

ISLAMIC HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION: ADVOCATING FOR THE AYATOLLAHS

BY EMMA FOX



**CENTRE ON
RADICALISATION
& TERRORISM**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC) is a London-based advocacy group established in 1997, inspired by the worldview of Ayatollah Khomeini and the revolutionary, theocratic societal aims he established in the Islamic Republic of Iran. IHRC has gained prominence in recent years for its pro-Hezbollah Al-Quds Day parades, its controversial 'Islamophobia Awards' and the anti-Semitic rhetoric espoused by the group's senior figures. However, less attention has been given to IHRC's wider extremist links and terrorist sympathies. There is also a lack of understanding as to how extremist groups can exploit the charitable sector; obtain public funds; acquire status via academic associates; attain international recognition; and influence governments.
- IHRC is an institutionally pro-terrorist and anti-Semitic organisation. Senior figures have espoused support for violent *jihad*, expressed sympathy for convicted terrorists, and advocated for the extraction and eradication of 'Zionists'. Campaigns have supported high-profile associates of Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and Hezbollah. Events have hosted representatives from PFLP and Hezbollah, and have been used to seek out those "looking for martyrdom". One IHRC briefing claims that use of force against Israel can include the "destruction of installations" on her territory and "the financial, logistical and informational support" of Hezbollah. Some remarks, views or material advanced by individuals associated with IHRC, or at IHRC-organised events, may warrant criminal investigation with regard to S.11-13 Terrorism Act 2000 and S.1-4 Terrorism Act 2006.
- IHRC's alignment with the Iranian state's foreign and domestic agenda is typified through IHRC co-founder and director Saied Ameli's appointment to President Hassan Rouhani's Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution in 2019, having previously served as a member of Ayatollah Khamenei's Supreme Council of Cyberspace. Despite Ameli's role as a senior Iranian state official, he has continued to play an active role at IHRC.
- IHRC advisors have expressed sympathy for martyrdom and *jihad*, as well as support for militant resistance movements. Multiple advisors have been linked to overseas proscribed groups. This includes Muhammad al-Massari, a "key influence on young jihadists" who previously helped establish a press office for Osama Bin Laden in London.
- IHRC sells literature authored by Islamist and Salafi-Jihadist ideologues, including one book that is banned in UK prisons. This includes publications that have inspired violent Islamist movements across the globe, such as Sayyid Qutb's *Milestones*, Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi's work on *jihad*, and writings by Ibn Taymiyyah. They have also sold Abdullah el-Faisal's violent interpretations of the Qur'anic hadith. Convicted of inciting racial hatred in this country, el-Faisal is currently fighting extradition from Jamaica to the US, where he is accused of recruiting for the Islamic State terror group (IS). Proceeds from the bookshop go towards the organisation's subsidiary charity, IHRC Trust.

- IHRC has acquired UN Special Consultative Status, European Commission funds, and public subsidies through its charitable affiliate, IHRC Trust. IHRC Ltd is also an accredited immigration advisor. It is particularly concerning that several academics who have engaged with IHRC have recently gained government and cross-party parliamentary influence. This includes Salman Sayyid, who co-authored the APPG on British Muslims' definition of Islamophobia, and Sadek Hamid and Tahir Abbas who were selected by the Commission for Countering Extremism to research extremism.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC) was established by Khomeinist activists in 1997 as part of the legacy of Kalim Siddiqui, a British Muslim activist and pro-regime leader of the ‘Muslim Parliament’. The organisation, based in London, has achieved media notoriety in recent years for its controversial campaigns and vocal pro-Hezbollah views. Most well-known for its annual Al-Quds Day parade and controversial ‘Islamophobia Awards’, IHRC toes a strict Khomeinist line and echoes Iranian-state foreign policy objectives. However, in reality, little is known about the organisation – its origins, funding, affiliate projects and partners. It has seemingly evaded sufficient scrutiny from authorities, and its support for the Lebanese Shiite militia has been categorised as merely political, in line with British law until early 2019. This assumption is demonstrably erroneous, but IHRC continues to enjoy political status and academic credibility for its activities.

This report examines the extremist activity of IHRC, and details the ways in which the organisation has acquired influence, credibility and funds from mainstream society to bolster its work. It is structured as follows:

Section 2 profiles the organisation’s senior figures and associates, highlighting key concerns regarding their views and associations with extremism.

Section 3 explores the organisation’s affiliated projects and partners, IHRC’s guest speakers and the journals closely associated with the directors.

Section 4 provides the most disturbing examples of IHRC’s promotion and glorification of terrorism. This includes the activities that occur at Al-Quds Day rallies; sympathy with, and support of, convicted terrorists; events extolling the virtues of the Palestinian Intifada [violent uprising]; promotion of literature that has been banned in UK prisons; and selling of merchandise depicting guerrilla fighters with weapons. It is evident that the Khomeinist ideology and anti-western worldview that underpins the organisation and all its activities sanctions, legitimises and, at times, encourages terrorist violence.

Section 5 details how IHRC has attained international recognition, academic credibility and public funds particularly as a consequence of its affiliate charity and accredited partnerships.

The report concludes with a series of policy recommendations which, if enacted, would thwart the loopholes currently exploited by extremist groups in order to mainstream their agenda and gain access to the public purse.

A note on methodology and definitions

All the information used in this report is open source.

IHRC has publicly declared that the limited company (IHRC Ltd) and the trust (IHRC Trust) are “two entities that make up IHRC”.¹ It states that this structure was “originally devised after advice from the Charity Commission in order to keep the charitable arm of the organisation separate from the political and lobbying arm”.² A note on the IHRC Trust site states that “The Islamic Human Rights Commission Trust was set up to support the

¹ ‘IHRC accuses Charity Commission of Islamophobia’, *IHRC*, 7 March 2019, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/press-releases/21300-ihrc-accuses-charity-commission-of-islamophobia/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

² *ibid.*

charitable works of The Islamic Human Rights Commission Ltd. The two organisations are separate entities that cooperate to further charitable causes in the UK and abroad”.³ The relationship between the two bodies is currently subject to an investigation by the Charity Commission; however, this report proceeds on the basis that IHRC Trust is an affiliate charity of IHRC Ltd.

In line with the UK government, as laid out in the national Counter-Extremism Strategy, this paper considers extremism to be the:

Vocal or active opposition to our fundamental [British] 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.⁴

In line with the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, this paper considers anti-Semitism to be a:

Certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of anti-Semitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.⁵

Relevant examples include:

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion
- Making mendacious, dehumanising, demonising or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as a collective – such as the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews
- Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic anti-Semitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterise Israel or Israelis
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

³ ‘Donate to IHRC Trust’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190522143041/https://donations.ihrc.org/>, last visited: 22 May 2019.

⁴ ‘Counter-Extremism Strategy’, *HM Government*, October 2015, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/470088/51859_Cm9148_Accessible.pdf, last visited: 14 May 2019, p. 9.

⁵ ‘Working Definition of Antisemitism’, *International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance*, available at: <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-antisemitism>, last visited: 22 May 2019.

In line with the UK Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), this paper considers terrorism to be the:

Use or threat of action, both in and outside of the UK, designed to influence any international government organisation or to intimidate the public. It must also be for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, racial or ideological cause.⁶

This paper adheres to the UK list of proscribed terrorist organisations in its contemporary format. It is noted that Hezbollah (also spelled Hizballah, Hizbullah and Hizbollah) was fully proscribed in March 2019, before which the designation covered only the military wing (External Security Organisation in 2001; extended to the group's entire military apparatus in 2008).⁷ This paper is concerned with the expression of support for Hezbollah's military activities.

⁶ 'Terrorism', CPS, available at: <https://www.cps.gov.uk/terrorism>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁷ 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', Home Office, 12 April 2019, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/795457/Proscription_website.pdf, last visited: 14 May 2019.

2. SENIOR FIGURES AND ADVISORS

This report contends that IHRC promotion of extremism, support for overseas terror groups and extreme anti-Semitism is institutional, permeates the Commission at every level, and is a by-product of the Khomeinist, Islamist and anti-western ideology that underpins the organisation and its activities.

The following section profiles IHRC's senior figures and advisors, highlighting their most egregious links to extremism. This includes chairman Massoud Shadjareh's support for violent jihad, director Arzu Merali's award-winning recognition by the Iranian government, and advisors who have been linked to proscribed terrorist organisations.

2.1 Massoud Shadjareh

Massoud Shadjareh is chairman of IHRC and one of the organisation's most vocal and prominent spokespeople. He is credited on IHRC's website as having helped to set up the organisation in 1997 alongside other Islamic activists.⁸ Shadjareh is an outspoken supporter of Ayatollah Khomeini,⁹ and has denied that human rights abuses take place in Iran.¹⁰ In 2012, his authorisation to travel to the United States was withdrawn, although the reason for this remains unclear.¹¹

Alongside IHRC's wider campaigns for individuals convicted of terror offences (see Section 4.2), Shadjareh was a vocal advocate for Aafia Siddiqui, speaking alongside extremists such as Moazzam Begg and Shakeel Begg for her release in 2010.¹² Siddiqui, known as Al-Qaeda's highest-ranking female associate,¹³ was sentenced to 86 years in prison for attempting to shoot US security officials in Afghanistan.¹⁴

Shadjareh has described liberal Muslim Maajid Nawaz as a "hate preacher" on BBC News, for which the broadcaster was forced to apologise.¹⁵ However, he has somewhat softer views of Islamist clerics Abu Qatada and Abu Hamza (see Section 4.2). Commenting after Qatada's eight-year legal battle with the British authorities over terrorism charges, Shadjareh questioned the evidence behind the cleric's convictions and disputed his links

⁸ 'Press Release – Chair of IHRC denied entry to US', *IHRC*, 7 August 2012, available at: https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/10240-chair-of-islamic-human-rights-commission-denied-entry-to-united-states/?fbclid=IwAR2bwbX-V7QinyE6mirk_NyNXcWSPwjBHS6thKeMsUrAVIOvIjXFzb83Xk, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁹ 'Imam Khomeini Conference 2013 – Massoud Shadjareh – Alternative Philosophy to Western Hegemony', *YouTube*, 3 June 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDtOsY4m7KA>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁰ 'Massoud Shadjareh of the IHRC denies human rights abuses in Iran', *YouTube*, 6 October 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7RhPNesID6k>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹¹ 'Press Release – Chair of IHRC denied entry to US', *IHRC*, 7 August 2012.

¹² 'Forwarded Alert: UK – Aafia Siddiqui Day' *IHRC*, 26 March 2010, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/alerts/9272-forwarded-alert-uk-aafia-siddiqui-day/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹³ Griswold, E., 'Islam and the West Through the Eyes of Two Women', *The New York Times*, 27 January 2012, available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/29/books/review/wanted-women-the-lives-of-ayaan-hirsi-ali-and-aafia-siddiqui-by-deborah-scroggins-book-review.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FSiddiqui%2C%20Aafia&action=click&contentCollection=timestopics®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁴ 'Pakistan: Taliban Take Swiss Hostages and Seek Swap for Neuroscientist', *The New York Times*, 29 July 2011, available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/30/world/asia/30briefs-Pakistan.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FSiddiqui%2C%20Aafia&action=click&contentCollection=timestopics®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=3&pgtype=collection, last visited: 20 May 2019.

¹⁵ Frazer, J., 'BBC apologises to Maajid Nawaz after he's called a "hate preacher" on air', *Jewish News*, 20 June 2017, available at: <https://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/bbc-apologise-to-maajid-nawaz/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

to terrorism.¹⁶ In a similar manner, when extremist preacher Abu Hamza al-Masri was convicted of supporting terrorism, Shadjareh complained that Abu Hamza had been “demonised”.¹⁷

Moreover, Shadjareh has repeatedly endorsed violent resistance against the state of Israel (see Section 4.3). For example, after a study by the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-se) detailed how the Palestinian Authority curriculum taught martyrdom and military resistance, Shadjareh supported the material in an interview with RT (formerly Russia Today).¹⁸ Shadjareh argued that criticism of the curriculum was apologetics for the “Israeli Zionist occupation”, and that Palestinians have “the right to resist” and “teach their children” as they see fit.¹⁹ When probed further about the promotion of violence, Shadjareh stated that one has to “look at the reality” of the situation and recognise that [Palestinian] children have been “brutalised by these [Israeli] soldiers on a daily basis”.²⁰

Shadjareh’s endorsement of violent resistance was also promoted in a panel discussion on Iranian State television with presenter Roshan Muhammed Salih (see Section 3.1). The conversation saw the guests criticise the Palestinian Authority for engaging in political negotiations with Israel, and legitimising the peace process and two-state solution.²¹ Shadjareh contended that “resistance seems to be the only way forward”,²² and when asked whether this notion of resistance was the message of the Al-Quds Day march (see Section 4.1), he responded, “Indeed it is.”²³

Furthermore, Shadjareh has been filmed promoting virulent anti-Semitism, most notably at Al-Quds Day rallies, at which he makes regular rousing speeches. On one occasion, Shadjareh claimed that the Israeli government had been healing IS fighters in order for them to kill more Muslims.²⁴ He has expressed support for violent jihad in Palestine, calling to the crowd, “You know people are rushing in large numbers from Britain, from Europe, from all around the world, from Arab countries to go and do jihad in Syria. What about jihad in Palestine? Why not even a single one of them have gone to fight for Palestine for over 65 years?”²⁵ He has also been pictured draped in the flag of Hezbollah.²⁶ In a particularly disturbing diatribe, Shadjareh called out to the crowd, “Let’s get rid of the greatest oppressors in the region, the Zionists, then all our other problems will be resolved, one by one.”²⁷

¹⁶ ‘Massoud Shadjareh on Sky News discussing Abu Qatada’s bail’, *YouTube*, 13 November 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7sAE2j5vKvo&t=114s>, last visited: 14 May 2019, 0:50.

¹⁷ ‘Muslims react to Hamza conviction’, *BBC News*, 7 February 2006, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4690132.stm>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁸ ‘Massoud Shadjareh on RT: Discussing Palestinian School Books’, *YouTube*, 12 April 2018, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cziaxf_IF2A&feature=youtu.be, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ ‘Massoud Shadjareh on Al Quds Day’, *YouTube*, 11 June 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iODKJ5cWQOg>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

²² *ibid.*, 1:01.

²³ *ibid.*, 2:10.

²⁴ ‘Al Quds Day 2016 Ft Mas’ud Shadjareh’, *YouTube*, 8 September 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v2gA50Wb0eQ>, last visited: 14 May 2019, 1:27.

²⁵ ‘Head of IHRC calls for Jihad in Palestine like in Syria’, *Facebook: Christians United for Israel – UK*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=298722834174571>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

²⁶ Sela, H., ‘Islamic Human Rights Commission & Al Quds Day: Tip of the UK’s Iranian support network iceberg’, *Camera’s UK Media Watch*, 14 August 2012, available at: <https://ukmediawatch.org/2012/08/14/islamic-human-rights-commission-al-quds-day-tip-of-the-uks-iranian-support-network-iceberg/>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

²⁷ ‘Head of IHRC calls for Jihad in Palestine like in Syria’, *Facebook: Christians United for Israel – UK*, 14 August 2012, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=298722834174571>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

2.2 Arzu Merali

Arzu Merali is a co-founder and director of research at IHRC. She is an author for the magazines *Palestine Internationalist*²⁸ and *Crescent International*,²⁹ both of which promote a strong Khomeinist and pro-Hezbollah editorial line that will be discussed later in this report (see Sections 3.2 and 3.3).

Merali's apologeticism with regard to Hezbollah is evident from an article she wrote for *Middle East Eye*, a news outlet linked to US-Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) Interpal,³⁰ after the Shiite militia was fully proscribed under UK law. The article was published on 28 February 2019 and is entitled 'Is the UK pushing a false narrative on Hezbollah?'³¹ In it, Merali criticised Home Secretary Sajid Javid's decision, claiming that it "is further proof of the bankruptcy of the idea of anti-terrorism as anything other than a political device to criminalise dissent", and accused the "media" (particularly the BBC) of biased coverage of Hezbollah, "the group responsible for more than a decade of guerrilla resistance".³²

Merali's pro-Khomeini, anti-secular and anti-West worldview can be seen in a panel discussion entitled 'Strike The Empire Back: legacies & examples of liberation from neo-colonialism & white supremacy', that took place in 2014. According to Merali, "We know who the enemy is, we know that it's the West, it's the NATO countries and on a more philosophical level it's the structure ... the white supremacist structure or the liberal structure ... that we're all essentially suffering at the hands of."³³ Merali went on to lament that IHRC has to engage with "entities that are part of a structure that we simply can't accept".³⁴ She later called Iran's Islamic Revolution "one of the most successful events" with a "vibrant legacy", although admitted it had encountered several problems.³⁵ As further indication of Merali's Islamist ideology, in a publication co-authored with IHRC director and Iranian state official Saied Ameli (see Section 5.1), she argued that her findings on Muslim attitudes towards the law and Islamophobia necessitate the British government to recognise "Shariah [Islamic law] as a Solution", and allow for a dual legal process in the UK.³⁶

Moreover, Merali has spoken alongside several extremist activists. In 2011, she appeared on the Islam Channel segment 'Gaza – The Muslim Response' alongside presenter Ibtihal Ismail Bsis, and panellists Sultanah Parvin and Dahlia Maarouf.³⁷ Parvin was representing pan-Islamist group Hizb ut-Tahrir as deputy media spokesperson in the UK, and Maarouf

²⁸ *Palestine Internationalist*, available at: <http://www.palint.org/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

²⁹ 'Arzu Merali: Works', *Crescent International*, available at: <https://crescent.icit-digital.org/authors/arzu-merali>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

³⁰ Curiel, Y., 'Font of hatred: How Hamas relies on two UK websites', 31 August 2016, available at: <https://jewishnews.timesofisrael.com/font-of-hatred-how-hamas-relies-on-two-uk-websites/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

³¹ Merali, A., 'Is the UK pushing a false narrative on Hezbollah?', 28 February 2019, available at: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/uk-pushing-false-narrative-hezbollah>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

³² *ibid.*

³³ 'Strike The Empire Back Ft Arzu Merali', *YouTube*, 28 September 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nR93XpMWp44>, last visited: 14 May 2019, 3:15.

³⁴ *ibid.*, 4:03..

³⁵ *ibid.*, 12:40.

³⁶ 'Law and British Muslims: Domination of the Majority or Process of Balance?', 24 December 2017, available at: <http://ijtiHADnet.com/law-british-muslims-domination-majority-process-balance/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

³⁷ 'Gaza: the Muslim response', *YouTube*, 10 October 2011, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iSm__rGJWZ4, last visited: 14 May 2019.

was representing Interpal. Although appearing here as an Islam Channel presenter, Bsis has also acted as deputy women's media representative of Hizb ut-Tahrir UK.³⁸ In July 2015, a recording leaked to the BBC showed Bsis propagating several extremist and conspiratorial views, including claiming that British authorities fabricate the threat posed by Islamic State.³⁹

Moreover, Merali has concerning links to the Iranian regime. Beyond authoring several publications with Iranian state official Saied Reza Ameli (see Section 5.1),⁴⁰ in 2016 Merali received an Iranian government human rights award in Tehran, alongside Bahrainian Shiite cleric Issa Qassim.⁴¹ The ceremony was opened by Ayatollah Sadeq Amoli Larijani, chief of Iran's judiciary, who in 2018 was subject to US sanctions over alleged human rights abuses.⁴² The ceremony was attended by other senior Iranian officials and ambassadors of Islamic countries to Iran.⁴³ While in Tehran, both Merali and Shadjareh addressed the semi-official Tasnim news agency, criticising western opposition to Iran.⁴⁴

2.3 Nazim Ali

Nazim Ali is a director of IHRC and a pharmacist based in central London.⁴⁵ He has come to prominence as one of the key spokespeople of the annual Al-Quds Day march (see Section 4.1).

Ali has been recorded claiming that "Zionists" were responsible for the Grenfell Tower fire in June 2017, and that they "give money to the Tory Party to kill people in high-rise blocks".⁴⁶ His conspiratorial remarks extended to the Rabbis on the Board of Deputies, the main representative body of the Jewish community in the UK, who he declared had "blood on their hands".⁴⁷ Ali further alleged that "Zionists" control the media output of the BBC and that they are "baby killers".⁴⁸ In 2017, the Campaign Against Antisemitism (CAA) charity sought a private prosecution against Ali for his statements, claiming he had committed an offence contrary to Section 5 of the 1986 Public Order Act.⁴⁹ This was

³⁸ 'Ibtihal Bsis – Consent, British values and support for CAGE', *5Pillars*, 11 March 2015, available at: <https://5pillarsuk.com/2015/03/11/ibtihal-bsis-consent-british-values-and-support-for-cage/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

³⁹ 'Ibtihal Bsis – Secret Filming – BBC South Today', *YouTube*, 2 July 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3WHYCxsFxWs>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴⁰ 'Merali, Arzu: Overview', *WorldCat Identities*, available at: <https://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-nb2006018747/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴¹ 'Islamic Human Rights Award 2016 Jointly Goes to Bahrain's Cleric, IHRC Co-Founder', 3 August 2016, available at: <https://ifpnews.com/news/legal/human-rights/islamic-human-rights-award-2016-jointly-goes-bahrain-cleric-ihrc-co-founder/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴² Smith-Spark, L., 'Iran threatens "severe" response to US sanctions against judiciary chief', *CNN*, 13 January 2018, available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/01/13/politics/iran-us-sanctions-intl/index.html>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

⁴³ 'Islamic Human Rights Award 2016 Jointly Goes to Bahrain's Cleric, IHRC Co-Founder', *Iran Front Page News*.

