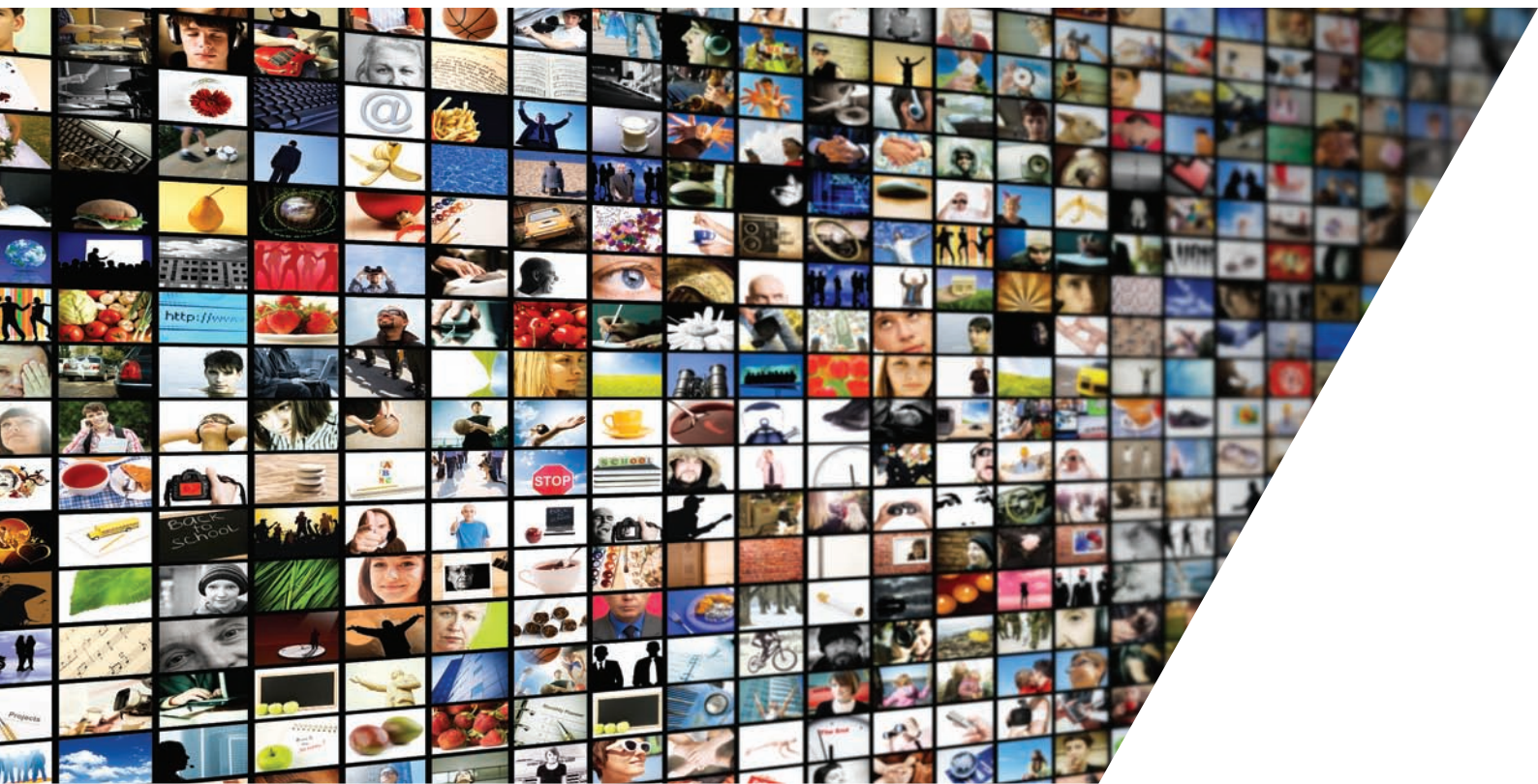


EXTREMISM ON THE AIRWAVES: ISLAMIST BROADCASTING IN THE UK

BY EMMA WEBB



**CENTRE ON
RADICALISATION
& TERRORISM**

DEMOCRACY | FREEDOM | HUMAN RIGHTS

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Executive Summary

- Much attention has been paid by large technology firms – notably Google, Facebook, Instagram and YouTube – and UK politicians to the presence of extremist content online and how to limit its pernicious influence. Comparably less attention, however, has been paid to the abuse of broadcast media by the extremist groups in the UK.
- The focus of regulation has, understandably, been on the airing of extremist content. Ofcom, the body responsible for regulating broadcast media in the UK, and the government have demonstrated that they take the issue of extremist content seriously, by exploring legislative options and updating the broadcasting code to meet the evolving challenge posed by extreme and intolerant content.
- Airing extremist content is only one of the many ways that broadcast media can be used to benefit extremists. Non-content related challenges include, but are not limited to, the use of broadcast media to: fundraise for charities connected to extremist groups; provide a platform and credibility for extremist groups and individuals; and, implicitly or explicitly lead the viewer to the speaker's more extreme content on platforms not regulated by Ofcom.
- Evidence, provided through case studies, suggests that this second form of abuse poses a serious challenge to future regulation, particularly where Islamist extremism is concerned. Channels such as Peace TV and Huda TV, for example, almost ubiquitously host well-known extremist speakers, while others, such as the Islam Channel and Eman Channel, raise money for extremist-linked charities. Even without airing extreme content, these channels reap the benefits of credibility and fundraising, magnifying their visibility and voice.
- The 'fit and proper' duty, through which Ofcom can remove a licence if it deems the licensee to be unsuitable to hold it, is one way in which the regulator to take the broader context of extremist involvement in these channels into account. However, its exercise is limited by human rights law protecting, for example, freedom of speech.
- This paper argues that the broader context of extremist involvement must be taken into account when deciding whether a licensee is suitable to hold a broadcasting licence. Case studies are provided of channels that should be considered unfit on these grounds. One such channel is Peace TV, that has had continuous extremist involvement and is inextricably connected to hate preacher Zakir Naik, who was banned from entering the UK in 2010 by the Home Secretary on account of his extremist views.
- If the broader context of extremist involvement in licenced channels is not taken into account, progress in dealing with extremist content will not lead to success in the long-term. By not taking into account the varied benefits extremists gain from these channels in addition to content, sanctioning extremist content alone does not meet the current nature of extremist abuse of broadcast media.

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Introduction

Across Europe, much attention has been paid by the large technology firms – notably Google, Facebook, Instagram and YouTube – and politicians, to the presence of extremist content on the internet, and what to do about it.¹ Concerns that the reach of extreme online material transcends any geographic boundary is justified, as we have seen the significant role it has played in the profiles of those responsible for attacks in Europe, be they Islamist or Far Right.²

Accordingly, limiting the use of online ‘New Media’ – social media and video platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube – by extremists has been recognised as central to controlling the proliferation of extreme and intolerant ideology. During his announcement of the new counter-terrorism (CONTEST) strategy, Home Secretary Sajid Javid stated that extremists use the internet to “spread their poisonous [extremist] message, and to radicalise and recruit others” and furthermore that the new approach would ensure “no safe spaces for terrorist propaganda and technical expertise to be shared”.³

While much extremist content fails to clear the bar of violent extremism, it nevertheless promotes ideas contrary to fundamental British values. These include: democracy, individual liberty, mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs, the rule of law, freedom of speech, equality of opportunity and equal rights.⁴ With particular reference to Islamist ideology, common non-violent extremist content may include (but is not limited to):

- An ‘us versus them’ attitude, such as making derogatory or *takfiri*⁵ statements;⁶
- Advocating or condoning illegal practices, such as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), marital rape or the keeping of female sex slaves;
- Advocating for the overthrow of democracy and the imposition of theocracy or sharia law, even by non-violent or subversive means;
- Propagating anti-Semitic views or conspiracy theories;⁷

¹ ‘Labour MP calls for takedown law to tackle online extremism’, *The Guardian*, 27 June 2018, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jun/27/labour-mp-calls-for-takedown-law-to-tackle-extremism-online>, last visited: 20 September 2018 ; ‘Social media companies accelerate removals of online hate speech’, *Reuters*, 19 January 2018, available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-eu-hatespeech/social-media-companies-accelerate-removals-of-online-hate-speech-eu-idUSKBN1F806X>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

² Such as Darren Osborne, who attacked Finsbury Park Mosque, see: ‘How London mosque attacker became a terrorist in three weeks’, *The Guardian*, 1 February 2018, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/feb/01/finsbury-park-london-mosque-van-attack-darren-osborne-makram-ali>, last visited: 20 September 2018; “Remote radicalisation” is making attack plans harder to detect, warns Government’s terror adviser’, *The Independent*, 25 January 2018, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/radicalisation-remote-internet-online-terror-attack-plans-max-hill-terrorism-laws-legislation-report-a8178511.html>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

³ <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/home-secretary-announces-new-counter-terrorism-strategy>.

⁴ The UK’s official definition also includes calling for the death of the UK’s armed forces as extremist, see: ‘Tackling Extremism in the UK: Report from the Prime Minister’s Task Force on Tackling Radicalisation and Extremism’, HM Government, December 2013, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/263181/ETF_FINAL.pdf, p. 1 & ‘Prevent Strategy’, HM Government, June 2011, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97976/prevent-strategy-review.pdf, pp. 34, 107, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁵ Denouncing another Muslim as an apostate.

⁶ *Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016, available at: <https://www.judiciary.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/shakeel-begg-v-bbc-judgment-final-20161028.pdf>, para.119.

⁷ Prime Minister David Cameron, ‘Extremism: PM Speech’, HM Government, 20 July 2015, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/extremism-pm-speech>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

- Advocating the stoning of adulterers or execution of homosexuals, even if only in a future Islamic state.⁸

As former Prime Minister David Cameron stated in his 2015 speech on extremism, “you don’t have to support violence to subscribe to certain intolerant ideas which create a climate in which extremists can flourish”.⁹ He further noted that ideas which actively promote discrimination, sectarianism or segregation, are problematic and must be tackled. No one “becomes a terrorist from a standing start”.¹⁰ It is views that fall within this category that continue to be aired through the ‘Old Media’ medium of broadcast.

Despite the increasing focus on extremism online, the government has demonstrated its awareness of the ongoing challenge posed by the extremist use of broadcast media. The 2015 Extremism Bill, intended to counter non-violent extremism, was set to include new legislation to strengthen Ofcom’s ability to take action against television channels that broadcast extremism.¹¹ One of the proposals of this ultimately unpassed legislation would have given Ofcom powers to censor extremist content prior to broadcast.¹² Additionally, the 2016 Counter-Extremism and Safeguarding Bill intended to introduce legislation to “disrupt extremists and protect the public”, proposing “closing loopholes so that Ofcom can continue to protect consumers who watch internet-streamed television content from outside the EU on Freeview”.¹³ This legislation was not passed, but the ideas behind the proposals were partly fulfilled by the establishment of the Commission for Counter-Extremism and other legislation.¹⁴

Many of the above concerns found their resolution in the additional powers given to Ofcom by sections 91 and 92 of the Digital Economy Act 2017. Section 91 provided Ofcom with extra powers to suspend certain services if a licenced service airs content likely to encourage or incite a crime of disorder. Section 92, addressing concerns relating to the consumption of online television from outside the EU, stated that “Ofcom must do all that they consider appropriate to prevent digital additional services from enabling members of the public to access seriously harmful extrinsic material”. Such material is defined as that which is not included in the service but has the potential to cause serious harm or encourage or incite crime and disorder.¹⁵

However, though these legislative improvements have empowered Ofcom to deal with extremist content, they nevertheless fail to entirely address the current nature of the challenge posed by the extremist abuse of broadcasting. A 2018 Henry Jackson Society report examining

⁸ Justice Ouesely, in the judgement of *Salman Butt v Secretary of State for the Home Department* articulated: “Arguing that adulterers should be stoned to death is violent extremism. Arguing that the law should be changed through non-violent democratic Parliamentary means, so that adulterers can be stoned to death in fulfilment of a divinely given law, could be non-violent extremism, and could be seen to create a risk of drawing people into terrorism. The argument might lead others, persuaded by it of the merit of the aim, to reject the means, as an impious impediment to God’s rule on earth” see: *Butt v the Secretary of State for the Home Department*, [2017] EWHC 1930 (Admin) (26 July 2017), available at: <http://www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/Admin/2017/1930.html>, p.138, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁹ Prime Minister David Cameron, ‘Extremism: PM Speech’, HM Government, 20 July 2015.

¹⁰ Prime Minister David Cameron, ‘Extremism: PM Speech’, HM Government, 20 July 2015.

¹¹ ‘Counter-Extremism Bill – National Security Meeting’, HM Government, 13 May 2015, available at : <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/counter-extremism-bill-national-security-council-meeting> ; ‘Counter-extremism policy : an overview’, House of Commons Library – Briefing Paper Number 7238, 23 June 2017, available at: <http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7238/CBP-7238.pdf>, last visited : 5 November 2018.

¹² ‘Counter-extremism policy : an overview’, House of Commons Library – Briefing Paper Number 7238, 23 June 2017.

¹³ Queen’s Speech, 2016, available at : https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/524040/Queen_s_Speech_2016_background_notes_.pdf, p.49.

¹⁴ ‘Paralysis at the heart of UK counter-extremism policy’, *The Guardian*, 17 September 2017, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/sep/17/paralysis-at-the-heart-of-uk-counter-extremism-policy>, last visited: 19 October 2017.

¹⁵ Sections 91 and 92 of Digital Economy Act 2017, available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2017/30/pdfs/ukpga_20170030_en.pdf, last visited: 5 November 2018.

Islamist extremist abuse of the charitable sector found that a vast network of extreme individuals had established a number of organisations to increase their popularity and spread their message. The charitable organisations they have established raise funds, provide platforms and build credibility for extreme speakers. However, it was apparent that broadcast also played a role in their activities:¹⁶

- A number of extreme and intolerant individuals frequently speak for the same small group of television channels;
- These channels almost exclusively provide platforms for individuals holding the same extreme and intolerant views;
- These individuals are, or have been, directors of companies holding the licence to certain channels;
- While some UK-registered charities finance channels, the channels also fundraise through advertisements, live appeals and through their websites for charities with extremist links;

Any future policy intended to protect broadcast media from extremist abuse must recognise that *broadcast media can be used to benefit extremist individuals and groups even if they do not air any extreme content*. While it remains a priority to sanction extreme content, it must take into account the broader context of extremist activity within which these channels are situated. The benefits afforded to extremist individuals and groups by these channels are not limited to content. Rather, for the most part, they are used to increase the popularity and visibility of extreme speakers, fundraise for their organisations, and build credibility, potentially implicitly leading the viewer to find their extreme content published on other platforms.

This paper provides evidence of this context, and argues that future policy in this area must take more than content into account to meet the evolving challenge. In doing so, it examines (1) the legal framework within which broadcast media (television and radio) is regulated in the United Kingdom, (2) past cases in which the Broadcasting Code has been employed to impose sanctions or revoke licences as a result of the airing of extreme content, (3) the challenges posed by non-content based extremist abuse (e.g. creating credibility by providing a platform for extremist speakers, irrespective of content, and raising money for extremist-linked charities), and finally (4) it proposes policy recommendations to meet the present challenge.

