

THE INTERNATIONAL
CENTRE FOR THE STUDY
OF RADICALISATION AND
POLITICAL VIOLENCE



Developments in Radicalisation
and Political Violence

Al Muhajiroun and Islam4UK: The group behind the ban

Catherine Zara Raymond

May 2010

Developments in Radicalisation and Political Violence

Developments in Radicalisation and Political Violence is a series of papers published by the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR). It features papers by leading experts, providing reviews of existing knowledge and sources and/or novel arguments and insights which are likely to advance our understanding of radicalisation and political violence. The papers are written in plain English. Authors are encouraged to spell out policy implications where appropriate.

Editor

Prof. Harvey Rubin
University of Pennsylvania

Dr John Bew
ICSR, King's College London

Editorial Assistant

Katie Rothman
International Centre for the Study of
Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR)

Editorial Board

Prof. Sir Lawrence Freedman
King's College London

Dr. Boaz Ganor
Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya

Dr. Peter Neumann
King's College London

Dr Hasan Al Momani
Jordan Institute of Diplomacy

Contact

All papers can be downloaded free of charge at **www.icsr.info**. To order hardcopies, please write to mail@icsr.info. For all matters related to the paper series, please write to:

ICSR
King's College London, 138-142 Strand
London WC2R 1HH United Kingdom

Summary

On 2nd January 2010, Islam4UK, an off-shoot of the extremist Islamist group Al Muhajiroun, announced their intention to stage a procession through Wootton Bassett, a town which is now synonymous in the eyes of the British public with the funerals of UK soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Less than two weeks later the group was proscribed by the British government under the Terrorism Act 2000. This report is based primarily on the first in-depth academic interviews conducted with members of Al Muhajiroun since 2004 and it discusses the group's aims, beliefs, membership and activities.

The report also examines the government's decision to proscribe Islam4UK. Critics of the decision have focused on the timing of the ban and the likely ineffectiveness of the measure, while those who welcomed it have pointed to the group's alleged links to terrorism. This report offers the following assessment: that the government had valid reasons for banning Islam4UK but that its decision to do so was undermined by the timing of its announcement. Islam4UK and Al Muhajiroun are alternative names for organisations that have already been banned in the UK, and as such the government had to take action against them in order to be consistent in their application of the law. However, no criminal charges have yet been brought against known members of the group, feeding the perception that the timing of the ban was based on short-term political considerations rather than long-term security imperatives. The government would have been better advised to have acted earlier, shutting the group down in July 2009 after their re-launch. In waiting until that Wootton Bassett protest was announced, government unintentionally added plausibility to Anjem Choudary's tirades against the double-standards of Western liberal democracy and the limits of free speech.

Another question addressed in the report is the likely effectiveness of the ban in the long-term. Although Islam4UK's overtly public activities may have been stalled temporarily by the government's action, the group has a strategy of creating new identities for itself, adopting new names and platforms when others have been compromised and its media profile has already been substantially increased by proscription.

Meanwhile, its activities in the private sphere, which are arguably more dangerous than its provocative interjections into public debate, have continued. As is demonstrated in this report, the group retains an active presence on the internet, despite the government's shutting down of their website, www.islam4uk.com, and reports are already surfacing that some of its members have started operating under a new name: 'Voting is Shirk. For the ban to have any chance of success, it needs to be applied in a more thorough manner, which includes punishing individuals who are known to be members or supporters of the group and clamping down on their internet activities.

About Catherine Zara Raymond

Catherine Zara Raymond is currently undertaking a PhD in War Studies at King's College London. Her research focuses on Islamic radicalisation on university campuses in the United Kingdom. Zara is also an Associate at the Corbett Centre for Maritime Policy Studies, based at the Defence Studies Department, Joint Services Command and Staff College, where she conducts research into maritime piracy and terrorism. Previously, Zara worked as a Research Fellow at the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies in Singapore. She is co-editor and contributing author of the volume *Best of Times, Worst of Times: Maritime Security in the Asia-Pacific* (WorldScientific, 2005), has contributed chapters to several books on the topic of maritime security including, most recently, *Piracy and Maritime Crime: Africa, Asia, and Southeast Asia*, edited by Bruce Elleman and S.C.M. Paine (US Naval War College, 2009), and has had her articles published by a number of media outlets and journals.

Al Muhajiroun and Islam4UK

The group behind the ban

Introduction

Islam4UK, a recent offshoot of the extremist Islamist group Al Muhajiroun (AM) – who according to the Centre for Social Cohesion is linked to one in seven Islamist-related convictions in the UK in the last decade¹ – caught the full attention of the UK media and the British public in January 2010 when it announced its intention to stage a procession through Wootton Bassett, a town in Wiltshire on the route used to repatriate members of the armed forces, which has become a focal point for mourners. On the group’s website it stated that its intention was to “...attempt to engage the British public’s minds on the real reasons why their soldiers are returning home in body bags and the real cost of the war.”² However, the planned procession caused public uproar, prompting the government to intervene. Former Prime Minister Gordon Brown issued a statement in which he described how he was “personally appalled”: “Wootton Bassett has a special significance for us all at this time, as it has been the scene of the repatriation of many members of our armed forces who have tragically fallen. Any attempt to use this location to cause further distress and suffering to those who have lost loved ones would be abhorrent and offensive.”³

Although the procession was later called off, a process had been put into motion by the government which would result in both Islam4UK and AM being proscribed under the Terrorism Act 2000 less than two weeks later. Despite assurances from

- 1 ‘One in Seven UK Terror-related Convictions Linked to Islamist group Now Threatening to Relaunch’, *Centre for Social Cohesion*, 1st June 2009
- 2 ‘Letter: To the Families of British Soldiers who have died or who are currently in Afghanistan’, www.islam4uk.com, [accessed 20/02/10]
- 3 ‘Brown condemns ‘abhorrent’ Islamist Wootton Bassett protest plan’, *The Guardian*, 4th January 2010

the Home Secretary Alan Johnson that the ban had nothing to do with the Wootton Bassett demonstration, and that the decision was made based on the group being “concerned in terrorism”⁴ the timing of the ban raises questions about the government’s true motives, and consequently, feeds into questions about the limits of freedom of speech.

In light of these recent events, this paper seeks to examine the group behind the ban, in particular: its aims and beliefs; its key figures and membership, its activities and its links to terrorism. This will be followed by a critical examination of the ban and its implications, the group’s response to the ban, and what the future holds for its members.

