

**November 2019**



**From 'Letterboxes' to 'Ragheads' - Over 100 examples of Islamophobia in the Conservative Party, time for the EHRC to act?**

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Islamophobia in the Conservative Party, time for the EHRC to act?**

**A Report from Muslim Engagement and Development**

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November 2019

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## Part One:

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### Introducing Muslim Engagement and Development (MEND)

Muslim Engagement and Development (MEND) is a community-funded organisation that seeks to encourage political, civic, and social engagement within British Muslim communities through empowering British Muslims to interact with political and media institutions effectively.

Our approach to achieving this involves a combination of community engagement (through education, community events, local campaigns to encourage voting etc.) and advocacy work (involving victim support, submissions to parliamentary inquiries, media analysis, election resources, briefings etc.).

Our work has been recognised through the following accolades:

- The World Economic Forum commended our work as “best practice” in Human Rights “protection and promotion”.
- The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights rated us as the “best example for civil society organisations”.
- The EU Parliament Magazine stated that “The EU could learn a lot from MEND’s work on counter-radicalisation through engagement”.

### The Islamophobia Response Unit (IRU)

The Islamophobia Response Unit (IRU) was founded by MEND in response to rising anti-Muslim attacks across Europe and a growing tide of anti-Muslim sentiment. The IRU offers a platform for victims of Islamophobic hate crime and discrimination to report and share their experiences and serves as a source of free advice, support, and referral services. The IRU serves three main functions:

- Data collection and monitoring,
- The provision of free legal advice and police liaison,
- Provision of basic emotional support, and signposting to further professional sources of emotional support if required.

### How MEND Assists Parliamentarians and Policymakers:

- Providing briefings, information, analysis, and expertise on the issues facing British Muslim communities.
- Arranging opportunities for MPs to engage with their local Muslim communities.
- Conducting research within Muslim communities.
- Connecting MPs to local stakeholders.

## A Note from our CEO

MEND is dedicated to being non-partisan and has no intention of attempting to advocate support or rejection of any singular party. Our mission is to ensure that British Muslims have the information and resources to make informed decisions on which parties and candidates best represent their interests.

However, with Islamophobia as one of the greatest barriers to the political, social, and economic participation of Muslim communities, we feel that it is essential to highlight to the Conservative Party the extent of Islamophobia within its ranks. We have urged the party to launch an immediate inquiry into Islamophobia within the party, however sadly it has failed to do so. Therefore, we will be formally requesting that the Equality and Human Rights Commission use its statutory powers to initiate an immediate independent inquiry into Islamophobia within the Conservative Party.

There are many Conservative candidates and members who have made valuable contributions to meaningfully engaging with minority communities and Muslims in particular. We can only encourage the party as a whole to follow their example and show leadership in tackling prejudice.



**Dr Shazad Amin**

CEO, MEND

## Part Two:

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### Introduction

Over recent years, several organisations, including Muslim Engagement and Development (MEND), the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), and Hope Not Hate, have repeatedly called for an inquiry into the prevalence of Islamophobia within the Conservative Party. These calls have largely either been ignored or dismissed as irrelevant by both current and former party leadership, including Mr. Brandon Lewis,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Henry Smith,<sup>2</sup> Ms. Nicky Morgan,<sup>3</sup> and many others.

While interesting and potentially positive developments emerged during the course of the race for the Conservative Party leadership following the resignation of the former Prime Minister, Theresa May, the commitments made during the race have come to no avail.

During a TV debate in June 2019, Mr. Sajid Javid asked all the rivals for the leadership to commit to an independent investigation of Islamophobia in the party if elected. While there was no vocal agreement from his opponents, each “appeared to nod and express agreement”, to which Mr. Javid declared “It’s great that we all agree on that”.<sup>4</sup>

Since then, Baroness Warsi has accused her own party of letting Muslim communities down, arguing that the Conservative Party is “trying to dilute” the investigation.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, senior members of the party who have since retracted their support for an inquiry into Islamophobia include Mr. Sajid Javid, Mr. Boris Johnson, Mr. Michael Gove, and Mr. James Cleverly.

Mr. Javid, has announced that the party will not hold a specific inquiry into Islamophobia, but rather a more general inquiry into all forms of prejudice.<sup>6</sup> Mr Johnson has urged the same, to which Dr Fatima Rajina, an expert in the study of Muslim communities and Bangladeshi Muslims, responded that, “Muslims are not a priority for this government, when it comes to looking out for our concerns it’s not an issue, but when it comes to safeguarding, then we become a priority, through the lens of security and counter extremism legislation”.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, the campaign ahead of the general election has already been marred by accusations of racism and Islamophobia. As one example, Mr. Anthony Browne, candidate for South Cambridgeshire and former aide to Boris Johnson, has recently faced criticism for his accusations that Muslims have divided loyalties and blaming immigrants for HIV in the UK. He further advised that the Government curb levels of immigration from “the third world” to avoid “letting in too many germs”.<sup>8</sup> These comments were made many years ago and Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> Brandon Lewis, “A single case of anti-Muslim hatred in the Tory party is one too many”, *The Times*, April 2019. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/a-single-case-of-anti-muslim-hatred-in-the-tory-party-is-one-too-many-6f2b1vslf>.

<sup>2</sup> Albert Evans, “Tory MP criticised for saying there’s no Islamophobia in the party because Sajid Javid is a Muslim”, *iNews*, February 2018. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://inews.co.uk/news/uk/tory-mp-henry-smith-islamophobia-tory-party-sajid-javid-muslim/>.

<sup>3</sup> Adam Payne and Adam Bienkov, “The Conservative party does not have an Islamophobia problem, says Nicky Morgan”, *Business Insider*, March 2019. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.businessinsider.com/nicky-morgan-conservative-party-does-not-have-islamophobia-problem-2019-3?r=US&IR=T>.

<sup>4</sup> Kevin Rawlinson, “Sajid Javid Puts Rivals on the Spot over Tory Party ‘Islamophobia’”, *The Guardian*, June 18, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jun/18/sajid-javid-puts-rivals-on-the-spot-over-tory-party-islamophobia>.

<sup>5</sup> Lamiat Sabin, “Baroness Warsi calls for specific inquiry into Islamophobia after dozens of Tories suspended”, *Morning Star*, November 2019. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> November 2019. <https://morningstaronline.co.uk/article/b/baroness-warsi-calls-specific-inquiry-islamophobia-after-dozens-tories-suspended>.

<sup>6</sup> Hugo Gye, “Conservatives won’t hold Islamophobia inquiry but will investigate all forms of racism instead, Sajid Javid says”, *iNews*, November 2019. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> November 2019. <https://inews.co.uk/news/politics/conservatives-wont-hold-islamophobia-inquiry-but-will-investigate-all-forms-of-racism-instead-sajid-javid-says-920787>.

<sup>7</sup> Basit Mahmood, “Muslim women ‘fear for their safety’ after Boris Johnson scraps Islamophobia Inquiry”, *Metro*, November 2019. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> November 2019. <https://metro.co.uk/2019/11/10/muslim-women-fear-safety-boris-johnson-scraps-islamophobia-inquiry-11075651/>.

<sup>8</sup> Rowena Mason, “Tory Candidate Faces Calls to Quit over ‘Disgusting Racism’”, *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, November 11, 2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/nov/11/tory-candidate-anthony-browne-faces-calls-quit-over-disgusting-racism>

Browne has since stated that “I do very much regret any offence caused by any past newspaper articles. It really never was my intention to cause offence, but to provoke debate”.<sup>9</sup> However, within the Conservative Party, there is a strong pattern of Islamophobic comments, both historic and recent, that seems to be impossible to ignore.

When Baroness Warsi’s criticisms of her party’s track record on dealing with Islamophobia were put to Mr. Matt Hancock in a recent interview on Radio 4’s Today program, he suggested that there were others in the party “who take a more balanced approach”.<sup>10</sup> It is unthinkable that Mr Hancock would consider that there should be more ‘balanced’ views of anti-Semitism or racism. Sadly, this attempt at whitewashing the problem, and what some have described as a rather uncomfortable foray into ‘whitesplaining’,<sup>11</sup> is indicative of the Conservative Party’s general attitude towards the issue. If they continue to claim a more authoritative understanding of the problem than those whom experience it directly, they will never be able to formulate an accurate understanding of the cause and impacts of the issue, nor will they be able to meaningfully address it.

We hope this briefing will highlight to the Conservative Party the urgent need to address structural and institutionalised Islamophobia within its ranks.

This briefing documents over 120 incidents of Islamophobia emanating from conservative members of Parliament, councillors, and party candidates. It also attempts to provide analysis to some of these incidents in order to highlight an Islamophobic ethos that has been tacitly endorsed, maintained, or actively advanced by members of the Conservative Party.

Obviously, a single incident does not necessarily make an individual inherently Islamophobic and we make no attempt to comment upon whether any individual mentioned within this report can be considered an Islamophobe. Rather, the conclusion that must be drawn is that the cumulative impact of these incidents indicates an ingrained problem of Islamophobia throughout every level of the party membership.

It is important to note that within the examples contained in this briefing, there are recurrent themes which must be deemed Islamophobic. These themes largely encompass propagating, perpetuating, and maintaining stereotypical tropes about Muslims as a collective, including but not limited to beliefs that Muslims are:

- Inherently evil or violent,
- ‘Taking over’ the UK and wish to install ‘Shariah Law’,
- A security threat,
- Inherently criminal, e.g. murderers, rapists or terrorists,
- ‘Deserving’ of violence and discrimination directed towards them,
- ‘Foreign’ or incompatible with being ‘British’,

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> Damien Gayle, “Tory Islamophobia Row: Warsi Accuses Hancock of ‘Whitesplaining’,” The Guardian (Guardian News and Media, November 9, 2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/nov/09/tory-islamophobia-hancock-accused-of-trying-to-isolate-warsi>

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

- Anti-Semitic,
- Collectively responsible for any criminal acts perpetrated by any individuals whom share their faith.

**In the light of this report, we will be formally requesting that the Equality and Human Rights Commission use its statutory powers to initiate an immediate independent inquiry into Islamophobia within the Conservative Party.**

## The Importance of Tackling Prejudice in Political Parties

As increasing levels of populist rhetoric are utilised and normalised by outspoken politicians across Europe, it is the disenfranchisement of minority communities that is the ultimate price. Examples of political parties across the Western hemisphere adopting far-right rhetoric targeting Muslim and minority communities as a tactic to garner votes can be found from Trump in the US, to the National Front in France, and to the Five Star Movement in Italy. Particularly within the context of Brexit, the consequence of political bickering cemented around themes of threat regarding immigration, security, and national identity is that minority groups, and Muslims in particular, are being left feeling disillusioned, disenfranchised, and marginalised by mainstream politics.

Unfortunately, this has a potential to become a vicious cycle. On the one hand, a sense of marginalisation leads individuals to withdraw from political engagement. However, a lack of minority engagement within political structures leaves little incentive for parties, representatives, and candidates to remove themselves from a game of political-point-scoring where prejudicial, Islamophobic, and divisive pandering is a tactic for garnering valuable votes.

There currently exists ample evidence suggesting that members of minority communities are less likely to actively engage with political structures. The parliamentary briefing paper on “Political disengagement in the UK: who is disengaged?” is one notable piece of evidence that suggests that members of ethnic minority communities are less likely to vote and less likely to be registered on the electoral register compared to the white British population. The report states that: “25% of first generation and 20% of second generation ethnic minorities who were eligible to register to vote had not done so, compared to 10% of the white British population”. The report further adds, that in the 2017 General Election, “turnout among BAME voters is estimated to be around 59%, 11 percentage points lower than the turnout among white voters (70%)”.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, the 2013 study by Professor David Sanders from Essex University noted that minority democratic engagement is “strongly affected by a set of distinctive ethnic-minority perceptions and experiences, associated particularly with discrimination”.<sup>13</sup>

With political parties and representatives continuing to tolerate, support, or propagate inflammatory language and simultaneously failing to tackle prejudice within their ranks, minority communities are at risk of being pushed to fringe parties and narratives, or else disengaging from the political apparatus all together. Moreover, when these types of divisive narratives are propagated, maintained, or left unchallenged by the ruling party (which the Conservative Party obviously is for at least until 12<sup>th</sup> December), such discourse becomes representative of the ethos of the state. Therefore, marginalised communities become disenfranchised, not just from political life, but also from social, civic, and economic life through the perceived acceptability of discriminatory practices, institutionalised racisms, and structural exclusions.

The other side of this sword is the damage that parties themselves may suffer if they do not fully engage with Muslim communities. Historic migratory patterns have led to a concentration of Muslims in specific geographic areas of the UK, making the vote of Muslims critical in a large number of parliamentary seats. Muslim voters have been estimated to make

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<sup>12</sup> Neil Johnston, Noel Dempsey, and Philip Loft, “Political Disengagement in the UK: Who Is Disengaged?” Commons Library Briefing - UK Parliament, September 14, 2018, <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7501#fullreport>.

<sup>13</sup> David Sanders et al., “The Democratic Engagement of Britain’s Ethnic Minorities,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, no. 1 (2013): 121.

up 10% or more of voters in 83 parliamentary seats (13% of constituencies).<sup>14</sup> Certain council areas such as the London boroughs of Tower Hamlets and Newham as well as Blackburn with Darwen in the North West of England feature Muslim populations above 25%. Just under a quarter of Bradford residents are Muslim, while 22% of the population of Birmingham, the UK's second-largest city, are Muslim. Muslims living in London make up 1 in 8 of the population of the UK's capital, exceeding 1 million.<sup>15</sup> Blackburn with Darwen also contains the most concentrated area of Muslims across the whole of the UK, with the council wards of Bastwell and Shear Brow both having local Muslim populations above 75%.<sup>16</sup>

The below table includes the 24 constituencies with the highest proportion of Muslim voters in the UK. Interestingly, every single one elected a Labour MP in the 2017 general election.

<b>Constituency</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Muslim population within the constituency</b>	<b>Percentage of voters that are Muslim</b>
<b>Bradford West</b>	116,556	58,872	50.51%
<b>Birmingham, Hodge Hill</b>	127,751	63,417	49.64%
<b>Birmingham, Hall Green</b>	118,546	53,990	45.54%
<b>Blackburn</b>	107,221	38,887	36.27%
<b>Bradford East</b>	116,943	42,056	35.96%
<b>East Ham</b>	158,283	56,008	35.38%
<b>Ilford South*</b>	141,102	45,757	32.43%
<b>Birmingham, Ladywood</b>	138,025	44,626	32.33%
<b>Bethnal Green and Bow</b>	141,267	44,409	31.44%
<b>Poplar and Limehouse</b>	153,969	43,287	28.11%
<b>Manchester, Gorton</b>	116,889	32,010	27.38%
<b>Leicester South</b>	122,724	33,152	27.01%
<b>Walthamstow</b>	115,849	28,207	24.35%
<b>West Ham</b>	174,534	42,448	24.32%

<sup>14</sup> MEND analysis, using ONS 2011 Census and Electoral Statistics data

<sup>15</sup> *British Muslims in Numbers*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<b>Oldham West and Royton</b>	105,833	25,220	23.83%
<b>Luton South*</b>	118,448	27,874	23.53%
<b>Rochdale</b>	109,009	25,429	23.33%
<b>Edmonton</b>	118,834	27,488	23.13%
<b>Slough</b>	139,210	31,942	22.95%
<b>Birmingham, Perry Barr</b>	109,312	24,268	22.20%
<b>Luton North**</b>	102,594	22,142	21.58%
<b>Leyton and Wanstead</b>	109,591	23,582	21.52%
<b>Westminster North</b>	128,945	26,431	20.50%
<b>Brent Central</b>	143,760	29,198	20.31%

\* The MP has since switched to Change UK

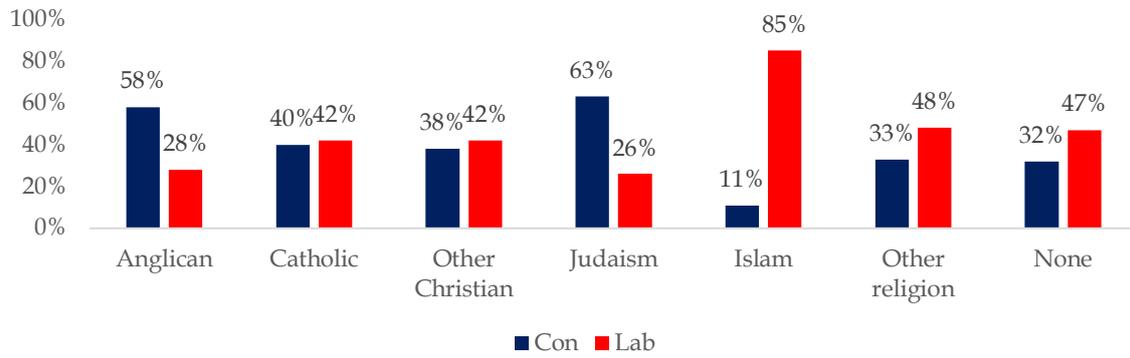
\*\* The MP has since become an Independent

In the 2017 General Election, the Conservatives lost their outright majority, going from 331 seats down to 318. Labour gained a significant number of seats, going from 232 to 262 seats. The national vote share was closer than many forecasters anticipated, with the Conservatives polling 42.4% of the overall vote compared to 40% of the overall electorate who voted Labour. Meanwhile, Labour gained 27 seats directly from the Conservatives, including eight seats where the size of the estimated Muslim electorate was two or more times greater than the standing MP's majority from 2015. In the same election, the Conservatives gained five seats directly from Labour.

Three seats in which the Muslim vote was likely to have been important in overturning Conservative majorities were Bedford, Keighley, and Peterborough. In all three of these seats, the estimated number of Muslim voters ranged between 5,000 and over 10,000, with Labour triumphing in each seat by less than 800 votes. In areas with large Muslim electorates, the Labour vote was strengthened considerably. In all 25 constituencies with the largest estimated number of Muslim voters, Labour candidates won with a greater majority than in 2015. In seven of the ten seats with estimated Muslim voter numbers above 25,000, the Labour majority increased by over 10,000 between the 2015 and 2017 elections.

While causality cannot be definitively established for any seat being 'won' or 'lost', these statistics do suggest the Muslim vote should be a crucial consideration for any political party. Moreover, while the voting pattern of any minority community cannot be seen as homogenous, there is evidence to suggest that Muslim communities have an overwhelming tendency to vote Labour. Overall, political parties must be made aware that failing to engage with Muslim communities and reflect their concerns can impact upon their electoral successes or failures at the ballot box.

## Religious Affiliation and Party Choice at the 2017 General Election



British Religion in Numbers, August 11, 2017, accessed 05.09.2019 <http://www.brin.ac.uk/religious-affiliation-and-party-choice-at-the-2017-general-election/>

## Scope and Methodologies

### Scope

This briefing aims to provide a succinct – and by no means exhaustive – analysis of some of the more prominent examples of Islamophobia within the party. While near impossible to provide an exhaustive catalogue of incidents (indeed, the list of Islamophobic instances continues to grow daily), the appendix of this briefing provides a sample of over 50 Conservative Members of Parliament, councillors, and candidates who have been responsible for propagating Islamophobic comments, attitudes, and narratives over a five-year period, from January 2014 to May 2019.

All of the examples contained in this report are already within the public domain, either consisting of instances that are still available for viewing on social media platforms, or through media reporting of the incidents as they occurred.

Where the exact date of the incident is unclear, we have used the date at which it gained public prominence. For example, if a councillor was suspended in June 2018 for tweets made between 2016-17, we categorise it as June 2018 as this is the date under which the incident(s) gained prominence.

A compilation of Islamophobic incidences carried out by lay Conservative party members is beyond the framework of this briefing. However, mainstream media has publicised the work of the Twitter account @MatesJacob,<sup>17</sup> which has documented over 100 Islamophobic, racist, and prejudicial incidences involving lay Conservative party members and is highly recommended as a supplement to this briefing.<sup>18</sup> In recent weeks, @MatesJacob has also published a further list of 25 current and former Conservative councillors espousing Islamophobic comments on social media.<sup>19</sup>

### Defining Islamophobia

Obviously, any documentation of Islamophobic instances must include an understanding of what constitutes as Islamophobia. We have adopted the definition proposed by the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) for British Muslims All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) for British Muslims: “Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness.” If the logic of this definition follows the UN’s conceptualisation of racism, it provides the scope to encompass the public exclusions and discriminations contained within Islamophobia that extent further than just hate crime and abuse. However, from the perspective of policy implementation, we feel that the definition would benefit from greater clarity regarding this relationship with the UN’s formulation of racism.

Moreover, the APPG’s final report states that “in analysing the quantitative and, mostly, qualitative data, a thread of three key factors emerged: the process of Islamophobia, the actions that qualify as Islamophobic, and the impact of Islamophobia... any definition must

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<sup>17</sup> @MatesJacob, *Twitter*. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob>.

<sup>18</sup> “ITV News Exclusive: Dossier exposes more than 100 accusations of Islamophobia and racism from Conservative Party members”, *ITV*, May 2019. Accessed: 29<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.itv.com/news/2019-05-17/dossier-exposes-more-than-100-cases-of-islamophobia-and-racism-from-people-claiming-to-be-conservative-party-members/>.

<sup>19</sup> Simon Murphy, “Revealed: Tory Councillors Posted Islamophobic Content on Social Media,” *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, November 12, 2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/nov/12/revealed-conservative-councillors-islamophobic-social-media>

include the aforementioned three factors".<sup>20</sup> We feel that it is important to fully highlight these key factors within the policy implementation of this definition. Therefore, in addressing the aforementioned considerations and ensuring that the definition is robustly policy applicable for the purposes of this report, we have added additional guidelines to the APPG's definition.

MEND thus applies the following understanding of Islamophobia:

***1.0 Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness. It is demonstrated in, and articulated through, speech, writing, behaviours, structures, policies, legislation or activities that work to control, regulate or exclude Muslim participation within social, civic, economic and political life, or which embody hatred, vilification, stereotyping, abuse, discrimination, or violence directed at Muslims.***

***2.0 Taking into account the overall context, examples of Islamophobia in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere may include (but are in no way limited to):***

***2.1 Any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference against Muslims that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.***

***2.2 Causing, calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Muslims or those perceived to be Muslim due to their religious identity.***

***2.3 Causing, calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of individuals due to their perceived or actual connection to or support of Muslims.***

***2.4 Charging Muslims with conspiring to harm humanity and/or the Western way of life or blaming Muslims for the economic and social ills of society.***

***2.5 Making mendacious, dehumanising, vilifying, demonising, or stereotypical allegations about Muslims.***

***2.6 Objectifying and generalising Muslims as different, exotic or underdeveloped, or implying that they are outside of, distinct from, or incompatible with British society and identity.***

***2.7 Espousing the belief that Muslims are inferior to other social or religious groups.***

***2.8 Accusing Muslims as a collective of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Muslim person, group or nation, or even for acts committed by non-Muslims.***

***2.9 Applying double standards by requiring of Muslims a behaviour not expected or demanded of any other social, religious or ethnic group.***

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<sup>20</sup> All Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims (2019). *Islamophobia Defined*. Report on the inquiry into a working definition of Islamophobia / anti-Muslim hatred. [online] All Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims, p.11. Available at: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/599c3d2febbd1a90cfffdd8a9/t/5bfd1ea3352f531a6170ceee/1543315109493/Islamophobia+Defined.pdf>

*2.10 Applying ethnocentric approaches to the treatment of Muslims (judging another culture solely by the values and standards of one's own culture). For example, evaluating Muslim women's choice of dress exclusively through the speaker's expectations and without reference to the personal cultural norms and values of the women in question.*

*2.11 Causing, calling for, aiding, or justifying acts of aggression within which the targets, whether they are people or property – such as buildings, schools, places of worship and cemeteries – are selected because they are, or are perceived to be, Muslim(s) or linked to Muslims.*

*3.0 While criticism of Islam within legitimate realms of debate and free speech is not in itself Islamophobic, it may become Islamophobic if the arguments presented are used to justify or encourage vilification, stereotyping, dehumanisation, demonisation or exclusion of Muslims. For example, by using criticism of religion to argue that Muslims are collectively evil or violent.*

## **The Limits of Islamophobia: Islamophobia Not in My Name**

Within this report, there are examples that have not been included in our list of over 120 incidents, but which have gained prominence in the public eye. The cases of Mr. Rees-Mogg and Mr Boris Johnson are worth examining here as they are demonstrative of a wider context of tacit acceptance of senior party members regarding Islamophobia within the public discussions of Conservative members. In 2019, The Sunday Times reported that ten private Facebook pages run by supporters of Mr Johnson and Mr. Rees-Mogg were filled with thousands of Islamophobic posts including descriptions of Muslims as “devil worshippers”, “sand rats” and “lepers”.<sup>21</sup>

In 2019, it emerged that Conservative councillors Mr. Martyn York and David Abbott, alongside Conservative candidate Dorinda Bailey, were moderators and administrators of a Facebook group which frequently hosted hateful rhetoric against minority communities.<sup>22</sup> The group, entitled *Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group*, had members that frequently used derogatory terms against Black and other ethnic minority community members, and propagated anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.<sup>23</sup> Other comments advocated for the bombing of mosques around the UK and referred to Muslims and refugees as “ragheads” and “cockroaches.”<sup>24</sup> Amongst the calls were also demands that Muslims be banned from joining the police or army and blocked from holding any position in Government.<sup>25</sup> Other users referred to the Mayor of London, Mr. Sadiq Khan, as a “conniving little muzrat”, and told Ms. Naz Shah, MP, to “p\*\*\* off to [her] own country” (Ms. Shah was born in Bradford).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> John Johnston, "Boris Johnson's Facebook Page 'littered with Hundreds of Racists Posts' from Supporters," PoliticsHome.com, August 19, 2018, <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/news/97659/boris-johnsons-facebook-page-littered>.

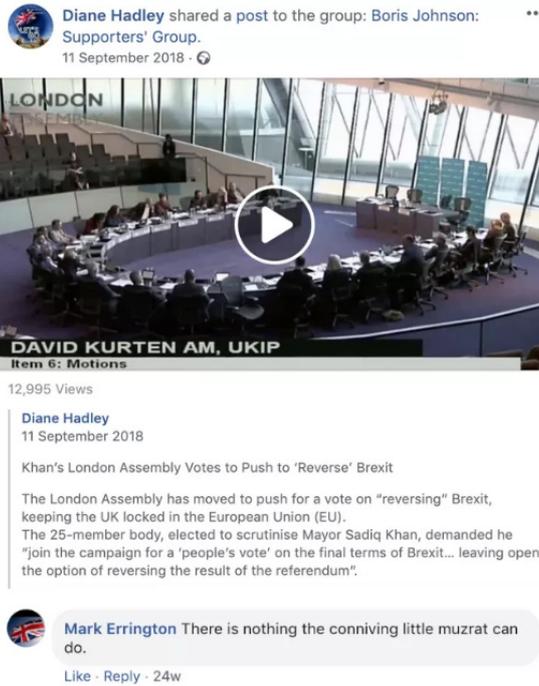
<sup>22</sup> Shehab Khan, "Tory councillor suspended over Islamophobic comments about bombing mosques made in Facebook group he moderates," *The Independent*, March 2019. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/tory-islamophobia-councillor-mosque-facebook-martyn-york-a8804486.html>.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> John Johnston, "Boris Johnson's Facebook Page 'littered with Hundreds of Racists Posts' from Supporters," PoliticsHome.com, August 19, 2018, <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/news/97659/boris-johnsons-facebook-page-littered>.

<sup>26</sup> Tom D. Rogers, "EXCL: Tory politicians are running a vile Facebook group where members joke about bombing mosques and shooting immigrants", Evolve Politics, March 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://evolvepolitics.com/excl-tory-politicians-are-running-a-vile-facebook-group-where-members-joke-about-bombing-mosques-and-shooting-immigrants/>.



*A Facebook post that was shared in the "Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group" that referred to Mr. Sadiq Khan as a "muzrat."<sup>27</sup>*



*A Facebook discussion in "Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group".<sup>28</sup>*

<sup>27</sup> Tom D. Rogers, "EXCL: Tory politicians are running a vile Facebook group where members joke about bombing mosques and shooting immigrants", Evolve Politics, March 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://evolvepolitics.com/excl-tory-politicians-are-running-a-vile-facebook-group-where-members-joke-about-bombing-mosques-and-shooting-immigrants/>.

<sup>28</sup> Rogers, "EXCL: Tory politicians are running a vile Facebook group".

James Murray ▸ Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group  
12 October 2018 · 🌐

Now you know. MP Naz Shah say's Muslims have made the UK more beautiful.



