



THE MUSLIM COUNCIL OF BRITAIN
www.mcb.org.uk

The Conservative Party's Group on National and International Security –
**'Uniting the Country: Interim Report on National
Cohesion'**

A response from the MCB

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1. Introduction

In January 2007 the Conservative Party's Group on National and International Security published its Mid-term Policy Review Report on National Cohesion (hereafter referred to as 'Report'). Entitled 'Uniting the Country', the stated aim of the Report was to look at national cohesion but specifically had its sights on Britain's Muslim community. The Report attempts to examine the position of the Muslim community and seeks to assess its leadership. In passing, the Report takes aim at multiculturalism through the broken lens of a security paradigm. In doing so, the Report criticises Muslim community organisations, directing particular venom towards the Muslim Council of Britain.

This document is a necessarily robust response to the accusations levelled at the MCB. It rejects the explicit and implicit assertions that the MCB is a reactionary, unrepresentative and anti-democratic organisation. The MCB's values, ethos and track record undermine the thesis of the Report, as will be shown in the succeeding pages.

Overall, the MCB views the Report as a tremendous missed opportunity. It neither addresses adequately community cohesion – the stated aim of the Report – nor does it address the safety of the realm and

international stability – the remit of the Report's authors.

In keeping with the ethos of the MCB, this response does not reject the Report outright. In an otherwise poorly researched and poorly argued exposition, there are extremely rare morsels of wisdom from which we can all learn. These include the question of integration and the empowering of women. But this Report significantly undermines the exploration of these subjects. For this to be successfully championed, the Conservative Party would need to commission a different report with a newly assembled policy group. The MCB would be ever ready to engage in this endeavour.

This response comprises five sections: -

- Setting the record right on specific assertions and allegations (Section 2)
- Observations on the Interim Report's stated aims (Section 3)
- Points of merit (Section 4)
- Conclusion (Section 5)

Annexes provide factual information about some of the wide-ranging work carried out by the MCB.

2. Setting the record right

2.1 Identity politics

“The MCB uses identity politics to pursue a domestic and international policy agenda sympathetic to that of their ideological authorities. Thus, it argued that the Government should ‘change foreign policy’¹ in a direction with which the terrorists would agree in order to deny them a cause, and very nearly succeeded in significantly curtailing free speech² using the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill. It asserts that if concessions to its agenda of special treatment for Muslims are not made, more young Muslims will be driven into the arms of its more extreme ideological cousins.” (Uniting the Country, p. 30)

The Report also commends those organisations ‘that do not subscribe to an ideological approach’³ and ‘eschew identity politics’. It offers the example of the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as a leader who did not ‘proscribe a particular political or legal system’ i.e., he was ‘non-ideological’.

The MCB would like to disentangle various confluences. Firstly, ‘identity politics’ is primarily about identity, and only secondarily about politics or ideology.

It is a reality that people today are comfortable with a variety of identities – reflecting their profession, ethnicity, place of birth, citizenship, faith etc. A Home Office study in 2001 asked respondents to rank their basis of self identity. For persons of white ethnicity, the top three rankings were Family, Work and Age/Life-stage; for those of Black ethnicity it was Family, Ethnicity/Culture and Religion; for Asian persons it was Family, Religion and Ethnicity/Culture⁴. The rankings a person chooses to describe himself or herself would depend on the context. A person can be a Muslim and a Yorkshireman, or a Muslim and a sociologist.

However in the context of public engagement – influencing public sector resource allocation, political participation, moral and ethical debates, and educational practices – many in society believe that the most important identity is their religion.

It is for this reason that the MCB campaigned for a religion question in the 2001 Census, which for the first time provided reliable data on the demographic and socio-economic profiles of religious communities. Why deny a community their right of a religio-cultural identity? Subsequent reports analysing problems of unemployment, health, housing etc have confirmed that public policy based

¹ We respond to this particular accusation in section 2.4 of this document

² We respond to this particular accusation in section 2.5

³ *Uniting the Country*, p. 29

⁴ ‘Religion in England & Wales: findings from the 2001 Home Office Citizenship Survey’, Report 274, March 2004; Table 3.2

solely on ethnic classifications (Black, Asian etc) had been inadequate⁵. Issues of ill-health, unemployment and poor housing, among other social and economic problems, have been found to be more marked amongst Asian or Black Muslims than Asian or Black non-Muslims. The formal recognition of the existence of faith/religious communities in society, through official statistics like the Census, has allowed for a better informed debate on how to allocate public resources more effectively and equitably. Thus, recognition of identity signifiers, or 'identity politics' as the Report more crudely puts it, has allowed practical measures to be taken to address socio-economic inequalities.

The MCB believes that public recognition of faith identity supports, rather than detracts, from community cohesion⁶. The MCB is alert to the importance of contributing to the good of the wider society and not just seeking community self-interest. This is an important challenge. But it can be met if the Muslim community is allowed to develop and acquire a sense of self-confidence – overcoming the fear of disappearance and a greater willingness to mix and befriend. The MCB's leadership role has been to work towards supplanting the inward-looking approach with greater engagement as individuals in civil society.

The MCB finds the references to Jinnah in the Interim Report bizarre. The Report enthusiastically endorses a man who successfully advocated a separate state for Muslims based on his 'two nation' theory through the use of what the Report describes elsewhere as 'identity politics'.

2.2 Integration

"The MCB does not have as one of its aims, the integration of members of Muslim communities into the wider society of the UK. The Group believes however that it should view its existing commitment 'to foster better community relations and work for the good of society as a whole' with integration as the end goal and should invest effort in achieving this objective. We believe that integration should also be the objective of other Muslim leaders and organisations which have the best interests of Muslims at heart." (p. 26)

'Integration' may not be a stated aim of the MCB but its work in all areas would suggest that nothing short of full parity in the treatment of Muslims, and the appraisal of their lives in Britain on the basis on total equality, is what is sought. Integration involves not the supplanting of indigenous values with externally derived ones – with 'full integration' being equated with assimilation – but the acceptance of and provisions for those things which make integration possible and realisable; faith schools, freedom to wear headscarves, a responsible press and a public culture which doesn't vilify Islam and Muslims. What the MCB advocates is the 'naturalisation' of Islam in Britain such that Muslim pupils

⁵ <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/focuson/religion>

⁶ MCB Briefing Paper: *Our stand on Multiculturalism, Citizenship, Extremism, & Expectations from the Commission on Integration and Cohesion*, 2007

<<http://www.mcb.org.uk/downloads/MCB%20ReDoc%20Briefing%20Paper%20PRINTRUN.pdf>>

attending faith schools are not viewed as burgeoning fifth columnists any more than are their Christian and Jewish counterparts, who similarly enjoy the right to a faith based education. In the same way, Muslim women wearing the headscarf should be seen as women exercising their right to freedom of religion and freedom of dress as citizens both British and Muslim.

Integration can only truly be achieved when integration is understood to be a process which centrifugally draws together all sections of a society to embrace a supra-identity that envelops them all, in this case 'being British'. It does not, and should not, imply the lesser treatment of other facets of individual identity.