⁴⁴ 'West's double-standard policy against Iran not to end: IHRC co-founder', *The Iran Project*, 7 August 2016, available at: <https://theiranproject.com/blog/2016/08/07/wests-double-standard-policy-iran-not-end-ihrc-co-founder/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴⁵ 'Nazim Hussain ALI', *Companies House*, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/officers/vVsISU3YVgn68rwlSALjIS6WpBg/appointments>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴⁶ 'Between Campaign Against Antisemitism and Director of Public Prosecutions and Nazim Hussain Ali', *England and Wales High Court (Administrative Court) Decisions*, 18 December 2018, available at: <http://www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/Admin/2019/9.html>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

denied by the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), and the decision was later upheld by the High Court after appeal.⁵⁰

It is clear that by expressing scorn for “Zionism” – as opposed to “Judaism” – Ali has been at liberty to make several anti-Semitic remarks. He has been reported as stating at an Al-Quds Day march, “We are fed up of the Zionists. We are fed up of their rabbis. We are fed [up] of their synagogues”, before approaching a group of counter-demonstrators and singing, “Bye, bye Zionists.”⁵¹ Ali’s use of the term “Zionist”, which was highlighted by the 2016 Chakrabarti Inquiry Report as a frequent euphemism for “Jew”,⁵² is made further problematic when he condemns the “Zionist Israeli terrorists” who formed part of the counter-demonstration of the Al-Quds march.⁵³ The interchangeable use of these terms is a characteristic employed throughout much of IHRC’s work. Of particular concern, in its 2000 press release detailing the group’s opposition to former Middle East envoy Lord Levy, IHRC stated, “Lord Levy is an unashamed Zionist who is accordingly a staunch supporter of Israel.”⁵⁴

Ali has also sought to defend allegations of anti-Semitism by referencing the Neturei Karta fringe sect of the Jewish community which supports the work of IHRC. The Neturei Karta is a group of anti-Zionist Hasidic Jews who have attracted particular controversy over their engagement with the work of high-profile anti-Semites, including former Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and the Nation of Islam’s Louis Farrakhan.⁵⁵ The group has also been filmed at the Al-Quds Day march calling for the destruction of Israel and burning Israeli flags.⁵⁶ Although representing only 0.03% of the global Jewish community, the Neturei Karta receives significant attention from extreme Islamist groups at pains to demonstrate that their views are not anti-Semitic.⁵⁷ The most explicit example of this form of tokenism by Ali can be seen in several anti-Semitic contentions he made in a clip uploaded to YouTube in 2017.⁵⁸ In it, Ali alleged that it is within Zionists’ “genes” and their “genetic code” to “occupy” other people, referred to “European alleged Jews”, and warned against the “imposters” of the Board of Deputies.⁵⁹ However, he finished the diatribe by claiming that it is the Neturei Karta who are “the true Rabbis” and the only legitimate representative of the Jewish community.⁶⁰

⁵⁰ Sommers, J., ‘Legal bid to prosecute Al Quds Day march leader for blaming Grenfell tragedy on “Zionists” defeated’, *The JC*, 10 January 2019, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/caa-loses-legal-bid-to-prosecute-al-quds-day-march-leader-for-blaming-grenfell-tragedy-on-zionists-1.478356>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁵¹ Harpin, L., ‘Revealed: Charity leader Nazim Ali who blamed fire tragedy on “Zionists”’, *The JC*, 19 June 2017, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/al-quds-day-voice-of-hate-revealed-1.440247>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁵² ‘The Shami Chakrabarti Inquiry’, 30 June 2016, available at: <https://labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Chakrabarti-Inquiry-Report-30June16.pdf>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁵³ ‘Jews and Muslims Unite to Make a Stand Against Zionist Oppression’, *YouTube*, 18 June 2017, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pzKKZ_1at5A, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁵⁴ ‘IHRC Welcomes Lord Levy Move’ *IHRC*, 24 November 2000, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/press-releases/7803-ihrc-welcomes-lord-levy-move/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁵⁵ Sugarman, D., ‘A short guide to Neturei Karta, the anti-Zionist’s favourite fringe Jewish sect’, *The JC*, 11 September 2017, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/comment/comment/who-are-the-neturei-karta-1.444090>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁵⁶ ‘Anti-Zionist Jews burn Israel flag in London’, *YouTube*, 13 June 2018, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hzMJLielj_I, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁵⁷ Sugarman, D., ‘A short guide to Neturei Karta, the anti-Zionist’s favourite fringe Jewish sect’, *The JC*, 11 September 2017.

⁵⁸ ‘Jews and Muslims Unite to Make a Stand Against Zionist Oppression’, *YouTube*, 18 June 2017.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*

⁶⁰ *ibid.*

2.4 IHRC Advisors

Since its establishment in 1997, IHRC has described several individuals with whom it has worked as “advisors” to the organisation, although it is unclear precisely what formal role or impact they have made to the group. Past print editions of IHRC’s monthly newsletters identified contemporary advisors, although currently there is no central place in which they are listed. A considerable number of these individuals have a history of extremist and pro-terrorist views, and many have been linked to proscribed terrorist organisations.

Extremist-linked IHRC advisors include **Achmad Cassiem**, head of the Khomeini-inspired⁶¹ South African Islamist group Qibla⁶² and its offshoot People Against Gangsterism And Drugs (PAGAD), which are designated terrorist organisations by the US State Department.⁶³ Another example is **Muhammad al-Asi**, who has doubted the number of Jews killed in the Holocaust,⁶⁴ expressed support for the “liquidation” of Israelis and sanctioned death for those who insult Islam.⁶⁵ He has also promoted 9/11 conspiracies⁶⁶ akin to those of fellow IHRC advisor **Ibrahim Zakzaky**, who claimed that Jews helped orchestrate the attack.⁶⁷ The Islamic Centre of England’s **Sheikh Mohammad Saeed Bahmanpour** is another IHRC advisor, who has declared “we are all Hamas, we are all Hizbullah”⁶⁸ and made violent anti-Semitic threats. On one occasion, Bahmanpour warned Zionists that their “days are numbered”⁶⁹ and declared that the time will come when “we will free the world” of Zionists.⁷⁰

Other advisors linked to extremism include **Hamid Algar**, who reportedly refused to condemn suicide attacks against Israelis, advocated armed jihad against the “enemies of Islam” and denied the Armenian genocide.⁷¹ Also listed is **Fahad Ansari**,⁷² who has expressed sympathy for martyrdom and jihad, described Al-Qaeda ideologue Anwar al-Awlaki as “inspirational” and written a glowing piece in Crescent International magazine about the

⁶¹ Chandra, R., *Global Terrorism: Foreign Policy in New Millennium* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2003), p. 166.

⁶² ‘The Quest for Unity and other selected works’, *IHRC*, 30 January 2011, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/publications/reports/9554-forthcoming-the-quest-for-unity-and-other-selected-works/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁶³ ‘Chapter 6 – Terrorist Organizations’, in *Country Reports on Terrorism*, U.S. Department of State, 30 April 2007, available at: <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2006/82738.htm>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁶⁴ ‘Holocaust denial at Washington Dc Mosque’, *YouTube*, 13 February 2007, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mPVnIOLZnyU>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁶⁵ ‘Mohammad al-Asi’, *ADL*, available at: <https://www.adl.org/resources/profiles/mohammad-al-asi>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Sela, H., ‘Islamic Human Rights Commission & Al Quds Day: Tip of the UK’s Iranian support network iceberg’, 14 August 2012.

⁶⁸ ‘Al-Quds Day 2007: London, Sunday 7th October 2007’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180527205951/http://www.inminds.co.uk/qudsday2007.php>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁶⁹ Welch, B., ‘Israel “should be wiped off map”, says Al Quds Day speaker as Hezbollah flags fly’, *The JC*, 10 June 2018, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/al-quds-day-march-israel-palestine-hezbollah-1.465351>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁷⁰ ‘Bahmanpour at Quds Day – Wipe Israel Off The Map’, *YouTube*, 11 June 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pBOfmNoiXSA>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁷¹ ‘Pro-Khomeini Professor at Berkeley [Hamid Algar at UC Berkeley]’, *Campus Watch*, 18 April 2007, available at: <https://www.meforum.org/campus-watch/10981/pro-khomeini-professor-at-berkeley-hamid-algar>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁷² For more information on Fahad Ansari, see Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/HJS-Islamist-Charity-Report.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019, pp.81-6.

Taliban, claiming that “they were the best thing that Afghanistan had experienced in decades”.⁷³ Of particular concern, IHRC has previously listed **Muhammad al-Massari** as an advisor,⁷⁴ whom The Telegraph dubbed in 2005 “the voice of Al-Qa’eda”. Al-Massari helped establish a press office for Osama Bin Laden in London (for which he received personal thanks),⁷⁵ claimed it was legitimate for Muslims to kill British troops⁷⁶ and used his website to depict the murder of three British soldiers in Iraq.⁷⁷ The Telegraph noted that Islamism experts considered him to be a “key influence on young jihadists”.⁷⁸

⁷³ Ansari, F., ‘The Taliban Movement’, *Crescent International*, 1 June 2010, available at: <https://crescent.icit-digital.org/articles/the-taliban-movement>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁷⁴ McGrory, D. and Richard Ford, ‘Extremist on deportation list is linked to Islamic advice group’, *The Times*, 1 September 2005, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/extremist-on-deportation-list-is-linked-to-islamic-advice-group-ckrgpjdwwpk>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁷⁵ Johnston, P., ‘Calls to deport “the voice of al-Qa’eda”’, *The Telegraph*, 27 July 2005, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1494881/Calls-to-deport-the-voice-of-al-Qaeda.html>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*

⁷⁷ McGrory, D. and Richard Ford, ‘Extremist on deportation list is linked to Islamic advice group’, *The Times*, 1 September 2005, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/extremist-on-deportation-list-is-linked-to-islamic-advice-group-ckrgpjdwwpk>, last visited: 14 May 2019..

⁷⁸ Johnston, P., ‘Calls to deport “the voice of al-Qa’eda”’, *The Telegraph*, 27 July 2005.

3. AFFILIATED PROJECTS AND PARTNERS

IHRC is closely linked to several organisations and individuals with a history of extremism. This includes Iranian-state television PressTV, ‘pro-resistance’ magazines *Palestine Internationalist* and *Crescent International*, and pro-terrorist group CAGE, with whom it has partnered on several occasions.

3.1 PressTV

PressTV is an Iranian state-funded media outlet that broadcasts in English. On 20 January 2012, UK communications regulator Ofcom revoked the channel’s broadcasting licence under section 238(4) of the Communications Act 2003.⁷⁹ However, the channel remains available to UK viewers online.⁸⁰ PressTV had breached licence rules for managing editorial oversight from Tehran with a broadcasting licence held in London.⁸¹ PressTV had been fined £100,000 the previous year after airing an interview with imprisoned journalist Maziar Bahari, conducted under duress.⁸² Bahari was detained for filming anti-government protests and was forced to make a confession on air under threat of execution.⁸³

PressTV is the principal media network that hosts IHRC speakers and promotes its events.⁸⁴ PressTV presenter and former Head of News Roshan Muhammed Salih (see Section 2.1) has spoken at several IHRC events and has hosted the organisation’s senior figures on his PressTV programmes.⁸⁵ Salih is also editor and founder⁸⁶ of the Islamist website 5Pillars, which hosts advertisements for IHRC⁸⁷ and expresses support for an Islamic caliphate, sharia penal codes and “physical” *jihad*.⁸⁸ Salih has appeared at IHRC events both as a representative of 5Pillars⁸⁹ and as a journalist for PressTV.⁹⁰ 5Pillars co-sponsored

⁷⁹ ‘Revocation: Provider of the Service: Press TV Limited’, *Ofcom*, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0031/67198/press-tv-revocation.pdf, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁸⁰ PressTV Watch Live, available at: <https://www.presstv.com/Default/Live>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁸¹ Sweney, M., ‘Iran’s Press TV loses UK licence’, *The Guardian*, 20 January 2012, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2012/jan/20/iran-press-tv-loses-uk-licence>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁸² Blair, D., ‘Britain bans Iran’s Press TV from airwaves’, *The Telegraph*, 20 January 2012, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/iran/9028435/Britain-bans-Irans-Press-TV-from-airwaves.html>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁸³ Morris, K. and Katie Brown, ‘Ofcom investigates Iran’s Press TV over “interview”’, 10 June 2010, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/ofcom-investigates-irans-press-tv-over-interview-1996131.html>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁸⁴ ‘press tv – search results’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/?s=press+tv>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁸⁵ ‘Confessions Of A Muslim Journalist with Roshan M. Salih’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/islamic-human-rights-commission/confessions-of-a-muslim-journalist-with-roshan-m-salih/120300178635513/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

‘The Future of Jerusalem’, *IHRC*, 19 February 2019, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/21032-the-future-of-jerusalem-3/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

‘Roshan Salih with Arzu Merali at the IHRC Bookshop’, *Islamic Human Rights Commission’s photostream*, Flickr, 27 March 2013, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ihr/8675281104>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

‘Islamophobia Conference 2015: The Changing Face of Racism’, *Hatem Bazian*, available at: <http://www.hatembazian.com/events/islamophobia-conference-2015-the-changing-face-of-racism/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁸⁶ ‘Event Report: Islamophobia Awards 2017’, *IHRC*, 5 December 2017, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/12008-event-report-islamophobia-awards-2017/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁸⁷ ‘VIDEO: 10 aspects of Islam “Muslim reformers” want to change’, *5Pillars*, 18 November 2017, available at: <https://5pillarsuk.com/2017/11/18/video-10-aspects-of-islam-muslim-reformers-want-to-change/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ ‘The Future of Jerusalem’, *IHRC*, 19 February 2019.

⁹⁰ ‘_MG_9869’, *Islamic Human Rights Commission’s photostream*, Flickr, 20 January 2019, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ihr/32051713067/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

IHRC's 2014 'Islamophobia Awards' event (see Section 4.4),⁹¹ where Salih presented an award.⁹² That year, *Charlie Hebdo* magazine was nominated and subsequently awarded 'Islamophobe of the Year' for "racist journalism" two months to the day after Islamist militants killed 12 people at its offices for satirising the prophet Muhammed (see Section 4.4).⁹³ Salih has hosted IHRC chairman Massoud Shadjareh on his programme 'The Sun Will Rise', the PressTV series that focuses on Israel-Palestine, and has praised violent "resistance" movements in the region.⁹⁴ Likewise, IHRC has hosted Salih on several occasions since 2013,⁹⁵ sold his publications⁹⁶ and honoured him with an award for journalistic integrity "in his efforts to showcase institutional and Western bias".⁹⁷

The views of Salih and IHRC bear significant overlap, particularly with regard to their employment of anti-Semitic tropes under the guise of pro-Palestinian activism. Notably, both Salih and IHRC have characterised interfaith activities between mainstream Muslim and Jewish groups as "normalisation" of Zionism, and Salih received criticism in early 2019 for lobbying an Islamic institution to cancel an exhibition highlighting Albanian Muslims who attempted to save Jews from the Nazis, owing to its links with Yad Vashem, a Jerusalem-based Holocaust museum.⁹⁸ Similarly, on 17 May 2018, IHRC emailed its subscribers to warn of how "Zionists" use interfaith work as an "insidious strategy" and "deceitful attempt" to normalise the oppression of Palestinians.⁹⁹ The letter further cautioned, "Do not allow your mosque or Islamic centre or organisation to allow Zionists to come in and normalise Zionism and diminish the crimes of Israel. Expose their agenda to one and all."¹⁰⁰

3.2 Palestine Internationalist

Palestine Internationalist is an anti-Zionist online journal edited by IHRC director of research Arzu Merali and IHRC advisor Fahad Ansari (see Section 2.4). The magazine follows a "pro-resistance" perspective and publishes articles sympathetic to Hamas and Hezbollah, both organisations proscribed under UK counter-terrorism legislation. This

⁹¹ 'Islamophobia Awards 2014', *IHRC*, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Islamophobia%20Awards%202014%20Brochure.pdf>, last visited: 28 May 2019.

⁹² 'Islamophobia Awards 2014, photos by Sara Russell for IHRC', *Islamic Human Rights Commission's photostream, Flickr*, 21 February 2014, available at: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ihr/12731085004/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁹³ 'Islamophobia Awards 2015: Vote now! – VOTING IS CLOSED', *IHRC*, 21 February 2015, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/11229-islamophobia-awards-2015-vote-now/>, last visited: 27 May 2019.

'Event Report: Islamophobia Awards 2015', *IHRC*, 12 March 2015, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/11384-event-report-islamophobia-awards-2015/>, last visited: 27 May 2019.

⁹⁴ 'Massoud Shadjareh on Al Quds Day', *YouTube*, 11 June 2018.

⁹⁵ 'Hajj 2017 SALE!', *IHRC*, 14 August 2017, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/11928-hajj-2017-sale/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

'VIDEO – A Discussion with Roshan Salih – Mi5, Spices, Intelligence gathering and the UK Muslim Community', *IHRC*, 23 April 2013, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/multimedia/video-multimedia/10499-video-a-discussion-with-roshan-salih-mi5-spices-intelligence-gathering-and-the-uk-muslim-community/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

'The Future of Jerusalem', *IHRC*, 19 February 2019; 'Focal Point: Is politics an optional part of the Islamic faith?' *IHRC*, 14 September 2016, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/11744-focal-point-is-politics-an-optional-part-of-the-islamic-faith/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

'VIDEO – Libya 2011: Responsibility to Protect?', *IHRC*, 7 August 2014, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/multimedia/video-multimedia/11154-libya-2011-responsibility-to-protect-2/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁹⁶ 'Hajj 2017 SALE!', *IHRC*, 14 August 2017.

⁹⁷ 'Event Report: Islamophobia Awards 2017', *IHRC*, 5 December 2017, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/12008-event-report-islamophobia-awards-2017/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁹⁸ Welch, B., 'Muslim Holocaust inter-faith event postponed at short notice with explanation', *The JC*, 3 January 2019, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/community/community-news/golders-green-hippodrome-mosque-muslim-jewish-interfaith-cancelled-holocaust-nazis-exhibition-1.478094>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁹⁹ 'ALERT: How to Support Palestine', *IHRC*, 17 May 2018, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190515153056/https://mailchi.mp/bcf5190b7e01/alert-how-to-support-palestine?e=2aa457b623>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*

includes pieces that advocate for the “dismantlement of the Zionist structure”¹⁰¹ and call for “armed resistance [as] the only way to repel Zionist aggression”.¹⁰²

Several high-profile extremist activists have contributed to *Palestine Internationalist*, including individuals with a history of anti-Jewish sentiment and conspiracism, as well as political campaigners who have funded or supported terrorist organisations. This includes Stephen Sizer,¹⁰³ who was sanctioned by the Church of England for promoting conspiracy theories that Israel was responsible for the September 11 attacks,¹⁰⁴ and former Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) Deputy Secretary General Daud Abdullah,¹⁰⁵ who signed a declaration of support for Hamas, endorsed attacks on British troops and led the MCB’s boycott of Holocaust Memorial Day.¹⁰⁶ The journal has published work by CAGE director Asim Qureshi¹⁰⁷ and activist Yvonne Ridley,¹⁰⁸ who has donated money to Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh, promoted virulent anti-Semitism, and appeared “reluctant” to condemn Al-Qaeda in Iraq’s leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.¹⁰⁹

Palestine Internationalist promotes the narrative that Israel is an apartheid, fascistic and terrorist state, built upon a racist Jewish-supremacist ideology that seeks to oppress and eradicate Palestinian life. With this in mind, Hamas and Hezbollah are depicted as “liberation” movements, redressing injustice and emancipating the Palestinian population from a powerful western-backed “Zionist regime”. Zionism is demonised to the extent that violence against the “Zionist monster”¹¹⁰ – and by extension its supporters – is presented as a just, fair and moral response to tyranny and oppression.

