

Islamic Radicalism in Britain

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Abstract

The paper explores some of the reasons behind the rise in Islamic radicalism in the United Kingdom. The author seeks to suggest some ideas as to how the government and British society best deal with this worrying trend.

Dame Eliza Manningham-Buller announcement that the British security services are stretched to the limit in dealing with Islamic terror plots emphasised the great challenge of combating Islamist¹ militancy in the UK. Dame Manningham-Buller, the head of MI5, claimed that her organisation has identified 200 terrorist networks involving at least 1,600 people and 30 “Priority 1” plots to kill. It followed a statement by a senior Foreign Office counter-terrorism expert who when asked if al-Qa’ida was seeking nuclear technology to attack the West and Britain replied “No doubt at all... We know the aspiration is there, we know the attempt to get material is there, we know the attempt to get technology is there.”² Sir Ian Blair, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, commenting on the transatlantic airline bomb plot stated that “the apparent speed with which young, reasonably affluent, some reasonably well educated British-born people” became not only radicalise but also willing to commit mass murders through suicide attacks in worrying.³ Significantly Manningham-Buller made it clear

that due to the nature of al-Qa'ida, the challenge faced by the security forces is substantial as seen with the Barot case, where the plot maybe forged in one part of the globe, approved in another and executed somewhere else.⁴ Overall, it is apparent that Britain is a key target of Islamic terrorism.⁵ Consequently, there has been a call to toughen up anti-terrorism laws,⁶ a move likely to be resisted by civil libertarians and Muslims already claiming that Britain has far too stringent anti-terrorism measures. The paper aims to explore the challenges faced by British Muslim, provide some ideas as to why young British Muslims feel alienated from mainstream British society and suggest some possible solutions to deal with growing British-based Islamic militancy. The paper accepts that British involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan has fuelled tensions in British society but ultimately if it was not Iraq and Afghanistan, Islamists would find another cause – Palestine, Kashmir, Chechnya or any other place which Islamists feel that their brethren are persecuted – as *cause bellie* in the their quest for the promised caliphate. Ultimately, the problem lies with the Islamists message which appears to appeal to young British Muslims and it is that on which the British government and community leaders need to focus on.

The Quandary Faced by British Muslim

The increasing number of stories of alleged terror plots and Islamist activity in the UK suggests that British Muslim youths are turning away from mainstream British society and engage in Islamic militancy. A number of reasons have been provided to the reasons behind this shift ranging from the challenges of modernity, Islamophobia and allegations that Britain is assisting in a 'war against Islam'. There is also a sense that Muslim concerns are ignored by those in authority.

The Muslim Community view of Current Situation in Britain

There is a growing feeling amongst British Muslims, particularly the young that their community and their religion are under a dual attack from the 'West': on the one they claim

that Islam is castigated in British society, while externally, they hold that the international western community in which Britain plays an important is engaged in a war against Islam.⁷

The tension emerges is the result of the Muslim community feeling that it is widely discriminated against, and that is portrayed by mainstream British society and politicians as a 'problem community', leading one senior British Muslim leader to compare the pressures faced by the Muslim community in Britain to that of the Jewish community under Nazi Germany.⁸ The Muslim Council of Britain has declared that "Recent years have seen the characterisation of British Muslims as a 'problem community' in much of the media and through statements made by Government and police officials. These have contributed to a growing anti-Muslim climate in the UK."⁹ Muslim leaders use for example Jack Straw's controversial statement on the *niqab* (veil) which reportedly led to a surge in hate mail and anti-Muslim abuse, to argue that the non-Muslim community is hostile to its way of life.¹⁰ Moreover, Muslims increasingly feel that they cannot trust the authorities despite various initiatives and speeches by government and community leaders aimed at enhancing inter-community dialogue and relations because those initiatives are inspired by individuals who are unaware of what the Muslim community really needs and wants. In the words of Andleen Razzaq, a Muslim teacher, "The government doesn't talk to young people... At a community consultation meeting I went to, there were only three youths. The government only talks to older Muslims."¹¹ In other words, it is this lack of belonging that leads some Muslims to feel apprehensive about turning in suspicious individuals to the authorities on the grounds that they feel that such individuals would be locked up for a long period without charge or effective supervision over the process.¹² A view that gains credence due to such police fiascos as the bungled Forest Gate terror raid in which a police officer shot one of the suspects who later claimed that the shooting was not a mistake. Mr Kahar in a press interview stated that he felt that "I believe the only crime I had done in their eyes was being Asian with a long beard."¹³