2.3 Engaging with the democratic process

The Report characterises the MCB's initiatives to engage with public policy as 'intellectual entryism' and states that 'respectability is thus gained for the attack on democratic values.' (p.13)

This is a disgraceful aspersion on the MCB's commitment to rigorous democracy, active civic engagement and interaction with public policy. Annex 1 outlines some of our work with the community and with policymakers. Our motivations are underscored by the ethos of enthusing active and civic-minded British Muslims who will contribute to the common good of British society. Instead, the Report views the MCB's motives in the best traditions of 'Reds-Under-the-Beds' McCarthyism, casting doubt on our patriotism and our commitment to British values. The MCB is fully committed to democratic politics: it is notable that the Report fails to substantiate in any way its outrageous claim that the MCB is involved in an 'attack on democratic values'.

The Report 'observes' that 'extremist influences do at present find fertile ground on which to fall and that in the current political climate, their voices can receive high level Muslim endorsement...' (p.10). It pronounces that 'a battle is thus underway for the allegiance of British Muslims between an ideological movement which challenges democratic values and also tries to squeeze out more liberal Islamic traditions...' (p.11). The lack of precise use of definitions and terms in describing organisations leads to their misrepresentation in much of the Report. At no time has the MCB ever denounced democratic engagement nor is it in the habit of determining the type of Islam practised by British Muslims.

In its superficial treatment of Muslim organisations of different persuasions, the Interim Report has lumped them into a single basket – all cut from the same cloth with no distinctions made between those that are opposed to democratic engagement and those that are not.⁷ The Report instead makes use of the fashionable 'liberal' Muslims, as opposed to their 'extremist' brethren, to demarcate trends and camps in the Muslim community. The distinction is as specious as it is vacuous.

⁷ There have been Muslim groups in the UK that has actively campaigned against democratic involvement. MCB has borne the brunt of this as evidenced through the violent disruption of its campaign for voter participation in April 2005.

By labelling Muslims that take an active interest in politics and whose ideas on politics are shaped by concepts valued by religion, such as justice, equality and fair play, as detrimental to modern democracy and preferring 'liberals', who are more inclined to an esoteric religiosity, the Report advances an argument that suggests that Muslims as political actors are somehow 'bad' and 'problematic'. The argument, of an authoritarian bent, refuses to acknowledge the positive role of religion in creating good and responsible citizens.

2.4 Foreign Affairs

The Report misrepresents the MCB's stance on foreign affairs by stating: 'It has argued that the government "should change foreign policy" in a direction with which the terrorists would agree in order to deny them a cause'. (p.8)

The full quote from the open letter – which the Report incorrectly describes as an 'MCB Open Letter', but was in fact signed by over forty Muslim organisations, including the MCB, members of parliament and the House of Lords - is as follows: "We urge the Prime Minister to redouble his efforts to tackle terror and extremism and change our foreign policy to show the world that we value the lives of civilians wherever they live and whatever their religion. Such a move would make us all safer." ⁸ This letter was issued in the context of the Government's refusal to call for an immediate ceasefire during the massive Israeli bombardment of Lebanon in the summer of 2006.

All signatories to the open letter concurred that some of the Government's foreign policy decisions were making us less and not more safe. It is an argument defended robustly by academic and intelligence reports that claim the same.⁹ It should also be added here that the MCB has been consistently uncompromising in its condemnation of any attack on civilians, wherever they may be.¹⁰

In our engagement on foreign policy with policymakers, the MCB has never maintained that a change in foreign policy would ward off extremists alone. The argument advanced by the MCB is that proper democratic governance, where public opinion matters and leaders are held accountable for their foreign policy disasters, is the only way to exterminate the fodder used by extremists on impressionable young minds. What we make the case for is wholesale engagement and rigorous democracy.

⁸ Full text can be found at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4786159.stm>

⁹ See Chatham House, 'Security, Terrorism and the UK', published July 2005; see also 'The Iraq Effect' by Peter Bergen and Paul Cruikshank, in *Mother Jones*, February 2007, <http://www.lawandsecurity.org/publications/Iraq_Effect_Full_Study.pdf>, which claims that 'the Iraq War has generated a stunning sevenfold increase in the yearly rate of fatal jihadist attacks, amounting to literally hundreds of additional terrorist attacks...'

¹⁰ See also '1 yearn for a foreign policy of which we can be proud' M A Bari, *The Guardian*, 17 August 2006 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,,1851621,00.html>.

2.5 Incitement to Religious Hatred

The Report's next target is the MCB's support for the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill. It is accused of "using democratic freedoms to establish a parallel system, (or in some cases, an overriding system), of religiously-derived law."¹¹

The example used is a deliberate misrepresentation of the MCB campaign to have a Racial and Religious Hatred Bill introduced onto the statute books; presenting it as an attempt to curtail free speech and stifle any criticism of Islam. (pp.30-31)

This presentation of the MCB's support for such a bill is a far cry from the truth. The incitement to religious hatred proposal was not a matter of advancing privileges for British Muslims. It was, and remains to be, about establishing equality under the law for members of all faith communities and none.

The MCB sought to close the loophole in current legislation that is being exploited by far right groups to target Muslims in Britain. We supported this legislation due to our desire to see equality of protection for all religious groups. The current racial hatred legislation covers Jews and Sikhs only, thereby establishing a hierarchy of rights where only certain groups are protected.

Prohibiting incitement to religious hatred, in the MCB's opinion, is the only way to counter the growing scourge of hate speech and incendiary electioneering in vulnerable wards. What is desired is not a constraint or diminution of free speech, but a protection against abuse and hatred levelled at a minority defined by its religion. Nor is it an attempt to extend current blasphemy laws to cover Islam. Legislation can and should provide the necessary safeguards to exclude these aspects.

2.6. 'Qaradawist' Ideology

The Report tells us that the MCB has "hardline members promulgating the teachings of Maududi and Qutb, who tend to dominate policy and crowd out moderate voices" (p. 8 and p.30)

The Report does not identify who these hardline members of the MCB are, nor does it give evidence of an internal struggle in which 'moderates' feel themselves outnumbered. More importantly, we are given no references to substantiate the claim of the sway of Maududi and Qutb on principal actors in the MCB.¹²

Through its paradigm, the Report chooses to make additional broadsides on the integrity of the MCB. The Report accuses the MCB of harbouring a 'Qardawist' ideology, named after the Islamic scholar Shaykh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi.¹³ Again, no

¹¹ *Uniting the Country*, p. 29

¹² *Uniting the Country*, p. 30

¹³ *Uniting the Country*, p. 30

evidence is provided to show that the MCB follows a 'Qaradawist' ideology.

As evidenced through the range of its affiliates (Annex 2), the MCB creates a space for all schools of thought to be represented, Sufi and Salafi, Shi'a and Sunni. The MCB is not beholden to any one Islamic scholar. The MCB comprises of an enormously diverse range of affiliated organisations representing many different strands of thought that are present among British Muslims.

The MCB does not necessarily agree with all that Shaykh Al-Qaradawi has to say, but neither does it deny that he is an important figure and contributor within Islamic theological circles. We reject Dame Pauline Neville-Jones' George Bush-like mantra, 'you're either with us, or against us', that expects compliance on this matter. She said, on the day of the launch of the Report:

"The MCB have to decide their position: do they endorse Qaradawi or do they, as they claim, want to advance integration? These two things are not compatible."¹⁴

The MCB defended Shaykh al-Qaradawi's right to visit Britain in 2004 when he was subjected to a clearly orchestrated hate campaign in the media. Our position was vindicated when the Crown Prosecution Service rejected the 'dossier' given to it by the Board of Deputies of British Jews urging that Shaykh al-Qaradawi be prosecuted for some of his pronouncements. Again, we are puzzled as to why the MCB's position should be misconstrued as 'endorsing' al-Qaradawi. We do not 'endorse' any Islamic scholar: we have the right to agree and disagree with some of the opinions of all Islamic scholars.