For example, the “thorny issue” of Hamas suicide bombing and attacks upon civilians are justified, as “Palestine is not involved in conventional warfare therefore the Islamic rules [prohibiting suicide bombing] are not applicable”.¹¹¹ Another article similarly argues that “suicide bombers are a result of the oppression upon the community and not an exhortation of religion”.¹¹² A piece authored by Rachid al-Ghannouchi, leader of the

¹⁰¹ ‘Challenging Zionism’, *IHRC*, 2 June 2006, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/palestine-internationalist/palint-vol1/palint-vol1-issue4/19887-challenging-zionism/>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

¹⁰² ‘Palestine Internationalist Volume 2 Issue 1 (Sep 2006)’, *Palestine Internationalist*, available at: <http://www.palint.org/mag.php?issuenum=21>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁰³ ‘Christian Zionism: Road-map to Armageddon?’, *IHRC*, 3 June 2006, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/palestine-internationalist/palint-vol1/palint-vol1-issue4/19888-christian-zionism-road-map-to-armageddon/>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

¹⁰⁴ Bingham, J., ‘Church bans 9/11 Israel conspiracy priest from using social media’, *The Telegraph*, 9 February 2015, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/11399986/Vicar-who-blamed-Israel-for-911-attacks-is-banned-from-writing-about-the-Middle-East.html>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Living Without Human Rights’, *IHRC*, 5 June 2007, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/palestine-internationalist/palint-vol2/palint-vol2-issue4/19970-palestinians-under-occupation-living-without-human-rights-2/>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

¹⁰⁶ Doward, J., ‘British Muslim leader urged to quit over Gaza’, *The Guardian*, 8 March 2009, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/mar/08/daud-abdullah-gaza-middle-east>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁰⁷ Qureshi, A. and Shamie Begum, ‘Two Peoples – One State: The Binational Solution’, *Palestine Internationalist*, 2005, available at: <http://www.palint.org/article.php?articleid=7&forprint=1>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁰⁸ Ridley, Y., ‘The Price of Friendship’, *Palestine Internationalist*, 2005, available at: <http://www.palint.org/article.php?articleid=52&forprint=1>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁰⁹ Fox, E., ‘Extreme Speakers and Events: in the 2017/18 Academic Year’, *Henry Jackson Society*, January 2019, available at: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/HJS-Extreme-Speakers-and-Events-Report-.pdf>, last visited: 14 May 2019, p. 61..

¹¹⁰ Hart, A., ‘One State or Catastrophe for all’, *IHRC*, 2 December 2005, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/palestine-internationalist/palint-vol1/palint-vol1-issue2/19849-one-state-or-catastrophe-for-all/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹¹¹ Nasir, M. N., ‘Review of Hamas: Unwritten Chapters by Dr Azzam Tamimi, London: Hurst & Company, 2007, pp. 344+xii’, *IHRC*, 6 March 2007, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/palestine-internationalist/palint-vol2/palint-vol2-issue3/19967-review-of-hamas-unwritten-chapters-by-dr-azzam-tamimi-london-hurst-company-2007-pp-344xii/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

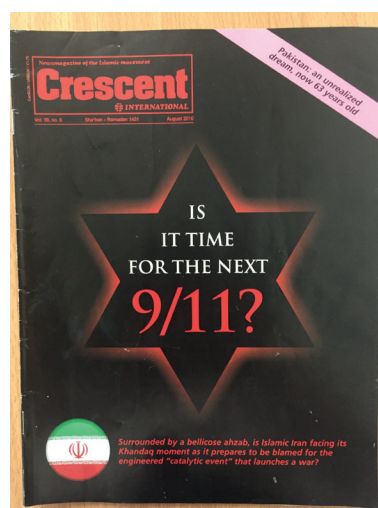
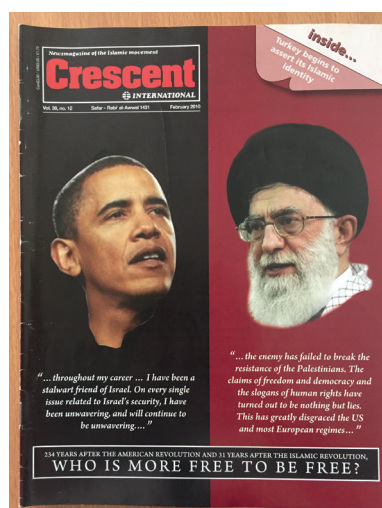
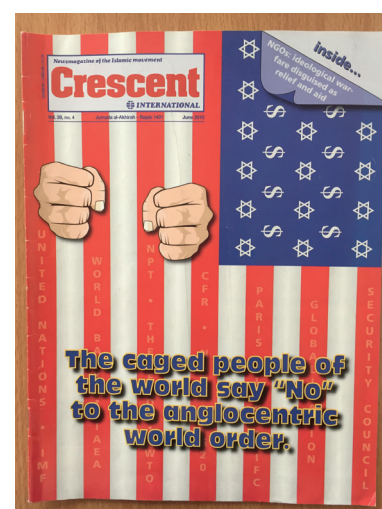
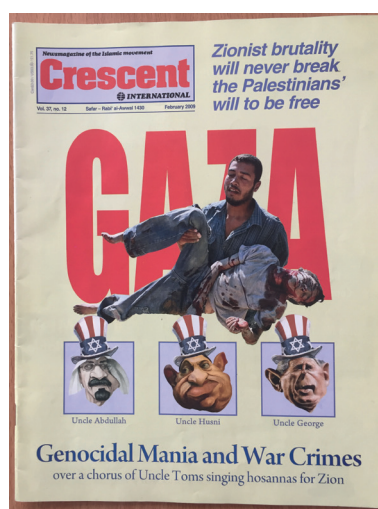
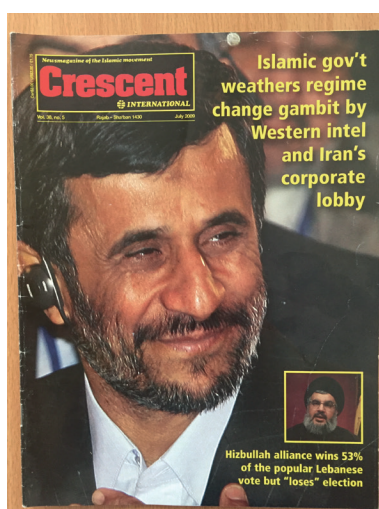
¹¹² Nasir, M. N., ‘Review of AL-Quds:al-Qadhiyyah Kulli Muslim [al-Quds: An Issue for All Muslims] By Dr Yusuf Qardhawi’, *IHRC*, 6 December 2006, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/palestine-internationalist/palint-vol2/palint-vol2-issue2/19952-review-of-al-qudsal-qadhiyyah-kulli-muslim-al-quds-an-issue-for-all-muslims-by-dr-yusuf-qardhawi/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

Muslim Brotherhood Tunisian Islamist Ennahdha movement,¹¹³ sees the issue of Palestine as a “global agenda”, and implores “the entire Muslim nation” to mobilise militarily, economically and spiritually against the Zionist project.¹¹⁴

Perhaps the most disturbing piece is authored by Rima Fakhri, a member of Hezbollah’s political bureau.¹¹⁵ In 2006, Fakhri recounted the “story of Israeli aggression” to justify the murder of civilians and the necessity of violence.¹¹⁶ In 2009, Fakhri was hosted by IHRC at the University of London’s School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS).¹¹⁷

3.3 Crescent International

Crescent International is an Islamist foreign policy magazine of the Institute of Contemporary Islamic Thought (ICIT). The magazine has close links to IHRC, with its editorial board of three individuals including IHRC advisors Muhammad al-Asi and Afeef



¹¹³ 'Factbox: Who is Tunisia's Islamist leader Rachid Ghannouchi?', *Reuters*, 30 January 2011, available at: <http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2011/01/30/factbox-who-is-tunisias-islamist-leader-rachid-ghannouchi/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹¹⁴ 'Palestine as a Global Agenda', *IHRC*, 5 June 2006, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/palestine-internationalist/palint-vol1/palint-vol1-issue4/19892-palestine-as-a-global-agenda/>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

¹¹⁵ Fakhri, R., 'The Story of "Israeli" Aggression', *IHRC*, 4 September 2006, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/palestine-internationalist/palint-vol2/palint-vol2-issue1/19911-the-right-of-return-from-bosnia-to-east-timor-a-comparative-analysis-5/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹¹⁷ 'Towards a New Liberation Theology – Reflections on Palestine', *IHRC*, 20 July 2009, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/projects/7897-towards-a-new-liberation-theology-reflections-on-palestine-3/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

Khan.¹¹⁸ Crescent International was initiated by the late Kalim Siddiqui, director of the pro-Iran Muslim Parliament pressure group, who reportedly requested that Ayatollah Khomeini issue the 1989 fatwa and death threat against the British author Salman Rushdie.¹¹⁹ Siddiqui later became a determined advocate and prominent spokesperson against Rushdie in the British media, at a time when the writer was under police guard in order to prevent attempts on his life following accusations of blasphemy. As noted in Rushdie's memoir, Siddiqui wrote a letter to *The Guardian*, declaring that "we [Muslims] have to support the death sentence on Rushdie", after which he was granted a private audience with Ayatollah Khamenei in Tehran.¹²⁰ The magazine follows a robust Khomeinist perspective, glorifies Iranian-funded militias Hamas and Hezbollah, and is characterised by extreme anti-Semitism.

For example, articles explore the "Mossad link to 9/11",¹²¹ praise convicted Al-Qaeda terrorists, and glorify the "martyrs" of Palestinian resistance fighters.¹²² Historic anti-Semitic tropes are also repackaged for a modern audience. For example, one published letter detailed how "Zionist agents" round up "young Algerian boys to steal their organs",¹²³ and another condemned the "Zionist masters" of America.¹²⁴ One article simply stated, "There is no shortage of violence in the world but most of it originates in the US or through its surrogate, the Zionist State of Israel."¹²⁵ The global Jewish community are also warned to "condemn Zionist Israel" or risk fuelling anti-Semitism.¹²⁶

Hamas is labelled a "resistance movement", a member of the proscribed Islamic Jihad is referred to as a "freedom fighter", and Al-Qaeda ideologue and recruiter Anwar al-Awlaki is described as "inspirational".¹²⁷ One article delights in the "relations between Hizbullah, Iran and the Hamas resistance movement in Palestine ... [for it] is an example of unity in practice".¹²⁸

¹¹⁸ 'About Us', *Crescent International*, available at: <https://crescent.icit-digital.org/about>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

¹¹⁹ Kennedy, D., 'British activist was behind Iran's fatwa on Salman Rushdie', *The Times*, 25 February 2019, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/british-activist-was-behind-iran-s-call-to-kill-salman-rushdie-7cd22753s>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹²⁰ Rushdie, S., *Joseph Anton: A Memoir* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2012), p. 226.

¹²¹ 'Mossad link to 9/11 hijackers established', *Crescent International*, 1 December 2008, available at: <https://crescent.icit-digital.org/articles/mossad-link-to-9-11-hijackers-established>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹²² Archived material.

¹²³ Archived material.

¹²⁴ 'US-Zionist plan to split Iraq on course', *Crescent International*, 3 May 2015, available at: <https://crescent.icit-digital.org/articles/us-zionist-plan-to-split-iraq-on-course>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹²⁵ Dhia-Allah, Y., 'Offensive depiction of the Qur'an's sacred text', *Crescent International*, 1 September 2009, available at: <https://crescent.icit-digital.org/articles/offensive-depiction-of-the-qur-an-s-sacred-text>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹²⁶ Archived material.

¹²⁷ Archived material.

¹²⁸ Archived material.

3.4 Guest Speakers

IHRC has partnered with various individuals and organisations that have a history of extreme and pro-terrorist views. This includes those that have been hosted by the organisation at its regular Author Evenings. These events see writers, academics and activists promote, discuss and sell their latest work at the IHRC offices in London. Speakers who have expressed terror-sympathising views include:

Asim Qureshi

On 8 October 2018, IHRC hosted Qureshi to talk about *A Virtue of Disobedience*, his book discussing “the history of oppression”.¹²⁹ In it, Qureshi covers issues “from torture and extrajudicial killings, to racism and discrimination ... resistance and disobedience ... faith and virtue”.¹³⁰

Qureshi is research director at CAGE. He has promoted violent jihad, has refused to condemn Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and stoning, and has described a British suicide bomber’s death as “selfless and sacrificial” and IS executioner Mohammed Emwazi as a “beautiful young man”.¹³¹

Moazzam Begg

On 6 April 2011, IHRC hosted Moazzam Begg to discuss his book *Enemy Combatant: The terrifying true story of a Briton in Guantanamo*.¹³² In it, Begg describes his experience at Guantanamo Bay and alleged torture at the hands of US guards.

Begg is Director of Outreach at CAGE. He has argued that Al-Qaeda clerics are “the most credible voices” against IS, labelled two men imprisoned after joining an Al-Qaeda-linked terrorist group as “really good brothers”, and described jihadist Anwar al-Awlaki – whom Begg has personally interviewed¹³³ – as a “prominent figure ... who had the US War on Terror mechanism affect him”.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ ‘Author Evening: “A Virtue of Disobedience” with Asim Qureshi’, *IHRC*, 18 September 2018, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/18973-author-evening-a-virtue-of-disobedience-with-asim-qureshi/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹³⁰ ‘A Virtue of Disobedience, Asim Qureshi’, *IHRC shop*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/a-virtue-of-disobedience-asim-qureshi-mark-mecob>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹³¹ Fox, E., ‘Extreme Speakers and Events: in the 2017/18 Academic Year’, *Henry Jackson Society*, January 2019, p. 36.

¹³² ‘Event Alert: Author Evening: Moazzam Begg talks about *Enemy Combatant*’, *IHRC*, 5 April 2011, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/alerts/9640-event-alert-author-evening-moazzam-begg-talks-about-enemy-combatant-2/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹³³ Qureshi, A., ‘Moazzam Begg Interviews Imam Anwar Al Awlaki’, *CAGE*, 28 December 2013, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180720195502/https://www.cage.ngo/moazzam-begg-interviews-imam-anwar-al-awlaki>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹³⁴ Fox, E., ‘Extreme Speakers and Events: in the 2017/18 Academic Year’, *Henry Jackson Society*, January 2019, pp. 25-26.

Hatem Bazian

IHRC has hosted American academic Hatem Bazian on several occasions since 2014. He is a regular panellist at its 'Islamophobia' conferences,¹³⁵ and in 2017 was invited to discuss his book *Palestine ... It Is Something Colonial* at IHRC's offices in London.¹³⁶ The 2017 event was chaired by PressTV and attended by Jeremy Corbyn MP.¹³⁷

Bazian has been heavily criticised for his "sustained record" of intolerance towards Jews.¹³⁸ This includes equating Israel to the Nazis,¹³⁹ claiming that Jewish and pro-Israel groups are the driving force behind Islamophobia¹⁴⁰ and posting tweets that Israel harvests organs.¹⁴¹ He has also been filmed at a rally calling for an *intifada* [violent uprising] in the US.¹⁴²

¹³⁵ 'Islamophobia Conference: The Changing Face of Racism', *IHRC*, 30 December 2015, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/11606-islamophobia-conference-the-changing-face-of-racism/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

'Institutional Islamophobia Conference 2014', *IHRC*, 10 February 2015, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/multimedia/video-multimedia/11360-institutional-islamophobia-conference-2014/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

'Event Report: Islamophobia Conference 2017', *IHRC*, 27 December 2017, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/12027-event-report-islamophobia-conference-2017/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹³⁶ 'Hatem Bazian: Palestine... It's Something Colonial', *IHRC*, 24 April 2017, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/multimedia/video-multimedia/18500-hatem-bazian-palestine-its-something-colonial/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹³⁷ 'Corbyn Attends Khomeinist Event with Press TV and Israel Hating Extremists', *Guido Fawkes*, 9 December 2016, available at: <https://order-order.com/2016/12/09/corbyn-attends-khomeinist-event-with-press-tv-extremists-and-israel-haters/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹³⁸ Zieve, T., 'UC Berkeley Jewish Students Demand Action Over "Antisemitic" Professor', *The Jerusalem Post*, 3 December 2017, available at: <http://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/UC-Berkley-Jewish-students-demand-action-over-antisemitic-professor-515883>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹³⁹ 'Promoting Islamophobia - Occupy AIPAC 2012 Workshop', *YouTube*, 2 May 2012, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o8_pPscxHYo&feature=youtu.be&t=11m10s, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Zieve, T., 'UC Berkeley Jewish Students Demand Action Over "Antisemitic" Professor', *The Jerusalem Post*, 3 December 2017.

¹⁴² 'Profiles in Hate: Hatem Bazian', *Campus Watch*, 5 November 2011, available at: <http://www.campus-watch.org/article/id/11850>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

'Radical Hatem Bazian calls for Intifada (armed uprising) in the USA!!', *YouTube*, 23 March 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mfv5yaKxNgo>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

4. SUPPORT OF TERRORISM

The Terrorism Act 2006 designated incitement to, and glorification of, terrorism as a criminal offence.¹⁴³ This criminalises statements that induce or encourage, either directly or indirectly, acts of terrorism.¹⁴⁴ The offence is committed by the publication of statements that glorify the commission or preparation of acts of terrorism (both past and future), and it carries a penalty of up to seven years imprisonment and/or a fine if tried in the Crown Court.¹⁴⁵

This section overviews some of IHRC's key campaigns and provides evidence that necessitates investigation in relation to the aforementioned law.

4.1 Al-Quds Day Parade

One of IHRC's most prominent campaigns is the UK franchise of the Khomeini-inspired Al-Quds Day parade, introduced for protesters around the globe to express support for Palestine and oppose Zionism on the last Friday of Ramadan. It is explicit in its desire for the eradication of the state of Israel. The Ayatollah claimed that Al-Quds Day marked "the duty of all Muslims to liberate the Quds [Jerusalem] and remove this nucleus of evil [Israel] from Islamic lands".¹⁴⁶ The parade sees supporters, including IHRC officials, adorned with Hezbollah merchandise and waving the group's flag. Hamas flags also frequently appear. Owing to the full proscription of Hezbollah in February 2019, such overt support for the terror group will now be prohibited.¹⁴⁷

The parade is supported by Sunni and Shia-Islamist organisations, and it platforms speakers with high-profile connections to the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas, in addition to those who have advocated violence against Israel and British troops. For example, past speakers include representatives from pan-Islamist movement Hizb ut-Tahrir,¹⁴⁸ Hamas "special envoy" to Britain¹⁴⁹ Azzam Tamimi,¹⁵⁰ and Daud Abdullah¹⁵¹ who signed a letter endorsing violence against British troops preventing arms smuggling to Hamas.¹⁵² Supporting organisations have included the Palestine Return Centre,¹⁵³ banned in Israel for connections to terrorism in 2010;¹⁵⁴ the Muslim Association of Britain,¹⁵⁵ linked

¹⁴³ 'Terrorism Act 2006', *legislation.gov.uk*, available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/11>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁴⁴ 'Media Law: Terrorism', *Channel 4 Producers Handbook*, available at: <https://www.channel4.com/producers-handbook/media-law/other-laws-affecting-broadcasting/terrorism>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ 'Imam Khomeini's Quotes: Palestine and Al-Quds', *Tebyan*, 14 September 2009, available at: <https://english.tebyan.net/newindex.aspx?pid=102287>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁴⁷ 'Police will intervene if Hezbollah Flags are flown at London Al Quds march', *UKLFI*, 8 May 2019, available at: <http://www.uklfi.com/police-will-intervene-if-hezbollah-flags-are-flown-at-london-al-quds-march>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁴⁸ 'Al-Quds Day 2007: London, Sunday 7th October 2007', *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180527205951/http://www.inminds.co.uk/qudsday2007.php>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁴⁹ Bennett, R., 'UCL students in protest over pro-Palestinian speakers Azzam Tamimi and Miko Peled', 10 November 2017.

¹⁵⁰ 'AI-QUDS DAY 2006: London, Sunday 22th [sic] October 2006', *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180527203547/http://www.inminds.co.uk/qudsday2006.php>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*

¹⁵² Doward, J., 'British Muslim leader urged to quit over Gaza', *The Guardian*, 8 March 2009.

¹⁵³ 'Action Alert: Al-Quds Day 2011', *Palestinian Return Centre*, 16 August 2011, available at: <https://prc.org.uk/en/post/1506/an-international-campaign-in-support-of-palestinian-economy>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁵⁴ 'European Hamas Affiliate Deemed Illegal by Minister of Defense', *Israel Defense Forces*, 27 December 2010, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110328124945/http://dover.idf.il/IDF/English/News/today/10/12/2703.htm>, last visited: 14 May 2019.¹⁵⁵ Doward, J., 'British Muslim leader urged to quit over Gaza', *The Guardian*, 8 March 2009.