UNITYNEWSNETWORK.CO.UK  
**Naz Shah PROVOKES yet more debate after saying MUSLIMS have made the UK beautiful!**

👍👎👤 130 124 comments 60 shares

👍 Like    💬 Comment    ➦ Share

**Ian Porter** Get that raghead out of there got no rights wearing that in there  
Like · Reply · 19w    👍 7

**Ian Porter** This is a white British country its not for raghead blacks deport immediately  
Like · Reply · 19w    👍 4

**Ian Porter** Get this ragheads out of the commons deport it immediately out of the country with the rest of them they are illegal in the house of commons and the house of Lords get the ragheads out of the country deport immediately  
Like · Reply · 19w    👍 4

*A Facebook discussion regarding Naz Shah, MP, in "Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group".<sup>29</sup>*

In a similar fashion, Mr. Rees-Mogg has been found to be at the figurative centre of Islamophobic groups, including the *Jacob Rees-Mogg Supporters Group* and *The Jacob Rees-Mogg Appreciation Group*. In May 2019, the *Jacob Rees-Mogg Supporters Group* was closed down due to racist material<sup>30</sup> and members have advocated for the murder of various media and political actors, including Mr. Magid Magid, Ms. Naz Shah, Baroness Warsi and Mr. Sadiq Khan, to name but a few.<sup>31</sup> Other posts reportedly included calls to "get rid of all mosques" and for Muslims to be thrown off a bridge.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Nicky Harley, "Facebook Group Named after British Politician Jacob Rees-Mogg Banned," *The National*, May 20, 2019, <https://www.thenational.ae/world/europe/facebook-group-named-after-british-politician-jacob-rees-mogg-banned-1.864078>.

<sup>31</sup> @MatesJacob, *Twitter*, April 2019. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob/status/1113803338242560000>.

<sup>32</sup> Nicky Harley, "Facebook Group Named after British Politician Jacob Rees-Mogg Banned," *The National*, May 20, 2019, <https://www.thenational.ae/world/europe/facebook-group-named-after-british-politician-jacob-rees-mogg-banned-1.864078>.



*A list of individuals whose deaths have been advocated for on Jacob Rees-Mogg Supporters Group.<sup>33</sup>*

While 14 members were eventually suspended by the Conservative party,<sup>34</sup> the party head office was heavily criticised after it was revealed that two members had alerted it to the content six months earlier but no action was taken until the allegations appeared in the media.<sup>35</sup> Mr. Rees-Mogg, responded by stating, "Islamophobes have no place in the Tory party and it is encouraging that we have acted swiftly unlike the Socialists."<sup>36</sup> This statement (aside from being arguably less than accurate considering the six months in which these comments were allegedly not addressed by the party head office) is a very politically loaded

<sup>33</sup> @MatesJacob, *Twitter*, April 2019. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob/status/1113803338242560000>.

<sup>34</sup> PoliticsHome.com, "Tories Suspend 14 Members after Islamophobic Comments Found on Pro-Jacob Rees Mogg Facebook Page," PoliticsHome.com, May 17, 2019, <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/news/102319/tories-suspend-14-members-after>.

<sup>35</sup> Nicky Harley, "Facebook Group Named after British Politician Jacob Rees-Mogg Banned," *The National*, May 20, 2019, <https://www.thenational.ae/world/europe/facebook-group-named-after-british-politician-jacob-rees-mogg-banned-1.864078>.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

condemnation, perhaps to the point of smacking of insincerity and political-point-scoring. While there is a valid point to be made regarding the need to eradicate prejudice across the entire political spectrum and the failures of major political parties in tackling the problem, it should not distract from the fact that such bile is being propagated in Mr. Rees-Mogg's name.

Another concerning group centring around Mr. Rees-Mogg is *The Jacob Rees-Mogg Appreciation Group*, posts from which include suggestions of the Islamisation of the UK and a need to eradicate mosques.<sup>37</sup> The overall nature of the group can be garnered from but a passing glance at the group's discussions. It takes only a few seconds of reading these discussions to find examples of Islamophobia, hatred, and bigotry, including:<sup>38</sup>

- Descriptions of Shemima Begum as a "rag head".
- Users highlighting the threat of crimes committed by Muslims over other threats.<sup>39</sup>
- References to a loss of "our" country.
- Terms such as "Londinistan".
- Fears of 'white flight'.
- Suggesting that Sadiq Khan should join ISIS so he can be killed.



*Photo of a post from the Facebook group The Jacob Rees Mogg Appreciation Group.<sup>40</sup>*

<sup>37</sup> @MatesJacob, *Twitter*, June 2018. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob/status/1011907611694911488>.

<sup>38</sup> "The Jacob Rees-Mogg Appreciation Group", *Facebook*. Accessed: 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/JacobReesMogg/>.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*



*Comments made under the previously mentioned Facebook post.<sup>41</sup>*



*A discussion on the The Jacob Rees-Mogg Appreciation Group.<sup>42</sup>*

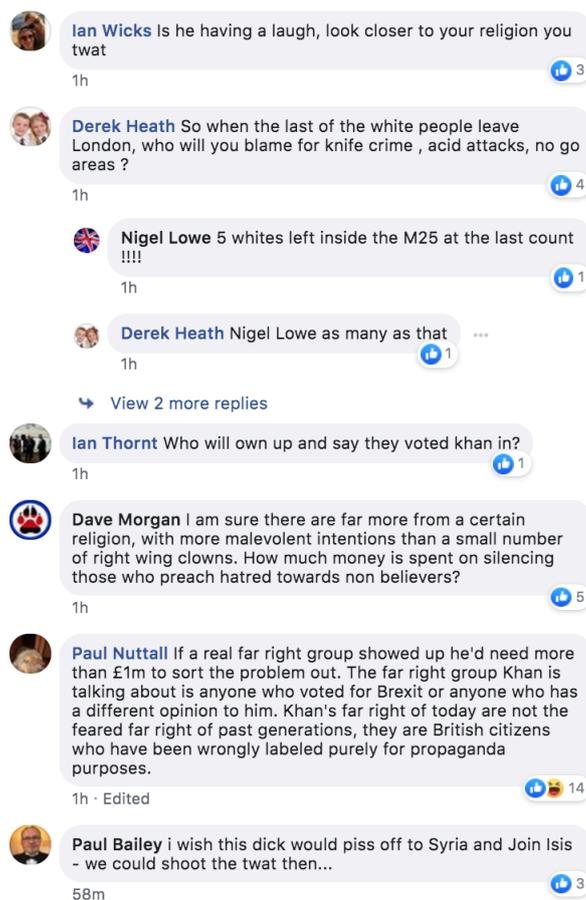


*A discussion on the The Jacob Rees-Mogg Appreciation Group regarding Mr Khan.<sup>43</sup>*

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> "The Jacob Rees-Mogg Appreciation Group", Facebook. Accessed: 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/JacobReesMogg/>.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.



*Continued discussion on The Jacob Rees-Mogg Appreciation Group regarding Mr. Khan.<sup>44</sup>*

MEND would argue that these cases cannot be seen as a direct indication of Islamophobia on either Mr. Rees-Mogg’s nor Mr. Johnson’s part. However, while Mr. Rees-Mogg has condemned Islamophobia and urged members of the *Jacob Rees-Mogg Supporters Group* not to vote for Tommy Robinson in the European elections,<sup>45</sup> both he and Mr Johnson are capable of doing much more to distance themselves from the prejudicial rhetoric emanating from such groups. To our knowledge, neither Mr. Rees-Mogg nor Mr. Johnson have made any legal attempts to have their names removed from these groups, nor to have the groups removed from Facebook.

In allowing their names to be used in this manner, far from making any active attempt to tackle prejudice, they are in fact providing tacit acceptance of it. Condemning a few comments falls remarkably short of condemning the ethos of such groups; an ethos that is inherently xenophobic, Islamophobic, bigoted, and hate filled. If the Conservative Party does not take a firm stance in distancing itself from such an ethos within its supporter base, it cannot hope to deal with Islamophobia within its ranks.

## The Limits of Islamophobia: Retweets and Social Networks

For the purposes of this report, MEND is of the viewpoint that retweeting or sharing a post on social media does not necessarily constitute agreement nor endorsement. Indeed, there

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Max Baker, "Why Jacob Rees-Mogg Is Urging Voters Not to Back Tommy Robinson," Somerset Live, April 29, 2019, <https://www.somersetlive.co.uk/news/somerset-news/jacob-rees-mogg-tommy-robinson-2811348>.

needs to be scope for satirical objection, sarcasm, and providing a platform to oppose the message in question. However, we take the view that unless the person explicitly makes a comment stating that they disagree with the nature of a post, tweet, or comment; or qualifies it with an explanatory statement, a retweet or repost in this context is taken to be an agreement with the sentiments expressed.

This is especially so in the case of repeated retweets or posts of a similar nature, or if such posts are accompanied by other examples of Islamophobia, a pattern emerges that may suggest an overall proclivity towards Islamophobic assumptions, narratives, and attitudes.

Likewise, evidence of direct and personal Islamophobia cannot be garnered through an individual simply being a member of a social media group or having allegiances with others who have been proven to espouse Islamophobic positions. In a healthy democracy, it is natural to share platforms with those whom you do not wholly agree with on every issue. However, MEND would argue that if you are an MP, councillor or candidate, then it is incumbent upon you in your civic and social responsibility to speak out against any hate speech found within, including Islamophobia.

**We have thus divided the following analysis of this report into three parts:**

- A preliminary section including instances that consist solely of retweets and sharing of Islamophobic posts, comments or articles.
- An exploration of Islamophobia within the highest echelons of the party.
- A comprehensive section of over 120 instances of Islamophobia which also includes instances of retweets, sharing of social media posts, or associations with known Islamophobes in cases where the instance has either:
  - Been accompanied by disciplinary action by the Conservative Party, such as a suspension or an expulsion.
  - And/or it is accompanied by further additional evidence of Islamophobia.

## Part Three:

### Examples of Islamophobic Retweets and Reposts

*Jacob Rees-Mogg, Member of Parliament for North East Somerset*

On the 31<sup>st</sup> of March 2019, Mr. Jacob Rees-Mogg promoted the words of Alice Weidel, leader of the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) Party by tweeting a video. The AfD has caused outrage across Europe for remarks from its members on race, religion, and Nazi Germany. Indeed, it recently ran an “Islam-free” campaign reminiscent of Nazi rhetoric, including calling for “Islam-free schools.”<sup>46</sup> Labour MP David Lammy responded stating that Rees-Mogg was “promoting Germany’s overtly racist party”.<sup>47</sup>

While Mr. Rees-Mogg claimed he did not endorse the views of AfD,<sup>48</sup> Labour MP, Stella Creasy, argued that, “We have to deal with the AfD on the Council of Europe. One of their reps claims that ‘Muslims in Europe are seeking to kill all Germans’. So forgive us @Jacob\_Rees\_Mogg if don’t use them as you do as a metric for decent opinions by which we should be influenced.”<sup>49</sup>



*A tweet by Mr. Jacob Rees-Mogg sharing a speech by AfD co-leader, Ms. Alice Weidel.<sup>50</sup>*

*Jacob Rees-Mogg, Member of Parliament for North East Somerset; Andrew Rosindell, Member of Parliament for Romford; George Freeman, Member of Parliament for Mid Norfolk; And Glyn Davies, Member of Parliament for Montgomeryshire*

In 2018, it emerged that Mr. Jacob Rees-Mogg, Mr. Andrew Rosindell, Mr. George Freeman, and Mr. Glyn Davies, were members of the *Conservative Debating Forum*,<sup>51</sup> a Facebook group which can only be joined by invitation or by permission of moderators and which was found

<sup>46</sup> Peter Walker, “Rees-Mogg defends promotion of German far-right AfD video”, *The Guardian*, April 2019. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/apr/01/jacob-rees-mogg-defends-promotion-of-german-far-right-afd-video>.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> “Brexit: Jacob Rees-Mogg defends tweet of far-right AfD clip”, *BBC News*, April 2019. Accessed: 7<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-47770959>.

<sup>49</sup> @stellacreasy, *Twitter*, March 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019 <https://twitter.com/stellacreasy/status/1112460526729285632>

<sup>50</sup> @Jacob\_Rees\_Mogg, *Twitter*, March 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. [https://twitter.com/Jacob\\_Rees\\_Mogg/status/1112428768193404935](https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1112428768193404935).

<sup>51</sup> Michael Savage, “Pro-Tory Facebook group filled with Islamophobic abuse”, *The Guardian*, June 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jun/09/pro-tory-facebook-group-filled-with-islamophobic-abuse>.

to be espousing Islamophobic, homophobic and racially-charged rhetoric. All denied any knowledge of being signed up and left after being alerted to the group's content.<sup>52</sup>

Examples of disturbing messages propagated on this group include:

- Calls to “expel the London Mayor”.
- Statements that “Islam should be banned”.
- Arguments that Islam presents an “existential threat” to the UK.
- Assertions that members “could not back a Muslim prime minister as it could lead to “a parallel legal system including heathen Sharia law”.”
- And, suggestions that only a “mental illness” could persuade someone to convert to Islam.<sup>53</sup>

#### *Andrew Rosindell, Member of Parliament for Romford*

Another group to which Mr. Rosindell was found to be a member is *Free Tommy*, a group that was set up in support of Mr. Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (pseudonym “Tommy Robinson”).<sup>54</sup> Mr. Rosindell claimed that he was added to the group without his knowledge. However, membership to the group is limited to those who request access or accept an invitation from another user.<sup>55</sup>

#### *Ron McKail, Councillor for Westhill and District Ward in Aberdeenshire*

In August 2018, Mr. Ron McKail apologised for a post on Facebook dating from 2016 which made fun of veiled Muslim women.<sup>56</sup> The graphic included a picture of black patio umbrellas accompanied by the text: “I spent half an hour trying to talk with them, wanting to learn about their culture. Until the bartender cut me off and told me they were patio umbrellas”.<sup>57</sup> Mr. McKail has previously faced scrutiny for sharing posts from the far-right group, Britain First, which has been widely condemned for its openly Islamophobic policies.<sup>58</sup> It appears that he has faced no disciplinary action and continues to represent the Conservative party.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Michael Savage, “Pro-Tory Facebook group filled with Islamophobic abuse”, *The Guardian*, June 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jun/09/pro-tory-facebook-group-filled-with-islamophobic-abuse>.

<sup>53</sup> Savage, “Pro-Tory Facebook group filled with Islamophobic abuse”

<sup>54</sup> Facundo Arrizabalaga, “Tory MP’s Facebook account part of Tommy Robinson group”, *The Times*, January 2019. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/tory-mps-account-part-of-tommy-robinson-group-n9chlcnc>.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Catriona Webster, “Councillor Likened Muslim Women to Umbrellas,” *Scotland | The Times*, August 11, 2018, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/councillor-likened-muslim-women-to-umbrellas-plkf6h0xz>.

<sup>57</sup> Dan Vevers, “Tory councillor compared women in burkas to patio umbrellas”, *STV News*, August 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://stv.tv/news/politics/1426731-tory-councillor-compared-women-in-burkas-to-patio-umbrellas/>.

<sup>58</sup> David Clegg, “Tory councillor compares Muslim women to PATIO UMBRELLAS in Facebook post mocking Islamic”, *Mirror*, August 2018. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/tory-councillor-compares-muslim-women-13059852>.

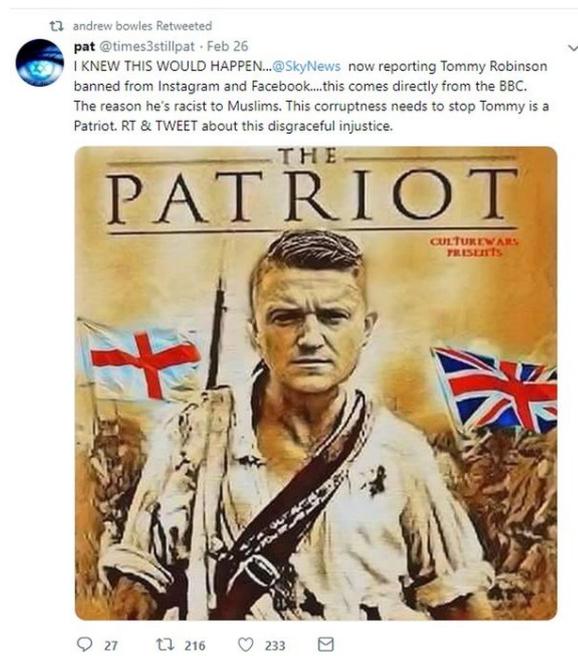
<sup>59</sup> Committee member details, *Aberdeenshire council*. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://committees.aberdeenshire.gov.uk/committees.aspx?interests=1&memberid=1040>.



*A graphic that was shared by Mr. Ron McKail.<sup>60</sup>*

*Andrew Bowles, Boughton, and Courtenay Ward in Swale*

In February 2019, Mr. Andrew Bowles used his Twitter account to share a graphic that described Tommy Robinson as “The Patriot.” Mr. Bowles later apologised for his action and stated: “My re-tweet was to express my opposition to various social media platforms banning Tommy Robinson.”<sup>61</sup> Depicting a far-right extremist who has called Muslims “enemy combatants” as a “patriot” is unbecoming of a representative of a party which claims to seek to tackle hate speech.



*A graphic shared by Mr. Andrew Bowles depicting Mr. Stephen Yaxley-Lennon as ‘The Patriot.’<sup>62</sup>*

<sup>60</sup> David Clegg, “Tory councillor compares Muslim women to PATIO UMBRELLAS in Facebook post mocking Islamic”, *Mirror*, August 2018. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/tory-councillor-compares-muslim-women-13059852>.

<sup>61</sup> @lambertleese, *Twitter*, March 2019. Accessed: 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/lambertleese/status/1103302287680778243>.

<sup>62</sup> Sophie Norris, “Tory council leader retweets message hailing Tommy Robinson as a patriot”, *Mirror*, March 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/tory-council-leader-retweets-message-14086182>.

*Mary Kilpatrick, Ayr East Ward in South Ayrshire*

In March 2016, Ms. Mary Kilpatrick was reportedly forced to apologise after using her Twitter account to retweet posts from the account #BanTheBurka.<sup>63</sup>



*A re-tweet from Ms. Mary Kilpatrick's account.<sup>64</sup>*



*A re-tweet from Ms. Mary Kilpatrick's account.<sup>65</sup>*

*Robert Phipps, Teignmouth East Ward in Teignmouth Town*

In 2017, Mr. Robert Phipps apologised for sharing a Facebook post in 2014 originating from the far-right group, Britain First, which depicted a dog covered in a blue sheet, apart from its nose, accompanied with the caption, "Guide dog for a Muslim woman known as a Barka".<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Stuart Wilson, "South Ayrshire Tory councillor in Tweet storm as she backs call to ban the burka", *Daily Record*, March 2016. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/local-news/south-ayrshire-tory-councillor-tweet-7532512>.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Zoe Stevens, "Councillor pictured with Prime Minister under fire for sharing Britain First post on Facebook", *Devon Live*, December 2017. Accessed: 17<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.devonlive.com/news/devon-news/councillor-pictured-prime-minister-under-864991>.



*A Facebook post shared by Mr. Robert Phipps.<sup>67</sup>*

### *Teck Khong, Oadby Grange Ward in Oadby & Wigston Borough*

In 2016, it emerged that Dr. Teck Khong had repeatedly shared and liked Islamophobic tweets during his time as a Conservative Councillor. Some tweets liked by Dr Khong included comments that, “Naturally Muslims can be humane in spite of their Religion, much as not all Nazis were Guilty of Murder”<sup>68</sup> Islam is “an evil religion if ever there’s one”,<sup>69</sup> and that, “Muzzies don’t need any help with radicalising”.<sup>70</sup>

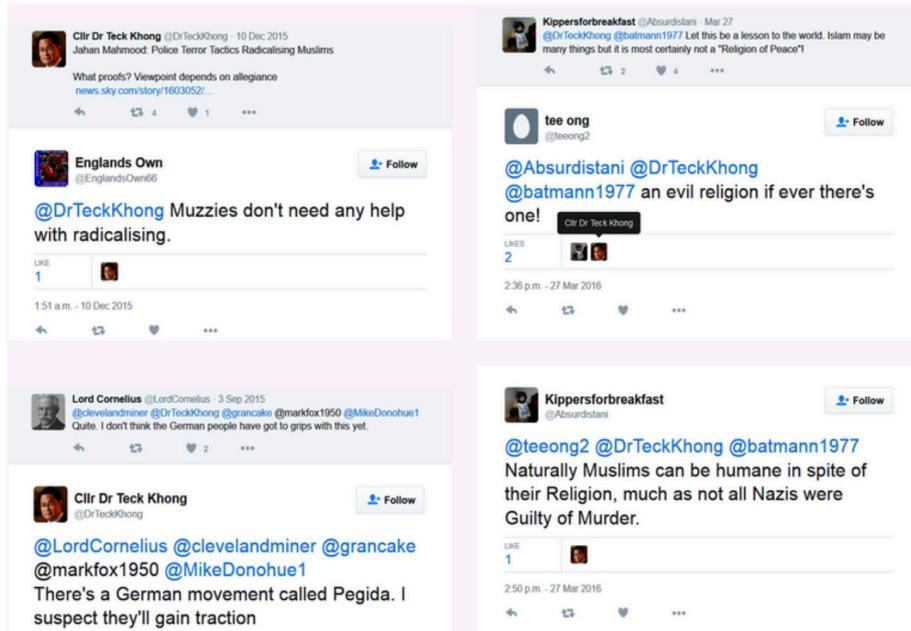
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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> “Dr Tech Khong: The GP who says Muslims are bad for our health”, Thoughts of a Leicester Socialist, April 2016. Accessed: 17<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://thoughtsofaleicestersocialist.wordpress.com/2016/04/23/dr-teck-khong-the-gp-who-says-muslims-are-bad-for-our-health/>.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.



*A selection of Facebook posts liked by Dr. Teck Khong.<sup>71</sup>*

*Shaun Bailey, Mayoral Candidate for London*

Mr. Shaun Bailey was exposed for sharing an Islamophobic post about the Mayor of London, Mr. Sadiq Khan, referring to him as the “Mad Mullah Kahn of Londonistan.”<sup>72</sup>



<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Joe Watts, “Conservative London Mayor candidate embroiled in new Sadiq Khan Islamophobia row”, *The Independent*, September 2018. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/shaun-bailey-islamophobia-sadiq-khan-london-mayor-tory-party-conservatives-a8558521.html>.



*A retweet from Mr. Shaun Bailey's account.<sup>73</sup>*

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

## Part Four:

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### Islamophobia at the Heart of the Party

Mr. Johnson's cabinet is characterised by controversial figures who have made a plethora of detrimental comments and pioneered policies that serve to marginalise minority communities. These individuals can be found from the person of the Prime Minister himself, to those at every level of Mr. Johnson's inner circle; individuals serving as Members of the Cabinet, the Leader of the House of Commons, Junior Ministers, and advisors.

The following chapter of this report does not seek to document specific instances of Islamophobia; rather, the intention is to demonstrate the context through which pivotal figures within the Conservative Party provide fertile ground for Islamophobic sentiments and policies to be tacitly permitted to fester throughout every level of the party.

Consequently, the focus of this chapter will be a brief exploration of actions, statements, relationships, and policy positions that:

- Are damaging to Muslim communities and their interests,
- Demonstrate a disregard for the interests of minority communities generally,
- Or highlight a pattern of anti-Muslim political attitudes.

#### Mr. Boris Johnson

##### *Prime Minister*



Mr. Boris Johnson has an established history of utilising derogatory, racist, and Islamophobic rhetoric thinly veiled by 'satire'.

During his tenure as a political figure, Mr Johnson has made numerous unsavoury remarks. Indeed, following the 7/7 terror attack in 2005, Mr. Johnson wrote a highly controversial piece in the Spectator which demonstrated strong Islamophobic rhetoric. In reference to the motives of the attackers, Mr. Johnson sought to shift the blame from foreign policy and the Iraq war by arguing that "Islam is the problem."<sup>74</sup> He added that "fear of Islam – seems a natural reaction" and that Islam was "the most viciously sectarian of all religions in its heartlessness towards unbelievers."<sup>75</sup> Moreover, he uses the phrase "We – non-Muslims",<sup>76</sup> reinforcing a dichotomy of "us" vs. "them" and the idea that Muslims are not British.<sup>77</sup>

Mr. Boris Johnson has made other racist remarks throughout his career, including:

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<sup>74</sup> Boris Johnson, "Just don't call it war", *The Spectator* (16<sup>th</sup> July, 2005) Available at <https://www.spectator.co.uk/2005/07/just-dont-call-it-war/>.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

- Writing a poem about the President of Turkey having sexual relations with a goat.<sup>78</sup>
- Stating that Tony Blair “is shortly off to the Congo. No doubt the AK47s will fall silent, and the pangas will stop their hacking of human flesh, and the tribal warriors will all break out in watermelon smiles to see the big white chief touch down in his big white British taxpayer-funded bird.”<sup>79</sup>
- Claiming that the Queen loves touring the Commonwealth because of the “cheering crowds of flag-waving piccaninnies.”<sup>80</sup>
- Stating that “for 10 years we in the Tory Party have become used to Papua New Guinea-style orgies of cannibalism and chief-killing.”<sup>81</sup>
- Claiming that the reason there were more Malaysian women going to university was so that they could “find men to marry.”<sup>82</sup>
- Served as editor of the *Spectator* magazine when it published a poem about Scotland which described “The Scotch” as “a verminous race” and argued that “It’s time Hadrian’s Wall was refortified.” It culminated with the suggestion “To pen them in a ghetto on the other side. I would go further. The nation deserves not merely isolation. But comprehensive extermination.”<sup>83</sup>

While not classifying as Islamophobic, the above examples are evidence of Mr. Johnson’s cavalier attitude towards demeaning and derogatory remarks directed at minority groups.

Amongst his most infamously Islamophobic comments was an article published in the *Times* in August 2018. In the article, Mr Johnson referred to Muslim women who choose to wear the niqab/burka as “letterboxes” and “bank robbers.”<sup>84</sup> Such a comparison equates Muslim women to both inanimate objects and to criminality, thereby dehumanising them as “other”.

He further belittled the agency and experiences of these women by describing the burka as “oppressive”, “weird”, and a form of “bullying.” He concluded that there are only a few women in Britain who wear the burka, adding his hope for the future that “one day, I am sure, they will go”, seemingly attempting to alienate Muslim women further and suggesting that the cultural practices and identities of such women should be considered “backward” and in need of erasure.

Furthermore, Mr. Johnson stated that he would ask Muslim women from his constituency who chose to wear the garment to “remove it” so that he could “talk to [them] properly.”<sup>85</sup> As

<sup>78</sup> Jessica Elgot, “Boris Johnson wins ‘most offensive Erdoğan poem’ competition”, *The Guardian*, May 2016. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/19/boris-johnson-wins-most-offensive-erdogan-poem-competition>.

<sup>79</sup> Lily Kuo, “Britain’s new foreign secretary once referred to Africa’s ‘watermelon smiles’ and ‘picanninies’”, *Quartz Africa*, July 2016. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://qz.com/africa/731695/britains-new-foreign-secretary-once-referred-to-africas-watermelon-smiles-and-picanninies/>.

<sup>80</sup> Owen Bowcott and Sam Jones, “Johnson’s ‘picanninies’ apology”, *The Guardian*, January 2008. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2008/jan/23/london.race>.

<sup>81</sup> “Boris apology to Papua New Guinea”, *BBC News*, September 2006. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk\\_politics/5327984.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/5327984.stm).

<sup>82</sup> Alexandra Topping, “Boris Johnson criticised for suggesting women go to university to find husband”, *The Guardian*, July 2013. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/jul/08/boris-johnson-women-university-husband>.

<sup>83</sup> Greg Heffer, “Boris Johnson called a ‘racist’ as his past remarks are read out in Commons”, *Sky News*, June 2019. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://news.sky.com/story/boris-johnson-called-a-racist-as-his-past-remarks-are-read-out-in-commons-11744991>.

<sup>84</sup> Boris Johnson, “Denmark has got it wrong. Yes, the burka is oppressive and ridiculous - but that’s still no reason to ban it”, *The Telegraph*, August 2018. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/08/05/denmark-has-got-wrong-yes-burka-oppressive-ridiculous-still/>.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

their political representative, Mr. Johnson has a duty to represent his constituents honestly. Stating that he would ask Muslim women to remove their clothing acts to exclude them from engaging in the political process by creating barriers preventing them from exercising their democratic rights. Therefore, his comments are not only offensive but also serve to marginalise and exclude Muslim women from political and civic life.

## Denmark has got it wrong. Yes, the burka is oppressive and ridiculous – but that's still no reason to ban it

Follow

**BORIS JOHNSON**



5 AUGUST 2018 · 9:30PM

*The headline of Mr. Boris Johnson's article.<sup>86</sup>*

### Conservatives rule Boris Johnson comparing Muslim women in veils to letter boxes and bank robbers was 'respectful'

Former foreign secretary not in breach of Conservative Party code of conduct

*Headline from an article reporting on Conservative party's resolution on Mr. Boris Johnson's burka article which was deemed "respectful."<sup>87</sup>*

This attitude towards Muslims is not a recent phenomenon. Following the 7/7 terror attack in 2005, Mr. Johnson wrote a highly controversial piece in the Spectator which demonstrated strong Islamophobic rhetoric. In reference to the motives of the attackers, Mr. Johnson sought to shift the blame from foreign policy and the Iraq war by arguing that "Islam is the problem."<sup>88</sup> He added that "fear of Islam – seems a natural reaction" and that Islam was "the most viciously sectarian of all religions in its heartlessness towards unbelievers."<sup>89</sup> Moreover, he uses the phrase "We – non-Muslims",<sup>90</sup> reinforcing a dichotomy of "us" vs. "them" and the idea that Muslims are not British.<sup>91</sup>

Two years later, Mr Johnson then wrote an essay entitled: "And Then Came the Muslims".<sup>92</sup> In the essay, Mr Johnson argues that countries that had accepted Islam as a majority religion had been left "literally centuries behind". This Orientalist framing of Muslims as 'backwards',

<sup>86</sup> Johnson, "Denmark has got it wrong."