The MCB does wish to advance the cause of integration and has a proven track record for doing so. However, we will not be bullied into a corner where we submit to the grandstanding of vested interests and a trial by media.¹⁵

2.6 'Islamism'

The Report gives us definitions of 'Islamists' and 'Sharia' without any reference to credible or recent scholarship.

It cites Qutb and Maududi as ideologues of a particular brand of Islamic political thought but fails spectacularly to insert anything of recent scholarship in Islamic political theory. It is hard to imagine that Qutb, who wrote in the 1960s and Maududi, who wrote in the 1940s, have not been succeeded by more contemporary thinkers. Or, that in a report of this nature, which seems intent on second guessing intellectuals that influence modern Muslims, no effort has been made to understand prevailing trends and current thinkers in the field of Islamic

¹⁴ < http://www.conservatives.com/tile.do?def=news.press.release.page&obj_id=134770 > accessed 1 February 2007

¹⁵ The notoriety of the British media in presenting Muslim scholars as either simple 'friend' or 'foe', and the weak foundations for their partiality are well known. The Muslim scholar Professor Tariq Ramadan, was famously splashed across the front page of one tabloid daily levelling all manner of spurious allegations at the Swiss born Muslim academic.

political theory. The omission is most telling. As is the focus on Qutb and Maududi.¹⁶

'Islamists' too are defined as being one of two narrow groups: the first are those who oppose democracy and vilify opponents, the second, those who believe that the laws of the country should be changed to more closely approximate Islamic ones through democratic means. Throughout the Report, both are used interchangeably. And the latter group is used as short-hand to describe those organisations that seek parity for British Muslims through our democratic process.

Not only is the definition ill formulated it is extremely limited in its application. The term is used derogatively to label those actors that use religious precepts to either opt out of the democratic process or to engage with it on a selective basis. For the former group; those that oppose democracy and vilify opponents, it would be more accurate to label this group 'anti-democrats'. For the second, it would be more fitting to label them as either of 'partial' or 'limited' democratic orientation. The distinction is an important one bearing in mind that for the vast majority of Muslims, democracy is a valid and valued political method and their engagement in the political process is not pursued on grounds of individual or communal gain, but of societal improvement and collective benefit. To use the term Islamist is to obscure the differences in political thought and action of all Muslims that derive their inspiration and values from the religion itself.

2.7 The MCB – structure and founding

The Report states that the MCB "claims the allegiance of several hundred affiliates, was set up in the 1990's with government encouragement to represent the views of all Muslims – which, given the highly varied composition of the communities, is virtually impossible" (p.8)

The MCB has never deigned to capture the full spectrum of community views, only to reflect a substantial part of it, as evidenced through its affiliates (Annex 2). From the list it is evident that the MCB has attracted a wide variety of Muslim organisations from across the UK. The regular meetings of its Central Working Committee provide ample evidence of the accuracy of its claims to represent and articulate concerns and opinions of a substantial part of the Muslim community from across the country.

The MCB notes with some amusement how its founding is attributed to both Conservative (at the suggestion of the then Home Secretary Michael Howard) and Labour (following their 1997 victory) Governments. In fact, the MCB is the product of years of consultation across the country between different community groups, mosques and national organisations (see Annex 1).

¹⁶ It is inconceivable that thinkers that preceded Maududi and Qutb such as, Muhammad al Afghani and Rashid Rida, seminal figures in the development of modern Islamic political thought, could have been wholly sidelined. The preoccupation with Qutb and Maududi, and the representation of their work in this Report is of clear ideological motivation.

The MCB exists to collate and articulate Muslim opinions on prevailing issues of the day much like any other conceived interest group. It is not a 'single issue group', nor are its interests confined to the members it represents. Its ethos is to work for the common good of all; in the belief that religion, if practiced properly, can be a force for good in the lives of all mankind.

3. A comment on the Report's stated aims

3.1 National and international security

The Report's stated aim was to look "at issues relating to national cohesion because our collective safety cannot just depend upon our ability to take effective security measures against the enemies of our society, important as these are, but because ultimately it is our common loyalty and our shared desire to preserve our liberties which will keep us safe".¹⁷

David Cameron was on firmer ground when he warned of a "dangerous muddling of concerns: community cohesion, the threat of terrorism and the integration of British Muslims." Promoting community cohesion, he said, should "indeed be part of our response to terrorism – but cohesion is not just about terrorism, and it is certainly not just about Muslims."¹⁸ The MCB therefore rejects the premise of this Report conflating as it does the very issues the Conservative Party Leader has been clear to distinguish between. Its observations are ineffectual, made by a Group with an apparent expertise in International Security and not in community and social cohesion.

What we therefore witness in the Report is an incompetent attempt at discussing integration, cohesion and the Muslim community. The problem with this in its current presentation is that it is wholly presented through the prism of security. Whilst we agree that national and international security is now a cross-cutting discipline requiring the attention of all government departments, examining national cohesion as a means to improving national security will be detrimental to both objectives. It neither addresses the international security concerns of our day, nor does it seek to address national cohesion head on.

On national and international security, the Report does very little to address radicalism and extremism. It makes modest references to established studies and sheds no light on why young people, seemingly connected to British society, can nevertheless be radicalised through the parallel worlds that exist on the internet and in forums outside the mosque and established Islamic community networks.

3.2 National Cohesion

On national cohesion, the Report does not deliver on situating issues relating to national unity in the broader context of a vision for Britain. Instead, by simply focusing on British Muslims as a 'problem community', the Report fails to explore much deeper, interrelated issues. These include the phenomenon of 'white flight', of the increasing anti-Muslim diatribes of the far right and of economic and social mobility for all communities.

¹⁷ *Uniting the Country*, p. 1

¹⁸ David Cameron, No one will be left behind in a Tory Britain, *The Observer*, 28 January 2007

4. Points of merit

4.1 Facilitating integration

The Report calls for a 'a more explicit acceptance on the part of the majority community of the importance of helping minorities to integrate to be matched by minorities' willingness to equip themselves to be active participants in the general life of their new country'.¹⁹ We wholly agree with this sentiment, but the Report places much greater emphasis on the minorities' willingness to integrate, and much less on the responsibility of the majority to match the will of minorities to ease integration.

4.2 Education

A further sound recommendation in this Report is its call for '...[a] broader [history] syllabus...which traces the history of the various peoples who now inhabit these islands and gives children a proper sense of how we came to be as we now are and what we have in common.'²⁰

A revised history syllabus should also include a mature understanding of Britain's imperial past. We agree that 'being British should be something we wish to rejoice in, celebrate and be proud of'.²¹ But we would implore that we delve deeper. In a devolved Britain and with the ascendancy of a multi-channel, internet age, we can no longer exclusively rely on the BBC (amongst others) to share a national moment. Focusing around a National Day in celebration of Her Majesty can help, but this only scratches the surface of methods to be employed to exude a sense of common feeling and solidarity.

On other issues, we also endorse some of the Report's comments on education. We support the call to improve the quality of publicly funded education, especially in inner cities, where a high proportion of ethnic minorities live. We further add that this is as important for areas in which there is a high proportion of white working class pupils. Both groups equally suffer from poorly funded state education.