¹⁵⁵ 'Action Alert: Al-Quds Day 2011', *Palestinian Return Centre*, 16 August 2011.

to the Muslim Brotherhood in a 2015 UK government report;¹⁵⁶ and the Islamic Forum of Europe,¹⁵⁷ labelled a Jamaat-e-Islami front-group by counter-extremism think tank Quilliam.¹⁵⁸

Protestors at the parade call for the annihilation of the Israeli state, glorify Hezbollah and defend all forms of “resistance” against Zionism. This includes IHRC senior figures, two of whom – Massoud Shadjareh¹⁵⁹ and Nazim Ali¹⁶⁰ – have been pictured wearing Hezbollah clothing at the rally. Shadjareh has stated that the “destruction of the state of Israel is important for all of us” and that the “Zionist cancer” must be “removed from earth”.¹⁶¹ Archives from IHRC affiliate Innovative Minds, a campaign group that supports the rally and uploads photographs and film footage of the parades on its website, demonstrate the extent to which anti-Semitic tropes and the endorsement of violence have become commonplace. Among the Hezbollah flags, placards stated, “We are all Hizbullah”,¹⁶² “We are all Hamas”,¹⁶³ “Defend the Intifada [militant uprising]”,¹⁶⁴ and chants called, “With blood, with guns – we will free Palestine.”¹⁶⁵

Of particular alarm, children were frequently pictured wearing Hezbollah merchandise,¹⁶⁶ which appeared to be sold at the rally,¹⁶⁷ and could be seen holding pictures of militia leader Hassan Nasrallah.¹⁶⁸ One photograph from the 2018 rally depicts a baby wrapped in a Hezbollah flag.¹⁶⁹ Event speakers, who traditionally deliver their speech in front of Hezbollah flags, also glorified Sunni and Shia terrorism. During Al-Quds Day rallies, Yvonne Ridley has stated “Victory to the Hizbullah” and “Victory to Hamas”,¹⁷⁰ Sheikh

¹⁵⁶ ‘Norfolk, A., Michael Savage, Faisal Hanif and Bel Trew, ‘Muslim Council “secretly linked” to Brotherhood’, *The Times*, 18 December 2015, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/muslim-council-secretly-linked-to-brotherhood-jwvmrwbmg75>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

‘Muslim Brotherhood Review: Main Findings’, *House of Commons*, 17 December 2015, available at: <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/testimony/404.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Action Alert: Al-Quds Day 2011’, Palestinian Return Centre, 16 August 2011

¹⁵⁸ ‘Quilliam Alert: Islam Channel and the promotion of extremism’, *Quilliam*, 30 April 2009, available at: <https://www.quilliaminternational.com/quilliam-alert-islam-channel-and-the-promotion-of-extremism/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁵⁹ ‘QUDS DAY 1423/2002: London 1st December 2002’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20181223161634/http://www.inminds.co.uk/qudsday2002.html>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

¹⁶⁰ ‘AL-QUDS DAY 2007: London, Sunday 7th October 2007’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20090802095050/http://www.inminds.co.uk/qudsday2007.php>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

¹⁶¹ ‘QUDS DAY 1424/2003: London 23rd November 2003’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20041113091524/http://www.inminds.co.uk/qudsday2003.html>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁶² ‘Al Quds Day 2009: London 13th September 2009’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190208101541/http://www.inminds.com/qudsday2009.php>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁶³ ‘Al Quds Day 2010: London 4th September 2010’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180908011814/http://www.inminds.com/qudsday2010.php>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

¹⁶⁴ ‘QUDS DAY 1422/2001: London 9th December 2001’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170905034738/http://www.inminds.com/qudsday2001.html>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁶⁵ ‘AI-QUDS DAY 2006: London, Sunday 22th [sic] October 2006’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180527203547/http://www.inminds.co.uk/qudsday2006.php>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁶⁶ ‘London Al Quds Day 2015 – Photo Video report’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <http://www.inminds.com/article.php?id=10677>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁶⁷ ‘ibid.,

‘AI-QUDS DAY 2007: London, Sunday 7th October 2007’, *Innovative Minds*.

‘Are the Islamic Human Right Commission Zionists?’, Harry’s Place, 30 June 2008, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2008/06/30/are-the-islamic-human-rights-commission-zionists/>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

¹⁶⁸ ‘AI-QUDS DAY 2007: London, Sunday 7th October 2007’, *Innovative Minds*.

¹⁶⁹ ‘This Year’s Pro-Hizballah Parade Was More Repulsive Than Ever, with Even a Baby Wrapped in the Terrorist Organisation’s Bloodcurdling Flag’, *Campaign Against Antisemitism*, 10 June 2018, available at: <https://antisemitism.uk/this-years-pro-hizballah-parade-was-more-repulsive-than-ever-with-even-a-baby-wrapped-in-the-terrorist-organisations-bloodcurdling-flag/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Al Quds Day 2008: London 28th September 2008’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180527202329/http://www.inminds.co.uk/qudsday2008.php>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁷¹ ‘AI-QUDS DAY 2007: London, Sunday 7th October 2007’, *Innovative Minds*.

Bahmanpour has questioned why Hamas and Hezbollah are terrorist organisations,¹⁷¹ and Hizb ut-Tahrir spokesman Taji Mustafa has stated that both Hamas and Fatah are “[our] brothers”.¹⁷² In fact, in 2008, Mustafa gave a speech that included a clear nod to jihadist terrorism against Israel, stating that “brave people willing to fight, looking for martyrdom, to liberate this land from the Zionist entity ... this Ummah has to unite”,¹⁷³ akin to Azzam Tamimi’s message at an earlier Al-Quds Day parade that claimed that, in the case of Palestine, “we live for it and we die for it”.¹⁷⁴

In addition to expressing tributes for Hamas and Hezbollah, parade speakers have used their platform to proclaim support for other proscribed militias. Open University senior research fellow Les Levidow, who claimed that Hamas is “the most credible force for resisting Zionist terror” and that Hezbollah “organised effective counter terrorism resistance”, took the opportunity to promote the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK),¹⁷⁵ a designated terrorist organisation in the UK since March 2001.¹⁷⁶

The parade also gave licence to explicit and extreme anti-Semitism. Sheikh Bahmanpour threatened Zionists “your days are numbered”, and warned that “the resistance” will wipe Israel off the map.¹⁷⁷ Members of the Neturei Karta (NK) (see Section 2.3) also promulgated virulent anti-Semitism. Placards read, “Zionism is the cause of Mideast bloodshed”;¹⁷⁸ a spokesman stated, “Many people in the world today are depicting the Jewish people as a cruel people, something akin to the Nazis ... and who can blame them”;¹⁷⁹ and NK members were seen burning the Israeli flag to chants of, “Down Down Israel”.¹⁸⁰

4.2 “Prisoners of Faith” campaign

IHRC has campaigned on behalf of various individuals convicted of terrorism, whom they determine are victims of oppression, injustice and state-sanctioned persecution. It gives such individuals the title “Prisoner of Faith”, in the same way as Amnesty International campaigns for political prisoners. Some of the most egregious cases are detailed below.

The most high-profile “Prisoner of Faith” is **Omar Abdel-Rahman** (the “Blind Sheikh”), convicted of conspiracy in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and planning a “war of urban terrorism” in the US.¹⁸¹ Upon his death, IHRC labelled Rahman a “martyr” and a “man of principle and unshakeable faith”.¹⁸² The organisation also claimed that Rahman’s conviction had been “set up by the US government solely for his influential religious and political views”.¹⁸³

¹⁷² *ibid.*

¹⁷³ ‘Al Quds Day 2008: London 28th September 2008’, *Innovative Minds*.

¹⁷⁴ ‘AI-QUDS DAY 2006: London, Sunday 22th [sic] October 2006’, *Innovative Minds*.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Event Report: Al Quds Day 2018’, *IHRC*, 21 June 2018, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/18636-event-report-al-quds-day-2018/>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Proscribed Terrorist Organisations’, *Home Office*, 12 April 2019, p. 17.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Bahmanpour at Quds Day – Wipe Israel Off The Map’, *YouTube*, 11 June 2018.

¹⁷⁸ ‘AI-QUDS DAY 2006: London, Sunday 22th [sic] October 2006’, *Innovative Minds*.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Al Quds Day 2008: London 28th September 2008’, *Innovative Minds*.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Anti-Zionist Jews burn Israel flag in London’, *YouTube*, 13 June 2018.

¹⁸¹ “Blind Sheikh” convicted in 1993 World Trade bombing dies in U.S. prison’, *Reuters*, 18 February 2017, available at: <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-usa-tradecenter-rahman/blind-sheikh-convicted-in-1993-world-trade-bombing-dies-in-u-s-prison-idUKKBN15XONU>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

¹⁸² ‘Press Release – USA/Sheikh Omar Abdul Rehman: World has lost a man of principle and unshakeable faith’, *IHRC*, 20 February 2017, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/11857-press-release-usasheikh-omar-abdul-rehman-world-has-lost-a-man-of-principle-and-unshakeable-faith/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*

In 2004, IHRC published a press release condemning the assassination of **Sheikh Ahmed Yassin**,¹⁸⁴ the spiritual and political leader of Hamas.¹⁸⁵ IHRC stressed that the “right to defend oneself and one’s land is enshrined in the UN Charter” and lamented that “an octogenarian quadriplegic has joined the ranks of so-called terrorists”.¹⁸⁶

In 2006, IHRC lamented the conviction of **Abu Hamza al-Masri**.¹⁸⁷ In a press release entitled ‘Reaction to Abu Hamza Verdict – Free Speech for Some but not All’, IHRC stated that it was “saddened” by the verdict, “notwithstanding Abu Hamza’s controversial character and views”.¹⁸⁸ Abu Hamza had been found guilty of inciting murder, encouraging racial hatred and possessing a document for terror purposes, for which he was imprisoned for seven years.¹⁸⁹

Later in 2006, IHRC campaigned for the release of “prominent Muslim scholar” **Anwar al-Awlaki**,¹⁹⁰ when he was detained by the Yemeni authorities for involvement in an Al-Qaeda plot.¹⁹¹ Al-Awlaki is now recognised as one of the terror group’s leading ideologues.¹⁹² He was a senior figure in Al-Qaeda in the Arab Peninsula (AQAP), was linked by US authorities to airline bombing plots, and had sought to use poison to kill American citizens.¹⁹³ Former US President Barack Obama designated him “directly responsible for the death of many Yemeni citizens” and as “directing efforts” to murder American civilians.¹⁹⁴ He was killed in Yemen by a US drone strike in 2011.

In 2010, IHRC supported **Aafia Siddiqui**,¹⁹⁵ who is linked to 9/11 ringleader Khalid Sheikh Mohammed.¹⁹⁶ Siddiqui is currently serving an 86-year prison sentence in the US for attempted murder and assault of US nationals, officers and employees in Afghanistan.¹⁹⁷ IHRC was part of a coalition calling for her release.¹⁹⁸

¹⁸⁴ Press Release: Assassination of Yassin Indicative of Israeli Contempt for International Norms’, *IHRC*, 22 March 2004, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/6976-press-release-assassination-of-yassin-indicative-of-israeli-contempt-for-international-norms/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

¹⁸⁵ ‘Sheikh Ahmed Yassin’, *The Guardian*, 23 March 2004, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2004/mar/23/guardianobituaries.israel>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Press Release: Assassination of Yassin Indicative of Israeli Contempt for International Norms’, *IHRC*, 22 March 2004.

¹⁸⁷ ‘PRESS RELEASE: Reaction to Abu Hamza Verdict – Free Speech for Some but not All’, *IHRC*, 7 February 2006, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/6401-press-release-reaction-to-abu-hamza-verdict-free-speech-for-some-but-not-all/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ ‘Archive: Abu Hamza guilty of inciting murder’, *BBC News*, 7 February 2006, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-19787234/archive-abu-hamza-guilty-of-inciting-murder>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

‘Abu Hamza profile’, *BBC News*, 9 January 2015, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-11701269>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Alert: Prominent Muslim Scholar Imam Anwar al-Awlaki Detained in Yemen’, *IHRC*, 28 November 2006, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/alerts-archive/8583-alert-prominent-muslim-scholar-imam-anwar-al-awlaki-detained-in-yemen/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

¹⁹¹ ‘Treasury Designates Anwar Al-Aulaqi, Key Leader of Al-Qa’ida in the Arabian Peninsula’, U.S. *Department of the Treasury*, 16 July 2010, available at: <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg779.aspx>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

¹⁹² ‘Islamist cleric Anwar al-Awlaki killed in Yemen’, *BBC News*, 30 September 2011, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15121879>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

¹⁹³ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ ‘Forwarded Alert: UK – Aafia Siddiqui Day’, *IHRC*, 26 March 2010, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/alerts/9272-forwarded-alert-uk-aafia-siddiqui-day/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

¹⁹⁶ ‘The mystery of Dr Aafia Siddiqui’, *The Guardian*, 24 November 2009, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/nov/24/aafia-siddiqui-al-qaida>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Aafia Siddiqui Sentenced in Manhattan Federal Court to 86 Years for Attempting to Murder U.S. Nationals in Afghanistan and Six Additional Crimes’, *FBI*, 23 September 2010, available at: <https://archives.fbi.gov/archives/newyork/press-releases/2010/nyfo092310.htm>, last visited: 15 May 2019..

¹⁹⁸ ‘Forwarded Alert: UK – Aafia Siddiqui Day’, *IHRC*, 26 March 2010.

In 2011, IHRC criticised the arrest and deportation of **Sheikh Raed Salah**, an Arab-Israeli activist who was banned from entering the UK.¹⁹⁹ He was due to attend a House of Commons meeting with three Members of Parliament, including Jeremy Corbyn.²⁰⁰ Salah was the leader of the northern branch of the Islamic Movement, opposed to the Oslo peace accords, and closely aligned to Hamas – although legal in Israel.²⁰¹ He had promoted anti-Semitic 9/11 conspiracy theories and reportedly accused Jews of using children's blood to bake bread.²⁰²

In 2014, IHRC criticised the treatment of **Abu Qatada**, who had been deported to Jordan after an eight-year legal battle with the British authorities. Its press release stated that the cleric had been “demonised in Whitehall” and that “the British government was engaged in a concerted, unrelenting campaign of persecution against him simply because he was considered to hold unsavoury views which included challenging western foreign policies towards Muslim countries”.²⁰³ Qatada was regarded as Osama bin Laden's “top man in Britain” and described by judges as central to Al-Qaeda's terrorist activities in Britain.²⁰⁴

IHRC has also supported other individuals linked to the Muslim Brotherhood,²⁰⁵ Hezbollah²⁰⁶ and the Taliban.²⁰⁷

4.3 ‘Intifada’: Venezuelan Embassy event

IHRC's support for militant struggle against Israel is particularly apparent from the organisation's ‘Intifada’ event in 2010 at the Venezuelan Embassy.²⁰⁸ The Palestinian intifada refers to the armed uprisings of 1987–1993 and 2000–2003 against Israel that took place in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.²⁰⁹ The event hosted pro-Hamas²¹⁰ and Muslim Brotherhood²¹¹ speaker Azzam Tamimi and pro-Hamas²¹² and pro-Hezbollah²¹³ speaker

¹⁹⁹ ‘PRESS RELEASE: UK/Israel/Palestine – British Detention of Palestinian Activist Sheikh Raed Salah’, *IHRC*, 7 July 2011, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/9719-press-release-british-detention-of-palestinian-activist-sheikh-raed-salah/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁰⁰ ‘Questions over Sheikh Raed Salah's UK ban’, *BBC News*, 30 June 2011, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-13969105>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁰¹ *ibid.*

²⁰² *ibid.*

²⁰³ ‘Press release: Abu Qatada acquittal exposes British abandonment of due process’, *IHRC*, 24 September 2014, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/11203-press-release-abu-qatada-acquittal-exposes-british-abandonment-of-due-process/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁰⁴ Morgan-Bentley, P., ‘£200,000 spent on protecting hate preacher Abu Qatada human rights’, *The Times*, 4 January 2019, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/200-000-spent-on-protecting-hate-preacher-abu-qatada-human-rights-hqlxrltzj>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁰⁵ ‘Forwarded Alert: Egypt – MB defense calls for immediate release of Al-Shater and his companions’, *IHRC*, 15 April 2010, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/alerts/9295-forwarded-alert-egypt-mb-defense-calls-for-immediate-release-of-al-shater-and-his-companions/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁰⁶ ‘CAMPAIGN UPDATE & MEDIA MONITORING ALERT: Sheikh Obaid and Mustafa Dirani released; BBC Coverage’, *IHRC*, 29 January 2004, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/alerts-archive/8803-campaign-update-media-monitoring-alert-sheikh-obaid-and-mustafa-dirani-released-bbc-coverage/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁰⁷ ‘Press Release: Arrest of Babar Ahmed for Extradition’, *IHRC*, 5 August 2004, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/6850-press-release-arrest-of-babar-ahmed-for-extradition/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁰⁸ ‘Zionist-apartheid bullying fails at Intifada event at Venezuelan Embassy, London’, *IHRC*, 8 November 2010, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/news/articles/9489-zionist-apartheid-bullying-fails-at-intifada-event-at-venezuelan-embassy-london/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁰⁹ ‘Israel-Gaza conflict: What is an intifada?’, *The Telegraph*, 6 November 2014, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/10990699/Israel-Gaza-conflict-What-is-an-intifada.html>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

²¹⁰ Bennett, R., ‘UCL students in protest over pro-Palestinian speakers Azzam Tamimi and Miko Peled’, 10 November 2017.

²¹¹ ‘Britain as a Focus for Hamas' Political, Propaganda and Legal Activities in Europe’, *Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center*, 21 February 2010, available at: https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/Data/pdf/PDF_10_048_2.pdf, last visited: 16 May 2019.

²¹² Rosen, R., ‘George Galloway: Gaza war as bad as WW2’, *The JC*, 9 March 2011, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/george-galloway-gaza-war-as-bad-as-ww2-1.21728>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

²¹³ Galloway, G., ‘George Galloway: Hizbollah is right to fight Zionist terror’, *Socialist Worker online*, 29 July 2006, available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20100305175223/http://www.socialistworker.co.uk/article.php?article_id=9334, last visited: 15 May 2019.

George Galloway, and featured a video segment of convicted terrorist Leila Khaled who addressed the audience.

During the event, Shadjareh called for “expanded support for the Palestinian struggle” and claimed that Palestinians “couldn’t rely on the international community ... they had to rely on themselves, using whatever means they had. If all we have is stones, then we use stones.”²¹⁴ He later stated that “those who stood up must be proud of themselves, and they should be considered by us as heroes. If it has taught us nothing else, Intifada has taught us that we must all stand up against our oppressors.”²¹⁵

Fellow speakers Azzam Tamimi and George Galloway further glorified Palestinian resistance fighters and justified terrorism against Israel. According to IHRC, Tamimi claimed, “Intifada, for many, means that death is more honourable than life. It is a reaction to extreme injustice ... are you to be blamed for using every means at your disposal in your struggle against that enemy?”²¹⁶ It was then argued that the second intifada was superior to the first, as both Hamas and Fatah were better established and experienced: “More weapons were available. The resistance was very effective.”²¹⁷ Arguing in favour of both political and military opposition to the state of Israel, Galloway claimed that “Hamas and Fatah were both necessary components of the resistance struggle”.²¹⁸

Leila Khaled was also a listed panellist, with a recorded 20-minute interview for the event shown at the start of the evening.²¹⁹ Khaled is a prolific member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), an EU and US-proscribed terror organisation. In 1969, Khaled hijacked an American aircraft and held two Israeli passengers as hostages for three months, and the following year was arrested on board a flight to Amsterdam with two grenades.²²⁰ Despite being released, Khaled has never renounced violence and has remained a senior member of the PFLP.²²¹ During the recorded interview, Khaled spoke in glowing terms about militant opposition to Israel. She refuted that a violent reaction could be seen as terrorism – “terrorism is occupation and not resistance” – and claimed that political negotiations are futile: “there is no use except to revolt”.²²²

From IHRC’s reporting of the event alone, it is clear that the organisation both justifies violent attacks against Israeli civilians and provides a platform to those who commit such attacks.²²³

²¹⁴ ‘Zionist-apartheid bullying fails at Intifada event at Venezuelan Embassy, London’, *IHRC*, 8 November 2010.

²¹⁵ *ibid.*

²¹⁶ *ibid.*

²¹⁷ *ibid.*

²¹⁸ *ibid.*

²¹⁹ ‘Leila Khaled Statement to Intifada Event at Venezuelan Embassy, London, Tomorrow (Sat Nov 06)’, *Sons of Malcolm*, 5 November 2010, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110217002140/http://sonsofmalcolm.blogspot.com/2010/11/leila-khaled-statement-to-intifada.html>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²²⁰ Fox, E., ‘The dangers that face Freshers’, *Henry Jackson Society*, available at: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/news/the-dangers-that-face-freshers/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²²¹ Stevens, J. and Claire Ellicott, ‘Corbyn faces fresh questions over his links to terrorists as pictures emerge of him sharing a stage with the world’s first female plane hijacker’, *Daily Mail*, 16 August 2018, available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6069013/Corbyn-faces-fresh-questions-links-terrorists-pictures-emerge-plane-hijacker.html>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²²² ‘Leila Khaled Statement to Intifada Event at Venezuelan Embassy, London, Tomorrow (Sat Nov 06)’, *Sons of Malcolm*, 5 November 2010.

²²³ ‘Zionist-apartheid bullying fails at Intifada event at Venezuelan Embassy, London’, *IHRC*, 8 November 2010.

Note

In July 2006, IHRC published a briefing “to assess the legal position of a response to Israeli aggression and policies towards Lebanon and the Palestinian people”.²²⁴ In it, IHRC states that Lebanon has the right to self-defence, the right to call for military assistance from an entity of its choosing, and thus “any support for Hizbullah defending Lebanon is lawful under international law”.²²⁵ IHRC further claim that any use of force against Israel must be proportional, and this is described as including “the destruction of installations on the territory held by Israel” and “financial, logistical and informational support of Hizbullah”.²²⁶ Israel’s state ideology is stated as being “based on a racial concept of the superiority of the Jews over all other humans”, and a “temporary occupation of Israel and a regime change” is suggested as a manner through which to restore peace and security in the region.

No individual is cited as the author of this document. At the time of its publication, Hezbollah’s External Security Organisation had been proscribed by the UK government.²²⁷

4.4 ‘Islamophobia Awards’

Every year, IHRC holds an awards ceremony to highlight high-profile individuals or organisations that, they argue, stoke Islamophobia. Although this is promoted as a satirical event, nominees appear to be legitimate figures of hate for the organisation. In fact, it is reasonable to assume that all of the individuals nominated for such an award are regarded by IHRC as genuine promulgators of anti-Muslim hate.

