



Extreme or Intolerant Speakers on London Campuses between September 2015 and January 2016

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Introduction

In 2011, the UK's revised counter-radicalisation strategy, Prevent, stated: "there is unambiguous evidence to indicate that some extremist organisations ... target specific universities and colleges ... with the objective of radicalising and recruiting students".¹ A year later, the British Parliament's Home Affairs Select Committee found no evidence to suggest "extremists on campus are always subject to equal and robust challenge",² while following the murder of Lee Rigby in May 2013, a government Task Force outlined that extremists were using "higher education institutions as a platform for spreading their message".³ In October 2015, the government released its Counter-Extremism Strategy, which declared that "students are and have been influenced by extremist ideology and that some universities have been the focus of attention by extremist speakers",⁴ and stated that policy would be put in place to ensure extremists faced challenge on campus.

Following the passage of the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (CTSA) in March 2015, this policy has taken the form of a statutory duty for public bodies, including universities, to have "due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism",⁵ and came into force for the higher education sector on 21 September 2015. Managing extremist speakers was specifically highlighted as part of this duty in draft guidance for universities released by the Home Office, with institutions expected to have "procedures in place for the management of events on campus" and "a system for assessing and rating risks associated with any planned events".⁶

The Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) has been tasked with regulating the duty. It wrote to all relevant higher education bodies on 30 November to inform them of the framework the monitoring process would use, and to request that they complete a preliminary self-assessment by 22 January 2016. The expectation was that each institution's assessment would "be able to indicate the timeframe in which they expect to have finalised the relevant policies, processes or arrangements" necessary for compliance with the duty. As such, it is clear that even following the imposition of the duty, universities may not have the necessary policies in place.⁷

Events

Given that until the end of January 2016, higher education bodies were still in the process of assessing how close they were to producing policies and procedures that would ensure compliance with the Prevent duty, it is perhaps no surprise that, in the first four months of the 2015–16 academic year following 21

¹ 'Prevent Strategy', *HM Government*, June 2011, p. 73, available at: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/counter-terrorism/prevent/prevent-strategy/prevent-strategy-review?view=Binary>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

² 'Roots of Violent Radicalisation', *Home Affairs Select Committee*, February 2012, pp. 22-23, available at: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmhaff/1446/1446.pdf>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³ 'Tackling Extremism in the UK', *HM Government*, December 2013, p. 6, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/263181/ETF_FINAL.pdf, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁴ 'Counter-Extremism Strategy', *HM Government*, October 2015, p. 14, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/470088/51859_Cm9148_Accessible.pdf, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁵ 'Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015', *HM Government*, (February 2015), available at: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2015/6/part/5/enacted>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁶ 'Prevent Duty Guidance for higher education institutions in England and Wales', *HM Government*, July 2015, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/445916/Prevent_Duty_Guidance_For_Higher_Education_England_and_Wales_.pdf, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁷ 'Prevent duty monitoring: Preliminary self-assessment returns', *HEFCE*, December 2015, available at: <http://www.hefce.ac.uk/pubs/year/2015/CL272015/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

September, Student Rights continued to log events which were advertised as featuring speakers with a history of extreme or intolerant views or a history of involvement with extremist organisations. In the past four years, London has seen the highest number of events logged across the UK, and focusing on that region alone saw a number of events which raised concern. Of the 30 events logged between 21 September 2015 and 31 January 2016, all but three are believed to have gone ahead as planned, and only six appear to have attempted to provide any kind of balance. It is impossible to confirm whether this is a complete picture of on-campus events, and it is possible that more events also took place which were not promoted openly.

1. 24/09/2015 – King’s College London (KCL) – ‘Tafseer of Surah Tahreem: The Ideal Marriage’ (Asim Khan) CANCELLED⁸

- Khan holds positions at Sabeel and the Muslim Research and Development Foundation (MRDF),⁹ both projects founded by Haitham Al-Haddad.¹⁰ He has referred to homosexuality as “evil”, as well as labelling it an “abomination”, “wretched”, “shameful”, “disgusting”, a “sin”, and a “criminal act”, and perpetuates homophobic tropes comparing homosexuality to incest and “burglary, theft and sexual abuse”;¹¹
- This event was cancelled and rescheduled with no reason given,¹² and took place on 28 January 2016.¹³

2. 29/09/2015 – Institute of Education – ‘Preventing Prevent’ (Moazzam Begg, Lena Mohamed)¹⁴

- Begg is the Director of Outreach at CAGE, an organisation with a long history of defending convicted terrorists.¹⁵ A terrorism case against Begg collapsed in October 2014, but he accepted he had been in Syria training fighters;¹⁶
- While being held in Guantanamo Bay, Begg also admitted to visiting training camps on the Afghan–Pakistan border known to have hosted Al-Qaeda militants, and to fighting in Bosnia in the 1990s;¹⁷
- Mohamed is an advocate at the Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC), which has campaigned for the release of convicted terrorists, including Omar Abdel-Rahman