We commend the call to support faith schools and agree that they be regulated through appropriate standards to raise the quality of education received and to ensure that those graduating from such schools do so with skills amenable to better prospects in work or further education.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ *Uniting the Country* p. 27

²¹ Ibid.

4.3 Empowering Women

The Report rightly calls for Muslim women to enjoy a greater role in society and British Muslim community organisations. The MCB has led the way in this. Our 'Footsteps' project is a network of high achieving British Muslims, including women, who are used as role models to encourage other young British Muslim women to aim high and excel in their professional lives.²²

Moreover, the MCB has initiated several capacity building programmes to harness greater skills training. These include the Leadership Development Programme (in its fourth year), media skills training programmes and our recent Effective Negotiation Skills seminar. In all programmes a set quota of places have been reserved for women.²³

In addition, the MCB leadership and its many committees benefit from the participation of numerous talented women. Our current Treasurer (formerly assistant secretary general) is credited with the organisation's exponential growth. The MCB has always encouraged female participation and takes great pride in the voluntary contribution to civic vocations emanating from both male and female sections of the Muslim community.

The MCB has long supported greater participation of Muslim women in our national life and in pursuit of independently generated preferences and professions. It takes great comfort in the knowledge that Muslim women possess opportunities in Britain that are often denied them in other societies. What it also notes, is that in a climate where the wearing of the headscarf becomes a matter of national debate and not a private, conscientious choice, the likelihood of these opportunities being exploited is diminished.

The MCB is supportive of policy recommendations recently proposed in the GLA sponsored *Muslims in London* report which advocates job sharing and other flexible employment options to enable Muslim women to pursue employment outside the home without unduly compromising other responsibilities where relevant.²⁴

It is of some concern, that in a Report which places great emphasis on 'liberating' women, little reference is made to existent policy recommendations and papers, such as that published by the Open Society Institute, or to the lack of political will in devising policies aimed at addressing the paucity of Muslim females in the workforce.²⁵

²² Role models who have participated in the programme include: Malieha Malik, Baroness Pola Uddin, Salma Yaqub, Zamila Bunglawala, Aysha Asarie, Farrah Dryden.

²³ Participants to the Negotiation Skills Programme (March 2007) had 28% women; ethnic backgrounds: Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian, Malaysian, Arab, Turkish and West African. 25% from the North of England, and the rest from the South.

²⁴ Greater London Authority, *Muslims in London*, (London: October 2006) p, 55-56.

²⁵ Tufyal Choudhury et al., *Muslims in the UK: Policies for Engaged Citizens*, Open Society Institute, (London: 2005); Chapter 3: Muslims in the UK and the Labour Market

5. Conclusion

The Muslim Council of Britain views *Uniting the Country* as a document that does very little to help unify this nation but plenty to try and further divide and fragment British society. It is a poorly researched exposition by authors more intent on serving cynical ideological intentions. The Report chooses the MCB as its primary target, but the arguments used to attack the MCB are more telling of the authors obsessive motives than MCB's supposed 'subversion'.

The Conservative Party can choose to listen to those sane voices within the Party who base their arguments on years of dialogue and experience derived from actually speaking with Muslim communities and a range of Muslim organisations across the country. Or, it can listen to a doctrinaire, agenda-driven faction. We urge the former. We marvel at how such forces of cynicism could have managed to find its way into influencing the leadership of what was supposed to be a new approach for the Conservative Party. David Cameron became Leader on a promise of making a fresh start and of appealing to the entire British population.' The Report calls into question that admirable aim.

The Report has also come about in the current discourse on representational politics. Ali Miraj, member of the Conservative Party's Group on National and International Security, writing in the *Muslim News* exhorted the Government to engage with Muslims directly and as citizens, and not through various mediating mechanisms.²⁶ This is a throwback to Mrs Thatcher's famous line, "And, you know, there is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families". Community representation reflects the logic of the politics of collective action. Why should this be denied to British Muslims?

Like Mr Miraj, the MCB does not seek preferential treatment for Muslims. The struggle since the 1980s has been one for parity with the other longer-established faith communities such as Catholics and Jews. It has not been a campaign for special privileges.

The MCB believes that within an otherwise flawed account there are rare morsels of wisdom from which we can all learn. We agree with the Report's authors that, "A new bargain must be struck whereby British identity is explicitly extended to include people of diverse ethnic origin and religious affiliation and all individuals uphold the liberal democratic values of this country on the basis of equality." We partly agree with the advice that, "rather than turning to the state to protect each of us against the possible malevolence of the other, citizens must be able to trust each other. The ends of our democracy are best protected through vigorous exercise of its processes."

²⁶ 'Speak to me as a citizen who happens to be Muslim', *The Muslim News*, Issue 214, 23 February 2007

The Report's evidence base and the expertise of the Group have no bearing in established research or scholarship. The Report gives no indication of research methodology or how the 'evidence' taken was verified, if at all.²⁷

The Report claims to have drawn its findings after several consultations with groups and individuals across the country. We doubt this assertion. The Conservative Party's Group on National and International Security sat to take evidence from the MCB four days before the publication of its Report. The exercise was unprofessional and indicative of the flawed approach of the Group and their desire to pronounce their conclusions before assessing any actual evidence appropriately.

The MCB views the Report as a tremendous missed opportunity. The Muslim Council of Britain recommends that the Group focus on its core subject matter: the safety of the Realm and international stability. In this, we need common answers to questions of finding collective ways to stop extremism, to secure the safety of our borders and for Britain to lead the way in securing international peace.

Out of the six policy groups set up by the Party, none are dedicated to the place of Britain in the twenty-first century. We recommend to the Conservative Party a separate policy group to examine the nature of Britain today and how, given the country's multicultural, multifaith composition, we can best deliver on the pursuit of national cohesion. Such a Group would be charged with examining the urgent question of our day: where is the One Nation in our post-devolution, post-9/11 Britain?

²⁷ For example, it quotes from one witness who says 'that the MCB had begun to use Muslim doctors to provide health services to the Muslim communities thus obviating the need for the women to visit their NHS GP.'(p.22) This is as false as it is absurd – MCB has never embarked on such a path.

ANNEX 1: The Muslim Council of Britain – an overview

The Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) is an umbrella organisation dedicated to the common good; to the betterment of the Muslim community and our country equally. It was inaugurated - after several years of wide-ranging consultation and careful planning - on November 23 1997 at the Brent Town Hall, Wembley by representatives of more than 250 Muslim organisations from all parts of Britain and Northern Ireland. Today, with close to 500 affiliates, the MCB is a larger and more vibrant coalition of grass roots organisations and institutions; as well as individuals voluntarily contributing time and skills, in their common determination to make a positive and constructive contribution to meeting the needs and aspirations of the British Muslim community in a period of recurring crises and anxious optimism. Whilst grassroots support comes from its affiliates, the MCB attracts the best individual talent through its many specialist committees.

Most importantly, the MCB is the first democratic British Muslim organisation; its elections and procedures are regular, transparent and are open to all.

It is now part of popular folklore that the Council emerged due to Government instigation. This has been happily attributed to the Conservatives as well as the Labour Party. Yet the Council emerged long before any political party or political figure fully appreciated the emergence of a national body for the British Muslim community.