<sup>87</sup> David Hughes, "Conservatives rule Boris Johnson comparing Muslim women in veils to letter boxes and bank robbers was 'respectful', *The Independent*, December 2018. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019.

<sup>88</sup> Boris Johnson, "Just don't call it war", *The Spectator* (16<sup>th</sup> July, 2005) Available at <https://www.spectator.co.uk/2005/07/just-dont-call-it-war/>.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Frances Perraudin, "Boris Johnson claimed Islam put Muslim world 'centuries behind'", *The Guardian*, July 2019. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jul/15/boris-johnson-islam-muslim-world-centuries-behind-2007-essay>.

'illiberal', and 'unsophisticated', is a favoured tool of social control and exclusion that is frequently utilised by proponents of Islamophobia.<sup>93</sup>

## Mr. Michael Gove

### *Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*



In March 2017, Baroness Warsi, a former co-chair of the Conservative Party, spoke out against Mr. Michael Gove's hard-line stance against the Muslim communities, stating that his views were "very much in line" with the Islamophobic stance of Donald Trump.<sup>94</sup> This concern has since been shared by others, with Peter Osborne arguing that "A Gove premiership would be another body blow for British Muslims. He is the unsung commander-in-chief of the Islamophobes inside the Conservative party. As a journalist he was one of the group of armchair experts on the Middle East who became cheerleaders for the Iraq War. He was one of the founding members of the Henry Jackson Society, a neo-conservative think tank which has been criticised for an allegedly anti-Muslim agenda and for refusing to disclose its donors."<sup>95</sup> Mr. Gove's stance

towards the securitisation of Muslim identities is perhaps best evidenced by the long-proven non-event, "the Trojan Horse Affair", during which he was the then Secretary of State for Education.

In March 2014, the so-called "Trojan Horse Affair" hit the headlines. It has since come to be understood by many observers to have been "the product of a climate in which all British Muslims are viewed with suspicion, and complex questions about faith and integration are reduced by politicians and the media to hysterical debates about terrorism".<sup>96</sup> Peter Osborne describes the 'scandal' as "a lurid figment of the neo-Conservative imagination... an anti-Muslim ideological concoction, driven by Michael Gove, backed by David Cameron's Downing Street, and aided and abetted by a group of well-placed media henchmen. It is also an episode which has done enormous harm to community relations, unfairly wrecked the career of teachers and, above all, set back the life chances of thousands of mainly Muslim Birmingham students, whose school careers have been gravely disrupted."<sup>97</sup>

Mr. Gove's influence as a driving force behind the hysteria is well documented and perhaps exemplified by the Department of Education's appointment of Peter Clarke to lead an investigation into the supposed 'plot'. Mr. Gove's choice of Mr. Clarke, a man with no experience of school inspections but a background in counter-terrorism, is highly significant. As explained by Jacqueline Baxter, "The appointment of Clarke again signified the 'unequivocal link' between the happenings at the schools in question and extremist activity. Peter Clarke, a former police commander who headed up Scotland Yard's anti-terrorism

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<sup>93</sup> "Islam putting countries 'literally centuries behind'? John Locke disagrees", *MEND*, July 2019. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://www.mend.org.uk/news/islam-putting-countries-literally-centuries-behind-john-locke-disagrees/>.

<sup>94</sup> Rob Merrick, "Michael Gove has same 'crazy' anti-Muslim policies as Donald Trump, former Tory chairwoman says", *The Independent*, March 2017. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/michael-gove-donald-trump-baroness-warsi-anti-muslim-crazy-tory-chairwoman-a7649411.html>.

<sup>95</sup> Peter Osborne, "A Michael Gove Premiership Would Be Another Blow for British Muslims," *Middle East Eye*, April 2, 2019, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/michael-gove-premiership-would-be-another-blow-british-muslims>.

<sup>96</sup> Samira Shackleton, "Trojan Horse: The Real Story behind the Fake 'Islamic Plot' to Take over Schools," *The Guardian*, September 01, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/01/trojan-horse-the-real-story-behind-the-fake-islamic-plot-to-take-over-schools>.

<sup>97</sup> Peter Osborne, "The 'Trojan Horse' Plot? A Figment of Neo-Conservative Imagination," *Middle East Eye*, June 02, 2017, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/trojan-horse-plot-figment-neo-conservative-imagination>.

branch from 2002 until 2008, had been known as ‘the face’ of anti-terrorism activity since the July 2005 London bombings.”<sup>98</sup> Mr. Clarke’s report has since been academically discredited in Professor John Holmwood’s *Countering Extremism in British Schools* who highlights the ways in which the affair was used to criticise multiculturalism and justify the expansion of a broad and intrusive counter extremism agenda.<sup>99</sup> Meanwhile, James Fergusson has noted in his own work *Al-Britannia, My Country: A Journey Through Muslim Britain*, that “[Tahir] Alam argued that not just he but all the Trojan Horse teachers had been unfairly treated, particularly by Peter Clarke who, he claimed, had not entered a single one of the schools targeted in his report, nor spoken to any of their pupils or parents in the course of his inquiry. (A parent governor caught up in the affair later told me that Clarke never left Birmingham Council’s committee room nine.) Much of Clarke’s report, Alam said, was based on ‘Jackanory tittle-tattle’ that had been extrapolated to fit a preconceived narrative.”<sup>100</sup>

As noted by Peter Osborne, “The ‘Islamist plot’ turned out itself to be a conspiracy theory. It ruined the careers of a number of selfless teachers, and damaged the educations of thousands of largely Muslim children. But the idea of an Islamist plot – a ‘Trojan Horse’ – fitted profoundly into Gove’s world view, as expressed by his book *Celsius 7/7*.”<sup>101</sup> Indeed, *Celsius 7/7* itself contained a chapter entitled “The Trojan Horse”.<sup>102</sup> Within it Mr Gove argues that “a sizeable minority” of British Muslims hold “rejectionist Islamist views”.<sup>103</sup> The book has been roundly condemned as inaccurate, overly simplistic, and falling squarely into the “clash of civilisations” mindset championed by Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis. In a scathing review by William Dalrymple, award-winning writer and historian, it is argued that “Gove’s book is a confused epic of simplistic incomprehension, riddled with more factual errors and misconceptions than any other text I have come across in some two decades of reviewing books on this subject. Many are mistakes of the most basic sort that even a little experience on the ground could have disabused him of.”<sup>104</sup> The book, it appears, was an attempt to give credence to the clash of civilisation theory within mainstream British politics, and cemented an enduring neo-conservative narrative about Islam within the British Government’s policy framework.

Mr. Gove’s standpoint was given life in the Trojan Horse investigations wherein “a crisis was created and then manipulated in order to create a ‘defining’ event, crafted by the government and media in such a way as to exemplify major failings in policy and, as a consequence, prove to be a driver for ‘reform’ in a particular policy area.”<sup>105</sup>

He has also been accused of being a driving force behind theories of a ‘conveyor belt’ process of radicalisation that begins with religious conservatism and ends with terrorism.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, he is believed to have been a primary source of guidance for the then Prime Minister’s speech

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<sup>98</sup> Jacqueline Baxter, *School Governance: Policy, Politics and Practices* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2016), 42.

<sup>99</sup> John Holmwood and Therese O’Toole, *Countering Extremism in British Schools?: The Truth about the Birmingham Trojan Horse Affair* (Birmingham, UK: Policy Press, 2017).

<sup>100</sup> James Fergusson, *Al-Britannia: A Journey through Muslim Britain* (London: Corgi Books, 2018). Accessed: June 4, 2019, <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=XzxpDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Al-Britannia,MyCountry&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiYzOXhyqzAhX0QkEAHcyUDlcO6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=Jackanory&f=false>.

<sup>101</sup> Osborne, “A Michael Gove Premiership Would Be Another Blow for British Muslims”.

<sup>102</sup> Michael Gove, *Celsius 7/7* (London: Phoenix, 2014).

<sup>103</sup> Alan Travis, “Michael Gove book offers clue to Trojan horse row and his views on Islamism”, *The Guardian*, June 2014. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jun/06/michael-gove-trojan-horse-islam>.

<sup>104</sup> William Dalrymple, “Killer Review of Gove’s God Awful Book,” *Evernote*, July 7, 2016, <https://www.evernote.com/shard/s350/client/snv?noteGuid=2824657b-270b-4d9f-8d6d-c0121efcc3db&noteKey=704af79337e788c6&sn=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.evernote.com%2Fshard%2Fs350%2Fsh%2F2824657b-270b-4d9f-8d6d-c0121efcc3db%2F704af79337e788c6&title=Killer%2BRe>.

<sup>105</sup> Baxter, *School Governance: Policy, Politics and Practices*, 37.

<sup>106</sup> Alan Travis, “Michael Gove book offers clue to Trojan horse row and his views on Islamism”, *The Guardian*, June 2014. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jun/06/michael-gove-trojan-horse-islam>.

in February 2011, in which David Cameron emphasised that some Muslims took their “[religious] beliefs to the next level by embracing violence”.<sup>107</sup> Mr Gove’s lack of expertise on countering extremism was subsequently called into question, and was roundly criticised by experts in the field. For example, Marc Sageman, a forensic psychiatrist and former CIA operations officer, stated that there was a clear lack of empirical evidence behind Mr Gove’s theory and that “it [was] the same nonsense that led governments a hundred years ago to claim that left-wing political protests led to violent anarchy.”<sup>108</sup>

Mr. Gove’s allegiance with Henry Jackson Society (HJS) should also be noted as a further indication of his often neo-conservative worldview, wherein Muslims are viewed almost exclusively through the lens of security. It is also of significant concern that a member of the Cabinet would have such a strong relationship with organisations that exert substantial energy on driving an overtly Islamophobic agenda. Mr. Gove was a founding member of HJS and continues to be a signatory to the organisation’s statement of principles.<sup>109</sup> Another of HJS’s founders, Matthew Jamison, has described the organisation as “racist”, “corrupt”, “undemocratic”, and a “monstrous animal”.

## Mr. Sajid Javid

### *Chancellor of the Exchequer, Second Lord of the Treasury*



As with countless examples of social control throughout history, the positionality of specific individuals has been actively used and publicised as a deflective tool against accusations of unjust treatment.

In the case of Mr. Sajid Javid, his positionality as an ethnic minority with a Muslim heritage has been alluded to as a defence against accusations of Islamophobia within the Conservative Party. However, the ethnic and religious identity of an individual does not ensure that the individual in question will act in the interest of that community. This is certainly the case with regards to Mr. Javid, who has been shown to act against the interests of Muslim communities on numerous occasions. Moreover, his position on such matters has then been used as further justification of the acceptability of increasingly oppressive policies.

As but a handful of examples wherein Mr. Javid’s positionality as a Muslim was used as a mechanism to discredit and silence dissenting Muslim voices:

- When the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) first called for an inquiry into Islamophobia in the Conservative Party, Mr. Javid argued: “For a start, let’s just look at who the home secretary is in this country. My name is Sajid Javid, I’m the home

<sup>107</sup> Mehdi Hasan, “When Did Michael Gove Become The Government’s Expert On Muslims Or Extremism?”, *Huffington Post*, June 2014. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. [https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/06/04/michael-gove-islam\\_n\\_5443576.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/06/04/michael-gove-islam_n_5443576.html).

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> “Signatories to the Statement of Principles”, *Henry Jackson Society*. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/signatories-to-the-statement-of-principles/>.

secretary.” He then continued to claim that MCB was not representative of Muslims in Britain and that they had troubling links to extremists.<sup>110</sup>

- In December 2018, Mr. Javid stated that critics of the Government’s counter-extremism programme, PREVENT, were “on the side of extremists”.<sup>111</sup>

There are also instances wherein Mr. Javid’s actions are directly oppositional to the interests of mainstream Muslim communities. While there is nothing inherently problematic about differences in ideas and values (this is in fact the bedrock of a democratic society), Mr. Javid’s divergence from the commonly held positions of Muslims across the country is an indication that his ethnic or religious identity should not be used as an argument in defence of Conservative Islamophobia. As a brief selection of issues in which Mr. Javid has acted against the interests of mainstream Muslims and minority communities:

- Mr. Javid’s position on issues surrounding Palestine are often overwhelmingly favourable towards the Israeli Government.<sup>112</sup> However, in light of the notable human rights abuses committed by the Israeli Government, this is not the position of large sections of Muslim communities who are largely very supportive of Palestinian self-determination.
- In his previous role as Home Secretary, Mr Javid stripped several high-profile British-born Muslims of their citizenship, rather than implement due process in respect to their alleged crimes.<sup>113</sup> This decision incited allegations of racism and political motivations, with observers noting a double-standard being applied to Muslim and ethnic minority citizens, with no such punitive measures being applied to, for example, Samantha Lewthwaite, who is the white widow of bomber Germaine Lindsay, and who is eligible for Irish citizenship.<sup>114</sup>
- In October 2018, Mr Javid tweeted about a grooming gang case, calling the perpetrators “sick Asian paedophiles”.<sup>115</sup> By noting the ethnicity of the perpetrators, he acted to normalise and give credibility to stereotypes propagated by the far-right of Asians and Muslims being sexual predators. Labour MP David Lammy argued that by singling out a community like this, Mr Javid “increases the risk of violence and abuse against minorities across the country.”<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Sky, “Sajid Javid in Muslim Council of Britain Spat over Islamophobia Claims,” Sky News (Sky, June 3, 2018), <https://news.sky.com/story/sajid-javid-in-muslim-council-of-britain-spat-over-islamophobia-claims-11393750>

<sup>111</sup> Charles Hymas, “Prevent Critics ‘on Side of Extremists,’ Says Home Secretary Sajid Javid,” The Telegraph (Telegraph Media Group, December 1, 2018), <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/12/01/prevent-critics-side-extremists-says-home-secretary-sajid-javid/>

<sup>112</sup> Philpot, Robert. 2019. “Meet Sajid Javid, UK’S Top Muslim, Pro-Israel Politician, Who Just May Become PM”. *Timesofisrael.Com*, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/meet-sajid-javid-uks-top-muslim-pro-israel-politician-who-just-may-become-pm/>.

<sup>113</sup> Lizzie Dearden Home Affairs Correspondent @lizziedearden, “Number of People Stripped of UK Citizenship Soars by 600% in a Year,” The Independent (Independent Digital News and Media, February 20, 2019), <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/shamima-begum-uk-citizenship-stripped-home-office-sajid-javid-a8788301.html>

<sup>114</sup> James Bridle, “Shamima Begum’s Case Shows Us Citizenship Can Never Protect Our Rights | James Bridle,” The Guardian (Guardian News and Media, March 5, 2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/05/shamima-begum-citizenship>

<sup>115</sup> Sajid Javid, “These Sick Asian Paedophiles Are Finally Facing Justice. I Want to Commend the Bravery of the Victims. For Too Long, They Were Ignored. Not on My Watch. There Will Be No No-Go Areas <https://t.co/cZGqDOx4u>,” Twitter (Twitter, October 19, 2018), <https://twitter.com/sajidjavid/status/1053336915850739714>

<sup>116</sup> Aamna Mohdin, “Sajid Javid Lambasted for ‘Asian Paedophiles’ Tweet,” The Guardian (Guardian News and Media, October 20, 2018), <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/oct/20/sajid-javid-lambasted-for-asian-paedophiles-tweet-huddersfield>

## Ms. Priti Patel

### *Secretary of State for the Home Department*



Ms. Patel has a robust record of supporting policy positions that are damaging to minority communities, and Muslims in particular.

Ms. Patel is a high-profile supporter of Mr. Narendra Modi, the Prime Minister of India, calling his vision for the country “phenomenal”.<sup>117</sup> This is of considerable concern for Muslim communities across the UK, as Mr. Modi was the head of the Indian state of Gujarat when hundreds of Muslims were killed with impunity in the 2002 riots.<sup>118</sup> Mr. Modi is also the head of the Hindu Nationalist Party, the BJP, which has fielded candidates calling for the expulsion of all Muslims from India, and others who are on trial for acts of terror against Muslims.<sup>119</sup> More recently the

Indian Government has been accused of widespread human rights abuses in the majority Muslim state of Kashmir.<sup>120</sup>

Moreover, it recently emerged that Mr. Modi’s party, the BJP, has a support base in the UK that is actively campaigning on behalf of the Conservative Party in 48 key marginal seats. It has been noted that “foreign interference by ‘religious hardliners’ could stir up inter-community tensions.”<sup>121</sup>

Likewise, Ms. Patel’s parliamentary voting record highlights how she has generally voted against laws to promote equality and human rights:

- She has voted against making it illegal to discriminate on the basis of caste.<sup>122</sup>
- Ms. Patel also voted against banning the detention of pregnant women in immigration jails, and for a stricter asylum system.<sup>123</sup>
- She supported Theresa May’s hostile environment policies, as presented in the immigration bills of 2014 and 2016, which continue to cause dismay amongst minority communities in the UK.<sup>124</sup>

Ms. Patel has a strong record of support for the Israeli Government. In 2017, Ms. Patel was forced to resign from her position as UK International Development Secretary after it emerged that she had conducted secret meetings with Israeli officials.<sup>125</sup> Again, while personal

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<sup>117</sup> Pti, “UK Minister Priti Patel Praises Narendra Modi for Demonetisation,” *The Economic Times* (Economic Times, December 12, 2016), <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/uk-minister-priti-patel-praises-narendra-modi-for-demonetisation/articleshow/55940859.cms>

<sup>118</sup> “South Asia | Gujarat Riot Death Toll Revealed,” *BBC News* (BBC, May 11, 2005), [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south\\_asia/4536199.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/4536199.stm)

<sup>119</sup> Dibyesh Anand, “Opinion: Modi’s Election Win Is a Victory for Far Right Hindu Nationalism,” *The Independent* (Independent Digital News and Media, May 23, 2019), <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/india-general-election-narendra-modi-bjp-hindu-nationalism-a8926831.html>

<sup>120</sup> “Access to Justice in Jammu & Kashmir: Human Rights Abuses: Abuses by Security Force Personnel,” *Amnesty International India*, n.d., <https://amnesty.org.in/projects/justice-jammu-kashmir/>

<sup>121</sup> Hundal, “Concerns over ‘Foreign Interference’ as India-Linked Hindu Nationalist Group Targets Labour Candidates,” *openDemocracy*, November 6, 2019, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opendemocracyuk/concerns-over-foreign-interference-as-india-linked-hindu-nationalist-group-targets-labour-candidates/>

<sup>122</sup> “Priti Patel, Former MP, Witham,” *TheyWorkForYou*, accessed May 22, 2019, [https://www.theyworkforyou.com/mp/24778/priti\\_patel/witham/divisions?policy=6703](https://www.theyworkforyou.com/mp/24778/priti_patel/witham/divisions?policy=6703)

<sup>123</sup> Jamie Grierson, “Priti Patels Record on Human Rights Prompts Extreme Concern,” *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, July 25, 2019), <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jul/25/priti-patel-record-human-rights-extreme-concern>

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>125</sup> “Priti Patel Quits Cabinet over Israel Meetings Row,” *BBC News* (BBC, November 8, 2017), <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-41923007>

convictions and political stances regarding issue such as the self-determination of Palestine is the prerogative of the individual, Ms. Patel's overwhelming support of the Israeli Government's interests is in direct opposition to the position of the large majority of Muslim communities.

## Mr. Matt Hancock

### *Secretary of State for Health and Social Care*



Various studies over the last decade have served to highlight how the mainstream media has been complicit, and at other times active, in propagating Islamophobic sentiment. This was noted by the Chair of the Ethics Council at the National Union of Journalists, Professor Chris Frost, who highlighted to the Home Affairs Select Committee during an evidence session in 2018 that "one of the best ways to sell newspapers...is to raise issues of fear...pick a group which an 'other' group...at the moment a good one is Muslims".<sup>126</sup>

The prevalence of Islamophobia within the British press has been highlighted by several studies, including that of Paul Baker, Tony McEnery, and Costas Gabrielatos.<sup>127</sup> In conducting a discourse analysis on over 200,000 newspaper articles from 11 newspapers mentioning "Islam" or "Muslims", this study highlighted the frequency with which Muslims and Islam were associated with conflict, with "Islam" and "terror" co-occurring in more than one-third (37.9%) of the texts analysed. This led to the authors concluding that "[the] most salient finding is that the British Press most frequently positions Islam and Muslims in stories or contexts that relate to conflict".<sup>128</sup>

Similarly, another study by Cardiff University found that the bulk of coverage on British Muslims was focussed on "Muslims as a threat (in relation to terrorism), a problem (in terms of differences in values) or both (Muslim extremism in general)". The study noted that in more than a quarter of the articles investigated, Islam was posed as being "dangerous, backward or irrational" and being in contrast to 'British Values'.<sup>129</sup>

Meanwhile, in conducting research for our submission to the House of Lords Select Committee inquiry into citizenship and civic engagement, MEND noted that one of the most significant barriers faced by Muslim communities was felt to be a toxic atmosphere of hatred that is fuelled and maintained by the effects of stereotyping, misrepresentation, and stigmatising discourse in print and online media.<sup>130</sup>

It is unfortunate, therefore, that Mr. Hancock, in his previous role as Secretary of State for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport utilised his political resources to actively hinder processes

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<sup>126</sup> "Oral Evidence: Hate crime and its violent consequences", *Home Affairs Select Committee*, February 2018. Accessed on: 19/07/2019. <http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/home-affairs-committee/hate-crime-and-its-violent-consequences/oral/78630.pdf>.

<sup>127</sup> Paul Baker, Costas Gabrielatos and Tony McEnery, *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes: The Representation of Islam in the British Press*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> Kerry Moore, Paul Mason and Justin Lewis, "Images of Islam in the UK: The Representation of British Muslims in the National Print News Media 2000-2008", *Cardiff University*, July 7, 2008, accessed 20.06.2018, <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/53005/1/08channel4-dispatches.pdf>

<sup>130</sup> "MEND submission to the House of Lords Select Committee Hearing on Citizenship and Civic Engagement", *MEND*, September 8, 2017, accessed 20.06.2018, [https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/MEND-Submission-to-the-House-of-Lords-Select-Committee-Hearing-on-Citizenship-and-Civil-Engagement\\_v1.pdf](https://mend.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/MEND-Submission-to-the-House-of-Lords-Select-Committee-Hearing-on-Citizenship-and-Civil-Engagement_v1.pdf)

that sought to improve press regulation, including cancelling the planned second part of the Leveson Inquiry.<sup>131</sup>

Moreover, following the first part of the Leveson Inquiry, the regulator which arose to replace the PCC was the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO). IPSO fails to be Leveson-compliant and routinely fails to investigate breaches, fails to demonstrate adequate professionalism in dealing with complaints, and fails to impose punishments that are proportionate to the significance of the story contested. Dr Martin Moore, Director the Media Standards Trust, giving evidence to the Lords Select Committee that held an inquiry into press regulation in 2015, highlighted that IPSO failed the majority of the recommendations put forward by the Leveson report and that “the [recommendations] IPSO failed on were really fundamental, with regard to independence, arbitration and complaints”.<sup>132</sup> This criticism was echoed and supplemented by Hugh Tomlinson QC, media law expert and Chair of the Board of Hacked Off, who noted that “[IPSO’s] constitution is exactly what Sir Brian Leveson said should not be done; it is under the control of an industry-funding body that has a veto over the way in which it works”.<sup>133</sup>

Under its oversight, IPSO has thus routinely failed to effectively combat serious cases of Islamophobia and racism in the mainstream press, either through inaction, or through ineffective rulings. Despite these failings, Mr. Hancock has praised IPSO, describing it as an “effective self-regulator”.<sup>134</sup>

It is essential that Mr. Hancock’s previous efforts to block attempts to form a free and accountable press are overturned. All parties must commit to the full implementation of the Royal Charter on press regulation and to the commencement of the second part of the Leveson Inquiry, including an investigation into the prevalence of Islamophobia within the media.

## Ms. Andrea Leadsom

### *Secretary of State for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy*



In March 2019, Ms. Naz Shah, MP, questioned Ms. Andrea Leadsom, former Leader of the House of Commons, on the issue of Islamophobia within the Conservative Party and called for MPs to be given the chance to discuss the rise of Islamophobia in the UK. Ms. Leadsom replied by stating that, “I would encourage her to perhaps seek an adjournment debate in the first instance so she can discuss with Foreign Office ministers.”<sup>135</sup> By doing so, Ms. Leadsom reinforced the idea that Muslim communities are not inherently “British” and as “foreigners” their concerns are beyond the domestic socio-political landscape of the UK.

<sup>131</sup> “Leveson Inquiry: Matt Hancock Axes Proposed Second Stage,” BBC News (BBC, March 1, 2018), <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-43240230>

<sup>132</sup> “Press Regulation: Where are we now”, *Lord’s Select Committee*, accessed 21.05.2019 <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201415/ldselect/ldcomuni/135/13506.htm#note87>

<sup>133</sup> “Press Regulation: where are we now?”, *Lords Select Committee on Communication*. Accessed on: 19/07/2019. <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201415/ldselect/ldcomuni/135/13506.htm>

<sup>134</sup> [https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2018-05-15/debates/D3679592-917D-4792-8C11-1DD171492451/DataProtectionBill\(Lords](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2018-05-15/debates/D3679592-917D-4792-8C11-1DD171492451/DataProtectionBill(Lords)

<sup>135</sup> John Johnson, “Andrea Leadsom condemned for telling MP to take up UK Islamophobia debate with the foreign office”, *Politics Home*, March 2019. Accessed: 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/news/102364/andrea-leadsom-condemned-telling-mp-take-uk>

## Mr. Jacob Rees-Mogg

### *Leader of the House of Commons*



Mr. Jacob Rees-Mogg has gained notoriety primarily through entertaining an image of being the “honourable member for the 18<sup>th</sup> century”.<sup>136</sup> However, critics have argued that Mr Rees-Mogg have utilised this image to hide disturbing views. Indeed, his recent book, *The Victorians: Twelve Titans who Forged Britain*, was heavily criticised for praising 19<sup>th</sup> Century Sir Charles James Napier as a “humanist”, despite inflicting “Nazi-style tortures” against Indians during the British rule of the subcontinent.<sup>137</sup>

In 2013, Mr. Rees-Mogg was the guest of honour at the annual dinner of the far-right lobbyist group ‘Traditional Britain Group’.<sup>138</sup> Mr. Rees-Mogg was warned by anti-racism campaigners of the views of the group but regarded the allegations simply as smears. However, at the time the group had already released various racist statements, including targeting Baroness Lawrence: “it’s a monstrous disgrace that this Lawrence woman, who is no friend of Great Britain, and who is totally without merit, should be recognised like this or in any other way. In fact, she along with millions of others, should be requested to return to their homelands”.<sup>139</sup> Other statements refer to Black people as “aliens”.<sup>140</sup> Mr. Rees-Mogg subsequently sought to dissociate himself from the group.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Kevin Rawlinson, “The comma touch: Jacob Rees-Mogg’s aides send language rules to staff”, *The Guardian*, July 2019. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/jul/26/the-comma-touch-jacob-rees-mogg-sends-language-rules-to-staff>.

<sup>137</sup> Albert Evans, “Jacob Rees-Mogg criticised as ‘morally repellent’ for defending Victorian colonialist General Napier in widely panned book”, *iNews*, May 2019. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://inews.co.uk/news/uk/jacob-rees-mogg-book-victorians-general-napier-review/>.

<sup>138</sup> Matthew Holehouse and Tim Wigmore, “Jacob Rees-Mogg’s shock at dinner with group that want to repatriate black Britons”, *The Telegraph*, August 2013. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> August 2019.

<sup>139</sup> “MP Jacob Rees-Mogg: Dinner speech ‘a mistake’”, *BBC News*, August 2013. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-23617555>.

<sup>140</sup> “Right-wing group defiant after Tory MP disowns them”, *Channel 4 News*, August 2013. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> August 2019. <https://www.channel4.com/news/right-wing-group-traditional-britain-defiant-after-tory-mp-jacob-rees-mogg-disowns>.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

## Ms. Nadine Dorries

### *Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Department of Health and Social Care*



Ms. Nadine Dorries has a reputation for promoting Islamophobic rhetoric, particularly on her social media platforms. Amongst this social media activity, Ms. Dorries has frequently retweeted and commented upon materials from known far-right and Islamophobic sources.

For example, in March 2017, Ms. Dorries shared tweets from the infamous Islamophobe and founder of the EDL and Pegida UK, Tommy Robinson.<sup>142</sup> Similarly, in 2018, Ms. Dorries shared a misleading news story about Muslims being able to claim multiple benefits with their “several wives.”<sup>143</sup> The story was ten years old and was being promoted by the far-right *For-Britain* group.<sup>144</sup> While she deleted the tweet quickly thereafter, we can find no evidence that she acknowledged the mistake nor that she apologised.



