ 'A Message from Sheikh Zahir Mahmood-HHUGS', *YouTube*, 4 July 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hZPkGbF6trs>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²²² 'HHUGS - A Mother's Tale - Sheikh Zahir Mahmood', *YouTube*, 14 December 2016, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gCy0_rwOMDc, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²²³ *ibid.*, [6:30].

attached to you, is to be regarded as a terrorist or the family of a terrorist".¹²²⁴ He says "sacrifice, this *deen* is about sacrifice", giving a historical martyr the title of "lion of Allah" and stating "it doesn't matter how the *dunya* perceives you".¹²²⁵

During a speech in 2009 Mahmood described Hamas as "freedom fighters."¹²²⁶ He also asked how it is justified that the British army, whose occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan resulted in the deaths of thousands of indigenous people, are called heroes while those who are "defending their own land" and spending "60 years living in that open concentration camp" are terrorists. This is a familiar allusion to an anti-Semitic trope that conflates Jews and Israelis.¹²²⁷

Mahmood has made the same conflation before, for example, in a video published in 2001 where he refers to the Israelis as "Jews". In this context he says that they have "a group of people who have taken other people's land and put them in a concentration camp" because of a "crime perpetrated by the white Europeans upon the Jews for which the olive skinned Arabs had to pick up the bill". During the same video he repeats the historical story of a martyr, as a comparison for the Palestinians who have died and accuses the EU and America of trying to starve Palestinians.¹²²⁸

Mahmood has also been a speaker for iERA¹²²⁹ and a fundraising event for CAGE hosted by the Muath Trust in 2016.¹²³⁰ The event included Moazzam Begg (see 4.4.19), Cerie Bullivant (see 4.4.21) and Raza Nadim, of the Muslim Public Affairs Committee UK (MPACUK).¹²³¹ MPACUK, which has been highlighted in the media for concerns relating to extremism,¹²³² was banned from university campuses by the NUS for extremism in 2004.¹²³³ In June 2014 the Muath Trust also hosted Yasir Qadhi, mentioned above, of the Al Maghrib Institute, in support of Human Appeal (see 3.6.1)¹²³⁴ and the charity shares a trustee with Islamic Relief Worldwide.¹²³⁵ Mahmood is also the chair of the As Suffa Trust.¹²³⁶ As Suffa describes itself as an "educational establishment with a difference". Its projects include a food bank, homeless outreach, a youth project, and dawah project.¹²³⁷

¹²²⁴ *ibid.*, [6:30].

¹²²⁵ *ibid.*, [8:15].

¹²²⁶ 'Radical Islamic speaker who defended child marriage and said anyone who 'fights against Muslims should be killed' to speak at Australian conference', *Daily Mail*, 16 February 2016, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3449979/Islamic-speaker-Hamza-Tzortzis-defended-child-marriage-speak-United-Muslims-Australia-conference.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²²⁷ 'Zahir Mahmood - "Hamas are freedom fighters"', *You Tube*, 19 October 2011, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t4jW5ytB1Lo>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²²⁸ 'The Palestinian Struggle - Sheikh Zahir Mahmood', *You Tube*, 17 January 2011, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rZYw7EV-ges>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²²⁹ 'Shaykh Zahir Mahmood: Dawah Power-Our Great Legacy', *You Tube*, 2 October 2011, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8BxJ0aESohE>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²³⁰ 'Event hosted by Muslim charity fundraised for Cage', *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

¹²³¹ *ibid.*

¹²³² 'Islamic "radical" at the heart of Whitehall', *Daily Telegraph*, 22 February 2015, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/11427370/Islamic-radicals-at-the-heart-of-Whitehall.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²³³ 'NUS President Election Candidate, Malia Bouattia, Responds to 'Anti-Semitism' Claims', *Huffington Post*, 14 April 2016, available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/nus-president-election-candidate-malia-bouattia-responds-to-anti-semitism-claims_uk_570fa2dae4b01711c61318c4, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²³⁴ Archived screenshot.

¹²³⁵ 'The Muath Trust - People', Charity Commission, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1100481&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²³⁶ 'Data for financial year ending 30 September 2016 As-Suffa Trust', *Charity Commission*, 2017, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1106270&subid=0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²³⁷ 'About Us', *As-Suffa Institute*, available at: <https://www.as-suffa.org/about/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

4.5.9 Fatima Barkatullah

Fatima Barkatullah studied at Al Azhar University, is a lecturer for iERA,¹²³⁸ and an instructor at the Al Kauthar Institute.¹²³⁹ On 19 November 2016 she spoke for HHUGS at their event “A Mother’s Tale”.¹²⁴⁰

Barkatullah has shown admiration for a number of extremists. During a 2011 interview, Barkatullah said that she had been listening to lectures by Farhat Hashmi, among others.¹²⁴¹ Hishmi, who is a member of Islamist movement Jamaat-e-Islami,¹²⁴² has reportedly described Osama bin Laden as a “soldier of Islam”.¹²⁴³ Hashmi founded the Al Huda Islamic Institute in Ontario, Canada¹²⁴⁴ which has been accused of teaching extremist ideology.¹²⁴⁵ Al Huda has been publicly linked to terrorism. The Institute saw four of its female students leave the country to join Islamic State in Syria.¹²⁴⁶ In addition, Tashfeen Malik, who studied at their sister institute in Pakistan, went on to commit a mass shooting in California in 2015.¹²⁴⁷

A post from 12 August 2015 on Barkatullah’s Facebook shows that she has spent time with Hishmi. In this post she writes against free mixing and women “compromising on their hijab”.¹²⁴⁸ Barkatullah and Hishmi have spoken alongside each other at a Mercy Mission event on 14 June 2014. Other speakers at the event included Yusha Evans, Muslim Belal, Saleem Chagtai, and Bilal Phillips.¹²⁴⁹

Barkatullah said she listened to Haitham al Haddad’s lectures, stating that she “always find[s] Shaykh Haitham’s insights very interesting” and “unique”.¹²⁵⁰ She has shared a post of al Haddad endorsing her book *Khadija: Mother of History’s Greatest Nation*,¹²⁵¹ and has quoted al Haddad’s words from a rally, “The whole world today is controlled by the tyrants who want to run the world. Our brothers & sisters are resisting that oppression”.¹²⁵² The rally was likely one held outside the Syrian Embassy on 13 December 2016, including Moazzam Begg among its speakers.¹²⁵³ Barkatullah has also shared the posts of other extremists, including Babar Ahmad,¹²⁵⁴ Abu Eesa Naimatullah¹²⁵⁵ and Bilal Phillips.¹²⁵⁶

¹²³⁸ ‘Course Instructors’, *Mission Dawah*, available at: <http://www.missionDawah.com/training/course-instructors/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²³⁹ Fatima Barkatullah, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/fatima.barkatulla.7?pnref=hc.friends>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁴⁰ ‘HHUGS - A Mother’s Tale - Fatima Barkatullah’, *YouTube*, 19 December 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0O164pod9CY>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁴¹ ‘What’s in your ear? | Fatima Barkatulla’, *Muslim Matters*, 11 June 2011, available at: <https://muslimmatters.org/2011/06/11/whats-in-your-ear-fatima-barkatulla/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁴² ‘Understanding the Al-Huda Ideology’, *Mackenzie Institute*, 24 May 2016, available at: <http://mackenzieinstitute.com/4852-2/#reference-6>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁴³ ‘A decade of millennial change’, *Friday Times*, September 2011, available at: <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta3/tft/article.php?issue=20110916&page=3>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁴⁴ ‘4 female students who sought to join ISIS attended Mississauga school’, *Yahoo! News*, 8 December 2015, available at: <https://ca.news.yahoo.com/4-female-students-went-syria-035657372.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁴⁵ ‘California shooter studied at Al-Huda institute: teacher’, *Dawn*, 7 December 2015, available at: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1224752>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁴⁶ ‘4 female students who sought to join ISIS attended Mississauga school’, *CBC*, 8 December 2015, available at: <https://ca.news.yahoo.com/4-female-students-went-syria-035657372.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁴⁷ ‘California shooter studied at Al-Huda institute: teacher’, *Dawn*, 7 December 2015, available at: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1224752>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁴⁸ *Facebook*, 12 August 2015, archived screenshot.

¹²⁴⁹ ‘Being ME - Muslimah Empowered Malaysia’, *Facebook*, 26 May 2014, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/BeingMEMalaysia/videos/687997904592144/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁵⁰ ‘What’s in your ear? | Fatima Barkatulla’, *Muslim Matters*, 11 June 2011.

¹²⁵¹ *Facebook*, 9 January 2017, archived screenshot.

¹²⁵² *Facebook*, 13 December 2016, archived screenshot.

¹²⁵³ Moazzam Begg, *Facebook*, 13 December 2016, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/moazzam.begg/posts/10154863916697915>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁵⁴ *Facebook*, 9 March 2017, archived screenshot.

¹²⁵⁵ *Facebook*, 25 June 2016, archived screenshot.

¹²⁵⁶ *Facebook*, 11 December 2015, archived screenshot.

In addition, she has also expressed support for Tahir Alam,¹²⁵⁷ the former chair of Park View Educational Trust in Birmingham who was banned by the Department for Education (DfE) for undermining British values. The DfE found that Alam's conduct "aimed at undermining the fundamental British values of values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths or beliefs".¹²⁵⁸ Barkatullah's post shared the link to Islamist website Islam 21c's campaign of support for Alam, who they called a "Trojan hoax victim".¹²⁵⁹

Barkatullah appears to be supportive of political violence. On 4 November 2017 she wrote on Facebook, "If Palestine was basically a spoil of war, spoils of war are given to whoever the conqueror wants to give them to. There's only one way to win back spoils of war...".¹²⁶⁰ Likewise, on 14 April 2017, she described those fighting against the US in Afghanistan as warriors defending their land:

All the sophisticated bombs, all the years, all the devastation America has sought to wreak upon Afghanistan and its people – and it has not yet broken the spirit of its people and its warriors who defend their land wearing sandals and no helmets.

In the same post she quotes Malcolm X, "You've got to have the heart to be a guerrilla warrior".¹²⁶¹ The same can be said for a post on 17 December 2016 in which she shared a video interview with Abu Al Abd, a commander of rebel forces in Aleppo, writing "May Allah help the mujahideen in Aleppo and everywhere".¹²⁶²

Barkatullah also seemingly believes that the West is at war with Islam and Muslims. She has written that the "Islamophobia industry is conducting a war against the Muslim male and wants us – the Muslim women – to be accomplices with them in that war".¹²⁶³ Barkatullah believes that the "Mainstream news today is a tool of war, it is a means of demoralising those who dare to fight for the just cause and who are fighting battles which powerful people want them to lose".¹²⁶⁴

On 28 March 2017 she quoted her late father-in-law, "The world understood that indiscriminate killing was wrong until western countries began bombing people back to the stone-age through indiscriminate killing. Who do you think Usama bin Laden & alQaeda [sic] got the idea of indiscriminate killing from? Who do you think they were imitating?".¹²⁶⁵

She has also claimed that Disney's film Aladdin was "Anti-Muslim propaganda" that is "designed to make our children hate our *deen*".¹²⁶⁶ Barkatulla has written that governments regard some lives as "more valuable and other lives as disposable". She argues that the Grenfell Tower fire shows that not just "Muslim blood is cheap" but that "all human blood is cheap" to the "rich and powerful".¹²⁶⁷

¹²⁵⁷ Facebook, 15 February 2017, archived screenshot.

¹²⁵⁸ 'Trojan horse row: governor banned from involvement with schools', *The Guardian*, 7 September 2015, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/sep/07/trojan-horse-governor-banned-schools-birmingham>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁵⁹ 'Your chance to help Trojan Hoax victim fight back', *Islam 21C*, 18 February 2017, available at: https://www.islam21c.com/latest/your-chance-to-help-trojan-hoax-victim-fight-back/?sharex_, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁶⁰ Archived screenshot.