Vision

The Muslim Council of Britain exists to play a constructive role in achieving a nation at ease with itself: accepting of diversity, yet able to appreciate shared values, acknowledge common interests and build inclusive communities through collective endeavour. To be a nation truly representative of its people we are obliged to listen to each other and to learn how to work together to fulfil our collective potential and realise the strengths of our diversity. We work for a compassionate and caring society, one where no groups are left behind due to disadvantage and discrimination. We want a society that is vibrant and successful where initiative lies with the individual citizen and his civic acts, in support and promotion of social harmony. And we believe that British Muslims are eager to play their part in bringing about such a vision through their many small organisations that are scattered around the UK and through national representative bodies such as the MCB.

Our track record

I. Inter and Intra-community cohesion

The Muslim Council of Britain has proudly enveloped different religious traditions, encompassing both Sunni and the Shi'a Muslims, and openly welcomed followers of the varied schools of Islamic jurisprudence. Unlike other community organisations, the MCB has proactively supported both inter-community and intra-community understanding. The MCB has:

- Spoken out against internecine violence, as evidenced by the Samarra bombings of 2006 or the killing of Pakistani Shi'as in Lahore and other major Pakistani cities
- Condemned the killing of Christians in Muslim lands²⁸
- Organised joint functions with Hindu groups in the UK to counterbalance and reject the rising communalism and communal violence in India between Hindu and Muslim communities

²⁸A sample of MCB press releases dealing with inter communal and intra communal violence (all available on the MCB website): MCB condemns killing of Christians in Pakistan , 30 October 2001; MCB expresses concern over escalating violence in India, 1 March 2002; MCB Condemns Attack on Church in Pakistan, 18 March 2002; Christian and Muslim Leaders Plea for Peace, 20 March 2003; British Muslims Shocked Over Terrible Killing of Muslims on Day of Ashura, 2 March 2004; MCB Condemns Bombing of Holy Shrine in Iraq, 22 Feb 2006 MCB Denounces Bomb Attacks In India, 8 March 2006

- Marginalised extremists within the community by ensuring, with our affiliates, that groups such as the defunct Al-Muhajiroun are challenged

II. **Integration and community cohesion**

The imperative to further the integration of British Muslims into British society, at all levels, has been the mainstay of much MCB work. From campaigns to encourage voter registration to guides outlining their rights and responsibilities as citizens, the MCB has evinced its ethos of working for the common good most clearly in its endeavours to promote deeper integration.

- Civic education through voter participation

The MCB has led initiatives to encourage British Muslims to fulfil their civic duties and participate fully in British life. At every election, the MCB has partnered with others to encourage British Muslims to vote. After tackling extremists within the community who attacked this work, the April 21 2005 Leader of the *Times* stated:

"To its credit, the MCB — a group of some 350 affiliates formed to give Muslim views greater coherence and prominence in Britain — advocates "constructive engagement" with the Government and has urged its members to use their vote as citizens to make their voices and concerns heard. In doing so, the council has taken an important step to counter the marginalisation and alienation of many British Muslims, and to inculcate the notion that democracy is compatible with Islam."

- MCB has connected British Muslims to the political process through a number of initiatives. Across the country, the MCB has organised Question Time sessions with all the leading parties; it has engaged with policy makers from think tanks to briefings at party conferences, and it has helped generate debate within the Muslim community.
- In the aftermath of the atrocities of September 11 and the beginnings of a widespread backlash against Muslims, the MCB launched a pocket guide entitled, 'Know your Rights and Responsibilities', for all Muslims in the UK. The guide, which includes details of how Muslims ought to respond if stopped and searched, and their legal rights, was distributed to all Muslim centres and mosques in the UK for wider dissemination. The document also called on Muslims to be responsible citizens and report criminal and terrorist acts to the authorities.
- Faith in Employment – a DTI financed project to realise the implementation of the EU directive on anti discrimination legislation in the workplace according to religion, sex, age and sexual orientation. The MCB has been working with other bodies to (a) develop training material and products for advice providers and to identify beacon centres; develop these beacon centres to accommodate outreach work on anti-discrimination and equality, good relations, integration and cohesion, and to ensure that the feedback from this work is captured and fed into the Commission for Equality and Human Rights (CEHR) (b) undertake research on 30-50 public sector agencies and 100 FTSE companies to establish how and to what extent religious discrimination is being tackled and religious accommodation is enforced in the workplace, and to develop guidance on reasonable accommodation of religion and belief in the workplace.²⁹
- The MCB is an active and long time participant in Interfaith activities. It holds bilateral meetings with other faith groups. It is a member of the Interfaith Network and the Three Faiths Forum. It has an Interfaith Relations committee whose responsibility is to enhance and further relations with other religious groups in the UK. The MCB has a working

²⁹ Further information on this project can be found in the section 'Faith in Employment: Equality in the Workplace' on the MCB website, <<http://www.mcb.org.uk/faith/index.php>>

relationship with Churches Together in Britain and Ireland (CTBI), to display each others press notices and it is regularly invited to speak on interfaith platforms.

- The MCB has recently undertaken joint campaigns with the Trades Unions movement to improve the representation of Muslims in trade union bodies, thus developing their civic skills and combat anti-Muslim discrimination in the workplace. The higher incidence of low skilled labour in the Muslim community and its higher than average unemployment levels is a further area of collaboration between the MCB and the TUC. It is hoped that by removing impediments to Muslim employment and promotion, Muslims will be able to play a more active role in the country's economy.³⁰
- The MCB has also developed its relationship with the NUS as it works to counteract policies singling out Muslims on university campuses and its detrimental effects on academic and student freedoms.³¹
- The MCB has long co operated with anti-fascist and anti-racist groups in their campaigns to reverse the electoral popularity of the BNP and to reject their offensive and highly inflammatory literature.
- 'Eid in the Square' – in sensational style the MCB worked to give Londoners a taste of one of the most prestigious days in the Muslim calendar by jointly hosting with the Mayor of London, 'Eid in the Square'. The event, which took place last October, sought to give Londoners an idea of how Muslims celebrate one of their two annual festivals.
- The MCB has long supported and attended the Islam Awareness Week (IAW) launch and activities organised by its affiliate the Islamic Society of Britain (also mentioned in the Report). IAW is designed to throw open the doors of mosques and Muslim life in the UK to any and all that want to learn more about Islam, Muslims and their lives in Britain.

III. Developing the community

The preceding section details much of the external focus of the MCB's activities. This section is about the internal focus of MCB work. It refers to the many initiatives and projects organised by the MCB and funded through charitable donations in service of community capacity building and development.

- *Leadership Development Programme*
The MCB's 4th Leadership Development Programme was run on the weekend of Saturday 17 and Sunday 18 March 2007.

The LDP seeks to harness the potential of high achieving Muslim youth by instructing them in the key qualities and characteristics of successful and effective leadership. The LDP attracts a diverse range of young British Muslims all of whom are selected on the basis of their civic contributions as well as their academic achievements. The course is run to ensure that young British Muslims are offered opportunities to develop skills for future use in their professional and civic lives.

- *Negotiation Skills course*
The MCB's Business and Economics committee organised its first 'Effective Negotiation Skills Training' on Saturday 17 and Sunday 18 March.

³⁰ MCB and TUC joint statement on their working together to urge better community relations and remove Islamophobia in the workplace, <http://www.mcb.org.uk/media/presstext.php?ann_id=222>. The MCB and TUC recently held a joint seminar at Congress House, 12 March 2007, to build on the declarations stipulated in the joint statement and to discuss practical measures for their implementation.