This paper proposes that the ‘fit and proper’ duty which allows Ofcom to revoke a channel’s licence when it is deemed not appropriate to hold it may be one means of taking into account the broader context of evolving extremist strategies. This should include evidence that the holder of the licence is involved in extremism more broadly, such as their online behaviour, involvement with extremist networks and organisations, or extremist views expressed in other forums. Taking this broader context into account is all the more necessary as the boundaries between online and broadcast content become increasingly blurred.

¹⁶ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Wolves-in-Sheeps-Clothes.pdf>, last visited: 6 November 2018.

Note on the Methodology

This paper employs the United Kingdom government's definition of extremism in combination with clarifications provided by key court cases, including *Shakeel Begg v British Broadcast Corporation* (2016) and *Salman Butt v Secretary of State for the Home Department* (2017).

The paper focuses on Islamist extremism because this continues to be the primary extremist threat facing the UK,¹⁷ and because of Islamist Extremists' explicit employment of broadcast media to propagate their worldview (evidenced below). The focus of this paper on Islamist extremism does not reflect that of Ofcom's work, which enforces its rules on all forms of content irrespective of ideology.

The methodology is open-source, and makes use of a range of documents, including: news articles, legal documents, YouTube videos, Charity Commission and Ofcom sources, broadcast material and material hosted on channels' websites. The examples are provided in the form of case-studies and are not comprehensive. For clarity, where relevant, the reader is pointed to more detailed evidence published elsewhere.

¹⁷ 'Security chiefs warn UK faces severe Islamist threat for at least two more years', *The Independent*, 3 June 2018, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/uk-terrorism-islamist-threat-far-right-extremism-security-services-mi5-a8380551.html>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

1. The Legal Context of Regulating Broadcast Media

Distinct from online content, broadcast media encompasses radio and television channels who hold a licence with Ofcom and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) which does not hold a licence for its licence fee-funded services. The Broadcasting Code provides the framework within which licenced radio and television services must operate. Compliance is regulated by Ofcom, and both the conduct of the licensees and the decisions made by Ofcom are set within the context of UK and international law, intended to balance the public good with human rights such as freedom of expression.

Domestic Law

Ofcom's broadcasting code must be adhered to by all licenced radio and television services licenced by Ofcom, and broadcasters must abide by the Standards Code and Fairness Code.¹⁸ Ofcom's remit as regulator also extends to, for example, instances in which a broadcaster directs a viewer to inappropriate content not regulated by Ofcom.¹⁹ In such cases, Ofcom's remit extends to the link leading to such material. The broadcasting code states:

Although a link included in the service may lead to features outside of that service which are not regulated by Ofcom, the provision of access to those features by, for instance, the inclusion of a link, is within the control of the broadcaster and so within Ofcom's remit. Ofcom may therefore require such a link or facility to be removed where Ofcom has concerns, in light of its statutory duties and, in particular, the standards objectives set out in section 319 of the [Communications] Act [2003], about the material to which it leads[...] the transition from broadcaster to third-party control must be clear to the viewer, so as to manage both audience expectations regarding the material to which they are being led and the risk to the broadcaster of being found in breach of this Code (for example Rules 1.2 and 2.1).²⁰

The Communications Act 2003 and the Broadcasting Act 1996 are the basis of Ofcom's broadcasting code for television and radio "covering standards in programmes, sponsorship, product placement in television programmes, fairness and privacy".²¹

Ofcom has the power to issue sanctions when their Broadcasting Code is breached and that breach is judged to be serious, repeated, deliberate and/or reckless. Their penalty guidelines state: "Ofcom has the powers to punish those who act unlawfully or in breach of the relevant regulatory requirements." The severity of the penalty is decided according to relevant factors listed in the guidelines, as well as previous cases.²²

When exercising its powers, Ofcom must have due regard to eliminating discrimination, harassment and victimisation, and uphold equality and good relations among those of protected characteristics (Section 149 of the Equality Act 2010 and Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998).²³

¹⁸ 'The Ofcom Broadcasting Code', Ofcom, April 2017, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/100103/broadcast-code-april-2017.pdf, p.3, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁹ Ibid. p.4.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. p.2.

²² 'Penalty Guidelines', Ofcom, 14 September 2017, available at: <https://www.ofcom.org.uk/about-ofcom/policies-and-guidelines/penalty-guidelines>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

²³ 'The Ofcom Broadcasting Code', Ofcom, April 2017, p.3.

International Law

The broadcasting code also incorporates the European Commission “Audiovisual Media Services” Directive 2010/13/EU.²⁴ This directive was recently in the process of being updated,²⁵ and on 2 October 2018 it was approved by the European Parliament.²⁶

The broadcasting code takes into account the Human Rights Act 1998 and the European Convention on Human Rights, in particular:

- *Article 10*: the right to freedom of expression;
- *Article 8*: the right to a private and family life, home and correspondence;
- *Article 9*: the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion;
- *Article 14*: the right to enjoyment of human rights without discrimination on groups such as sex, race and religion.

Article 10 in particular “encompasses the audience’s right to receive creative material, information and ideas without interference but subject to restrictions prescribed by law and necessary in a democratic society”.²⁷

The Broadcasting Code and Extremist Content

Ofcom’s Code sets out the “practices to be followed” by broadcasters. The specific examples given in the Code are not exhaustive but the principles it outlines can be applied to particular cases as they arise. As stipulated by Section 319 of the Communications Act 2003,²⁸ the Code takes into account:

- The degree of **harm and offence** likely to be caused by the inclusion of any particular sort of material in programmes generally or in programmes of a particular description;
- The likely **size and composition of the potential audience** for programmes included in television and radio services generally or in television and radio services of a particular description;
- The likely **expectation of the audience** as to the nature of a programme’s content and the extent to which the nature of a programme’s content can be brought to the attention of potential members of the audience;
- The **likelihood of persons who are unaware** of the nature of a programme’s content being unintentionally exposed, by their own actions, to that content;
- The desirability of securing that the content of services identifies when there is a change affecting the nature of a service that is being watched or listened to, and in

²⁴ Directive 2010/13/EU of the European Parliament and the Council of 10 March 2010 on the coordination of certain provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in Member States concerning the provision of audiovisual media services (Audiovisual Media Services Directive), available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32010L0013&from=EN>, last visited: 20 September 2018; ‘The Ofcom Broadcasting Code’, Ofcom, April 2017, p.2, see also Appendix 2.

²⁵ ‘Briefing – The Audiovisual Media Services Directive’, European Parliament, 14 June 2018, available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/583859/EPRS_BRI%282016%29583859_EN.pdf, last visited: 20 September 2018.

²⁶ ‘New rules for audiovisual media services approved by Parliament’, European Parliament News, 2 October 2018, available at: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20180925IPR14307/new-rules-for-audiovisual-media-services-approved-by-parliament>, last visited: 5 October 2018.

²⁷ ‘The Ofcom Broadcasting Code’, Ofcom, April 2017, p.2.

²⁸ Section 319 of Communications Act 2003, available at: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/21/pdfs/ukpga_20030021_en.pdf, last visited: 6 November 2018.

particular, a change that is relevant to the application of the standards set under this section;

- The **desirability of maintaining the independence of editorial control** over programme content.²⁹

The sections of the code most relevant to extremist content are as follows:

Section 2: Harm and Offence

Relevant Principle:

To ensure that generally accepted standards are applied to the content of television and radio services so as to provide adequate protection for members of the public from the inclusion in such services of harmful and/or offensive material.³⁰

Relevant legislation:

Sections 3(4)(g) and 319(2)(a),(f) and (l) of the Communications Act 2003 and Articles 10 and 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights, and the BBC Charter and Agreement.³¹

Examples of material may include, but are not limited to: offensive language, violence, sex, sexual violence, humiliation, distress, violation of human dignity, discriminatory treatment or language (e.g. on the grounds of age, disability, gender reassignment, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation, and marriage and civil partnership).

Section 3: Crime, Disorder, Hatred and Abuse

Relevant Principle:

To ensure that material likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime or lead to disorder is not included in television and radio services or BBC ODPS.³²

Relevant legislation:

Sections 3 (4)(j) and 319(2)(b) and (f) of the Communications Act 2003, Article 6 of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive, Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights and the BBC Charter and Agreement.³³

This section also covers material “containing hatred, abusive and derogatory treatment, and portrayals of crime and criminal proceedings”.³⁴ The code intends to respect the right of broadcasters to freedom of expression and the audience’s right to receive information and ideas. For example, it states that broadcasters may report on or interview groups and individuals holding extreme or challenging views in news and current affairs, which is clearly in the public interest as long as it is justified by the context.³⁵

However, they do suggest editors can take certain measures when featuring extreme or offensive material.³⁶ The rules are as follows:

²⁹ *Verbatim* from ‘The Ofcom Broadcasting Code’, Ofcom, April 2017, p.5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.16.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, p.21

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Rule 3.1: “Material likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime or to lead to disorder must not be included in television or radio services or BBC ODPS”.

“Material” may include but is not limited to:

- Content which directly or indirectly amounts to a call to criminal action or disorder;
- Material promoting or encouraging engagement in terrorism or other forms of criminal activity or disorder;
- Hate speech which is likely to encourage criminal activity or lead to disorder.³⁷

Terrorism is defined according to the definition in Section 1 of the Terrorism Act 2000.³⁸ Section 1 defines terrorism as:

- An action involving serious violence against a person; serious damage to a property; endangering the life of a person other than the one committing the action; creating a serious risk to the health or safety of the public; or designed to interfere or seriously disrupt an electronic system, that is intended to:
- Threaten or influence government, including international governmental organisations, or to intimidate the public or a section of the public; or to advance a political, religious or ideological cause.³⁹

Hate Speech is defined as “all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify hatred based on intolerance on the grounds of disability, ethnicity, gender, gender reassignment, nationality, race, religion, or sexual orientation”.⁴⁰ Contextual factors include: the editorial purpose of the programme; the status or position of anyone featured in the material; and/or whether “sufficient challenge is provided to the material”.⁴¹

Rule 3.2 and 3.3: Pertaining to material containing hate speech, and material containing abusive or derogatory treatment of individuals, groups, religions or communities.

Section 4: Religion

Relevant principles:

To ensure that broadcasters exercise the proper degree of responsibility with respect to the content of programmes which are religious programmes.

To ensure that religious programmes do not involve any improper exploitation of any susceptibilities of the audience for such a programme.

To ensure that religious programmes do not involve any abusive treatment of the religious views and beliefs of those belonging to a particular religion or religious denomination.⁴²

Relevant legislation: Sections 319(2)(e) and 319(6) of the Communications Act 2003, and Articles 9,10,14 of the European Convention on Human Rights.⁴³

³⁷ *Verbatim*, in *ibid.*, p.22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Section 1(1 & 2), Terrorism Act 2000, available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2000/11/section/1>, last visited: 22 October 2018.

⁴⁰ ‘The Ofcom Broadcasting Code’, Ofcom, April 2017, p.22.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² ‘The Ofcom Broadcasting Code’, Ofcom, April 2017, p.26.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

The corresponding rules (4.1,4.2,4.3,4.4 and 4.5) require broadcasters to: exercise the proper degree of responsibility over the content of religious programmes; ensure religious views and beliefs are not subject to abusive treatment; make clear to the audience where a particular religion or religious denomination is the subject of a programme; ensure that programmes do not promote religious views or beliefs “by stealth”; and to ensure that programmes on television services or BBC ODPS do not “seek recruits” with the exception of specialist religious television services and religious programmes on radio services.⁴⁴

Section 5: Due Impartiality and Due Accuracy and Undue Prominence of Views and Opinions

This includes Rule 5.13 which, though applying only to local radio stations, local digital sound programme services and radio licensable content, stipulates that “broadcasters should not give undue prominence to views and opinions of particular persons or bodies on matters of political and industrial controversy and matters relating to current public policy in all programmes included in any service taken as a whole”.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.26-27.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.33.

2. Use of the Code and Sanctions Against Extremist Content

Adapting the Code to Meet Evolving Challenges

Until 2016, Ofcom had to make use of the existing Code to deal with extremist, intolerant or hateful content. Following a review, in May 2016 Ofcom updated Section 3 of the Broadcasting Code to ensure that licensees are clear in their understanding of what constitutes their duty relating to material “likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime, or lead to disorder”.⁴⁶

The review also acknowledged that there is a “broad range of content which does not amount to incitement to crime but is problematic and potentially extremely harmful to audiences” including hate speech and extremist views. The aim of the review was to clarify, in this respect, what content is unacceptable, making more explicit what was already implicit in the pre-existing rules.⁴⁷

Ofcom offered clarity on Rule 3.1 (*‘Material likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime or lead to disorder must not be included in television or radio services’*) by providing information about the types of material encompassed by this rule, with examples of contextual factors to be taken into account.⁴⁸

“Under Rule 3.1, ‘material’ may include but is not limited to:

- content which directly or indirectly amounts to a call to criminal action or disorder;
- material promoting or encouraging engagement in terrorism or other forms of criminal activity or disorder; and/or
- hate speech which is likely to encourage criminal activity or lead to disorder.”⁴⁹

Ofcom also added two new rules (3.2 and 3.3) to protect the public from ‘harmful or offensive material’, specifically with the intention of dealing with abusive, derogatory or hate speech content that falls below the threshold of inciting or encouraging criminal activity. These are as follows:

3.2 Material which contains hate speech must not be included in television and radio programmes except where it is justified by the context.

*3.3 Material which contains abusive or derogatory treatment of individuals, groups, religions or communities, must not be included in television and radio services except where it is justified by the context.*⁵⁰

Hate speech is defined by Ofcom as “all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify hatred based on intolerance on the grounds of disability, ethnicity, gender, gender reassignment, nationality, race, religion or sexual orientation”.⁵¹

Extremist Content: Investigations, Sanctions and the Revocation of Licences

Ofcom may revoke a channel’s licence for a number of reasons. In 2012, the state broadcaster of the Islamist theocratic Islamic Republic of Iran, Press TV, had its licence revoked because

⁴⁶ ‘Broadcasting Code Review: Section Three – Crime, Disorder, Hatred and Abuse’, Ofcom, 4 May 2016, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0036/68787/statement.pdf?lang=en_gb, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., para.3.12.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

the licensee was not eligible to hold it, as Ofcom found that it did not have general control over the programmes and facilities provided in the service.⁵²

An investigation by Ofcom had suggested that the channel's editorial decisions were controlled by offices in Tehran.⁵³ When Press TV was established in 2007 it stated that it aimed to break the "stranglehold" of the West over the international media.⁵⁴ Its response to the revocation was similarly couched in conspiratorial language, describing Ofcom as "the media arm of the Royal family".⁵⁵

However, despite the revocation of their licence, its content is still easily available through its website.⁵⁶ The resultant problem was recently highlighted by a report in *The Times* (22 October 2018) that Press TV was "circumventing a broadcasting ban" by producing online programmes aimed at British viewers that hosted a number of political figures, such as former Mayor of London Ken Livingstone, former vice-chair of Momentum Jackie Walker and former Liberal Democrat MPs.⁵⁷ Despite having its licence revoked and Press TV being dissolved, it 're-emerged' after a few months, reaching viewers online.⁵⁸

Under section 232(1) of the Communications Act 2003, streamed internet TV services also require a licence from Ofcom if they meet the criteria for being a Television Licensable Content Service and thus fall within UK jurisdiction.⁵⁹ While standalone websites streaming content may require a licence, others, such as online newspapers, whose principle purpose is not to air audiovisual content, and who host video clips embedded into articles, may not.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, it is problematic that Press TV, falling outside of UK jurisdiction, is able to continue to reach viewers unhindered online.