⁸ ‘Tafseer of Surah Tahreem: The Ideal Marriage’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1040937282617709/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹ ‘Author Archives: Asim Khan’, *Islam21C*, available at: <http://www.islam21c.com/author/asimkhan/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁰ ‘Sheikh Haitham Al-Haddad’, *Sabeel*, available at:

http://www.sabeel.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=105&catid=29&Itemid=65, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹¹ Khan, A, ‘And Remember Lut...’, *Islam21C*, 15 April 2013, available at: <http://www.islam21c.com/politics/9557-and-remember-lt/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹² ‘Tafseer of Surah Tahreem: The Ideal Marriage’, *Facebook*, available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/events/1040937282617709/permalink/1051118094932961/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹³ ‘Tafseer of Surah Tahreem: The Ideal Marriage (FINAL PART)’, *Facebook*, available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/events/910757058972037/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁴ ‘Preventing Prevent’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/113245989025477/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁵ ‘The evidence shows that CAGE is a pro-terrorist group’, *The Telegraph*, 21 July 2014, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/10981050/The-evidence-shows-that-Cage-is-a-pro-terrorist-group.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁶ ‘Moazzam Begg: Islamic bookseller or terrorist trainer?’, *The Spectator*, 10 October 2014, available at:

<http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/coffeehouse/2014/10/moazzam-begg-islamic-bookseller-or-terrorist-trainer/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁷ ‘Guantanamo and its critics’, *Wall Street Journal*, 26 January 2012, available at:

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204468004577164904145708474.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

(convicted of conspiracy to murder),¹⁸ and Dr Aafia Siddiqui, an Al-Qaeda associate convicted of attempted murder;¹⁹

- These speakers were joined by the National Union of Students (NUS) Black Students Officer Malia Bouattia, despite the NUS claiming just days later it would not be working with CAGE;²⁰
- With all the speakers united in their condemnation of Prevent and no attempt to balance the panel, this event saw inflammatory claims, including that Prevent is a “strategy that fits within the narrative of a racist white supremacist agenda” which seeks to advance a surveillance state;
- It also saw at least one student say they were made to feel uncomfortable for supporting Prevent, and would be unlikely to attend such an event in future.²¹

3. 14/10/2015 – KCL – ‘Students not Suspects’ (Moazzam Begg)²²

- This event saw Begg appear alongside Rachel Harger of Defend the Right to Protest, Dr Jim Wolfreys and Marcia Rigg, as well as Mohammed Umar Farooq, with all speakers highly critical of Prevent;
- Leaflets handed out at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) prior to the event made a number of false claims, including that students would be classified as extremists by Prevent if they desired “political or moral change” or sought “identity, belonging or meaning”; and that a student who was questioned on his views by a poorly trained member of staff while reading a book on terrorism was “arrested for reading a module core text”.²³

4. 16/10/2015 – Queen Mary University – ‘Is Islam the Cause or Solution to Extremism’ (Hamza Tzortzis, Zara Faris)²⁴

- A debate on extremism organised by the Islamic Education and Research Academy (IERA), investigated by the Charity Commission in 2014 over regulatory issues relating to speakers and events,²⁵ and barred from University College London in 2013;²⁶

¹⁸ ‘Prisoners of Faith Pack: Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman’, *IHRC*, available at: http://www.ihrc.org.uk/attachments/5355_PFOmarAbdelRahmanFinal.pdf; ‘Omar Abdul Rahman’, *Investigative Project on Terrorism*, available at: <http://www.investigativeproject.org/profile/101>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁹ ‘Aafia Siddique Campaign’, *IHRC*, available at: <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/campaigns/10719-aafia-siddiqui-campaign>; ‘United States District Court Southern District of New York: United States of America v Aafia Siddique’, *United States District Court Southern District of New York*, available at: http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/654.pdf; ‘US jails Pakistani scientist for 86 years’, *BBC News*, 23 September 2010, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-11401865>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

²⁰ ‘Student leader rules out link-up with advocacy group Cage’, *BBC News*, 5 October 2015, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-34415207>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

²¹ ‘Preventing Prevent at SOAS’, *Student Rights*, 2 October 2015, available at: http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/2308/preventing_prevent_at_soas, last visited: 21 March 2016.

²² ‘Students not Suspects: London’, *Eventbrite*, available at: <http://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/students-not-suspects-london-tickets-18396766223>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

²³ Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights.