¹²⁶¹ Archived screenshot.

¹²⁶² Archived screenshot; 'Rebel commander reveals reasons for the fall of Aleppo', *The New Arab*, 13 January 2017, available at: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2017/1/13/rebel-commander-reveals-reasons-for-the-fall-of-aleppo>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁶³ Facebook, 19 November 2015, archived screenshot.

¹²⁶⁴ Facebook 14 December 2016, archived screenshot.

¹²⁶⁵ Archived screenshot

¹²⁶⁶ Facebook, 15 July 2017, archived screenshot.

¹²⁶⁷ Facebook, 17 June 2017, archived screenshot.

On 5 and 6 December 2016, Barkatullah posted an Islam 21c piece about Salman Butt and shared Butt's own post quoting his barrister "Today's 'extremists' are yesterday's dissidents, communists, heretics".¹²⁶⁸ On 24 January 2015, Barkatullah shared an Islam 21c article encouraging active Muslim opposition to the Counter-Terrorism Bill in order to "continue to practice our religion peacefully".¹²⁶⁹

Barkatullah reposted a video on 2 October 2016 which she described as "truly thought provoking". It included pictures of the American government and then president Barak Obama as illustrations of eschatological signs of the "last days", with the words "people will trust treacherous people" and "you will see hypocrites ruling", as well as references to capitalism with pictures of Wall Street alongside the words "you will see the worst of people controlling the market places". Other 'signs' included homosexuality, movements that will corrupt women and musical instruments. The words "you will see people with whips like cow tails... they'll hit people with it" set to photos of prisoners from Abu Ghraib prison being whipped.¹²⁷⁰

In a comment on one of her own Facebook posts, Barkatullah wrote "secretly they [the West] enjoy watching the Muslim world spiral out of control with Muslims fighting one another and losing their principles".¹²⁷¹ In another post she wrote that "they think nothing of locking up a Muslim for months without following due process & basic administrative procedures [...] It's time we invested our money and time in suing them and make them think 100 times before they dare to write about or lay a hand upon a Muslim".¹²⁷² In another post, she claims that radicalisation is a result of the British government "aiding and abetting the killing and ethnic cleansing of Muslim [sic]".¹²⁷³

Barkatullah holds illiberal beliefs on a number of other topics. On 12 July 2017 she shared a post on Facebook that, whilst advocating treating homosexuals "just as we would treat anyone else" that "we will not and cannot accept... the imposition of their [pro-homosexuality] view on us... You cannot force us to change Islam. It will never happen. Our religion is perfect and comes from our Creator... A gay marriage is not recognised by Islamic law".¹²⁷⁴

She has written against liberal progressive Muslims, claiming that the term "Muslim secularist" is an oxymoron, and has stated that whilst Muslims "must not break the laws of the land [...] Islam itself is not a secular religion. There is no separation of our Deen from the state or from law or from public life in Islam [...] The Prophet... was not just a spiritual leader, he was a judge, a legislator, a ruler, a military commander. His companions were Caliphs and rulers who legislated and did their best to implement the Qur'an and Sunnah upon this earth because they knew that it was God's right that His laws be obeyed". She therefore argues against those who believe they can be "Muslim secularists", saying that they should ask themselves: "Am I really trying to say I consider my religion, my culture to be retarded and the colonisers way of life & culture as superior?"¹²⁷⁵

¹²⁶⁸ Archived screenshots.

¹²⁶⁹ Archived screenshot: 'What the Counter Terrorism Bill Means for British Muslims [Video]', *Islam 21C*, 24 January 2015, available at: <https://www.islam21c.com/politics/what-the-counter-terrorism-bill-means-for-british-muslims-video/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁷⁰ Archived screenshot; video available at: https://www.facebook.com/truepathislam/videos/484676655043616/?hc_ref=ARQnzCdgYegzaD6g86oFNpLpJxaYENYGEqT_0YFlwneHor9nIfT-cw8X0bRR_rjc0, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁷¹ *Facebook*, 18 December 2014, archived screenshot.

¹²⁷² *Facebook*, 3 October 2014, archived screenshot.

¹²⁷³ *Facebook*, 18 July 2014, archived screenshot.

¹²⁷⁴ Archived screenshot.

¹²⁷⁵ *Facebook*, 21 March 2017, archived screenshot.

Barkatullah has compared Muslims wearing the poppy for Remembrance Day to Jews wearing the swastika.¹²⁷⁶ On 8 February 2015, Barkatullah wrote “if you see a person labelling fellow Muslims, allying with Islamophobes while desperately pretending to represent us, eager to make public displays of disunity among Muslims – ignore him – he’s an attention seeker”.¹²⁷⁷ On 25 March 2017 she wrote a post instructing Muslims to be careful in what they say about other Muslims no matter what their sin is. However, in a comment on the post, she wrote “now if they’re munafiqeen on the other hand – go for it!”¹²⁷⁸ A munafiq (munafiqeen plural) is a religious hypocrite who is really a non-believer.

Following the news that a Muslim woman was asked to remove her religious clothing on a French beach, Barkatullah has described those who seek to humiliate them (presumably the police) as “dogs”. She goes on to say that “within a few generations these beaches will be yours if we stay firm, if we raise righteous & educated children who stay firm & if we step up the da’wah work that is our duty in these lands”.¹²⁷⁹ In a Facebook post from 14 March 2017, Barkatullah wrote that Islam “could successfully replace” the capitalist and materialist society of Europe, and this is the reason why Europeans feel threatened by the hijab.¹²⁸⁰

In a comment posted on 26 March 2014, Barkatullah laid out her views: “I believe the husband is the head of the house... I abhor the ‘pro-choice movement’, I don’t believe that a woman has the right to do whatever she wants with her body (neither do men), I don’t believe in daycare for young children, I see the home as the most important domain of focus for women. I don’t believe in Liberalism, I don’t believe in individualism” all of which, she states are “in direct contradiction to mainstream feminism”.¹²⁸¹

4.5.10 Sahar Al Faifi

Sahar Al Faifi has spoken at HHUGS’ fundraising dinner ‘Unite. Survive. Thrive’, on 16 December 2017, alongside Uthman Lateef and Shaker Amer.¹²⁸² Al Faifi is a key activist involved in extremist group Mend, as well as Assistant General Secretary of the Muslim Council of Wales.¹²⁸³ Al Faifi was formerly the Chair of FOSIS,¹²⁸⁴ and was elected youth leader of Citizens UK Wales.¹²⁸⁵ Al Faifi’s extremist views are well-known, and may best be described as “conspiratorial”.

In particular, Al Faifi has propagated the belief that the West, Jews and the British Government are at war with Muslims. Following a string of Islamist terrorist attacks in the UK, on 4 June 2017, Al Faifi wrote a Facebook post entitled “London Bridge attack, who is to blame?”, linking the terror attacks to the 2017 general election. She suggested they were linked to “power structures”, including Jewish philanthropists and the Conservative party, and repeatedly refers to the attacks, not as terrorism, but as “crimes”.¹²⁸⁶

¹²⁷⁶ Facebook, 11 November 2015, archived screenshot.

¹²⁷⁷ Archived screenshot.

¹²⁷⁸ Archived screenshot.

¹²⁷⁹ Facebook, 24 August 2016, archived screenshot.

¹²⁸⁰ Archived screenshot.

¹²⁸¹ Facebook, 29 March 2014, archived screenshot.

¹²⁸² @hhugscharity, Twitter, 4 December 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/hhugscharity/status/937693480062775296>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁸³ ‘MEND: “Islamists masquerading as civil libertarians”’, The Henry Jackson Society (2017), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/HJS-Mend-Report.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 23.

¹²⁸⁴ ‘Muslim Leadership Group’, *Citizens UK*, available at: http://www.citizensuk.org/muslim_leadership_group, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁸⁵ *ibid.*; Citizens UK have also worked with extremist Shakeel Begg, see: ‘Extremism in the Community: The Case of Shakeel Begg’, The Henry Jackson Society (2017), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Shakeel-Begg-FINAL-PDF.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 19.

¹²⁸⁶ ‘MEND: “Islamists masquerading as civil libertarians”’, The Henry Jackson Society (2017), p. 25.

You know this is how it works in simple terms. Security companies and arms industries make profits of creating threat and fear. They are part of social and political power structures, named as the establishment. Scaremongering is what keeps the power structures alive. Labour and the Tories are both products of the establishment and had Corbyn not been elected a leader of the Labour party, the difference between Tories and Labour is non-existent. Tories are knowingly linked to many corporates, including arms and pharmaceutical ones like MERCK and funded by pro-Zionists pro-war individuals such as Robert Rosenkranz, Lord Ashcroft and Lord Kalms the owner of Dixons. These people make money from wars and it is within their interest to make the world unstable by funding fear via morons and militias. The Tories are desperate to win this elections coming and with more young people registered to vote and the possibility of a coalition government between Labour and SNP, the scene is not looking great for Tories. So what shall Tories do to win?!

Al Faihi repeatedly denies that these acts are terrorism, instead framing them as a conspiracy against Muslims. In the same post, she wrote that when “crimes” are committed, “whether driving over people in a bridge, knife attacks or suicides”, the strategy is to exploit the events to increase fear “in order to engineer the public opinion and make them buy into the national security meta-narrative of the Tories to justify their manifesto”. Al Faihi closed:

So after this, do you not think that Westminster attack, Manchester bombing and London Bridge are timely and their purpose is clear? This is not some sort of conspiracy theory. This is called mimetic warfare!¹²⁸⁷

Al Faihi has also promoted conspiratorial views insinuating that the West is at war with Islam and Muslims. In November 2015, at a controversial event held at SOAS entitled “Muslim Women in the West” advertised as a Mend-FOSIS event, Al Faihi claimed that Islamic State was created by “power structures” in the West, and that it is “within their interest to fuel Islamophobia. It’s within their interest to sell more weapons. It’s within their interest to make the Middle East unstable”.¹²⁸⁸ During a radio interview in April 2017 she also stated that “there is a multi-million pound islamophobia industry. Hate and bigotry has become more accepted than ever. People have become socially conditioned to accept an anti-Muslim narrative”.¹²⁸⁹

Al Faihi has also expressed conspiratorial anti-US and anti-Semitic views. In August 2014, Al Faihi tweeted an anti-Islamic State cartoon, in which an Islamic State fighter is portrayed praying with his back to the *karba* wearing an American flag as a turban, writing “The reality of #ISIS! A picture is worth a thousand words”.¹²⁹⁰ Her anti-Semitic tweets include:

- Replying to tweet in August 2013 sharing an article on the bible and genetics stating “what about the Rothschild Jews and their branches in Palestine, would such genetic research effect their banking empire...”.¹²⁹¹

¹²⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 25.

¹²⁸⁸ *ibid.*

¹²⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 25.