³¹ MCB News <http://www.mcb.org.uk/media/ntext.php?ann_id=602>

The course, run by former Harvard negotiation skills trainer Shahzad Bhatti, involved the learning of strategies and techniques to employ to successfully negotiate one's interests in a number of contexts. Course participants took part in a variety of exercises over the two days to put theory into practice in situations involving individual and group negotiations. Participants included doctors, lawyers, bankers, accountants, academics, students, businessmen and community workers.

The negotiation skills training is the second of such capacity building exercises run by the MCB. The former, a Media Skills training course, was run in November 2006. The programmes are part of the MCB's commitment to building and sustaining skills competency for the service of the British Muslim community and wider society.

- *Capacity building for Mosques and Imams*

The MCB's capacity building programme for 100 mosques and Islamic centres saw over 300 imams and mosque trustees take part in a process to update British mosques to modern realities. The programme marked with a willingness to address the challenges of ensuring that mosques do not resemble 'men's clubs' but become places of interaction for the whole community.

The capacity building programme defers to the creation of MINAB, the Mosques & Imams National Advisory Board by leading British Muslim organisations, to develop a standard authority to oversee the employment and instruction of Islam by Imams operating in the UK. One of its main reasons for existence is to promote the wider employment of Imams born in Britain and familiar with the norms of our society to prevent the exploitation of impressionable minds by sinister elements.

- *Footsteps*

The Footsteps project run by the MCB's Social and Family Affairs committee (SAFA) ran from January to March 2007. The project entailed role models' visiting of schools across the UK with high proportions of ethnic minority students.

Role models drawn from various spheres of professional life, from media and politics to law and from the civil service to the arts and education, spent half days in selected schools talking to pupils and sharing their experiences. Role models universally espoused the importance of hard work, perseverance and determination counselling students to work hard in order to excel in their chosen fields.

The project was designed to combat low morale and poor achievement in the Muslim community by using exemplary high achievers to convey the possibilities that exist for those determined to work hard enough to attain them.

- *Media Skills course*

The MCB has annually organised a training course in media skills attended by various journalists and academics to give Muslim participants an idea of how the media works; how to get a letter to the editor published; press coverage of Islam and British Muslims; how the media cover the Middle East conflict and engaging with the media. The course has been extremely popular and provides Muslims a rare opportunity to learn from those working in the field.

Annex 2: MCB affiliates as of June 2006

National

Association of Muslim Schools
Council of Nigerian Muslim Organisations
Da'watul Islam UK & Eire
Federation of Students Islamic Societies (FOSIS)
Indian Muslim Federation
Islamic Forum Europe
Islamic Society of Britain - National
Jama'at Ahle Sunnat UK
Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith UK
Jamiat-e-Ulema Britain
Muslim Association of Britain
Muslim Doctors and Dentists Association
Muslim Solidarity Committee
Muslim Students Society UK & Eire
Muslim Welfare House (London)
Muslim Women Society (MWS)
Muslim Women's Association
The Council of European Jamaats
UK Action Committee on Islamic Affairs
UK Islamic Mission (National)
UK Turkish Islamic Association
World Federation of KSIMC
World Islamic Mission
Young Muslim Organisation UK
Young Muslim Sisters (UK)
Young Muslims UK (National)

Regional

Council of Mosques Tower Hamlets
Muslim Council of Wales
Bolton Mosques Council for Community Care
Confederation of Sunni Mosques Midlands
Council of Mosques, London & Southern
Counties
Federation of Muslim Organisations -
Leicestershire
Islamic Forum Europe - North Branch
Lancashire Council of Mosques
Northern Ireland Muslim Family Association
(NIMFA)
Sussex Muslim Society

Local/ Specialist

Al-Mahdi Institute, Birmingham
M.A. Al-Kharafi Islamic Centre, Camberley
Preston Muslim Society, Quwwatul Islam Masjid,
Lancashire
Europe Trust, Birmingham
Mushkil Aasaan, London
Anjuman-e-J'afariyya, Muslim Community of
Watford, Hertfordshire
Waaberi Community Development Association
(WACODA), London

Islamic Foundation for Ecology & Environmental
Science, Birmingham
Palestinian Forum in Britain, London
Harrow Central Mosque, Harrow
Human Appeal International, Manchester
UK Islamic Council, Sheffield
Save Chechnya Campaign Ltd, London
Abrar Islamic Foundation, London
The Wharf Muslim Association, Dagenham
An Noor, London
Markazul-Uloom Al-Islamiyya, Rotherham
Teebah, London
Islam Expo Ltd, Neasden
Islamic College for Advanced Studies, London
Renaissance Readers Club UK, Slough
Watford Mosque & Welfare Association, Watford
Islamic Forum Cheshire, Cheshire
Central Jamia Masjid (Southall), Middx
Aalami Majlise Tahaffuze Khatme Nubuwwat,
London
Abdullah Quilliam Society, Liverpool
Al Muntada Al Islami Trust, London
Al-Asr Scholastic Research Estb, Hounslow
Al-Falah, Bradford
Al-Furqan Charity Trust, London
Al-Hijra Somali Community, London
Al-Hijrah School, Birmingham
Al-Jamiah Al-Islamiyah (Darul Uloom Lancs),
Bolton
Al-Muttaqiin, Surrey
Al-Risala School, London
Al-Zaitoona Arabic School, Surrey
Anjuman-E- Ja'afriya Al-Zahra Centre, Watford
Ansar Finance, Manchester
Anjuman-E-Farogh-e-Aza, Middlesex
Anjuman-e-Saifee, Leicestershire
Arab Lawyers Association, London
Arab Social League of Edinburgh, Edinburgh
Ar-Rahman Academy of Cultural and Religious
Activities, Wembley
Assoc. of Muslim Teachers and Lecturers,
Blackburn
Association of British Hujajj (Pilgrims),
Birmingham
Association of Muslim Lawyers, High Wycombe
Association of Muslim Professionals, Cardiff
Association of Muslim Researchers, London
Association of Muslims with Disabilities, London
Azan Community Services Association,
Birmingham
Azhar Academy, London
Azmat-e-Islam Mosque, Oldham
Baitul-Aman Islamic Mission, Wembley
Balham Mosque, London
Battersea Mosque & Islamic Centre, London
Bazme Tolu-e-Islam, London, Essex
Bedford International Islamic Society, Bedford
Belfast Islamic Centre, Belfast