²⁴ ‘The Big Question: Is Islam the Cause or Solution to Extremism?’, *IERA*, available at: <http://www.iera.org/event/the-big-question-is-islam-the-cause-or-solution-to-extremism>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

²⁵ ‘“Anti-Semitic” charity under investigation’, *The Telegraph*, 24 May 2014, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/10854579/Anti-Semitic-charity-under-investigation.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

²⁶ ‘UCL bans Islamic group from campus in row over segregated seating’, *The Guardian*, 15 March 2013, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/15/ucl-bans-islamic-group-over-segregation>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

- Tzortzis is a senior member of IERA³⁷ and has been criticised for stating that apostates who “fight against the community ... should be killed”,³⁸ and that “we as Muslims reject the idea of freedom of speech, and even the idea of freedom”;³⁹
- After a lecture at the University of Portsmouth on 9 February 2015, he criticised past events at which women had been forced to write questions rather than ask them, and accepted that some of his past comments had been inappropriate;³⁰
- Faris is a contributor to the Hittin Institute,³¹ an Islamist organisation ideologically close to Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT)³² and which in 2009 hosted the Al-Qaeda-linked cleric Anwar Al-Awlaki;³³
- While featuring two speakers of concern, this event also featured a moderator in Peter Osborne and three opposing speakers in Fiyaz Mughal, Mohammed Amin, and Peter Tatchell.³⁴

5. 23/10/2015 – School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) – ‘A Journey through the Quran’ (Asif Uddin)³⁵

- Uddin is a lecturer at ‘Sabeel’ and chief editor of ‘Islam21C’³⁶ – both projects of the MRDF;³⁷
- He has also appeared at events as a representative of the ‘Justice for Anis Sardar’ campaign,³⁸ despite Sardar’s conviction for murder in May 2015.³⁹

6. 30/10/2015 – Goldsmiths College – ‘Dealing with Hardships and Afflictions’ (Moazzam Begg)⁴⁰

7. 02/11/2015 – SOAS – ‘Brothers behind Bars’ (Moazzam Begg, Asif Uddin)⁴¹

- This event saw Begg and Uddin appear alongside Harris Farooqi, whose father Munir was convicted in September 2011 of preparation for terrorist acts, soliciting to murder, and disseminating terrorist publications;⁴²

³⁷ ‘Hamza Andreas Tzortzis’, *IERA*, available at: <http://www.iera.org/education/book-a-speaker/meet-our-speakers/hamza-andreas-tzortzis>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³⁸ ‘Hamza Tzortzis on the MSS (10 of 12) – beheading is painless’, *YouTube*, available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7WhnfM8wR9g>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³⁹ ‘Secularism basis refuted and proof of Quran P2’, *YouTube*, available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=KOW4Mk1QK84#, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³⁰ See ‘@PreventHants’, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/PreventHants/status/564894989226745857> and ‘@HATzortzis’, available at: <https://twitter.com/HATzortzis/status/565048618986778624>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³¹ ‘Zara Faris’, Hittin Institute, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20151216004001/http://hittininstitute.org/zara-faris/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³² ‘Hittin Institute’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Hittin-Institute/152457904767892?pid=152457904767892&sk=info>, last visited: 21 March 2016, and Tzortzis, H, ‘Liberalism and its Effect on Society’, *Hittin Institute*, 2010; Archived by Student Rights.

³³ ‘Hittin institute presents Imam Anwar Awlaki, abu mujahid: Glad tidings to the stranger’, *Islamic Awakening*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130606110617/http://forums.islamicawakening.com/t21/hittin-institute-presents-imam-anwar-awlaki-abu-18310/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³⁴ ‘The Big Question: Is Islam the Cause or Solution to Extremism?’, *IERA*, available at: <http://www.iera.org/event/the-big-question-is-islam-the-cause-or-solution-to-extremism>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³⁵ ‘A Journey through the Quran’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/173469472996512/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³⁶ ‘Author Archives: Asif Uddin’, *Islam21C*, available at: <http://www.islam21c.com/author/asifuddin/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³⁷ ‘Our Projects’, *MRDF*, available at: <http://www.mrdf.co.uk/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³⁸ ‘Brothers Behind Bars’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1050057088362023/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

³⁹ ‘Anis Sardar trial: Iraq bombmaker trapped by sticky tape’, *BBC News*, 21 May 2015, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-32780002>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁴⁰ Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights.

⁴¹ ‘Brothers Behind Bars’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1050057088362023/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁴² ‘CPS statement on R V Farooqi and others’, *Crown Prosecution Service*, 9 September 2011, available at: http://www.cps.gov.uk/news/latest_news/cps_statement_on_r_v_farooqi_and_others/, last visited: 21 March 2016.

- They were also joined on the panel by Nadia Chan, a student involved in Muslim Prisoner Campaigns, the lawyer Gareth Pierce, and Nicki Jameson from Fight Racism, Fight Imperialism;
- Event promotional material claimed there are “fabricated accounts of terrorist acts produced through forced or coerced confessions”,⁴³ while the event banner claimed Munir Farooqi had been “framed by undercover police”;⁴⁴
- Attendees were also given a card claiming Islamist terrorist Adel Abdel Bary was detained without charge, despite Bary’s 2014 conviction for his involvement in the 1998 Al-Qaeda bombings of US embassies in East Africa.⁴⁵

8. 03/11/2015 – Brunel University – ‘Call of Duty’ (IERA Speakers)⁴⁶

- No speakers were announced for this event, which sought to train students how to preach effectively to non-Muslims, but they would have been provided by IERA.