The research for this paper involved several interviews with members of AM including Anjem Choudary, the group’s leader in the UK and Omar Bakri Mohammad, the group’s global figurehead. Where possible their statements have been compared with data from other sources and the differences highlighted. In addition to interviews, sources include DVDs produced by the group, pamphlets and flyers printed by the group and distributed during ‘roadshows’, and AM’s various websites, including www.islam4uk.com, which, despite being blocked following the ban, can still easily be accessed via its cached pages on Google.

I made initial contact with AM at the launch of Islam4UK. This was also the first time I met Anjem Choudary. Our first interview took place in the back room of a small cafe in Leytonstone in late 2009. As an unmarried woman, Choudary asked me to bring along at least one male friend. On the way to this first interview Choudary changed the location of our meeting several times. At the meeting he was polite and friendly and was happy to answer the majority of my questions.

At each of our meetings Choudary would be accompanied by at least three other members of his group. He would always encourage me to spend some time talking to them during the interviews, which would enable him to take some of the many phone calls that would inevitably interrupt our time together.

4 Alan Johnson, ‘Ban decision was not taken lightly’, *The Guardian*, 19th January 2010

Following our first interview, when he was satisfied that I was not from the Quilliam Foundation – a London based think tank for which Choudary seems to hold particular contempt – he offered Bakri’s mobile phone number in Lebanon and said he would be happy to talk to me.

Our second interview took place two weeks after the ban at a cafe not far from our first meeting. This time I was not asked to bring along a male companion. Choudary had spent the previous few weeks giving interviews to the press. Since our first meeting he seemed more confident and, at least initially, was less eager to answer questions about the current status of the group. His increased confidence at times manifested itself as a slight cheekiness and he had a more apparent desire for approval from his members. This behaviour was not so evident at our first meeting. As shall be discussed in more detail below, Choudary was also a lot more confident when discussing the aims of his organisation, whereas previously he had appeared slightly embarrassed by them.

The Launch of Islam4UK

The public launch of Islam4UK in June 2009 was to be marked by a debate between Choudary and Douglas Murray, Director of the think tank, the Centre for Social Cohesion. The debate, entitled Shariah Law vs British Law, was organised by the Global Issues Society, another suspected front for AM and was scheduled to take place at a public venue in central London. Its stated aim was, “for the truth to prevail and for the falsehood to vanquish, and we hope that by this illuminating discussion the British public will experience the superiority of al-Islam over that of the British Law.”⁵ On the advert for the debate Choudary was described as being “known in the media as a man at the forefront of pro-Islamist discourse in Britain having lectured at various seminars and conferences up and down the UK on vital issues affecting Islam and Muslims; he is also the principal lecturer at the London School of Shari’ah and delivers in-depth courses for Muslims and non-Muslims alike.”⁶ The advert

5 ‘The Great Debate: Shari’ah Law vs British Law, www.islam4uk.com, [accessed 19/02/10]

6 Ibid.

also stated that Choudary was the chairman of the Society of Muslim lawyers and a Judge at the Shari'ah Court of the UK, an unofficial court recognised only by the group's supporters.⁷

The event attracted a mixed crowd of journalists, AM supporters, academics and anti-extremism campaigners. However, before the debate got underway a skirmish developed between several Islam4UK members and attendees over the issue of male-female segregation in the venue. The organisers of the event had planned for women to sit upstairs in a balcony area, while men would sit downstairs. However, some attendees questioned the legality of this arrangement in a public venue and tried to prevent the organisers from enforcing it. The police were eventually called and the hall emptied onto the street outside, where Choudary gave an impromptu speech and answered questions from journalists. The following day, several national newspapers reported the event and because of this it was likely to have been declared a success by the group. This pattern of behaviour – the staging of controversial events to gain media attention – would be repeated by the group, eventually causing their proscription less than a year later.

Al Muhajiroun: the ups and downs

The controversial Islam4UK debate announced AM's decision to officially re-form in the UK. AM was disbanded in 2004 by its then leader in the UK Omar Bakri Muhammad, after being active for around nine years. When asked recently about his reasons for dissolving the group he claimed that the introduction of new legislation against terrorism led him to believe that the group's members and activities were under threat. He also described how a split had formed in the group, with one side in favour of conducting 'military' activities in the UK, while the other remained committed to a peaceful ideological struggle. Not wanting to be associated with this more violent wing of the organisation caused him to break up the group.⁸ He also discussed this division in a media interview in 2010 in which he claimed that AM had divided into two

7 Ibid.

8 Telephone interview with Omar Bakri Mohammad (27nd February 2010, Lebanon)

wings – the Da'wah Network and the Jihad Network – with the latter being involved in recruiting people in the UK for terrorist campaigns abroad.⁹

Bakri explained that he does not support the use of violence in the name of Islam in the UK or the US because of a covenant of security that exists between Muslims and non-Muslims that forbids attacks in these countries.¹⁰ This 'contract' was also referred to in a press release by Islam4UK in January 2010 in which it stated: "as Muslims in Britain, we live among you under a covenant of security; in return for our lives and wealth being protected we are not permitted to attack the lives and wealth of the non-Muslims with whom we live."¹¹

In contradiction to the views expressed above, Bakri is in fact well known for his support for the 9/11 attacks, following his description of the perpetrators as the 'magnificent 19'. In addition, on the first anniversary of the attacks, a flyer distributed by AM around London reportedly read: "September 11th 2001, a 'Towering Day' in World History".¹² When questioned about this apparent contradiction, Bakri insisted that he is often misrepresented by the media. He claimed he did not intend the phrase 'magnificent 19' to be a show of support for the perpetrators of 9/11.¹³ However, in what way this statement could be misunderstood is uncertain.