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Bengali Community Education Centre, London
Birmingham Central Mosque, Birmingham
Blackburn Council of Mosques, Blackburn
Blackpool Islamic Community Centre & Mosque, Blackpool
Bolton Mosques Council for Community Care, Bolton
Bolton Muslim Welfare Trust, Bolton
Bosnia - Herzegovina Islamic Centre, London
Bradford Muslim Welfare Society, Bradford
Brent Islamic Circle, London
Brighton Islamic Mission, Sussex
Bristol Islamic Schools Trust, Bristol
British Muslim Association of Merton, London
Brondesbury College For Boys, London
Caribbean Islamic Association, London
Central Jamia Masjid (Wakefield), Wakefield
Central Jamia Mosque Ghamkol Sharif, Birmingham
Childrens Relief Fund, Markfield
Confederation of Sunni Mosques Midlands, Birmingham
Council of Indian Muslims, London
Council of Islamic Affairs, Blackburn,
Council of Mosques, London & Southern Counties, London
Council of University Sheikhs, London
Coventry Cross Mosque & Islamic Comm. Centre, London
Croydon Mosque & Islamic Centre, Surrey
Dar Al-Arqam Islamic Centre, London
Dar Ul-Amaan Islamic Centre, London
Dar Uloom Al-Arabiya Al-Islamiya, Bury
Darus Salam Mosque (Leicester Mosque Trust), Leicester
Daubhill Muslim Society, Lancashire
Denvison, Manchester
Dudley Muslim Association, West Midlands
Dulwich Islamic Centre, London
East London Mosque Trust Ltd, London
Edmonton Islamic Centre, London
Education Aid, London
Elland Mosque Association, Elland
Epsom & Ewell Islamic Society
European Institute Of Human Science, Ceredigion
Federation of Muslim Organisations, Leicestershire
Friends of Al-Aqsa, Leicester
Gardens of Peace, Muslim Cemetery Trust, Essex
Ghour Ghusti Welfare Association, Birmingham
Granby Somali Women's Group, Liverpool
Gulzar-e-Madina Mosque, Leicester
Halal Monitoring Committee-HMC, Leicester
Halal Consumers Ltd, Birmingham
Hanafi Sunni Muslim Circle – UK, Blackburn
Harbour World Of Children, Watford
Haringey Islamic Trust, London
Harrow Islamic Society, North Harrow
Hendon Mosque & Islamic Centre, London
Helping Hands For The Needy, London
Hinckley Muslim Association, Leicester
Hounslow Jamia Masjid, Ashford
Horn Stars, London
Human Relief Foundation, London
Human Relief Foundation, Bradford
Human Rights Society of Pakistan, London
Husayni Madrasah, Harrow
Ibn Rushd Society, Wolverhampton
Immigrants Funeral Society, Bradford
Imperial College Islamic Society, London
Indian Muslim Association, Leicester
Indian Muslim Patel Society, Dewsbury
Indian Muslim Welfare Society, Batley, West Yorkshire
Institute of Islamic Banking and Insurance, London
International Forum For Islamic Dialogue, London
International Institute of Kashmir Studies, London
International Khatme-e-Nubuwwat Mission, Bolton
International Qirat & Naat Association UK, Lancs
Interpal Palestinians Relief and Development Fund, London
Iqra International, London
Iqra School Oxford (Institute), Oxford
IQRA Trust, London
ISB, Sheffield
ISB-Halifax Branch, Bradford
ISB, Leicester Branch
ISB Tower Hamlets, London
Islamic Centre-Stoke, Trent
Islamic Forum Europe (West Midlands Branch), Birmingham
Islamic Forum Europe, Luton Branch
Islamic Forum Europe, Oldham
Islamic Forum Europe, Bradford
Islamia Schools' Trust, London
Islamic & Cultural Society of Harrow, London
Islamic Academy, Cambridge
Islamic Association of North London, London
Islamic Centre, Birmingham
Islamic College, London
Islamic Community Centre (Tottenham), London
Islamic Computing Centre, London
Islamic Council of Europe, London
Islamic Culture and Education Centre, London
Islamic Education Society (Nur Ul-Islam Mosque), Blackburn
Islamic Education Trust (Masjid Al-Falah), Leicester
Islamic Educational & Cultural Centre, Birmingham
Islamic Educational & Recreational Institute, Middx
Islamic Forum Europe - Loughborough Branch
Islamic Forum Europe - Manchester Branch
Islamic Forum Europe - North Branch, Sunderland
Islamic Forum Europe - South Branch, London
Islamic Forum Europe (London)
Islamic Foundation, Markfield
Islamic Foundation for Ecology & Environmental Science, Birmingham

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Islamic Relief, London
Islamic Relief Agency (ISRA), Birmingham
Islamic Resource Centre, Kingston Upon Thames
Islamic Shariah Council, London
Islamic Society, Coventry
Islamic Society of Britain, Slough
Islamic Society of Britain, Bradford
Islamic Society of Britain, Glasgow
Islamic Society of Britain, Ilford
Islamic Society of Britain, Liverpool
Islamic Society of Britain, Manchester
Islamic Society of Britain - National
Islamic Society of Britain, Woking, West Byfleet
Islamic Society of Britain, Birmingham
Islamic Society of Britain, Luton
Islamic Society of Britain, Essex
Islamic Students Society (U.W.S), Swansea
Ittehadul Masjid, Huddersfield
Jame Mosque, Leicester
Jamia Masjid, Blackburn
Jamia Mosque (Hansdworth Islamic Centre),
Birmingham
Jamia Mosque and Islamic Centre, Birmingham
Jamia Musjid, Doncaster
Jamia Musjid, Rotherham
Jamait Al Nissa, London
Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith, Bradford
Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith, Derby
Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith, Dewsbury
Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith (Leytonstone), London
Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith, Maidstone
Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith, Redhill
Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith, Skipton
Jamiat Ittihad Ul-Muslimin, Glasgow
Jamate Nizame Islam, Birmingham
K S I Muslim Community of Milton Keynes,
Milton Keynes
Kafel Fund (UK), London
Karimia Institute, Nottingham
Kashmir Council For Human Rights, Otterbourne
Khazinat Al-'Ilm, Leicester
Khawateen, London
Kingston Muslim Association, Kingston
Kokani Muslims - Golders Green, Middx
Kosova Islamic Centre U.K., London
Kurdish Association in Britain Ltd, London
KSIMC, Birmingham
KSIMC , London-Stanmore
Ladybridge Muslim Society, Bolton G.M.C
Lancashire Council of Mosques, Blackburn
Lebanese Muslim League, London
Leeds Grand Mosque, Leeds
Leeds Islamia Girl's School, Leeds
Lewisham & Kent Islamic Centre (Catford),
London
Lewisham & Kent Islamic Centre, Chislehurst
Leytonstone Islamic Association, London
Livingston Mosque and Community Centre,
Livingston
London Guildhall University Islamic Society,
London
London School of Economics Islamic Society,
London
Madani Jamia Masjid, Huddersfield
Madinatul Uloom & Islamic Centre, Bradford
Madinatul Uloom Al-Islamiyah, Kidderminster
Madni Jamia Masjid & Islamic Centre, Sheffield
Madras-E-Naqibul Islam, Blackburn
Madressa Alarabia Alislamia, Glasgow
Majlis Sautul Quraan, Accrington
Majlis Ulama-E-Shia (Europe), Middx
Makki Masjid, Sheffield
Manchester Islamic Schools Trust, Manchester
Markazi Mosque & Islamic Centre, Sheffield
Masjid and Madrasah Al-Tawhid, London
Masjid Noor, Huddersfield
Masjid Tauheedul Islam, Blackburn
Masjid Umar/ Evington Muslim Centre, Leicester
Masjide Al Hidayah, Blackburn
Masjid-e-Anisul Islam, Blackburn
Masjid-e-Falah, Preston Muslim Society, Preston
Masjid-e-Irfan, Blackburn
Masjid-e-Rizwan Mosque, Blackburn
Masjid-e-Sajideen, Blackburn
Masjid-e-Saliheen, Blackburn
Masjid-e-Uzman, Huddersfield
Mauritian Islamic Welfare Association, London
Mayfair Islamic Centre, London
M. A. Al-Kharafi Islamic Centre-Camberley,
Surrey
Mediconcern, Manchester
Memon Association, Leicester
Mosque & Islamic Centre, Edinburgh
Muslim Enterprise Development Service
(MEDS), Liverpool
Muslim Hands International, Nottingham
Memon Association UK, London
Mosque & Islamic Centre, Walsall
Walsall Muath Welfare Trust / Bordesley Centre,
Birmingham
Muslim Aid, London
Muslim Association of Bradford (Central
Mosque), Bradford
Muslim Burial Council of Leicestershire,
Leicester
Muslim Care, London
Muslim Community and Education Centre,
London
Muslim Council of Southampton, Southampton
Muslim Cultural and Welfare Association of
Sutton, Surrey
Muslim Cultural Heritage Centre Trust, London
Muslim Directory, London
Muslim Education Centre, Leicester
Muslim Education Co-ordinating Council, East
Croyden
Muslim Education Forum, Birmingham
Muslim Educational Consultative Committee,
Birmingham
Muslim Educational Trust, London
Muslim Foundation Handsworth, Birmingham
Muslim Information Centre, London
Muslim Investment Corporation Ltd, London
Muslim Khoja Shia Ithna-Asheri Community of
Leicester, Leicester
Muslim Relief Organisation, London