9. 05/11/2015 – SOAS – ‘SOAS Islamophobia Seminar’ (Abdullah Al-Andalusi, Sufyan Ismail) ABDULLAH AL-ANDALUSI CANCELLED⁴⁷

- Al-Andalusi is a contributor to the Hittin Institute,⁴⁸ and has claimed that “Democracy, Secularism, Feminism, Humanism and Freedom” are “blatantly un-Islamic concepts”,⁴⁹ and that there is an ongoing Western effort “aimed at further subjugating and weakening ... the cause of Islam”;⁵⁰
- On the day of the event it was announced that Al-Andalusi would not be able to attend the event, likely owing to the fact he had been booked to appear at the University of Warwick on the same evening;
- At the time, Ismail was the CEO of MEND, previously known as iEngage.⁵¹ He has claimed British society “hates” Muslims and that they are not protected by British law. He has also suggested Muslims should become involved in politics as it could stop those travelling to fight in Syria being criminalised;⁵²

⁴³ ‘Brothers behind Bars’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1050057088362023/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁴⁴ Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights.

⁴⁵ ‘Campaigning on campus, group that helps families of IS killers: Charity gave talk at university before students held Christmas appeal asking for donations’, *Daily Mail*, 11 January 2016, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3393170/Campaigning-campus-group-helps-families-killers.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁴⁶ ‘Brunel Isoc’, *Facebook*, available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/brunel.isoc/photos/a.747740658681311.1073741835.436290159826364/748612021927508/?type=3>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁴⁷ ‘SOAS: Islamophobia Seminar - #IAM2015’, *Facebook*, available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/events/182579755418480/permalink/182621502080972/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁴⁸ ‘Abdullah Al Andalusi’, *Hittin Institute*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20151217065418/http://hittininstitute.org/abdullah-al-andalusi/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁴⁹ ‘False Coins’, *Abdullah Al-Andalusi*, 19 September 2013, available at: <http://abdullahandalusi.com/2013/09/19/false-coins/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁵⁰ ‘ISIS in Iraq: Storm or Pawn?’, *Abdullah Al-Andalusi*, 15 June 2014, available at: <http://abdullahandalusi.com/2014/06/15/isis-in-iraq-storm-or-pawn/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁵¹ ‘The baroness, Islamic extremists and a question of free speech’, *The Telegraph*, 22 March 2015, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/11488175/The-baroness-Islamic-extremists-and-a-question-of-free-speech.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁵² ‘Muslim group with links to extremists boasts of influencing election’, *The Telegraph*, 4 April 2015, available at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/general-election-2015/11515630/Muslim-group-with-links-to-extremists-boasts-of-influencing-election.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

- Another senior member of MEND, Azad Ali,⁵³ lost a libel case in 2010 which found he “was indeed ... taking the position that the killing of American and British troops in Iraq would be justified”;⁵⁴
- Ali has also expressed support for Hamas,⁵⁵ and stated: “democracy ... at the expense of not implementing the Sharia, of course no one agrees with that”.⁵⁶

10. 11/11/2015 – SOAS – ‘Constructing the “Other”: The Framework of Islamophobia in Britain’ (Moazzam Begg)⁵⁷

- This event saw Begg appear alongside Professor David Miller of the University of Bath,⁵⁸ who claimed the Prevent Strategy is a “war against social democracy and democratic gains won through anti-racist struggles”, and that this war is fought “through the recognition that the problem in our society is Muslims”.⁵⁹

11. 12/11/2015 – Imperial College – ‘The Prophetic Paths’ (Asif Uddin)⁶⁰

12. 13/11/2015 – London South Bank University (LSBU) – ‘Roadside2Reality’ (Abu Bakr Islam)⁶¹

- Islam is the founder of Roadside2Islam,⁶² which claimed on its website in 2011 that Muslim women were not allowed to marry “kaafir”, and that if a suitor did not pray “he should be executed as a kaafir and apostate”.⁶³ In October 2011, Islam also tweeted that “the Jews are evil”;⁶⁴
- He appeared at this event alongside the former rapper Muslim Belal.

13. 15/11/2015 – SOAS – ‘Policing the Crisis – Defend the Right to Protest National Conference’ (Moazzam Begg)⁶⁵

- A day-long conference, this event saw Begg appear on a panel alongside the lawyer Imran Khan, Hannah Dee of Defend the Right to Protest, two representatives of the Justice for Sheku Bayoh campaign, and Shelly Asquith of the National Union of Students.