The examples below show how the Code has been employed specifically to deal with extremist content, resulting in sanctions and revocations. It should be noted that the information included below is illustrative and not a comprehensive overview of the evidence taken into account by Ofcom when making their decision.

Radio Dawn – 27 February 2018

Licensee: Karimia Ltd

Rules breached: 2.3, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3

Penalty: £2,000 fine and direction to broadcast statement of Ofcom's findings

Description of breach:

On 26 December 2016, Radio Dawn broadcasted an Urdu *nasheed* (an Islamic song often sung *a cappella*) that glorified figures from early Islamic history, particularly military history, and those

⁵² 'Revocation – Press TV Limited', Ofcom, 20 January 2012, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0031/67198/press-tv-revocation.pdf, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁵³ Ibid; 'Iran's Press TV loses UK licence', *The Guardian*, 20 January 2012, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2012/jan/20/iran-press-tv-loses-uk-licence>, last visited: 20 September 2018; 'Iran's Press TV loses UK licence', *BBC News*, 20 January 2012, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-16652356>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁵⁴ 'Iran launches English TV channel', *BBC News*, 2 July 2007, available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/6260716.stm, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁵⁵ 'Iran's Press TV loses UK licence', *BBC News*, 20 January 2012.

⁵⁶ Press TV Official Website, available at: <https://www.presstv.com/>, last visited 20 September 2018.

⁵⁷ 'Iran broadcaster dodges ban by hosting ex-MPs in online show', *The Times*, 22 October 2018, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/iranian-channel-dodges-ofcom-ban-with-online-television-shows-wr2rvfw9>, last visited: 23 October 2018.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Section 232(1) of the Communications Act 2003.

⁶⁰ Section 232(1) of the Communications Act 2003.

who had fought against British forces in India in the 18th century. The concerning content may have encouraged Muslims to carry out violence against non-Muslims in imitation of these figures:

Even today, if we could only reignite that same passion that existed amongst them [figures from Islamic history who had been successful on the battlefield], we too could bury the Kaafir / Murdaar [filthy disbelievers] today.

If only we could reawaken the love for Jihad we could [once again] behead lowlifes like Abu Jahal

*The whole world on one side and the Taliban on the other. We are required to salute and honour their display of bravery and steadfastness... It must be understood that justice will only be handed out at the point of the sword.*⁶¹

Ofcom found that the material broadcasted by the channel breached rule 3.1, because although it “did not contain any direct calls to action, its cumulative effect was to condone, promote and encourage violent behaviour towards non-Muslim people”. The material “glorified past violent acts towards non-Muslim people and suggested that similar acts committed now would bring honour to a Muslim person” and thus constituted an indirect call to action likely to incite or encourage crime or disorder.⁶² It was also found in breach of rules 3.2 and 3.3 because the material was found to constitute “hate speech” and “derogatory and abusive treatment of non-Muslim people” without the sufficient context to justify the broadcasting of it.⁶³

Iman FM – 26 July 2017

Licensee: Iman Media UK Ltd

Rules breached: 3.1, 3.2, 3.3

Penalty: Licence revoked

Description of breach:

During the month of Ramadan in 2017 (26 May-16 June 2017), Iman FM broadcast a series of lectures by Al Qaeda ideologue Anwar al Awlaki entitled *Seerat un Nabi* (The Life of the Prophet) which lasted 25 hours overall.⁶⁴ Al Awlaki’s extremism is well-known and easily researched. Ofcom noted that the lectures were an account of Muhammad’s “prowess as a military leader” and “detailed the preparation and justification for taking military action and the rules governing warfare”.⁶⁵

Ofcom became aware of the lectures following a complaint.⁶⁶ On 5 July 2017, Iman FM had its licence suspended by Ofcom, after the regulator found that the material broadcast was likely to incite or encourage the commission of crime or to lead to disorder, and involved serious breaches of Rules 2.3, 3.1 and 3.2.⁶⁷

Material broadcasted by the channel included calls to carry out violence against non-Muslims, statements against the West that were regarded as inflammatory and likely to increase social

⁶¹ Decision by Ofcom - Sanction : to be imposed on Karimia Limited’, Ofcom, 27 February 2018, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0022/111568/Decision-Karimia-Limited.pdf, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁶² Ibid., para.31.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Revocation Notice – Iman Media UK Ltd, Ofcom, 26 July 2017, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0023/105269/Iman-FM-Revocation-Notice.pdf, last visited: 20 October 2018.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Suspension Notice – Iman Media UK Ltd, Ofcom, 4 July 2017, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0018/103941/Suspension-Notice-Iman-FM.pdf, last visited: 20 September 2018.

tensions, and the advocating of violent jihad as superior to other central tenets of Islam. In addition, the theological justifications provided sanctioned crime and disorder and Ofcom was concerned about its potential to incite crime and violence.⁶⁸

Repeated breaches of section 3 of the code, particularly 3.1, led Ofcom to investigate whether the licensee was fit and proper to hold the licence. Ofcom concluded that the contraventions of the code, in addition to failures to comply with the licence conditions, were so serious, and their conduct so reckless, that it was not capable of complying and was likely to make similar breaches in the future. Consequently, Ofcom decided it was in the public interest to revoke its licence.⁶⁹

Ariana International – 6 July 2017

Licensee: Ariana Television and Radio Network

Rules breached: 2.3, 3.1, 3.2

Penalty: £200,000 fine and direction to broadcast statement of Ofcom's findings

Description of breach:

On 20 July 2016, Ariana International broadcast news featuring a video of Muhammed Riyad,⁷⁰ who attacked a number of people with an axe and a knife on a train in Wurzburg, Germany, on 18 July 2016.⁷¹ In the video, Riyad claimed to be a "Mujahid [holy warrior] of Islamic State". Ofcom stated that his "words could be interpreted as being a direct call to action members of the Muslim community to join ISIL and to commit violence, up to, and including murder, against members of the public and the army in the West".⁷² Ariana International's news programme stated that "Daish [Islamic State] have now accepted that this young man was one of their followers".⁷³

Noor TV – 20 December 2016

Licensee: Mohiuddin Digital Television Ltd (previously held by Al Ehya Digital Television Limited)

Rules breached: 2.1, 2.3

Penalty: £75,000 fine and direction to broadcast statement of Ofcom's findings

Description of breach:

On 17 November 2015, the channel broadcast a series of programmes featuring 15 religious scholars recorded during the Pakistani Urs Nehrian festival. In one of the speeches, the speaker Allama Mufti Muhammad Saeed Sialvi Sahib recounted the story of a Jewish trader who had been killed and narrated a parable in which Muhammed told his followers "whoever amongst you comes across a Jew, they should slay him immediately", portraying the story as illustrative of religious obedience.⁷⁴

As this case was assessed before the introduction of rules 3.2 and 3.3, considering that the speaker was held in high esteem as a religious authority, Ofcom deemed this a breach of 2.1,

⁶⁸ Revocation Notice – Iman Media UK Ltd, Ofcom, 26 July 2017.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Sanction: Decision – Ariana Television and Radio Network, Ofcom, 6 July 2017, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0026/103949/decision-ariana-television-radio-network.pdf, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁷¹ 'German train attack: IS releases video of "Afghan knifeman"', *BBC News*, 19 July 2016, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-36832909>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁷² Sanction: Decision – Ariana Television and Radio Network, Ofcom, 6 July 2017.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Sanction: Decision – Mohiuddin Digital Television Limited, Ofcom, 20 December 2016, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0022/96124/Noor-TV.pdf, last visited 20 September 2018.

harmful and/or offensive material: “We considered that [the speaker’s] clear statement that religious obedience within the Islamic faith could be demonstrated through the murder of Jewish people had the potential to be interpreted as spreading anti-Semitism, i.e. his comments could amount to a form of ‘hate speech’”. They called upon the Council of Europe’s definition of hate speech:⁷⁵

“All forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin”⁷⁶

Noor TV had been sanctioned before, on 21 August 2013, when its licence was held by Al Ehya Digital Television Ltd.⁷⁷ The licensee was fined £85,500, having breached Rules 3.1 (material likely to encourage or incite crime or lead to disorder) and 4.1 (exercising the proper degree of responsibility over the content of religious programming).⁷⁸ This was because during a programme broadcast on 3 May 2012, (primarily in Urdu), the presenter stated that it was acceptable, or even the duty of a Muslim, to murder any person thought to have shown disrespect to the Prophet Mohammed where the relevant government had failed to take any action. Ofcom considered that the broadcast of various statements was likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime.⁷⁹

Other Examples

Other examples of sanctions at the time follow a similar pattern. In July 2013, DM Digital (licensee: DM Digital Television Ltd) was fined £85,000 following the airing of an Urdu lecture advocating killing those who insult Muhammad, the lecturer stating “I hail those who made this law [Pakistan’s blasphemy law] which states that one who insults the Prophet deserves to be killed – such a person should be eliminated”. They also stated “If someone takes a step in the love of the Prophet, then this is not terrorism”.⁸⁰ As with the case of Noor TV, this case was assessed before the introduction of rules 3.2 and 3.3. Therefore, on 23 November 2012, Radio Asian Fever (licensee: Radio Asian Fever CIC) was found to have breached rules 2.3, 2.4, 3.1 and 4.1 and fined £4,000 after it aired statements in August 2011 encouraging violence against homosexuals and criticising mixed faith marriages.⁸¹

Ofcom received a complaint following the airing of sectarian and extreme content by Radio Iklhas on 7 September 2017. The complaint concerned ‘hate speech’ content against the Ahmadiyya community—a persecuted Muslim minority—and their beliefs. The programme was broadcast on the anniversary of the day the Pakistani National Assembly declared the Ahmadiyya to be non-Muslims, in 1974. Among other hateful comments, the presenter praised the decision, describing them as “enemies of Islam, enemies of Pakistan, and enemies of our

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Sanction – Al Ehya Digital Television Limited, Ofcom, 21 August 2013, available at: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160705161901/http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/enforcement/content-sanctions-adjudications/?pageNum=1#in-this-section>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Sanction – Al Ehya Digital Television Limited, Ofcom, 21 August 2013.

⁸⁰ ‘DM Digital fined £105,000 over speech that condoned murder for blasphemy’, *The Guardian*, 5 July 2013, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2013/jul/05/dm-digital-fined-ofcom>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁸¹ Sanction: Decision – Radio Asian Fever Community Interest Company, Ofcom, 23 November 2012, available at: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160705161914/http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/enforcement/content-sanctions-adjudications/radio-asian-fever.pdf>, last visited: 6 November 2018.

religion” and “fake Muslim[s]”. The station apologised for the broadcast.⁸² It was found to have breached rules 3.2, 3.3 and 2.3 of the Code and was put on notice that it will be considered for a statutory sanction.⁸³

⁸² ‘Ofcom Broadcast and On Demand Bulletin’, Ofcom, Issue 350, 19 March 2018, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0020/112187/Broadcast-and-On-Demand-Bulletin-350.pdf, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁸³ Ibid.

3. Case Studies: Non-Content Related Extremist Challenges

The above illustrations demonstrate how the Broadcasting Code can be applied to deal with extremist content. Improvements in the identification of extremist content – through regular monitoring, public complaints, and Ofcom’s demonstrable willingness to update the Code to meet evolving challenges – suggests the potential for ongoing improvement in dealing with extremist content.

However, a potentially greater challenge is posed by a broader question: what, if anything, should be done to prevent extremist individuals or groups of extremists from using broadcast media for purposes less clear cut than the airing of extremist content?

This might include:

- Fundraising for charities that are connected to extremist groups;
- Exposing the viewer to extremist individuals who have made extremist remarks elsewhere, and potentially leading the viewer to access these extreme ideas;
- Airing a high number of extremist individuals or prominent extremist individuals, even if they do not always make explicitly extremist statements;
- Posting or archiving extreme content on their websites or other platforms connected with the Channel that do not fall under Ofcom’s remit.

The above benefits extremist groups and individuals by lending them credibility, increasing their popularity (even indirectly), magnifying their voice, raising money for extremist-linked charities and causes, and implicitly leading the viewer to content on platforms not regulated by Ofcom. For this reason, it is concerning that there are a number of channels that have a high level of extremist involvement (see below).

‘Fit and proper’?

One provision already available to Ofcom to deal with non-content based concerns is the ‘fit and proper’ duty. Under Section 3(3) of the Broadcasting Act 1990, Ofcom has a duty to be satisfied that licensees are ‘fit and proper’ to hold the license, and can deny or remove the license if not satisfied.⁸⁴

However, the use of the duty must be balanced with respect for freedom of expression as enshrined in Article 10 of the Human Rights Act 1998⁸⁵ and the European Convention on Human Rights.⁸⁶ Ofcom recognises that the removal of a license is a “major interference with freedom of expression, as it prevents the broadcaster from broadcasting and restricts the number of voices being heard and the range of programming available to audiences” As a result, the threshold for finding a broadcaster not ‘fit and proper’ is high.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Section 3 of Broadcasting Act 1990, available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1990/42/section/3>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁸⁵ Article 10 of the Human Rights Act 1998, available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/42/schedule/1/part/1/chapter/9>, last visited: 5 November 2018.

⁸⁶ Article 10, Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (European Convention on Human Rights, as amended) (EHRC), available at: https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf, last visited: 5 November 2018.

⁸⁷ ‘Notice of revocation of license number TLCS101719 held by Ausaf UK limited under section 3(3)(b) of the Broadcasting Act 1990 and condition 29(3)(c) of the licence’, Ofcom, 4 September 2018, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0027/119781/Notice-of-Revocation-Ausaf-UK-Ltd.pdf, last visited: 5 November 2018, para.10.

Avaaz v Ofcom JR (2018) states “Ofcom had to be satisfied that any decision that a broadcaster is not fit and proper is necessary and proportionate to the interference with Article 10 ECHR rights that is entailed by licence revocation; and Ofcom was therefore required to apply a high threshold”. Furthermore, the judgement states “Ofcom has considerable expertise and experience of issues that arise as to whether a broadcaster is fit and proper to hold a licence”.⁸⁸

A recent example of the use of this provision, taken from a context unrelated to extremism, is the case of RT (formerly, Russia Today). Following the Salisbury incident (March 2018), in which former Russian intelligence officer and British spy Sergei Skripal and his daughter were poisoned with a nerve agent, Ofcom noted a significant increase in the number of programmes aired by RT that warranted investigation.⁸⁹ As a result, Ofcom began investigating whether RT’s licensee, ANO TV Novosti, was fit and proper.⁹⁰

“The central consideration”, Ofcom wrote, “is whether they can be expected to be a responsible broadcaster...serious, repeated or ongoing breaches of standards may suggest a lack of fitness and properness.”⁹¹ When considering this, Ofcom stated that it may take non-broadcasting conduct into account when assessing if a licensee is ‘fit and proper’.⁹² Specifically:

In considering whether a licensee is fit and proper, we may also look at non-broadcasting related conduct where we consider it relevant to the likely future conduct of the broadcast licensee and/or to public confidence in the broadcasting regime as a whole. We consider that the high threshold for determining that a person is not fit and proper applies particularly if the conduct is outside the broadcasting arena.⁹³

They are also able to consider the conduct of those who have ‘material influence’ or control over the broadcaster.⁹⁴ Furthermore, a licensee who is not fit and proper may, for example, have a criminal conviction or a civil penalty. Ofcom’s decisions appear to hinge primarily on whether it believes the individual is “willing or capable of complying with UK broadcasting regulation.”⁹⁵ Theoretically, it could have a wider sense,⁹⁶ though only so wide as permitted by human rights law (*Avaaz v Ofcom 2018*).