Past nominations have included the journalist Douglas Murray and liberal Muslim Maajid Nawaz, both outspoken critics of the organisation.²²⁸ Also featured have been Israeli President Benjamin Netanyahu, former US President George W. Bush,²²⁹ and Burmese leader Aung San Suu Kyi.²³⁰ Nominees have ranged from western politicians (Presidents’ Barack Obama and Donald Trump)²³¹ and Muslim groups that combat misogyny and extremism (Inspire)²³² to right-wing media outlets (Fox News, The Sun).²³³ Individual journalists have also been targeted. Sky News’ Kay Burley was nominated²³⁴ after she allegedly dismissed

²²⁴ ‘The Blame Game: International Law and the Current Crisis in the Middle East’, *IHRC*, 20 July 2006, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20060815044017/https://www.ihr.org.uk/show.php?id=1954>, last visited: 22 May 2019.

²²⁵ *ibid.*

²²⁶ *ibid.*

²²⁷ ‘Proscribed Terrorist Organisations’, *Home Office*, 12 April 2019, p.13.

²²⁸ ‘Islamophobia Awards 2014: Shortlisted Nominations’, *IHRC*, 20 February 2014, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/10937-islamophobia-awards-2014-shortlisted-nominations/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²²⁹ ‘We must be free to criticise without being called racist’, *The Guardian*, 18 August 2004, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/aug/18/religion.politics>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

²³⁰ ‘Islamophobia Awards 2018: VOTE NOW!’, *IHRC*, 1 October 2018, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/19057-islamophobia-awards-2018-vote-now/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²³¹ ‘PRESS RELEASE: Islamophobia Awards winners’, *IHRC*, 20 February 2014, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/10938-press-release-islamophobia-awards-winners/>, last visited: 15 May 2019; ‘Islamophobia Awards 2018: VOTE NOW!’, *IHRC*, 1 October 2018.

²³² ‘PRESS RELEASE – UK: Nominees announced for Islamophobia Awards 2016’, *IHRC*, 26 January 2016, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170909050014/http://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/11625-press-release-uk-nominees-announced-for-islamophobia-awards-2016>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²³³ ‘Islamophobia Awards 2018: VOTE NOW!’, *IHRC*, 1 October 2018.

‘Event Report: Islamophobia Awards 2017’, *IHRC*, 5 December 2017, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/12008-event-report-islamophobia-awards-2017/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²³⁴ ‘Press release: UK – Islamophobia Awards 2016 – WINNERS’, *IHRC*, 1 March 2016, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/11637-press-release-uk-islamophobia-awards-2016-shortlist-released/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

complaints of Islamophobia and racism from CAGE,²³⁵ and The Guardian columnist Polly Toynbee was awarded after challenging the notion of Islamophobia as an encroachment on the right to freedom of speech and criticism of religion.²³⁶ Other occasions saw the entire UK government²³⁷ and the Metropolitan Police²³⁸ were nominated for Islamophobia.

The most disturbing moment of these award ceremonies came in 2015 when satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo was awarded 'Islamophobe of the Year'.²³⁹ The reason provided was "the publication's racist and Islamophobic journalism".²⁴⁰ The award was given two months after the terrorist attack at the Charlie Hebdo offices in France which resulted in the murder of eight staff members.²⁴¹

4.5 Intifada Street

Since 2014, IHRC has partnered with Intifada Street arts campaign, founded by activist Mohammad Hamza in Bradford.²⁴² The campaign lionises global militant "revolutionary" figures and glorifies violence.²⁴³ Hamza himself has stated online that violence against oppression is "not only legitimate but necessary".²⁴⁴

The campaign, in accordance with its namesake which refers to the armed Palestinian uprisings against Israel, depicts high-profile figures who have used violence to generate radical societal change. Colourful graphics portray "resistance" figures such as Black Power icon Malcolm X alongside Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah and Leila Khaled, one of the leaders of US-proscribed PFLP (see Section 4.3).²⁴⁵ Several pictures depict terrorist iconography – usually individuals brandishing weapons.

Khaled is depicted with an AK-47;²⁴⁶ Palestinian youths are painted with slingshots, stones and guns;²⁴⁷ and Hezbollah chief of staff Imad Mughniyeh is shown in military uniform raising a weapon in the air.²⁴⁸ Before 9/11, Mughniyeh was listed by US intelligence

²³⁵ Ghander, K., "'Jihadi John': Cage representative storms off Sky News interview accusing Kay Burley of Islamophobia", *The Independent*, 26 February 2015, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/jihadi-john-cage-representative-storms-off-sky-news-interview-after-accusing-kay-burley-of-10073785.html>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²³⁶ 'We must be free to criticise without being called racist', *The Guardian*, 18 August 2004, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/aug/18/religion.politics>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²³⁷ 'Press release: nominees announced for Islamophobia Awards 2015', *IHRC*, 23 January 2015, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/press-releases/11344-press-release-nominees-announced-for-islamophobia-awards-2015/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²³⁸ 'PRESS RELEASE – UK: Nominees announced for Islamophobia Awards 2016', *IHRC*, 26 January 2016.

²³⁹ 'Event Report: Islamophobia Awards 2015', *IHRC*, 12 March 2015, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/11384-event-report-islamophobia-awards-2015/>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

²⁴⁰ 'Islamophobia Awards 2015: Vote now! – VOTING IS CLOSED', *IHRC*, 21 February 2015, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/11229-islamophobia-awards-2015-vote-now/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁴¹ Richards, V., 'Charlie Hebdo given "Islamophobe of the Year" award', *The Independent*, 11 March 2015, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/charlie-hebdo-murdered-staff-given-islamophobe-of-the-year-award-10100317.html>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁴² 'Intifada Street: End of Exhibition Conversation with Mohammad Hamza', *IHRC*, 15 May 2014, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/11026-intifada-street-end-of-exhibition-conversation-with-mohammad-hamza/>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

²⁴³ Several graphics are also virulently anti-Semitic. See, for example, hanz-revo, *Instagram*, 14 January 2014, available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/jKoknAHGsV/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁴⁴ hanz-revo, *Instagram*, 8 December 2013, available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/hrRf1OngtD/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁴⁵ 'Gallery 4', *Intifada Street*, available at: <http://www.intifadastreet.com/gallery-4/4591488357>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁴⁶ Intifada Street image, available at: <http://www.intifadastreet.com/communities/9/004/013/202/429//images/4629762694.png>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁴⁷ 'Gallery 5', *Intifada Street*, available at: <http://www.intifadastreet.com/gallery-5/4591488504>, last visited: 16 May 2016.

²⁴⁸ hanz-revo, *Instagram*, 1 August 2018, available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BI6k2YKhD7I/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

services as their “most wanted” individual, on account of his responsibility for the deaths of more Americans than any other terrorist.²⁴⁹ One graphic shows Nasrallah holding up a rifle, while using the Syrian regime flag to stab a pile of bloodied corpses that includes Benjamin Netanyahu, Barack Obama and Hilary Clinton.²⁵⁰ Owing to the campaign’s rousing rhetoric, provocative imagery and glorification of violence, Intifada Street can be characterised as pro-terrorist propaganda.

In 2014, IHRC hosted Hamza’s first exhibition, Intifada Street: Revolutionary Arts, at its offices in London, which showcased the artist’s work and provided an opportunity to buy limited-edition prints.²⁵¹ Since then, IHRC has partnered with Intifada Street on several occasions²⁵² and continues to dedicate a section of its purchasable items online to Intifada Street graphics.²⁵³ In a similar fashion, although designed by another artist, IHRC also sell a framed print of convicted terrorist Leila Khaled with a gun, at the time of writing being sold by the organisation for £90.00.²⁵⁴

4.6 Promoted Literature

IHRC sells a large amount of literature both online and in its London store. The publications conform to the organisation’s wider Khomeinist, Islamist and anti-imperialist worldview, with titles related to a range of topics, including Palestine, resistance, slavery, history, Islam, Shiism, Islamophobia, children’s stories and colonialism. There is no suggestion that these topics, in and of themselves, are problematic or extreme. However, among the literature, IHRC has sold a considerable amount of extremist material, including texts that have inspired Salafi-Jihadist movements across the globe and which have been banned in UK prisons. A selection of its extremist material is outlined below:

Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi

IHRC has sold several publications written by the Pakistani Islamist Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi. Of the books sold, topics range from Islamic finance²⁵⁵ and interpretations of the Qur’an²⁵⁶ to faith, fasting, pilgrimage and jihad.²⁵⁷

²⁴⁹ ‘Profile: Imad Mugniyah’, *Council on Foreign Relations*, 17 August 2006, available at: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/profile-imad-mugniyah>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁵⁰ Intifada Street image, available at: <http://www.intifadastreet.com/communities/9/004/013/202/429//images/4629762659.png>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁵¹ ‘Intifada Street: Revolutionary Arts’, *IHRC*, 14 March 2014, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/events/10647-intifada-street-revolutionary-arts/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁵² ‘Islamophobia Conference 2018: Islamophobia and Silencing Criticism of Israel’, *IHRC*, 28 October 2018, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/events/19243-islamophobia-conference-2018-islamophobia-and-the-movement-to-free-palestine/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

‘Islamophobia Conference 2016: The Environment of Hate and the Police State’, *IHRC*, 7 November 2016, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/events/11774-islamophobia-conference-2016-the-environment-of-hate-and-the-police-state/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

‘Islamophobia Conference 2015: The Changing Face of Racism’, *IHRC*, 12 December 2015, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/events/11541-islamophobia-conference-2015-the-changing-face-of-racism/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁵³ ‘Artwork and Ornaments: Intifada Street’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/intifada-street-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁵⁴ ‘Long Live Free Palestine (Leila Khaled) Print’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/long-live-free-palestine-leila-khaled-print-framed-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁵⁵ ‘First Principles of Islamic Economics/Sayyid Abud A’la Mawdudi’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/first-principles-of-islamic-economics-sayyid-abul-ala-mawdudi>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁵⁶ ‘Towards Understanding the Quran: Volume 3 (Surahs 7-9)/Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/towards-understanding-the-quran-volume-3-surah-7-9-mawdudi>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁵⁷ ‘Let Us Be Muslims/Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/let-us-be-muslims-sayyed-abul-ala-mawdudi-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Mawdudi is the founder of the South Asian Islamist group Jamaat-e-Islami (JI).²⁵⁸ His work helped form the tenets of Qutbism (see below), an ideology that has influenced Salafi-Jihadist groups.²⁵⁹ His publication *Towards Understanding the Quran* has been banned from UK prisons for its opposition to British values.²⁶⁰ IHRC sells the book on its online shop.²⁶¹ In it, Mawdudi states that Muslims are required to fight in order to end the sovereignty and supremacy of the unbelievers.²⁶²

Yusuf Al-Qaradawi

IHRC has also sold a range of publications authored by the Qatar-based theologian Yusuf Al-Qaradawi. This includes books on charity,²⁶³ Islamic Jurisprudence²⁶⁴ and 'Islamic Awakening'.²⁶⁵

Al-Qaradawi is widely regarded as the Muslim Brotherhood's spiritual leader.²⁶⁶ He has supported violent jihad²⁶⁷ and justified the murder of American civilians, homosexuals, apostates and Jews.²⁶⁸ His work *The Lawful and Prohibited in Islam* is banned in UK prisons.²⁶⁹ Al-Qaradawi himself was refused a visa to enter Britain in 2008.²⁷⁰

Hasan Al-Banna

Hasan Al-Banna's books have also been sold by IHRC. Of the publications sold, topics range from theology²⁷¹ to spirituality²⁷² and martyrdom.²⁷³

Al-Banna is the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. Justice Haddon-Cave included him among his list of "political Islamists and violent extremists".²⁷⁴ His book *The Way of Jihad* is banned in UK prisons.²⁷⁵

²⁵⁸ 'Abul Ala Maududi: Overview', *Counter Extremism Project*, available at: <https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/abul-ala-maududi>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁵⁹ McCants, W. and Jarret Brachman, 'Militant Ideology Atlas', *Combating Terrorism Center*, U.S. Military Academy, November 2006, available at: <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a458483.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁶⁰ "Extremist" books remained in prisons despite warning', *BBC News*, 28 July 2016, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-36774358>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁶¹ 'Towards Understanding the Quran: Volume 3 (Surahs 7-9)/Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi', *IHRC*.

²⁶² Norfolk, A., 'Alert over Islamic hate books in jail was ignored', *The Times*, 28 July 2016, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/islamic-hate-books-found-in-prisons-despite-ban-bpnt9zrz7>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁶³ 'Fiqu Al-Zakah/Yusuf Al-Qaradawi', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/fiqh-al-zakah-yusuf-al-qaradawi>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁶⁴ 'Approaching the Sunnah: Comprehension & Controversy/Yusuf Al-Qaradawi', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/approaching-the-sunnah-comprehension-controversy-yusuf-al-qaradawi>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁶⁵ 'Islamic Awakening: Between Rejection and Extremism/Yusuf Al-Qaradawi', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/islamic-awakening-between-rejection-and-extremism-yusuf-al-qaradawi>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁶⁶ Norfolk, A., 'Alert over Islamic hate books in jail was ignored', *The Times*, 28 July 2016.

²⁶⁷ 'Sheik Yusuf al-Qaradawi: Theologian of Terror', *Anti-Defamation League*, 3 May 2013, available at: <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/anti-semitism/arab-world/Sheik-Yusuf-al-Qaradawi-2013-5-3-v1.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*

²⁶⁹ Norfolk, A., 'Alert over Islamic hate books in jail was ignored', *The Times*, 28 July 2016.

²⁷⁰ Moore, M., 'Muslim cleric Yusuf al-Qaradawi refused visa', *The Telegraph*, 7 February 2008, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1577924/Muslim-cleric-Yusuf-al-Qaradawi-refused-visa.html>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁷¹ 'The Concept of Allah in the Islamic Creed/Hasan Al-Banna', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/the-concept-of-allah-in-the-islamic-creed-hasan-al-banna>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁷² 'Al-Munajah – The Intimate Discourse/Imam Hasan Al-Banna', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/al-munajah-the-intimate-discourse-imam-hasan-al-banna>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁷³ 'Imam Shahid Hasan Al-Banna: From Birth to Martyrdom/S.M.Hasan Al-Banna', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/imam-shahid-hasan-al-banna-from-birth-to-martyrdom-sm-hasan-al-banna>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁷⁴ 'Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)', *Royal Courts of Justice*, 28 October 2016, available at: <https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019, p. 288.

²⁷⁵ Norfolk, A., 'Alert over Islamic hate books in jail was ignored', *The Times*, 28 July 2016.

Sayyid Qutb

IHRC has sold a range of publications authored by Sayyid Qutb. The topics range from social justice²⁷⁶ and Qur'anic commentary²⁷⁷ to Qutb's "political manifesto",²⁷⁸ entitled *Milestones*.²⁷⁹

Qutb is regarded as one of the "founding fathers of modern-day jihadism".²⁸⁰ He is described by Justice Haddon-Cave as a "notorious violent, extremist, Islamic ideologue".²⁸¹ *Milestones* advocates violent Jihad and is banned in UK prisons.²⁸² The book is widely accepted as "the foundational text for the modern jihadist movement".²⁸³

Abdullah el-Faisal

IHRC has sold the book *100 Fabricated Hadith* by Abdullah el-Faisal.²⁸⁴ In it, he advocates violent jihad and stoning for adulterers and states that anyone who insults one of Allah's prophets is a "kafir" and deserves to be killed. Jews are considered "monkeys and swine" and Shia Muslims "treacherous".²⁸⁵

El-Faisal is considered one of the most influential Salafi-Jihadist clerics to have preached in the UK, and is connected to several of Britain's most high-profile terrorists.²⁸⁶ This includes 7/7 suicide bombers Mohammad Sidique Khan and Germaine Lindsay, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab "the underwear bomber" and Richard Reid "the shoe bomber".²⁸⁷ El-Faisal was subsequently convicted for soliciting murder and inciting racial hatred and was deported to Jamaica in 2007.²⁸⁸ The emergence of IS has seen a "renaissance" of the preacher's influence, and he has since provided support and facilitated recruitment for the terror group. He is estimated to have played a role in the recruitment of 250 people from the Caribbean.²⁸⁹ He is currently fighting extradition from Jamaica to the US, where he is considered a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT).²⁹⁰

²⁷⁶ 'Social Justice in Islam/Sayyid Qutb', *IHRC*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180719164544/https://shop.ihr.org/social-justice-in-islam-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁷⁷ 'In the Shade of the Quran: Fi-Zilal Al-Quran: Volume 7, Surah 8/Sahyyid Qutb', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/in-the-shade-of-the-quran-fi-zilal-al-quran-volume-7-surah-8-sayyid-qutb-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁷⁸ Manne, R., 'Sayyid Qutb: Father of Salafi Jihadism, forerunner of the Islamic State', *ABC Religion & Ethics*, 7 November 2016, available at: <https://www.abc.net.au/religion/sayyid-qutb-father-of-salafi-jihadism-forerunner-of-the-islamic-/10096380>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁷⁹ 'Milestones/Sayyid Qutb', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/milestones-sayyid-qutb-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁸⁰ 'Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB)', *Royal Courts of Justice*, 28 October 2016.

²⁸¹ *ibid.*

²⁸² Norfolk, A., 'Alert over Islamic hate books in jail was ignored', *The Times*, 28 July 2016.

²⁸³ *ibid.*

²⁸⁴ '100 Fabricated Hadith', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/100-fabricated-hadith>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁸⁵ 'Full text of "100 Fabricated Hadith Shaikh Abdullah Faisal"', *The Internet Archive*, available at: https://archive.org/stream/100FabricatedHadithShaikhAbdullahFaisal_201707/100%20Fabricated%20Hadith%20-%20Shaikh%20Abdullah%20Faisal_djvu.txt, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁸⁶ "Sheikh" Abdullah Faisal: Ideologue of Hate', *Centre on Extremism*, November 2018, available at: <https://www.adl.org/media/12204/download>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁸⁷ 'Treasury Sanctions Jamaica-based ISIS Recruiter for Terror Support', *U.S. Department of the Treasury*, 5 December 2017, available at: <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/sm0231.aspx>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁸⁸ Gadher, D., 'Former London imam Sheikh Abdullah el-Faisal "drew hundreds of recruits to terror"', *The Times*, 3 February 2019, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/former-london-imam-drew-hundreds-of-recruits-to-terror-fl2xcnql>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁸⁹ *ibid.*

²⁹⁰ 'Treasury Sanctions Jamaica-based ISIS Recruiter for Terror Support', *U.S. Department of the Treasury*, 5 December 2017.

Ibn Taymiyyah

IHRC has sold several works authored by Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymiyyah. Titles include *Letters from Prison*,²⁹¹ *Enjoining Good - Forbidding Evil*,²⁹² and *Being a True Slave of Allah*.²⁹³

Ibn Taymiyyah is a medieval Islamic scholar, whose works have been cited by Salafi-Jihadist movements to justify violence. He has written extensively on Shiism despite being a Sunni scholar.²⁹⁴ Two of his most influential teachings are the elevation of jihad to mean physical combat against unbelievers and the legitimisation of rebellion against Muslim rulers who do not enforce sharia (Islamic law).²⁹⁵ His ideas have been considered to “underpin” 25 years of violence in Egypt, including the 1981 assassination of Anwar Sadat, and to have helped inspire the ideology of Wahhabism.²⁹⁶ He was quoted as an authority by Osama bin Laden,²⁹⁷ and his fatwa (religious decrees) have also been used by militants to murder apostates.²⁹⁸ The works and legacy of Ibn Taymiyya are highly controversial, causing major dispute among Islamic scholars.²⁹⁹

Note

IHRC has also sold works from Kalim Siddiqui (see Section 3.3),³⁰⁰ Moazzam Begg (see Section 3.4),³⁰¹ Daud Abdullah (see Section 3.2)³⁰² and Azzam Tamimi (see Sections 3.2 and 4.3),³⁰³ who are mentioned elsewhere in this report.

²⁹¹ ‘Letters from Prison/Ibn Taymeeyah’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/letters-from-prison-ibn-taymeeyah-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁹² ‘Enjoining Good Forbidding Evil/Ibn Taymiyyah’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/enjoining-good-forbidding-evil-ibn-taymiyyah-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁹³ ‘Al-Ubudiyyah: Being a True Slave of Allah/Ibn Taymiyyah’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/al-ubudiyyah-being-a-true-slave-of-allah-ibn-taymiyyah-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁹⁴ ‘Why Study...Ibn Taymiyya, with Jon Hoover, *YouTube*, 5 May 2011, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iRgm85xQhNI>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁹⁵ Simon, S., ‘The New Terrorism: Securing the Nation Against a Messianic Foe’, *Brookings*, 1 January 2003, available at: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-new-terrorism-securing-the-nation-against-a-messianic-foe/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*

²⁹⁷ ‘Why Study...Ibn Taymiyya, with Jon Hoover, *YouTube*, 5 May 2011.

²⁹⁸ Aboudi, S., ‘Killing of mother in Saudi Arabia sparks debate about Islamic scholar’, *Reuters*, 5 July 2016, available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-militants/killing-of-mother-in-saudi-arabia-sparks-debate-about-islamic-scholar-idUSKCN0ZLIBQ>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

²⁹⁹ ‘Why Study...Ibn Taymiyya, with Jon Hoover, *YouTube*, 5 May 2011.