¹²⁹⁰ *ibid.*

¹²⁹¹ *ibid.*

- During the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza, Al Faifi tweeted in November 2012: “Zionists ran away since the first rocket fell! YOU KNOW WHY? Because it is not their land! They do not know HOW to die for it #GAZA”.¹²⁹²

Al Faifi's support for HHUGS is unsurprising, as in December 2013, she expressed support for Bangladeshi Jamaat-e-Islami convicted war criminal Abdul Qadar Mollah: “A symbol of resistance against oppression #AbdulQuaderMolla was just executed! The #Bangladeshi Omar Al-Mukhtar! To Allah we shall return!”.¹²⁹³ Mollah was initially sentenced to life imprisonment in Bangladesh for rape, murder and other offences until this was overturned September 2013 and he was sentenced to death.¹²⁹⁴ On 17 September 2017, Al Faifi tweeted an article defending a group of scholars arrested in Saudi Arabia.¹²⁹⁵ These included cleric Saudi cleric Awad al-Qarni, who is accused of links with the Muslim Brotherhood and condemned a US law that allowed the families of victims of the attacks on 11 September 2001 to sue Saudi Arabia.¹²⁹⁶

In addition, in March 2013, Al Faifi derided both Shia Muslims and secularism, “Nothing worse than a Shia who flipped and became a secularist attacking Islamists. Combining the worst of the two!”.¹²⁹⁷ On 13 February 2013, Al Faifi also tweeted that “the reality is sexual exposure does over-stimulate men” and that “it’s a woman’s responsibility” not to invite sexism in this way.¹²⁹⁸

For a more comprehensive assessment of Al Faifi's views and her work with Mend, see *Mend: “Islamists Masquerading as Civil Libertarians”*.¹²⁹⁹

4.6 Other Supporters

Other official supporters of HHUGS include Yvonne Ridley, Victoria Brittain, Gareth Pierce, Ann Alexander and solicitor Natalie Garcia.¹³⁰⁰

- **Yvonne Ridley:** is a journalist and former activist for the Respect Party,¹³⁰¹ headed by controversial politician George Galloway.¹³⁰² Ridley has also been involved with the Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC)¹³⁰³ and worked for the Islam Channel until she resigned in 2007. In 2008 she won a case against the channel following a complaint of sexual discrimination and harassment.¹³⁰⁴

¹²⁹² *ibid.*

¹²⁹³ Sahar Al-Faifi, *Twitter*, 12 December 2013, available at: <https://twitter.com/SaharAlFaifi/status/411174689189670912>, last visited: 20 October 2017.

¹²⁹⁴ ‘Bangladesh hangs Islamist leader Abdul Quader Mollah’, *Financial Times*, available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/18f3eac4-61c4-11e3-aa02-00144feabdc0>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁹⁵ Archived tweet, 17 September 2017.

¹²⁹⁶ ‘Riyadh Arrests the Sheikh It Most Fears’, *Sharq Forum*, 14 September 2017, available at: <http://www.sharqforum.org/2017/09/14/riyadh-arrests-the-sheikh-it-most-fears/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; ‘Popular Saudi cleric critical of US “banned from Twitter”’, *Al Araby*, 17 March 2017, available at: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/society/2017/3/17/popular-saudi-cleric-awad-al-qarni-banned-from-twitter>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁹⁷ ‘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 October 2017.

¹²⁹⁸ Archived tweet, 13 February 2013.

¹²⁹⁹ ‘MEND: “Islamists masquerading as civil libertarians”’, *The Henry Jackson Society*, 2017.

¹³⁰⁰ ‘Supporters’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/supporters>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁰¹ ‘Yvonne Ridley’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/yvonne-ridley/171>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁰² ‘George Galloway’s Respect Party deregisters, prompting speculation politician may rejoin Labour’, *Independent*, 21 August 2016, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/george-galloway-respect-party-deregisters-labour-jeremy-corbyn-member-a7202191.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁰³ ‘Press Release: UK Event - IHRC 10 Year Anniversary Conference, 11 November’, *IHRC*, 07 November 2007, available at: <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/press-releases/5277-Press-Release-UK-Event-IHRC-10-Year-Anniversary-Conference-11-November>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁰⁴ ‘Ridley wins payout from Islam Channel’, *Guardian*, 21 April 2008, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2008/apr/21/pressandpublishing3>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

- **Gareth Pierce:** is a lawyer and solicitor to Shaker Amer and represented Moazzam Begg.¹³⁰⁵ She also represented the 'Guilford Four' and 'Birmingham Six', who eventually had their convictions for IRA bombings quashed.¹³⁰⁶
- **Victoria Brittain:** is a journalist and former associate foreign editor of the Guardian.¹³⁰⁷ She is the author of *The Forgotten Women of the War on Terror* (2013)¹³⁰⁸
- **Anne Alexander** of Scotland Against Criminalising Communities (SACC).¹³⁰⁹ SACC aims to "campaign against the use of excessive state powers to criminalise political activity" and has campaigned against, for example, Control Orders.¹³¹⁰ They have jointly hosted events with the Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC)¹³¹¹ and have worked closely with CAGE. A speaking tour, for example, organised in 2009 provided a platform for Moazzam Begg, Omar Deghayes and fellow ex-Guantanamo detainee, Christopher Arendt.¹³¹²

4.7 Examples of Partnership, Sponsorship and Fundraising Platforms

- **CAGE:** HHUGS have a long term relationship with CAGE, through shared personnel and joint fundraising. In 2008 the Annual Iftar for Aafia Siddiqui raised money for both organisations.¹³¹³ Likewise in 2009, 2010 and 2011, As-Sabeel's Iftar fundraiser raised money for both organisations.¹³¹⁴
- **Tayyibun Institute:** The Tayyibun Institute held an annual Iftar Dinner to fundraise for HHUGS on Sunday 14 August 2011.¹³¹⁵
- **Muslim Council of Britain (MCB):** On 3 March 2017 HHUGS' Usman Qureshi presented on behalf of HHUGS at the MCB Community Dinner.¹³¹⁶
- **JustGiving** have provided HHUGS with an account through which they are able to fundraise.¹³¹⁷
- **Mercy Mission and Ramadan TV:** Mercy Mission's annual Sisters Conference, held in London on 16 July 2011, was advertised by HHUGS.¹³¹⁸ Mercy Mission and Ramadan TV

¹³⁰⁵ 'Gareth Peirce', *Guardian*, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/profile/gareth-peirce>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁰⁶ *ibid.*; 'Guilford Four: An innocent man's letters from jail', *BBC News*, 4 October 2014, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-29429010>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁰⁷ 'Victoria Brittain', *Guardian*, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/profile/victoriabrittain>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁰⁸ 'Shadow Lives: The Forgotten Women of the War on Terror by Victoria Brittain - review', *Guardian*, 12 May 2013, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/may/12/shadow-lives-victoria-brittain-review>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁰⁹ 'Ann Alexander', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/ann-alexander/98>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³¹⁰ 'Counter-Terrorism Policy and Human Rights: Draft Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005 (Continuance in force of sections 1 to 9) Order 2006', House of Lords, House of Commons: Joint Committee on Human Rights (2006), available at: <http://www.sacc.org.uk/sacc/docs/jchr-control.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, pp. 83-84.

¹³¹¹ 'Islamophobia Conference 2016 Edinburgh', *CAGE*, 22 November 2016, available at: <https://cage.ngo/event/islamophobia-conference-2016-edinburgh/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³¹² 'Two Sides One Story', *SACC*, 26 January 2009, available at: <http://www.sacc.org.uk/documents/2009/two-sides-one-story>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Two Sides - One Story', *IHRC* (2009), available at: <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/events/4531-Two-Sides-One-Story-?format=pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³¹³ 'Charity Iftar & fundraiser for prisoner 650', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/charity-iftar-amp-fundraiser-for-prisoner-650/142>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³¹⁴ 'As-Sabeel charity Iftar fundraiser in aid of HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-charity-iftar-fundraiser-in-aid-of-hhugs/151>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'As-Sabeel charity Iftar 2011 fundraiser in aid of HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-charity-iftar-2011-fundraiser-for-hhugs-349>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'As-Sabeel's 4th annual Iftar', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-s-4th-annual-iftar/288>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³¹⁵ 'Tayyibun Iftar dinner in aid of HHUGS. Free booking!', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/tayyibun-iftar-dinner-in-aid-of-hhugs-free-booking/346>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Events', *HHUGS*, available at: http://www.hhugs.org.uk/Events/10-years-of-hhugs-dinner/sisters-pre-cid-treat/tea-cake-and-hhugs-a-mother-s-tale/a-mother-s-tale/hhugsbreakfast/723?pageNum_rsListing=4, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³¹⁶ 'HHUGS Presentation at the MCB Community Dinner', *YouTube*, 10 March 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xbd6S7VqEPI>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³¹⁷ 'HHUGS', *JustGiving*, available at: <https://www.justgiving.com/hhugs>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³¹⁸ 'Mercy Mission annual sisters conference London 2011', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/mercy-mission-annual-sisters-conference-london-2011/337>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

also sponsored HHUGS fundraising event and auction, 'An Evening of Unity', held on 13 July 2013.¹³¹⁹

- **Eman Channel:** On 22 June 2017, HHUGS held a four-hour fundraiser on the Eman Channel.¹³²⁰
- **Lewisham Islamic Centre (LIC):** LIC has sponsored and hosted HHUGS events, such as "10 years of HHUGS", which took place on 14 December 2014 and "Everybody Needs HHUGS", on 26 January 2013.¹³²¹
- **The Greenwich Islamic Centre** hosted HHUGS' event 'Suffering in Silence' held on 19 April 2013.¹³²²
- **The East London Mosque** have hosted a fun run to raise money for HHUGS on 9 August 2015.¹³²³
- **The Al Ikhwaan Cycle Club** held a London to Brighton charity bike ride on 12 September 2015 to raise money for **Ummah Welfare Trust** and HHUGS.¹³²⁴
- **As-Sabeel** held an annual charity iftar on 14 August 2011 to raise money for HHUGS and Cageprisoners.¹³²⁵

¹³¹⁹ 'An Evening of Unity: HHUGS Midlands Fundraising Dinner', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/an-evening-of-unity-hhugs-midlands-fundraising-dinner/450>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'An Evening of Unity: HHUGS Ramadhan Fundraising Dinner', *Wherevent*, available at: <http://www.wherevent.com/detail/Hhugs-An-Evening-of-Unity-HHUGS-Ramadhan-Fundraising-Dinner>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³²⁰ Eman Channel, *Facebook*, 22 June 2017, available at: https://www.facebook.com/emanchanneluk/videos/886207408184698/?hc_ref=ARSvpu0wszStaPqVv0hG5rLiA2VXXd19S_5bWgft_dR46fH6LHgLyjSMNaOb0ZL_UxE, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³²¹ 'Why everybody needs HHUGS! Make sure you attend!', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/why-everybody-needs-hhugs-make-sure-you-attend-/421>, last visited: 22 January 2018; '10 years of HHUGS - Moazzam Begg', *YouTube*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5N5zfPftwY>, last visited: 22 January 2018; '10 Years of HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/10-years-of-hhugs-dinner/585>, last visited: 5 February 2018.

¹³²² 'Event: Suffering in silence', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/event-suffering-in-silence/442>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³²³ 'Muslim Charity Run', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/muslim-charity-run/648>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³²⁴ 'London to Brighton Charity Cycle Bike Ride', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/london-to-brighton-charity-cycle-bike-ride/649>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³²⁵ 'As-Sabeel charity Iftar 2011 fundraiser in aid of HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-charity-iftar-2011-fundraiser-for-hhugs-/349>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Conclusions and Recommendations

From the outset, HHUGS has consistently involved individuals who have made extremist statements at all levels, from trustees to speakers. Those who have spoken or supported HHUGS have propagated, among other things, the idea that there is a war on Muslims and have spoken in support of convicted terrorists. In addition, the charity has exposed vulnerable beneficiaries to speakers who are known to be extremists, such as Shakeel Begg, and has been supported by individuals known to be popular among violent extremists, including Ahmad Jibril. Analysis of the views and backgrounds of those involved in the charity leads overwhelmingly to the conclusion that it is institutionally problematic. In addition, there is ample evidence to suggest that many of the problematic charities detailed in section 3 provide platforms for the same individuals from the UK's Islamist scene over a prolonged period of time, often irrespective of whether action has been taken against them. This suggests that not only is the problem formidable but that those responsible for regulating the sector, despite their efforts, have largely not succeeded in preventing this abuse of charitable status.