The recent case of the revocation of Ausaf UK Limited’s licence is particularly instructive. On 4 September 2018, Ofcom revoked the company’s licence even though it had not yet begun broadcasting, on the grounds that the licensee was not fit and proper.⁹⁷ Concerns first came to light in October 2017, when a BBC Radio 4 investigation found that Daily Ausaf London had published problematic content, including articles promoting intolerance against the

⁸⁸ *Avaaz v Ofcom* ([2018] EWHC 1973 (Admin)), available at: https://www.blackstonechambers.com/documents/673/CO-4497-2017_-_R_Avaaz_v_Ofcom_27-06-18_APPROVED_mGj5cBT.pdf, last visited: 5 November 2018, paras.55 and 65.

⁸⁹ ‘Update on the RT Service – New Broadcasting Investigations and Approach to Fit & Proper’, Ofcom, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0012/113043/rt-investigations.pdf, last visited 20 September 2018.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.1-2

⁹² *Ibid.*, para.7.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, para.13.

⁹⁴ ‘Notice of revocation of license number TLCS101719 held by Ausaf UK limited under section 3(3)(b) of the Broadcasting Act 1990 and condition 29(3)(c) of the licence’, Ofcom, 4 September 2018, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0027/119781/Notice-of-Revocation-Ausaf-UK-Ltd.pdf, last visited: 5 November 2018, para.13.

⁹⁵ Chess, J., ‘Fit and proper person: what line can Ofcom take?’, *Thompson Reuters Practical Law*, 28 July 2011, available at: [https://uk.practicallaw.thomsonreuters.com/2-507-0044?transitionType=Default&contextData=\(sc.Default\)&firstPage=true&bhcp=1](https://uk.practicallaw.thomsonreuters.com/2-507-0044?transitionType=Default&contextData=(sc.Default)&firstPage=true&bhcp=1), last visited: 20 September 2018.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ ‘Notice of revocation of license number TLCS101719 held by Ausaf UK limited under section 3(3)(b) of the Broadcasting Act 1990 and condition 29(3)(c) of the licence’, Ofcom, 4 September 2018, para. 2.

Ahmadiyyah community, celebrating militant groups and individuals proscribed in the UK, and promoting violent jihad.⁹⁸ Subsequently, Ofcom established solid links between the newspaper and Ausaf UK Limited, the licensee.⁹⁹

Ofcom reviewed a number of editions of the newspaper and discovered content that glorified violent jihad and endorsed proscribed individuals and organisations, including Osama bin Laden, as well as hate speech towards the Ahmadiyya community, anti-Semitic content, and content stating that Muslims should not trust the West, Christians or Jews.¹⁰⁰ The paper also had extreme columnists, including one who was a spokesman for Jaish-e-Mohammed, a group proscribed in the UK, and another is believed to lead Tanzim e Islami, an Islamist group that advises against relations with Jews and Christians and advocates the establishment of the caliphate.¹⁰¹

In the course of their investigation, Ofcom established that the managing director of the licensee, Mohsin Bilal Khan, is editor of the Daily Ausaf Pakistan,¹⁰² and is involved in the publication and distribution of the Daily Ausaf London.¹⁰³ Ofcom concluded that, “given the nature of the content” published by the newspaper, and the link with the licensee, there were “serious concerns about whether the licensee is able to act as a responsible broadcaster” and able to comply with regulations.¹⁰⁴ Ofcom deemed that there was a clear risk to audiences and that this would bring into question public confidence if Ofcom remained satisfied that the licensee in this case was fit and proper.¹⁰⁵

Ausaf TV Limited had its licence revoked as a result. This is a particularly important precedent, as it demonstrates how evidence of extremism from the broader context, not based on the content broadcast but connected to the licensee by a firm link, justified the removal of the licence on the grounds that **public confidence would be damaged if Ofcom allowed them to continue to hold their licence.**

The case studies below provide comparable evidence in relation to licensees who might be deemed improper to hold their licence on the basis of their connections with extremism.

Case Study 1: Peace TV

Peace TV Official have more than 14,000 followers on Facebook,¹⁰⁶ with their Urdu channel amassing more than 20,000.¹⁰⁷ Despite having posted only two tweets, Peace TV has 25,500 followers on Twitter.¹⁰⁸ Peace TV can be viewed, among others, on Sky Channel 733 (English) and 749 (Urdu).¹⁰⁹ The challenge posed by Peace TV relates to extremist content as well as the presence of extremist preachers, whether or not they are making extremist remarks on the Channel’s show.

⁹⁸ Ibid., para.21.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., para.22.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., para.23.

¹⁰² Ibid., para.26 and 35(b).

¹⁰³ Ibid., para.36.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., para.37.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Notice of revocation of license number TLCS101719 held by Ausaf UK limited under section 3(3)(b) of the Broadcasting Act 1990 and condition 29(3)(c) of the licence’, Ofcom, 4 September 2018, para. 42.

¹⁰⁶ Peace TV Official, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/PeaceTVNetworkOfficial/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁰⁷ Peace TV Urdu, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/www.peacetv.net/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁰⁸ @PeaceTV, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/peacetv?lang=en>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁰⁹ ‘How to tune into Peace TV’, Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/how-to-tune-into-peace-tv>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

Peace TV was founded by influential Indian Islamist preacher Zakir Naik in 2006¹¹⁰ and broadcasts internationally in both English and Urdu.¹¹¹ Peace TV English (licensee: Lord Production Inc Ltd)¹¹² and Peace TV Urdu (licensee: Club TV Ltd)¹¹³ are closely linked and share the same compliance contact,¹¹⁴ being funded by UK-registered charity Islamic Research Foundation International (IRFI) and owned by Universal Broadcasting Corporation Limited (UBCL).¹¹⁵ Naik is chairman of IRFI¹¹⁶ and until 1 May 2018 was one of the directors of Lord Production Inc Ltd.¹¹⁷

IRFI is so closely connected to Peace TV, that on the Charity Commission website, its contact details are registered as Peace TV.¹¹⁸ Its accounts state “the trust’s principle activity is that of securing donations for the continuation of Peace TV”.¹¹⁹ In the financial year ending 2018, through IRFI, donations of £779,775 were made to UBCL, “the company which holds the broadcasting licences for Peace TV”.¹²⁰ IRFI itself, still a registered charity in the UK, has been banned in India. A judge stated that the decision was taken “in the interest of safeguarding the sovereignty, integrity and national security of India”.¹²¹ Naik continues to regularly feature on the channel and could be described as their primary speaker.¹²² It is evident that IRFI, Peace TV, and therefore Zakir Naik continue to be inextricably linked, despite Naik’s resignation from Lord Production Inc Ltd.

Zakir Naik has made a number of extremist statements in the past which have triggered concerns about the radicalising potential of his ideas. In one well-known example, in 2006 Naik refused to condemn Osama bin Laden, stating “if he is fighting the enemies of Islam, I am for him. I don’t know what he’s doing. I’m not in touch with him. I don’t know him personally. I read the newspaper. If he’s terrorising the terrorists, if he’s terrorising America the terrorist, the biggest terrorist, every Muslim should be a terrorist”.¹²³ He has also been known to make inflammatory remarks about Jewish people, stating that “There are many Jews who are good to Muslims, but as a whole... The Koran tells us, as a whole, they will be our staunchest enemy”.¹²⁴

¹¹⁰ ‘Zakir Naik: Why India wants to arrest the preacher’, *Al Jazeera*, 21 May 2017, available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/05/india-arrest-preacher-zakir-naik-170521055023564.html>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹¹¹ ‘About Us’, Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/about-us/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹¹² ‘Peace TV’, Ofcom, available at: <http://static.ofcom.org.uk/static/radiolicensing/html/tv/cs/tlcs001022ba1peacetv.htm>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹¹³ ‘Peace TV Urdu’, Ofcom, available at: <http://static.ofcom.org.uk/static/radiolicensing/html/tv/cs/tlcs001259ba1peacetvurdu.htm>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹¹⁴ Muntasam Akhtar Abassi, see: Club TV Ltd, Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/06258566>, last visited: 20 September 2018; ‘Club TV – People’, Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/05414465/officers>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹¹⁵ ‘Sanction: Decision – Club TV Limited’, Ofcom, 11 November 2016, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0032/93866/Peace-TV-Urdu-Sanctions-Decision.pdf, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹¹⁶ ‘Islamic Research Foundation International’, Charity Commission, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?subid=0®id=1122086>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹¹⁷ ‘Lord Production Inc Ltd’, Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/05414465/officers>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹¹⁸ ‘Islamic Research Foundation International’, Charity Commission, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?subid=0®id=1122086>, last visited: 15 November 2018.

¹¹⁹ ‘Islamic Research Foundation International – Annual Report and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 January 2018’, Charity Commission, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends86/0001122086_AC_20180131_E_C.PDF, last visited: 14 November 2018.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), p. 48.

¹²² ‘Peace TV’, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv>, last visited: 15 November 2018.

¹²³ ‘Home secretary Theresa May bans radical preacher Zakir Naik from entering UK’, *Daily Telegraph*, 18 June 2010, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/7836557/Home-secretary-Theresa-May-bans-radical-preacher-Zakir-Naik-from-entering-UK.html>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹²⁴ ‘Home secretary Theresa May bans radical preacher Zakir Naik from entering UK’, *Daily Telegraph*, 18 June 2010.

As a result of his extremism, there have been a number of historical concerns about Peace TV, both at home and abroad. In 2010, Naik was banned from entering the UK by the Home Secretary due to his “unacceptable behaviour” that made his presence in the UK not conducive to the public good.¹²⁵ Despite this rendering him clearly unfit to hold a licence, he continued to be the director of the company holding Peace TV’s licence until his resignation in 2018. This meant that his channel continued to give him access to audiences in the same country he was banned from entering. If the Home Secretary deemed his influence not to be conducive to the public good, it is unclear how he could be regarded as fit to hold a licence for the eight years between the ban and his resignation.

One of the countries in which Peace TV has been banned is Bangladesh, due to allegations that it incited terrorism following reports that speeches on the channel had inspired those who carried out the attack in Dhaka in July 2016,¹²⁶ which left 20 hostages dead.¹²⁷ Bangladesh’s Home Minister at the time said that intelligence agencies were investigating Naik.¹²⁸ Following the action taken by Bangladesh, India’s National Investigation Agency filed an official complaint against Naik and his charity Islamic Research Foundation International (founded in 1991), believing him to be carrying out illegal activities, including money laundering, and promoting religious hatred.¹²⁹ In India, where Naik has been charged with promoting religious hatred,¹³⁰ IRFI have been banned under counter-terrorism legislation.¹³¹

Peace TV have in the past come into contact with Ofcom as a result of extreme content. In 2012, Ofcom’s routine monitoring of Peace TV uncovered concerning content. This included material aired on 8 March 2012 in which Zakir Naik responded to the question of whether apostates should be killed:

One group of scholars, they say that if a Muslim, if he becomes a non-Muslim [inaudible] he should be put to death. There is another group of scholars who say that if a Muslim becomes a non-Muslim and propagates his new faith against Islam then he should be put to death...I tend to agree more with the second group of scholars, who say that a Muslim, if he becomes a non-Muslim and propagates his new faith against Islam, that is the time this penalty is applied.¹³²

[...]

Most of the countries in the world, they have their own rules and regulations – own law – and there are many countries which if you do treason, if you sell the secrets of that country to the enemy under this circumstance the countries give that penalty or life imprisonment, the laws differ...Western countries...have given that penalty when a citizen has given secret information [to] that country’s enemy [sic].¹³³

¹²⁵ ‘Indian preacher Zakir Naik is banned from UK’, *BBC News*, 18 June 2010, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10349564>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹²⁶ ‘Bangladesh bans televangelist Zakir Naik’s Peace TV’, *The Hindu*, 20 September 2016, available at: <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/Bangladesh-bans-televangelist-Zakir-Naik%E2%80%99s-Peace-TV/article14481608.ece>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹²⁷ ‘20 hostages killed in ‘Isil’ attack on Dhaka restaurant popular with foreigners’, *Daily Telegraph*, 2 July 2016, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/01/gunmen-attack-restaurant-in-diplomatic-quarter-of-bangladeshi-ca/>, last visited: 22 October 2018.

¹²⁸ ‘Bangladesh bans televangelist Zakir Naik’s Peace TV’, *The Hindu*, 20 September 2016.

¹²⁹ ‘Zakir Naik: Why India wants to arrest the preacher’, *Al Jazeera*, 21 May 2017.

¹³⁰ *House of Saud: A Family at War*, BBC, aired 9 January 2018.

¹³¹ ‘Zakir Naik’s IRF banned for five years under Unlawful Activities Prevention Act’, *Indian Express*, 16 November 2016, available at: <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/zakir-naik-irf-ban-islamic-preacher-peace-tv-4377897/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹³² ‘Ofcom Broadcast Bulletin’, Ofcom, Issue Number 218, 19 November 2012, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0028/47665/obb218.pdf

¹³³ *Ibid.*

On another programme aired the following day, speaking on the topic of individuals who criticised Islam, Naik said:

As to those who wage a war against Allah...As to those who create mischief in the land you either execute them, you either crucify them, or chop off the opposite limbs (that's right hand and left leg, or left hand and right leg), or you can put them in exile...This is the Islamic philosophy that everyone who wages a war against Allah...this is the consequence.

[...]

"Today in the modern world, if suppose someone commits treason against the country ...If...suppose the army general of the country sells the blueprint, the secrets of the army to the enemy. What punishment will the government give but naturally the government will severely punish that person. Some governments give [the] death penalty, some life imprisonment, some may rarely give a heavy fine. For treason there is a heavy penalty. Same way this is nothing but treason...That is the reason that Allah has given this option."¹³⁴

Ofcom were concerned that this raised issues under Rule 3.1 (encouragement or incitement of crime or disorder) and Rule 4.1 (exercise of responsibility respecting religious programming), but concluded that it did not. However, following an investigation, Ofcom found that Rule 2.3 (ensuring that material which may cause offence is justified by the context) had been breached.¹³⁵

Again, in November 2016 Peace TV Urdu was sanctioned by Ofcom for violating Rules 2.1 and 2.3 of the broadcasting code. In September 2015, Peace TV Urdu had aired lectures by Islamic scholar Israr Ahmad. Rule 2.1 (harmful and/or offensive material) was violated by discriminatory and anti-Semitic remarks. These included, but were not limited to: describing Jewish people as being a "cursed people" and "cursed race"; having hatched an "evil plan"; possessing "evil genius"; having caused the First World War; and having filled European history with their "poison".¹³⁶ Rule 2.3 was also violated as these comments could be "interpreted as a form of anti-Semitic hate speech". Ofcom issued a fine of £65,000.¹³⁷

The repeated violation of the Broadcasting Code may be considered unsurprising given that Peace TV host a roster of extreme Islamist speakers, all of whom are listed on their website. Among them is Bilal Philips.¹³⁸ Philips was named by the US as an "unindicted co-conspirator" in the 1993 plot to bomb the World Trade Centre in New York, has been banned from the US and Australia, and has been deported from a number of countries.¹³⁹ Like Naik, Philips was banned from entering the UK in 2010 by then Home Secretary Theresa May due to his extremist views.¹⁴⁰ Some of his works are also among the literature banned from UK prisons as a result of their opposition to British values.¹⁴¹ Philips is also one of the stars of Huda TV (see Case

¹³⁴ 'Ofcom Broadcast Bulletin', Ofcom, Issue Number 218, 19 November 2012.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ 'Sanction: Decision - Club TV Limited', Ofcom, 11 November 2016, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0032/93866/Peace-TV-Urdu-Sanctions-Decision.pdf, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ 'Dr Bilal Philips', Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Dr-Bilal-Philips>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹³⁹ Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.47.