³⁰⁰ ‘Stages of Islamic Revolution / Kalim Siddiqui’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/stages-of-islamic-revolution-kalim-siddiqui>, last visited: 17 May 2019. ‘Processes of Error, Deviation, Correction and Convergence in Muslim Political Thought / Kalim Siddiqui’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/processes-of-error-deviation-correction-and-convergence-in-muslim-political-thought-kalim-siddiqui-2>, last visited: 17 May 2019. ‘Political Dimensions of the Seerah/ Kalim Siddiqui’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/political-dimensions-of-the-seerah-kalim-siddiqui-2>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

³⁰¹ ‘Enemy Combatant/Moazzam Begg’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/enemy-combatant-a-british-muslims-journey-to-guantanamo-and-back-moazzam-begg>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁰² ‘The Israeli Law of Return/Dr Daud Abdullah’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/the-israeli-law-of-return-dr-daud-abdullah>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁰³ ‘Hammas: Unwritten Chapters/Azzam Tamimi’ *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/hamas-unwritten-chapters-azzam-tamimi-1-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

5. PUBLIC AND POLITICAL LEGITIMISATION

Since its inception, IHRC has attained public and political legitimisation through various funding streams, charitable bodies and academia. In part, this is a consequence of its ostensive pursuit, as its name suggests, to contest Islamophobia and promote human rights. However, IHRC's radical anti-West, anti-Israel and Islamist worldview has found favour among certain left-wing politicians and academics, who have used their platforms to promote the organisation and endorse its work.

5.1 Charitable Status

IHRC has been awarded UK charitable status through the IHRC Trust (1106120).³⁰⁴ The charity entitles IHRC to receive Gift Aid through taxpayer funds.³⁰⁵ The stated aims and activities of the charity are "to promote human rights and equality and diversity (in particular good race relations) throughout the world for the benefit of the public".³⁰⁶

There are four registered trustees of IHRC Trust, which is chaired by Raza Kazim. Kazim is a supporter of Hezbollah who is reported to have chanted "Bomb, bomb Tel Aviv" at a rally.³⁰⁷ He has also acted as a spokesman for IHRC Ltd and has reported on issues related to Al-Quds Day.³⁰⁸ Although officially separate organisations, IHRC Ltd (04716690) and IHRC Trust also share a registered address.³⁰⁹ On the Charity Commission's webpage, only documents from 2014 to 2018 are available about the IHRC Trust.³¹⁰ According to the information available, during that time IHRC Trust donated £1,051,500 to IHRC Ltd "for various charitable projects undertaken on behalf of the charity", and received £248,136 in HMRC Gift Aid.³¹¹

³⁰⁴ 'Data for financial year ending 30 June 2018: Islamic Human Rights Commission Trust' *Charity Commission*, available at: <https://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1106120&subid=0>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁰⁵ 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 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: 15 May 2019.

³⁰⁶ 'Data for financial year ending 30 June 2018: Islamic Human Rights Commission Trust', *Charity Commission*.

³⁰⁷ Paul, J., 'Islamic Movement Preacher to address London Conference' *The Jerusalem Post*, 6 October 2010, available at: <https://www.jpost.com/International/Islamic-Movement-preacher-to-address-London-conference>; <http://hurryupharry.org/2008/06/30/are-the-islamic-human-rights-commission-zionists/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁰⁸ 'Luton al-Quds Day poster graffiti investigated by police', *BBC News*, 22 February 2018, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-beds-bucks-herts-43155197>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Paul, J., 'Anti-Israel Rally Moved Due to Threats', *The Jerusalem Post*, 14 September 2009, available at: <https://www.jpost.com/International/Anti-Israel-rally-moved-due-to-threats>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁰⁹ 'Data for financial year ending 30 June 2018: Islamic Human Rights Commission Trust', *Charity Commission*. 'Islamic Human Rights Commission', Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/04716690>, last visited: 15 May 2019..

³¹⁰ 'Islamic Human Rights Commission Trust', *Charity Commission*, available at: <https://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1106120&subid=0>, last visited: 17 May 2019..

³¹¹ Figures from reports 2014-18:

'Report of the Trustees and Unaudited Financial Statements for the Year Ended 30 June 2014 for Islamic Human Rights Commission Trust', *Preston Accountants Limited*, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends20/0001106120_AC_20140630_E_C.PDF, last visited: 15 May 2019.

'Report of the Trustees and Unaudited Financial Statements for the Year Ended 30 June 2015 for Islamic Human Rights Commission Trust', *Preston Accountants Limited*, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends20/0001106120_AC_20150630_E_C.PDF, last visited: 15 May 2019.

'Report of the Trustees and Unaudited Financial Statements for the Year Ended 30 June 2016 for Islamic Human Rights Commission Trust', *Preston Accountants Limited*, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends20/0001106120_AC_20160630_E_C.PDF, last visited: 15 May 2019.

'Report of the Trustees and Unaudited Financial Statements for the Year Ended 30 June 2017 for Islamic Human Rights Commission Trust', *Preston Accountants Limited*, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends20/0001106120_AC_20170630_E_C.PDF, last visited: 16 May 2019.

'Report of the Trustees and Unaudited Financial Statements for the Year Ended 30 June 2018 for Islamic Human Rights Commission Trust', *Preston Accountants Limited*, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends20/0001106120_AC_20180630_E_C.PDF, last visited: 16 May 2019.

IHRC co-founder and director Saeid Reza Ameli has claimed to be a former trustee of IHRC Trust.³¹² He is founder of the Faculty of World Studies at the state-funded University of Tehran, where he holds a professorship.³¹³ He is also a senior government official in Iran. On 5 September 2015, Ameli was appointed by Ayatollah Khamenei as a member of his Supreme Council of Cyberspace to serve a four-year term.³¹⁴ The Council has since been sanctioned by the US Department of the Treasury for human rights abuses and censorship in Iran, and for support it has given to designated weapons proliferators.³¹⁵ On 3 January 2019, Iranian president Hassan Rouhani appointed Ameli as Secretary of the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution of Iran, a position he will hold for a four-year tenure.³¹⁶ Despite Ameli's foreign state appointments, he has continued to play an active role in the organisation he co-founded, speaking at IHRC events in the UK³¹⁷ and overseeing and authoring research.³¹⁸ At the time of writing, Ameli is listed in Companies House records as a "Director" of IHRC, with his country of residence cited as the UK, and his occupation "Lecturer".³¹⁹

5.2 European Commission Funding

IHRC has obtained a European Commission, Directorate of Justice action grant to conduct research on Islamophobia.³²⁰ The project, entitled 'Countering Islamophobia through the Development of Best Practice in the use of Counter-Narratives in EU Member States' (Counter-Islamophobia Kit, or CIK) was based at the University of Leeds' Centre for Ethnicity and Racism Studies (CERS). Notably, the project was led by CERS department head Ian Law, who has previously praised the work of IHRC.³²¹ IHRC was one of a number of partners on the project; others included universities in Belgium, Czech Republic,

³¹² 'Saied Reza Ameli', *LinkedIn*, available at: <https://ir.linkedin.com/in/saied-reza-ameli-b18a14119>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

'Saied Reza Ameli', ResearchGate, January 2011, available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/282814180_anglyscv, last visited: 15 May 2019.

'The UNESCO Chair on Cyberspace and Culture: Dual Spacization of the World: Professor Saeid Reza Ameli', *Unesco*, available at: <http://ucccdsw.ut.ac.ir/en/people/ViewProfile/Of08d72b-08d4-4c84-b778-914cda1e0d78>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³¹³ 'University of Tehran', *THE World University Rankings*, available at: <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/university-tehran#survey-answer>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³¹⁴ 'Ayatollah Khamenei urges prompt planning, decision-making in cyberspace', *The Office of the Supreme Leader*, 5 September 2015, available at: <https://www.leader.ir/en/content/13543/leader.ir>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³¹⁵ 'Treasury Sanctions Individuals and Entities for Human Rights Abuses and Censorship in Iran, and Support to Sanctioned Weapons Proliferators', *U.S. Department of the Treasury*, 12 January 2018, available at: <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm0250>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³¹⁶ 'President appoints new secretary of Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution of Iran', *Islamic Republic News Agency*, 3 January 2019, available at: <http://www.irna.ir/en/News/83157077>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³¹⁷ 'Conference: The New Colonialism: The American Model of Human Rights', *IHRC*, 28 January 2018, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/12025-conference-the-new-colonialism-the-american-model-of-human-rights/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³¹⁸ Algar, H., 'Bibliographical Discourse Analysis – with Professor Saied R. Ameli', *IHRC*, 12 March 2019, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/21468-bibliographical-discourse-analysis-with-professor-saied-r-ameli/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³¹⁹ 'Islamic Human Rights Commission', *Companies House*, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/04716690/officers>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³²⁰ 'CIK Launch', *University of Leeds, Counter-Islamophobia Kit*, 28 February 2017, available at: <https://cik.leeds.ac.uk/2017/02/28/cik-launch/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³²¹ In November 2015, Law provided two glowing reviews of a report authored by Arzu Merali and Saied Reza Ameli. In the reviews that feature on the IHRC's home and bookstore websites, Law lauds IHRC's "landmark" study and states that it is "an important and timely intervention and a must read for those committed to racial justice". See Brittain, V., 'Environment of Hate: The New Normal for Muslims in the UK', *IHRC*, 11 November 2015, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/publications/reports/11559-environment-of-hate-the-new-normal-for-muslims-in-the-uk/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

See also 'Environment of Hate: The New Normal for Muslims in the UK/Saied R. Ameli & Arzu Merali (PDF download)', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/environment-of-hate-the-new-normal-for-muslims-in-the-uk-saied-r-ameli-arzu-merali-pdf-download>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Hungary, Portugal and Greece. It is notable that IHRC was the only non-academic partner. The CIK project ran from 1 January 2017 until 31 December 2018, and the grant awarded was 637,512 ³²² (approximately £525,000).³²³

It is unclear how IHRC became involved in the CIK project. However, it should be noted that Salman Sayyid, an academic in CERS at the University of Leeds and senior lead on the project, has regularly engaged with IHRC and been hosted by the organisation since 2011.³²⁴ Sayyid has promoted three of his books at IHRC author evenings,³²⁵ been a panellist at IHRC's 'Institutional Islamophobia' conferences³²⁶ and spoken at IHRC's 'Islamophobia Awards' (see Section 4.4).³²⁷ He has claimed that "western powers" fail to practise democracy,³²⁸ that Prevent empowers young children to inform on their parents,³²⁹ that the UK government exercises state-sponsored Islamophobia,³³⁰ and that a 'restored caliphate' can provide "greater representation for Muslim sentiment and Muslim voices".³³¹ IHRC conferences at which Sayyid has spoken have been supported by a plethora of extremist, Islamist and far-Left campaign groups, including, but not limited to, CAGE, Mend, Stop the War, Muslim Council of Britain, Muslim Association of Britain, Federation of Student Islamic Societies, and faith centres such as Lewisham Islamic Centre and the Islamic Centre of England.³³²

³²² 'Countering Islamophobia Through the Development of Best Practice in the use of Counter-Narratives in EU Member States', *School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Leeds*, available at: <https://essl.leeds.ac.uk/sociology/dir-record/research-projects/1010/countering-islamophobia-through-the-development-of-best-practice-in-the-use-of-counter-narratives-in-eu-member-states>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³²³ 'Funding deal for Al Quds rally group will be terminated, European Commission says', *The JC*, 16 December 2018, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/funding-deal-for-al-quds-rally-group-ihrc-will-be-terminated-european-commission-says-1.473996>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³²⁴ 'Event Report: Author Evening with Salman Sayyid', *IHRC*, 7 October 2011, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/event-reports/9880-event-report-author-evening-with-salman-sayyid/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³²⁵ 'Author Evening with Salman Sayyid - "Recalling the Caliphate"', *IHRC*, 10 November 2014, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/multimedia/video-multimedia/11249-author-evening-with-salman-sayyid-recalling-the-caliphate/> <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/event-reports/9880-event-report-author-evening-with-salman-sayyid/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³²⁶ 'Institutional Islamophobia: A conference to examine state racism and social engineering of the Muslim community', *IHRC*, 8 December 2014, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/events/11207-institutional-islamophobia-a-conference-to-examine-state-racism-and-social-engineering-of-the-muslim-community/>, last visited: 15 May 2019. 'Islamophobia Conference 2015', *Scotland Against Criminalising Communities*, available at: <http://www.sacc.org.uk/events/2015/islamophobia-conference-2015>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

'Event Report: Islamophobia Conference 2017', *IHRC*, 27 December 2017, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/event-reports/12027-event-report-islamophobia-conference-2017/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³²⁷ 'Islamophobia Awards 2014: Professor Salman Sayyid "Islamophobia and the Struggle for Democracy"', *YouTube*, 27 February 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1sTd4xViR8>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³²⁸ 'Institutional Islamophobia Conference: Salman Sayyid', *YouTube*, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2RfOhb9SJwc>, last visited: 15 May 2019, 8:40.

³²⁹ 'Author Evening with Salman Sayyid, 22nd September 2011', *YouTube*, 17 October 2013, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OJXPO-6JCEk&t=365s>, last visited: 15 May 2019, 15:37.

'Islamophobia Conference 2015', *Vimeo*, available at: <https://livestream.com/IndependenceLive/islamophobia/videos/106835774>, last visited: 20 May 2019.

³³⁰ 'Islamophobia Conference 2017: Salman Sayyid on the contradictions of Islamophobia', *YouTube*, 11 January 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BeP3u094ln4>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³³¹ Rutledge, D., 'Global Islam and the caliphate', *ABC*, 10 October 2014, available at: <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/archived/encounter/global-islam-and-the-nation-state/5805134>, last visited: 20 May 2019. In his talk at IHRC, Sayyid claims that the idea of the caliphate is "to restrain the Great Satan". For more information and to view his talk in its entirety, see: 'Author Evening: Recalling the Caliphate', *YouTube*, 9 November 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EO-0XAHqEZU>, last visited: 15 May 2019, 22:35. For further information regarding Sayyid's views of a caliphate, see: 'The Inevitable Caliphate? - Dr S Sayyid', *YouTube*, 5 June 2014, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z-JlpDLQRGc>, last visited: 15 May 2019. See also 'Environment of Hate: The New Normal for Muslims in the UK/Saied R. Ameli & Arzu Merali (PDF download)', *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihrc.org/environment-of-hate-the-new-normal-for-muslims-in-the-uk-saied-r-ameli-arzu-merali-pdf-download>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³³² 'IHRC and SACC presents Islamophobia Conference 2015: The Changing Face of Racism', *SACC*, available at: http://www.sacc.org.uk/sites/default/files/field/image/ic2015_scotland_v2_1.jpg, last visited: 15 May 2019. 'Institutional Islamophobia: A conference to examine state racism and social engineering of the Muslim community', *IHRC*, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Institutional%20Islamophobia%20Conference%202014%20Programme.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

The CIK project officer is Amina Easat-Daas,³³³ an academic at the University of Leeds' School of Sociology and Social Policy within which CERS broadly sits.³³⁴ Easat-Daas has previously worked with the Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organisations (FEMYSO),³³⁵ a Brussels-based umbrella body whose constituent organisations, former leaders and sponsors are dominated by the Muslim Brotherhood.³³⁶ FEMYSO is the youth branch of the Federation of Islamic Organisations in Europe (FIOE), cited as part of the Muslim Brotherhood European network in the UK government's 2015 report into the extremist group.³³⁷

Both Easat-Daas and Sayyid were speakers at the PalExpo conference in 2017 which took place in London.³³⁸ The event was controversial because its sponsors included groups linked to US and EU-proscribed terror groups,³³⁹ and speakers included individuals who had called for an *intifada* in America,³⁴⁰ justified violent *jihad*³⁴¹ and campaigned for the release of an Al-Qaeda associate.³⁴² Communities Minister Sajid Javid had considered cancelling the event amid concerns that the organisers had expressed support for Hamas.³⁴³

Two weeks before the CIK project grant was due to expire, it was reported that the European Commission would terminate its £140,000 grant agreement with IHRC.³⁴⁴ Since the funding was signed off in 2016, the impact of this announcement remains unclear.

5.3 United Nations Special Consultative Status

IHRC was awarded Special Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 2007, a status it has held since.³⁴⁵ This is the pathway through which NGOs, non-profit public or voluntary organisations can take a formal role at the

³³³ 'Gendered dimension of Islamophobia: Dr. Amina Easat-Daas', *PressTV*, 21 December 2017, available at: <https://www.presstv.com/Detail/2017/12/21/546313/Amina-EasatDaas-Islamophobia-Belgium>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³³⁴ 'Countering Islamophobia Through the Development of Best Practice in the use of Counter-Narratives in EU Member States', *School of Sociology and Social Policy*, University of Leeds.

³³⁵ 'European Muslim Youth & the Rise of the Far-right Anti-Muslim Narrative', *FEMYSO, ENAR, Council of Europe, Open Society Foundations*, available at: <https://www.femyso.org/sites/default/files/reportfemysov5.1.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³³⁶ Vidino, L., 'The Muslim Brotherhood's Conquest of Europe', *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2005: 25–34, available at: <https://www.meforum.org/687/the-muslim-brotherhoods-conquest-of-europe>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³³⁷ 'Muslim Brotherhood Review: Main Findings', *House of Commons*, 17 December 2015, available at: <https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/testimony/404.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³³⁸ 'PalExpo Programme Guide' *Interpal*, 8–9 July 2017, available at: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58a9be1197aea3df27bde1a/t/595f2c71e58c629d15274d9d/1499409532587/PALEXP0-BROCHURE_FINAL++LOWRES.pdf, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³³⁹ Sponsors included War on Want, which has been linked to US-designated PFLP (see 'War on Want loses Paypal facility', *UKLFI*, 10 October 2018, available at: <http://www.uklfi.com/war-on-want-loses-paypal-facility>, last visited: 15 May 2019), and Interpal, a US-designated fundraising body for Hamas (see 'U.S. Designates Five Charities Funding Hamas and Six Senior Hamas Leaders as Terrorist Entities', *U.S. Department of the Treasury*, 22 August 2003, available at: <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/pages/js672.aspx>, last visited: 15 May 2019).

³⁴⁰ Hatem Bazian: see 'Radical Hatem Bazian calls for Intifada (armed uprising) in the USA!!' *YouTube*, 23 March 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mfv5yaKxNgo>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁴¹ Sheikh Ebrahim Bham: see Greenword, C., 'Hate preacher who defended jihad as part of Islamic teaching is allowed into Britain', *Daily Mail*, 7 July 2017, available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4675464/Preacher-defended-jihad-speak-event.html>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁴² Ashley Belal Chin: see 'Aafia Siddiqui 650 – Muslim Belal, Spitz, Masikah' *YouTube*, 22 December 2012, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lcpzIRI6cfe>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

³⁴³ 'Hate preacher who defended jihad as part of Islamic teaching is allowed into Britain', *Daily Mail*, 7 July 2017.

³⁴⁴ Malnick, E., 'European Commission gave £140k grant to organisation accused of anti-Semitism, it emerges', *The Telegraph*, 15 December 2018, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/12/15/european-commission-gave-140k-grant-organisation-accused-anti/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁴⁵ 'Civil Society Participation > Search results – Islamic Human Rights Commission', *NGO Branch – United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190521101303/https://es-ango.un.org/civilsociety/simpleSearch.do?method=search&searchTypeRedef=simpleSearch&sessionCheck=false&searchType=simpleSearch&organizationName=ISLAMIC+HUMAN+RIGHTS+COMMISSION>, last visited: 21 May 2019.

United Nations. In order to obtain Special Consultative Status, an NGO must submit an application with all the required documents,³⁴⁶ undergo a screening process by the NGO Branch, have a successful recommendation by the Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations, and then acquire approval by the Economic and Social Council member states.³⁴⁷

Other Islamist groups that have obtained general or consultative status at the UN include the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO),³⁴⁸ Islamic Relief UK,³⁴⁹ Islamic Relief USA,³⁵⁰ Human Relief Foundation³⁵¹ and Muslim World League.³⁵² All these groups have been linked to the global Muslim Brotherhood network.³⁵³ Furthermore, IHRC took part in the 2009 Durban Review Conference hosted by the UN,³⁵⁴ which was boycotted by several liberal democracies including Germany, Italy, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, the US and Israel.³⁵⁵ This was amid concerns that the event would be used by then-Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad primarily to attack Israel, question the reality of the Holocaust and limit the freedom to criticise religion.³⁵⁶ During Ahmadinejad's incendiary speech on the first day of the conference, diplomats from 23 European nations left the conference, and UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon took the unusual step of expressing condemnation of the president's conduct: "I have not experienced this kind of destructive proceedings in an assembly, in a conference, by any one member state ... I deplore the use of this platform by the Iranian president to accuse, divide and even incite."³⁵⁷ Moreover, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights released a statement criticising the leader for "equating Zionism with racism",³⁵⁸ and further suggested that he ought to have been focusing on "addressing racial discrimination and intolerance in his [own] country".³⁵⁹

³⁴⁶ This includes: copy of constitution/charter and/or statutes/by-laws and amendments to those documents, copy of certificate of registration, copy of most recent financial statement and annual report, copy of examples of the organisation's publications and recent articles or statements (optional), organisation chart (optional). For more details, see 'How to apply for consultative status with ECOSOC?', *Inclusive Social Development Department of Economic and Social Affairs*, available at: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/civil-society/ecosoc-status.html>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁴⁷ 'How to apply for consultative status with ECOSOC?', *Inclusive Social Development Department of Economic and Social Affairs*, available at: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/civil-society/ecosoc-status.html>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

³⁴⁸ Archived page.