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Muslim Shia Ithna-Asheri Jamaat of Essex,
Chelmsford
Muslim Sisters Jamaat, London
Muslim Teachers' Association, Surrey
Muslim Welfare Association of Vale of
Glamorgan, Vale of Glamorgan
Muslim Welfare Board, London
Muslim Welfare House, Durham
Muslim Welfare House, Glasgow
Muslim Welfare House, Newcastle upon Tyne
Muslim Welfare House, Sheffield
Muslim Welfare Institute, Blackburn
Muslim Welfare Trust, Leicester
Muslim Women's Helpline, Wembley
Muslim World League, London
Muslim Youth Helpline, Middlesex
Muslimaat - Sheffield Assoc of Muslim Women,
Sheffield
Muslimaat UK, London
Narborough Road Islamic Centre, Leicester
Nasserpuria Memon UK, Wembley
Neeli Mosque & Islamic Centre, Rochdale
Newham North Islamic Association, London
Northern Ireland Muslim Family Association
(NIMFA), Belfast
Nuneaton Muslim Welfare & Cultural
Association, Nuneaton
Omar Welfare House, Leeds
Paigham-e-Islam Trust, Birmingham
Pakistan Association – Leicestershire, Leicester
Pakistan Workers Association, London
Pakistani Association, Liverpool
Palestinian Return Centre, London
Preston Muslim Society, Quwwatul Islam Masjid,
Lancashire
Preston Muslim Girls Secondary School, Preston
Preston Muslim Society - Jamea Mosque, Preston
Preston Muslim Society - Masjid-e-Salaam,
Preston
Qirat & Naat Association, Blackburn
Quranic Study Circle, Liverpool
Rahman International, Sheffield
Reading Muslim Council, Reading
Redbridge & Chigwell Muslim Association, Ilford,
Essex
Ilford Islamic Centre, Ilford, Essex
Redbridge Muslim Womens Social Group, Essex
Seerah Studies Society, London
Seerah Foundation, London
Selbourne Muslim Welfare Society, West
Yorkshire
Shah Jahan Mosque, Woking
Shah Poran Masjid and Islamic Centre Trust,
London
Shia Ithna Ashri Islamic Centre, Glasgow
Shia Ithna-Asheri Community of Middx (SICM),
Middlesex
Somali Speakers Association, London
Somali Welfare Centre, London
Somali Women's Group, Liverpool
South London Mosque & Islamic Centre, London
Southampton Al-Nissa Association, Southampton
Southampton Medina Mosque Trust,
Southampton
Southwark Muslim Women's Association,
London
Sri Lanka Islamic UK Association, London
Stevenage Central Mosque, Stevenage, Herts
Sunni Razvi Muslim Society, London
Sussex Muslim Society, Sussex
Sutton Islamic Centre, Sutton
Ta Ha Publishers, London
Takaful Trust, London
Taleem Trust/Muslim Network (Scotland),
Glasgow
Tawak'kuliah Islamic Society, Bradford
The Islamic Association of Lincoln, Lincoln
The UK Halal corporation Ltd., London
The Islamic Centre & Leicester Central Mosque,
Leicester
The Khoja Shia Ithnasheri South London Jamaat,
London
The Liverpool Islamic Institute and Mosque,
Liverpool
The Matliwala Family Charitable Trust, Preston
The Muslim Khoja Shia Ithna-Asheri Community
of Peterborough, Peterborough
The Popda Society, Walsall
The Swahili Community of the UK, London
The Young Muslims, Birmingham
Tottenham Mosque, London
Trends Magazine, Essex
UK Islamic Education Waqf, London
UK Islamic Mission, Birmingham
UK Islamic Mission, Bradford
UK Islamic Mission, Burnley
UK Islamic Mission, Cardiff
UK Islamic Mission, London
UK Islamic Mission (Glasgow North), Glasgow
UK Islamic Mission (Glasgow), Glasgow
UK Islamic Mission, Hull
UK Islamic Mission, Keighley
UK Islamic Mission, Leicester
UK Islamic Mission, Liverpool
UK Islamic Mission, Luton
UK Islamic Mission (Manchester North),
Manchester
UK Islamic Mission, New Malden, Surrey
UK Islamic Mission, Oldham
UK Islamic Mission, Peterborough
UK Islamic Mission, Rochdale
UK Islamic Mission, Sheffield
UK Islamic Mission (South Birmingham),
Birmingham
UK Islamic Mission, Walsall
UK Islamic Mission, Wolverhampton
UK Islamic Mission Midland Zone, Birmingham
UK Islamic Mission North Zone, Oldham
UK Islamic Mission Scotland Zone, Glasgow
UK Islamic Mission South Zone, West Cliff on
Sea
UK Islamic Mission (Manchester South),
Manchester
UK Islamic Missions (Ibrahim Mosque,
Plaistow), London

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UK Islamic Mission (Madina Masjid Nelson),
Nelson
UK Islamic Mission (Masjid & Islamic Centre),
Birmingham
UK Islamic Mission (Masjid Noor, Blackburn),
Blackburn
UK Islamic Missions (Nelson Branch), Nelson
UK Islamic Mission (New Malden Ladies Circle),
New Malden
UK Islamic Mission Jamia Mosque, London
UK Islamic Mission West London Islamic Centre,
London
Union of Muslim Families (UK), London
Ummah Welfare Trust, Bradford
United Somali Benadir Council, London
United Islamic Association, London
Waqf Al-Birr Educational Trust, London
Wessex Shia Ithna Asheri Jammah, Hampshire
WF Noor Ul Islam Trust, London
Wimbledon Mosque, London
Winchester Muslim Cultural Association,
Winchester
Women's Relief, London
World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY),
London
World Islamic Association of Mental Health,
Wolverhampton
World Islamic Forum, London
World Islamic Foundation, London
World Islamic Mission, Glasgow
World Islamic Mission (Midlands), Birmingham
World Islamic Propagation Centre, Middx
Worthing Islamic Society, Worthing
York Mosque & Islamic Centre, York
Young Muslim Organisation, Manchester
Young Muslim Organisation UK, Sunderland
Young Muslim Organisation, Oldham
Young Muslim Sisters Manchester
Young Muslims, Glasgow
Young Muslims, London
Young Muslims, Luton
Young Muslims Manchester, Stockport
Young Muslims UK - London Sisters' Branch,
Middx
Young Muslims UK, Birmingham