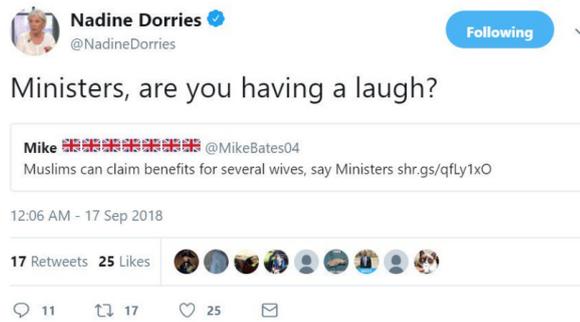
*Ms. Dorries shared a tweet from Tommy Robinson's account which has since been suspended.*<sup>145</sup>

<sup>142</sup> @NadineDorries, *Twitter*, March 2017. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/NadineDorries/status/843589240961273856>.

<sup>143</sup> Shehab Khan, “Tory MP Nadine Dorries deletes misleading tweet about Muslims claiming benefits for multiple wives”, *Independent*, September 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/nadine-dorries-islamophobia-muslims-benefits-multiple-wives-muslim-council-britain-mcb-a8541176.html>.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*



*An inaccurate tweet posted by Ms. Nadine Dorries.<sup>146</sup>*

An interesting incident that perhaps highlights Ms. Dorries general attitude towards Muslims can be found in her response to a tweet by the Mayor of London. Mr. Sadiq Khan shared a video regarding Islamophobic hate speech that had been directed to him. In response, Ms. Dorries tweeted: “How about, ‘it’s time to act on sex abusing grooming gangs,’ instead? #TelfordGrooming #Rotherham #Priorities #leadership”.<sup>147</sup>



*A tweet by Ms. Dorries in response to Islamophobic hate speech experienced by Mr. Khan.<sup>148</sup>*

It is interesting that both Telford and Rotherham fall outside the remit of the Mayor of London (as they are not located in London). Therefore, it would appear that Ms. Dorries pushed the issue upon Mr. Khan in what can only be considered a reinforcement of inaccurate Islamophobic tropes and in such a manner that subsumes Mr. Khan’s Muslim identity within a framework of collective guilt for the deplorable actions of a few.

Meanwhile, following Mr. Boris Johnson’s article referring to Muslim women who wore the burka as “bank robbers” and “letterboxes”, Ms. Dorries argued that Mr. Johnson’s comments did not go far enough.<sup>149</sup> She stated “I’m disappointed Boris didn’t go further. He could have

<sup>146</sup> @miqdaad, *Twitter*, September 2018. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/1041586768246657024>.

<sup>147</sup> @NadineDorries, *Twitter*, March 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/NadineDorries/status/973488121701683200>.

<sup>148</sup> @miqdaad, *Twitter*, September 2018. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/1041587306442973184>.

<sup>149</sup> James Hingle, “Nadine Dorries: Boris Johnson’s burqa article didn’t go ‘far enough’”, *talkRADIO*, August 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://talkradio.co.uk/news/nadine-dorries-boris-johnsons-burqa-article-didnt-go-far-enough-18080827492>.

called for a ban on the burka".<sup>150</sup> She further suggested that "these women are not free to choose their own husbands" and women were being forced to wear the burqa to hide their "bruises."<sup>151</sup> Such sentiments fuel Orientalist tropes and ignore the agency, voices, and experiences of Muslim women themselves, further marginalising them from socio-political life.



*A tweet by talkRADIO quoting Nadine Dorries following Mr. Boris Johnson's article.<sup>152</sup>*

## Mr. Zac Goldsmith

*Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs and the Department for International Development.*



Mr. Zac Goldsmith, the current prospective Conservative Parliamentary Candidate for Richmond Park, has been widely condemned for his deployment of Islamophobic campaign tactics during his mayoral campaign against Mr. Sadiq Khan in 2016; tactics which have been described as "dog whistle politics".<sup>153</sup> Peter Osborne points out that Mr. Goldsmith's campaign "concentrated on Khan's religion, alleging that Khan is a friend and apologist for "extremists" and cannot therefore be trusted to run a great city like

<sup>150</sup> Hingle, "Nadine Dorries: Boris Johnson's burqa article didn't go 'far enough'".

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> @talkRADIO, *Twitter*, August 2018. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/talkRADIO/status/1027090369186590720>.

<sup>153</sup> Jessica Elgot, "Zac Goldsmith denies 'dog-whistle' tactics in antisemitism row", *The Guardian*, April 2016. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/30/zac-goldsmith-denies-dog-whistle-tactics-in-antisemitism-row>.

London.”<sup>154</sup> Mr. Goldsmith defended his rhetoric, including describing Mr. Khan as being ‘radical’ and ‘divisive’, stating that: “He is a fundamentally partisan figure in politics. These are the terms that I use and will continue to use to describe Sadiq Khan”.<sup>155</sup> As noted by Simon Hattenstone, “Surely he must be aware that these words are loaded when applied to a Muslim?”<sup>156</sup> The rhetoric employed by Mr. Goldsmith was further bolstered by Mr. David Cameron, the then Prime Minister, who used Prime Minister’s questions to further launch accusations that Mr. Khan associated himself with alleged extremists.<sup>157</sup>



*A post by “Another Angry Voice” arguing that Mr. Zac Goldsmith utilised smear tactics to whip up Islamophobic sentiment.<sup>158</sup>*

## On Thursday, are we really going to hand the world's greatest city to a Labour party that thinks terrorists is its friends? A passionate plea from ZAC GOLDSMITH four days before Mayoral election

By ZAC GOLDSMITH FOR THE MAIL ON SUNDAY  
 PUBLISHED: 00:52, 1 May 2016 | UPDATED: 12:23, 1 May 2016

<sup>154</sup> Peter Osborne, “How Zac Goldsmith imported Donald Trump’s politics into Britain”, *Middle East Eye*, April 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/how-zac-goldsmith-imported-donald-trumps-politics-britain>.

<sup>155</sup> Simon Hattenstone, “Zac Goldsmith’s fight to be London mayor: ‘I’m up against someone who poses a real danger’”, *The Guardian*, March 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/mar/23/zac-goldsmith-london-mayor-fight-danger-turned-nasty>.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Osborne, “How Zac Goldsmith imported Donald Trump’s politics into Britain”.

<sup>158</sup> “Zac Goldsmith’s BNP style fearmongering tactics”, *Another Angry Voice*, May 2016. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://anotherangryvoice.blogspot.com/2016/05/zac-goldsmiths-bnp-style-fearmongering.html>.

Another troubling tactic utilised by Mr. Goldsmith was an attempt to divide the South-Asian British diaspora along religious lines. The Conservative campaign saw the production of customised election leaflets that targeted the London Hindu, Sikh, and Tamil communities. These leaflets brought up sensitive issues, such as the 1984 attack on the Golden Temple; the Sri Lankan civil war; and, the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi.<sup>160</sup> Many members of South Asian communities sought to publicly call out the tasteless leaflets, which suggested that Mr. Khan, as a Pakistani Muslim, was ill-fitted to be addressing their concerns. The leaflets also failed to understand the nuances of the South Asian diaspora, with many members of the Sikh community calling out Mr. Goldsmith's mailshot as a "disastrous move", "ill-informed", and "arrogant."<sup>161</sup>

As noted by Peter Osborne at the time, "if Goldsmith's campaign succeeds it tells every single British Muslim that there is no role for them anywhere in the British democratic system."<sup>162</sup>



*A campaign leaflet issued as part of Mr. Zac Goldsmith's campaign that targeted the London Tamil community.*<sup>163</sup>

His tactics drew strong criticism from senior Conservative figures, including Mr. Mohammed Amin, the former chair of the Conservative Muslim Forum;<sup>164</sup> Baroness Sayeeda Warsi, former

<sup>159</sup> Zac Goldsmith, "On Thursday, are we really going to hand the world's greatest city to a Labour party that thinks terrorists is its friends? A passionate plea from ZAC GOLDSMITH four days before Mayoral election", *The Daily Mail*, May 2016. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3567537/On-Thursday-really-going-hand-world-s-greatest-city-Labour-party-thinks-terrorists-friends-passionate-plea-ZAC-GOLDSMITH-four-days-Mayoral-election.html>.

<sup>160</sup> Conor Sullivan and Nalini Sivithasan, "Racial politics leaves London mayor campaign at 'disturbing low'", *Financial Times*, April 2016. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.ft.com/content/e52d78e0-0a5b-11e6-9cd4-2be898308be3>.

<sup>161</sup> "London Mayoral candidate calls Sikhs Hindu in mailed letter", *Daily Sikh Updates*, March 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <http://dailysikhupdates.com/london-mayor-candidate-sikhs/>.

<sup>162</sup> Osborne, "How Zac Goldsmith imported Donald Trump's politics into Britain".

<sup>163</sup> Dave Hill, "London Mayor Race: has Zac Goldsmith's 'Hindu jewels' attack misfired?", *The Guardian*, March 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/davehillblog/2016/mar/16/london-mayor-race-negatives-hindu-jewels-leaflets-misfired>.

<sup>164</sup> Rowena Mason, "Top Conservatives condemn Zac Goldsmith's 'disgusting' mayoral campaign", *The Guardian*, May 2016. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/07/top-conservatives-condemn-zac-goldsmiths-disgusting-mayoral-campaign>.

co-chair of the conservative party;<sup>165</sup> and, Mr. Andrew Boff, former leader of the London Assembly's Conservative group.<sup>166</sup> Mr. Amin, in an article in the *Conservative Home*, argued that "Zac had abandoned any attempt to appeal to Muslim voters, and was instead seeking to maximise his vote amongst non-Muslim voters by attempting to frighten them about 'Khan, the alleged Muslim extremist.'" <sup>167</sup> Mr. Boff further added that he "was really troubled by one particular aspect and that's when [Mr. Goldsmith] started equating people with conservative religious views with sympathising with terrorism."<sup>168</sup> However, the Conservative Party has failed to distance itself from and condemn Mr. Goldsmith's 2016 election campaign, with the current Prime Minister, Theresa May, failing to apologise for the incident as recently as April 2019 when questioned by Naz Shah, MP, in the House of Commons.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Ashley Cowburn, "Zac Goldsmith criticised by former Tory minister Baroness Warsi over Sadiq Khan 7/7 London terror bus image", *The Independent*, May 2016. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/zac-goldsmith-london-mayor-campaign-sadiq-khan-baroness-warsi-a7009126.html>.

<sup>166</sup> Paul Waugh, "Zac Goldsmith's 'outrageous' anti-Sadiq Khan campaign slammed by senior London tory Andrew Boff", *The Huffington Post*, May 2016. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019. [https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/zac-goldsmith-sadiq-khan-andrew-boff-outrageous-extremism\\_uk\\_572c5c18e4b05c31e571c1bf](https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/zac-goldsmith-sadiq-khan-andrew-boff-outrageous-extremism_uk_572c5c18e4b05c31e571c1bf).

<sup>167</sup> Mohammed Amin, "Mohammed Amin: I'm a Conservative and voted for Zac. But I was disgusted by his repeated, risible attempts to smear Khan", *Conservative Home*, May 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/05/mohammed-amin-im-a-conservative-and-voted-for-zac-but-i-was-disgusted-by-his-repeated-risible-attempts-to-smear-khan.html>.

<sup>168</sup> Waugh, "Zac Goldsmith's 'outrageous' anti-Sadiq Khan campaign slammed by senior London tory Andrew Boff".

<sup>169</sup> @NazShahBfd, *Twitter*, April 2019. Accessed: 14th May 2019. <https://twitter.com/NazShahBfd/status/1113436177196113920>.

## Your choice for Mayor of London




### Zac Goldsmith: Standing up for the British Indian community

- Welcomed **Prime Minister Modi** to London last year alongside Prime Minister David Cameron
- As Mayor will focus **police** on protecting your families homes from burglary
- Has a strong **record of engagement** with the Indian community celebrating **Diwali, Navratri and Janmashtami**
- Secured more money for police and security and **will keep your family and home safe**
- Has a track record of supporting **family owned businesses**
- Will work to strengthen London's **friendship with India** and having spent time in **Rajasthan, Dehradun and Delhi** is proud of the Conservative Party's commitment to the British Indian community

### Jeremy Corbyn and Sadiq Khan: Risking London's Future

- Sadiq Khan supported Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Labour Party who **wanted to BAN Prime Minister Modi** from visiting the UK. Khan **did not attend the "UK Welcomes Modi"** event at Wembley stadium last year
- His Party **SUPPORTS A WEALTH TAX** on family jewellery
- Is the trade union bosses' candidate and **won't stand up** to them as mayor
- Sadiq Khan **won't be able to work with the Government** and will use City Hall as a platform for **partisan politics**. He cannot get a good deal from Government to keep London safe
- Sadiq Khan's **experiment** with London's transport network would leave a **£1.9 billion black hole** that you'll have to pay for

Another example of a leaflet utilised by Zac Goldsmith's campaign.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>170</sup> @iainaitch, *Twitter*, March 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/iainaitch/status/709342520115904512>.

## Part Four:

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### List of Islamophobic Incidences by Conservative Former Members of Parliament

Several (now former) Conservative MPs have been accused of demonstrating deeply Islamophobic attitudes resulting in little disciplinary action, if any, being taken against them. This section will highlight some Islamophobic incidences committed by Conservative MPs.

#### Andrea Leadsom, Former Member of Parliament and Potential Candidate for South Northamptonshire

March 2019

1. Ms. Naz Shah, MP, questioned Ms. Andrea Leadsom, former Leader of the House of Commons, on the issue of Islamophobia within the Conservative Party and called for MPs to be given the chance to discuss the rise of Islamophobia in the UK. Ms. Leadsom replied by stating that, "I would encourage her to perhaps seek an adjournment debate in the first instance so she can discuss with Foreign Office ministers."<sup>171</sup> By doing so, Ms. Leadsom reinforced the idea that Muslim communities are not inherently "British" and as "foreigners" their concerns are beyond the domestic socio-political landscape of the UK.

#### Ben Bradley, Former Member of Parliament and Potential Candidate for Mansfield

November 2016

2. Whilst currently serving as an MP, during his time as a conservative councillor, Mr. Ben Bradley threatened to sever links with the local newspaper, the *Dispatch*, after a reporter asked questions about offensive posts from a fellow Conservative councillor, Mick Murphy. One such post showed a woman and child in burkas with black rubbish bags either side of them. The caption said: "I saw her standing there and I told her she had three beautiful children. She didn't have to get all pissed off and threaten me. It was an honest mistake."<sup>172</sup> Mr. Bradley accused the reporter of colluding with Labour and engaging in "childish backstabbing". He also threatened there would be consequences if the *Dispatch* continued to pursue critical stories about the Conservatives, stating that, "If this is the kind of crap you're going to keep coming back with, needless to say you shouldn't expect the same level of cooperation going forward". He added that Mr. Murphy was a "fantastic" and hard-working councillor who "says what he thinks".<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> John Johnson, "Andrea Leadsom condemned for telling MP to take up UK Islamophobia debate with the foreign office", *Politics Home*, March 2019. Accessed: 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/news/102364/andrea-leadsom-condemned-telling-mp-take-uk>

<sup>172</sup> Alex Spence, "A Tory party vice-chair defended a councillor's anti-Muslim Facebook posts." *Buzzfeed*, June 2018. Accessed: 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.buzzfeed.com/alexspence/tory-vice-chair-ben-bradley-defended-a-conservative>.

<sup>173</sup> Spence, "A Tory party vice-chair defended a councillor's anti-Muslim Facebook posts."

## Bob Blackman, Former Member of Parliament and Potential Candidate for Harrow East

February 2016

Accusations of Islamophobia have been widely levied against Mr. Bob Blackman in response to a sustained pattern of questionable actions and attitudes; with no disciplinary action imposed by the Conservative party.

3. Mr. Bob Blackman re-tweeted Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, who is commonly known by his pseudonym 'Tommy Robinson.'<sup>174</sup> Mr. Yaxley-Lennon has been criticised for his far-right and Islamophobic views, including referring to Muslims as "enemy combatants who want to kill you, maim you and destroy you",<sup>175</sup> which he has espoused during and since his time as the leader of the EDL (English Defence League), a far-right movement which focuses on promoting anti-Muslim hatred in the UK. Since leaving the EDL, Mr. Yaxley-Lennon launched a similar organisation, Pegida UK, which is a self-described anti-Islam group. Mr. Blackman retweeted comments from Mr. Robinson, including one that stated, "Hindu temple attacked, priest stabbed to death in Bangladesh... the reality of being a minority surrounded by Islam".<sup>176</sup> While highlighting genuine issues across the world is not in itself Islamophobic, the overwhelming negativity of Mr. Blackman's focus and his use of far-right sources demonstrates a pattern of promoting unbalanced representations and demonisations of Muslims as a monolithic group. It is worth noting that in March 2018 Tommy Robinson was permanently banned from Twitter for falling foul of rules governing "hateful conduct".<sup>177</sup>



*A tweet by Tommy Robinson which was re-tweeted by Bob Blackman.*<sup>178</sup>

October 2017

4. In October 2017, as part of a parliamentary event entitled 'Tolerating the Intolerant', Mr. Blackman hosted a prominent anti-Muslim extremist, Mr. Tapan Ghosh.<sup>179</sup> Mr.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Josh Halliday, Lois Beckett and Caelainn Barr, "Revealed: the hidden global network behind Tommy Robinson", *The Guardian*, December 2018. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/dec/07/tommy-robinson-global-support-brexite-march>.

<sup>176</sup> @miqdaad, *Twitter*, October 2017. Accessed: 13<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/923917221251993602>.

<sup>177</sup> Kevin Rawlinson, "Tommy Robinson Permanently Banned by Twitter," *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, March 28, 2018), <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/mar/28/tommy-robinson-permanently-banned-twitter-violating-rules-hateful-conduct>

<sup>178</sup> @miqdaad, *Twitter*, October 2017. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/923917221251993602>.

<sup>179</sup> Tom Peck, "Tory MP hosts an anti-Islam extremist at Commons event", *Independent*, October 2017. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/anti-islam-tapan-ghosh-bob-blackman-rohingya-muslims-a8020656.html>.

Ghosh is a far-right Indian Hindu-nationalist, who has supported the genocide of Rohingya Muslims in Burma; called upon the United Nations to control the birth rate of Muslims; and suggested that Muslims should be forced to renounce Islam if they migrate to Western countries.



*A collection of tweets posted by Mr. Tapan Ghosh.<sup>180</sup>*

### March 2018

5. Mr. Blackman used his Facebook account to share a story from a US-based Islamophobic website, *Hardcore News USA*, which had an inflammatory title: “Muslim Somali sex gang say raping White British children ‘part of their culture’.”<sup>181</sup>

### May 2018

6. Investigations undertaken last year found that Mr. Blackman was also a member of several deeply Islamophobic and racist Facebook groups. According to *Vice*, “Blackman appears to have been added unwittingly to all of these groups by his Facebook friends, and in the normal course of events would have received a notification upon being added.”<sup>182</sup> These groups included:

- *Britain for the British*: a group which has been found to host comments glorify Hitler and to call for violence against the Mayor of London, Mr. Sadiq Khan.<sup>183</sup>
- *For Britain Political Party*: a group set up by “supporters and members of Anne Marie Waters party For Britain.”<sup>184</sup> Ms. Marie Waters has previously claimed that Islam is “evil” and is “an expansionist, political, totalitarian and supremacist faith, commanded to world domination.”<sup>185</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Harrow Council for Justice, “Harrow Council for Justive support call for Bob Blackman’s suspension while investigation carried out”, *Wembley Matters*, October 2017. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://wembleymatters.blogspot.com/2017/10/harrow-council-for-justic.html>.

<sup>181</sup> Shehab Khan, “Tory MP accused of Islamophobia after posting anti-Muslim article on Facebook”, *The Independent*, March 2018. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/tory-mp-bob-blackman-islamophobia-facebook-conservative-harrow-east-racism-muslims-a8276101.html>.

<sup>182</sup> Joe Lo, “Tory MP with History of Islamophobia Was a Member of Racist Facebook Groups”, *Vice*, May 2018. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. [https://www.vice.com/en\\_uk/article/zm8zb3/tory-mp-with-history-of-islamophobia-was-a-member-of-racist-facebook-groups](https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/zm8zb3/tory-mp-with-history-of-islamophobia-was-a-member-of-racist-facebook-groups).

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Jem Collins, “Meet Anne Marie Waters, the anti-Islam UKIP leadership hopeful”, *iNews*, August 2017. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://inews.co.uk/news/politics/anne-marie-walters-anti-islam-ukip-leadership-hopeful/>.

- *Pendragons Fight Back*: a deeply Islamophobic group that espouses White supremacist views and are linked to *The White Pendragons*.<sup>186</sup> In 2018, *The White Pendragons* disrupted a speech by the London Mayor, Mr. Sadiq Khan, attempting to restrain him under a citizen's arrest, reportedly because Mr. Khan is Muslim.<sup>187</sup>

*June 2018*

7. In June 2018, it was reported that Mr. Blackman shared a "fake news" story, entitled "BREAKING: Hindu woman Tina Rajawat stabbed to death by her Muslim driver Naeem Khan for rejecting marriage proposal in #Udaipur! #LoveJihad".<sup>188</sup> The term "Love Jihad" is an accusation that is often used to inflame community tensions between Hindus and Muslims in India.

In discussing Theresa May's campaigning in Harrow East alongside Bob Blackman, Peter Osborne, the former *Daily Telegraph* political correspondent, argues that "Theresa May cannot claim ignorance of Blackman's history of slurs against Muslims. I can reveal that she has personally been warned about him by at least one senior Tory. I also happen to know that the previous Tory Party chairman, Patrick McLoughlin, was also warned about Blackman. (I cannot say whether the new chairman, Brandon Lewis, has been warned too.) This means that the prime minister travelled to Harrow last week in full knowledge that Blackman is an anti-Muslim bigot."<sup>189</sup>



<sup>186</sup> Joe Lo, May 2018. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019.

<sup>187</sup> May Bulman, "London Mayor Sadiq Khan shrugs off protesters shouting pro-Brexit and Trump slogans as 'stable geniuses'", *Independent*, January 2018. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/london-mayor-sadiq-khan-latest-speech-protesters-pro-brexit-pro-donald-trump-slogans-a8157361.html>.

<sup>188</sup> Will Humphries & Lucy Fisher, "Muslims want Tory 'Islamophobia' test case following Bob Blackman tweet", *The Times*, June 2018. Accessed: 17<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/muslims-want-tory-islamophobia-test-case-kbqkcz3jc>.

<sup>189</sup> Peter Osborne, "To Hold off Labour, the Tories Are Ready to Play the Muslim Card," *Middle East Eye*, March 14, 2018, accessed May 26, 2019, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/hold-labour-tories-are-ready-play-muslim-card>.

## Boris Johnson, Prime Minister

*August 2018*

8. In an article in August 2018, Mr. Johnson referred to Muslim women who choose to wear the burka as “letterboxes” and “bank robbers.”<sup>191</sup> Such a comparison equates Muslim women to inanimate objects and criminality, thereby dehumanising them as “other”.

He further belittled the agency and experiences of these women by describing the burka as “oppressive”, “weird”, and a form of “bullying.” He concluded that there are only a few women in Britain who wear the burka, adding his hope for the future that “one day, I am sure, they will go”, seemingly attempting to alienate Muslim women further and suggesting that the cultural practices and identities of such women should be considered “backward” and in need of erasure.

Furthermore, Mr. Johnson stated that he would ask Muslim women from his constituency who chose to wear the garment to “remove it” so that he could “talk to [them] properly.”<sup>192</sup> As their political representative, Mr. Johnson has a duty to represent his constituents honestly. Stating that he would ask Muslim women to remove their clothing acts to exclude them from engaging in the political process by creating barriers preventing them from exercising their democratic rights. Therefore, his comments are not only offensive but also serve to marginalise and exclude Muslim women from political and civic life.

**Denmark has got it wrong. Yes,  
the burka is oppressive and  
ridiculous – but that's still no  
reason to ban it**

Follow ▾

**BORIS JOHNSON**



5 AUGUST 2018 • 9:30PM

*The headline of Mr. Boris Johnson's article.*<sup>193</sup>

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Boris Johnson, “Denmark has got it wrong. Yes, the burka is oppressive and ridiculous - but that’s still no reason to ban it”, *The Telegraph*, August 2018. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/08/05/denmark-has-got-wrong-yes-burka-oppressive-ridiculous-still/>.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Johnson, “Denmark has got it wrong.”

## Conservatives rule Boris Johnson comparing Muslim women in veils to letter boxes and bank robbers was 'respectful'

Former foreign secretary not in breach of Conservative Party code of conduct

*Headline from an article reporting on Conservative party's resolution on Mr. Boris Johnson's burka article which was deemed "respectful."<sup>194</sup>*

### Damian Green, Former Member of Parliament and Potential Candidate for Ashford

*April 2018*

9. It has come to light that Mr. Damian Green failed to condemn Islamophobic hate speech when it was apparently sent to him as a 'list of concerns' by one of his constituents.<sup>195</sup>

Mr. Alan Kinchin allegedly wrote to Mr. Green in April 2018 complaining about:

- "The blatant Islamisation of our country";
- "Sharia courts, halal slaughter...government and 'charity' funding for organisations that promote Islam and...the systematic grooming, drugging and rape of young British girls by racist Muslim gangs";
- "Islamaniacs" wanting to "add the UK to the 50 or so countries that were brutally conquered...over the last 1400 years";
- "The excessive Muslim birth-rate";
- And that, Islam, is a "political ideology akin to Nazism but much more dangerous."

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<sup>194</sup> David Hughes, "Conservatives rule Boris Johnson comparing Muslim women in veils to letter boxes and bank robbers was 'respectful', *The Independent*, December 2018. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019.

<sup>195</sup> @MatesJacob, Twitter, March 2019. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob/status/1110849219621990402>.



Alan Kinchin ▸ Jacob Rees-Mogg: Supporters' Group

April 9, 2018 at 5:35 PM · Kent · 🌐

This is the letter I sent to my MP  
Dear Damian,

I am forwarding this letter, because I believe what the author is saying to be true. It is very worrying, particularly for us older people who can visualise the future. I feel that politicians can see the problem but do not have the courage to do something about it, if they do not, then I fear for the upcoming generations. As you are the MP for my Constituency, I would like you to read the Gate stone Institute article and tell me what MPs, including you, are doing about the blatant Islamisation of our country. I never hear questions about it being asked in the House of Commons, despite the fact that it is the most important issue for today, tomorrow and far into the future. Are MPs blind, deaf and dumb or just incredibly cowardly? The writer of the article is perfectly correct when she says that the growth of so-called right-wing groups is entirely the result of the political establishment's failure. I used to be a Tory idiot myself in the distant past, but now I long to see the success of a party – any sensible well balanced political party – that will stand up for British people in their own country and abolish sharia courts, halal slaughter, child marriage, FGM, 'honour crimes', wife-beating under sharia, marital rape under sharia, sexism within sharia, misogynistic treatment of females under sharia, government and 'charity' funding for organisations that promote Islam and, most shocking of all, the systematic grooming, drugging and rape of young British girls by racist muslim gangs that have been swept under the carpet

...

by the authorities for decades, and are still going on. I am well aware that some of these sickening outrages are crimes under BRITISH law, but it appears that Muslims get away with breaking British law while the police and other authorities look the other way. It seems the police obey orders from above to ignore sexual crimes committed against British girls and women by Muslims for the sake of some illusory 'community cohesion'. This is wicked injustice and will not be forgiven.

Why does the government pander to Islamic aggression and allow their flouting of the law to go unpunished? Why, if someone criticises Islam, which is a hateful, anti-Semitic and anti-non-Muslim ideology, are they arrested by the Thought Police and punished for so-called hate speech? Why is "Islamophobia" (an entirely bogus term) stamped on, while Islamania is allowed to flourish? Why are people such as Robert Spencer and Martin Sellner, who want to address audiences in the UK who want to hear them, banned and deported in utter defiance of the precious concept of Free Speech, a vital component of Democracy? Please do not attempt to fob me off with PC multicultural diversity integration ROP claptrap. I stopped believing in that false propaganda years ago, along with millions of others who are not blind, deaf, dumb or stupid; indeed, it's precisely why I voted Brexit 100%.