³⁴⁹ Archived page.

³⁵⁰ Archived page.

³⁵¹ Archived page.

³⁵² Archived page.

³⁵³ For more information on the Muslim Brotherhood connections of IIRO, Islamic Relief UK, Islamic Relief USA, and Human Relief Foundation, see Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', *Henry Jackson Society*, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/HJS-Islamist-Charity-Report.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019. For information on the Muslim World League and its connection to the Muslim Brotherhood, see: 'Muslim World League and World Assembly of Muslim Youth', *Pew Research Center*, 15 September 2010, available at: <https://www.pewforum.org/2010/09/15/muslim-networks-and-movements-in-western-europe-muslim-world-league-and-world-assembly-of-muslim-youth/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁵⁴ 'Forwarded Alert: UN / Switzerland – Side event at Durban Review Conference: Racism, counter-terrorism and discrimination against Muslims: Action beyond Durban', *IHRC*, 22 April 2009, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/alerts/4403-forwarded-alert-un-switzerland-side-event-at-durban-review-conference-racism-counter-terrorism-and-discrimination-against-muslims-action-beyond-durban/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

'Alert: Activities of IHRC at the 7th session of the United Nations Human Rights Council (Geneva)', *IHRC*, 3 April 2008, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/alerts-archive/8482-alert-activities-of-ihr-at-the-7th-session-of-the-united-nations-human-rights-council-geneva/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁵⁵ Borger, J., 'UN racism conference boycotted by more countries', *The Guardian*, 20 April 2009, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/apr/20/un-race-conference>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

'Iranian Calls Israel Racist at Meeting in Geneva', *New York Times*, 20 April 2009, available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/21/world/21geneva.html?mtrref=undefined>, last visited: 17 May 2019.

³⁵⁶ Borger, J., 'UN racism conference boycotted by more countries', *The Guardian*, 20 April 2009.

³⁵⁷ 'Iranian Calls Israel Racist at Meeting in Geneva', *New York Times*, 20 April 2009.

³⁵⁸ 'Statement', *Durban Review Conference* 2009, 20 April 2009, available at: https://www.un.org/en/durbanreview2009/stmt20-04-09_iran_pillay.shtml, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁵⁹ 'Iranian Calls Israel Racist at Meeting in Geneva', *New York Times*, 20 April 2009.

5.4 Registry of Regulated Immigration Advisors

IHRC Ltd is included on the government's official registry of regulated immigration advisors.³⁶⁰ This is a list of all authorised organisations that provide immigration advice and services predominantly surrounding claims for asylum, applications for entry clearance or leave to enter or remain in the UK, immigration employment documents, nationality, citizenship, residence, deportation or removal, bail applications and appeals against deportation.³⁶¹ Immigration advisors are regulated by the Office of the Immigration Services Commissioner (OISC) to ensure that they remain "fit and competent" to provide such services.³⁶² The IHRC contact listed is Musthak Ahmed, with the address and contact number listed as IHRC's office in London.³⁶³

Immigration advice and services is divided into three levels depending on the type and complexity of the work involved: Level 1 – Advice and Assistance;³⁶⁴ Level 2 – Casework; Level 3 – Advocacy and Representation. IHRC has obtained Level 3 competency – the highest level of authorisation.³⁶⁵

The current list of possible grievance claims that can be made regarding an advisor focus upon the manner in which the service or advice is provided.³⁶⁶ Concerns regarding extremist or racist views and associations or affiliations with a foreign government – such as the Islamic Republic of Iran which is markedly hostile to western liberal and secular states – are not included. Nevertheless, complaints surrounding "an advisor" themselves are an option, which is perhaps where such concerns could be raised (see Section 6).

IHRC Legal also advertises legal advice surrounding Employment Law, particularly with regard to racial and religious discrimination. This includes such issues as discrimination, unfair dismissal, grievances, support during disciplinary proceedings, whistleblowing and representation at an Employment Tribunal.³⁶⁷

5.5 High-profile Support and Partnerships

IHRC is an official partner of the Anna Lindh Foundation (ALF), an international organisation that works to promote intercultural and civil society dialogue.³⁶⁸ ALF is co-funded by the European Commission and the countries of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.³⁶⁹ Since 2005, the ALF has supported a network of more than 4,000 civil

³⁶⁰ 'Register of Regulated Immigration Advisers', *HM Government*, available at: https://home.oisc.gov.uk/register_of_regulated_immigration_advisers/register.aspx, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁶¹ 'How to become a regulated immigration adviser', *HM Government*, 8 March 2019, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/how-to-become-a-regulated-immigration-adviser/how-to-become-a-regulated-immigration-adviser>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁶² 'Guidance on Competence', *Office of the Immigration Services Commissioner*, 2017, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/604807/OISC_GoC_2017.pdf, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁶³ 'Register of Regulated Immigration Advisers', *HM Government*.

³⁶⁴ 'Guidance on Competence', *Office of the Immigration Services Commissioner*, 2017.

³⁶⁵ 'Register of Regulated Immigration Advisers', *HM Government*.

³⁶⁶ 'Complain about an adviser', *HM Government*, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/find-an-immigration-adviser/complain-about-an-adviser>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁶⁷ 'IHRC Legal', *IHRC*, 13 August 2015, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/advocacy/11426-ihr-legal-2/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁶⁸ 'Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC)', *Anna Lindh Foundation*, available at: <https://www.annalindhfoundation.org/members/islamic-human-rights-commission-ihr>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁶⁹ 'Executive director of the Anna Lindh Foundation for Intercultural Dialogue (Alexandria, Egypt)', *European Commission European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement*, 23 November 2017, available at: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/news_corner/news/executive-director-anna-lindh-foundation-inter-cultural-dialogue-alexandria-egypt_en, last visited: 15 May 2019.

society organisations in 42 countries across the Euro-Mediterranean region.³⁷⁰ It is unclear precisely what the partnership involves with regard to funding and support. However, it exposes the ease with which extremist groups can abuse international civil society and not-for-profit networks, particularly those with a large database of organisations and weak due diligence, in order to promote their cause and increase their credibility on a wider scale. ALF has partnerships with other organisations that may prompt cause for concern.³⁷¹

IHRC has also received support from several high-profile figures, including current leader of the Labour Party Jeremy Corbyn MP,³⁷² and prominent academic Tariq Ramadan.³⁷³ Corbyn has been filmed praising IHRC, its “sense of values”, helpfulness and positivity in championing human rights across the world, and claiming that the group represents all that is “best in Islam”.³⁷⁴

Indeed, since IHRC launched, Corbyn has spoken alongside several IHRC activists and their affiliate partners.³⁷⁵ Of note, he supported the inauguration event of IHRC’s bookshop alongside controversial lawyer Gareth Peirce³⁷⁶ and Crescent International’s Iqbal Siddiqui,³⁷⁷ and attended Hatem Bazian’s author evening, where he was pictured with extreme anti-Semitic activists.³⁷⁸

IHRC has also received support from former Archbishop of Canterbury Dr Rowan Williams. Dr Williams praised a report authored by Iranian state official Saied Reza Ameli (see Section 5.1) and IHRC research director Arzu Merali (see Section 2.2) in 2015³⁷⁹ and has praised the organisation’s Islamophobia Awards on multiple occasions,³⁸⁰ including in 2015 when Charlie Hebdo magazine was nominated and subsequently awarded ‘Islamophobe of the Year’.³⁸¹

³⁷⁰ *ibid.*

³⁷¹ For example, Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association UK (CADFA): ‘CADFA (Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association)’, *Anna Lindh Foundation*, available at: <https://www.annalindhfoundation.org/members/cadfa-camden-abu-dis-friendship-association>, last visited: 20 May 2019.

For information regarding the extremism-related concerns of CADFA, see: Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, *Henry Jackson Society*, available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/HJS-Islamist-Charity-Report.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019, pp.72-73.

³⁷² ‘Jeremy Corbyn praising the Islamic Human Rights Commission’, *YouTube*, 4 May 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QU8RarTeQew>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁷³ ‘Islamophobia Awards 2014’, *IHRC*, 7 January 2014, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/10906-islamophobia-awards-2014/>, last visited: 20 May 2019.

³⁷⁴ ‘Jeremy Corbyn praising the Islamic Human Rights Commission’, *YouTube*, 4 May 2018.

³⁷⁵ ‘NO MORE LIES NO MORE WAR Tuesday 30th September’, *IHRC*, 30 September 2003, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/7192-no-more-lies-no-more-war-tuesday-30th-september/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁷⁶ Ward, V., ‘Shamima Begum hires Gareth Peirce, the human rights lawyer who represented Abu Qatada’, *The Telegraph*, 14 April 2019, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/04/14/shamima-begum-hiresgareth-peirce-human-rights-lawyer-represented/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁷⁷ ‘Launch of IHRC Bookshop, Gallery and Information Hub in Wembley, North West London, 1 December 2010’, *IHRC*, 3 December 2010, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/9503-launch-of-ihr-bookshop-gallery-and-information-hub-in-wembley-north-west-london-1-december-2010/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁷⁸ Simons, J. W., ‘EXCLUSIVE: Jeremy Corbyn sings Communist anthem with activists who shared shocking anti-Semitic posts about the “ugly Israeli species”’, *Daily Mail*, 1 March 2017, available at: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4253926/Jeremy-Corbyn-NEW-anti-Semitism-row.html>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁷⁹ Brittain, V., ‘Environment of Hate: The New Normal for Muslims in the UK’, *IHRC*, 11 November 2015.

³⁸⁰ ‘Event Report: Islamophobia Awards 2014’, *IHRC*, 27 February 2014, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/event-reports/10946-event-report-islamophobia-awards-2014/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁸¹ ‘Islamophobia Awards 2015’, *IHRC*, 4 March 2015, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/activities/events/11316-islamophobia-awards-2015/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

5.6 Academia and Government Influence

Several academics who have engaged with IHRC to varying degrees have recently gained government and parliamentary influence. Of particular concern, the academic who has associated with the organisation for eight years – Salman Sayyid – was recently lauded for co-authoring the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on British Muslims' proposed definition of Islamophobia. In April 2019, another academic who has engaged with IHRC, Sadek Hamid, was selected by the newly established Counter-Extremism Commission to write a paper on the UK's Islamist scene.

In November 2018, the APPG on British Muslims published a working definition of Islamophobia in the attempt to combat anti-Muslim prejudice.³⁸² The document prompted controversy from liberal activists, policymakers and NGOs who expressed concern that the adoption of the proposed definition would risk endangering free speech and counter-extremism efforts and legalise Islamist blasphemy laws.³⁸³ Former head of the Metropolitan Police Counter Terrorism Command Richard Walton cautioned that the definition would severely damage the work of counterterrorism police and the intelligence agencies, and "make terrorist attacks more likely to succeed".³⁸⁴ The established definition, "Islamophobia is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness", was coined by Salman Sayyid (see Section 5.2) and AbdoolKarim Vakil.³⁸⁵ The definition has subsequently been adopted by city councils,³⁸⁶ the Mayor of London,³⁸⁷ the Liberal Democrats, the Labour Party³⁸⁸ and all of the political parties currently represented in the Scottish Parliament.³⁸⁹

³⁸² 'Islamophobia Defined', *All Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims*, available at: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/599c3d2febbd1a90cfffdd8a9/t/5bfd1ea3352f531a6170ceee/1543315109493/Islamophobia+Defined.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁸³ For more information on these concerns, see Jenkins, J., 'Defining Islamophobia: A Policy Exchange Research Note', *Policy Exchange*, available at: <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Defining-Islamophobia.pdf>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Toube, D., 'We need an effective definition of Islamophobia', *The JC*, 19 March 2019, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/comment/comment/we-need-an-effective-definition-of-islamophobia-1.481712>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁸⁴ Kennedy, D., 'New definition of Islamophobia "risks helping terrorists"', *The Times*, 29 April 2019, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/new-definition-of-islamophobia-risks-helping-terrorists-xfnj2rbr>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁸⁵ Sociology at Leeds, *Twitter*, 30 November 2018, available at: <https://twitter.com/SSPLeeds/status/1068537026461556737>, last visited: 20 May 2019.

³⁸⁶ 'Islington Council adopts new definition of Islamophobia to combat "hatred and discrimination"', *Islington Gazette*, 6 March 2019, available at: <https://www.islingtongazette.co.uk/news/islington-adopts-appg-on-british-muslims-islamophobia-definition-1-5920830>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

'Newham Council endorses All-Party Parliamentary groups definition Islamophobia', *Newham London*, 17 December 2018, available at: <https://www.newham.gov.uk/Pages/News/Newham-Council-endorses-All-Party-Parliamentary-groups-definition-Islamophobia.aspx>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁸⁷ 'Mayor adopts APPG definition of Islamophobia', *Mayor of London: London Assembly*, 22 March 2019, available at: <https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/sadiq-says-government-should-follow-suit>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁸⁸ Perraudin, F., 'Labour formally adopts definition of Islamophobia', *The Guardian*, 20 March 2019, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/20/labour-formally-adopts-definition-islamophobia>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁸⁹ Kirkaldy, L., 'All of Scotland's political parties adopt formal definition of Islamophobia', *Holyrood*, 26 April 2019, available at: <https://www.holyrood.com/articles/news/all-scotlands-political-parties-adopt-formal-definition-islamophobia>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Sayyid has engaged with Islamist fringe groups since 2011.³⁹⁰ Vakil, former chair of the MCB's Research and Documentation Committee (ReDoc)³⁹¹ has shared platforms with extremist activists, including Kamal el-Helbawy, Azad Ali and Daud Abdullah.³⁹² It appears that their work on the parliamentary report was not their first interaction with the APPG parliamentarians. In 2017, Sayyid chaired an event at the University of Leeds, promoted by the CIK project (see Section 5.2), in which APPG on British Muslims treasurer Baroness Warsi provided a keynote address and Vakil featured on the panel.³⁹³

On 9 April 2019, the Commission for Countering Extremism (CCE) announced the names of the 29 academics and experts they had selected to carry out research on various aspects of extremism.³⁹⁴ Some of those selected have previously engaged with extremist speakers, criticised counter-extremism efforts and, in one case, promoted anti-Semitic views. The CCE selected Dr Sadek Hamid to write on the topic 'Overview of Islamism', in which he would map the "spectrum of Islamist worldviews and groups, from those close to mainstream public and political life to the most violent fringe".³⁹⁵ Hamid has promoted several anti-Jewish conspiracies, including the claims that Israel has an alliance with Al-Qaeda³⁹⁶ and that the Israel lobby "manufactured" the UK anti-Semitism crisis.³⁹⁷ Hamid has endorsed work by pro-terrorist group CAGE³⁹⁸ and the Muslim Brotherhood-linked³⁹⁹

³⁹⁰ See also panel event with Cerie Bullivant from CAGE: 'VIDEO: The Decolonisation of The Caliphate', *BANDUNG2 Blog*, 20 March 2016, available at: <https://bandung2blog.wordpress.com/2016/03/20/video-the-decolonisation-of-the-caliphate/>, last visited: 20 May 2019.

³⁹¹ 'Islamophobia 2017', Muslim Council of Britain, 16 June 2017, available at: <https://mcb.org.uk/community/islamophobia-2017/>, last visited: 28 May 2019.

³⁹² 'Confronting Anti-Muslim Hatred in Britain and Europe: Saturday 21 May 2011', *Enough Coalition Against Islamophobia*, available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20130131001419/http://www.eastlondonmosque.org.uk/uploadedImage/pdf/2011_03_31_11_44_58_EC_V5.pdf, last visited: 15 May 2019.

'The Rise of Islamophobia in Britain', *IHRC*, 19 November 2013, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/events/10857-the-rise-of-islamophobia-in-britain/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁹³ 'Islamophobia 2017: Challenges for us all – Looking Back, Looking Ahead', *Counter-Islamophobia Kit*, University of Leeds, 9 November 2017, available at: <https://cik.leeds.ac.uk/events/islamophobia-2017-challenges-for-us-all-looking-back-looking-ahead/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁹⁴ 'Commission for Countering Extremism selects leading academics for research papers', *HM Government*, 9 April 2019, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/commission-for-countering-extremism-selects-leading-academics-for-research-papers>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁹⁵ *ibid.*

³⁹⁶ Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 30 May 2015, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/604662188750581761>. See also article promoted at Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 5 June 2018, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/1004048423941599234>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

See also article promoted at Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 8 November 2017, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20190410184928/https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/928310476613804032>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁹⁷ Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 29 April 2016, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20190410113845/https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/725954439043928069>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁹⁸ Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 20 July 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/888120164541120513>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 27 February 2014, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/439111746683682816>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 7 January 2019, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/1082416785335427073>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 25 March 2018, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/978022655080239105>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 4 April 2017, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/849245978272165888>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 29 September 2016, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/781432665497010176>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

See also Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 10 March 2016, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/708046983714496513>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

³⁹⁹ Gilligan, A., 'How the Muslim Brotherhood fits into a network of extremism', *The Telegraph*, 8 February 2015, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/11398538/How-the-Muslim-Brotherhood-fits-into-a-network-of-extremism.html>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Cordoba Foundation.⁴⁰⁰ He has also endorsed the notion of an Islamic caliphate.⁴⁰¹ With regard to IHRC, Hamid has been hosted by the organisation as a guest speaker on a couple of occasions,⁴⁰² most recently with Tahir Abbas to discuss their work on political Muslims.⁴⁰³ Abbas has also been selected by the CCE to produce research on extremism.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁰ Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 11 June 2015, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/608954902887432192>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

⁴⁰¹ Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 4 July 2015, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/617336017696235520>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 26 August 2014, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/504368605036032000>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

Hamid, S., *Twitter*, 11 November 2015, available at: <https://twitter.com/SadekHamid/status/664513059701043200>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

⁴⁰² 'Author evening: "Sufis, Salafis and Islamists" with Dr Sadek Hamid', *IHRC*, 31 August 2018, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20190410120011/https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/event-reports/18904-author-evening-sufis-salafis-and-islamists-with-dr-sadek-hamid/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

⁴⁰³ IHRC Bookshop, *Twitter*, 6 April 2019, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20190410115826/https://twitter.com/ihrcbookshop/status/1114577835958722561>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

⁴⁰⁴ 'Commission for Countering Extremism selects leading academics for research papers', *HM Government*, 9 April 2019.

6. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Issue:** IHRC has been awarded UK charitable status through its subsidiary, IHRC Trust. Such status provides IHRC with government-approved credibility; helps it avoid thorough risk assessment and due diligence by third parties, including NGOs, public bodies and charitable foundations; and entitles the organisation to public funds through tax relief.

Recommendation: The Charity Commission should promptly conclude its two-year investigation into IHRC Trust,⁴⁰⁵ examining its links with IHRC Ltd, and ascertain whether the charity has been exploited for extremist purposes. The conclusion of its findings ought to be published and a statement issued. This report contends that the actions of the charity alone, profiting as it does from the sale of Salafi-Jihadist material and its declared close affiliation to IHRC Ltd,⁴⁰⁶ necessitate sanction from the Charity Commission, which can utilise new powers awarded through the Charities Act 2016.

The Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016 allows the Commission to direct the winding-up of a charity; to actively disqualify people from serving as trustees; and to issue official warnings to a charity where it considers that a breach of duty, misconduct or mismanagement has been committed. It also gives powers for the government to intervene in the regulation of fundraising.⁴⁰⁷ The Commission should look at the following reference points detailed in its published guidance outlining the ways in which charities can be abused for terrorist intent:⁴⁰⁸

- Trustees must be vigilant to ensure that a charity's premises, assets, staff, volunteers and other resources cannot be used for activities that may, or appear to, support or condone terrorist activities.
- Trustees must not engage in conduct or activities that would lead a reasonable member of the public to conclude that the charity or its trustees are associated with a proscribed organisation or terrorism generally.
- Where a charity representative or a charity's activities may give, or appear to give, support to any terrorist activity, the Commission expects the charity's trustees to take immediate steps to disassociate the charity from the activity.
- Indirect or informal links with a terrorist organisation (even if the link or association does not amount to a criminal offence) pose unacceptable risks to the property of a charity and its proper and effective administration.

The Charity Commission should note that IHRC has publicly declared that the limited company and the trust are "two entities that make up IHRC".⁴⁰⁹ This report considers the organisation's characterisation to be the case.

⁴⁰⁵ Malnick, E., 'Charity Commission called spineless after failing to conclude investigation into march supporting Hizbolah', *The Telegraph*, 3 March 2019, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/03/03/charity-commission-called-spineless-failing-conclude-investigation/>, last visited: 20 May 2019.