Shortly after AM disbanded in 2004, it re-formed into two groups, the Saviour or Saved Sect and Al-Ghurabaa (The Strangers), and continued along the same ideological lines. One year later another platform for the group, Ahl al-Sunnah

9 Michael Whine, 'Will the ban on the Al Muhajiroun successor groups work?', www.ict.org.il, [accessed 17/02/10]

10 Telephone interview with Omar Bakri Mohammad (27nd February 2010, Lebanon). On the covenant of security, see Stephan Ulph, 'Londonistan', *Global Terrorism Analysis*, Jamestown Foundation, 7th July 2005 and Shaykh Muhammad Afifi Al-Akiti 'Defending the Transgressed by Censuring the Reckless Against the Killing of Civilians', www.warda.info [accessed 20th March 2010]

11 'An Appeal to Families of British Soldiers To Have An Honest Dialogue', www.islam4uk.com, [accessed 21/02/10]

12 Stephan Ulph, 'Londonistan', *Global Terrorism Analysis*, Jamestown Foundation, 7th July 2005

13 Telephone interview with Omar Bakri Mohammad (27nd February 2010, Lebanon)

wal al-Jamma'ah¹⁴ was officially launched. However, after staging several controversial events, in 2006 both the Saved Sect and Al-Ghurabaa were proscribed by the Home Office under the 2000 Terrorism Act for the glorification of terrorism. Following this, the group remained to a large extent out of the public arena, though there is some evidence that its activities continued.¹⁵

Not long after the 7/7 bombings in London Bakri left for Beirut, which he claims he did for family reasons. However, it was reported in the news at the time that the authorities were considering bringing charges against him and that he in fact left the country because he feared arrest.¹⁶ He was later banned from returning to the UK by the Home Office. From Lebanon Bakri continues to act as the global leader of AM and provides 'spiritual' guidance to the UK branch through his frequent communication with Choudary and lectures given via video-link.¹⁷

The Aims and Structure of the Movement

AM's stated aim is to overthrow the British government, without using violence, and to establish an Islamic state in the UK based on Shariah law.¹⁸ According to Choudary, after this Islamic state is established, "we would continue to conquer other countries, removing the obstacles in the way of establishing the Shariah until we have the domination of Islam globally".¹⁹ In other words, the group seeks the creation of a global Islamic Caliphate – a goal it shares with other Islamist groups such as Al Qaeda, Hizb ut-Tahrir and the Muslim Brotherhood. However, when questioning Choudary recently

14 Meaning the followers of the Sunnah and Jammah (the prophetic practice and community).

15 In January 2007, the Times newspaper reported online activity by the group. (Abdul Taher, 'UK preacher in secret web call for jihad', *TimesOnline*, 14th January 2007) In 2008, the *London Evening Standard* reported that the group had staged an event attended by more than 200 people. (David Cohen, 'Islamic radicals make mockery of hate laws', *London Evening Standard*, 10th November 2008)

16 Whine, 'Will the ban on the Al Muhajiroun successor groups work?'

17 David Cohen, 'Islamic radicals make mockery of hate laws', *London Evening Standard*, 10th November 2008

18 Interview with Anjem Choudary (20th July 2009, London, UK)

19 Ibid.

on the feasibility of achieving this aim in the UK without using violence and how exactly it was going to be done, he backtracked somewhat on his earlier statement: “We say that, but it is a bit of a sound-bite.”²⁰ However, he went on to explain that, “If you want to achieve any objective in your life you have to follow the method of Muhammad. If you need to pray, you need to pray the way he prayed. If you want to fast, you need to fast the way he fasted. If you want to implement the Shariah, you have to implement it the way he did it and use the methodology that he employed, which engages society in an ideological and political struggle, by commanding good and forbidding evil, and presenting Islam as an alternative. In other words, he orchestrated an intellectual coup among the people so that Islam reached every household.”²¹

These aims are also discussed in the DVDs produced by another AM front organisation, the London School of Shari’ah, and distributed at the group’s events. In a DVD titled, ‘Shari’ah Law Future for Britain’ which is a recording of a conference held by the group, one of the speakers states that “It is an obligation of all Muslims to implement the Shariah in all areas of life no matter where they are.” Later when discussing the implementation of Islam worldwide, the same speaker states that “we will implement this deen whether they like it or not and even [sic] we will establish it and let them choke on it if they don’t want it.” This aggressive statement elicited cries of support from the crowd.

In addition to calling for the Shariah, the group is homophobic and anti-Semitic.²² On Islam4UK’s website it states that once the Caliphate is established, “Countries we are at war with such as Israel must be confronted with Jihad...Islam obliges all Muslims to fight them until the land is liberated.”²³ The group also rejects standard liberal democratic ideals such as equality and free speech, and prohibits its members from taking out car insurance, voting in elections and joining the police force. Indeed, Choudary went so far as to declare that “We don’t

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Mark Rowe & Aileen Cruz, ‘British Jews fearful of young Muslim militants’, *The Independent*, 27th October 2000 and Ian Cobain, ‘Reborn extremist sect had key role in London protest’, *The Guardian*, 11th February 2006

23 ‘Islamic Systems’, www.islam4uk.com, [accessed 25/02/10]

abide by British law.”²⁴ The group claims that all of these beliefs are in accordance with and based on Islamic scripture.

Although Choudary maintains that the group is engaged in a purely non-violent ideological struggle in the UK, he does not, it seems, rule out violence altogether: “We believe on the one hand that you engage and interact with society, not interrelate, and you engage in verbal dialogue, but when the time comes you see and they are about to attack us then we will fight.”²⁵ This violent undertone was also evident when he talked recently about the future of the group: “We believe that it will change eventually, eventually [the progress of the movement] will develop...It could be Bosnia here tomorrow [sic], we could find ourselves in Iraq and have to lead people to come over, we could have a fifth column here, so there are many possibilities, but we are at the moment engaged in a purely ideological, political kind [sic] of thing.”²⁶

When asked how society would be different after the implementation of the Shariah, Choudary explained that, “There would be segregation in the public arena, the women would cover, the trading would be different with some things prohibited, even the architecture would be different in Islam.”²⁷ Islam is presented by the group as being the solution to all of society’s problems, including crime and corruption, poverty and racism. Drugs, rape, prostitution, and pedophilia are issues often mentioned by the group as products of Western secular society that would not exist under Shariah law.