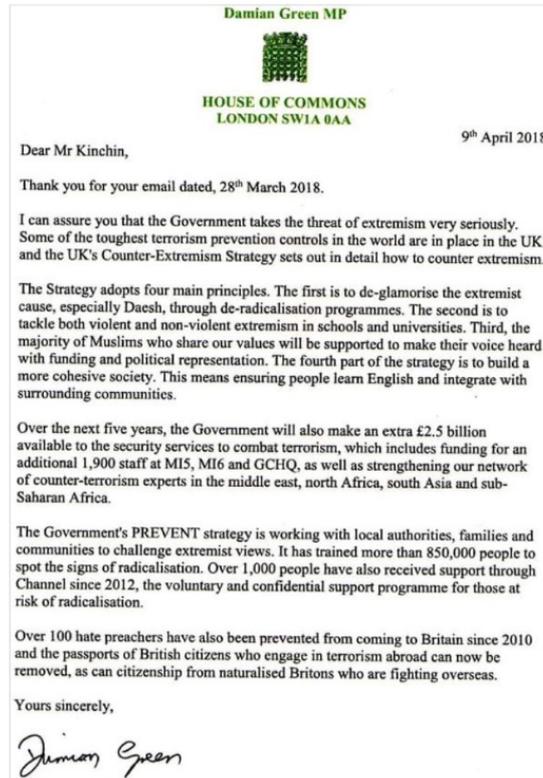
Does the political establishment intend to stand back and watch while Islamaniacs further their plans to add the UK to the 50 or so countries that were brutally conquered or Islamised into dhimmitude over the last 1400 years? It is not good enough to spout idiocies about what a tolerant country we are. Intolerable

things are happening which deserve zero tolerance, the same as domestic brutality. Perhaps those at the top are just biding their time, perfecting an ingenious stratagem to halt this country's slide into a future nightmare Islamic tyranny by halting the excessive Muslim birth-rate and strictly enforcing exclusively British law on every citizen equally and without exception. If so, I think they should begin now, before it's too late. I am 64 years old and glad that I'm near the end of my life because I have never seen this beloved country in such a bad way and hurtling towards an even worse future. All of you in the mainstream political parties are to blame, so fixated on your own ideologies and careers that you resemble the pathetic appeasers of the 1930s who tried to ignore Churchill's warning of an evil ideology that aimed for a 1000-year Reich in Europe. The Nazis lasted about 20 years; Islam, a political ideology akin to Nazism but much more dangerous, has been rampaging through countries for 1400 years and by 2070 will have more followers than any other 'religion' in the world. Convert, dhimmify or die: these are the three choices given to victims when Islam gets the whip hand. .

*Contents of the letter reportedly sent from Mr. Kinchin to Mr. Green.<sup>196</sup>*

<sup>196</sup> @MatesJacob, Twitter, March 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob/status/1110849219621990402>.

In response to Mr. Kinchin's letter, Mr. Green apparently did not seek to condemn the Islamophobic tropes, stereotypes, and half-truths, but remarkably thanked him (!) and assured him that "the Government takes the threat of extremism very seriously."



*Mr. Green's letter in response to Mr. Kinchin.<sup>197</sup>*

By focusing purely on Muslims as a security threat and the Government's strategies to disrupt terrorism, Mr. Green's response serves only to tacitly accept Mr. Kinchin's assertion of the perceived threat that Muslims pose to the UK. As such, Mr. Green's response acts only to reinforce Islamophobic narratives. Mr. Green has faced no disciplinary repercussion by the Conservative party.

## David Cameron, Former Prime Minister

*May 2016*

10. Amidst heavy criticism of the Conservative Party's campaign tactics during the London Mayoral election campaign in 2016, Mr. David Cameron was compelled to apologise after wrongfully accusing Imam Suliman Gani (whom Mr. Sadiq Khan had shared platforms with) of supporting Daesh whilst under the protection of parliamentary privilege during Prime Minister's Question Time.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>197</sup> @MatesJacob, *Twitter*, March 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob/status/1110849219621990402>.

<sup>198</sup> Charlie Cooper, "Prime Minister Forced to Apologise Imam after Linking Him to Isis," *The Independent*, May 11, 2016, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/suliman-gani-michael-fallon-forced-to-apologise-imam-isis-link-david-cameron-pressure-sadiq-khan-claims-a7024656.html>.

## David T. C. Davies, Former Member of Parliament and Potential Candidate for Monmouth

*April 2016*

11. As part of a parliamentary debate on violence against women and girls, Mr. David Davies argued that the burka, the niqab, and other forms of the veil have “become an excuse for sexual violence against women”.<sup>199</sup> Mr Davies asserted that he was also concerned that the practice offers men an excuse to sexually attack uncovered women. He stated that “The message has to go out to all men in all communities that they have absolutely no right to attack women under any circumstances whatsoever” and added that the veil “has become an excuse for sexual violence against women of the sort we saw in Cologne and other European cities on New Year’s Eve.”<sup>200</sup>

## Michael Gove, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

In March 2017, Baroness Warsi, a former co-chair of the Conservative Party, spoke out against Mr. Michael Gove’s hard-line stance against the Muslim communities, stating that his views were “very much in line” with the Islamophobic stance of Donald Trump.<sup>201</sup> This concern has since been shared by others, with Peter Osborne arguing that “A Gove premiership would be another body blow for British Muslims. He is the unsung commander-in-chief of the Islamophobes inside the Conservative party. As a journalist he was one of the group of armchair experts on the Middle East who became cheerleaders for the Iraq War. He was one of the founding members of the Henry Jackson Society, a neo-conservative think tank which has been criticised for an allegedly anti-Muslim agenda and for refusing to disclose its donors.”<sup>202</sup> Mr. Gove’s stance towards the securitisation of Muslim identities is perhaps best evidenced by the long-proven non-event, “the Trojan Horse Affair”.

*March 2014*

12. In March 2014, the so-called “Trojan Horse Affair” hit the headlines. It has since come to be understood by many observers to have been “the product of a climate in which all British Muslims are viewed with suspicion, and complex questions about faith and integration are reduced by politicians and the media to hysterical debates about terrorism”.<sup>203</sup> Peter Osborne describes the ‘scandal’ as “a lurid figment of the neo-Conservative imagination... an anti-Muslim ideological concoction, driven by Michael Gove, backed by David Cameron’s Downing Street, and aided and abetted by a group of well-placed media henchmen. It is also an episode which has done enormous harm to community relations, unfairly wrecked the career of teachers and, above all, set back

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<sup>199</sup> Ian Craig, “MP’s claims that Islamic headwear is ‘an excuse for sexual violence against women’ are branded ‘ridiculous’”, *South Wales Argus*, April 2016. Accessed: 17<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.southwalesargus.co.uk/news/14462308.mps-claims-that-islamic-headwear-is-an-excuse-for-sexual-violence-against-women-are-branded-ridiculous/>.

<sup>200</sup> Craig, “MP’s claims that Islamic headwear is ‘an excuse for sexual violence against women’”.

<sup>201</sup> Rob Merrick, “Michael Gove has same ‘crazy’ anti-Muslim policies as Donald Trump, former Tory chairwoman says”, *The Independent*, March 2017. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/michael-gove-donald-trump-baroness-warsi-anti-muslim-crazy-tory-chairwoman-a7649411.html>.

<sup>202</sup> Peter Osborne, “A Michael Gove Premiership Would Be Another Blow for British Muslims,” *Middle East Eye*, April 2, 2019, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/michael-gove-premiership-would-be-another-blow-british-muslims>.

<sup>203</sup> Samira Shackle, “Trojan Horse: The Real Story behind the Fake ‘Islamic Plot’ to Take over Schools,” *The Guardian*, September 01, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/01/trojan-horse-the-real-story-behind-the-fake-islamic-plot-to-take-over-schools>.

the life chances of thousands of mainly Muslim Birmingham students, whose school careers have been gravely disrupted.”<sup>204</sup>

Mr. Gove’s influence as a driving force behind the hysteria is well documented and perhaps exemplified by the DfE’s appointment of Mr. Peter Clarke to lead an investigation into the supposed ‘plot’. Mr. Gove’s choice of Peter Clarke, a man with no experience of school inspections but a background in counter-terrorism, is highly significant. As explained by Jacqueline Baxter, “The appointment of Clarke again signified the ‘unequivocal link’ between the happenings at the schools in question and extremist activity. Peter Clarke, a former police commander who headed up Scotland Yard’s anti-terrorism branch from 2002 until 2008, had been known as ‘the face’ of anti-terrorism activity since the July 2005 London bombings.”<sup>205</sup> Mr. Clarke’s report has since been academically discredited in Professor John Holmwood’s *Countering Extremism in British Schools* who highlights the ways in which the affair was used to criticise multiculturalism and justify the expansion of a broad and intrusive counter extremism agenda.<sup>206</sup> Meanwhile, James Fergusson has noted in his own work *Al-Britannia, My Country: A Journey Through Muslim Britain*, that “[Tahir] Alam argued that not just he but all the Trojan Horse teachers had been unfairly treated, particularly by Peter Clarke who, he claimed, had not entered a single one of the schools targeted in his report, nor spoken to any of their pupils or parents in the course of his inquiry. (A parent governor caught up in the affair later told me that Clarke never left Birmingham Council’s committee room nine.) Much of Clarke’s report, Alam said, was based on ‘Jackanory tittle-tattle’ that had been extrapolated to fit a preconceived narrative.”<sup>207</sup>

As noted by Peter Osborne, “The ‘Islamist plot’ turned out itself to be a conspiracy theory. It ruined the careers of a number of selfless teachers, and damaged the educations of thousands of largely Muslim children. But the idea of an Islamist plot – a ‘Trojan Horse’ – fitted profoundly into Gove’s world view, as expressed by his book *Celsius 7/7*.”<sup>208</sup> Indeed, *Celsius 7/7* itself contained a chapter entitled “The Trojan Horse”.<sup>209</sup> The book has been roundly condemned as inaccurate, overly simplistic, and falling squarely into the “clash of civilisations” mindset championed by Samuel Huntington and Bernard Lewis. In a scathing review by William Dalrymple, it is argued that “Gove’s book is a confused epic of simplistic incomprehension, riddled with more factual errors and misconceptions than any other text I have come across in some two decades of reviewing books on this subject. Many are mistakes of the most basic sort that even a little experience on the ground could have disabused him of.”<sup>210</sup> This book, therefore, gave credence to the clash of civilisation theory within

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<sup>204</sup> Peter Osborne, “The ‘Trojan Horse’ Plot? A Figment of Neo-Conservative Imagination,” *Middle East Eye*, June 02, 2017, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/trojan-horse-plot-figment-neo-conservative-imagination>.

<sup>205</sup> Jacqueline Baxter, *School Governance: Policy, Politics and Practices* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2016), 42.

<sup>206</sup> John Holmwood and Therese O’Toole, *Countering Extremism in British Schools?: The Truth about the Birmingham Trojan Horse Affair* (Birmingham, UK: Policy Press, 2017).

<sup>207</sup> James Fergusson, *Al-Britannia: A Journey through Muslim Britain* (London: Corgi Books, 2018), accessed June 4, 2019, <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=XzxpDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Al-Britannia,MyCountry&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewiYzOXhyqzjAhX0QkEAHcyUDlcQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=jackanory&f=false>.

<sup>208</sup> Peter Osborne, “A Michael Gove Premiership Would Be Another Blow for British Muslims,” *Middle East Eye*, April 2, 2019, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/michael-gove-premiership-would-be-another-blow-british-muslims>.

<sup>209</sup> Michael Gove, *Celsius 7/7* (London: Phoenix, 2014).

<sup>210</sup> William Dalrymple, “Killer Review of Gove’s God Awful Book,” *Evernote*, July 7, 2016, <https://www.evernote.com/shard/s350/client/snv?noteGuid=2824657b-270b-4d9f-8d6d-c0121efcc3db&noteKey=704af79337e788c6&sn=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.evernote.com%2Fshard%2Fs350%2Fsh%2F2824657b-270b-4d9f-8d6d-c0121efcc3db%2F704af79337e788c6&title=Killer%2BRe>.

mainstream British politics and cemented an enduring neo-conservative narrative about Islam within the British Government's policy framework.

Mr. Gove's standpoint was given life in the Trojan Horse investigations wherein "a crisis was created and then manipulated in order to create a 'defining' event, crafted by the government and media in such a way as to exemplify major failings in policy and, as a consequence, prove to be a driver for 'reform' in a particular policy area."<sup>211</sup>

## Michael Fabricant, Former Member of Parliament and Potential Candidate for Lichfield

*December 2014*

13. Mr. Fabricant argued on Twitter, that Jewish schools face a threat from the Muslim community without any evidence, reinforcing dangerous and inaccurate stereotypes that the Muslim community is anti-Semitic.<sup>212</sup>



*An accusation levied by Mr. Michael Fabricant that Jewish institutions are threatened by Muslim communities.*<sup>213</sup>

*July 2014*

14. Months later, Mr. Fabricant misrepresented an article from the Sunday Times which discussed 100 anti-Semitic hate incidents recorded by police and community groups.<sup>214</sup> Mr. Fabricant incorrectly attributed all of these incidents to "intolerant Muslims".<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Jacqueline Baxter, *School Governance: Policy, Politics and Practices* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2016), 37.

<sup>212</sup> @miqdaad, Twitter, July 2018. Accessed: 17<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/1017483829542572032>.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Dipesh Gadhur, "Anti Semitic Attacks Scar British Cities," *The Sunday Times*, July 27, 2014, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/anti-semitic-attacks-scar-british-cities-2106lxs3jm3>.

<sup>215</sup> @miqdaad, Twitter, July 2018. Accessed: 17<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/1017483829542572032>.



*An accusation levied by Mr. Michael Fabricant that Jewish institutions are threatened by Muslim communities.<sup>216</sup>*

*July 2018*

15. Using his Twitter account in 2018, Mr. Michael Fabricant shared a highly offensive and Islamophobic picture of the Mayor of London, Mr. Sadiq Khan, as a balloon being engaged in a sex act with a pig.<sup>217</sup> In Islam, pigs are considered to be unclean, with Muslims being forbidden from eating them. While Mr. Fabricant later claimed that he had not had time to check the content of the picture, it appears that he did have enough time to write a caption to accompany the image.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> "Tory MP Michel Fabricant accused of Islamophobia over Sadiq Khan tweet", *BBC News*, July 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/newsbeat-44818546>.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.



Well, what can I say.



12/07/2018, 18:14

*An Islamophobic graphic shared by Mr. Michael Fabricant.<sup>219</sup>*

## **Michael Fallon, Former Member of Parliament for Sevenoaks**

*April 2016*

16. Following Mr. David Cameron's wrongful accusation that Imam Suliman Gani supported Daesh, Mr. Michael Fallon repeated these claims on BBC Radio 4's *Today* programme.<sup>220</sup> Mr Fallon and the BBC subsequently paid a six-figure settlement after a defamation case was brought by Mr. Gani.<sup>221</sup>

## **Nadine Dorries, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Department of Health and Social Care**

*March 2017*

17. Using her Twitter account, Ms. Nadine Dorries shared tweets from Mr. Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (pseudonym 'Tommy Robinson').<sup>222</sup>

<sup>219</sup> Jen Mills, "Outrage after Michael Fabricant MP tweets sexual photo of Sadiq Khan as a pig", Metro, July 2018. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://metro.co.uk/2018/07/13/outrage-michael-fabricant-mp-tweets-sexual-photo-sadiq-khan-pig-7712382/>.

<sup>220</sup> Charlie Cooper, "Prime Minister Forced to Apologise Imam after Linking Him to Isis," The Independent, May 11, 2016, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/suliman-gani-michael-fallon-forced-apologise-imam-isis-link-david-cameron-pressure-sadiq-khan-claims-a7024656.html>.

<sup>221</sup> "MW Wins Defamation Payout from The Defence Secretary and the BBC," McMillan Williams Solicitors Limited, June 24, 2016, , <https://www.mwsolicitors.co.uk/news/litigation-dispute-news/341-mw-wins-defamation-payout-from-the-defence-secretary-and-the-bbc>.

<sup>222</sup> @NadineDorries, *Twitter*, March 2017. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/NadineDorries/status/843589240961273856>.



*Ms. Dorries shared a tweet from Tommy Robinson's account which has since been suspended.<sup>223</sup>*

*March 2018*

18. In response to a tweet by the Mayor of London, Mr. Sadiq Khan, which contained a video of him sharing Islamophobic hate speech that had been directed to him, Ms. Dorries tweeted: "How about, 'it's time to act on sex abusing grooming gangs,' instead? #TelfordGrooming #Rotherham #Priorities #leadership".<sup>224</sup>



*A tweet by Ms. Dorries in response to Islamophobic hate speech experienced by Mr. Khan.<sup>225</sup>*

It is interesting that both Telford and Rotherham fall outside the remit of the Mayor of London (as they are not located in London). Therefore, it would appear that Ms. Dorries pushed the issue upon Mr. Khan in what can only be considered a reinforcement of inaccurate Islamophobic tropes and in such a manner that subsumes Mr. Khan's Muslim identity within a framework of collective guilt for the deplorable actions of a few.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> @NadineDorries, *Twitter*, March 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/NadineDorries/status/973488121701683200>.

<sup>225</sup> @miqdaad, *Twitter*, September 2018. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/1041587306442973184>.

19. Ms. Dorries has also demonstrated hostility to Muslim women who choose to wear a veil. When Mr. Boris Johnson referred to Muslim women who wore the burka as “bank robbers” and “letterboxes”, Ms. Dorries argued that Mr. Johnson’s comments did not go far enough.<sup>226</sup> She stated “I’m disappointed Boris didn’t go further. He could have called for a ban on the burka”.<sup>227</sup> She further suggested that “these women are not free to choose their own husbands” and women were being forced to wear the burqa to hide their “bruises.”<sup>228</sup> Such sentiments fuel Orientalist tropes and ignore the agency, voices, and experiences of Muslim women themselves, further marginalising them from socio-political life.



*A tweet by talkRADIO quoting Nadine Dorries following Mr. Boris Johnson’s article.<sup>229</sup>*

20. Ms. Dorries shared a misleading news story about Muslims being able to claim multiple benefits with their “several wives.”<sup>230</sup> The story was ten years old and was being promoted again by the aforementioned far-right *For-Britain* group.<sup>231</sup> While she deleted the tweet quickly thereafter, we can find no evidence that she acknowledged the mistake nor that she apologised.

<sup>226</sup> James Hingle, “Nadine Dorries: Boris Johnson’s burqa article didn’t go ‘far enough’”, *talkRADIO*, August 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://talkradio.co.uk/news/nadine-dorries-boris-johnsons-burqa-article-didnt-go-far-enough-18080827492>.

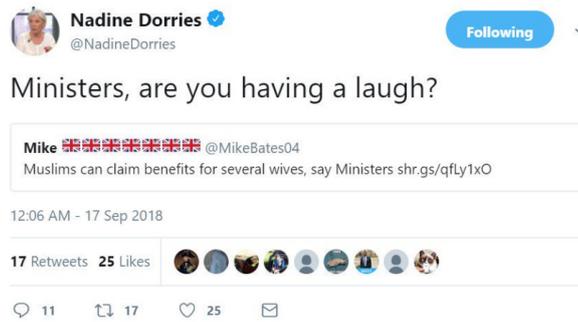
<sup>227</sup> Hingle, “Nadine Dorries: Boris Johnson’s burqa article didn’t go ‘far enough’”.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>229</sup> @talkRADIO, *Twitter*, August 2018. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/talkRADIO/status/1027090369186590720>.

<sup>230</sup> Shehab Khan, “Tory MP Nadine Dorries deletes misleading tweet about Muslims claiming benefits for multiple wives”, *Independent*, September 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/nadine-dorries-islamophobia-muslims-benefits-multiple-wives-muslim-council-britain-mcb-a8541176.html>.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*



*An inaccurate tweet posted by Ms. Nadine Dorries.<sup>232</sup>*

## Zac Goldsmith, Minister of State at the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

May 2016

21. Mr. Zac Goldsmith has been widely condemned for his deployment of Islamophobic campaign tactics during his mayoral campaign against Mr. Sadiq Khan in 2016; tactics which have been described as “dog whistle politics”.<sup>233</sup> Peter Osborne points out that Mr. Goldsmith’s campaign “concentrated on Khan’s religion, alleging that Khan is a friend and apologist for “extremists” and cannot therefore be trusted to run a great city like London.”<sup>234</sup> Mr. Goldsmith defended his rhetoric, including describing Mr. Khan as being ‘radical’ and ‘divisive’, stating that: “He is a fundamentally partisan figure in politics. These are the terms that I use and will continue to use to describe Sadiq Khan”.<sup>235</sup> As noted by Simon Hattenstone, “Surely he must be aware that these words are loaded when applied to a Muslim?”<sup>236</sup> The rhetoric employed by Mr. Goldsmith was further bolstered by Mr. David Cameron, the then Prime Minister, who used Prime Minister’s questions to further launch accusations that Mr. Khan associated himself with alleged extremists.<sup>237</sup>

<sup>232</sup> @miqdaad, Twitter, September 2018. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/miqdaad/status/1041586768246657024>.

<sup>233</sup> Jessica Elgot, “Zac Goldsmith denies ‘dog-whistle’ tactics in antisemitism row”, *The Guardian*, April 2016. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/30/zac-goldsmith-denies-dog-whistle-tactics-in-antisemitism-row>.

<sup>234</sup> Peter Osborne, “How Zac Goldsmith imported Donald Trump’s politics into Britain”, *Middle East Eye*, April 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/how-zac-goldsmith-imported-donald-trumps-politics-britain>.

<sup>235</sup> Simon Hattenstone, “Zac Goldsmith’s fight to be London mayor: ‘I’m up against someone who poses a real danger’”, *The Guardian*, March 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/mar/23/zac-goldsmith-london-mayor-fight-danger-turned-nasty>.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> Osborne, “How Zac Goldsmith imported Donald Trump’s politics into Britain”.

2005



ANOTHER ANGRY VOICE

The extreme-right British National Party are roundly condemned for opportunistically exploiting an image of the deadly 2005 London bus bombing in a by-election leaflet.

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2016



The Tory London Mayoral candidate Zac Goldsmith exploits a picture of the 2005 London bus bombing in an utterly desperate attempt to smear his Labour rival Sadiq Khan as a terrorist sympathiser.

*A post by "Another Angry Voice" arguing that Mr. Zac Goldsmith utilised smear tactics to whip up Islamophobic sentiment.<sup>238</sup>*

On Thursday, are we really going to hand the world's greatest city to a Labour party that thinks terrorists is its friends? A passionate plea from ZAC GOLDSMITH four days before Mayoral election

By ZAC GOLDSMITH FOR THE MAIL ON SUNDAY  
PUBLISHED: 00:52, 1 May 2016 | UPDATED: 12:23, 1 May 2016

*The headline of Mr. Zac Goldsmith's article published in the Daily Mail.<sup>239</sup>*

Another troubling tactic utilised by Mr. Goldsmith was an attempt to divide the South-Asian British diaspora along religious lines. The Conservative campaign saw the production of customised election leaflets that targeted the London Hindu, Sikh, and Tamil communities. These leaflets brought up sensitive issues, such as the 1984 attack

<sup>238</sup> "Zac Goldsmith's BNP style fearmongering tactics", *Another Angry Voice*, May 2016. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://anotherangryvoice.blogspot.com/2016/05/zac-goldsmiths-bnp-style-fearmongering.html>.

<sup>239</sup> Zac Goldsmith, "On Thursday, are we really going to hand the world's greatest city to a Labour party that thinks terrorists is its friends? A passionate plea from ZAC GOLDSMITH four days before Mayoral election", *The Daily Mail*, May 2016. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3567537/On-Thursday-really-going-hand-world-s-greatest-city-Labour-party-thinks-terrorists-friends-passionate-plea-ZAC-GOLDSMITH-four-days-Mayoral-election.html>.

on the Golden Temple; the Sri Lankan civil war; and, the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi.<sup>240</sup> Many members of South Asian communities sought to publicly call out the tasteless leaflets, which suggested that Mr. Khan, as a Pakistani Muslim, was ill-fitted to be addressing their concerns. The leaflets also failed to understand the nuances of the South Asian diaspora, with many members of the Sikh community calling out Mr. Goldsmith's mailshot as a "disastrous move", "ill-informed", and "arrogant."<sup>241</sup>

As noted by Peter Osborne at the time, "if Goldsmith's campaign succeeds it tells every single British Muslim that there is no role for them anywhere in the British democratic system."<sup>242</sup>



*A campaign leaflet issued as part of Mr. Zac Goldsmith's campaign that targeted the London Tamil community.<sup>243</sup>*

<sup>240</sup> Conor Sullivan and Nalini Sivithasan, "Racial politics leaves London mayor campaign at 'disturbing low'", *Financial Times*, April 2016. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.ft.com/content/e52d78e0-0a5b-11e6-9c14-2be898308be3>.

<sup>241</sup> "London Mayoral candidate calls Sikhs Hindu in mailed letter", *Daily Sikh Updates*, March 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <http://dailysikhupdates.com/london-mayor-candidate-sikhs/>.

<sup>242</sup> Osborne, "How Zac Goldsmith imported Donald Trump's politics into Britain".

<sup>243</sup> Dave Hill, "London Mayor Race: has Zac Goldsmith's 'Hindu jewels' attack misfired?", *The Guardian*, March 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/davehillblog/2016/mar/16/london-mayor-race-negatives-hindu-jewels-leaflets-misfired>.

**Your choice for Mayor of London**



**Zac Goldsmith:  
Standing up for  
the British Indian  
community**

- Welcomed **Prime Minister Modi** to London last year alongside Prime Minister David Cameron
- As Mayor will focus **police** on protecting your families homes from burglary
- Has a **strong record of engagement** with the Indian community celebrating **Diwali, Navratri and Janmashtami**
- Secured more money for police and security and **will keep your family and home safe**
- Has a track record of supporting **family owned businesses**
- Will work to strengthen London's **friendship with India** and having spent time in **Rajasthan, Dehradun and Delhi** is proud of the Conservative Party's commitment to the British Indian community



**Jeremy Corbyn and Sadiq Khan:  
Risking London's  
Future**

- Sadiq Khan supported Jeremy Corbyn as leader of the Labour Party who **wanted to BAN Prime Minister Modi** from visiting the UK. Khan **did not attend** the "UK Welcomes Modi" event at Wembley stadium last year
- His Party **SUPPORTS A WEALTH TAX** on family jewellery
- Is the trade union bosses' candidate and **won't stand up** to them as mayor
- Sadiq Khan **won't be able to work with the Government** and will use City Hall as a platform for **partisan politics**. He cannot get a good deal from Government to keep London safe
- Sadiq Khan's **experiment** with London's transport network would leave a **£1.9 billion black hole** that you'll have to pay for

*Another example of a leaflet utilised by Zac Goldsmith's campaign that foster community division.<sup>244</sup>*

His tactics drew strong criticism from senior Conservative figures, including Mr. Mohammed Amin, the former chair of the Conservative Muslim Forum;<sup>245</sup> Baroness Sayeeda Warsi, former co-chair of the conservative party;<sup>246</sup> and, Mr. Andrew Boff, former leader of the London Assembly's Conservative group.<sup>247</sup> Mr. Amin, in an article in the *Conservative Home*, argued that "Zac had abandoned any attempt to appeal to Muslim voters, and was instead seeking to maximise his vote amongst non-Muslim voters by attempting to frighten them about 'Khan, the alleged Muslim extremist.'" <sup>248</sup> Mr. Boff further added that he "was really troubled by one particular aspect and that's when [Mr. Goldsmith] started equating people with conservative religious views with sympathising with terrorism."<sup>249</sup> However, the Conservative Party has failed to distance itself from and condemn Mr. Goldsmith's 2016 election campaign, with the

<sup>244</sup> @iainaitch, *Twitter*, March 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/iainaitch/status/709342520115904512>.

<sup>245</sup> Rowena Mason, "Top Conservatives condemn Zac Goldsmith's 'disgusting' mayoral campaign", *The Guardian*, May 2016. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/07/top-conservatives-condemn-zac-goldsmiths-disgusting-mayoral-campaign>.

<sup>246</sup> Ashley Cowburn, "Zac Goldsmith criticised by former Tory minister Baroness Warsi over Sadiq Khan 7/7 London terror bus image", *The Independent*, May 2016. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/zac-goldsmith-london-mayor-campaign-sadiq-khan-baroness-warsi-a7009126.html>.

<sup>247</sup> Paul Waugh, "Zac Goldsmith's 'outrageous' anti-Sadiq Khan campaign slammed by senior London tory Andrew Boff", *The Huffington Post*, May 2016. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019. [https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/zac-goldsmith-sadiq-khan-andrew-boff-outrageous-extremism\\_uk\\_572c5c18e4b05c31e571c1bf](https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/zac-goldsmith-sadiq-khan-andrew-boff-outrageous-extremism_uk_572c5c18e4b05c31e571c1bf).

<sup>248</sup> Mohammed Amin, "Mohammed Amin: I'm a Conservative and voted for Zac. But I was disgusted by his repeated, risible attempts to smear Khan", *Conservative Home*, May 2016. Accessed: 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2019. <http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/05/mohammed-amin-im-a-conservative-and-voted-for-zac-but-i-was-disgusted-by-his-repeated-risible-attempts-to-smear-khan.html>.

<sup>249</sup> Paul Waugh, "Zac Goldsmith's 'outrageous' anti-Sadiq Khan campaign slammed by senior London tory Andrew Boff", *The Huffington Post*, May 2016. Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> May 2019. [https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/zac-goldsmith-sadiq-khan-andrew-boff-outrageous-extremism\\_uk\\_572c5c18e4b05c31e571c1bf](https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/zac-goldsmith-sadiq-khan-andrew-boff-outrageous-extremism_uk_572c5c18e4b05c31e571c1bf).

current Prime Minister, Theresa May, failing to apologise for the incident as recently as April 2019 when questioned by Naz Shah, MP, in the House of Commons.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> @NazShahBfd, *Twitter*, April 2019. Accessed: 14th May 2019. <https://twitter.com/NazShahBfd/status/1113436177196113920>.