¹⁴⁰ 'Leading Islamic charity told by watchdog to distance itself from extremism', *Daily Telegraph*, 12 November 2016, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/12/leading-islamic-charity-told-by-watchdog-to-distance-itself-from/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁴¹ "'Extremist' books remained in prisons despite warning', *BBC News*, 28 July 2016, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-36774358>, last visited: 21 September 2018; for more detailed information on Bilal Philips and concerns relating to his extremism, see: Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.47.

Study 2).¹⁴² As with the other channels case studied in this report, Yasir Qadhi is listed as one of Peace TV's speakers (see Case Study 3).¹⁴³

Peace TV shares many of its speakers with Huda TV, some of which are outlined in the next case study.¹⁴⁴ Indeed, the nexus between the charitable sector and broadcast is epitomised by one UK-registered charity, the Al Fouz Trust, which states as one of its official activities its sponsorship of the programmes of Islamist speaker Abderraheem Green (described below) on Peace TV.¹⁴⁵

Peace TV and Peace TV Urdu are currently under investigation by Ofcom.¹⁴⁶

Case Study 2: Huda TV

Huda TV's licence is held by Huda Television Limited (company number 09329822),¹⁴⁷ incorporated on 27 November 2017.¹⁴⁸ Another company, Huda TV limited, was dissolved on 17 November 2015.¹⁴⁹ Both companies share the same director, Jamil Rashid (b. 1972).¹⁵⁰ Rashid¹⁵¹ was formerly a trustee of the Muslim Research and Development Foundation (MRDF),¹⁵² and led the campaign YouElect, which has been closely linked to Islamist group Muslim Engagement and Development (Mend).¹⁵³ Journalist Andrew Gilligan described YouElect and Mend as "clever fronts to win political access and influence for Islamists holding extreme and anti-democratic views".¹⁵⁴ In March 2015, speaking at a rally organised by pro-terrorist group Cage, Rashid said "we are all Cage, and we stand with them in all their endeavours".¹⁵⁵ Indeed, YouElect's director, Ismail Patel, has acted as a spokesman for the British Muslim Initiative, an organisation described as 'closely linked' to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴² 'Dr Bilal Philips', Huda TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/alhuda/huda-tv-programs/huda-stars/818-dr-bilal-philips>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁴³ 'Yasir Qadhi', Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Yasir-Qadhi>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁴⁴ For further details on Peace TV's speakers, see Appendix 1 in Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.47.

¹⁴⁵ 'Al-Fouz Trust', Charity Commission, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1133675&subid=0>, last visited: 24 September 2018.

¹⁴⁶ 'Ofcom Broadcast and On Demand Bulletin', Ofcom, Issue Number 345, 8 January 2018, available at: https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0020/109235/issue-345-broadcast-on-demand-bulletin.pdf, last visited: 14 November 2018.

¹⁴⁷ 'Huda TV', Ofcom, available at: <http://static.ofcom.org.uk/static/radiolicensing/html/tv/cs/tlcs100801ba1hudatv.htm>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁴⁸ 'Huda Television Limited', Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/09329822>, last visited: 5 November 2018.

¹⁴⁹ 'Huda TV limited', Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/08973145>, last visited: 5 November 2018.

¹⁵⁰ 'Huda TV Limited - People', Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/08973145/officers>, last visited: 20 September 2018; 'Huda Television Limited', Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/09329822>, last visited: 5 November 2018.

¹⁵¹ Jamil Rashid's profile on Huda TV is available at: 'Jamil Rashid', Huda TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/huda-tv-programs/program-presenters/914-jamilrashid>; Gilligan, A., 'The baroness, Islamic extremists and the question of free speech', *Daily Telegraph*, 22 March 2015, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/11488175/The-baroness-Islamic-extremists-and-a-question-of-free-speech.html>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁵² 'Muslim Research and Development Foundation Ltd - Reports and Accounts for the Year Ended 31 December 2012', Charity Commission, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends77/0001119977_AC_20121231_E_C.PDF, last visited: 30 October 2018; 'The Maryam Centre', MRDF, available at: <https://www.mrdf.co.uk/the-maryam-centre/>, last visited: 30 October 2018.

¹⁵³ Gilligan, A., 'The baroness, Islamic extremists and the question of free speech', *Daily Telegraph*, 22 March 2015.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

In addition to broadcast media, Huda TV's website regularly publishes articles on a variety of topics. The content of some of these articles is concerning. One published on Huda TV's website on 15 April 2018 asks 'Who is in Charge of the Home?'¹⁵⁷ The article reads:

Today, the woman is in charge in many Muslim houses. As a result, concepts are mixed up, scales are unbalanced and values have disappeared. How dangerous it is when the woman is in charge of the man and his children! Hence, the family has disintegrated and disunited in the presence of a husband without authority, a wife with a free hand who is driven by curiosity and whim, and children lost between quarrelling parents.¹⁵⁸

The article states that it is illogical for a woman to assume leadership in marriage, noting that women have a "flaming temper and emotions", suiting them to taking care of children and "adorning and perfuming the house with beauty".¹⁵⁹

Propagating the 'us versus them' Manichean narrative characteristic of extremist ideology,¹⁶⁰ another piece published on 1 February 2016, entitled 'Three Pieces of Advice to the Muslim Home' explicitly states:

There is a huge conspiracy that is being plotted against the Muslim home that aims at ruining and undermining its vital role in the Muslim nation. The enemies of Islam, including the Jews and the Christians, realize the critical role of the Muslim home and have therefore targeted the Muslim women, trying to get her out of her home and drive her to abandon her modesty and give up her *hijab* [headscarf].

[...]

I would like to warn against the perils of imitating the disbelievers and defiantly disobedient people, as copying such people is the essence of psychological defeat, and a sign of social degradation.¹⁶¹

Huda TV shares many of its speakers with Peace TV. Some of the most significant are: Zakir Naik;¹⁶² Haitham Al Haddad;¹⁶³ Bilal Philips;¹⁶⁴ Abderraheem Green;¹⁶⁵ Yasir Qadhi;¹⁶⁶ Hussain Ye;¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁷ 'Who is in charge at home?', Huda TV, 15 April 2018, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/articles/miscellaneous/1608-who-is-in-charge-at-home>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁵⁸ 'Who is in charge at home?', Huda TV, 15 April 2018.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016.

¹⁶¹ 'Three pieces of advice to the Muslim home', Huda TV, 1 February 2016, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/articles/women-in-islam/1461-three-pieces-of-advice-to-the-muslim-home>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁶² 'Dr Zakir Abdul Karim Naik', Huda TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/huda-tv-programs/huda-stars/808-dr-zakir-abdul-karim-naik>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁶³ 'Haitham al Haddad', Huda TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/huda-tv-programs/huda-stars/799-haitham-al-haddad>, last visited: 20 September 2018; 'Haitham al Haddad', Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Haitham-Al-Haddad>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁶⁴ 'Dr Bilal Philips', Huda TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/huda-tv-programs/huda-stars/818-dr-bilal-philips>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁶⁵ 'Shaikh Abdur Rahim Green', Huda TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/huda-tv-programs/huda-stars/801-shaikh-abdur-rahim-green>, last visited: 20 September 2018; 'Abdur Rahim Green', Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Abdur-Rahim-Green>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁶⁶ 'Shaikh Yasir Qadhi', Huda TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/huda-tv-programs/huda-stars/803-shaikh-yasir-qadhi>, last visited: 20 September 2018; 'Yasir Qadhi', Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Yasir-Qadhi>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁶⁷ 'Shaikh Hussain Ye', Huda TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/huda-tv-programs/huda-stars/806-shaikh-hussain-ye>, last visited: 20 September 2018; 'Hussain Yee', Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Hussain-Yee>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

Abdullah Hakim Quick;¹⁶⁸ Yusuf Estes;¹⁶⁹ and Abu Abdissalam.¹⁷⁰ The section below details some examples of why these individuals may be cause for concern.

Abdullah Hakim Quick has promoted anti-Semitic views and has advocated the death penalty for homosexuality, which he describes as a “filthy disgusting thing”. He has been recorded saying, of the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, “clean and purify *masjid al Aqsa* from the filth of the *yahood* [Jew]”.¹⁷¹

Hussein Ye has made conspiratorial anti-Semitic remarks, stating about the attacks on 11 September 2011, “We have nothing to do with it [...] You know who is very happy when the Twin Towers had been attacked? A group of Jews were so happy in America. They were having a party when they heard the Twin Towers had been burned”.¹⁷² He has also declared “The Jews, they have gone so far against Allah’s commands[...] The most extremist nation in the world is the Jews[...] They are the extremists in the world. That’s why they kill Palestinians every day. They have no respect for the United Nations.”¹⁷³

Yusuf Estes has permitted sex with slaves because it gives “a chance for her [the slave] to come to Islam” and has described homosexuality as “known to be from the devil”. He has described having non-Muslim wives as problematic, and has advised a man to leave a non-Muslim wife before they have any children.¹⁷⁴

Abderaheem Green is the founder and head of UK-registered charity iERA.¹⁷⁵ In 2016, iERA was instructed by the Charity Commission to distance itself from those who condone “violent extremism and acts of terrorism”, following allegations that its leaders advocated the stoning of homosexuals and female adulterers, and promoted antisemitism.¹⁷⁶ In particular, Green has expressed a number of problematic views. For example, in one instance at Hyde Park Corner, he was filmed saying “why don’t you take the Yahoudi [Jew] over there, far away so his stench doesn’t disturb us”.¹⁷⁷ Green has in the past advocated violent jihad, stating “Islam teaches its followers to seek death on the battle field” and that “dying while fighting jihad is one of the surest ways to paradise and Allah’s good pleasure”.¹⁷⁸ Green has made a number of other problematic statements, as have other individuals involved with iERA, with very few recanting.¹⁷⁹

¹⁶⁸ ‘Dr Abdullah Hakim Quick’, Huda TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/huda-tv-programs/huda-stars/815-dr-abdullah-hakim-quick>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁶⁹ ‘Shaikh Yusuf Estes’, Huda TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/huda-tv-programs/huda-stars/816-shaikh-yusuf-estes>, last visited: 20 September 2018; ‘Yusuf Estes’, Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/yusuf-estes>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁷⁰ Abdissalam, A., ‘Purification of the Soul Series – Huda TV’, Abu Abdissalam Blog, 22 February 2010, available at: <http://www.abuabdissalam.com/lecture-series/purification-of-the-soul-series-37/>, last visited: 20 September 2018; ‘Abu Abdissalam’, Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Abu-Abdissalam>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁷¹ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.52.

¹⁷² Ibid., p.154.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p.154.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p.154.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Islamic Education and Development Academy (Iera)’, Charity Commission, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1134566&subid=0>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Leading Islamic charity told by watchdog to distance itself from extremism’, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 November 2016, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/12/leading-islamic-charity-told-by-watchdog-to-distance-itself-from/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Leading Islamic charity told by watchdog to distance itself from extremism’, *Daily Telegraph*, 12 November 2016.

¹⁷⁸ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), pp.101-102.

¹⁷⁹ For more detail on the extreme views held by those involved with iERA see: ‘Evangelising Hate: Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA)’, Council of Ex-Muslims of Britain (CEMB), May 2014, available at: http://ex-muslim.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/EvangelisingHate_Report_Web.pdf, last visited 20 September 2018; Hamza Tzortzis has since recanted on some of his views relating to the punishment of apostates, see: ‘Apology & Clarification: Treatment of Apostates Comment’, Hamza Andreas Tzortzis Blog, undated, available at: <http://www.hamzatzortzis.com/clarifications-and-responses/beheading-is-painless-comment-apology-clarification/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

Abu Abdissalam has made a number of statements suggesting that he believes in the violent imposition of Islam. For example, he has stated that in an Islamic state, those who do not pray should be punished.¹⁸⁰ He has advocated *hudud* punishments (harsh or capital punishments such as mutilation or stoning), for example, opining “we don’t want people’s hands to be chopped off but you have a system in place when you have this God consciousness when you have the whole system in place then you won’t have the kind of crimes that you have today”.¹⁸¹

Assim Al Hakeem is a speaker on Peace TV¹⁸² and Huda TV.¹⁸³ He has made a number of extremely concerning remarks. For example, on Twitter he has spoken out against the free mixing of men and women at universities, and has stated that in times of war it is permissible for a man to keep a sex slave, and that such a female slave can be “bought and sold in the market of slavery”.¹⁸⁴ He has also maintained that Muslims should not open the door for Jews or Christians because “I am a Muslim. This is my religion. I am a proud person and this is a kafir”.¹⁸⁵ In line with this supremacist view, he has recommended severing cordial relationships with relatives who have apostatised and has stated that greeting non-Muslims on non-Muslim holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, is not permitted because “our religion is the correct religion”.¹⁸⁶

Following the Islamist attack on the staff of French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo attack (7 January 2015) in which 12 were killed and 8 injured, Al Hakeem appeared on Huda TV. The video of his comments was posted on Huda TV’s YouTube on 14 January 2015,¹⁸⁷ and on its website on 5 July 2015.¹⁸⁸ In the video, he rejects the actions of the attackers but also states that blasphemy – the charge against the cartoonists – was a more serious crime. Al Hakeem tells viewers that the reason why an individual murdering blasphemers is not justified is because executing them should be in the hands of the state only.

His words are worth quoting in full (emphasis added by author):

What is more severe and hideous in the religion of Islam? Killing a dozen of people or insulting the messenger of Allah...and the messengers of Allah, Jesus Christ, Moses, all prophets of Allah... and insulting and depicting and ridiculing the religions of Allah... **Definitely the latter is blasphemy. It is an act of Kufr and it’s far greater than the slaying of a dozen people**, which is a crime by itself that is not to be looked down upon, it is a serious crime. Which is more severe? Why didn’t we hear from the Muslims worldwide condemnation, why didn’t we hear from presidents and heads of state, condemnation to these countries and to these means of media that are doing this **harmful and shameful attack against our religion**, the religion of Allah, against Allah himself. This is an irony that has to be addressed. **There’s something wrong in our Islam when we are quick to**

¹⁸⁰ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.103.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p.103.

¹⁸² ‘Assim Al Hakim’, Peace TV, available at: <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Assim-Al-Hakeem>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁸³ ‘Shaikh Assim Al Hakeem’, Peace TV, available at: <http://www.huda.tv/huda-tv-programs/huda-stars/792-shaikh-assim-l-alhakeem>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

¹⁸⁴ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), Appendix 2 & p.103.