The exact size of the UK branch of AM is not known. Islam4UK events in London appear to attract no more than 40 supporters. Bakri was happy to declare during the interview that the group has around 4,500 supporters in the UK alone, though this seems an overestimation given the turnout at their London events. Choudary was less forthcoming when asked about the size of their following, stating only that, “Around the world in every country there are people who agree with us and who have the same method and want the same thing; Al Qaeda wants the same thing, our goal is the same. Some people are

24 Interview with Anjem Choudary, (17th June 2009, London, UK)

25 Interview with Anjem Choudary (20th July 2009, London, UK)

26 Ibid

27 Ibid

struggling physically for that through jihad, some people are struggling verbally, some people are doing both, but it is taking place all around the world.”²⁸ He went on to say that, “We know there’s uprisings taking place around the world in Lebanon, Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan, Palestine, Bangladesh, Pakistan and they are in one hundred percent agreement in matters with us.”²⁹

Links to terrorism

AM has, since its creation, attracted speculation regarding its links to terrorism. Its public support for terrorism abroad, its refusal to condemn terrorism at home following the 7/7 attacks,³⁰ and the ideological links it shares with Al Qaeda, have lead many to believe that while it may not be actively engaged in terrorism the group aids and supports, perhaps even encourages its members, to embark on the ‘duty of jihad’.

According to a recent study carried out by the Centre for Social Cohesion, “15% of all those convicted in the UK of terrorism-related offences were either members of, or have known links to, the organisation.”³¹ These offences ranged in spectrum from inciting racial hatred to taking part in terrorist attacks abroad. According to one report, Mohammed Siddique Khan, leader of the 7/7 plot, learned how to make explosives at a training camp in Pakistan set up by AM’s British and American members.³² This is something that Bakri strongly denies.³³ However, this same report argues that AM’s latest creation, Islam4UK, “no longer poses a threat in the way that Al Muhajiroun once did.”³⁴ It explains that this is the case because the group has fewer

28 Interview with Anjem Choudary (21st January 2010, London, UK)

29 Ibid.

30 It was reported by *The Guardian* newspaper that Anjem Choudary had refused to condemn the 7/7 attacks in London, when he said. “I am not in the business of condoning or condemning... There is no reason why there should not be more suicide bombings in London.” Ewen MacAskill, ‘Cartoon controversy spreads throughout the Muslim world’, *The Guardian*, 4th February 2006

31 ‘One in Seven UK Terror-related Convictions Linked to Islamist group Now Threatening to Relaunch’, *Centre for Social Cohesion*, 1st June 2009

32 Shiv Malik, ‘A Boost for radical Islam’, *Prospect*, 13th January 2010

33 Telephone interview with Omar Bakri Mohammad (27nd February 2010, Lebanon)

34 Shiv Malik, ‘A Boost for radical Islam’, *Prospect*, 13th January 2010

members, no longer recruits en masse, and its ideas are no longer fresh.³⁵

As previously intimated, the group itself gives mixed messages regarding its relationship with terrorism. In a DVD purchased from an Islam4UK stall, Choudary makes the statement, “These labels my dear Muslims of extremist, of radical, of terrorist, get used to them - they are the medallions on our hearts on the Day of Judgment.” When asked directly about the group’s links to terrorism during an interview Choudary replied with the vague statement: “Every Muslim has a duty and a right to defend his life, land, [and] property.”³⁶ He went on to say that, “I don’t think you can place anyone with us when they were carrying out [acts of terrorism].”³⁷ When asked about the role the group plays in inspiring would-be terrorists, Choudary’s response was, “The ideal of jihad is out there with everyone, not just with our organisation.”³⁸ While there is little doubt that the group continues to support terrorism ideologically, whether or not it currently has more direct links to terrorism, as it is once assumed to have had, remains in question. However, at another point in our discussion – when talking about another subject entirely – Choudary admitted that the group had first hand information from, and was in contact with, fighters in Afghanistan.³⁹

Activity – methods and platforms

Over the years the group has found it more difficult to operate under the name AM. Consequently, it frequently uses other names and front organisations, some of which are more established than others, to allow it to continue to operate in the public sphere. This was confirmed by Choudary who admitted that they “use different platforms, as I said the important thing is not the name, the important thing is that you plant the seeds in the hearts of the people.”⁴⁰ During an interview Choudary listed some examples of names that the

35 Ibid.

36 Interview with Anjem Choudary (21st January 2010, London, UK)

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

40 Interview with Anjem Choudary (20th July 2009, London, UK)

group uses: The Society of Muslim Lawyers, Shari'ah Court UK, Al Muhajiroun and Al Ghuraba "is all us" he said.⁴¹ He went on to explain, "We use different platforms depending on what we are dealing with."⁴² Quintan Wiktorowicz, who carried out an extensive study of the group in 2005, drafted a list of the group's platforms and fronts and found that at least 50 existed.⁴³ Some names not included in his list are the Salafi Youth Movement, Islam4UK (also sometimes spelt IslamforUK), Salafi Media, Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'aah, Islamic Council of Britain, London School of Shari'ah, the Global Issues Society, Islamic Da'wah Foundation, London Da'wah, Submit2Allah, Tayfatul Mansoorah, Mansoor Media, London Da'wah, and the Path to Tawheed.

The Internet

The use of different fronts and names by the group can also be seen in its activities on the internet, which is one of the most important methods the group employs to access its supporters, particularly following the recent ban, which has, at least temporarily, halted the group's overtly public activities. Although the sites www.islam4UK.com and www.islamforUK.com were shut down following the proscription of the group, the content of both sites can still be accessed through their caches via Google. Several other sites used by the group remain active; in particular, www.salafimedia.com which was updated, with new videos and content added, a few days after www.islam4UK.com was shut down. Choudary confirmed during an interview that www.salafimedia.com was one of the group's websites.⁴⁴ This site contains video and audio recordings of lectures by the group, and information on their aims and key personalities. www.salafimedia.net also belongs to the group and although entry is password protected the content of the site can be viewed via its cache on Google. Another internet address used by the group is www.Al-Athariyah.com and this redirects you to www.salafimedia.net. In the past, their events have been advertised on various forums including: <http://forums.islamicawakening.com>, [41 Ibid.](http://</p>
</div>
<div data-bbox=)

42 Ibid.

43 Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Radical Islam Rising*, (Oxford: Roman & Littlefield, 2005), p.121

44 Interview with Anjem Choudary (20th July 2009, London, UK)

forum.mpacuk.org and <http://forum.islambase.info> therefore allowing them access to an even wider audience.