⁵³ ‘MEND Team’, *MEND*, available at <http://mend.org.uk/mend-team/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁵⁴ ‘Kill British blog man fails in MoS libel bid’, *Press Gazette*, available at: <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/node/44965>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁵⁵ See ‘We are the Resistance!’, *Between the Lines*, available at:

<http://web.archive.org/web/20130709160454/http://blog.islamicforumeurope.com/2008/12/30/we-are-the-resistance/>; ‘We are the Resistance II’, available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20140824081833/http://blog.islamicforumeurope.com/2009/01/15/we-are-the-resistance-ii/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁵⁶ ‘Britain’s Islamic republic’: full transcript of Channel 4 Dispatches programme on Lutfur Rahman, the IFE and Tower Hamlets’, *The Telegraph*, 22 October 2015, available at: <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/andrewgilligan/100060409/britains-islamic-republic-full-transcript-of-channel-4-dispatches-programme-on-lutfur-rahman-the-ife-and-tower-hamlets-the-full-transcript/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁵⁷ ‘Constructing the “Other”: The Framework of Islamophobia in Britain’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/899648196809424/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁵⁸ ‘Professor David Miller’, *University of Bath*, available at: <http://www.bath.ac.uk/sps/staff/david-miller/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁵⁹ Student Rights recording of event.

⁶⁰ ‘The Prophetic Paths’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/325360127587941/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁶¹ ‘Lsbu Islamic-Society’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1624223647837268/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁶² ‘Roadside2Islam’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/roadside2Islam/info>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁶³ Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights.

⁶⁴ ‘@Roadside2Islam’, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/roadside2islam/status/129460196740313088>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁶⁵ ‘Policing the Crisis – Defend the Right to Protest National Conference’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1700814696831339/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

14. 17/11/2015 - KCL - 'Muslim Women in the West' (Arzu Merali)⁶⁶

- Merali is a founder of the IHRC,⁶⁷ and appeared at this event alongside an unidentified representative of MEND, named Hibah;
- The panel also featured NUS Black Students' Officer Malia Bouattia, KCL lecturer Abdoolkarim Vakil, and SOAS lecturer Dr Samia Bano.

15. 18/11/2015 - SOAS - 'Islamophobia and British Values' (Asim Qureshi) CANCELLED⁶⁸

- Qureshi is the executive director of CAGE,⁶⁹ and was recorded in 2006 as saying: "When we see the examples of our brothers and sisters, fighting in Chechnya, Iraq, Palestine, Kashmir, Afghanistan, then we know where the example lies ... We know that it is incumbent upon all of us to support the jihad of our brothers and sisters in these countries when they are facing the oppression of the West";⁷⁰
- Qureshi was due to speak alongside Abdassamad Clarke, but at the event it was announced that Qureshi had been replaced with CAGE researcher Indrani Balaratnam, with no reason given;
- Reports from the event stated that Balaratnam spoke on the trial and convictions of terrorism suspects, focusing on alleged abuses in the processes leading to the convictions of Tarek Mehanna, convicted of conspiracy to provide material support to Al-Qaeda,⁷¹ and of the Boston Marathon bomber Dzhokhar Tsarnaev.⁷²

16. 19/11/2015 - Goldsmiths College - 'The Rise of Islamophobia' (Cerie Bullivant)⁷³

- Bullivant is a former Control Order subject and CAGE spokesman. He absconded from his order in May 2007 along with Lamine and Ibrahim Adam and turned himself in a month later. Lamine's whereabouts remain unknown, while Ibrahim Adam was killed in a US drone strike in Pakistan in November 2011;⁷⁴
- In 2008 Bullivant's Control Order was quashed after it was assessed that he was not a threat to the UK;⁷⁵
- He appeared at this event alongside the poet Mohamed and several student panellists.

17. 19/11/2015 - KCL - 'Is it a Crime to Care?' (Moazzam Begg)⁷⁶

⁶⁶ 'Islamophobia Awareness Month: Muslim Women in the West', *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/440274772846418/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁶⁷ 'Arzu Merali's Blog', *IHRC*, available at: <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/blogs/arzu/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁶⁸ 'Islamophobia and British Values', *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1074248665997015/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁶⁹ 'People', *CAGE*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20150102018918/http://www.cageprisoners.com/about-us/people>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁷⁰ See 'Radical Islam on UK Campuses', *Centre for Social Cohesion*, 2010, p. 14.

⁷¹ 'Tarek Mehanna sentenced in Boston to 17 Years in Prison on Terrorism-Related Charges', *FBI*, 12 April 2012, available at: <https://www.fbi.gov/boston/press-releases/2012/tarek-mehanna-sentenced-in-boston-to-17-years-in-prison-on-terrorism-related-charges>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁷² Recording of event archived by Student Rights.