## List of Islamophobic Incidences by Conservative Councillors, Mayors, and Other Representatives

While the incidents above point to a pattern of Islamophobia throughout the upper echelons of the Conservative Party, it is a pattern that extends throughout its ranks and is perhaps even more starkly demonstrated amongst councillors of the party. Indeed, Conservative councillors have been recorded using terms such as “Muzzie rapists” and suggesting Muslims should leave the country.

### Carola Godman Irvine, Chair and President of the Conservative Association in the Lewes Constituency

*January 2015*

22. Ms. Carola Godman wrote a blogpost in which she shared the words of Dr Emanuel Tanay, which she said were “chilling but should not be ignored”. The essay stated that: “In the U.K, the Muslim communities refuse to integrate and there are now dozens of “no-go” zones within major cities across the country that the police force dare not intrude upon. Sharia law prevails there, because the Muslim community in those areas refuse to acknowledge British law. As for us who watch it all unfold, we must pay attention to the only group that counts -- the fanatics who threaten our way of life.”<sup>251</sup>

*March 2016*

23. In another blogpost in the lead up to the EU referendum, Ms. Godman stated that “A population of 75 Million Muslim Turks will be able to come to Europe, no questions asked. No wonder David Cameron is so keen to rush the referendum through rather than wait until 2017. This development will certainly not help our security if we remain in the EU.”<sup>252</sup>

*May 2017*

24. In May 2017, Ms. Godman wrote yet another blogpost in which she stated “Already they are raping and impregnating British girls and young women, ‘creating’ Muslim babies; just see what is happening in Rochdale. The rest of us they say they will exterminate with bombs and knives... Anyone who has dared to raise the matter of this integrated threat, imbedded within our communities, ‘a fifth column’, has been vilified by the press, media and political elite. Let us hope that the 22 victims of the Manchester bomb have not died in vain. Perhaps this was the wakeup call which was needed. The policing of city centres must be revolutionised, and radical monitoring of what is going on within the Muslim population, their mosques and schools must be addressed. Genuine peaceful Muslim clerics, Imams and communities must take responsibility for their own. They cannot stand by wringing their hands saying, ‘it’s not us’. It damn well is and if they are not willing to ‘police’ their own extremists, then something has to be done. We have been too cautious, polite, even perhaps afraid to act, while turning a blind eye and allowing vast areas of our cities to become

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<sup>251</sup> Carola Godman Irvine, “19 January 2015”, January 2015. Accessed: 17<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.carolagodmanirvine.com/blog/19-january-2015>.

<sup>252</sup> Carola Godman, “Once the Europeans Have, Thanks to David Cameron, Locked the UK In, Things Will Change. The Leap Will Be into a Dark Hole out of Which We Cannot Escape – 9 March 2016,” Carola Godman Irvine, accessed June 28, 2019, <https://www.carolagodmanirvine.com/blog/once-the-europeans-have-thanks-to-david-cameron-locked-the-uk-in-things-will-change-the-leap-will-be-into-a-dark-hole-out-of-which-we-cannot-escape-9-march-2016>.

unrecognisable as Britain. Local planners have much to answer for by allowing vast mosques to be established which hold thousands.”<sup>253</sup>

### **Chris Joannides, Grange Ward in Enfield**

*March 2014*

25. Mr. Chris Joannides was suspended from the Conservative Party for 12 months in 2014 after he shared a picture that showed a woman and child in burkas with black rubbish bags either side of them. The caption said: “I saw her standing there and I told her she had three beautiful children. She didn’t have to get all pissed off and threaten me. It was an honest mistake”.<sup>254</sup> Despite the suspension, it appears that he unsuccessfully ran as a Conservative candidate again in 2018.<sup>255</sup>

### **Mayor Chris Smith, Churnet Ward in East Staffordshire**

*March 2019*

26. Alongside colleague Mr. Len Milner, Mr. Chris Smith left the party after he allegedly “endorsed Islamophobic posts”, including “liking” a cartoon on Facebook depicting the Mayor of London, Mr. Sadiq Khan, being beheaded.<sup>256</sup>

### **Gordon McCaskill, Netherlee, Stamperland and Williamwood Ward in East Renfrewshire**

*September 2015*

27. In response to a TV interview in which Scotland’s First Minister, Ms. Nicola Sturgeon, spoke about being “absolutely happy” to house a Syrian refugee, Mr. Gordon McCaskill tweeted: “Scenes we’d like to see: the refugees Nicola invites into her house are Daesh moles.”<sup>257</sup> Mr. McCaskill was subsequently suspended from the Conservative party.<sup>258</sup> This tweet is demonstrative of Islamophobic narratives that reinforces contemporary tropes that refugees from Muslim-majority countries are all potential terrorists.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Carola Godman, “Perhaps This Was the Wakeup Call Which Was Needed - 1 May 2017,” Carola Godman Irvine, accessed May 28, 2019, <https://www.carolagodmanirvine.com/blog/perhaps-this-was-the-wakeup-call-which-was-needed-1-may-2017>.

<sup>254</sup> Simon Freeman, “Tory councillor who compared children in burkas to binbags expelled”, *Evening Standard*, March 2014. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/tory-councillor-who-compared-children-in-burkas-to-binbags-expelled-9167453.html>.

<sup>255</sup> “Election results for Upper Edmonton Ward”, *Enfield Council*. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://governance.enfield.gov.uk/mgElectionAreaResults.aspx?ID=221>.

<sup>256</sup> “Tory councillors in East Staffordshire quit over Islamophobia row”, *BBC News*, March 2019. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-47472902>.

<sup>257</sup> Libby Brooks, “Scottish Tories suspend councillor over Nicola Sturgeon tweet”, *The Guardian*, September 2015. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/sep/08/scottish-tories-suspend-councillor-nicola-sturgeon-tweet>.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>259</sup> Professor Ian Law, et al., “Counter-Islamophobia Kit”, *University of Leeds*, September 2018. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://cik.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/36/2018/09/2018.09.17-job-44240.01-CIK-Final-Booklet.pdf>.



*Mr. Gordon McCaskill's tweet regarding Ms. Nicola Sturgeon.<sup>260</sup>*

## Heather Venter, Driffield, Yorkshire

*February 2017*

In February 2017, Ms, Heather Venter faced a hearing after “liking” and commenting on a series of Islamophobic and racist social media content.<sup>261</sup> These posts included:

28. A post saying: “Shouldn’t employ Muslims. Nothing but trouble”<sup>262</sup>



*A tweet liked by Ms. Venter's account.<sup>263</sup>*

29. Another post reading “Sadly, looks like Romania’s Gypsy beggar/pickpockets will b soon replaced by African Muslims.”<sup>264</sup>

<sup>260</sup> Jamie Ross, “This Tory councillor hopes Nicola Sturgeon invites ISIS fighters to live with her”, *Buzzfeed News*, September 2015. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.buzzfeed.com/jamieross/this-tory-councillor-hopes-nicola-sturgeon-invites-isis-figh>.

<sup>261</sup> Alex Wood and Stewart Paterson, “Ex-Yorkshire Mayor in Racism Storm over Anti-Muslim and Romania Gypsy Tweets,” *Latest Yorkshire News*, June 30, 2016, <https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/latest-news/ex-yorkshire-mayor-in-racism-storm-over-anti-muslim-and-romania-gypsy-tweets-1-7989451>.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>263</sup> “#ANTIFA #ALERT: #NEO-NAZI #TORY @slatukip @misscheeky666 @JLRFB @ant1fane #UKIP,” UK Indymedia | #ANTIFA #ALERT: #NEO-NAZI #TORY @slatukip @misscheeky666 @JLRFB @ant1fane #UKIP, June 25, 2016, <https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/regions/liverpool/2016/06/525614.html>.

<sup>264</sup> Alex Wood and Stewart Paterson, “Ex-Yorkshire Mayor in Racism Storm over Anti-Muslim and Romania Gypsy Tweets,” *Latest Yorkshire News*, June 30, 2016, <https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/latest-news/ex-yorkshire-mayor-in-racism-storm-over-anti-muslim-and-romania-gypsy-tweets-1-7989451>.



*A tweet liked by Ms. Venter's account.<sup>265</sup>*

## Jeff Potts, Knowle Ward in Solihull

*August-September 2017*

It appears that Mr. Jeff Potts has a habitual tendency to promote rhetoric focussing on threat themes regarding Muslims, Islam, and refugees. The following are but a handful of examples of retweets taken from August-September 2017, before Mr Potts was suspended from the Conservative Party. It has been reported that he has since been welcomed back into the party.<sup>266</sup>

30. Mr. Potts re-tweeted a tweet stating: “Labour: the party of anti-Semitism, support for muslim rape gangs, betrayal of young voters, rejection of democracy”.<sup>267</sup>



*A retweet from Mr. Potts' account.<sup>268</sup>*

31. A further post re-tweeted by Mr. Potts was, “Muslim immigration is the reason anti-Semitism is rising. Islam is a threat to Jews, but try telling some of them that”.<sup>269</sup>

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Jonathan Walker, “Conservatives allow councillor who shared ‘deport all Muslims’ Tweet back into the party”, *Birmingham Live*, November 2018. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/conservatives-allow-councillor-who-shared-15379886>.

<sup>267</sup> @jepotts4knowle, *Twitter*, September 2017. Accessed: 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/jepotts4knowle/status/906884624122617857>.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.



*A retweet from Mr. Potts' account.<sup>270</sup>*

32. The following Tweet was also reportedly shared by Mr. Potts: “Deport and repatriate all Muslims from the UK or watch terrorists kill innocent people for generations to come.”<sup>271</sup>
33. According to the *Solihull Observer*, another example of a retweet from Mr. Potts was one stating: “Drug related.. mmm.. will wait on the verdict wonder if his name will be a good old fashioned British name.”<sup>272</sup>
34. The selection or retweets also includes a retweet of statements describing the banning of Islam in Angola and the destruction of 80 mosques as “a thing of beauty”.<sup>273</sup>



<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Felix Nobes, "BREAKING: Solihull Councillor Suspended over Tweets about Muslims Returns to Conservative Group – after Election Losses," *Solihull Observer*, May 15, 2019, <https://solihullobservers.co.uk/news/breaking-solihull-councillor-suspended-over-tweets-about-muslims-returns-to-conservative-group-after-election-losses-13012/>.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> @jepotts4knowle, *Twitter*, September 2017. Accessed: 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/jepotts4knowle/status/906884624122617857>.

Welcome to Angola, the country where Islam has no legal status..



11:49 AM - 22 Aug 2017

*A retweet from Mr. Potts' account.<sup>274</sup>*

35. Amongst the examples of retweets from Mr. Potts is a tweet from Sarah Palin regarding the hijab, which she describes as “anti-women”.<sup>275</sup>



*A retweet from Mr. Potts' account.<sup>276</sup>*

36. Mr. Jeff Potts used his Twitter account to retweet an image depicting Germany overtaken by Islam and Chancellor Angela Merkel in a Hijab. The image was accompanied by the caption, “Many ‘leaders’ of Western European Countries treat Islamic Culture as a FACT of Life that Europeans MUST get used to!”<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

Jeff Potts Retweeted  
**TruthSeeker** @RJ13835606 · 17 Sep 2017  
Replying to @rejallex7  
Many 'leaders' of Western European Countries treat Islamic Culture as a FACT of Life that Europeans MUST get used to!



*A retweet from Mr. Potts' account.<sup>278</sup>*

37. Yet another retweet on Mr. Potts' Twitter account proclaims that: "The vile rapists were 3 Muslim men (imagine my surprise)"<sup>279</sup>



*A retweet from Mr. Potts' account.<sup>280</sup>*

38. In another retweet regarding the sale of heroin to young people in Spain by Pakistani immigrants, Mr. Potts asks "Surprised?"<sup>281</sup>

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.



*A retweet from Mr. Potts' account.<sup>282</sup>*

39. Mr. Potts also retweeted a post claiming that Labour's position regarding Brexit was to placate their Muslim supporters because "they want open door for more to come".<sup>283</sup>



*A retweet from Mr. Potts' Facebook account.<sup>284</sup>*

40. In September 2017, he also shared a conspiratorial story that the "UK police covered-up THOUSANDS of girls, raped/sold by the Religion of Peace...NOW Police Target Those Speaking Out!".<sup>285</sup> He accompanied the post with the question "Is anybody surprised?"<sup>286</sup>



*A tweet from Mr. Potts' account.<sup>287</sup>*

41. In the same month, he retweeted a post stating "you've clearly not experienced the Pakistani hospitality, having a daughter raped by men who think she's 'white trash only good for fucking.'"<sup>288</sup>

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> @jepotts4knowle, *Twitter*, September 2017. Accessed: 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/jepotts4knowle/status/906884624122617857>.

<sup>286</sup> @jepotts4knowle, *Twitter*. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/jepotts4knowle?lang=en>.

<sup>287</sup> @jepotts4knowle, *Twitter*. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/jepotts4knowle?lang=en>.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.



*A retweet from Mr. Potts' account.<sup>289</sup>*

42. In August 2017, Mr. Potts responded to a tweet wishing Muslims Eid Mubarak with the question "Why?"<sup>290</sup>



*A tweet from Mr. Potts' Facebook account.<sup>291</sup>*

43. There are several instances where Mr. Potts has retweeted articles and opinions of Viktor Orbán, the Prime Minister of Hungary, who has stated that, "We don't see these people as Muslim refugees. We see them as Muslim invaders".<sup>292</sup>



*A retweet from Mr. Potts' account.<sup>293</sup>*

<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> Harriet Agerholm @HarrietAgerholm, "Refugees Are 'Muslim Invaders', Says Hungarian PM Viktor Orban," The Independent, January 09, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugees-muslim-invaders-hungary-viktor-orban-racism-islamophobia-eu-a8149251.html>.

<sup>293</sup> @jepotts4knowle, Twitter. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/jepotts4knowle?lang=en>.

## John Moss, Larkwood Ward in Waltham Forest

May 2019

In May 2019, the Conservative Party received complaints about Mr. Moss' conduct on social media.<sup>294</sup> Mr. Moss was subsequently investigated, and the following tweets were those reported in the press in response to the investigation.

44. "According to Islam, women are chattles, either of their fathers or husbands. They have no liberty".<sup>295</sup>
45. "I'm of sound mind. I reject Islam's barbarism, its sexism, its racism, its homophobia".<sup>296</sup>
46. "an 'Islamophobe' is by definition somebody frightened of Muslims. Maybe we should nominate every 11-year-old girl?"<sup>297</sup>
47. Mr Moss also posted tweets asking Muslims to denounce parts of the Quran.<sup>298</sup>



*A tweet from Mr. Moss' Twitter account.<sup>299</sup>*

<sup>294</sup> "Waltham Tory Councillor Suspended over 'Islamophobic' Tweets," Waltham Forest, June 07, 2019, <http://www.walthamstow-today.co.uk/article.cfm?id=142279&headline=Waltham%20Tory%20councillor%20suspended%20over%20%E2%80%98Islamophobic%E2%80%99%20tweets&sectionIs=news&searchYear=2019>

<sup>295</sup> "The Tories haven't suspended two councillors who made repeated anti-Muslim statements", Angle News, May 2019. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> June 2019. Accessed: <https://www.anglenews.com/2019/05/29/the-tories-havent-suspended-two-councillors-who-made-repeated-anti-muslim-statements-2/>.

<sup>296</sup> Jessica Elgot, "Tories under pressure to suspend councillors over anti-Islam tweets", *The Guardian*, May 2019. Accessed: 5<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/may/30/tories-under-pressure-to-suspend-councillors-over-anti-islam-tweets>.

<sup>297</sup> "The Tories haven't suspended two councillors who made repeated anti-Muslim statements".

<sup>298</sup> Elgot, "Tories under Pressure to Suspend Councillors over Anti-Islam Tweets".

<sup>299</sup> @John\_J\_C\_Moss, *Twitter*, March 2017. Accessed: 26<sup>th</sup> June 2019, [https://twitter.com/John\\_J\\_C\\_Moss/status/846106469355470848](https://twitter.com/John_J_C_Moss/status/846106469355470848).

## John Raper, Sherburn Ward in Ryedale District

September 2015

In September 2015, Mr. John Raper faced calls to resign after it emerged that he reportedly shared various posts mocking Muslims, homosexuals and other ethnic minorities over what was claimed to be a 12-month period.<sup>300</sup> These posts allegedly included:

48. A post featuring a picture of pig and captioned, “share this pig if your not celebrating Ramdan”.<sup>301</sup>
49. A post expressing a joke about people procuring funds to buy petrol to set Muslim protestors on fire.<sup>302</sup>
50. A post illustrating Mr. David Cameron, the former Prime Minister of the UK, promising to “hand-over” the UK to a Muslim man.<sup>303</sup>
51. A post calling for the banning of the burka.<sup>304</sup>
52. When approached about the inappropriate posts, Mr. Raper allegedly responded “Je suis Charlie, remember Lee Rigby”. The implication of this comment may be seen as the justification for the abuse of Muslims is due to perceived collective guilt for the actions of the minority.<sup>305</sup>

## Len Milner, Stretton Ward in East Staffordshire

March 2019

53. Alongside colleague Mr. Chris Smith, Mr. Len Milner left the party after he allegedly “endorsed Islamophobic posts”, including “liking” a cartoon on Facebook depicting the Mayor of London, Mr. Sadiq Khan, being beheaded.<sup>306</sup>

## Linda Freedman, Edgware Ward in Barnet

November 2016

54. In response to an article by Star Trek actor, Mr. George Takei, warning against the internment of Muslims in the US, Ms. Linda Freedman attempted to justify the detention of Muslims on the basis of security. Referring to the detention of German and Japanese people during WWII, Mr. Takei argued, “They interned my family. Don’t let them do it to Muslims.”<sup>307</sup> Ms. Freedman responded that “They interned my German ones for one year during WW2. It was the right thing to do for the sake of

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<sup>300</sup> “Facebook ‘jokes’ land councillor in hot water”, *The Scarborough News*, September 2015. Accessed: 17<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.thescarboroughnews.co.uk/news/facebook-jokes-land-councillor-in-hot-water-1-7487136>.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid.

<sup>306</sup> “Tory councillors in East Staffordshire quit over Islamophobia row”, *BBC News*, March 2019. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-47472902>.

<sup>307</sup> Mikey Smith, “Tory councillor suspended over tweets apparently backing imprisonment of Muslims”, *Mirror*, June 2018. Accessed: 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/tory-councillor-suspended-over-tweets-12645675>.

security<sup>308</sup>. Whilst it was reported in 2018 that Ms. Freedman had been suspended,<sup>309</sup> the Barnet London Borough website notes that she is still a councillor representing the Conservative Party.<sup>310</sup>



*Ms. Freedman's tweet in response to an article by Mr. Takei.<sup>311</sup>*

## Martyn York, Croyland Ward in Wellingborough

*March 2019*

55. Mr. Martyn York was suspended in March 2019, after it emerged that a Facebook group which he moderated frequently hosted hateful rhetoric against minority communities. Members could only join the group if approved by the moderators.<sup>312</sup> The group, the aforementioned *Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group*, had members that frequently used derogatory terms against Black and other ethnic minority community members, and propagated anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.<sup>313</sup> Other comments advocated for the bombing of mosques around the UK and referred to Muslims and refugees as “ragheads” and “cockroaches.”<sup>314</sup> Amongst the calls were also demands that Muslims be banned from joining the police or army and blocked from holding any position in Government.<sup>315</sup> Other users referred to the Mayor of London, Mr. Sadiq

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> Simon Allin, “Barnet Tory councillor suspended”, *Times Series*, June 2018. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.times-series.co.uk/news/16263873.barnet-tory-councillor-suspended/>.

<sup>310</sup> Councillor Linda Freedman, *Barnet London Borough*. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://barnet.moderngov.co.uk/mgUserInfo.aspx?UID=1354>.

<sup>311</sup> Allin, “Barnet Tory councillor suspended”.

<sup>312</sup> Shehab Khan, “Tory councillor suspended over Islamophobic comments about bombing mosques made in Facebook group he moderates”, *The Independent*, March 2019. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/tory-islamophobia-councillor-mosque-facebook-martyn-york-a8804486.html>.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> John Johnston, “Boris Johnson's Facebook Page 'littered with Hundreds of Racists Posts' from Supporters,” *PoliticsHome.com*, August 19, 2018, <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/news/97659/boris-johnsons-facebook-page-littered>.

Khan, as a “conniving little muzrat”, and told Ms. Naz Shah, MP, to “p\*\*\* off to [her] own country”.<sup>316</sup>

## Michael Franklin, Luton and Wayfield Ward in Medway

March 2019

In March 2019, it was reported that Mr. Michael Franklin had been expelled from the Conservative Party following a series of tweets that had first been brought to the party’s attention in 2016. These tweets included:

56. A retweet of a picture of Mr. Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, in a mosque with the caption "worshipping the devil".<sup>317</sup>
57. A retweet of a post calling anti-Islamophobia feminists "idiots" and “kunts”.<sup>318</sup>
58. A re-tweet of a photo of a woman in a hijab and man next to a black flag with the words: "Child sex abuse reports have increased 60% in Britain the last 4 years. Here's why".<sup>319</sup> The original tweet was posted by Nina Rosenwald, (who has been dubbed “the Sugar Mama of anti-Muslim Hate”)<sup>320</sup> and was linked to an article published by the Gatestone Institute, which is itself infamous for publishing “vitriol” against Muslims and refugees that is “rarely supported by the evidence”.<sup>321</sup>



*A retweet from Mr. Michael Franklin's account.*<sup>322</sup>

<sup>316</sup> Tom D. Rogers, "EXCL: Tory politicians are running a vile Facebook group where members joke about bombing mosques and shooting immigrants", Evolve Politics, March 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://evolvepolitics.com/excl-tory-politicians-are-running-a-vile-facebook-group-where-members-joke-about-bombing-mosques-and-shooting-immigrants/>.

<sup>317</sup> Dan Bloom, "Local Tories knew of councillor's 'Islamophobic retweets' 1,000 days before he was expelled", *Mirror*, March 2019. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/local-tories-knew-councillors-islamophobic-14117994>.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

<sup>320</sup> "The Sugar Mama of Anti-Muslim Hate", *The Nation*, June 14, 2012, accessed 03.11.2017, <https://www.thenation.com/article/sugar-mama-anti-muslim-hate/>.

<sup>321</sup> Theintercept, "John Bolton Chairs an Actual 'Fake News' Publisher Infamous for Spreading Anti-Muslim Hate," *The Intercept*, March 23, 2018, <https://theintercept.com/2018/03/23/gatestone-institute-john-bolton-chairs-an-actual-fake-news-publisher-infamous-for-spreading-anti-muslim-hate/>.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid.



*A retweet from Mr. Michael Franklin's account.<sup>323</sup>*



*A retweet from Mr. Michael Franklin's account.<sup>324</sup>*

## Michael Murphy, Hucknall North Ward in Ashfield

June 2018

59. Mr. Michael Murphy was suspended from the Conservative Party in 2018, allegedly following a series of anti-Muslim Facebook posts. One such post included an image of a woman and child in burkas with black rubbish bags either side of them. The caption

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.

<sup>324</sup> Ed Jennings, "The Troubling Tweets of Conservative Councillor Michael Franklin," The Political Medway, February 26, 2016, , <http://thepoliticalmedway.co.uk/the-troubling-tweets-of-conservative-councillor-michael-franklin/>.

said: “I saw her standing there and I told her she had three beautiful children. She didn’t have to get all pissed off and threaten me. It was an honest mistake”.<sup>325</sup>



*A post shared on Mr. Mick Murphy's account.*<sup>326</sup>

60. Another shared post described the burka as “oppressive” and included the caption “Share is you think Britain should band the Burka...”<sup>327</sup>



*A post shared on Mr. Mick Murphy's account.*<sup>328</sup>

<sup>325</sup> Alex Wickham and Alex Spence, “The Tories Have Reinstated A Councillor Who Posted A Meme Comparing The Burqa To A Rubbish Bag”, *BuzzFeed News*, March 2019. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.buzzfeed.com/alexwickham/tory-councillor-anti-muslim-memes>.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid.

Mr. Murphy was subsequently suspended from the Conservative Party<sup>329</sup> but was allegedly reinstated roughly eight months later.<sup>330</sup>

## Michael Payne, Sowerby Bridge Ward in Calderdale

April 2018

61. Mr. Michael Payne, former Conservative councillor of Calderdale Council, was suspended by the Conservative Party in April 2018 after sharing an article referring to Muslims as “invaders”, “parasites”, and “freeloaders” who “live off the state and breed like rabbits”.<sup>331</sup> The post read “France Slashes Benefits to Muslim Parasites by 83%” and was accompanied by a link to the full article. Excerpts from the article include: “the country is no longer able to hold back the crowd of Muslim invaders”; Muslims “live off the state and breed like rabbits”; and “France is simply awash with the migrant population with an alien ideology, reluctant to accept European values and often hostile.”<sup>332</sup>



*A tweet by Mr. Michael Payne that referred to Muslims as “parasites.”<sup>333</sup>*

## Mike Kusneraitis, Englefield Green Ward in Runnymede Borough

August 2015

62. Mr. Mike Kusneraitis reportedly made a number of xenophobic and anti-Muslim posts on Facebook, one “including a dog with a towel over its head, presumably in relation to Arabs or Muslims in general.”<sup>334</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Hannah Mitchell, “Conservative councillor suspended over social media post”, *Nottinghamshire Live*, March 2019. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.nottinghampost.com/news/nottingham-news/conservative-councillor-suspended-over-social-2623889>.

<sup>330</sup> Wickham and Spence, “The Tories Have Reinstated A Councillor Who Posted A Meme Comparing The Burqa To A Rubbish Bag”.

<sup>331</sup> Liz Bates, “EXCL Tory councillor suspended after sharing ‘Muslim parasites’ article”, *Politics Home*, April 2018. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/theresa-may/news/94120/excl-tory-councillor-suspended>.

<sup>332</sup> “LET THE RIOTS BEGIN! France slashes welfare benefits to Muslim parasites by a whopping 83%”, *Bare Naked Islam*, December 2012. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. [https://barenakedislam.com/2012/12/29/let-the-riots-begin-france-slashes-welfare-benefits-to-muslim-parasites-by-a-whopping-83/?fbclid=IwAR2sK9EbHJzUu55Tcm\\_vj35nOixg\\_zgb-5zls3KXfEDT8LmzOZ3Bp95I](https://barenakedislam.com/2012/12/29/let-the-riots-begin-france-slashes-welfare-benefits-to-muslim-parasites-by-a-whopping-83/?fbclid=IwAR2sK9EbHJzUu55Tcm_vj35nOixg_zgb-5zls3KXfEDT8LmzOZ3Bp95I).

<sup>333</sup> Nick Lavigueur, “Councillor denies he’s racist after sharing article that called Muslims ‘parasites’”, *Examiner Live*, April 2018. <https://www.examinerlive.co.uk/news/west-yorkshire-news/councillor-denies-hes-racist-after-14493250>.

<sup>334</sup> T.J. Coles, “‘Ultimate Racists’: A Catalogue of Racism, Xenophobia, Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in the British Conservative Party, 2015-2018,” *Global Research*, August 20, 2018, <https://www.globalresearch.ca/ultimate-racists-a-catalogue-of-racism-xenophobia-anti-semitism-and-islamophobia-in-the-british-conservative-party-2015-2018/5651216>.

## Nick Coultish, Goole North Ward in East Riding

March 2017

63. On Facebook, Mr. Nick Coultish compared what he called “the tide of Islam” in the UK to the Nazis’ bombardment of Britain. He stated that, “Britain withstood the Blitz and got up, had a cup of tea and got on with rebuilding the next day. We will stand against the tide of Islam.”<sup>335</sup>



*A tweet by Mr. Nick Coultish.*<sup>336</sup>

May 2019

64. An example of another post by Mr. Coultish gained prominence in May 2019, when the Conservative Party was condemned for failing to act on a tweet allegedly stating, “Quote of the day: ‘There are two forces killing our people and our citizens: Islam and political correctness!’”<sup>337</sup>

## Paul Messenger, Sir Moses Montefiore Ward in Ramsgate

March 2019

65. In March 2019, Mr. Paul Messenger apologised for posts written in 2014/2015. One post reportedly stated, "Let's not fool ourselves here; The Muslim Communities living in Britain would like to see the whole country Muslim. Whether this is achieved by violent or stealth - they would prefer this -it's natural and you could argue within their rights to do this...After some considerable though I have come up with this suggestion - given that MI5 have to commit considerable resources into the protection and prevention of 'home grown' Islamic threat far more than when the IRA were doing their worst to us, then I believe the peaceful British Islamic Society should pay for this extra cost".<sup>338</sup>
66. Another post allegedly read “My fear is that are we sponsoring through child benefit and other welfare payments large Muslim families that twenty years on there will be enough of them to launch an Isil type takeover.”<sup>339</sup>

<sup>335</sup> Angle News, "The Tories Haven't Suspended Two Councillors Who Made Repeated Anti-Muslim Statements," Angle News, May 29, 2019, <https://www.anglenews.com/the-tories-havent-suspended-two-councillors-who-made-repeated-anti-muslim-statements-2/>.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid.