This appears to be partly a result of the legal limitations faced by the regulator. As barrister Francesca Quint noted, when a charity has been involved in supporting extremism, often “people think it’s the charities that ought to be punished”,¹³²⁶ whereas according to Charity Law and the Charity Commission’s approach, the responsibility falls on trustees, rather than on the organisation itself. This is reflected in the fact that the Commission does not legally have the power to simply de-register a charity, but can provide advice to trustees, or for example install an interim manager to set the charity’s affairs in order.¹³²⁷ Compare this, for example, with the Canadian approach. In 2007 Canada’s Charities Directorate took a more ‘aggressive’ approach to charities that were seen as “harming the public and the system”, seeing the regulator suspend and close down “renegade” charities.¹³²⁸ The Canadian federal regulators ability to revoke charitable status was recently demonstrated in July 2017 when they revoked the status from a problematic Islamic charity believed to be supporting militancy.¹³²⁹

Despite the push within the Charity Commission to tackle extremist abuse, and the increasing use of new powers, the problem remains partly because of the legal limits that they must operate within. The current framing of Charity Law does not appear to be fit for new challenges, in particular, dealing with charities that are institutionally problematic. Despite new powers and attempts in recent years to tackle the problem, the actions available to the Charity Commission remain constrained by the law. For example:

- Under the Charity Act 2016, the Commission can automatically disqualify trustees, but only if they have been convicted of one of the specified offences in the UK or an equivalent offence abroad, or following a statutory inquiry.¹³³⁰ This sets the bar too high for the disqualification of those involved in non-violent extremist activity. It is also unclear whether the Commission is able to disqualify an individual who has been banned from the UK by

¹³²⁶ Author interview with Francesca Quint, 27 September 2017.

¹³²⁷ Exposure: Charities Behaving Badly, ITV, 2015.

¹³²⁸ ‘Charity rules beefed up’, *The Star*, 21 December 2007, available at:

https://www.thestar.com/news/investigations/2007/12/21/charity_rules_beefed_up.html, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³²⁹ ‘Government revokes group’s charity status, audit cites possible funding of Pakistani militants’, *Global News*, 19 July 2017, available at: <https://globalnews.ca/news/3606224/government-revokes-groups-charity-status-audit-cites-pakistani-militants/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³³⁰ Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016, available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2016/4/pdfs/ukpga_20160004_en.pdf, last visited: 22 January 2018.

the Home Secretary for concerns relating to extremism and terrorism. The Charity Commission's ability to deal with trustees who are resident abroad is also problematic, as illustrated by the case of Zakir Naik, who was banned by the Home Secretary in 2010 and is therefore based overseas; the challenge of Islamist extremist abuse is international, yet the Charity Commission's jurisdiction is limited to England and Wales.

- There is no obvious legal way of dealing with institutionally problematic charities. The Charity Commission cannot prevent registration of a charity that meets the specified criteria or de-register a charity. As illustrated by the long drawn out case of the Cup Trust, a tax-avoidance scheme with charitable status, it is extremely difficult to provide evidence that a charity was not set up for charitable purposes and where this is possible, the process can take a long time.¹³³¹ Therefore, it is unlikely that any of the charities involved in extremist abuse could be dealt with in this way. Even if it were likely, it is not sufficient for dealing with extremist charities that pose an immediate risk by exposing the public to ideas conducive to radicalisation.
- The power to direct winding up is *de facto* the only power that allows the Charity Commission, indirectly, to take action against a charity itself rather than the trustees, although *de jure* the Commission directs the trustee(s) to wind up the charity if certain criteria are met. This power would be particularly useful if it could be applied to charities that are institutionally problematic; however again, the bar is set so high that the power is unlikely to be used for this purpose.¹³³²
- The actions that the Commission can take, with the most serious engagement being a statutory inquiry, may not be effective, particularly if a charity is institutionally problematic. One example of this is Islamic Network, which has continued to provide a platform for extremist speakers, even after the inquiry took place (see 3.5.5). The same is true of iERA, who were instructed to distance themselves from extremism but continue to work with speakers who have not recanted on their previous extremist positions and appear to be paid using money donated to the charity.¹³³³

Despite efforts on the part of individuals within the Charity Commission and the increasing use of new powers, there are significant concerns about the Commission's ability to deal with the problem. Ultimately, the public have certain expectations of the Commission that are not, and in some cases cannot, be met. While the Commission must operate within legal limits, if this continues there may be significant damage to public trust in the Commission's ability to regulate. A corollary of this would likely be damage to public trust in the charitable sector overall.

However, it is unlikely that the Charity Commission will be given any significant new legal powers to deal with abuse,¹³³⁴ and it is necessary to work within current legislation as the problem requires immediate action. We have not yet seen how the implementation of the Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016 will take shape; however, it introduced a number of powers that must be used to the fullest extent to disrupt the activities of these charities, even if the law is not sufficient to completely prevent these charities from operating. To ensure continuing public trust in the

¹³³¹ 'Charity Commission removes Cup Trust from register and bans trustee', *Civil Society*, 14 June 2017, available at: <https://www.civilsociety.co.uk/news/charity-commission-removes-cup-trust-from-register-and-bans-trustee.html>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³³² Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016.

¹³³³ E.g. 'Islamic Education & Research Academy (IERA), Company Limited by Guarantee, Unaudited Financial Statements', Charity Commission (2016), available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends66/0001134566_AC_20160630_E_C.PDF, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³³⁴ Author interview with Francesca Quint, 27 September 2017.

Charity Commission, it is vital that its new Chair, Tina Stowell, is seen to take these issues as seriously as her predecessor by ensuring that the powers given to the Commission under the Charities Act 2016 are used effectively and quickly. For example, whilst the power to issue official warnings to a trustee or charity should be used sparingly so as not to impede its effect, these warnings must be used against charities that continue to provide a platform and support for extremism.

Likewise, it is unacceptable for the government to allow extremist groups to continue receiving, not just the reputational but financial benefits from charitable status, such as tax exemption and Gift Aid. A small selection of charities included in this report received over £6 million from 2015-2016 from the tax payer (see Appendix 1), and this is likely only the tip of the iceberg. More needs to be done to ensure that HMRC can prevent the use of public money by extremist groups through the abuse of Gift Aid, perhaps with more due diligence at the time of application. Even though extremist opinions are not illegal, it is not unreasonable if, to receive these benefits, charities should be expected to abide by responsibilities to the British public, including not propagating views that run counter to fundamental British values.

The government must take this substantial challenge seriously. To use the powers it has effectively, the Commission, which has faced cuts to its budget, requires adequate resources. Without these resources, like any government department, the Commission cannot do more than the minimum required and may be reluctant to invest its limited resources in preventative measures, such as being more pro-active in investigating trustees. The new Commission for Countering Extremism provides an opportunity for the government to develop a more strategic approach and consult on new measures to tackle this problem. Any solution should involve strengthening the co-operation between the Charity Commission and Ofcom, HMRC, the Commission for Countering Extremism and the Home Office's Extremism Analysis Unit (EAU).

Given the legal limitations on the Charity Commission's ability to fully tackle the extremist abuse described in this report, it is vital that the government, relevant regulators, companies and banks do more to disrupt this activity. As well as financial support via Gift Aid, these charities benefit from broadcasting and other platforms. The 2016 Counter-Extremism and Safeguarding Bill proposed new powers for Ofcom to help the regulator protect viewers watching online material from outside the EU. However, as the evidence in this report suggests, it is clear that Ofcom also needs to use its current powers effectively to prevent UK-funded channels from broadcasting extremist content and providing platforms for extremist speakers and fundraising for extremist charities.¹³³⁵ Likewise, fundraising platforms such as Just Giving and Virgin Giving, and event booking platforms, such as Eventbrite and Evensi,¹³³⁶ which are frequently used by these charities, must do more to prevent these groups from raising money through their websites. In addition to this, politicians, national and international organisations such as the United Nations and the European Union should refrain from lending credibility to these charities and assisting in their fundraising activities through partnering with them.¹³³⁷

¹³³⁵ Malik, N., Wilson, T., Orton, K., Rushchenko, J., 'Understanding CONTEST: The Foundation and The Future', The Henry Jackson Society (2017), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/FINAL-CONTEST.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018, p. 4

¹³³⁶ E.g. 'Steps to Allah 8: Confessions', Eventbrite, available at: <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/steps-to-allah-2018-confessions-tickets-40082472755?ref=clink>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Steps to Allah 8 - Confessions', Evensi, available at: <https://www.evensi.uk/steps-allah-8-confessions-islamic-network/239019149>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³³⁷ For example: 'UNRWA.org: "Islamic Relief USA supports UNRWA"', *Islamic Relief USA*, available at: <http://irusa.org/unrwa-org-islamic-relief-usa-supports-unrwa/>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association Education', *European Youth Portal*, available at: https://europa.eu/youth/volunteering/organisation/945012122_en, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association', *National*

In the past, banks have hindered the activities of these charities by closing, freezing or refusing bank accounts as illustrated by banking restrictions placed on the Ummah Welfare Trust (UWT) and HHUGS, as well as other extremist-linked organisations such as the Cordoba Foundation and CAGE.¹³³⁸ In particular, the closure of HHUGS' bank account because "the ethical and moral values held by the charity did not coincide with HSBC's own values" set an important precedent.¹³³⁹ As demonstrated by the rapid changes in legal regulations following 9/11 when the international community was urged to prevent and suppress terror financing, laws can be adapted to meet current threats. Section 326 of the US Patriot Act, which addressed the post-9/11 need for "appropriate tools required to intercept and obstruct terrorism", provided financial institutions with tighter regulatory rules, requiring banks to carry out due diligence in identifying customers as part of their compliance programmes.¹³⁴⁰ Banks should consider similar due diligence on customers who may be involved with the financing and support of non-violent extremism, as well as the freezing of financial assets and sanctions. In addition, while following consultation, the proposal that the Charity Commission should have the ability to direct banks to monitor charity accounts was dropped from the 2014 draft bill,¹³⁴¹ the government should reconsider how they can encourage more pro-active co-operation between banks and the Commission for Countering Extremism and the Charity Commission to help tackle the abuse of charitable status in this way.

Until more comprehensive action is taken, a network of Islamist extremists operating in the UK will continue to use charities and taxpayer money to fund the spread of divisive, illiberal and intolerant views within our communities. This report therefore recommends the following:

Education Union, available at: <https://www.teachers.org.uk/campaigns/international/resources/camden-abu-dis-friendship-association-cadfa>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³³⁸ 'Banking restrictions on Extremism-linked Muslim Groups', The Henry Jackson Society (2017), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Banking-Restrictions-on-Extremism-Linked-Muslim-Groups.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³³⁹ 'Keatinge, T., 'Uncharitable behaviour', Demos (2014), available at: <https://www.demos.co.uk/files/DEMOSuncharitablebehaviourREPORT.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁴⁰ Patriot Act (2011), sec. 326, US Treasury, available at: <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/terrorist-illicit-finance/Terrorist-Finance-Tracking/Documents/staterule.pdf>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁴¹ 'The Charities Act: what you need to know', *Guardian*, 3 February 2016, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/voluntary-sector-network/2016/feb/03/the-charities-act-what-you-need-to-know>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Recommendations

The Charity Commission must quickly exercise the powers given to them under the Charities Act 2016 to maximum effect; particularly the power to direct the winding up of charities and the removal of inappropriate trustees.

The Charity Commission needs to be more pro-active checking the background of trustees to ensure that appropriate action can be taken.

The Government should consider increasing the resources available to the Charity Commission so that they can effectively implement the new powers.

HMRC should work closely with the Charity Commission to prevent the misuse of Gift Aid.

Ofcom should be granted more powers, and use current powers more effectively, to deal with channels providing a platform for extremist content, individuals, or fundraising for extremist charities.