⁷³ '@GoldISOC', *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/GoldISOC/status/667298429303853056>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁷⁴ See 'Algeria hostage crisis: Was one of the al-Qaeda terrorists freed from British custody?', *The Telegraph*, 20 January 2013, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/algeria/9813567/Algeria-hostage-crisis-Was-one-of-the-al-Qaeda-terrorists-freed-from-British-custody.html> and 'Two British terror suspects killed in US drone strikes in Pakistan', *The Guardian*, 18 November 2011, available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/18/british-terror-suspects-killed-drone-pakistan>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁷⁵ Simcox, R, 'Control Orders: Strengthening National Security', *Centre for Social Cohesion*, 2010, pp. 64-67.

⁷⁶ 'Is it a Crime to Care?', *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/926513137441233/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

18. 19/11/2015 – Kingston University – ‘The Rise of Islamophobia’ (Suliehan Ghani)⁷⁷

- Ghani has expressed sectarian attitudes towards Ahmadiyya, claiming they are not Muslims,⁷⁸ declared homosexuality is “unnatural” and “harmful”,⁷⁹ and supported Dr Aafia Siddiqui,⁸⁰ an Al-Qaeda associate convicted of attempted murder in 2010;⁸¹
- The event also featured former Kingston University student Bashir Ibrahim, who claimed the government was seeking to engineer “a Government sanctioned Islam” and that the security services’ “modus operandi” was harassing Muslims, using Mohammed Enwazi and Michael Adebolajo as examples.⁸²

19. 20/11/2015 – University of Westminster – ‘On the Peaks of Mountains’ (Wasim Kempson)⁸³

- Kempson is a supporter of the charity HHUGS,⁸⁴ and has also spoken in support of Dr Aafia Siddiqui;⁸⁵
- He appeared at this event alongside an unidentified speaker described as a “Madinah Graduate”, and another described using the name Abu Fatimah.

20. 23/11/2015 – University of East London – ‘After the Paris horror...Do not let the racists divide us. No to Islamophobia. Defend Civil Liberties’ (Moazzam Begg, Sufyan Ismail)⁸⁶

- Begg and Ismail appeared at this event alongside NUS officer Malia Bouattia and Weyman Bennett of Stand up to Racism.

21. 25/11/2015 – SOAS – ‘Muslim Women in the West’ (Zara Faris)⁸⁷

⁷⁷ ‘Kingston ISoc’, *Facebook*, available at:

<https://www.facebook.com/kingstonisoc/photos/a.1485108815069845.1073741828.1483829255197801/1664308267149898/?type=3&permPage=1>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁷⁸ ‘Voting in Islam Debate Part 2’, *YouTube*, available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZqpHJUw4YNE&feature=related>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁷⁹ ‘Revealed: The NHS Imam who opposes organ transplants but has been employed in a hospital for three years’, *The Daily Mail*, 23 March 2013, available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2298203/Revealed-The-NHS-imam-opposes-organ-transplants-employed-hospital-years.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁸⁰ ‘JFAC SENTENCED Protest – Sheikh Suliman Gani’, *YouTube*, available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IL2l5pTM0Rk>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁸¹ ‘United States District Court Southern District of New York: United States of America v Aafia Siddique’, *United States District Court Southern District of New York*, available at: http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/654.pdf; ‘US jails Pakistani scientist for 86 years’, *BBC News*, 23 September 2010, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-11401865>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁸² ‘The Rise of Islamophobia – Sheikh Sulaiman Ghani & Bashir Ibrahim’, *YouTube*, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ingVVcb5RTk&feature=youtu.be>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁸³ ‘Uni Westminster Isoc’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/UWISOC/photos/a.1569265360020249.1073741828.1559976130949172/1663775260569258/?type=3&permPage=1>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁸⁴ HHUGS claims that it does not support those convicted of offences or involved in extremism, yet has supported Munir Farooqi (convicted for soliciting to murder), called for supporters to write to senior Al-Qaeda associate Khalid Al-Fawwaz, and published an article arguing that “until Osama Bin Ladens [sic] death he was not charged with any crime related to 9/11 nor was any evidence produced”. See ‘About Us’, *HHUGS*, available at: <http://www.hhugs.org.uk/about-us>; ‘Collective punishment of an innocent family’, *HHUGS*, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130407055613/http://www.hhugs.org.uk/collective-punishment-of-an-innocent-family-british-justice/384>, and screenshots archived by Student Rights. Last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁸⁵ ‘JFAC – Bring Aafia Home – Imam Wasim Kempson’, archived by Student Rights.