The group and its offshoots are very active on YouTube, operating at least 6 YouTube 'channels' which allow the creator of the channel to upload videos, have subscribers, and post links and other details. The following channels are believed to be run by AM:

- www.youtube.com/user/Choudarychoudary
- www.youtube.com/user/1abudujana
- www.youtube.com/londondawah
- www.youtube.com/user/MansoorMedia
- www.youtube.com/user/abumuaz27
- www.youtube.com/user/abumaryam27

Many of the YouTube channels feature videos of Choudary and other members of the group with titles such as 'Lions of Tawheed' and 'Oppression today'. Some of the channels, for example www.youtube.com/user/1abudujana, which states that its website is www.islam4uk.com, feature more extreme videos, including one of a man dressed like an insurgent wearing a suicide vest and carrying an automatic weapon giving a two-part talk on 'why we wage jihad'. Another is entitled 'Martyrs are Beautiful' and features close-ups of dead 'martyrs', while another, entitled 'the solution p2 [sic] al farooq training camp' features a short clip of Osama bin Laden in which he states that, "It is imperative that everyone capable of migrating to the land of Jihad do so." After bin Laden's speech, the video cuts to a scene several minutes long of a training camp in progress. Under the UK's anti-terrorism laws it is an offence to encourage and disseminate, using the internet, material which encourages terrorism.⁴⁵ Several individuals have already been convicted for similar offences, for example, Bilal Mohammed was charged

45 The Crown Prosecution Service, www.cps.gov.uk [accessed 20th March 2010]

in March 2008 with possessing 9 different publications, all of which were pro-jihad propaganda.⁴⁶

Public Da'wah Activities

According to Choudary, before being banned, Islam4UK's members staged roadshows every two weeks around London. At the roadshows members would set up stalls and banners, hand out leaflets, sell DVDs and give speeches to passers-by over a loud hailer. In what may be a worrying indicator of the group's appeal, during one roadshow on Edgware Road, attended by the author in August 2009, six members of the public converted to Islam. Choudary explained how the group tailors its message to increase its appeal: "We go to the areas looking at the problems they have, a lot of places have a lot of problems with the youth, with prostitution, drugs, alcohol, and [what we do is] really tap into that and present the Islam as an alternative...we don't really talk about the judicial system and jihad...we talk more about the social system, economics etc."⁴⁷ Any interested members of the public, both Muslim and non-Muslim, are encouraged to sign up on a mailing list to get invites to future events. In addition, all the leaflets and DVDs describe how more information can be found at www.islam4uk.com and or by calling a telephone number, which is in fact Choudary's mobile telephone number.

Leaflets distributed at events have titles such as 'Communism, Capitalism and Islam', 'Islamic Judicial System vs British Judicial System', 'The Islamic Social System', 'Foreign Policy' and so on. The message promulgated by the majority of the leaflets is that the current situation in Britain – in all aspects of life – is limited, deficient or even dangerous. "The contemporary social order has no future for humanity and will only lead to oppression and exploitation" states one of the leaflets. Another notes that we live in a society where "rape, teenage pregnancies, murder and homosexuality are rife" and asks the reader, "Surely there is a better reason for our existence?" The current state of Britain is blamed on the fact that it has a man-made secular system of government. Islam is presented as the solution, specifically the establishment of an Islamic Caliphate.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

DVDs that can be bought at these roadshows have titles such as ‘Shari’ah Law Future For Britain’, ‘Equality Illusion’, ‘Radicalisation’ and ‘Destruction of the Khilafah’. They are usually amateur recordings of Islam4UK lectures and conferences, with the speakers frequently interrupted by mobile phones (usually their own) and children (also usually their own). Although the topics vary from the specifics of implementing the Shariah in the UK to the history of Islam, the underlying message stays the same: Muslims are being persecuted and demonised by the West and it is their duty to rise up against this challenge; suffering should be expected and is Allah’s way of testing his followers; and sacrifices today will be rewarded by paradise in the afterlife.

In a DVD entitled ‘Loyalty’, which is a recording of a lecture by Abu Omar, the audience is encouraged to write to ‘brothers’ in prison on terrorism charges and to support their families. Abdul Rahman Saleem is one of those who the audience is encouraged to write to. Abdul was jailed in 2007 for inciting racial hatred during a demonstration the previous year outside the Danish Embassy following the publication of cartoons in Denmark satirizing the Prophet Mohammad. He was sentenced to four years in prison. In a DVD entitled ‘Sins of Society’, speaker Abu Uzair informs the audience that applying for car insurance is haram (forbidden) in Islam and criticises Muslims who adopt ‘slang’ words used by the Kuffar (non-Muslims), despite the fact that his talk is peppered with these so-called Western ‘slang’ words and phrases, for example, he uses the phrase ‘Joe Bloggs’ to describe non-Muslims in Britain, and he repeatedly uses the phrases ‘bat an eyelid’ and ‘rings a bell’. In a DVD entitled ‘Destruction of the Khilafah’, the audience is told that society is evil and full of corruption, and the National Lottery is cited as an example of one of these social ills. The audience is then instructed that it is an Islamic obligation to implement the Shariah and that in order to realise the goal of a Caliphate certain sacrifices must be made:

“...don’t let your health be your priority, don’t let your family be priority, don’t let your woman be priority, don’t let your husband be priority, don’t let your children be priority, don’t let your work be priority, don’t let your life be priority. Let your priority be to be the frontier of Islam, to defend

Islam, to be an ambassador to Islam. Each one of you, dear brothers, are at the frontline of Islam. Fear Allah, don't let Islam be attacked from your direction. When you busy yourself...in frivolous activities, when you busy yourself with your families, when you busy yourself with your work, with your reading, with your internet, with all of this waste of time, with your silly forums, or this idea or that idea, you are letting your son down. You should busy yourself establishing the deen of Islam. You should not be wasting your time... rather we should be investing our time...we have a responsibility, and that responsibility is to restore that former glory...To establish Al Islam...the East will be conquered, the West will be conquered, everybody needs to play a role. The question is what role do you play my dear brothers?....Be like the Muhajiroun of that time...who established Dar Al Islam...what a noble aim it is.”

Universities

University campuses and students are another focus for the group's activities. However, following a ban by the National Union of students in 2001, the group was forced to be more subtle about its activities on campus, using other names and platforms such as the 1984 Society or the Society of Muslim Lawyers. According to Choudary, the ban resulted in a decrease in their activities on campus and he claims that currently, “A lot of the Islamic societies are run by people that don't really agree with us and they've got their own agenda.”⁴⁸ Despite this apparent setback, Choudary stated recently that he has been approached by Leeds University students who want to organise an event with him. He also claimed to have spoken at Trinity College in Dublin and to have taken part in several debates at the London School of Economics.⁴⁹ There are also reports that the group attempted to stage a debate at Queen Mary University in London, though the police intervened and the venue was later changed to Oxford House in Bethnal Green.⁵⁰

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 'Tower Hamlets Funding Venue for al-Muhajiroun 9/11 Meeting', *Harry's Place*, 10th September 2009.