¹⁸⁵ For more detail on Abdissalam’s views, see: Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), Appendix 2 & p.104.

¹⁸⁶ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), Appendix 2 & p.153.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Islam on Charlie Hebdo attacks 2015 #HudaTV’, *YouTube*, 14 January 2015, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S9jsdh7gSAE>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁸⁸ ‘Islam on Charlie Hebdo attacks 2015 #HudaTV’, Huda TV, 5 July 2015, available at: http://www.huda.tv/media-gallery/809-islam-on-charlie-hebdo-attacks-2015-hudatv?category_id=146, last visited: 20 September 2018.

condemn the killing of 12 people, give or take one or two, while we look the other way when it comes to insulting our Messenger... does this justify the killing? The answer is no. It does not. **Because this killing cannot be executed except by the head of a state,** so if I'm in Saudi Arabia and someone does this, it's not for me to do it. It has to go through a panel of judges who would give their verdict and then the ruler, the head of the state, can either executes it and carries on the punishment, or he pardons the individual or puts him in jail [sic].

This is not the first time Al Hakeem had made extreme remarks on Huda TV. In 2011, he stated that FGM is recommended and that "circumcision is part of human nature".¹⁸⁹ This is in line with his other views on women, appearing to condone marital rape when stating that a woman cannot refuse to have sexual intercourse with her husband "even if he drinks alcohol because this is a major sin". Elsewhere he has declared that a woman who refuses this is "sinful" and "cursed by the angels and Allah".¹⁹⁰

For more information on the extreme statements of Yasir Qadhi and Haitham al Haddad, see Case Study 3 and 4 respectively.

Case Study 3: The Islam Channel

Four years after its founding in 2004,¹⁹¹ it was reported in 2008 that the Islam Channel was already viewed by 59 per cent of British Muslims.¹⁹² Available on Sky, Freeview, Virgin Media and others,¹⁹³ today it has a wide following on social media. At the time of writing, the channel has 59,000 followers on Twitter,¹⁹⁴ more than 17,000 followers and likes on Facebook,¹⁹⁵ and its Urdu channel has more than 45,000 followers on Facebook.¹⁹⁶ Its licence is held by Islam Channel Limited,¹⁹⁷ and the company's director, Mohammed Ali Harrath (b. 1963), is also the CEO of the channel.¹⁹⁸

In 2010, Harrath was arrested in South Africa on terrorism charges, having been sought by Interpol and the Tunisian authorities on allegations that he was connected to a terrorist organisation. He was reportedly sentenced in Tunisia to 56 years *in absentia*. The channel, who condemned the arrests as "harassment and intimidation", said that the offences related to his membership of an unauthorised political party. This party was the *Front Islamique Tunisien* (FIT) or Tunisian Islamic Front, which Harrath founded in 1986. Although Harrath claims the party is non-violent, it has elsewhere been regarded as a militant group and has claimed responsibility for a number of attacks, being particularly hostile to foreigners in Tunisia.¹⁹⁹ In 2001, the general counsel of the US Treasury wrote to the Swiss government outlining the

¹⁸⁹ Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), Appendix 2, p.153.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Rajab, T., 'Re-Programming British Muslims: A Study of the Islam Channel', *Quilliam Foundation* (March 2010), p.7.

¹⁹² 'Unanswered questions about "man of peace" on Interpol list', *The Times*, 15 December 2008, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/unanswered-questions-about-a-man-of-peace-on-interpol-list-kpkm0lgh9w8>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁹³ Islam Channel, available at: <https://www.islamchannel.tv/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁹⁴ @Islamchannel, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/Islamchannel>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁹⁵ Islam Channel TV, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/islamchanneluk/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁹⁶ Islam Channel Urdu, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamChannelUrdu/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁹⁷ 'Islam Channel', Ofcom, available at: <http://static.ofcom.org.uk/static/radiolicensing/html/tv/cs/tlcs000684ba1islamchannel.htm>, last visited: 21 September 2018; 'Islam Channel Limited', Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/04658744/filing-history>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁹⁸ 'Islam Channel Limited - People', Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/04658744/officers>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

¹⁹⁹ See: Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.107.

suspected terrorist links of the FIT. Harrath was described by the US as the organisation's leader in London, but he insisted that the FIT no longer existed post-2000.²⁰⁰ Later, in 2003, an MI5 special witness claimed before the Special Immigration Appeals Commission that the FIT had been involved in terrorist activities in France.²⁰¹

It must be noted, however, that in March 2017 Harrath won a libel case against the organisation Stand for Peace and its director Sam Westrop for terrorism allegations. The High Court judged that there had been an amnesty recognising Harrath's innocence, and that Interpol had withdrawn their Red Notice against him.²⁰²

In 2010, the Islam Channel was the subject of an extensive investigation by the Quilliam Foundation, with the findings published in Talal Rajab's *Re-Programming British Muslims: A Study of the Islam Channel*.²⁰³ The project focused on analysing the content of programmes aired by the channel.²⁰⁴

The report found that the channel propagated concerning views relating to separatism (including anti-shia content),²⁰⁵ anti-Semitism and support for the proscribed terror group Hamas (including conspiracy theories),²⁰⁶ and negative and restrictive attitudes towards women.²⁰⁷ Quilliam also found ample evidence that the channel provided a platform for extremists, including representatives of the group Hizb ut-Tahrir and controversial extremist preachers such as Al-Qaeda-linked Anwar al Awlaki.²⁰⁸

The Islam Channel repeatedly raises money for a number of charities with concerning extremist links. Its website provides links to UK Islamic Mission (UKIM), Interpal, Islamic Help, Muslim Hands, the Read Foundation, Muslim Aid, Human Appeal, Orphans in Need, Helping the Needy, Interpal and Islamic Relief Worldwide, the logos of which appear on its website.²⁰⁹

UKIM has been described by author and journalist Innes Bowen as the "main British network" of Islamist movement Jamaat-e-Islami (JEI).²¹⁰ The South Asian 'cousin' of the Muslim Brotherhood,²¹¹ JEI was founded in 1941 by Islamist ideologue Sayyid Abul Al'a Maududi, who advocated armed jihad to establish an Islamic state. UKIM was later founded in 1962.²¹² The second charity listed, The Palestinian Relief and Development Fund (Interpal), was among five other charities designated by the US in 2003 as providing financial support for Hamas.²¹³

²⁰⁰ 'Unanswered questions about "man of peace" on Interpol list', *The Times*, 15 December 2008.

²⁰¹ Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), p. 108

²⁰² 'Founder and CEO of Islam Channel awarded £140,000 in libel damages over "baseless" terrorism allegation', Carte-Ruck – Press Release, 31 March 2017, available at: https://www.carter-ruck.com/images/uploads/documents/Harrath-Press_Release-310317.PDF, last visited: 5 November 2018.

²⁰³ Rajab, T., 'Re-Programming British Muslims: A Study of the Islam Channel', *Quilliam Foundation* (March 2010).

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.5.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.29.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.50.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.11.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6, 75.

²⁰⁹ See bottom of webpage, Islam Channel, available at: <https://www.islamchannel.tv/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²¹⁰ Bowen, Innes., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 83.

²¹¹ 'Government donation to Muslim Charities Forum denounced as "madness"', *Daily Telegraph*, 23 September 2014, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/11114599/Government-donation-to-Muslim-Charities-Forum-denounced-as-madness.html>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²¹² For more detailed information on JEI and UKIM, see: Bowen, Innes., *Medina in Birmingham, Najaf in Brent: Inside British Islam* (London, 2015), p. 83-4; *Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016, para.295.

²¹³ 'U.S. Designates Five Charities Funding Hamas and Six Senior Hamas Leaders as Terrorist Entities', United States Department of the Treasury, 22 August 2003, available at: <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js672.aspx>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

Interpal had previously been part of the Union of Good, designated in 2008²¹⁴ by the US treasury as a terrorist entity for its involvement in financing ‘ Hamas-managed’ organisations.²¹⁵ Interpal have been described by the Islam Channel in a tweet as one of their ‘charity partners’, and they have advertised Interpal events.²¹⁶

A number of other charities on the above list were also formerly members of the Union of Good,²¹⁷ including: Muslim Aid, Human Appeal and Islamic Relief.²¹⁸ Many of these early members of the Union of Good, along with the remaining charities on the Islam Channel’s website, are part of the Muslim Charities Forum (MCF).²¹⁹ In 2015, the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) stripped the MCF of its funding due to allegations that the charity was providing financial support to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.²²⁰ The DCLG also ended funding to one of MCF’s charities, Islamic Help, as a result of the latter hosting an extremist speaker at an event.²²¹ The Islam Channel has raised money for Islamic Help, for example by a fundraising appeal on 21 September 2018.²²²

These charities’ links to the Muslim Brotherhood and extremist speakers are well-documented, particularly in the case of Islamic Relief.²²³ For example, in spring 2017 the Read Foundation, Muslim Aid and Islamic Relief were all contacted by the Charity Commission over concerns that they had, or were to, host extremist Islamist speaker Yasir Qadhi.²²⁴ Qadhi appeared at the Islamic Relief tour ‘21st Century Muslim’ from 24 April to 1 May 2017.²²⁵ Qadhi had previously spoken for Muslim Aid and the Read Foundation on a speaking tour in 2015, though Muslim Aid stated that it did not actually sponsor the event, which used its logo in advertising materials.²²⁶ Yasir Qadhi also appeared in Human Appeal’s Palestine fundraising campaign in Ramadan 2018 as a supporter.²²⁷

²¹⁴ ‘Union of Good’, United States Department for the Treasury, 12 September 2008, available at: <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/terrorist-illicit-finance/Pages/protecting-union-of-good.aspx>, last visited: 20 September 2018.

²¹⁵ For more information on Interpal and why it is problematic, see: Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), section 3.6.3; ‘Commission takes charitable view of terrorism’, *Daily Telegraph*, 28 March 2009, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/5066750/Commission-takes-a-charitable-view-of-terrorism.html>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²¹⁶ @Islamchannel, *Twitter*, 28 August 2018, available at: <https://twitter.com/Islamchannel/status/1034374401335197696>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²¹⁷ ‘Government donation to Muslim Charities Forum denounced as “madness”’, *Daily Telegraph*, 23 September 2014.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Muslim Charities Forum, available at: <http://www.muslimcharitiesforum.org.uk/>, last visited: 21 September 2018; Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), section 3.6.1.

²²⁰ ‘Muslim charity stripped of state funding over extremism fears’, *Daily Telegraph*, 11 January 2015, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/11337846/Muslim-charity-stripped-of-state-funding-over-extremism-fears.html>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²²¹ ‘DCLG withdraws £140,000 funding from Muslim Charities Forum’, *Third Sector*, 23 December 2014, available at: <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/dclg-withdraws-140000-funding-muslim-charities-forum/policy-and-politics/article/1327607>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²²² Islamic Help, *Facebook*, 21 September 2018, available at: [https://www.facebook.com/islamichelp/posts/2397950110231935?__xts__\[0\]=68.ARDwXXwOH91dVUyErgGqwXRkaKqLaXvGlkfZkQUULtsvdYpyby_8RXhzaJe3KhxjYZYSV6PdtOArR1RKeqRiLHTG7ML0xdEYzdUnf3tjFa-BULbzLUnKq-Ourlxkv627hYqIbI1Aex6m5CaKL5jxN540d1bilPo_HFAgwIOXNj3_ilfLcMErw&__tn__=-R](https://www.facebook.com/islamichelp/posts/2397950110231935?__xts__[0]=68.ARDwXXwOH91dVUyErgGqwXRkaKqLaXvGlkfZkQUULtsvdYpyby_8RXhzaJe3KhxjYZYSV6PdtOArR1RKeqRiLHTG7ML0xdEYzdUnf3tjFa-BULbzLUnKq-Ourlxkv627hYqIbI1Aex6m5CaKL5jxN540d1bilPo_HFAgwIOXNj3_ilfLcMErw&__tn__=-R), last visited: 21 September 2018.

²²³ For more information on the extremist connections of Islamic Relief and the extreme speakers the charity has hosted, see: ‘Islamic Relief: Charity/Extremism/Terror’, Middle East Forum (MEF), 2018, available at: <https://www.meforum.org/MiddleEastForum/media/MEFLibrary/pdf/Islamic-Relief-Dossier-v3.pdf>, last visited: 21 September 2018; Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), section 3.6.1.

²²⁴ ‘Regulator contacts three Islamic charities about Yasir Qadhi tours’, *Third Sector*, 11 April 2017, available at: <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/regulator-contacts-three-islamic-charities-yasir-qadhi-tours/governance/article/1430267>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²²⁵ ‘London: 21st Century Muslim w. Shaykh Yasir Qadhi’, Islamic Relief *Facebook* Event, 25 April 2017, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1155824201211146>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²²⁶ ‘Regulator contacts three Islamic charities about Yasir Qadhi tours’, *Third Sector*, 11 April 2017.

²²⁷ ‘For the Love of Palestine’, LaunchGood, undated, available at: https://www.launchgood.com/project/children_of_palestine_appeal#!/, last visited: 21 September 2018; ‘For the Love of Palestine with Yasir Qadhi | Ramadan 2018 | Human Appeal’, *YouTube*, 6 June 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hZjRiszdKcM>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

While Islamic Relief defended their decision, stating that he was a high profile speaker who had consistently spoken out against terrorism, extremism and antisemitism,²²⁸ Qadhi has made a number of statements that justify the concern. These include stating that killing homosexuals and stoning adulterers is part of the Islamic religion.²²⁹ He also stated that jihad is obligatory under the condition that there is a caliphate, suggesting the use of guns rather than swords²³⁰ and has advocated *hudud* punishments such as cutting off the hands of thieves.²³¹

The Islam Channel raises money for these charities, both on their website and broadcast, such as advertisements for Muslim Aid and Human Appeal between shows.²³² The channel has also held Ramadan appeals for Muslim Aid on the 1st, 11th and 21st June 2017.²³³ Again, on 19 September 2018, the Islam Channel held an appeal for Muslim Hands, raising money for Rohingya refugees.²³⁴ Finally, the Islam Channel has also raised money for Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS).²³⁵ HHUGS is a UK-registered charity established to support the families of those convicted of terror offences. It is officially supported by a number of prominent extreme and intolerant individuals, and previously described itself as the “sister organisation” of controversial pro-terrorist organisation Cage.²³⁶

Case Study 4: Eman Channel

The Eman Channel, available on Sky and Virgin Media,²³⁷ has 186,000 likes on Facebook,²³⁸ over 1,000 followers on Twitter²³⁹ and 10,800 followers on Instagram.²⁴⁰ The channel's licence is held by Eman Channel Limited.²⁴¹ Given the channel's reach, it is all the more concerning that it has provided platforms for extreme or intolerant individuals and has raised money for charities with connections to extremism.

Following the Islamist attack on London Bridge and Borough Market on 3 June 2017, which left eight dead,²⁴² it became known that one of the attackers – Youssef Zaghba – had worked

²²⁸ ‘Regulator contacts three Islamic charities about Yasir Qadhi tours’, *Third Sector*, 11 April 2017.