⁸⁶ ‘After the Paris horror...Do not let the racists divide us. No to Islamophobia. Defend Civil Liberties’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/924705360955084/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁸⁷ ‘Muslim Women in the West’, *Facebook*. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/926920947396639/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

22. 28/11/2015 – SOAS – ‘NUS Black Students’ Winter Conference’ (Arzu Merali, Julius Malema)⁸⁸

- Malema appeared as leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters Party.⁸⁹ Expelled from the African National Congress (ANC) in 2012,⁹⁰ he has twice been found guilty of hate speech in South Africa, firstly after claiming a woman who had accused ANC President Zuma of rape must have had a “nice time”,⁹¹ and secondly over his signature song: “Shoot the Boer”;⁹²
- Merali and Malema appeared on different panels at this event, with the other panellists at Malema’s event unidentifiable from the photographs. Merali appeared alongside human rights activist Linda Bellos, *Guardian* journalist Joseph Harker, and Birkbeck academic Eddie Bruce Jones;
- Originally advertised as taking place at the Institute of Education, a tweet posted by the Black Students’ Campaign on the day of the event showed it actually taking place at SOAS.⁹³

23. 03/12/2015 – University College London (UCL) – ‘The Seven under the Shade of the Throne of Allah’ (Asif Uddin)⁹⁴

24. 14/12/2015 – UCL – ‘Salahuddin: The Battle for Al-Aqsa’ (Muhammad Dilwar Hussain)⁹⁵

- Hussain is Deputy Editor of the extremist online magazine *5Pillars*.⁹⁶ He has claimed that “a full on ideological/cultural war is being waged on Islam and Muslims”,⁹⁷ and that reformist critics are “drunken liberal garbage”;⁹⁸

25. 15/12/2015 – Queen Mary School of Medicine and Dentistry – ‘I am a Believer, but do I Believe?’ (Hamza Tzortzis)⁹⁹

⁸⁸ ‘Black Students’ Winter Conference’, *NUS*, available at: <http://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/nusdigital/document/documents/20067/d081a3c50e3101fdc4c7d0c88e1a7867/Agenda.pdf>, last visited: 21 March 2016, and screenshots archived by Student Rights.

⁸⁹ ‘@KilomboUK’, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/KilomboUK/status/670636805813723136>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹⁰ ‘Julius Malema of South Africa’s Economic Freedom Fighters – a profile’, *BBC News*, 30 September 2014, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-14718226>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹¹ ‘ANC’s Julius Malema guilty of South Africa Hate Speech’, *BBC News*, 15 March 2010, available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/8567727.stm>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹² ‘ANC Julius Malema’s Shoot the Boer ruled “hate speech”’, *BBC News*, 12 September 2011, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14878102>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹³ ‘@nusBSC’, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/nusBSC/status/670555818325094400>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹⁴ ‘UCLU Islamic Society’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/ucluisoc/photos/a.170430919634119.40722.123173067693238/1112723305404871/?type=3>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹⁵ ‘UCLU Friends of Palestine Society’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/UCLUFOP/posts/1931290187095679>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹⁶ ‘Our Team’, *5Pillars*, available at: <http://5pillarsuk.com/about/our-team/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹⁷ ‘@DillyHussain88’, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/DillyHussain88/status/554049434066382848>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹⁸ John Ware, ‘The British Muslims not afraid to fight extremism’, *The Independent*, 18 January 2015, available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/the-british-muslims-not-afraid-to-fight-extremism-9985531.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

⁹⁹ ‘I am a Believer but Do I Believe?’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1710887155809344/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

26. 17/12/2015 – UCL – ‘Al-Aqsa: Islamic Age Retold’ (Ismail Ibn Patel)¹⁰⁰

- Patel is the founder of Friends of Al-Aqsa,¹⁰¹ a Leicester-based group which protests against Israel and whose bank account was recently closed by the Co-operative Bank;¹⁰²
- The group has published the Holocaust denier¹⁰³ Paul Eisen,¹⁰⁴ as well as writers with a history of anti-Semitic views¹⁰⁵ such as Gilad Atzmon,¹⁰⁶ Israel Shamir,¹⁰⁷ and Khalid Amayreh,¹⁰⁸ while Patel has declared: “ Hamas is no terrorist organisation ... we salute Hamas for standing up to Israel.”¹⁰⁹

27. 25/01/2016 – Kingston University – ‘Censoring Universities?’ (Moazzam Begg, Shenaz Bunglawala)¹¹⁰

- Co-sponsored by the university’s Department of Journalism and Islamic Society, this event also featured Kingston University Vice Chancellor Julius Weinberg;¹¹¹
- Bunglawala is Head of Research at MEND.¹¹²

28. 28/01/2016 – KCL – ‘Tafseer of Surah Tahreem: The Ideal Marriage’ (Asim Khan)¹¹³

- Rescheduled from 24 September, this event appears to have gone ahead as planned.

29. 28/01/2016 – Kingston University – ‘1st Annual Quran Conference’ (Asif Uddin)¹¹⁴

30. 30/01/2016 – SOAS – ‘MEND Politics Masterclass’ (MEND Speakers)¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁰ ‘Al-Aqsa: Islamic Age Retold’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/495130044001353/permalink/497647257082965/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁰¹ ‘Gaza activist from Leicester heading home after aid ship stormed by Israelis’, *Leicester Mercury*, 3 June 2010, available at: <http://www.leicestermercury.co.uk/Gaza-activist-heading-home-ordeal/story-12063328-detail/story.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁰² ‘Co-operative Bank closes FOA bank account’, *Friends of Al-Aqsa*, 5 January 2015, available at: <http://foa.org.uk/campaigns/co-operative-bank-closes-foa-bank-account>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁰³ ‘My Life as a Holocaust Denier’, Paul Eisen, January 2008, available at: <http://www.righteousjews.org/article27a.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁰⁴ Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights.