Although it is likely that Choudary's assessment of the group's activity on campus is close to the truth, there is still some indication that individual students and small student groups are staging regular low-profile events both on and off campus. For example, there is a group on Facebook that calls itself the 'Tarbiyah Team' and seems to be affiliated to Goldsmiths University, "where you can discuss weekly halaqas and anything else you want the tarbiyah team to provide for you!" Two out of the three creators of the 'Tarbiyah Team' are at Goldsmiths University, one of which – the creator of the group – is believed to be a female member of AM. The link to AM does not stop there; in amongst the postings on the group's page of planned events in the small prayer room and other venues at Goldsmiths, is a posting for an event titled 'The Last Breath', which was scheduled to take place in Bethnal Green Road, London. The address given for this event was the same as that given on Choudary's business card for the London School of Shari'ah, a front organisation for AM.

Leadership

Omar bin Bakri bin Mohammad was born in 1958 in Aleppo, Syria. According to a biographical note in his publication 'Ahlus – Sunnah Wal Jama'ah' written in 2004, he was born into an 'orthodox and wealthy family'. His early adult life was spent studying his religion in Damascus, Cairo and then Saudi Arabia. The note describes how Bakri has been a member of several Islamic movements, significantly the Muslim Brotherhood, followed by HT. In 1979, as a member of HT Bakri had attempted to set up a cell in Saudi Arabia where the group was banned. He did this against the wishes of the group's leadership and his membership was suspended as a result. Bakri ignored his suspension, setting up 'al-Muhajiroun, wilayat al-Jazira al-arabiyya' in Mecca to continue his work for HT. However, following a crackdown by the Saudi authorities, Bakri was arrested and deported. In 1986, Bakri arrived in the UK and began organizing HT activities here. Under his leadership the UK cell's membership increased dramatically. However, after issuing a series of controversial statements, including announcing that the then Prime Minister John Major, was "a legitimate target; if anyone gets the opportunity to assassinate

him, I don't think they should save it. It is our Islamic duty and we will celebrate his death"⁵¹ as well as organizing several high-profile events, the HT leadership stripped him of his position and in 1996 he resigned from the group. Three days later he launched AM. When asked what motivated him to lead AM in its struggle to establish an Islamic state, Bakri replied that what he is doing is an Islamic obligation and that it is investing time now for the hereafter.⁵²

Bakri launched AM with the help of Anjem Choudary, who is a British national of Pakistani descent. Choudary was born in Welling in 1967. He reportedly studied law at Southampton University and led a typically raucous student life⁵³ – a fact that he continues to deny. Choudary claims that he met Bakri in the early 1990s at a mosque in East London when Bakri was still a member of HT, though he says that he was never a member himself. He became Bakri's student and began to spend considerable amounts of time with his teacher. For Choudary, Bakri's appeal was that he applied the Quran and Islam to everyday life.

When Choudary was asked if he had ever experienced any racial abuse or Islamophobic hostility in Britain, which could have pushed him towards this more extreme version of Islam, his answer was no, he had never been subject to any Islamophobia before joining AM.⁵⁴ Despite this fact, Islam4UK's website states that: "...prejudice and Islamophobia have become a widespread and acceptable part of life for Muslims in the UK today."⁵⁵

51 Ulph, 'Londonistan'

52 Telephone interview with Omar Bakri Mohammad (27nd February 2010, Lebanon)

53 Neil Sears, 'Swilling beer, smoking dope and leering at porn, the other side of hate preacher 'Andy' Choudary', *The Daily Mail*, 5th January 2010.

54 Interview with Anjem Choudary (21st January 2010, London, UK)

55 'Police brutality targets Muslim children', www.islam4uk.com, [accessed 25/02/10]

Pathways and Membership

According to Bakri, the majority of the group's 4500 supporters in the UK are university and college students.⁵⁶ He understands that this is the case because students are more open to new ideas and that while previously Marxism was the ideology of choice for many students, Islamism is popular on campuses now.⁵⁷

He believes his members are motivated to join by the suffering of their 'brothers' and 'sisters' abroad who are being persecuted by the US and UK. Bakri also described how his members have suffered racial abuse despite their attempts to integrate in Britain: "They try to do what the non-Muslims want but still get called Paki or bloody Arab, and this leads to an identity crisis and they realise that they are not British but belong to the Islamic nation."⁵⁸ This explanation, given by Bakri in February 2010 is remarkably similar to the one he gave Wiktorowicz in 2004, indicating that Bakri may now be isolated to some extent from his members in the UK. In this earlier interview, Bakri commented: "Muhammad...changes his name to Mike, he has a girlfriend, he drinks alcohol, he dances, he has sex, raves, rock and roll, then they say, 'You are a Paki.' After everything he gave up to be accepted, they tell him he is a bloody Arab, or a Paki."⁵⁹

While none of the members interviewed for this report had experienced any significant or memorable racial abuse, they did talk about having an identity crisis that resulted in them becoming more interested in their religion, of which they previously had little understanding. "The path I was following was not the right path...I always had this feeling that there was something wrong...I've got purpose now, one member explained."⁶⁰ According to another member who spoke about his fellow Muslim friends, "At home they'd be pious and when they'd go to school or college or university they'd become someone else...change their names, change their attitudes...it

56 Telephone interview with Omar Bakri Mohammad (27nd February 2010, Lebanon)

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Wiktorowicz, p. 91

60 Interview with Islam4UK member 1 (20th July 2009, London, UK)

is an identity crisis.”⁶¹ When asked what motivates them to do what they do, the members spoke of their religious obligation: “I do what I do because of my love of Allah”⁶² explained one member. He went on to say, “We want to educate people; we want them to come back to the right path so that they can go to paradise.”⁶³

One member who is never far from Choudary’s side is a British convert who became a Muslim nine years ago. After leaving the army when he was 26 years old he believes that he “must have been looking for something.”⁶⁴ For him, AM’s struggle is similar to that experienced by the Prophet Muhammad during the early years of the religion: “People criticise you when you speak the truth.”⁶⁵