²²⁹ ‘Hardline cleric invited to UK by Islamic charity for fundraising tour’, *The Times*, 11 April 2017, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/hardline-cleric-is-invited-to-uk-by-islamic-charity-for-fundraising-tour-g638jlcqf>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ ‘Hardline cleric invited to UK by Islamic charity for fundraising tour’, *The Times*, 11 April 2017.

²³² E.g. Archived footage, aired 12 November 2017 at 13:57, see: Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.108.

²³³ ‘Our Ramadan TV Appeals’, Muslim Hands, 22 May 2017, available at: <https://muslimhands.org.uk/latest/2017/05/our-ramadan-tv-appeals>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²³⁴ @Muslimhandsuk, *Twitter*, 20 September 2018, available at: <https://twitter.com/muslimhandsuk/status/1042691135548940289>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²³⁵ Live appeal on Facebook, see: Islam Channel Urdu, Facebook, 2017, see: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamChannelUrdu/videos/vb.1616642515225034/1933850816837534/?type=2&theater>, last visited: 21 September 2018 ; ‘Live Appeal HHUGS’, Islam Channel Urdu, undated, available at: <https://www.islamchannelurdu.tv/video-category/live-appeal-hhugs/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²³⁶ ‘Cage: human rights advocates or apologists for terror?’, *Channel 4 News*, 11 March 2015, available at: <https://www.channel4.com/news/cage-human-rights-advocates-or-apologists-for-terror>, last visited: 21 September 2018 ; see Chapter 4 for detailed evidence on Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS): Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018).

²³⁷ ‘Master list of digital television channels (UK and Ireland)’, TV Channel Lists, available at: [https://www.tvchannellists.com/Master_list_of_digital_television_channels_\(UK_and_Ireland\)](https://www.tvchannellists.com/Master_list_of_digital_television_channels_(UK_and_Ireland)), last visited: 21 September 2018.

²³⁸ Eman Channel, Facebook, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/emanchanneltv/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²³⁹ @EmanChannelTV, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/emanchanneltv?lang=en>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁴⁰ Emanchanneltv, *Instagram*, available at: <https://www.instagram.com/emanchanneltv/?hl=en>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁴¹ ‘Eman Channel Limited’, Companies House, available at: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/09792399/officers>, last visited: 21 September 2018; ‘Eman Channel’, Ofcom, available at: <http://static.ofcom.org.uk/static/radiolicensing/html/tv/cs/tlcs101320ba1emanchannel.htm>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁴² ‘London attack: What happened’, *BBC News*, 30 May 2018, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-40147164>, last visited: 29 October 2018.

for the Eman Channel as a spokesperson. The Channel is based in Barking, East London, one mile from the flat of attack ringleader, Khuram Butt.²⁴³ However, the channel stated that despite his role as a spokesperson, he had been a contractor working in a “limited capacity” with no involvement in the channel’s output.²⁴⁴ The channel said that Zaghba had never “express[ed] extremist thoughts or display[ed] sympathy towards extremist organisations abroad”.²⁴⁵

However, the channel has been known to consistently and regularly host individuals who do hold extreme views and have links to UK-based extremist organisations. One of the Eman Channel’s regular presenters is Asim Khan.²⁴⁶ In an online article, Khan described homosexuality as “evil”, “wretched”, an “abomination”, “shameful”, “disgusting” and “criminal”, and compared it to “burglary, theft and sexual abuse”.²⁴⁷ In addition, Khan is an instructor at Sabeel and an author at Islam21c, both projects of the MRDF,²⁴⁸ which was founded by Islamist Haitham al Haddad.²⁴⁹

Al Haddad’s extreme views are well known and easily discovered. Al Haddad has expressed his support for child marriage, female genital mutilation, and the stoning of adulterers to death.²⁵⁰ Perhaps most famously, Al Haddad was filmed stating that husbands shouldn’t be questioned about hitting their wives. He has also made homophobic comments and expressed the view that all Western women should submit to Allah and wear the burka.²⁵¹ For beliefs like these, among others, he was listed by Justice Haddon-Cave in the 2016 libel case *Shakeel Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* as one of a number of extremist speakers,²⁵² and has expressed a number of concerning views.²⁵³

Another of the Eman Channel’s presenters is Omar Hajaj.²⁵⁴ Hajaj was previously head of Campaigns for the Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS), an organisation founded in 1962 by Islamist activists from the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat e Islami.²⁵⁵ Hajaj is public relations executive for the MRDF²⁵⁶ and has publicly supported HHUGS.²⁵⁷

²⁴³ ‘London Bridge attackers were regulars at Sunday afternoon pool sessions’, *The Guardian*, 7 June 2017, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/jun/07/london-bridge-attackers-were-regulars-at-sunday-afternoon-pool-sessions>, last visited: 29 October 2018.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ ‘Shaykh Asim Khan’, Sabeel, available at: <https://sabeel.org.uk/shaykh-asim-khan/>; ‘Beautiful Surah Maryam | Tarawih (2018) – Imam Asim Khan’, *YouTube*, 4 June 2018, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0n_9FdH5o9E, last visited: 21 September 2018; ‘Day 2 – Ust. Asim Khan – Ramadan 1439/2018’, *YouTube*, 18 May 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t6Ov7NnofmA>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁴⁷ Khan, A., ‘And remember Lut...’, *Islam21c*, 15 April 2013, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20150407162935/http://www.islam21c.com/politics/9557-and-remember-lt/>, available at: 21 September 2018.

²⁴⁸ For more detail see: Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), section 4.4.15.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., section 3.5.9.

²⁵⁰ ‘Amazon scheme supports Islamic extremists’, *The Times*, 8 October 2018, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/amazon-scheme-supports-extremists-vdzsfvsls>, last visited: 23 October 2018.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² *Begg v British Broadcasting Corporation* [2016] EWHC 2688 (QB), 28 October 2016, para.335.

²⁵³ Other concerning views of Al Haddad include: permitting marital rape and sex slavery, a belief in the inferiority and inequality of women, and anti-Christian and anti-Jewish views. Though al Haddad does not advocate violence to achieve the establishment of Sharia law, he has advocated the use of the democratic system to increase Islamist influence. For more information on his views see: Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), section 4.4.6.

²⁵⁴ ‘Day 3 – Ust. Omar Hajaj – Ramadan 1439/2018’, *YouTube*, 19 May 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XZRE9XVYLUU>, last visited: 21 September 2019.

²⁵⁵ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.61.

²⁵⁶ ‘Omar Hajaj’, LinkedIn, available at: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/omar-hajaj-8012782a/?originalSubdomain=uk>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁵⁷ For more information on Hajaj see: Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.106.

Since 2015, Hajaj has been the Head of Department and a teacher at the West London Islamic Cultural Centre,²⁵⁸ which is a sister charity of Al Muntada al Islami Trust and Al Muntada Aid.²⁵⁹ Al Muntada al Islami Trust has connections with a number of extremist individuals, including Haitham al Haddad,²⁶⁰ and a concerning potential link to terrorism, with allegations being raised in 2012 that funds raised by the charity may have ended up in the hands of militant Islamist group, Boko Haram.²⁶¹ It has also been connected to a number of Saudi charities and organisations, including some alleged by US and international investigators to be involved in terror finance.²⁶²

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Eman Channel has also hosted Haitham al Haddad,²⁶³ and has aired fundraising appeals for HHUGS,²⁶⁴ and Muslim Brotherhood-linked charity Muslim Hands.²⁶⁵ Muslim Hands is one of a number of charities that had previously been part of the Union of Good.²⁶⁶

On 17 March 2018, the Eman Channel was an official partner of the conference 'Light upon Light', which had as its special guest Mufti Ismail Menk.²⁶⁷ Menk is perhaps most well-known for his homophobic views, describing homosexuality as "filthy". "With all due respect to animals" Menk stated, homosexuals "are worse than those animals".²⁶⁸ As a result of fears that his preaching breeds intolerance and is a risk to 'social harmony' Menk has also been banned from Singapore.²⁶⁹ Menk has also featured regularly on the channel.²⁷⁰

²⁵⁸ 'Omar Hajaj', LinkedIn, available at: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/omar-hajaj-8012782a/?originalSubdomain=uk>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁵⁹ 'Al Muntada Al Islami Trust Annual Report & Accounts – 1st August 2015 – 31st July 2016', Charity Commission Accounts, 2015/17, available at: http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Accounts/Ends55/0000293355_AC_20160731_E_C.PDF, last visited: 21 September 2019.

²⁶⁰ For more detail on these links see Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), p. 44.

²⁶¹ Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.42.

²⁶² For more information on Al Muntada al Islami Trust and its associated organisations, see: Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.43.

²⁶³ 'Face to Face – Season 2 Promo', *YouTube*, 20 July 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IQNTw0kxs5Y>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁶⁴ E.g. 'HHUGS live appeal on Eman Channel 22 June 2017', HHUGS, undated, available at: <https://secure.hhugs.org.uk/hhugs-live-appeal-on-eman-channel-22-june-2017/750>, last visited: 21 September 2018; 'HHUGS on Eman Channel – Dhul Hijjah Live Appeal', *YouTube*, 30 August 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QUXNC6BlqNM>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁶⁵ 'Our Ramadan TV Appeals', Muslim Hands, 22 May 2017, available at: <https://muslimhands.org.uk/latest/2017/05/our-ramadan-tv-appeals>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁶⁶ Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.63.

²⁶⁷ 'Light upon Light: Spring Conference', Knowledge1st, *Facebook*, 12 March 2018, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/knowledge1stUK/photos/pppbo.2001930923407441/1888120254591671/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁶⁸ 'Universities cancel Muslim cleric's speaking tour over concerns about his anti-gay views', *The Independent*, 7 November 2013, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/student/news/universities-cancel-muslim-cleric-s-speaking-tour-over-concerns-about-his-anti-gay-views-8927902.html>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁶⁹ 'Singapore bans two preachers, citing divisive views', *Arab News*, 30 October 2017, available at: <http://www.arabnews.com/node/1185591/world>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁷⁰ '2018 – Marriage & Relationship – Mufti Menk – 1 of 3', *YouTube*, 18 March 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kfLcaAAmJYQ&t=20s>, last visited: 21 September 2018; '[NEW] Mufti Menk – Remembrance of Allah [Light Upon Light, Blackburn, 2018]', *YouTube*, 10 August 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uHkxzandBPw>, last visited: 21 September 2018; '[2018]Supplications from Revelation with Mufti Ismail Menk', *YouTube*, 16 May 2018, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x1_ELfPV9VM, last visited: 21 September 2018; 'Mufti Menk – Ramadhan Begins – 2018', *YouTube*, 12 May 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKIKXGMhTIs>, last visited: 21 September 2018; 'Eid in Excel with Mufti Menk 2017 Highlights Part 1', *YouTube*, 6 July 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ic7h2SCR2yl&t=4s>, last visited: 21 September 2018; Mufti Menk – Preparation for a Rewarding Ramadhan', *YouTube*, 14 May 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c9-i9ZWSZ7k>, last visited: 21 September 2018; '[Exclusive] Dealing with Fame! Mufti Menk and Moeen Ali (England Cricketer) at Light Upon Light', *YouTube*, 4 January 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YD7-AnxkTdY&t=1s>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

Other extreme speakers who spoke at the conference included Haitham al Haddad,²⁷¹ Zahir Mahmood²⁷² and Said Rageah.²⁷³ Mahmood and Rageah, both involved with HHUGS, have also been recorded expressing concerning positions.²⁷⁴ Said Rageah has expressed views against integration, non-Muslims and moderate Muslims, discouraging, for example, mixing with the “kuffar”, and he has advocated restrictive attitudes towards the behaviour of Muslim women.²⁷⁵ Zahir Mahmood has similarly made a number of concerning remarks, perhaps most famously describing Hamas as “freedom fighters” in 2009.²⁷⁶

On 10 September 2018, Moazzam Begg and Azad Ali featured on the Eman Channel, livestreamed on Facebook discussing the Syrian war.²⁷⁷ Begg is an ex-Guantanamo detainee and outreach director of the pro-terrorist organisation Cage.²⁷⁸ The organisation is perhaps best known for comments made by Cage’s Asim Qureshi, who stated that the Islamic State executioner known as ‘Jihadi John’ was a “beautiful young man”.²⁷⁹ As journalist Andrew Gilligan aptly put it, Cage are “part of a closely connected network of extremists relentlessly – and successfully – lying to young British Muslims that they are hated and persecuted by their fellow citizens in order to make them supporters of terror”.²⁸⁰ Begg himself has been involved with the ‘extremist scene’ since the early 1990s, having run a bookshop in Birmingham that sold jihadist literature.²⁸¹

Similarly, Azad Ali has recently moved to the position of Director of CAGE,²⁸² having previously been one of the longest serving figures in Mend,²⁸³ a group that has been described by *The Times* as “Islamists masquerading as civil libertarians”.²⁸⁴ Ali has made a number of extreme remarks, and lost a libel case in January 2010 after newspapers wrote that Ali was “a hardline Islamic extremist who supports the killing of British soldiers and American soldiers in Iraq by fellow Muslims as justified”.²⁸⁵

²⁷¹ ‘Shaikh Haitham – the Month of the Qur’an – 2018’, *YouTube*, 12 May 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Xv45A43WsQ>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁷² ‘Sheikh Zahir Mahmood – Ramadhan Throughout History – 2018’, *YouTube*, 13 May 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uT9Cz3Au4Do>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁷³ ‘Light Upon Light 7 – Sh. Said Rageah on Umar bin Khattab – 2’, *YouTube*, 3 January 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vx7vthXYZ6o>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁷⁴ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), see sections 4.5.8 & 4.4.7.

²⁷⁵ For more detail on Rageah’s views see: Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), section 4.4.7.

²⁷⁶ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.133.

²⁷⁷ Eman Channel, *Facebook*, September 2018, available at: https://www.facebook.com/emanchanneltv/videos/2266930850207881/?hc_ref=ARQxn_d0niUY6Ey-eFVhYPknBEYq4g7oHxN-xEbONgrCEmD-1_vTvDIzrL4wAoXWp5E&__tn__=FC-R, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁷⁸ Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), section 4.4.19.

²⁷⁹ ‘IS “Jihadi John” suspect “a beautiful young man” – Cage’, *BBC News*, 26 February 2015, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-31650427/is-jihadi-john-suspect-a-beautiful-young-man-cage>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁸⁰ Gilligan, A., ‘Cage: the extremists peddling lies to British Muslims to turn them into supporters of terror’, *Daily Telegraph*, 28 February 2015, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11442602/Cage-the-extremists-peddling-lies-to-British-Muslims-to-turn-them-into-supporters-of-terror.html>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁸¹ ‘Moazzam Begg: it’s the FBI, the CIA and MI5 who should be questioned’, *New Statesman*, 5 February 2015, available at: <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2015/01/mcbain-begg>, last visited: 21 September 2018; for more information on Begg, see: Webb, E., ‘Wolves in Sheep’s Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector’, Henry Jackson Society (2018), section 4.4.19.

²⁸² ‘Extremist leads Muslim lobby group’, *The Times*, 10 April 2017, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/extremist-leads-muslim-lobby-group-7q2hg30zc>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁸³ Wilson, T., ‘Mend: “Islamists masquerading as civil libertarians”’, Henry Jackson Society (2017), available at: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/HJS-Mend-Report.pdf>, p.12.