The new **Commission for Countering Extremism** and the **Extremism Analysis Unit (EAU)** should work closely with the Charity Commission to identify extremist individuals supported by, and involved with, UK-registered Charities.

The Government should consider how it may be possible to work with **Banks** to disrupt the activity of non-violent extremists. Banks in particular should include support for non-violent extremism in their compliance programmes and consider placing financial sanctions and banking restrictions on organisations or individuals involved in extremist activity.

Fundraising and events platforms such as Eventbrite, Evensi, Just Giving and Virgin Giving should do more to prevent extremist charities from raising money and advertising events through these websites.

Further consultation and debate is required to ensure that charities are not allowed to continue being used by extremists to create an environment conducive to radicalisation.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Abuse of Gift Aid

The abuse of Gift Aid is a serious challenge within the charitable sector. While the current cost of this to the taxpayer is unknown, in general, abuse of Gift Aid was estimated by the Public Accounts Committee (2014) to have costed the tax payer around £170 million between 2012-2013. The Committee recommended that Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs (HMRC) should work with the charity sector to gather better evidence on the use and benefit of Gift Aid and investigate instances where it may be being used in unintended ways.¹³⁴²

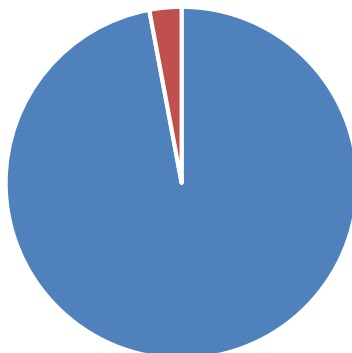
In particular, a number of Islamist extremist charities have and continue to receive large amounts of Gift Aid.¹³⁴³ Below are examples of the amount of Gift Aid received by a selection of charities mentioned in this report.¹³⁴⁴ Calculated from the financial statements provided to the Charity Commission for the financial year 2015-2016, the overall amount of taxpayer money received by these charities alone amounts to £6,066,952.

¹³⁴² 'Charity Commission not Fit For Purpose', Public Accounts Committee, HM Government, available at: <http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/public-accounts-committee/news/publication-of-report-tax-reliefs-on-charitable-donations/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁴³ "Terror link" charities get British millions in Gift Aid", *Daily 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: 22 January 2018.

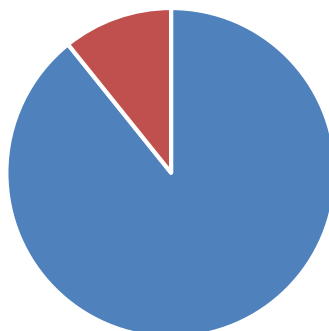
¹³⁴⁴ N.B: These charities have in the past, or continue to be, involved in some kind of extremist activity. The data given is for the last financial year, and does not claim that the money was received in all cases at a time when the charity was involved in extremist activity.

One Nation Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



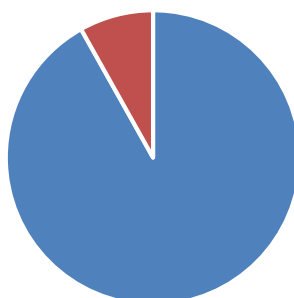
■ Other Income - £2,665,570 ■ Gift Aid - £80,901

Islamic Network Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



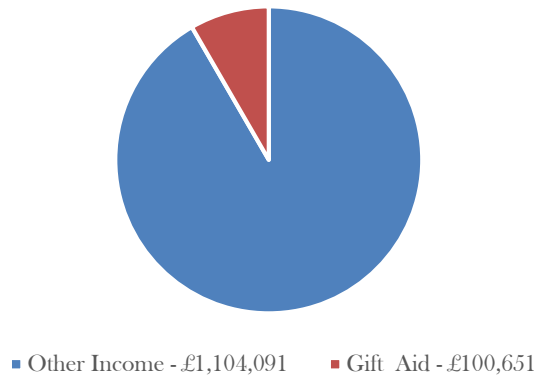
■ Other Income - £65,445 ■ Gift Aid - £7,899

Islamic Help Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)

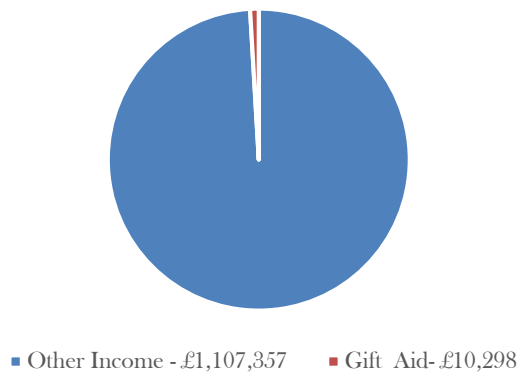


■ Other Income - £5,422,598 ■ Gift Aid - £480,149

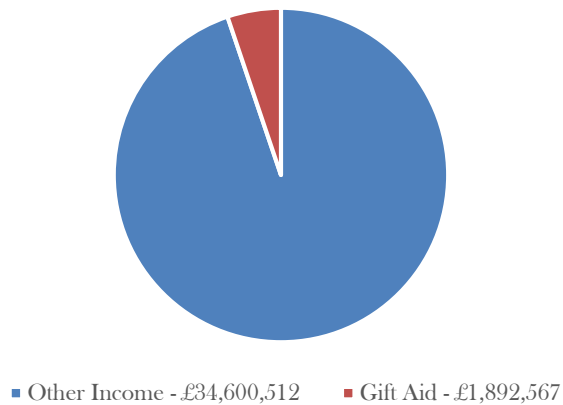
Charity Right Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



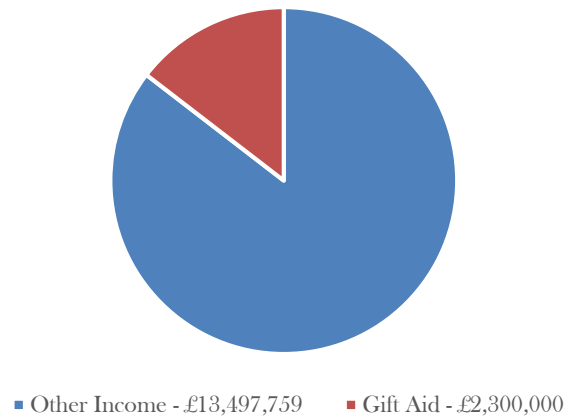
Muath Trust Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



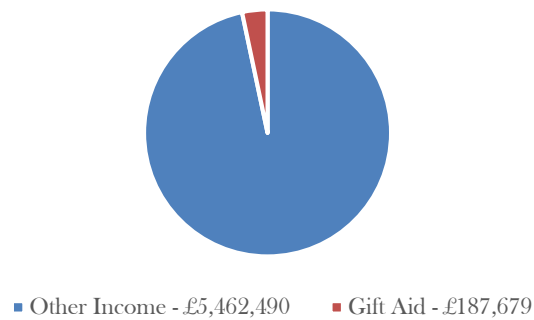
Human Appeal Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



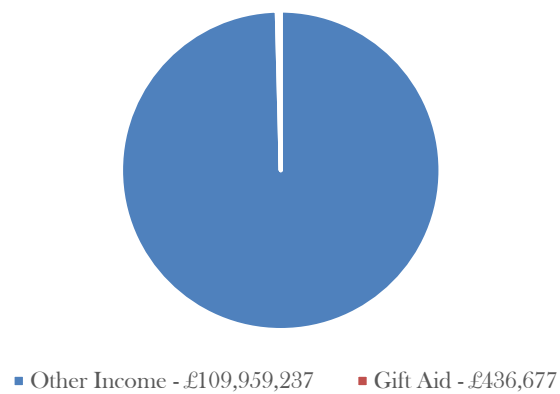
Muslim Hands Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



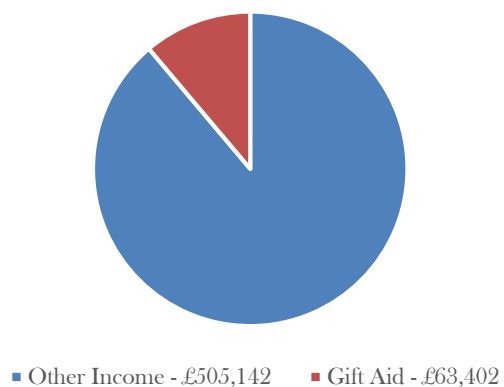
Human Relief Foundation Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



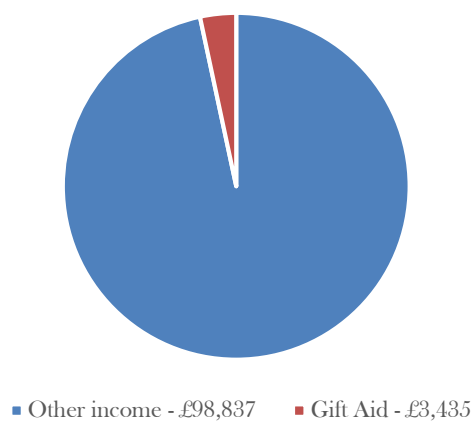
Islamic Relief Worldwide Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



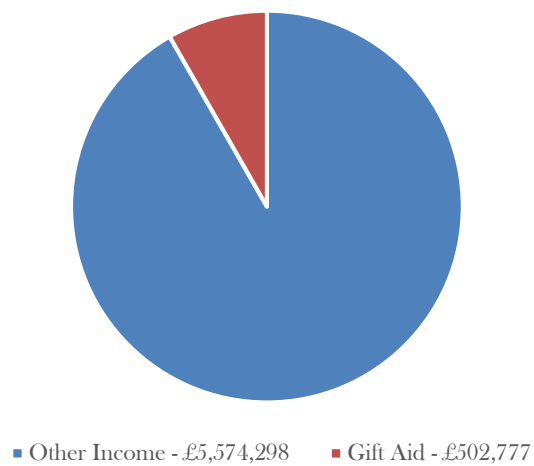
Helping Households Under Great Stress Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association (2015 - 2016)



Palestinians Relief and Develoment Fund Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



Al Muntada al Islami Gift Aid (2015 - 2016)



Appendix 2: Examples of the Views of Peace TV Speakers

The views of Zakir Naik, Bilal Phillips and Said Rageah are mentioned in more depth above. Below are examples of a selection of extremist views held by Peace TV's speakers. The examples below are not exhaustive.

*Assim Al Hakeem*¹³⁴⁵

On Twitter, Al Hakeem has spoken against mixing at universities, stating that for women this is “not permissible”.¹³⁴⁶ Al Hakeem permitted slavery during times of war and stated that “if a man has a woman as his slave he has the right to have intercourse with her”, and that the female slave can be “bought and sold in the market of slavery”.¹³⁴⁷

On the topic of interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims, he has stated that a Muslim should not open the door for a Jew or Christian, because “I am a Muslim. This is my religion. I'm a proud person and this is a kafir”.¹³⁴⁸ Al Hakeem has encouraged severing cordial relationships with relatives who have apostatised, “sever[ing] all connections and commitment” with them.¹³⁴⁹ He has also stated that greeting non-Muslims on their holidays, such as Christmas and Easter is not permitted, even if they greet you on Eid, because “Our Eids are legit. They are from the Quran and the Sunnah and our religion is the correct religion” [sic].¹³⁵⁰

On Huda TV, in 2011, Al Hakeem has stated that Female Genital Mutilation is recommended, and that “circumcision is part of human nature”.¹³⁵¹ Likewise, on the topic of women, he has stated that “a woman must not refuse her husband [intercourse] even if he drinks alcohol because this is a major sin [...] this is his right”.¹³⁵² In another video he states that a woman who refuses to have intercourse with her husband is “sinful” and “cursed by the angels and Allah”.¹³⁵³

*Muhammed Salah*¹³⁵⁴

On Huda TV, Salah has stated that parents should not look at their children's “intimate parts”, namely, “Sometimes at the age of six or seven they start to grow maturer [sic] and they understand, and a girl will look pretty and she will be desired”.¹³⁵⁵

Salah also condones female sex slavery, stating that Islamic law stipulates that if a female sex slave conceives she cannot be sold because the child is not a slave, but free.¹³⁵⁶

¹³⁴⁵ ‘Assim Al Hakeem’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Assim-Al-Hakeem>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁴⁶ Archived screenshot.