¹⁰⁵ See ‘Rewriting History: Holocaust Revisionism Today’, *Hope not Hate*, 2012, p. 79, available at: <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/shop/rewriting-history.pdf>; for Israel Shamir, and Andy Newman, ‘Gilad Atzmon, anti-Semitism and the left’, *The Guardian*, 25 September 2011, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/sep/25/gilad-atzmon-antisemitism-the-left>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁰⁶ Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights.

¹⁰⁷ Screenshots of all activity archived by Student Rights.

¹⁰⁸ Amayreh, K, ‘When will America wake up from her slumber’, *Friends of Al-Aqsa*, 21 December 2009, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20091221193645/http://www.aqsa.org.uk/HOME/tabid/36/ctl/Details/mid/427/ItemID/1699/language/en-US/Default.aspx>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Ismail Patel | Stop the Gaza massacre Demonstration London 10 January 2009’, *YouTube*, available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bCLNX9xyd6c>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹¹⁰ ‘Kingston ISoc’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/kingstonisoc/posts/1685716891675702>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² ‘MEND Team’, *MEND*, available at <http://mend.org.uk/mend-team/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹¹³ ‘Tafseer of Surah Tahreem: the ideal marriage (FINAL PART)’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/910757058972037/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹¹⁴ ‘Kingston ISoc’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/kingstonisoc/photos/a.1485108815069845.1073741828.1483829255197801/1684042775176447/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹¹⁵ ‘SOAS: MEND Politics Masterclass’, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1556016304718673/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

- Hosted by MEND, it is unclear which speaker from the organisation delivered this five-hour day course.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The number of events detailed here, nine more than during the same period in 2014–15, highlights that despite the new legal duty facing universities, too many institutions are still allowing events featuring extreme or intolerant speakers to go ahead without ensuring adequate challenge, though it does appear that more events are attempting to provide some kind of balance. While it is important that universities ensure compliance with their statutory responsibility to protect freedom of expression, it is not enough to state, as a number of the institutions listed here did after receiving criticism for allowing events to go ahead, that “the events were legal” or that they do not believe any of the recorded content from the events was extreme.¹¹⁶

In addition, HEFCE has provided institutions with a deadline of 1 April 2016 to submit the policies and procedures required to demonstrate compliance with the Prevent duty on external speakers; some that are made up of constituent colleges, such as Durham or Oxford Universities, have been given until 1 August.¹¹⁷ While this is a step in the right direction, it also means that for the first academic year in which institutions are subject to the Prevent duty, many will still have been formulating their compliance policies. However, while this appears frustratingly slow, it is clear that the issue is now being taken more seriously at both governmental and institutional levels than in previous years.

Institutions must now seek to ensure that they produce policies and procedures to guarantee that events which feature speakers with a history of extreme or intolerant views provide students with an opportunity to hear balanced debates on controversial issues rather than one-sided and misleading information. They must also make efforts to ensure an atmosphere is fostered on campus which encourages and supports students who seek to challenge extremist speakers and material. Complementing this should be adherence to a standardised, sector-wide speaker policy; the increased use of institutional equality and diversity policies as part of any speaker guidelines that are developed; and training for student union and HEI staff in recognising extremist topics, tropes, or practices. This should enable universities to comply with their duty to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism or extremism while protecting freedom of expression on campus.

¹¹⁶ ‘Six universities face inquiry over Cage campus talks’, *The Telegraph*, 6 January 2016, available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/12085765/Six-universities-face-inquiry-over-Cage-campus-talks.html>, last visited: 21 March 2016.

¹¹⁷ ‘Prevent duty monitoring framework, Phase 1: Request for documentation from relevant higher education bodies’, *HEFCE*, February 2016, available at: <http://www.hefce.ac.uk/pubs/year/2016/CL022016/>, last visited: 21 March 2016.



About Student Rights

Student Rights is a non-partisan project of The Henry Jackson Society dedicated to supporting equality, democracy and freedom from extremism on university campuses. Set up in June 2009, Student Rights monitors extremism on UK university campuses – focusing on a range of different groups including, but not limited to, fascist or racist organisations, Islamist groups, and extreme political parties.



About The Henry Jackson Society

The Henry Jackson Society is a think tank and policy-shaping force that fights for the principles and alliances which keep societies free - working across borders and party lines to combat extremism, advance democracy and real human rights, and make a stand in an increasingly uncertain world.