<sup>337</sup> PoliticsHome.com, "Labour Condemns Tory Failure to Suspend Councillors over 'clear Islamophobic Comments'," PoliticsHome.com, May 31, 2019, <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/news/104259/labour-condemns-tory-failure-suspend>.

<sup>338</sup> Kathy Bailes, "Councillor suspended by Conservative Party over Islamophobic posts admits guilt and issues apology", *The Isle of Thanet News*, March 2019. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://theisleofthanetnews.com/2019/03/17/councillor-suspended-by-conservative-party-over-islamophobic-posts-admits-guilt-and-issues-apology/>.

<sup>339</sup> Paul Francis, "Councillor Suspended over 'Islamophobic' Facebook Posts," Kent Online, March 16, 2019, <https://www.kentonline.co.uk/thanet/news/councillor-suspended-over-islamophobic-facebook-posts-200864/>.

## Peter Lucey, former Mayor of Wokingham, Berkshire

April 2018

67. Mr. Peter Lucey was resigned both as Mayor and from the Conservative Party after it emerged that his social media account showed links to right-wing, Islamophobic, and White-supremacy related groups. According to Councillor Croy, "Mr Lucey's profiles includes the following page "likes" on Facebook: Tommy Robinson, the racist leader of the racist English Defence League; Patriot Promotional Page: Patriots voice, run by UK Pegida - a far right Islamophobic group; Generation Identitaire, a paramilitary Islamophobic organisation; An Inquiry into Islam, an Islamophobic Facebook page; Jihad Watch, an Islamophobic Facebook page; Geert Wilders Supporters, an Islamophobic Facebook page; Pegida Canada, Pegida is a far right Islamophobic group; Infidels of Britain, a far right racist group; We Need to Talk About Islam, an Islamophobic Facebook page; Mark Steyn, a far-right Islamophobic page; Pamela Gellar, a far-right Islamophobic page. On Twitter Mr Lucey follows London-Infidel (formerly EDL), a far right, racist account; Noisykafir, a racist account; EDL Northwest, a racist account belong to the English Defence League; Ingrid Carlqvist, a culture wars journalist; Barenakedislam, an Islamophobic and otherwise discriminatory account and Creeping Sharia, an Islamophobic account."<sup>340</sup>

## Ray Bray, Shelley Ward in Kirkburton Parish

May 2017

In May 2017, Mr. Ray Bray was suspended from the Conservative Party following reports of a series of Islamophobic postings on his social media accounts. These posts reportedly included:

68. A tweet stating that "Honour killings, wife beatings, and FGM along with terrorism" were "part and parcel" of Mr. Sadiq Khan's (the current London Mayor's) faith.<sup>341</sup>



*A tweet by Mr. Ray Bray.*

<sup>340</sup> Cheyenne Roundtree, "Town's mayor resigns over claims he liked Islamophobic and far-right social media posts", *The Daily Mail*, April 2018. Accessed: 17<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5671207/Towns-mayor-resigns-claims-liked-Islamophobic-far-right-social-media-posts.html>.

<sup>341</sup> Steph Cockcroft, "Conservative councillor is suspended after tweets 'blaming Labour for Muslim rapists' appear on his account", *The Daily Mail*, May 2017. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4462532/Councillor-s-tweets-blame-Labour-Muslim-rapists.html>.

69. A tweet referring to “Muzzie rapists” and blaming Labour for their rise.<sup>342</sup>



*A tweet by Mr. Ray Bray.*

70. A retweet of a post calling for the banning of mosques.<sup>343</sup>



*A re-tweet from Mr. Ray Bray's account.*

71. A retweet describing Islam as “truly evil”.<sup>344</sup>



*A tweet which describing Islam as “truly evil” was re-tweeted by Mr. Ray Bray.*

72. Another tweet reportedly written by Mr. Bray urged people to boycott all taxis and takeaways run by Muslims. The tweet was in response to outrage on Twitter that a Huddersfield taxi firm had collected Muslim defendants from Kirklees Magistrates Court in a high-profile child sexual exploitation case. Responding to a tweet to “Boycott Huddersfield Taxis...”, Mr. Bray wrote: “And their takeaways etc. Its our money they are after, not to share our country and embrace what it gives.”<sup>345</sup>

<sup>342</sup> Ibid.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>344</sup> Steph Cockroft, “Councillor’s Tweets ‘Blame Labour for Muslim Rapists’,” Daily Mail Online (Associated Newspapers, May 1, 2017), <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4462532/Councillor-s-tweets-blame-Labour-Muslim-rapists.html>

<sup>345</sup> Ibid.



*A tweet by Mr. Ray Bray.*

73. A tweet describing funding for places of worship to tackle hate crime as “a waste of public money”.<sup>346</sup>



*A tweet by Mr. Ray Bray.*

74. Another post reportedly by Mr Bray argued that Muslims were “Not here to integrate”.<sup>347</sup>

75. There was also an alleged retweet from Mr. Bray’s account which included a meme claiming that the word “Islamophobic” was a “Bull\*\*\*\* term invented to vilify and silence anyone being honest about mankind’s most violent supremacist culture”.<sup>348</sup>

76. A final re-tweet is said to have read, “I’ll see your Jihad and I’ll raise you one crusade”.<sup>349</sup>

It appears that Mr. Bray is still currently serving as a councillor<sup>350</sup> and ran as a Conservative candidate for Shelley in 2019.<sup>351</sup>

<sup>346</sup> Nick Lavigueur, “Twitter Account of Tory Councillor Used to Post Abusive Islamophobic Comments,” *huddersfieldexaminer*, April 28, 2017, <https://www.examinerlive.co.uk/news/twitter-account-tory-councillor-used-12961694>

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>350</sup> Councillors, Kirkburton Parish Council. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <http://www.kbpc.co.uk/Councillors.aspx>.

<sup>351</sup> Statement of persons nominated, Kirklees.gov. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.kirklees.gov.uk/beta/voting-and-elections/pdf/statement-of-persons-nominated-shelley.pdf>.

## Stephen Ardley, Deputy leader of Waveney District Council and a Suffolk County Councillor

August 2018

77. Mr. Stephen Ardley was expelled from the Conservative Party in August 2018 after an offensive Facebook comment emerged from two years previously.<sup>352</sup> In response to Mr. Sadiq Khan winning the Mayor of London election, Mr. Ardley reportedly wrote a Facebook post that read: "I think it's unbelievable that a Muslim was actually elected the mayor of this great Christian country - oh wait he's labour so the blind leading the blind just vote red and left".<sup>353</sup>

## Stephen Goldsack, former Councillor for Steps, Chryston and Muirhead Ward in North Lanarkshire

May 2018

78. Mr. Stephen Goldsack gained notoriety for reportedly expressing Islamophobic sentiment surrounding the planning of a local mosque. In 2018, Mr. Goldsack was referred to the Commissioner for Ethical Standards in Public Life in Scotland over his derogatory remarks against Muslim communities.<sup>354</sup> The remarks came during discussions regarding the planning permission for a proposed mosque, when Mr. Goldsack reportedly argued that "we can't give more access to these people," and added that "if it was Church of Scotland, it would be ok."<sup>355</sup>

It was later discovered that Mr. Goldsack had been an activist for the far-right British Nationalist Party (BNP),<sup>356</sup> a group derived from the National Front and described by Max Hill QC, former Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation, as being an incarnation of "Extreme Right Wing (XRW) activity."<sup>357</sup> Pictures exhibit Mr. Goldsack promoting the far-right party's manifesto, and in 2011 he was listed as the party's "Scottish security adviser".<sup>358</sup>

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<sup>352</sup> Conor Matchett, "I'm not a racist' says councillor expelled from Conservative party over 'Islamophobic' comments", *The Lowestoft Journal*, August 2018. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.lowestoftjournal.co.uk/news/councillor-expelled-from-conservatives-over-islamophobic-comments-1-5634064>.

<sup>353</sup> "Suffolk and Waveney councillor suspended over allegations of an Islamophobic comment about Mayor of London Sadiq Khan", *East Anglian Daily Times*, June 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.eadt.co.uk/news/suffolk-waveney-lowestoft-conservative-party-investigation-stephen-ardley-1-5544898>.

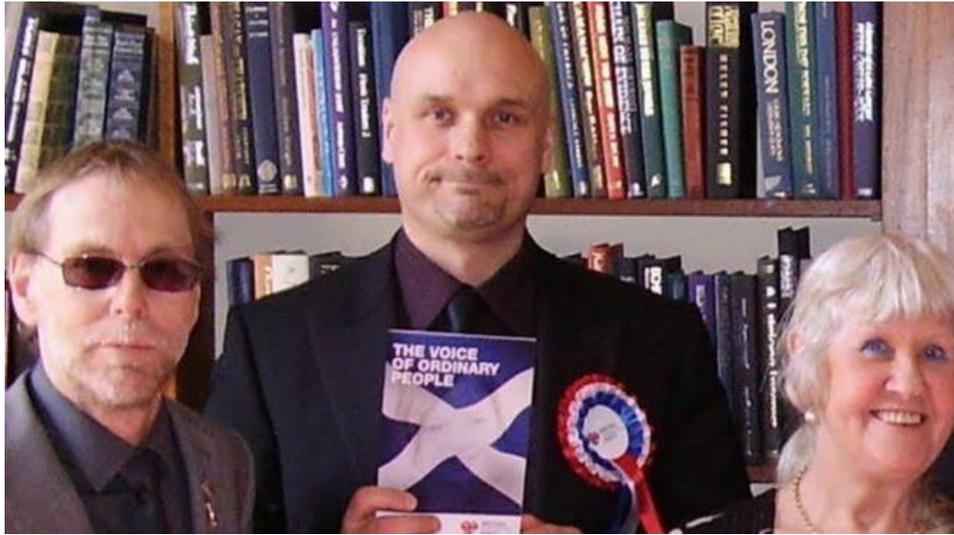
<sup>354</sup> "Councillor denies mosque row claim", *The Sunday Post (Dundee)*, Accessed 26<sup>th</sup> May 2018. <https://www.pressreader.com/>

<sup>355</sup> "Tory councillor expelled over BNP links", *BBC News*, May 2018. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-44223449>.

<sup>356</sup> "Tory councillor expelled over BNP links", *BBC News*, May 2018.

<sup>357</sup> Max Hill Q.C., "The Terrorism Acts in 2017: report of the independent reviewer of terrorism legislation on the operation of The Terrorism Acts 2000 and 2006, The Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures Act 2011, and The Terrorist Asset Freezing etc. Act 2010", October 2018. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. [https://terrorismlegislationreviewer.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/The\\_Terrorism\\_Acts\\_in\\_2017.pdf](https://terrorismlegislationreviewer.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/The_Terrorism_Acts_in_2017.pdf).

<sup>358</sup> "Tory councillor expelled over BNP links", *BBC News*, May 2018.



*Mr. Stephen Goldsack can be seen promoting BNP literature.<sup>359</sup>*

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<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

## List of Islamophobic Incidences by Conservative Candidates

The final section of this briefing examines Islamophobic incidences that were committed by candidates who have represented the Conservative Party.

### Afzal Amin, Council Candidate for Dudley North

*March 2015*

79. In March 2015, Mr. Afzal Amin was exposed to have been plotting with members of the EDL in an effort to gain votes. He reportedly attempted to secure an EDL demonstration against the building of a mosque; a demonstration that would be called off at the last minute, after which Mr. Amin could take credit for diffusing the situation. In return for their support of the scheme, Mr. Amin promised to be the EDL's "unshakeable ally" who would help bring their extreme views into the mainstream if elected.<sup>360</sup>

### Alexander van Terheyden, Council Candidate for Hoxton West Ward in Hackney

*April 2018*

80. Mr. Alexander van Terheyden was suspended after multiple Islamophobic posts were highlighted to the Hackney Conservative Party. In one post alone, Mr. Terheyden remarked that "the Crusaders were simply a response to Islam spreading through Europe by the sword" and "I'm thankful Jesus wasn't like Mohammad imagine how f\*\*\*\*\* up the world would be."<sup>361</sup> He also described Islam as a "A political ideology that was born out of violence and pushed upon the world with violence by a dishonest tyrant deserves as much criticism as it can get and hopefully in time people will see it for what it really is."<sup>362</sup> In the same post, he endorsed a piece from *The Gates of Vienna*, entitled "The Crusades: A Response to Islamic Aggression."<sup>363</sup> The website is a self-declared proponent of the counter-jihad movement that advocates the idea that "Christian Europe" and the West is "again" at war with Islam and that it must be resisted.<sup>364</sup>

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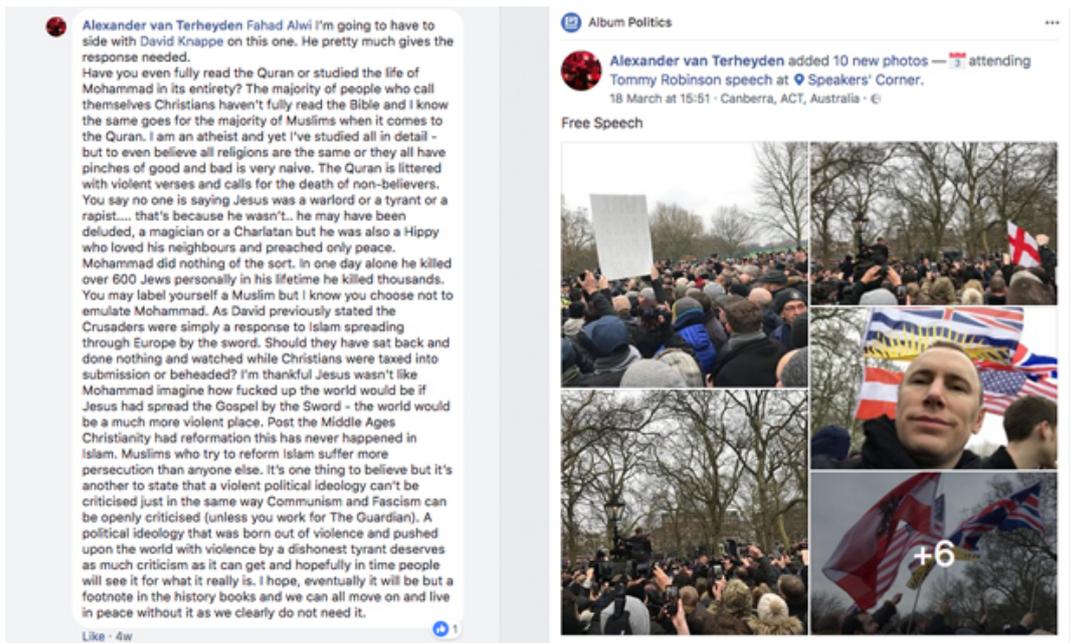
<sup>360</sup> Nick Craven and Ben Ellery, "Exposed: Star Tory candidate plotted with race thugs to stage fake EDL demo in cynical bid to win votes", *The Daily Mail*, March 2015. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3005845/Exposed-Star-Tory-candidate-plotted-race-thugs-stage-fake-EDL-demo-cynical-bid-win-votes.html>.

<sup>361</sup> Adam Barnett, "Tory candidate in Hoxton suspended for anti-Muslim posts on social media", *Hackney Citizen*, April 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.hackneycitizen.co.uk/2018/04/17/tory-candidate-hoxton-suspended-muslim-social-media/>.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid.

<sup>364</sup> *Gates of Vienna*. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://gatesofvienna.net/>.



*A post published by Alexander van Terheyden on Facebook.<sup>365</sup>*

## Charalampos Kagouras, Council Candidate for Charlestown Ward in Manchester City

*April 2019*

In April 2019, Mr. Charalampos Kagouras was dropped as the Conservative candidate in local elections after a series of Islamophobic social media posts emerged.<sup>366</sup> These included:

81. A tweet stating, "This is Britain. F\*\*\* Muslims, and their Mosques. Confiscate their British Passports. Non of them is worthy of them send them back starting from the mayor of London".<sup>367</sup>

<sup>365</sup> Adam Barnett, "Tory candidate in Hoxton suspended for anti-Muslim posts on social media", *Hacknew Citizen*, April 2018. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.hacknewcitizen.co.uk/2018/04/17/tory-candidate-hoxton-suspended-muslim-social-media/>.

<sup>366</sup> Jennifer Williams, "Tories drop Manchester election candidate who dubbed Curry Mile the "P\*\*\* Mile"", *Manchester Evening News*, April 2019. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/tories-drop-manchester-election-candidate-16204308>.

Figure 38. Jennifer Williams, "Tories drop Manchester election candidate who dubbed Curry Mile the "P\*\*\* Mile"", *Manchester Evening News*, April 2019. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/tories-drop-manchester-election-candidate-16204308>.

Figure 50. Ibid.

Figure 51. Ibid.

<sup>367</sup> Jennifer Williams, "Tories drop Manchester election candidate who dubbed Curry Mile the "P\*\*\* Mile"", *Manchester Evening News*, April 2019. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/tories-drop-manchester-election-candidate-16204308>.



*A tweet by Mr. Charalampos Kagouras.<sup>368</sup>*

82. Reference to Rusholme's "Curry Mile" as the "P\*\*\* mile" and a no-go area.<sup>369</sup>



*A tweet by Mr. Charalampos Kagouras.<sup>370</sup>*

83. A tweet reading, "How about teach the f\*\*\* Muslims how to get the f\*\*\* out of Europe before getting kicked out."<sup>371</sup>



*A tweet by Mr. Charalampos Kagouras.<sup>372</sup>*

84. In response to a post about Syrians living in Germany, Mr. Kagouras reportedly stated, "We allow it to happen. Now it is too late. We must prepare for religious war."<sup>373</sup>

85. He reportedly stated that, "by throwing out the white Europeans and the British whites not procreating you're losing the battle against Islam", and added that Brexit has "turned the British whites against the European whites", rather than "against the one and only enemy... the Islam".<sup>374</sup>

86. A tweet in which he described white people as the only and true Europeans.<sup>375</sup>

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<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid.

<sup>372</sup> Ibid.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.



*A tweet by Mr. Charalampos Kagouras.<sup>376</sup>*

87. Mr. Kagouras allegedly complained on Twitter that Muslim preachers were playing "ISIS" music on Market Street in Manchester.<sup>377</sup>

### **Colin Barton, Council Candidate for Bassetlaw Ward in Nottinghamshire**

*April 2019*

88. Mr. Colin Barton was expelled from the Conservative party days before the local elections in 2019 after he allegedly shared a picture of two women wearing the hijab kissing each other, accompanied by the caption: "How to get stoned without smoking weed."<sup>378</sup>
89. He is also reported to have shared a meme which linked the sexual exploitation of white girls with Labour seeking "Pakistani Muslim votes".<sup>379</sup>

### **Colin Raine, Council Candidate for Bishop Auckland Town Ward in Durham**

*October 2015*

90. Mr. Colin Raine shared a video on Facebook alongside the comment: "This is what being English and proud to be is all about..I wonder how many muslims even know about this song or know what it means to wear the rose or poppy."<sup>380</sup>

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.

<sup>377</sup> "Manchester Tory Candidate Dropped after Racist Tweets," BBC News, May 01, 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-manchester-48118410>.

<sup>378</sup> "Conservatives bar council candidates over Facebook posts", BBC News, April 2019. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-nottinghamshire-48062760>.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

<sup>380</sup> @MatesJacob, Twitter, April 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/matesjacob/status/1095769445639905281?lang=en>



*A Facebook post by Mr. Colin Raine.<sup>381</sup>*

*September 2017*

91. In reference to Islam, Mr. Raine remarked on Facebook that, “We need to stand up for our culture and history and stop pandering to an alien intolerant religion.”<sup>382</sup>



*A Facebook post by Mr. Colin Raine.<sup>383</sup>*

*November 2018*

92. In November 2018, Ms. Helen Goodman, MP, wrote to Mr. Brandon Lewis, MP, after Mr. Raine allegedly organised a far-right protest outside of her constituency office. Ms. Goodman asserted that the protest included members of the far-right group the Democratic Football Lads Alliance and an English Defence League splinter group called North East Infidels. She stated that, “My concern is not that people were exercising their right to protest in public: it is that a Conservative was lining up with the racist far-right, especially given that I receive representations from ethnic minority constituents who say they no longer feel safe.”<sup>384</sup>

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

<sup>382</sup> Rachel Wearmouth, “Tories failed to expel ‘Islamophobic’ member allegedly behind far-right protest at MP’s office”, The Huffington Post, March 2019. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. [https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/tories-failed-to-expel-member-who-organised-far-right-brexit-protest-outside-mps-office\\_uk\\_5c77e94be4b010e7c564913d?guccounter=2](https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/tories-failed-to-expel-member-who-organised-far-right-brexit-protest-outside-mps-office_uk_5c77e94be4b010e7c564913d?guccounter=2)

<sup>383</sup> Ibid.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid.



**HELEN GOODMAN MP**  
Standing up for all in the Bishop Auckland Constituency



The Rt Hon Brandon Lewis MP  
House of Commons  
London  
SW1A 0AA

06 November 2018

**Re: Far Right Extremism**

Ten years ago we ran a cross party campaign in Bishop Auckland constituency against racism and the BNP. Together with the churches and trade unions we succeeded in preventing them from taking any council seats.

I was therefore shocked to see that last Saturday – a member of the local Conservative association, former Conservative council candidate and admin on the Bishop Auckland Conservative Facebook page, Colin Raine had organised a demonstration together with the far right outside my office. The groups included Democratic Football Lads' Alliance (DFLA) - an anti-Muslim far right group; For Britain, North East Infidels - a far right EDL splinter group believed to have links to drugs and violence, and local far right activists members of 'Bishop Auckland Against Islam' which recently featured in an ITV documentary into the rise in the far right in my constituency.

I am enclosing photographs of a string of tweets and Facebook posts settling all this out.

My concern is not that people were exercising their right to protest in public: it is that a Conservative was lining up with the racist far right, especially given that I receive representations from ethnic minority constituents who say they no longer feel safe.

I would like to know if the Conservative party now sees itself as allied to Democratic Football Lads' Alliance, EDL and Bishop Auckland Against Islam and if not whether you will be expelling Mr Raine from the Conservative party.

Yours sincerely

Helen Goodman  
Member of Parliament for Bishop Auckland Constituency & Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs

*A letter sent by Ms. Helen Goodman, MP, to Mr. Brandon Lewis, MP,<sup>385</sup>*

*March 2019*

93. In March 2019, it emerged that the Conservative Party had failed to expel Mr. Raine from the party, despite the aforementioned instances and despite Facebook comments in Mr. Raine stated: "Aparantly these aggressive muzzies are always at Hyde Park Corner shouting down people being aggressive and use violence... nothing is done! Now they put down their mats on Easter Sunday just to provoke a reaction... nothing is done! I hope many patriotic Britts are there this Sunday to stop them doing it

<sup>385</sup> Ibid.

again".<sup>386</sup> He later commented "But if it's a fight they want I feel they will soon get one".<sup>387</sup> Regarding Muslims praying as an act of provocation and an excuse for violent confrontation is concerning and reinforces the notion that even when Muslims are engaged in peaceful worship they are still a 'threat'.



A Facebook post by Mr. Colin Raine.<sup>388</sup>

## Darren Harrison, Council Candidate for Tudor Ward in Watford

April 2018

Mr. Darren Harrison was suspended from the Conservative Party after it was alleged that he was a supporter of a variety of far-right, Islamophobic, and racist organisations, including:

94. The pan-European white supremacist organisation, Generation Identity,<sup>389</sup> which is known to be a highly Islamophobic organisation,<sup>390</sup>
95. Ms. Lucy Brown, a vlogger and camera operator Tommy Robinson.<sup>391</sup> Ms. Brown also used to work at Canadian alt-right publisher *Rebel Media*, which has also employed both Tommy Robinson and Katie Hopkins.<sup>392</sup>
96. Mr. Tommy Robinson, whom Mr. Harrison appears to believe was removed from Twitter for speaking the "truth".<sup>393</sup> In fact it is worth noting that in March 2018,

<sup>386</sup> Ibid.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

<sup>389</sup> Anne Perkins, "Tory Suspended over Alleged Links to EDL and White Supremacists," *The Guardian*, April 21, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/apr/20/tory-candidate-banned-for-links-with-edl-and-white-supremacists>.

<sup>390</sup> J. Lester Feder and Zorro Maplestone, "The far-right group the Christchurch suspect donated to held an anti-immigrant protest in France. Now it's facing new calls to be banned", *Buzzfeed News*, March 2019. Accessed: 15<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/lesterfeder/generation-identity-europe-christchurch-attack>.

<sup>391</sup> Simon Childs, "VICE Exclusive: The Tory Council Candidate Who Supports Far-Right Extremists", *Vice*, April 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. [https://www.vice.com/en\\_uk/article/ne9m9d/vice-exclusive-the-tory-council-candidate-who-supports-far-right-extremists](https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/ne9m9d/vice-exclusive-the-tory-council-candidate-who-supports-far-right-extremists).

<sup>392</sup> Ruddick, Graham. "Katie Hopkins Joins Far-right Canadian Website Rebel Media." *The Guardian*. January 03, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/jan/03/katie-hopkins-joins-far-right-canadian-website-rebel-media>.

<sup>393</sup> Simon Childs, "VICE Exclusive: The Tory Council Candidate Who Supports Far-Right Extremists", *Vice*, April 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. [https://www.vice.com/en\\_uk/article/ne9m9d/vice-exclusive-the-tory-council-candidate-who-supports-far-right-extremists](https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/ne9m9d/vice-exclusive-the-tory-council-candidate-who-supports-far-right-extremists).

Tommy Robinson was permanently banned from Twitter for falling foul of rules governing “hateful conduct”.<sup>394</sup>



*A tweet by Mr. Harrison.*<sup>395</sup>

## David Abbott, Council Candidate for Houghton Regis Town Council

*March 2019*

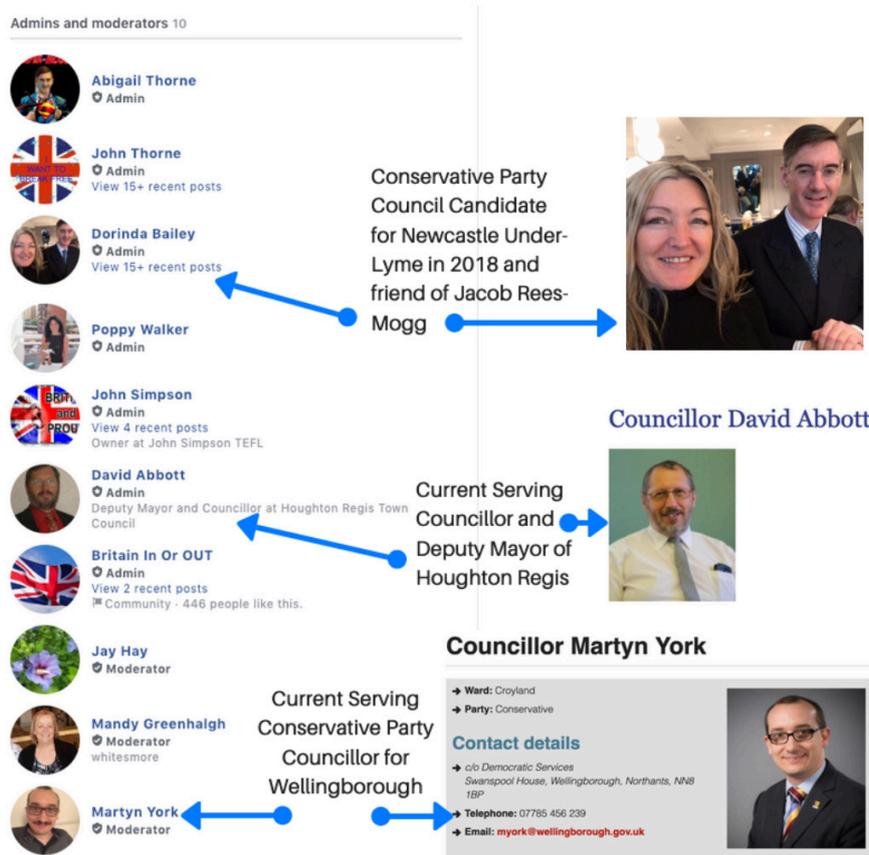
97. In March 2019, it was discovered that Mr. David Abbott was a moderator of the Facebook group, *Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group*.<sup>396</sup> Members of the group frequently use derogatory terms against Muslims and other ethnic minority community members, including referring to Muslims as “ragheads” and calling immigrants “cockroaches”. One such comment called the Mayor of London, Mr. Sadiq Khan, a “conniving little muzrat”, while another suggested that Muslim Labour MP Naz Shah “p\*\*\* off to [her] own country”<sup>397</sup> (Ms. Shah was born in Bradford, so it is unclear where exactly they demanded she go).