¹³⁴⁷ Archived screenshot, “Female Sex Slaves—Assim Al Hakeem”, 00:09.

¹³⁴⁸ Archived video, “Jews and Christians – Assim Al Hakeem”, 00:08.

¹³⁴⁹ ‘Assim Al-Hakeem - Non-Muslim relatives’, *YouTube*, 20 July 2012, available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=36&v=p59cgQqJwpY, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁵⁰ ‘Saying “Merry Christmas!” Is A Major Sin | Sh. Assim Al Hakeem’, *YouTube*, 16 December 2012, available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=46&v=oPSadLLfUW0, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁵¹ ‘Is female circumcision permissible’, *YouTube*, 8 October 2011, available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=15&v=oVHwTsj_EDY, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁵² ‘Can i refuse to have intimate relations with my husband if he drinks alcohol?’, *YouTube*, 12 April 2010, available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=10&v=UADzH1bg4WM, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁵³ ‘Can I refuse intimacy with my husband? Sheikh Assim al Hakeem’, *YouTube*, 4 May 2010, available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=36&v=OIJop03Gmi0, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁵⁴ ‘Dr Muhammed Salah’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Muhammed-Salah>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁵⁵ Archived video, “Muhammed Salah – Children”, 01:30.

¹³⁵⁶ Archived video, “Muhammed Salah – Female non-Muslim slaves”, 00:20.

*Salem Al Amry*¹³⁵⁷

Amry has stated that the punishment for homosexuality is death¹³⁵⁸ and that in the future when non-Muslim women are captured, the Caliph will decide “whether to enslave them and distribute them among the soldiers, Muslim muhajids, or to set them free, or to execute them – and this is against the Geneva Convention, ok? We don’t care, this is the law of Allah”. He also permits having sexual intercourse with a female slave.¹³⁵⁹

*Yusuf Estes*¹³⁶⁰

Estes likewise permits sex with slaves because “it gives a chance for her [the slave] to come to Islam”¹³⁶¹ and has described homosexuality as “known to be from the devil”.¹³⁶² Estes has also described having a non-Muslim wife as “a problem”, and advised that if you are married to a non-Muslim woman, to leave her before you have any children.¹³⁶³

*Ismail Musa Menk*¹³⁶⁴

Menk has said “with all due respect to the animals, they (homosexuals) are worse than those animals”¹³⁶⁵ and has advised Muslims not to wish people “merry Christmas”.¹³⁶⁶

*Hussain Ye*¹³⁶⁷

Ye has made explicitly conspiratorial and anti-Semitic comments. In 2006 Ye commented on the attacks on 11 September 2001: “The Twin Towers is unjust? No. What is unjust is what is happening in Iraq. It’s very unjust. So don’t worry about the Twin Towers. We have nothing to do with it [...] You know who is very happy when the Twin Towers had been attacked? A group of Jews were so happy in America. They were having a party when they heard the Twin Towers had been burned. They had a celebration, they had a party going on”.¹³⁶⁸

Likewise: “The Jews, they have gone so far against Allah’s commands. They like to do a lot of things that are very extreme. The most extremist nation in the world is the Jews. So if they use ‘extremists’, it doesn’t apply to Muslims. It applies to the Jews. They are the extremists in the world. That’s why they kill the Palestinians every day. They have no respect for the United Nations”.¹³⁶⁹

¹³⁵⁷ ‘Salem Al Amry’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Salem-Al-Amry>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁵⁸ Archived video, “Salem al-Amry – Homosexuality”, 2:18.

¹³⁵⁹ Archived video, “Salem al-Amry – Female non-Muslim slaves”, 5:53.

¹³⁶⁰ ‘Yusuf Estes’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/yusuf-estes>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁶¹ ‘DW S16 : Q11. Man can have sex with slave?’, *YouTube*, 4 May 2010 [5:05], available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kNpdUVHSlbg>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁶² ‘Mail Box By Yusuf Estes - What does Islam tell us about homosexual?’, *YouTube*, 4 May 2010, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9m7hvkIaZXQ>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 1:50.

¹³⁶³ Archived video, “Non-Muslim Women-- Yusuf Estes”.

¹³⁶⁴ ‘Ismail Musa Menk’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Ismail-MusaMenk>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁶⁵ ‘Gay Muslims do not respect animals Mufti Menk’, *YouTube*, 7 June 2015, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=116&v=3N_3dVGKx_Y, last visited: 22 January 2018, 02:15.

¹³⁶⁶ ‘Can a Muslim say “Merry Christmas”- Mufti Menk’, *YouTube*, 24 December 2013, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_6MjBd1r8Y4, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁶⁷ ‘Hussain Yee’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Hussain-Yee>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁶⁸ ‘Hussein Ye about 9/11’, *YouTube*, 13 December 2007, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xrOfbTeve1Q>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 1:00.

¹³⁶⁹ ‘Jews Sheikh Hussein Yee’, *YouTube*, 30 August 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Us95F5XEdek>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 2:37.

*Yusuf Chambers*¹³⁷⁰

In a conversation with Zakir Naik, where both men agree that the punishment for adultery or extra-marital sex should be stoning to death, Chambers says “May Allah allow us to bring back that punishment to protect all humanity”.¹³⁷¹

*Ahmad Deedat*¹³⁷²

On homosexuals Deedat has said “God almighty punishes them... with AIDS... what a beautiful word... AIDS. Filthy dirty disease”.¹³⁷³

*Abdur Raheem McCarthy*¹³⁷⁴

McCarthy wrote on his Facebook on January 2017 that celebrating and greeting a person on a non-Muslim holidays is “as great a sin as congratulating someone for drinking wine, or murdering someone, or having illicit sexual relations”.¹³⁷⁵

*Yahya Ibrahim*¹³⁷⁶

Ibrahim has stated “Never will the Christians and the Jews be satisfied or content or pleased with you until you follow them and their religion [...] I wish to speak to you today about how they are trying to influence us, how the disbelievers are trying to take us from our religion”.¹³⁷⁷

¹³⁷⁰ ‘Yusuf Chambers’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Yusuf-Chambers>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁷¹ ‘Evangelising Hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy (IERA)’, *Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain*, May 2014, available at: https://ex-muslim.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/EvangelisingHate_Report_Web.pdf, p. 23.

¹³⁷² ‘Ahmed Deedat’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/ahmed-deedat>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁷³ ‘Ahmad Deedat Explain about Gay’, *YouTube*, 19 April 2007, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gtcmkN78C6M>, last visited: 22 January 2018, 1:34.

¹³⁷⁴ ‘Abdur Raheem McCarthy’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Abdur-Raheem-McCarthy>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁷⁵ Archived screenshot.

¹³⁷⁶ ‘Yahya Ibrahim’, *Peace TV English*, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Yahya-Ibrahim>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁷⁷ Archived video.

Appendix 3: HHUGS Events¹²⁷⁸

2008 Global Peace and Unity Conference¹²⁷⁹

Organised by the Islam Channel, it hosted a number of extremist speakers alongside mainstream figures and politicians.¹²⁸⁰

Stall at Islam Expo, 11-14 July 2008, Kensington Olympia¹²⁸¹

The Expo is “non-profit organisation... dedicated to enhancing understanding of Islam in Britain and building bridges between the Muslim world and the West”. One of its aims is to “promote multi-culturalism as an enrichment of British identity”, “Encourage positive interaction between Muslims and the different races and cultures of British society. Working towards a more open, tolerant and pluralistic Britain”.

Charity Iftar and Fundraiser for Prisoner 650, 14 September 2008, Reading¹²⁸²

Event to raise money for HHUGS and CAGE and to highlight the case of ‘Sister Aafia Siddiqui’ (Prisoner 650).

Speakers:

- Moazzam Begg
- Tipton Three
- Uthman Lateef (Hittin Institute)
- Omer Butt (accused of being Al Qaeda)
- Tazneem Akunjee (Lawyer and terrorism expert)

As-Sabeel Charity Iftar Fundraiser in Aid of HHUGS and Cageprisoners, 6 September 2009, The Oakwood Centre, Woodley¹²⁸³

Speakers:

- Moazzam Begg (Director, Cageprisoners)
- Yvonne Ridley (journalist)
- Omar Deghayes (Former Guantanamo detainee)
- Abu Hanifa Ismaeel (Egypt)

Stall at Celebrating Muslim Women in the 21st Century, 30 January 2010¹²⁸⁴

¹²⁷⁸ The below descriptions and phrasing are adapted from taken from the source.

¹²⁷⁹ ‘Meet Hhugs at the Global Peace and Unity 2008’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/meet-hhugs-at-the-global-peace-and-unity-2008/146>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁸⁰ ‘The Global Peace and Unity Event: Extremists, Bigots, Supporters of Terrorism... and Senior Labour Politicians’, *Harry’s Place*, 10 October 2008, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2008/10/10/the-global-peace-and-unity-event-extremists-bigots-supporters-of-terrorism-and-senior-labour-politicians/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁸¹ ‘Islamexpo’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/islamexpo/140>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁸² ‘Charity Iftar & Fundraiser for Prisoner 650’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/charity-iftar-amp-fundraiser-for-prisoner-650/142>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁸³ ‘As-Sabeel Charity Iftar Fundraiser in Aid of Hhugs’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-charity-iftar-fundraiser-in-aid-of-hhugs/151>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹²⁸⁴ ‘HHUGS stall at celebrating Muslim Women in the 21st Century’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-stall-at-celebrating-muslim-women-in-the-21st-century/190>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Ladies and Children's Charity Bazaar: Fundraising for HHUGS, 14 February 2010, Praxis Community Project, Bethnal Green¹³⁸⁵

HHUGS at QM ISOC Annual Dinner 2010- The Hearts Have Been Drawn, 5 March 2010¹³⁸⁶

Guest speakers:

- Yahya Ibrahim (Australia)
- Haitham al Haddad (MRDF)

HHUGS at Women in Dawah 12: Shacked by Sharia, 28 March 2010, London Muslim Centre, Whitechapel Road, London¹³⁸⁷

Shajahah Tayyibah raising for HHUGS at their forthcoming conference "Over a Decade of Dawah for Women" – On polygamy, marriage, divorce, honour killing "tackling the controversy and breaking the myths".

- Haitham al Haddad
- Wasim Kempson
- Fatima Barakatullah

HHUGS at LSBU ISOC Dinner - In Search of Freedom and Justice, 29 March 2010¹³⁸⁸

Speakers:

- Cerie Bullivant (HHUGS)
- Andy Worthington (Journalist)
- Omar Deghayes (Guantanamo Justice Centre)
- Faisal Hanjarah (JFAC, President FOSIS)
- Z King (Spoken word poet)

Everybody Needs HHUGS, 21 May 2010, Lewisham Islamic Centre¹³⁸⁹

Speakers:

- Faraj Hassan
- Samir Omar (Trustee of HHUGS)

With Hardship Comes Ease, HHUGS and IslamBradford, Bradford, 27 June 2010¹³⁹⁰

Speakers:

¹³⁸⁵ 'Ladies and children's charity bazaar: Fundraising for HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/ladies-and-childrens-charity-bazaar-fundraising-for-hhugs/204>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁸⁶ 'HHUGS at QM ISOC annual dinner 2010 - The hearts have been drawn', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-qm-isoc-annual-dinner-2010-the-hearts-have-been-drawn/206>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁸⁷ 'HHUGS at Women in Dawah 12: shackled by Shariah', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-women-in-Dawah-12-shackled-by-shariah/203>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁸⁸ 'HHUGS at LSBU ISOC dinner - In search of Freedom and Justice', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-lsbu-isoc-dinner-in-search-of-freedom-and-justice/230>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁸⁹ 'Everybody needs HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/everybody-needs-hhugs/290>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁹⁰ "With hardship comes ease", *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/-with-hardship-comes-ease-/248>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

- Murtaza Khan
- Wajid Malik
- Faraj Hassan (former prisoner)
- Kaleem Cerie Bullivant (former control order detainee)

Conference Ease After Hardship - Embrace HHUGS this Ramadhan, 14 August 2010, Bia Lounge, Small Heath Birmingham¹⁸⁹¹

Segregated event.