⁴⁰⁶ 'IHRC accuses Charity Commission of Islamophobia', *IHRC*, 7 March 2019, available at: <https://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/press-releases/21300-ihrc-accuses-charity-commission-of-islamophobia/>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

⁴⁰⁷ 'Charity Law and Regulation', *NCVO100*, available at: <https://www.ncvo.org.uk/policy-and-research/charity-law-and-regulation>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

⁴⁰⁸ 'Compliance Toolkit: Protecting Charities from Harm. Chapter 1: Charities and terrorism – Summary', *Charity Commission for England and Wales*, December 2012, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/568900/Chapter1_Summary.pdf, last visited: 16 May 2019.

⁴⁰⁹ 'IHRC accuses Charity Commission of Islamophobia', *IHRC*, 7 March 2019.

The Commission should also examine the close links IHRC Ltd has with the Iranian government, and consider further examination into the exploitation of the charitable sector by foreign hostile states.

- **Issue:** IHRC is included in the government's official registry for regulated advisors that can provide immigration advice and services.⁴¹⁰ The Office of the Immigration Services Commissioner (OISC) regulates immigration advisers to ensure that they meet certain standards.⁴¹¹ The OISC does not appear to consider extremism or terrorism-related concerns within its due diligence procedure. It is further alarming that IHRC is a registered immigration advisor, considering its close affiliation to the Iranian government, which is particularly hostile to western liberal and secular states.

Recommendation: The evidence provided in sections 1 to 3 of this report necessitates investigation by the OISC as to whether IHRC ought to be an accredited immigration advisor as promoted by the government. There should also be consideration as to whether a history of extreme views and affiliations, or association with a hostile foreign state, ought to affect an organisation's application in this regard.

The OISC should integrate such concerns within its due diligence and risk-assessment criteria. This should also be included within its complaints procedure, as at present only concerns regarding an advisor's service are listed as valid reasons for a grievance claim.

- **Issue:** Glorification of violent resistance movements, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Hamas, fail to receive sanction in the UK. The UK government has not designated PFLP as a terrorist entity, and only Hamas' military wing, al-Qassam Brigades, is on the list of proscribed organisations.⁴¹²

Recommendation: In light of evidence detailed in sections 1 to 3 of this report, it is clear that UK-based advocacy organisations, such as IHRC, are able to glorify overseas militant groups and convicted terrorists without sanction. The Home Office should conduct a review into the violent activities of the PFLP and Hamas in order to proscribe both groups as perpetrators of terrorism, in line with the governments of the European Union and the United States.⁴¹³

⁴¹⁰ 'Register of Regulated Immigration Advisers', *HM Government*.

⁴¹¹ 'Find an immigration adviser', *HM Government*, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/find-an-immigration-adviser>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

⁴¹² 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office*, 12 April 2019.

⁴¹³ 'EU Institutions, Against Own Policies, Giving Millions To NGOs With Ties To Terror, Promote Israel Boycotts', *4IL*, 27 May 2018, available at: <https://4il.org.il/eu-institutions-against-own-policies-giving-millions-to-ngos-with-ties-to-terror-promote-israel-boycotts/>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

⁴¹⁴ 'How to apply for consultative status with ECOSOC?', Inclusive Social Development, *Department of Economic and Social Affairs*.

- **Issue:** IHRC was awarded Special Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) in 2007, a status it has retained despite public promotion of extremism.

Recommendation: The screening process to apply for consultative status with ECOSOC must be amended to include an oversight committee to complete due diligence reviews on all applications to highlight extremism-related concerns. The committee should also be tasked with completing assessments on existing NGOs, in order to ensure that organisations are unable to fall from the necessary standard once admitted.

At present, in order to acquire consultative status, an organisation must complete a profile registration (name, contact details, website) which is then reviewed and authorised.⁴¹⁴ The following stage includes completing an online questionnaire and summary, and providing supporting documents (constitution, certificate of registration, recent financial statement, annual report).⁴¹⁵ Next, the NGO Branch reviews the applications (applicant may be contacted for further information/clarification), following which an application is submitted to the NGO Committee (applicant may be asked further questions) and then to the ECOSOC for final authorisation.⁴¹⁶ It appears that scrutiny of an NGO's submitted application relies on information and documents supplied by the NGO in question. This reveals a considerable oversight with regard to the way in which extremist groups operate: they can often appear to be credible, liberal and charitable organisations – particularly when assessment is reliant on information they themselves have supplied.

ECOSOC must introduce an additional stage to the screening process whereby a committee is established to carry out due diligence assessments on each applicant. This must include, as a minimum, consideration of the organisation's online presence (see below), promoted literature and campaigns. The committee must then be tasked with carrying out regular assessments on existing NGOs, preferably once every two years after admittance and subsequently once every five years after the NGO has served a ten-year term. This will ensure that organisations are unable to fall foul of the necessary standards required during their application, particularly with regard to engagement with extremist groups or the promotion of extremism.

- **Issue:** The European Commission awarded IHRC £140,000 to conduct research on Islamophobia through the Counter-Islamophobia Kit (CIK) project, led by the University of Leeds.

Recommendation: The European Commission grant awarded to IHRC exposes the serious institutional due diligence failings on behalf of UK higher education institutions and the European Commission with regard to extremism. The University of Leeds must review its risk assessment procedures with regard to external partnerships to incorporate oversight and independent authorisation from dedicated personnel. The European Commission must review its due diligence procedures to prevent the exploitation of grant funds for extremist purposes.

⁴¹⁵ *ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *ibid.*

Public bodies, particularly educational institutions, must have robust risk-assessment procedures as part of their statutory duty to have due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism. Previous Henry Jackson Society research has exposed failings within the higher education sector to impose risk mitigation at university events featuring representatives from organisations linked to extremism.⁴¹⁷ Should an academic department wish to partner with a non-academic group, including an NGO or a charity, its chosen affiliate must undergo a standard due diligence assessment carried out by dedicated personnel within the department's parent school. It must include a review of its online presence, which would highlight any concerns published in the press, third-party research or government department regarding the work of the organisation. Partners deemed to be high risk would necessitate further investigation and an escalated approval process.

Similarly, the European Commission Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme, which awarded funding to the CIK Project, should review its due diligence procedure to prevent the exploitation of grant funds for extremist purposes. Evidence provided in sections 1 to 3 of this report demonstrates that the work of IHRC directly contravenes the specific objectives of the programme: to prevent violence, promote non-discrimination, and combat racism, xenophobia, homophobia and other forms of intolerance. The announcement that the European Commission would revoke funding awarded to IHRC, particularly so close to the termination date of the two-year grant period, acknowledges a considerable oversight with regard to funding extremism. The Commission must ensure it has due diligence mechanisms in place to prevent directly, or indirectly, partnering with an organisation that stands antithetical to its statement of principles.

- **Issue:** IHRC senior figures, trustees and public campaigns endorse violent “resistance” in their Khomeinist anti-Zionist worldview. IHRC directors have expressed support for Hezbollah and violent jihad and have criticised the Palestinian Authority for entering peace negotiations with Israel. IHRC advisors have been linked to US-designated terror groups, have expressed sympathy for martyrdom, have supported the “liquidation” of Israelis and have been designated a “key influence on young jihadists”. IHRC campaigns have lamented government sanctions placed on individuals linked to the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Hamas and Hezbollah. Material sold on IHRC’s website includes literature banned in UK prisons for its endorsement of violence, and “resistance” art that pictures convicted terrorists brandishing weapons.

Recommendation: Owing to the evidence detailed in sections 1 to 3 of this report, IHRC should be characterised as an institutionally pro-terrorism and anti-Semitic organisation that meets the threshold of extremism as outlined in the government’s Counter-Extremism Strategy. More specifically, IHRC ought to be considered a ‘pseudo human rights organisation’ – one that utilises the language of human rights and liberal values while supporting those who have no interest in such concepts, and promoting views antithetical to this purpose.

The Prime Minister’s Extremism Taskforce, Extremism Analysis Unit and Home Office should issue a statement outlining concerns surrounding IHRC in order to alert charitable foundations and public bodies, particularly overseas NGOs and universities, to the extremist nature of the organisation.

⁴¹⁷ Fox, E., ‘Extreme Speakers and Events: in the 2017/18 Academic Year’, *Henry Jackson Society*, January 2019.

- **Issue:** This report highlights a number of examples of conduct, attributed to individuals associated with IHRC, pertaining to terrorism. This includes:
 - 1) IHRC chairman Massoud Shadjareh addressed an IHRC-organised event at which he stated the following: “You know people are rushing in large numbers from Britain, from Europe, from all around the world, from Arab countries to go and do jihad in Syria. What about jihad in Palestine?”⁴¹⁸
 - 2) IHRC chairman Massoud Shadjareh addressed an IHRC-organised event in 2010 - the purpose of which was to extol the virtues of the Palestinian violent uprisings of 1987-1993 and 2000-2003 – at which he: called for “expanded support for the Palestinian struggle”; claimed that Palestinians can use “whatever means they had” against Israel and that “those who stood up” should be considered heroes; and, stated that the violent uprisings “taught us that we must all stand up against our oppressors”.⁴¹⁹
 - 3) IHRC chairman Massoud Shadjareh addressed an IHRC-organised event at which he stated the following: “Let’s get rid of the greatest oppressors in the region, the Zionists, then all our other problems will be resolved, one by one.”⁴²⁰
 - 4) IHRC chairman Massoud Shadjareh endorsed violent resistance against Israel in two interviews on RT, both in 2018.⁴²¹
 - 5) Guest speakers/advisors at IHRC-organised events have justified and glorified terrorism against Israel. Speakers have been recorded saying the following: “Victory to the Hizbullah”; “Victory to Hamas”;⁴²² “Hamas and Fatah are [our] brothers”;⁴²³ “brave people willing to fight, looking for martyrdom, to liberate this land [Israel] from the Zionist entity...this Ummah has to unite”;⁴²⁴ “[for Palestine] we live for it and we die for it”;⁴²⁵ Zionists’ “days are numbered”;⁴²⁶ “Hamas and Fatah were both necessary components of the resistance struggle”;⁴²⁷ “the resistance” will wipe Israel off the map;⁴²⁸ and, violent Palestinian uprisings demonstrate that “death is more honourable than life”.⁴²⁹

⁴¹⁸ ‘Head of IHRC calls for Jihad in Palestine like in Syria’, Facebook: *Christians United for Israel – UK*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=298722834174571>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴¹⁹ ‘Zionist-apartheid bullying fails at Intifada event at Venezuelan Embassy, London’, *IHRC*, 8 November 2010, available at: <https://www.ihr.org.uk/news/articles/9489-zionist-apartheid-bullying-fails-at-intifada-event-at-venezuelan-embassy-london/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

⁴²⁰ ‘Head of IHRC calls for Jihad in Palestine like in Syria’, Facebook: *Christians United for Israel – UK*, 14 August 2012, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=298722834174571>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴²¹ ‘Massoud Shadjareh on Al Quds Day’, *YouTube*, 11 June 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iOD-KJ5cWQOg>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

‘Massoud Shadjareh on RT: Discussing Palestinian School Books’, *YouTube*, 12 April 2018, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cziaxf_IF2A&feature=youtu.be, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴²² ‘Al Quds Day 2008: London 28th September 2008’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180527202329/http://www.inminds.co.uk/qudsday2008.php>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴²³ ‘Al-QUDS DAY 2007: London, Sunday 7th October 2007’, *Innovative Minds*.

⁴²⁴ ‘Al Quds Day 2008: London 28th September 2008’, *Innovative Minds*.

⁴²⁵ ‘Al-QUDS DAY 2006: London, Sunday 22th [sic] October 2006’, *Innovative Minds*.

⁴²⁶ ‘Bahmanpour at Quds Day – Wipe Israel Off The Map’, *YouTube*, 11 June 2018.

⁴²⁷ ‘Zionist-apartheid bullying fails at Intifada event at Venezuelan Embassy, London’, *IHRC*, 8 November 2010.

⁴²⁸ ‘Bahmanpour at Quds Day – Wipe Israel Off The Map’, *YouTube*, 11 June 2018.

⁴²⁹ ‘Zionist-apartheid bullying fails at Intifada event at Venezuelan Embassy, London’, *IHRC*, 8 November 2010.

- 6) An IHRC event in 2010 hosted a senior member of a US and EU-proscribed terrorist organisation (via video recording), who was previously detained in the UK on terrorism charges after an airline hijacking attempt. The speaker used the platform to glorify violent resistance, and stated that political negotiations are futile “there is no use except to revolt”.⁴³⁰
- 7) An IHRC briefing published in July 2006 stated that Lebanon has the right to self-defence against Israeli aggression, and thus “support for Hizbullah defending Lebanon is lawful under international law”. The same document claimed that proportional force against Israel can include “the destruction of installations on the territory held by Israel” and “financial, logistical and informational support of Hizbullah”.⁴³¹
- 8) IHRC have hosted, regularly partnered with, and sold material from an arts campaign/exhibition that lionises global militant figures. Several pictures depict terrorist iconography – such as individuals who have committed acts of terrorism overseas brandishing weapons⁴³²

The following with particular regard to the IHRC Trust:

- 9) The IHRC bookshop sells literature that has inspired Salafi-Jihadist movements worldwide (see Section 4.6). This includes texts promoting violent *jihad*,⁴³³ and one book that is banned in UK prisons for extremism purposes.⁴³⁴
- 10) The IHRC bookshop sells a framed print of a convicted terrorist with a gun, at the time of writing being sold by the organisation for £90.00.⁴³⁵

Recommendation: The evidence provided in sections 1-3 in this report, with particular regard to the actions listed above, necessitate criminal investigation into whether IHRC - its directors, trustees, employees or individuals associated with the organisation - have committed any of the following offences that exist in British law*:

Proscription Offences (S.11-13 Terrorism Act 2000).⁴³⁶

Proscription makes it a criminal offence to:

- 1) belong, or profess to belong, to a proscribed organisation in the UK or overseas;

⁴³⁰ ‘Leila Khaled Statement to Intifada Event at Venezuelan Embassy, London, Tomorrow (Sat Nov 06)’, *Sons of Malcolm*, 5 November 2010, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110217002140/http://sonsofmalcolm.blogspot.com/2010/11/leila-khaled-statement-to-intifada.html>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

⁴³¹ ‘The Blame Game: International Law and the Current Crisis in the Middle East’, *IHRC*, 20 July 2006, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20060815044017/https://www.ihr.org.uk/show.php?id=1954>, last visited:

⁴³² Intifada Street image, available at: <http://www.intifadastreet.com/communities/9/004/013/202/429//images/4629762694.png>, last visited: 15 May 2019.
‘Gallery 5’, *Intifada Street*, available at: <http://www.intifadastreet.com/gallery-5/4591488504>, last visited: 16 May 2016.
hanz-revo, *Instagram*, 1 August 2018, available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BI6k2YKhD71/>, last visited: 15 May 2019.
Intifada Street image, available at: <http://www.intifadastreet.com/communities/9/004/013/202/429//images/4629762659.png>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

⁴³³ ‘100 Fabricated Hadith’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/100-fabricated-hadith>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

⁴³⁴ ‘Towards Understanding the Quran: Volume 3 (Surahs 7-9)/Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/towards-understanding-the-quran-volume-3-surah-7-9-mawdudi>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

⁴³⁵ ‘Long Live Free Palestine (Leila Khaled) Print’, *IHRC*, available at: <https://shop.ihr.org/long-live-free-palestine-leila-khaled-print-framed-2>, last visited: 15 May 2019.

⁴³⁶ ‘Proscribed Terrorist Organisations’, *Home Office*, 12 April 2019, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/795457/Proscription_website.pdf, last visited: 14 May 2019.

- 2) invite support for a proscribed organisation (the support invited need not be material support, such as the provision of money or other property; it can also include moral support or approval);
- 3) express an opinion or a belief that is supportive of a proscribed organisation, regardless as to whether the person to whom the expression is directed will be encouraged to support a proscribed organisation;
- 4) arrange, manage or assist in arranging or managing a meeting in the knowledge that the meeting is to support or further the activities of a proscribed organisation, or is to be addressed by a person who belongs or professes to belong to a proscribed organisation; or to address a meeting if the purpose of the address is to encourage support for, or to further the activities of, a proscribed organisation;
- 5) wear clothing or carry or display articles in public in such a way or in such circumstances as to arouse reasonable suspicion that the individual is a member or supporter of a proscribed organisation;
- 6) publish an image of an item or clothing or other article, such as a flag or logo, in the same circumstances.

Encouragement of terrorism (S.1-4 Terrorism Act 2006) (see main report Section 4).⁴³⁷

Encouragement of terrorism makes it a criminal offence to-

- 1) Publish a statement, or cause another to publish a statement, that is likely to be understood by some or all of the members of the public to whom it is published as a direct or indirect encouragement to them to commit, prepare or instigate acts of terrorism or Convention offences. This can be committed intentionally or recklessly.
 - a. statements that glorify terrorism constitute an indirect encouragement to terrorism or Convention offences but only if
 - b. the statements are of a type that the audience may reasonably infer that the conduct is being glorified as a conduct that should be emulated in existing circumstances.

Note

As stated in Section 1 of this report-

This paper adheres to the UK list of proscribed terrorist organisations in its contemporary format. It is noted that Hezbollah was fully proscribed in March 2019, before which the designation covered only the military wing (External Security Organisation in 2001; extended to the group's entire military apparatus in 2008).⁴³⁸ Hamas' military wing, Hamas Izz al-Din al-Qassem Brigades, has been proscribed since March 2001.

⁴³⁷ 'Terrorism Act 2006', *legislation.gov.uk*, available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/11>, last visited: 14 May 2019.

⁴³⁸ 'Proscribed Terrorist Organisations', *Home Office*, 12 April 2019, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/795457/Proscription_website.pdf, last visited: 14 May 2019.

7. CONCLUSION

The Islamic Human Rights Commission, from the views espoused by its senior figures to the campaigns and literature it promotes, is an institutionally extremist and pro-terrorist organisation. Moreover, it ought to be considered a ‘pseudo human rights group’ whose actions are antithetical to the values it professes to promote. IHRC is driven by a Khomeinist worldview, complete with the Ayatollah’s animosity towards the West, anti-Zionist foreign policy and Shia Islamist political order.

This ideology is underpinned throughout IHRC’s activities, from its foundation as part of the legacy of Kalim Siddiqui,⁴³⁹ the UK activist who spurred the fatwa against Salman Rushdie, to its 2015 Islamophobia award to Charlie Hebdo, considered by Islamic militants to have “blasphemed” against the prophet Muhammed. IHRC’s close relationship with the Iranian government – with one director sitting on Iran’s Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution having been directly appointed by Rouhani, and another having received an award for international activity in Tehran – places IHRC’s organisation of the London’s Al-Quds Day parade and the chairman’s denial of Iranian state human rights abuses in a far clearer light. This is an organisation in the heart of London, afforded the benefits of charitable status, that repeatedly adopts political positions that accord with those of a hostile government – the Islamic Republic of Iran.

IHRC’s Khomeinist outlook has seen the group partner with a considerable number of activists who dominate the UK’s Sunni-Islamist scene: those who share IHRC’s hostility to the West and Israel, its desire for political Islam in a growing secularist climate, and its suspicion of government policies that are perceived as imposing liberalism and attacking the practice of orthodox Islam. Akin to the Iranian state funding of both Shiite Hezbollah and Sunni Hamas Islamist militias, IHRC events have hosted speakers from across the theological spectrum, including individuals linked to Arab nationalist and Sunni-militant Hamas, Sunni pan-Islamist Muslim Brotherhood and the Arab nationalist Marxist-Leninist PFLP.

IHRC’s sympathy with those who have committed and/or inspired acts of nationalist or jihadist terrorism has, at times, permeated into glorification of militant activity. IHRC’s chairman has called for violent jihad in Palestine, branded intifada resistance fighters as “heroes” and encouraged audience members to eradicate Zionists. The organisation has hosted representatives from Hezbollah, Hamas and PFLP; speakers have used their platform to seek those “looking for martyrdom” at IHRC events,⁴⁴⁰ and the organisation promotes colourful graphics of convicted terrorists brandishing weapons on its website, which are currently available to purchase.

Despite this, IHRC holds UK charitable status through its subsidiary IHRC Trust, is a civil society partner of the Anna Lindh Foundation, and has been awarded Special Consultative Status at the UN. The organisation has also acquired European Commission funding through the Centre for Ethnicity Studies at the University of Leeds, which employs academics with whom IHRC has previously engaged. More recently, the All Party

⁴³⁹ Juma, L., ‘Irrefutable evidence of the discrimination and Islamophobia facing Muslims in Britain’, *Crescent International*, 1 January 2005, available at: <https://crescent.icit-digital.org/articles/irrefutable-evidence-of-the-discrimination-and-islamophobia-facing-muslims-in-britain>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

⁴⁴⁰ ‘Al Quds Day 2008, London 28th September 2008’, *Innovative Minds*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20090915175716/http://www.inminds.co.uk/qudsday2008.php>, last visited: 16 May 2019.

Parliamentary Group on British Muslims proposed a definition of Islamophobia coined by two professors who have worked closely with IHRC in the past, and the Commission for Countering Extremism selected academics for their study who have used the group to promote their research. In this light, it is concerning that the small number of academics who have associated with IHRC appear to be achieving significant legitimacy and credibility within government structures. This may present an opportunity through which the organisation can attain further mainstream impact and policy influence.

Title: "ISLAMIC HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION:
ADVOCATING FOR THE AYATOLLAHS"

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**CENTRE ON
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