The Ban

On 14th January 2010, both Islam4UK and AM, as well as several other front organisations for the group – Call to Submission, Islamic Path, and the London School of Shari’ah – were added to the government’s list of proscribed groups. In a letter to *The Guardian*, Home Secretary Alan Johnson explained that his decision to ban these groups was based on his belief that they were ‘concerned in terrorism’:

“Over the last year, evidence has emerged that al-Muhajiroun and Islam4UK are simply alternative names for terrorist organisations which have already been banned in the UK under the names al-Ghurabaa and the Saved Sect since 2006. Prior to its proscription in 2006, those two organisations called for readers of its websites to ‘kill those who insult the prophet’, praised the terrorist actions of Osama bin Laden, and advised that it was forbidden to visit Palestine ‘unless you engage in the main duty of that place, i.e. jihad’”.⁶⁶

61 Interview with Islam4UK member 1 (20th July 2009, London, UK)

62 Interview with Islam4UK member 1 (20th July 2009, London, UK)

63 Ibid.

64 Interview with Islam4UK member 3 (20th July 2009, London, UK)

65 Ibid.

66 Johnson, ‘Ban decision was not taken lightly’

According to the legislation for the proscription of such organisations: “Once a group is proscribed it becomes a criminal offence for a person to belong to or encourage support for a proscribed organisation. It is also a criminal offence to arrange a meeting in support of a proscribed organisation or to wear clothing or to carry articles in public which arouse reasonable suspicion that the individual is a member or supporter of the proscribed organisation. Proscription means that the financial assets of the organisation become terrorist property and can be subject to freezing and seizure.”⁶⁷ Membership of such organisations is punishable by up to 10 years in jail.

However, the timing of the ban, coming just weeks after Islam4UK announced its intention to stage a procession through Wootton Bassett, raises serious questions about the real reason behind the government’s decision to proscribe AM and several of its front organisations. Following the government’s announcement of the ban, commentators from a variety of perspectives remarked that: it “seemed a knee-jerk reaction to their planned march” and “was quite clearly done with the upcoming elections in mind”⁶⁸; “The timing of the ban makes it look like party political opportunism”⁶⁹; and “The ban should also raise concerns about the state of our freedoms in what we are often proud to call an open society.”⁷⁰ In the same vein, Shiv Malik writing for *Prospect* magazine argued that banning the organisation sent out a worrying message about the government’s counter-extremism policy, which was that, “in this battle of ideas we will help our friends but we will also lock up our enemies for espousing ideas we don’t like.”⁷¹

Alan Johnson responded to this criticism by explaining that the decision had not been taken lightly and that, “It had nothing to do with the proposed Wootton Bassett demonstration.”⁷²

67 Explanatory Memorandum to the Proscribed Organisations (Name changes) Order 2009, No. 578

68 Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens, ‘Islam4UK Ban – Why So Late?’, *Standpoint*, 13th January 2010

69 Timothy Garton Ash, ‘Media-savvy designer Islamists must not distract us from the real danger’, *The Guardian*, 13th January

70 Inayat Bunglawala, ‘Islam4UK: bad, but not worth banning’, *The Guardian*, 12th January 2010

71 Malik, ‘A Boost for radical Islam’

72 Johnson, ‘Ban decision was not taken lightly’

However, if, as he claims, the group was “concerned in terrorism”, and Al Muhajourn and Islam4UK are alternate names for organisations that are already banned, why was it allowed to continue to operate for over six months before being proscribed? In addition, why have there been no convictions for membership or support of a proscribed organisation, for which there seems ample evidence? Choudary claims that the ban was a way to “silence those people who differ with the government.”⁷³ It is hardly a surprise that he would take this stance. However, the fact that such ambiguity still surrounds the reason for the government’s proscription of Islam4UK is likely to be something it will be keen to avoid in the future.

In addition to these questions about the timing of the ban, the actual impact that it will have on the group’s activities is also the subject of speculation. Previous bans on AM successor groups have proved unsuccessful at preventing the organisation from continuing its activities. Indeed, the creation of Islam4UK is evidence of this fact. In 2006, following the banning of the Saved Sect and Al-Ghuabaa, Michael Whine from the International Institute for Counter Terrorism wrote an article entitled, ‘Will the ban on the Al Muhajiroun successor groups work?’ In the article Whine concluded that the ban will be ineffective and that it may not stop the members’ activities. He explained that: “They may change their name, and the proscription applies to the Saviour Sect and AG alone...They may use offshore service providers for their website, which have anyway survived several attempts to shut them down... [A]s with all Salafi jihadis...they will not relinquish their mission until forced to do so by effective, universal and consistently applied legal means.”⁷⁴ It seems that Whine’s predictions were correct.

Choudary’s statements immediately following the ban on Islam4UK and AM add weight to Whine’s conclusions: “Our aim is to please Allah by propagating Islam and by spreading the Islamic message. Now you don’t need to have a platform for that. The success and failure of our model is measured by how much people adopt our ideas. So by banning us they have done us a big favour in that the failure of freedom and

73 Interview with Anjem Choudary (21st January 2010, London, UK)

74 Whine, ‘Will the ban on the Al Muhajiroun successor groups work?’

democracy are there for all to see around the world...Around the world they can see that people who speak up against the British government and their foreign policy, under their so-called banner of freedom and democracy, are silenced. That will embolden those people who are calling for the Shariah... so this is a big victory for us.”⁷⁵ Furthermore, as has already been discussed above, the group’s websites www.salafemedia.com and www.salafemedia.net continue to operate, as well as its channels on YouTube. There have also been reports that several of its members have formed a new group: ‘Voting is Shirk’. This organisation states on its website, www.votingisshirk.tk/, that its goal is to “highlight and expose every single false argument used to justify voting for man-made laws.”

According to Choudary, not only will the ban be ineffective, it has actually boosted the group’s membership:

“Post the banning we’ve been inundated with letters of support from Muslims and non-Muslims. We’ve never in our history had non-Muslims who wanted to join the organisation. Now we have non-Muslims writing to us saying can we be members. [These people] are generally disgusted by the government; the fact that they are banning Islam4UK in light of the procession through Wootton Bassett, and they believe that is running roughshod [sic] over their liberties and freedoms, and they believe that the government has done enough already to curtail their own kind of liberties, and they believe that this is another example of that and therefore they stand with us. Although they may not be Muslims they agree that we should have a right to have a discussion and that this is a way of silencing us.”⁷⁶

It is wise to be cautious about such claims from Choudary. However, the ban certainly seems to have boosted the group’s public profile; shortly after the government’s decision was announced, Choudary was invited to take part in a discussion on *Newsnight* hosted by Jeremy Paxman, which was watched by over a million viewers. He was also interviewed by several

75 Interview with Anjem Choudary (21st January 2010, London, UK)

76 Ibid.

newspapers and the decision to proscribe the group was reported in nearly all the major UK newspapers.