Speakers:

- Murtaza Khan (Tabiyyun Institute)
- Uthman Latif (Hittin Institute)
- Moazzam Begg (ex-Guantanamo detainee)
- Faraj Hassan (former Long Lartin prison detainee)
- Kaleem Cerie Bullivant (former control order detainee)

Advertised by IHRC: Children Need HHUGS Annual Fundraising Dinner, 1 August 2010¹⁸⁹²

Speakers:

- Murtaza Khan (Graduate of Usool ud-Deen, Islamic University of Islamabad)
- Uthman Lateef (Director, Hittin Institute)
- Rizwan Hussain (Barrister, Presenter on Islam Channel and Channel S)
- Faraj Hassan (Former detainee in Long Lartin Prison and control order detainee)
- Kaleem Cerie Bullivant (Former control order detainee)
- Ramiz Ibraheem (Co-founder of DiscoveringYourPotential, Freelance Counsellor)
- Abdullah Rolle (Nasheeds)

Fundraising dinner, Children need HHUGS, 1 August 2010, TKC restaurant, Southall (see above).¹⁸⁹³

Speakers:

- Murtaza Khan
- Uthman Lateef
- Rizwan Hussain
- Faraj Hassan
- Cerie Bullivant

¹⁸⁹¹ 'Ease after hardship - embrace HHUGS this Ramadhan', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/ease-after-hardship-embrace-hhugs-this-ramadhan/289>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁸⁹² 'Forwarded Alert: UK - Children Need HHUGS Annual Fundraising Dinner', *IHRC*, 29 July 2010, available at: <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/alerts/9402-forwarded-alert-uk-children-need-hhugs-annual-fundraising-dinner>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁸⁹³ "Children need HHUGS", *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/-children-need-hhugs-/249>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

- Ramiz Ibrahim
- Abdullah Rolle

HHUGS Charity Dinner, Birmingham "Ease After Hardship", 14 August 2010¹³⁹⁴

Speakers:

- Faraj Hassan
- Murtaza Khan (Tabiyyun Institute)
- Uthman Lateef (Hittin Institute)
- Cerie Bullivant
- Moazzam Begg

As Sabeel's 4th Annual Iftar for Cageprisoners and HHUGS, Reading, 29 August 2010¹³⁹⁵

"As Sabeel has held a fundraising event in aid of Cageprisoners & HHUGS for the past 3 Ramadhan's and the event has grown bigger and better every year, Moazzam Begg (Cageprisoner Director) has been ever present in previous events" – but was not present at this event.

Speakers:

- Yvonne Ridley (former Taliban Captive)
- Feroz Abbasi (Former Guantanamo Detainee)
- Cerie Bullivant
- Uthman Lateef (Hittin Institute director)
- Ramiz Ibrahim (Co-Founder of DiscoveringYourPotential)
- Abdullah Rolle (Nasheed Artist)

Stall at 5th Global Peace and Unity Event, 23-24 October 2010, London Excel¹³⁹⁶

Handing out merchandise including Abdullah Rolle CDs, postcards to write to prisoners, a book entitled "Ricin! The plot that never was" by Lawrence Archer and Fiona Bawdon, "detailing the lives of some of our beneficiaries".

"Meet and speak with HHUGS team along with special guests on the stall including ex-control order detainee hear their stories and met [sic] Babar Ahmad's father"

The West Midland's Families enjoy some relaxing activities¹³⁹⁷

One Big Family HHUGS Fundraising Dinner, Novotel, Hammersmith, 19 March 2011¹³⁹⁸

Guests donated 150K to HHUGS and beneficiaries.

¹³⁹⁴ 'Ease after hardship fundraising dinner', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/ease-after-hardship-fundraising-dinner/312>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'Hhugs Charity Dinner at Birmingham, "Ease After Hardship" (14th August 2010)', *YouTube*, 9 December 2010, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=435vBxI8dEE>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁹⁵ 'As-Sabeel's 4th annual Iftar', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-s-4th-annual-iftar/288>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁹⁶ 'HHUGS at the GPU 23-24th October!', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-at-the-gpu-23-24th-october-/237>

¹³⁹⁷ 'The west Midland's families enjoy some relaxing activities', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/the-west-midland-s-families-enjoy-some-relaxing-activities/331>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹³⁹⁸ 'A historic night for HHUGS - the 'one big family' review', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/a-historic-night-for-hhugs-the-one-big-family-review/322>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Included the showing of a video about detainees and their families helped by HHUGS, including Babar Ahmed, Faraj Hassan, the family of Shaker Aamer.

Sponsors of the event: Muslim Hands, JFAC, Greenleaf Caterers, Human Relief Foundation.

Master of ceremonies: Naeem Raza.

Speakers:

- Shakeel Begg
- Ashfaq Ahmed (father of Barbar Ahmed)¹³⁹⁹
- Muhammad al-Luhydan¹⁴⁰⁰
- Yasir Khan¹⁴⁰¹

Page lists speakers:¹⁴⁰²

- Mohammad Ali (CEO Islam Channel)
- Rizwan Hussain (Presenter, Islam Channel and Channel S)
- Shakeel Begg (Redbridge Mosque)
- Danny Williams (Former boxer)
- Abdullah Rolle (Nasheeds)
- Abu Bakr Ash-Shaatr (Recitations)

Mercy Mission Annual Sisters Conference London, 16 July 2011¹⁴⁰³

Tayyibun Annual Charity Iftar Dinner in Aid of HHUGS, 14 August 2011¹⁴⁰⁴

As-Sabeel Charity Iftar 2011 Fundraiser for HHUGS and Cageprisoners, 14 August 2011¹⁴⁰⁵

Speakers:

- Lauren Booth
- Victoria Brittain
- Yvonne Ridley
- Uthman Lateef

¹³⁹⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰⁰ 'HHUGS Annual Dinner - 03/11 - Shaykh Muhammad al-Luhydan (Part 6)', *YouTube*, 28 June 2011, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iOhApFMIWoI&t=3s>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁰¹ 'HHUGS - One Big Family - 03/11', *YouTube*, 28 June 2011, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3sn-AemCMVg&list=PLC45AEFE53751BED4&index=6>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁰² 'One big family - HHUGS fundraising dinner - Sat 19th March', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/one-big-family-hhugs-fundraising-dinner-sat-19th-march/299>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁰³ 'Mercy Mission Annual Sisters Conference London 2011', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/mercy-mission-annual-sisters-conference-london-2011/337>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'sisterconference com', *YouTube*, 23 June 2011, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJIZ_JADdVg, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁰⁴ 'Tayyibun Iftar dinner in aid of HHUGS. Free booking!', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/tayyibun-iftar-dinner-in-aid-of-hhugs-free-booking-/346>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁰⁵ 'As-Sabeel charity Iftar 2011 fundraiser for HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/as-sabeel-charity-iftar-2011-fundraiser-for-hhugs-/349>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Tawheed & The Balance of Iman, 6 January 2013, Chalkhill Community Centre, Wembley¹⁴⁰⁶

Speakers:

- Abu Aaliya
- Imam Shaikh Adam (Imam of northwest London)

Raising money for HHUGS and the Dawah Project.

Women only allowed to be involved in a 'marriage profile wall' with the permission of their *wali* (custodian).

One day hijma treatment, The Therapy Clinic, Burnage, 24 January 2013¹⁴⁰⁷

Women only - all proceeds to HHUGS.

Night at Lewisham Islamic Centre, 26 January 2013¹⁴⁰⁸

Speakers:

- Wasim Kempson
- Shakeel Begg
- Cerie Bullivant
- Omar Deghayes

Fundraising Dinner- Lives, 6 April 2013, The Guoman Hotel, London¹⁴⁰⁹

Speakers:

- Uthman Lateef
- Lauren Booth
- Mohammed Ali (Islam Channel)
- Reciters (TBC)
- Rahim Jung

Auction: including an '*umrali*' ticket (Islamic pilgrimage), bespoke artwork and Amir Khan's boxing gloves. Segregated event and filmed by Islam Channel.

Eid camping trip, Peak District, Midland HHUGS¹⁴¹⁰

HHUGS family funday, 10 April 2013, Lala's Banqueting Suite, Bradford¹⁴¹¹

¹⁴⁰⁶ 'Tawheed & the balance of Iman', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/tawheed-the-balance-of-iman/417>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁰⁷ 'One day Hijma treatment! All proceeds go to HHUGS!', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/one-day-hijma-treatment-on-the-24th-january-all-proceeds-go-to-hhugs-ladies-only/426>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁰⁸ 'Why everybody needs HHUGS! Make sure you attend!', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/why-everybody-needs-hhugs-make-sure-you-attend-/421>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁰⁹ 'Shattered lives - Fundraising Dinner 2013', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/shattered-lives-fundraising-dinner-2013/437>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴¹⁰ 'Eid camping trip to the Peak District', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/eid-camping-trip-to-the-peak-district/406>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴¹¹ 'HHUGS family funday', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-family-funday/440>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

“Talk on what HHUGS charity is, its aims and objectives & our Islamic obligation to help support the charity”.

Suffering in Silence, Greenwich Islamic Centre, 19 April 2013¹⁴¹²

Speakers:

- Adnan Rashid
- Wasim Kempson
- Cerie Bullivant

Shadow Lives: Fundraising Event in Aid of HHUGS, D’Gaf, Leytonstone Road, June 30 2013¹⁴¹³

Main speaker: Victoria Brittain (Author of “Shadow Lives: The Forgotten Women of the War on Terror”

Poetry and rap evening:

- Reveal – Lowkeys protege
- Melissa Melodee – Musician and spoken word artist
- Mellinda Nyoko – Spoken word artist and activist for the congo
- Nathaniel Nye – Spoken word artist
- James I-deal Artist & Rebel Lions of Creation – Revolutionary rap group
- Golden Blue – Spoken Word Artist
- Capital B – Conscious Rapper
- El Crisis – Spoken Word artist

Eid Party, HHUGS North, 15 September 2013¹⁴¹⁴

Talk by Sister Ayesha Arif.

In The Footsteps of Hajar, The Waterlily, Mile End Road, 13 October 2013¹⁴¹⁵

Speakers:

- Wasim Kempson
- Abdullah Hasan
- Uthman Lateef
- Suliman Gani
- Ahmad Musa Jibril¹⁴¹⁶

¹⁴¹² ‘Event: suffering in silence’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/event-suffering-in-silence/442>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴¹³ ‘Shadow lives: Fundraising Event in aid of HHUGS’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/shadow-lives-fundraising-event-in-aid-of-hhugs/449>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴¹⁴ ‘HHUGS North: EID Party’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-north/411>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴¹⁵ ‘In the footsteps of Hajar’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/in-the-footsteps-of-hajar/478>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴¹⁶ ‘In the Footsteps of Hajar – HHUGS Fundraising Conference in the Best Days of the Year’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/213165295511953/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Terror, Tea and HHUGS¹⁴¹⁷

Science Museum trip for children¹⁴¹⁸

Islamic Infusions Eid Gala¹⁴¹⁹

Camping trip, Peak District, Midland HHUGS¹⁴²⁰

Tea, Cake and HHUGS, The Faith Centre, Bradford, 29 November 2014¹⁴²¹

Women only “reviving our Islamic obligation towards the families of Muslim prisoners”.