<sup>394</sup> Kevin Rawlinson, “Tommy Robinson Permanently Banned by Twitter,” *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, March 28, 2018), <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2018/mar/28/tommy-robinson-permanently-banned-twitter-violating-rules-hateful-conduct>

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>396</sup> Tom Rogers, “EXCL: TORY POLITICIANS ARE RUNNING A VILE FACEBOOK GROUP WHERE MEMBERS JOKE ABOUT BOMBING MOSQUES AND SHOOTING IMMIGRANTS,” *Evolve Politics*, March 1, 2019, <https://evolvepolitics.com/excl-tory-politicians-are-running-a-vile-facebook-group-where-members-joke-about-bombing-mosques-and-shooting-immigrants/>.

<sup>397</sup> Shehab Khan, “Tory councillor suspended over Islamophobic comments about bombing mosques made in Facebook group he moderates,” *The Independent*, March 2019. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/tory-islamophobia-councillor-mosque-facebook-martyn-york-a8804486.html>.



*Admins and moderators of the Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group.<sup>398</sup>*

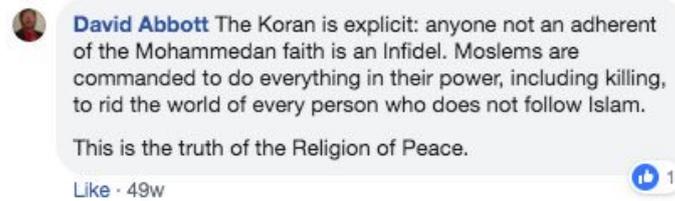
*April 2019*

In April 2019, Mr. David Abbott was suspended from the Conservative Party after it emerged that, in addition to his role in the *Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group*, he had authored a series of Islamophobic Facebook posts. These posts included:

98. A post which read: "the Koran is explicit: anyone not an adherent of the Mohammedan faith is an Infidel. Moslems are commanded to do everything in their power, including killing, to rid the world of every person who does not follow Islam. This is the truth of the Religion of Peace."<sup>399</sup>

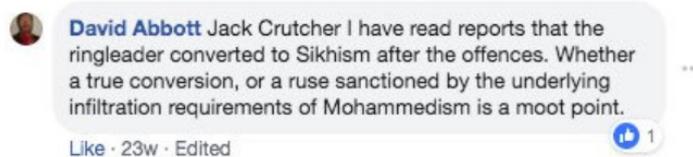
<sup>398</sup> Tom Rogers, "EXCL: TORY POLITICIANS ARE RUNNING A VILE FACEBOOK GROUP WHERE MEMBERS JOKE ABOUT BOMBING MOSQUES AND SHOOTING IMMIGRANTS," *Evolve Politics*, March 1, 2019, <https://evolvepolitics.com/excl-tory-politicians-are-running-a-vile-facebook-group-where-members-joke-about-bombing-mosques-and-shooting-immigrants/>.

<sup>399</sup> Chloe Chaplain, "Conservative council candidate David Abbott latest party member suspended over Islamophobic posts", *iNews*, April 2019. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://inews.co.uk/news/politics/conservative-council-candidate-david-abbott-is-latest-party-member-suspended-over-islamophobic-posts/>.



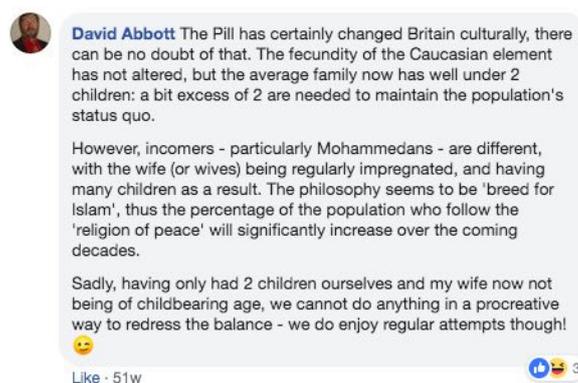
*A Facebook post by Mr. David Abbott.<sup>400</sup>*

99. A post referring to the “underlying infiltration requirements of Mohammedism”.<sup>401</sup>



*A Facebook post by Mr. David Abbott.<sup>402</sup>*

100. Another read: "The philosophy seems to be 'breed for Islam', thus the percentage of the population who follow the 'religion of peace' will significantly increase".<sup>403</sup>



*A Facebook post by Mr. David Abbott.<sup>404</sup>*

101. It appears that, throughout these posts, his use of the term “Mohammedans” is a product of malice after another user suggested that Muslims do not like the word.<sup>405</sup> Reference to the “Mohammedan” faith is seen by some Muslims as an archaic offensive term since it implies the worship of the Prophet Mohammed (upon whom be peace) rather than Allah.

<sup>400</sup> @MatesJacob, Twitter, April 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob/status/1115524223630495744>.

<sup>401</sup> Chloe Chaplain, “Conservative council candidate David Abbott latest party member suspended over Islamophobic posts”, *iNews*, April 2019. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://inews.co.uk/news/politics/conservative-council-candidate-david-abbott-is-latest-party-member-suspended-over-islamophobic-posts/>.

<sup>402</sup> @MatesJacob, Twitter, April 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob/status/1115524237668880386>.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>404</sup> @MatesJacob, Twitter, April 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob/status/1115524237668880386>.

<sup>405</sup> Chloe Chaplain, “Conservative council candidate David Abbott latest party member suspended over Islamophobic posts”, *iNews*, April 2019. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://inews.co.uk/news/politics/conservative-council-candidate-david-abbott-is-latest-party-member-suspended-over-islamophobic-posts/>.



*A Facebook post by Mr. David Abbott.*<sup>406</sup>

## David Bishop, Council Candidate for Brentwood South Ward in Brentwood

*May 2014*

In May 2014, Mr. David Bishop resigned from the Conservative Party after a series of social media posts came to light. These included:

102. A tweet reportedly claiming that, “It’s good to be anti-Islam.”<sup>407</sup>
103. A tweet stating, “Islam ‘the religion of peace’ & rape” connected to a story regarding Muslim men being arrested for the rape of a young girl.<sup>408</sup>

## David Boston, Council Candidate for Turkey Street Ward in Enfield

*February 2018*

104. Mr. David Boston used his Facebook account to post a picture of bacon hanging on a door handle as a way to “protect your house from terrorism.”<sup>409</sup> He was subsequently suspended by the Conservative party.<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> @MatesJacob, Twitter, April 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://twitter.com/MatesJacob/status/1115524247961649152>

<sup>407</sup> Press Association, “Tory council candidate quits after anti-Islam and homophobic comments”, *The Guardian*, May 2014. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/may/04/tory-council-candidate-quits-anti-islam-homophobic-comments>.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid.

<sup>409</sup> Zoe Drewett, “Tory candidate suspended for photo of bacon on door handle to ‘protect your house from terrorism’”, *Metro*, May 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://metro.co.uk/2018/05/02/tory-candidate-suspended-photo-bacon-door-handle-protect-house-terrorism-7515271/>.

<sup>410</sup> Eleanor Sharples, “Tory candidate suspended for ‘deep-seated racist’ Facebook post of bacon on door handle to ‘protect your house from terrorism’”, *Mirror*, May 2018. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/tory-candidate-suspended-islamophobic-post-12461046>.



*A Facebook post shared by Mr. David Boston.<sup>411</sup>*

## **David Pulman, Council Candidate for Tudor & Vigo Ward in Yateley Town**

*April 2019*

Mr. David Pulman was suspended from the Conservative Party after several inappropriate social media comments were uncovered.<sup>412</sup> These included:

105. A post stating that, "I guess people will stop being afraid of Islam (which is what it means) when the Islamic radicals stop beheading Christians, throwing homosexuals to their deaths from high buildings, beating women for disobeying their husbands, stoning to death the wife of a man who has committed adultery and generally trying to kill all non-Muslims and take over Christian countries? Islamophobia is perhaps not surprising?"<sup>413</sup>

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<sup>411</sup> Eleanor Sharples, "Tory candidate suspended for 'deep-seated racist' Facebook post of bacon on door handle to 'protect your house from terrorism'", *Mirror*, May 2018. Accessed: 6<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/tory-candidate-suspended-islamophobic-post-12461046>.

<sup>412</sup> Simon Murphy, "Tory candidates suspended over racist and inflammatory posts", *The Guardian*, April 2019. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/apr/25/tory-candidates-suspended-over-racist-and-inflammatory-posts>.

<sup>413</sup> Simon Murphy, "Tory candidates suspended over racist and inflammatory posts", *The Guardian*, April 2019. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/apr/25/tory-candidates-suspended-over-racist-and-inflammatory-posts>.



**David Pulman** I guess people will stop being afraid of Islam (which is what it means) when the Islamic radicals stop beheading Christians, throwing homosexuals to their deaths from high buildings, beating women for disobeying their husbands, stoning to death the wife of a man who has committed adultery and generally trying to kill all non Muslims and take over Christian Countries? Islamophobia is perhaps not surprising?

Like · 2y

*A Facebook post by Mr. David Pulman.<sup>414</sup>*

106. Mr. Pulman was also discovered to have endorsed a blogpost about the “destruction of the white race” which claimed that “non-white ‘migrants’ from Africa and the Middle East” were “flooding” Europe “disguised as so-called ‘refugees’”. The post concluded that the migration was a “well aimed settlement of non-white races into Europe and North America in order to enforce miscegenation [mixing of racial groups]”. In response to the blogpost, Mr. Pulman allegedly replied: “Yes, known this for some time. About time everyone knew the facts!”<sup>415</sup>

## **Dorinda Bailey, Council Candidate for Bradwell Ward in Newcastle-under-Lyme**

*March 2019*

107. In March 2019, it was discovered that Ms. Dorinda Bailey was an administrator of the previously mentioned Facebook group, *Boris Johnson: Supporters’ Group*.<sup>416</sup> Members of the group frequently use derogatory terms against Muslims and other ethnic minority community members.<sup>417</sup>
108. Ms. Bailey shared a post on the *Boris Johnson: Supporters’ Group* which called for the closing of mosques. A subsequent comment advocated for the bombing of mosques, “bomb the f\*\*\*\*\*g lot”, it was discovered that Ms. Bailey replied with: “I agree. But any chance you could edit your comment please. No swearing policy on group. Thanks”.<sup>418</sup>

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<sup>414</sup> Ibid.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid.

<sup>416</sup> Tom Rogers, “EXCL: TORY POLITICIANS ARE RUNNING A VILE FACEBOOK GROUP WHERE MEMBERS JOKE ABOUT BOMBING MOSQUES AND SHOOTING IMMIGRANTS,” *Evolve Politics*, March 1, 2019, <https://evolvepolitics.com/excl-tory-politicians-are-running-a-vile-facebook-group-where-members-joke-about-bombing-mosques-and-shooting-immigrants/>.

<sup>417</sup> Shehab Khan, “Tory councillor suspended over Islamophobic comments about bombing mosques made in Facebook group he moderates”, *The Independent*, March 2019. Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2019. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/tory-islamophobia-councillor-mosque-facebook-martyr-york-a8804486.html>.

<sup>418</sup> “Conservative Council Candidate in Facebook Race Row,” *TalkRADIO*, March 1, 2019, <https://talkradio.co.uk/news/conservative-council-candidate-facebook-race-row-19030130091>.

 **Dorinda Bailey** shared a post to the group: Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group. 19 January · 🌐



**Dorinda Bailey**  
19 January

👍❤️ 209

61 comments 60 shares

👍 Like

💬 Comment

➦ Share



**Dennis Thorpe** Bomb the fucking lot 🇺🇸 3

Like · Reply · 5w



**Dorinda Bailey** 🗨️ **Dennis Thorpe**

I agree

But any chance you could edit your comment please.  
No swearing policy on group

Thanks

Like · Reply · 5w



**Mark Gardner** All mosques should be closed down. 🇺🇸 13

Like · Reply · 5w



**Dorinda Bailey** 🗨️ **Mark Gardner**

Give me a break, I've got to start somewhere 🇺🇸 🤔 2

Like · Reply · 5w



**Mark Gardner** **Dorinda Bailey** lol well start as we mean to go on. 🇺🇸 3

Like · Reply · 5w

*A Facebook post on the Boris Johnson: Supporters' Group with Ms. Bailey's response.<sup>419</sup>*

<sup>419</sup> @MattTurner4L, Twitter, March 2019. Accessed: 16th March 2019. <https://twitter.com/MattTurner4L/status/1101510866581770242>.

## Evan Woolcock, Council Candidate for Portishead West Ward in North Somerset

April 2019

109. In 2019, Mr. Evan Woolcock was suspended following the discovery of a series of Islamophobic tweets.<sup>420</sup> These reportedly included comments such as "Submit or resist, that's the only choices Islam presents"; descriptions of Islam a "stone age death cult"; suggestions that Islam is "not compatible with our values"; and assertions that "if our concerns about Islam aren't addressed by mainstream politicians, then a less savoury element will address them."<sup>421</sup>



*A Tweet by Mr. Evan Woolcock.<sup>422</sup>*

## George McIntyre, Council Candidate for Bonnyrigg Ward in Midlothian

March 2017

110. Charges of Islamophobia were levied against Mr. George McIntyre, who stood as a Conservative candidate for the Bonnyrigg and Lasswade ward in 2017. In one Facebook post, Mr. McIntyre said that he was "sickened to the core" by the "whinging Muslims", and said that those who complain should "go and live in a Muslim country." He concluded his diatribe by saying "its time for our councillors to man up and tell them to sod off. whinge over".<sup>423</sup>

<sup>420</sup> "Prospective councillor suspended over Islamophobic tweets", *BBC News*, April 2019. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-48027000>.

<sup>421</sup> Kate Wilson and Amanda Cameron, "Tory Candidate Allegedly Posted Islamophobic Tweets," *BristolLive*, April 24, 2019, <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/evan-woolcock-portishead-islamophobic-tweets-2794376>.

<sup>422</sup> "Prospective councillor suspended over Islamophobic tweets", *BBC News*, April 2019. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-48027000>.

<sup>423</sup> Andy Shipley, "Midlothian Tory candidate suspended over anti-Muslim rant", *Edinburgh Evening News*, March 2017. Accessed: 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. [https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/our-region/midlothian-tory-candidate-suspended-over-anti-muslim-rant-1-4388995?fbclid=IwAR0QPXts22yhUg\\_X1yo5lsOdu897AoOWj9z7vL7PbGxHt\\_B2L1iBzxn6Y](https://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/our-region/midlothian-tory-candidate-suspended-over-anti-muslim-rant-1-4388995?fbclid=IwAR0QPXts22yhUg_X1yo5lsOdu897AoOWj9z7vL7PbGxHt_B2L1iBzxn6Y).



George McIntyre

October 4, 2013 · 🌐

Sickened to the core! The entire City of Glasgow childrens flu innoculations were halted because a handful of Muslims were whinging about the fact there was geletine in the mix and they can't take it!!! Well don't frigging take it then and shut your whinging mouths, no wonder people get sick to the back teeth of you!. If you are that way minded go and live in a Muslim country where you do not get any free preventive medication, oh but you won't do that will you..... ungrateful baskets I'm sick to the back teeth with them. Its time for our councillors to man up and tell them to sod off. whinge over

*A post by Mr. George McIntyre.<sup>424</sup>*

The post was in response to the delay in the delivery of a vaccine that contained gelatine amid concerns from the Muslim community that it contained pork products. Under both Islam and Judaism, pork is forbidden. The prerogative for Muslims and Jews to object to gelatine containing vaccines is protected under UK legislation, including the Human Rights Act, 1998, which protects the manifestation of religious belief.<sup>425</sup>

Despite this comment being online since 2013, Mr McIntyre still passed the vetting procedures to stand as a conservative candidate. While initially being suspended for his views, Mr. McIntyre was still actively involved with the Conservative Party campaigns, including that of senior Conservative frontbencher, Mr. Miles Briggs, in 2018.<sup>426</sup>

## Ivan Lyons, Council Candidate for Westbourne Ward in Brighton & Hove

*March 2016*

Mr. Ivan Lyons resigned from the Conservative Party following his posting of a series of Islamophobic jokes on social media.<sup>427</sup> These included:

111. A distasteful joke about a terrifying and dangerous journey which concluded with: "The train and surrounding streets were full of Muslims, angry bearded types glared at us, the wife stood out in her brightly coloured sun-dress, as all the local women were draped in black, head to toe, in burqas... Just then, Jim our group leader ushered us off the train and round the corner from Hounslow Station".<sup>428</sup>

<sup>424</sup> David Clegg, "Shut your whinging mouths' Scottish Tory candidate suspended over anti-Muslim rant", *Daily Record*, March 2017. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/shut-your-whinging-mouths-scottish-10000181>.

<sup>425</sup> "Human Rights Act 1998", *Legislation.gov*. Accessed: 7<sup>th</sup> June 2019. <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/42/contents>.

<sup>426</sup> Andy Philip, "Senior Tory Miles Briggs caught chapping doors with banned bigots", *Daily Record*, February 2018. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/politics/senior-tory-miles-briggs-caught-12010553>.

<sup>427</sup> Jo Wadsworth, "Hove Tory candidate quits over 'Islamophobic' jokes", *Brighton & Hove News*, March 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> March 2019. <https://www.brightonandhove.news.org/2019/03/28/hove-tory-candidate-quits-over-islamophobic-jokes/>.

<sup>428</sup> Jo Wadsworth, "Hove Tory candidate quits over 'Islamophobic' jokes", *Brighton & Hove News*, March 2019. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> March 2019. <https://www.brightonandhove.news.org/2019/03/28/hove-tory-candidate-quits-over-islamophobic-jokes/>.



*A Facebook post by Mr. Ivan Lyons.<sup>429</sup>*

112. Another post involved telling a suicidal Muslim man to “stay on the line” when calling the Samaritans from a railway track.<sup>430</sup>



*A Facebook post by Mr. Ivan Lyons.<sup>431</sup>*

## **Karen Sunderland, Council Candidate for Crofton Park Ward in Lewisham**

*November 2017*

113. On Twitter, Ms. Sunderland stated: “Well how else do you expect to deal with this!? Parents will simply bang on about Islam & their rights blah blah blah. It confuses me so much why people with these views live in the West”.<sup>432</sup>

*December 2017*

114. Ms Sunderland tweeted: “Love your optimism. The thing is, religion undermines the hard fought for values and tolerances of progressed countries...supresses free speech and is auto immune from criticism. This is toxic and

<sup>429</sup> Ibid.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid.

<sup>432</sup> Alex Finnis, “Tory council candidate Karen Sunderland suspended for ‘Islamophobic’ tweets comparing Islam to Nazism”, *iNews*, May 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://inews.co.uk/news/politics/karen-sunderland-conservative-suspended-islam/>.

where the hostility comes from. Religion is totalitarian. Islam has become the new Nazism".<sup>433</sup>



*A tweet by Ms. Karen Sunderland.<sup>434</sup>*



*Tweets by Ms. Karen Sunderland.<sup>435</sup>*

<sup>433</sup> Adam Smith, "Tory candidate suspended after comparing Muslims to Nazis", *Metro*, May 2018. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://metro.co.uk/2018/05/01/tory-candidate-suspended-after-comparing-muslims-to-nazis-7513872/>.

<sup>434</sup> Adam Smith, "Tory candidate suspended after comparing Muslims to Nazis", *Metro*, May 2018. Accessed: 16<sup>th</sup> May 2019. <https://metro.co.uk/2018/05/01/tory-candidate-suspended-after-comparing-muslims-to-nazis-7513872/>.

<sup>435</sup> Alex Finnis, "Tory council candidate Karen Sunderland suspended for 'Islamophobic' tweets comparing Islam to Nazism", *iNews*, May 2018. Accessed: 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2019. <https://inews.co.uk/news/politics/karen-sunderland-conservative-suspended-islam/>.

## Ken MacBrayne, Council Candidate for Benbecula and North Uist

*April 2017*

115. In 2017, Mr. Ken MacBrayne was suspended for a variety of offensive social media posts.<sup>436</sup> These were reported to have included dozens of posts shared from the far-right group Britain First, one of which allegedly featured a video claiming Europe was “heading for civil war” and for “European resistance groups [to] start a Christian fightback” against Muslims.<sup>437</sup>

## Laurel Ellis, Council Candidate for Gurnos Ward in Merthyr Tydfil

*July 2018*

In July 2018, Ms. Laurel Ellis was suspended after a series of Islamophobic Facebook posts. These posts were reported to have included:

116. A post suggesting Britain was tolerant "until... Muslims marched".<sup>438</sup>
117. A post entitled "Sharia May", which included a photo-shopped image of Theresa May wearing Muslim religious dress.<sup>439</sup>
118. A post sent in response to the Conservative leadership campaign in 2016, in which Ms. Ellis said: "Theresa May is a front runner really? A leader that supports Islam and is happy to have Sharia Law in our country?"<sup>440</sup>

## Nicholas Sundin, Council Candidate for Ouseburn Ward in Newcastle Upon Tyne

*April 2018*

119. Mr. Nicholas Sundin made a series of Islamophobic statements before he was eventually suspended in April 2018.<sup>441</sup> Interestingly, he was previously a member of UKIP before standing as a Conservative councillor candidate. In one tweet, he said: “With a packet of sweets and a cheeky smile, Mohammed is a f\*\*\*\*\* paedophile.”<sup>442</sup> In another, he said: “#Allah #WhatAC\*\*\*.”<sup>443</sup> It is again concerning the Conservative vetting procedures failed to highlight and defend against political backgrounds within far-right Islamophobic parties.

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<sup>436</sup> Andrew Learmonth, "Scottish Tories Engulfed in Racism Scandal with at Least Seven Council Candidates Now in the Spotlight," *The National*, April 15, 2017, <https://www.thenational.scot/news/15226300.scottish-tories-engulfed-in-racism-scandal-with-at-least-seven-council-candidates-now-in-the-spotlight/>.

<sup>437</sup> "Ken MacBrayne Becomes Third Tory Council Candidate Binned over Anti-muslim Remarks," *CommonSpace*, April 18, 2017, <https://www.commonspace.scot/articles/10779/ken-macbrayne-becomes-third-tory-council-candidate-binned-over-anti-muslim-remarks>.

<sup>438</sup> David Deans, "Tory candidate suspended after 'Islamophobic' Facebook posts", *BBC News*, July 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-politics-44715525>.

<sup>439</sup> Ibid.

<sup>440</sup> Ibid.

<sup>441</sup> Ian Johnson, "Tory candidate suspended over tweets calling prophet Mohammed a 'paedophile'", *Chronicle Live*, April 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.chroniclelive.co.uk/news/north-east-news/tory-candidate-suspended-over-tweets-14584463>.

<sup>442</sup> Ian Johnson, "Tory candidate suspended over tweets calling prophet Mohammed a 'paedophile'", *Chronicle Live*, April 2018. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.chroniclelive.co.uk/news/north-east-news/tory-candidate-suspended-over-tweets-14584463>.

<sup>443</sup> Ibid.

## Peter Lamb, Council Candidate for Staple Tye Ward in Harlow District

March 2019

Mr. Peter Lamb resigned from the Conservative party following disciplining by the party in response to Islamophobic tweets. These allegedly included:

120. A post from 2015 stating that: "Islam [is] like alcoholism. The first step to recovery is admit you have a problem".<sup>444</sup>

## Roxana Iancu, Council Candidate for Govan Ward in Glasgow

March 2017

In March 2017, Ms. Roxana Iancu was suspended for inappropriate activity on social media platforms. These allegedly included:

121. A reported post in response to the Nice attacks that argued that the French had "brought this on themselves", adding that "they supported the Muslims."<sup>445</sup>
122. She also allegedly argued that Syrian refugees "deserved" what had happened to them and wrote: "Karma can be a real bitch."<sup>446</sup>
123. In other reports, she is accused of calling for German Chancellor Angela Merkel to be hanged for her pro-Islam politics.<sup>447</sup>

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<sup>444</sup> "Theresa May's 'head in sand' over Tory Islamophobia, says Warsi", *BBC News*, March 2019. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-47454993>.

<sup>445</sup> Andrew Learmonth, "VILE HATE BLOG Wannabe Tory politician binned after blaming Nice truck attack on French authorities", *The Scottish Sun*, March 2017. Accessed: 1<sup>st</sup> May 2019. <https://www.thescottishsun.co.uk/uncategorized/745900/wannabe-tory-politician-binned-after-blaming-nice-truck-attack-on-french-authorities-in-hate-filled-blog/>.

<sup>446</sup> Ibid.

<sup>447</sup> Andrew Learmonth, "Scottish Tories Engulfed in Racism Scandal with at Least Seven Council Candidates Now in the Spotlight," *The National*, April 15, 2017, <https://www.thenational.scot/news/15226300.scottish-tories-engulfed-in-racism-scandal-with-at-least-seven-council-candidates-now-in-the-spotlight/>.

## Appendix:

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### MEND's Policy Model to Tackle Islamophobia

To solve a society-wide problem, a combination of legislative change, Government and industry initiatives, Muslim community empowerment, and wider community engagement is required. As such, MEND humbly proposes the following initiatives and policy changes to tackle the causes, driving forces, and impacts of Islamophobia.

#### Legislative Changes:

**Press regulation:** We call on policymakers to commit to the full implementation of the Royal Charter on press regulation and the commencement of the second part of the Leveson Inquiry, including an investigation into the prevalence of Islamophobia within the media.

**Counter-terrorism legislation:** While the agreed independent review of PREVENT is a significant development, the Government must commit to independently reviewing all counter-terrorism legislation enacted since 2000 with a view to curbing the encroachment of counter-terrorism policies on civil liberties.

**Incitement to religious hatred legislation:** Considering the disparities between the protections afforded for racial and religious hatred, it is essential to review the 2006 Racial and Religious Hatred Act with a view to strengthening legal protection afforded to religion and equalise it with those granted to race.

**Primary legislation to deal with social media offences and online hate speech:** The Government should consider primary legislation to deal with social media offences and work with social media companies to protect free speech while developing an efficient strategy to tackle online hate speech.

#### Government and Industry Initiatives:

**Racial and religious equality:** In the context of current Brexit negotiations, attention needs to be given to supporting the principles of the EU Equal Treatment Directive to advance protection against discrimination on the grounds of religion to education, healthcare, housing, access to goods and services and social protection, within UK law post-Brexit.

**Employment:** The barriers to Muslim economic empowerment is an area that needs to be tackled by both governmental and industry initiatives designed to address religious, racial and gendered discrimination in the workplace through targeted interventions at all stages of recruitment, retention and promotion, including through the use of name-blind applications.

**Media and broadcasting:** There needs to be an emphasis on promoting positive and normalised images of Muslims within media and broadcasting. It is also essential that support is given to educative and industry initiatives designed to attract Muslim and BAME individuals into the spheres of journalism and broadcasting.

**Public exclusion:** Public figures must show greater maturity and responsibility when discussing integration debates and take care not to cause hysteria for the sake of political popularity and agendas. Meanwhile, especially considering the unclear status of Human Rights commitments within Brexit negotiations, we must ensure that the tenants of the

European Convention on Human Rights and the Human Rights Act are preserved within UK law post-Brexit.

**Crime and policing:** Areas in need of government support include:

- Tackling the high number of Muslim prisoners through schemes to facilitate rehabilitation, cut re-offending and develop pathways for social inclusion.
- Launching research into the underlying reasons for the disproportionately high numbers of Muslim prisoners, including issues of socio-economic deprivation and structural issues within the judicial system.
- Supporting educative and industry initiatives to attract BAME individuals into the police force.

### **Muslim Community Empowerment:**

The Government's current disengagement policy is a clear barrier to British Muslim's participation in social and political life. It is therefore essential that the Government mends its broken relationship with Muslim communities by committing to engaging with and listening to a broader spectrum of representative Muslim grassroots organisations, such as MEND and MCB.

Muslims themselves have a responsibility to ensure that they are engaging with processes of democracy to overcome the challenges they face. As such, there are a number of ways in which British Muslim communities may be empowered to play their full role as civic actors. Strategies to achieve this include:

- Supporting educative and industry initiatives designed to attract Muslims and BAME individuals into the spheres of politics, civil service, media, and broadcasting.
- Placing greater emphasis on educational programs aimed at empowering minority communities to be actively engaged within politics and media.
- Encouraging grassroots and community-led movements to overcome barriers to reporting hate crime and encourage maximum reporting of Islamophobic incidents to the police.

### **Wider Community Engagement:**

Islamophobia, like all forms of hatred, is an issue of social justice, and therefore, it is inherent upon every member of society to contribute towards ending it. As such, there are certain areas than MEND feels should be addressed:

- Promoting greater awareness of Islam.
- Promoting greater inter-community engagement.
- Prioritising PSHE and PSRE in the national curriculum to prepare young people for life in a diverse and pluralistic society.
- Developing training programmes and resources for teachers focussed on tackling bullying based on race, religion, disability or sexuality.

- Developing teaching materials to educate young people on the dangers of Islamophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia and other forms of hatred.
- Supporting community and school-led programmes that encourage cultural exchange between pupils of different racial, religious, ethnic and other backgrounds.
- Supporting academic freedoms and initiatives to decolonise education, whilst giving greater emphasis within the national curriculum to shared histories and the contributions of minority communities in building our society.



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