²⁸⁴ ‘Extreme Prejudice’, *The Times*, 3 June 2017, available at: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/extreme-prejudice-5zwrjxhw3>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁸⁵ For more detailed evidence of Ali’s views, see: Wilson, T., ‘Mend: “Islamists masquerading as civil libertarians”’, Henry Jackson Society (2017), p.13; ‘Extremist leads Muslim lobby group’, *The Times*, 10 April 2017.

In addition to hosting concerning individuals, like the Islam Channel, the Eman Channel raises money for charities with extremist connections. For example, on 21 February 2018, the Eman Channel hosted the 'Syria Is Burning' fundraising appeal, in support of a number of charities that have links with extremism, including: Muntada Aid,²⁸⁶ Human Relief, Human Aid, One Ummah and One Nation.²⁸⁷

One Ummah shares a trustee – Saqib Sattar – with extremist-linked charity iERA (see above).²⁸⁸ One of One Nation's trustees, Arshad Patel, was arrested, though not charged, during the investigations into the 7/7 London bombings. His sister had, until his death in the bombings, been the wife of the attack's ring-leader Mohammed Sadiq Khan.²⁸⁹ The charity has in the past funded organisations such as the Hamas affiliated Al Falah Benevolent Society.²⁹⁰ The Charity Commission had concerns about the charity in May 2014 and opened an inquiry into them in November 2016 due to concerns regarding management and administration. During this period, in September 2014, the Charity hosted speaker Mumtaz ul Haq, who has been outspoken against Shias and Ahmadiyya Muslims, calling them by the derogative term *qadianis*.²⁹¹

In addition to broadcast, the Eman Channel frequently publishes content on other platforms not regulated by Ofcom on accounts officially linked to the channel and using its branding, such as YouTube.²⁹² The channel also provides a platform for speakers off-air; for example, on 11 June 2018 the Eman Channel's 'Iftar in ExCel', a mass event in London focused around the evening meal eaten by Muslims during the fast of Ramadan, featured speakers such as Wasim Kempson, Ismail Menk, Asim Khan.²⁹³ The Eman Channel has also hosted Yasir Qadhi (see above).²⁹⁴

As with all of these channels, the accumulated presence of individuals known to hold these extreme or intolerant views brings into question whether the licensee is fit and proper to hold the licence.

Case Study 5: Ramadan TV

With over 1,600 likes on Facebook and over 680 likes on Twitter, Ramadan TV has less reach compared with the other channels case-studied in this report.²⁹⁵ Ramadan TV does not hold a

²⁸⁶ The Channel also raised money for Muntada Aid in 2017 during a live fundraising appeal, see: 'Qurbani Appeal 2017 – Eman Channel Live Appeal', Muntada Aid, undated, available at: <http://www.muntadaaid.org/qurbani-2-2/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁸⁷ 'Syria is Burning', Islam Bedford, *Facebook*, 21 February 2018, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/IslamBedford/photos/pppbo.2001930923407441/894391690685997/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 September 2018; for detailed evidence of the connection of these charities to extremism, see: Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018).

²⁸⁸ 'One Ummah Charity', Charity Commission, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1168565&subid=0>, last visited: 24 September 2018.

²⁸⁹ Gilligan, A., 'Friend of murdered hostage Alan Henning defends Isil online', *Daily Telegraph*, 16 November 2014, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11233372/Friend-of-murdered-hostage-Alan-Henning-defends-Isil-online.html>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁹⁰ Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), p.39.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² For example, Asim Khan features in 'Are you TRULY successful?' *YouTube*, 8 September 2018, available at: 'Are you TRULY Successful?', *YouTube*, 8 September 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KFP14pZ-Pqc>, last visited: 21 September 2018; 'Tafsir of Surah Al Qadr – Ustadh Asim Khan', *YouTube*, 10 June 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-jxuVdxGr78>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁹³ 'Iftar in Excel Highlights from 2017', *YouTube*, 4 June 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jKqRIH7mhZs>, last visited: 21 September 2018; 'Iftar in Excel – Europe's Largest Iftar Gathering – Trailer', *YouTube*, 17 May 2017, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=teV2yrcV62Y>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁹⁴ 'Branches of Faith – Pt.3 – Tasting the Sweetness of Eman – Sh. Dr. Yasir Qadhi', *YouTube*, 19 May 2018, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RnyfKD1X2ks>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁹⁵ Ramadan TV, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/RamadanTVAustralia/>, last visited: 21 September 2018; @rtv852, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/rtv852?lang=en>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

licence with Ofcom, and though based in Australia,²⁹⁶ is available easily in the UK over the internet and can be live streamed.²⁹⁷ It also has an online presence on both Facebook and Twitter.²⁹⁸

Ramadan TV is particularly relevant in any discussion of extremism broadcast in the UK for a number of reasons, illustrated by its 'O You Who Believe' livestreamed event on 21-23 June 2017.²⁹⁹ The event was held in support of Charity Right, a UK-registered charity. The advertisement posters for the event explicitly stated the time the event would be streamed in London.³⁰⁰ One of the speakers at the event was Wasim Kempson, who is involved with a number of concerning organisations, including charity HHUGS. In the past he has advocated for ex-Guantanamo detainee Shaker Amer who he called his "dear brother", and has expressed public support for Aafia Siddiqui, who in 2010 was convicted for attempting to kill US military personnel.³⁰¹

Ramadan TV is a project of Mercy Mission. Mercy Mission's other projects include the AlKauthar Institute, Charity Right, the National Zakat Foundation and the Muslim Foster Network.³⁰² Ramadan TV therefore appears to be closely connected to Charity Right and the AlKauthar Institute – a registered charity in Australia – which has provided platforms for a number of speakers who have expressed extreme or intolerant views.³⁰³

²⁹⁶ Ramadan TV, available at: <http://ramadantv.com.au/>, last visited: 14 November 2018.

²⁹⁷ Ramadan TV – Watch Live, available at: <http://ramadantv.com.au/watch-live/>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁹⁸ Ramadan TV, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/YourRamadanTV/>, last visited: 21 September 2018; @rtv852, *Twitter*, available at: <https://twitter.com/rtv852?lang=en>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

²⁹⁹ 'Night of Power - O You Who Believe', Ramadan TV, *Facebook*, available at: <https://www.facebook.com/YourRamadanTV/photos/gm.315885985514564/1586960807981739/?type=3&theater>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid*; 'Charity Right', Charity Commission, available at: <http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=1163944&subid=0>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

³⁰¹ Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), section 4.4.22; 'US jails Pakistani scientist for 86 years', *BBC News*, 23 September 2010, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-11401865>, last visited: 21 September 2018.

³⁰² 'Mercy Mission – Our History', available at: <http://mercymission.org.uk/our-history/>.

³⁰³ For more detail on these speakers and their statements, see: Webb, E., 'Wolves in Sheep's Clothing: How Islamist Extremists Exploit the UK Charitable Sector', Henry Jackson Society (2018), section 3.5.8.

4. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

While the revocation of licenses must respect article 10 of the Human Rights Act and ECHR, the challenge for future policy in regulating the extremist abuse of broadcast media is to take account of the broader context.

It is clear from the profiles in Section 2 that Ofcom has demonstrated an ever-improving capability to respond and impose penalties – up to and including the revocation of a licence – when extremist or intolerant *content* is aired. By updating the Broadcasting Code in line with their own assessment of changing needs, it has demonstrated that it takes extremist content seriously and is willing and able to adapt to meet the changing threat landscape.

In addition, the recent case of Ausaf TV Limited shows promise in dealing with channels connected to extremist activity more broadly, through its consideration that public trust would be damaged if such a channel was able to continue holding a licence. However, as the case studies show, Ofcom continues to face a number of challenges which, if not met, will relegate their successful regulation of content to the side-lines. When taken in the broader context, content alone is a drop in the ocean when it comes to the variety of benefits extremists can reap from abusing broadcasting.

Policies that fail to take these benefits into account, such as developing popularity, credibility and fundraising, and implicitly introducing the viewer to an individual whose extreme content can be found elsewhere, will have a negative long-term impact by failing to address the real nature of the problem.

These channels continue to hold licences even though they clearly should not be considered ‘fit and proper’. A selection of channels almost ubiquitously hosts extremist or intolerant individuals to the exclusion of moderates, bringing into question the purpose of their channel licence. This paper therefore calls on Ofcom to:

Scrutinise whether Peace TV, Islam Channel, Huda TV and Eman Channel are ‘fit and proper’ to be licensees.

Likewise, there is the complex problem of additional content. These channels have official websites, YouTube and social media accounts where content is published and speakers are provided with platforms, with some even hosting or sponsoring conferences. These should be considered relevant and monitored if the broader context is to be taken properly into account.

Similarly, fundraising for charities that have connections to violent or non-violent extremists should be monitored and regarded as relevant. These channels cannot be told to stop fundraising for UK-registered charities because it is not illegal. Nevertheless, it is important for Ofcom to work closely with the Charity Commission to ensure that it is aware of the nature of the charities for which these channels fundraise and is able to take that into consideration in its broader assessment of that channel’s activities.

Although it is recognised that Ofcom does not have the power to act against charities, and is consequently reliant on the Charity Commission in this respect, it is nonetheless tied to a broader concerning phenomenon which requires policy and legislative solutions. For that reason, new legislation would be required to further empower both Ofcom and the Charity Commission. Channels should not be allowed to raise money almost solely for charities with connections to extremist individuals or groups, without their motives coming under suspicion or the suitability to hold their licence questioned.

The conclusions reached by this report identify a number of challenges. These are outlined below, together with recommended solutions:

Challenge: Channels explicitly connected to known extremists, such as Zakir Naik, or those showing ample evidence of the pervasive influence of extremists, continue to hold licences.

Recommendation: This should be considered relevant when Ofcom assesses whether a licensee is 'fit and proper'. Companies connected to extremists who are, for example, banned from entering the United Kingdom as a result of their extreme views, should not be eligible to hold licences. Likewise, channels such as Huda TV and Peace TV which repeatedly and consistently provide platforms for individuals who hold extreme views should not be considered appropriate and should have their licences revoked.

Challenge: Channels that have their licences revoked, such as Press TV, are able to reach UK audiences through online media.

Recommendation: Ofcom should work closely with social media companies and the government to limit the continued influence of channels which have been deemed inappropriate to hold a licence but continue to reach UK audiences, even when they do not fall under UK jurisdiction.

Challenge: Channels continue to fundraise unchallenged for extremist-linked charities.

Recommendation: Ofcom should work closely with the Charity Commission, the Extremism Analysis Unit (EAU) and the Commission for Countering Extremism to include fundraising in their regular monitoring of content, to ensure that they are aware of fundraising for extremist-linked charities and can take appropriate action if necessary, such as issuing financial sanctions. Even if a charity with substantial extremist links continues to be registered, regular fundraising for such charities should be factored into any assessment of whether the licensee is 'fit and proper'.

Challenge: Some channels based abroad with a presence in the UK, such as Ramadan TV, are not being regulated.

Recommendation: The government must seriously consider legislative proposals to ensure that channels operating beyond UK jurisdiction are not allowed to freely reach UK audiences. In the case of Ramadan TV, the government should work closely with Ofcom and the Australian authorities to consider what action can be taken to limit the channel's influence or growth.

Challenge: Channels host extremist speakers and, irrespective of content, create influence and credibility for those speakers, which may lead the viewer to seek out their more extremist content elsewhere.

Recommendation: Ofcom should consider sanctions or, if such speakers continue to be hosted, the revocation of licences under the 'fit and proper' duty if extreme speakers continue to be provided with a platform. In addition, Ofcom should consider requiring channels who ubiquitously host extremist individuals, regardless of aired content, to ensure balanced platforms and a range of views, including robust challenges.



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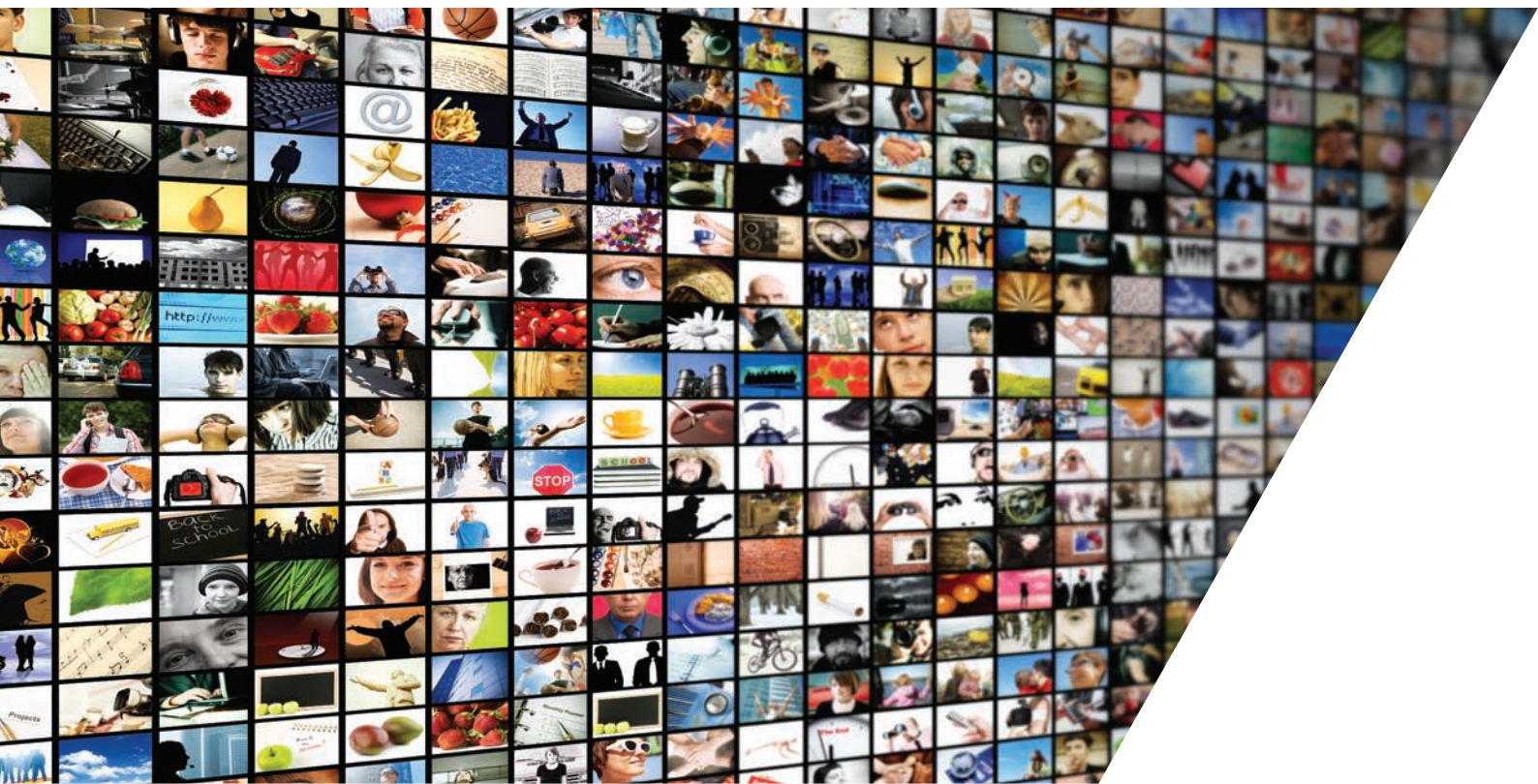
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