An Evening of Unity, Midlands Ramadhan Fundraising Dinner, Perry Bar, Birmingham 13 July 2014,¹⁴²²

Speakers:

- Zahir Mahmood
- Uthman Lateef
- Moazzam Begg
- Performances: Yaqub Abdusalam, Tommy Aimen Evans
- Prayers: Qari Abdul Noor

Sponsored by:

- Mercy Mission
- Ramadhan TV
- Halal Cakes 4 U
- Mishti Desh

Tea, Cake and HHUGS, 15 March 2014, Dewsbury¹⁴²³

Female speakers including Lauren Booth.

Tea, Cakes and HHUGS Nottingham, 21 June 2014¹⁴²⁴

Female speakers including Victoria Brittain.

¹⁴¹⁷ ‘Terror, Tea and HHUGS’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/terror-tea-and-hhugs/508>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴¹⁸ ‘A day out to the Science Museum’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/a-day-out-to-the-science-museum/330>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴¹⁹ ‘Islamik infusions eid gala! Dont miss it!’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/islamik-infusions-eid-gala-dont-miss-it/353>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴²⁰ ‘EID camping trip to the Peak District’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/eid-camping-trip-to-the-peak-district/406>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴²¹ ‘Tea, Cake and HHUGS - Bradford Event’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/tea-cake-and-hhugs-bradford-event/594>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴²² ‘An evening of unity: HHUGS Midlands Fundraising Dinner’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/an-evening-of-unity-hhugs-midlands-fundraising-dinner/450>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴²³ ‘Tea, Cake & HHUGS’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/tea-cake-hhugs/501>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴²⁴ ‘Tea, Cake & HHUGS Nottingham’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/tea-cakes-hhugs-nottingham/513>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Tea, Cakes and HHUGS Nottingham, 21 June 2014¹⁴²⁴

Female speakers including Victoria Britain.

10 years of HHUGS, 14 December 2014, Central London¹⁴²⁵

Sponsored by: Moving Home Company, Eden Estates, Lewisham Islamic Centre.

Segregated event.

Quote in support by Mohamed Ali Harrath, founder and CEO of Islam Channel, Lauren Booth.

Eminent guests:

- Moazzam Begg
- Victoria Britain
- Uthman Lateef
- Shakeel Begg
- Haris Farooqi
- Adnan Rashid
- Imam Wasim Kempson
- Avaes Mohammed (actor)¹⁴²⁶
- Fahad Ansari¹⁴²⁷
- Faisal Hanjra¹⁴²⁸
- Iman Redouanne Abdoullah (London South Bank University Islamic Soc.)¹⁴²⁹
- Syed Abu Ahsan (father of former detainee, Talha Ahsan)¹⁴³⁰

HHUGS Winter Walk, 8 February 2015, Hyde Park¹⁴³¹

Footy for HHUGS, 17 February 2015, Bradford¹⁴³²

Women only.

HHUGS Summer Bootcamp for Sisters, Bradford¹⁴³³

¹⁴²⁴ 'Tea, Cake & HHUGS Nottingham', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/tea-cakes-hhugs-nottingham/513>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴²⁵ '10 years of HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/10-years-of-hhugs-dinner/585>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴²⁶ '10 Years Of HHUGS - Avaes Mohammed', *YouTube*, 10 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pGM0aRt3YTY>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴²⁷ '10 Years Of HHUGS - Fahad Ansari', *YouTube*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tOzrPG3Ivtc>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴²⁸ '10 Years of HHUGS - Faisal Hanjra', *YouTube*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZiLgp9EKABw>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴²⁹ '10 Years of HHUGS - Imam Redouanne Abdoullah', *YouTube*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fis8Nm9iUO4>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴³⁰ '10 Years of HHUGS - Syed Abu Ahsan', *YouTube*, 11 May 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XZdN88mkRI>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴³¹ 'Walk for warmer HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/walk-for-warmer-hhugs/596>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴³² 'Footy for HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/footy-for-charity/603>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴³³ 'HHUGS summer boot camp for sisters - The ultimate fitness challenge comes to Bradford', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-spring-boot-camp-for-sisters-join-the-ultimate-fitness-challenge-/606/606>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Hike 4 HHUGS, Ben Nevis, 24 April-26 April 2015¹⁴⁸⁴

Muslim Charity Run, 9 August 2015, Victoria Park¹⁴⁸⁵

East London Mosque charity run raising money for HHUGS.

Midlands HHUGS raise £5,8000 "Fundraising Tower Day"

Raising money for the Ummah Welfare Trust.¹⁴⁸⁶

London to Brighton Bikeride, 12 September 2015¹⁴⁸⁷

In support of HHUGS and Ummah Welfare Trust (with Al Ikhwan Cycle club).

Sisters' Pre Eid Treat, Camden Dawah Centre¹⁴⁸⁸

Charity Bike Ride, 1 May 2016, Al-Ikhwan Cycle Club and HHUGS¹⁴⁸⁹

Yorkshire Three Peaks, 1 October-1 October 2016¹⁴⁹⁰

Mother's tale, HHUGS Fundraising Dinner, 19 November 2016, Hilton Metropole London¹⁴⁹¹

Speakers:

- Zahir Mahmood
- Ahmed Babikir¹⁴⁹²
- Gareth Pierce
- Fatima Barkatulla
- Naima B Robert (via video link)

Presentation at Muslim Council of Britain Community Dinner, 3 March 2017¹⁴⁹³

Breakfast For HHUGS, South London, Club Jasmins, Tooting, 28 April 2017¹⁴⁹⁴

Breakfast for HHUGS, 28 April 2017¹⁴⁹⁵

Recommends playing HHUGS videos.

¹⁴⁸⁴ 'Hike 4 HHUGS - Conquer Ben Nevis', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hike-4-hhugs-conquer-ben-nevis/607>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁸⁵ 'Muslim Charity run', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/muslim-charity-run/648>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁸⁶ 'Celebrating Eid Ul Adha : The HHUGS way!', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/celebrating-eid-ul-adha-the-hhugs-way-/409>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁸⁷ 'London to Brighton charity cycle bike ride', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/london-to-brighton-charity-cycle-bike-ride/649>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁸⁸ 'Sisters pre Eid treat', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/sisters-pre-eid-treat/650>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁸⁹ 'Ride for Hope', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://hhugs.org.uk/ride>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁹⁰ 'Three Peaks', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/3peaks>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁹¹ 'A mother's tale', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://hhugs.org.uk/amotherstale>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁹² 'HHUGS - A Mother's Tale - Family Dinner', *YouTube*, 9 November 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zwd45fsGhk>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁹³ 'HHUGS Presentation at the MCB Community Dinner', *YouTube*, 10 March 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xbd6S7VqEPI>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁹⁴ 'Breakfast for HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/hhugsbreakfast/723>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Winter Walk 2017, Richmond Park London (24 February 2017) and Bolton Abbey Bradford (4 February 2017)¹⁴⁴⁶

Muslim Charity Run, 8 May 2017, Victoria Park London¹⁴⁴⁷

Organised by East London Mosque.

Sisters Sports Challenge, 13 August 2017, Mulberry Sports and Leisure Centre, Tower Hamlets¹⁴⁴⁸

Women only.

Ramadan Bazaar Behind East London Mosque, 2017¹⁴⁴⁹

Brecon Beacons Trek (father and son), 5-6 August 2017¹⁴⁵⁰

Tea, Cake and HHUGS, Leeds, 17 September¹⁴⁵¹

Speakers:

- Zulaykha Farooqi (beneficiary)
- Maryan Mir (Barrister)
- Aisha Mirza (Counsellor)

Tour De Salah with HHUGS, 9 September 2017¹⁴⁵²

Initiative by Ibn Battuta Expeditions.

Run for HHUGS, Victoria Park London, 17 September 2017¹⁴⁵³

With East London Mosque.

Breakfast for HHUGS Dewsbury, 2 November 2017¹⁴⁵⁴

All proceeds will go to HHUGS charity.

Still I Rise: Afternoon Tea and Tales of Resilience, Hilton Croydon, 25 November 2017¹⁴⁵⁵

Speakers:

- Naima B Robert
- Maz Saleem
- Malia Bouattia

¹⁴⁴⁶ 'Walking in their Shoes 2017', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-annual-winter-walk-2017>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁴⁷ 'Muslim Charity run', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/muslim-charity-run/670>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁴⁸ 'Sisters Sports Challenge', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/sisters-sports-challenge/758>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁴⁹ 'Ramadan bazaar behind east London Mosque', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/ramadan-bazaar-behind-east-london-mosque/749>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁵⁰ 'Brecon Beacons Trek', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/brecon-beacons-trek/737>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁵¹ 'Tea, Cake and HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/tea-cake-and-hhugs/699>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁵² 'Tour de Salah with HHUGA', *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/tour-de-salah-with-hhugs/741>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁵³ 'Run for HHUGS', *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1711352535571741>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁵⁴ 'Breakfast for HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/breakfast-for-hhugs-dewsbury/777>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁵⁵ 'South London -Still I Rise Afternoon Tea and Tales of Resilience', *HHUGS Facebook Event*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1692958960777159/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

Still I Rise: Afternoon Tea and Tales of Resilience, Double Tree Hilton Ealing, 26 November 2017.¹⁴⁵⁶

Sponsored by Knightsbridge Solicitors.¹⁴⁵⁷

Speakers:

- Naima B Robert
- Maz Saleem
- Layinka Sanni.

Hidden Sentence with Lauren Booth, Saturday 2 December in Bradford and 3 December 2017 in Manchester.¹⁴⁵⁸

Free entry. "Discover more about the unique work of HHUGS, the hidden sentence the innocent families impacted by anti-terror legislation serve and how you can work with us to make a difference".

Unite. Unite. Thrive., 16 Saturday 2017, The Pavillion Banqueting Suite, Walthamstow, London.¹⁴⁵⁹

Fully segregated. 'Emergency Fundraiser'. Sponsored by Knightsbridge Solicitors, HayatTours, Al Himayah. Speakers:

- Shaker Amer
- Uthman Lateef
- Ibtihal Bsis
- Sahar al Faifi

¹⁴⁵⁶ 'West London - Still I Rise Afternoon Tea and Tales of Resilience', *HHUGS, Facebook Event*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/121945831817925/>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁵⁷ 'Still I Rise - Afternoon Tea and Tales of Resilience', *HHUGS, Eventbrite*, available at: <https://www.eventbrite.com/e/still-i-rise-afternoon-tea-and-tales-of-resilience-tickets-38934819092#>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁵⁸ 'Hidden Sentence', *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/hidden-sentence/786>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

¹⁴⁵⁹ @hhugscharity, *Twitter*, 4 December 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/hhugscharity/status/937693480062775296>, last visited: 22 January 2018; 'A Night to Save HHUGS', *HHUGS*, available at: <https://www.hhugs.org.uk/unite/785>, last visited: 22 January 2018.

About the Author

Emma Webb is a Research Fellow at the Henry Jackson Society focusing on European and domestic terrorism and Islamism, and counter-extremism policy within educational institutions.

Emma recently authored *Spotting the Signs: Identifying Vulnerability to Radicalisation Among Students* (2017) and *For Our Children: An Examination of Prevent in the Curriculum* (2017). She has spoken on broadcast media on issues relating to the threat level facing the UK, recent terror attacks in Europe and radicalisation, and has written for the Spectator, the Independent and the Telegraph.

Emma holds an MA from King's College London and a BA in Theological and Religious Studies from Trinity College, Cambridge.

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