What Does the Future Hold?

Commenting after the ban, Bakri stated that it is the group's intention to continue with their struggle to implement Shariah law in the UK and create a global Islamic state: "We will use a different name or different platform to continue to propagate our messages and ideas."⁷⁷ According to Bakri, in the future the group will use the name of the particular area it is visiting. For example, Wood Green Da'wah, rather than the name of the group itself.⁷⁸

Choudary also claims that the group has plans to send people to Europe, mentioning France, Switzerland and Italy as potential destinations: "The whole of Europe is virgin territory for people like us who want to call for the Shariah. If they are worried about the minarets in Switzerland...then I think we can bring their fears to fruition."⁷⁹ Whether or not these plans have any substance, Choudary, when discussing them, revealed that the efforts of the British authorities may in fact be having an impact after all: "There are people that are considering going abroad...because it's become so difficult here...the law is not as bad as in this country."⁸⁰

Only time will reveal the true impact the ban has had on the group and its activities in the UK. However, AM has been around in its various guises for almost 15 years and it is likely that it will be around in some form or another in 15 years time. Its membership may rise and fall and its leaders may come and go, but there will always be another Anjem Choudary and there will always be people willing to follow him. Banning this organisation in this way will not stop impressionable young Muslims from accessing the group and its message. This has been clearly demonstrated in the examination of AM's continued presence on the internet, in particular in its use of YouTube and alternative websites such as www.salafimedia.

77 Telephone interview with Omar Bakri Mohammad (27nd February 2010, Lebanon)

78 Ibid.

79 Interview with Anjem Choudary (21st January 2010, London, UK)

80 Ibid.

com. Despite this, the government did have valid reasons for taking action against the group. Islam4UK and Al Muhajiroun are alternative names for extremist organisations that have already been banned in the UK, and as such the government had to take action against them in order to be consistent in their application of the law. However, it is unfortunate that the government timed its move so poorly and has failed to implement the ban in a thorough manner, which includes punishing individuals who are known to be members or supporters of the group and clamping down on all of their internet activities.

Sources/Bibliography

Author Interviews

Telephone interview with Omar Bakri Mohammad
(27nd February 2010, Lebanon)

Interview with Anjem Choudary, (17th June 2009, London, UK)

Interview with Anjem Choudary (20th July 2009, London, UK)

Interview with Anjem Choudary (21st January 2010, London, UK)

Interview with Islam4UK member 1 (20th July 2009, London, UK)

Interview with Islam4UK member 2 (20th July 2009, London, UK)

Interview with Islam4UK member 3 (20th July 2009, London, UK)

DVDs

Abu Umar, 'Destruction of the Khilafah', London School of Shariah

Abu Omar, 'Loyalty', London School of Shariah

Abu Saalihah, 'Radicalisation', London School of Shariah

Abu Uzair, 'Sins of Society', London School of Shariah

'Shariah Law Future for Britain' Conference, London School of Shariah

Abu Uthman, 'Equality Illusion', London School of Shariah

Other sources

'One in Seven UK Terror-related Convictions Linked to Islamist group Now Threatening to Relaunch', *Centre for Social Cohesion*, 1st June 2009

'Letter: To the Families of British Soldiers who have died or who are currently in Afghanistan', www.islam4uk.com, [accessed 20/02/10]

'Brown condemns 'abhorrent' Islamist Wootton Bassett protest plan', *The Guardian*, 4th January 2010

Alan Johnson, 'Ban decision was not taken lightly', *The Guardian*, 19th January 2010

'The Great Debate: Shari'ah Law vs British Law, www.islam4uk.com, [accessed 19/02/10]

Michael Whine, 'Will the ban on the Al Muhajiroun successor groups work?', www.ict.org.il, [accessed 17/02/10]

Stephan Ulph, 'Londonistan', *Global Terrorism Analysis*, Jamestown Foundation, 7th July 2005

'An Appeal to Families of British Soldiers To Have An Honest Dialogue', www.islam4uk.com, [accessed 21/02/10]

'UK preacher in secret web call for jihad, *TimesOnline*, 14th January 2007

David Cohen, 'Islamic radicals make mockery of hate laws', *London Evening Standard*, 10th November 2008

Mark Rowe & Aileen Cruz, 'British Jews fearful of young Muslim militants', *The Independent*, 27th October 2000

Ian Cobain, 'Reborn extremist sect had key role in London protest', *The Guardian*, 11th February 2006

'Islamic Systems', www.islam4uk.com, [accessed 25/02/10]

Ewen MacAskill, 'Cartoon controversy spreads throughout the Muslim world', *The Guardian*, 4th February 2006

Shiv Malik, 'A Boost for radical Islam', *Prospect*, 13th January 2010

Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Radical Islam Rising*, (Oxford: Roman & Littlefield, 2005)

The Crown Prosecution Service, www.cps.gov.uk [accessed 20th March 2010]

'Tower Hamlets Funding Venue for al-Muhajiroun 9/11 Meeting', *Harry's Place*, 10th September 2009

Neil Sears, 'Swilling beer, smoking dope and leering at porn, the other side of hate preacher 'Andy' Choudary', *The Daily Mail*, 5th January 2010.

'Police brutality targets Muslim children', www.islam4uk.com, [accessed 25/02/10]

Explanatory Memorandum to the Proscribed Organisations (Name changes) Order 2009, No. 578

Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens, 'Islam4UK Ban – Why So Late?', *Standpoint*, 13th January 2010

Timothy Garton Ash, 'Media-savvy designer Islamists must not distract us from the real danger', *The Guardian*, 13th January

Inayat Bunglawala, 'Islam4UK: bad, but not worth banning', *The Guardian*, 12th January 2010

About ICSR

ICSR is a unique partnership of King's College London, the University of Pennsylvania, the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya (Israel) and the Regional Center for Conflict Prevention at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy.

Its aim and mission is to bring together knowledge and leadership to counter the growth of radicalisation and political violence. For more information, see www.icsr.info

KING'S
College
LONDON

University of London



www.icsr.info