Significantly, young British Muslims increasingly take the position that civil protest is insufficient and that only through the use of violence ('propaganda by deed') would a change

be forced upon the West.¹⁴ They claim for example that despite being consistently against the Iraq war, the British government has retained a presence in the country and provide the United States with steady support, despite continuous opposition against the war.¹⁵ In the words of the head of MI5, "More and more people are moving from passive sympathy towards active terrorism through being radicalised or indoctrinated by friends, families, in organised training events here and overseas, by images on television, through chat rooms and websites on the internet."¹⁶ Bilal Patel a British Muslim who stood as an independent candidate for Preston at the 2001 general election has argued that the youth movement suffers from a lack of strong Muslim leadership. "Many of us [young British Muslims] are annoyed with the older generations. The sort of leadership we need is something more radical than what we have. But if you speak out as a young Muslim you are labelled extremist."¹⁷

Muslim Youths and British Society

When looking at British Muslim youths there is an impression that they exist in two diametrically opposing worlds; in their homes they may live within the tradition of Islam and their cultural ancestry¹⁸ whilst outside of their homes they face contemporary British society with its pluralism and temptations,¹⁹ which forces them to remain together.²⁰ The British *Muslim Youth Hotline*, a national telephone and e-mail counselling service that with *Muslimyouth.net* provides help to young Muslims offers a good source in emphasising the internal struggle faced by British Muslim youths. The *Hotline* deals with such issues as family, relationships, sexuality, drugs and mental health. Interestingly it has had to expand its services as two-thirds of the callers were unable to get through and speak with the counsellors.²¹ The situation is exacerbated by a sense that they lack support from within their community in grappling with the aforementioned issues, which adds to their sense of alienation, a view shared by Shareefa Fulat of the *Hotline*.²² Consequently, radical Muslim preachers are able to fill the void, the confusion and the lack of direction that British Muslim youths face, as they provide a clear message, an identity and a sense of belonging to

something great. In a recent Pew Survey it was noted that over 80% of British Muslims view themselves as Muslims first, while the figure in France, where Europe's largest Muslim population resides and where there are legislation prohibiting the wearing of Muslim attire in state schools exist, is 46%.²³ In the words of one commentator, "Whether we like it or not, extremist positions are comforting because, if nothing else, their vision of the future is clearly articulated. They describe the city on the hill and have a plan to get there".²⁴

The Potential Recruits of Islamic Militancy

It seems from looking at previous terror plots that two types of Muslims are attracted to the Islamists mantra: the educated British-born Muslims and the less-educated and foreign-born Muslims. Educated British-born Muslims appear motivated by a desire to bring a change to Britain's foreign policy as they feel that the West is responsible for 9/11 and the 'war on terror'. In his 'death' statement Sidique Khan stated, "Your democratically elected governments continuously perpetuate atrocities against my people all over the world... Until we feel security, you will be our targets. And until you stop the bombing, gassing, imprisonment and torture of my people we will not stop this fight".²⁵ This is a view shared by individuals such as Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh, a British-born Muslim of Pakistani origin who became radicalised. Sheikh, a former student of the private Forest School, in Snaresbrook chose to abandon his studies at the London School of Economics and work as an aid worker in Bosnia before returning to Pakistan where he had previously spent three years. Sheikh has been sentenced to death in Pakistan for his involvement in the kidnapping and murdering of US journalist Daniel Pearl. Reportedly, Sheikh was a close associate of Maulana Azhar Masood – founder of *Jaish-e-Mohammad* (JEM) group which has been implicated in the December 2001 bombing of the Indian parliament. In 1994 he was arrested by Indian police for alleged involvement in the kidnapping of three Britons and an American in India. Sheikh was released from prison in 1999 following hostage exchange programme.²⁶ Another example is Omar Khyam, a British-born Muslim involved in the fertilizer terror plot who

became radicalise following a visit to a Pakistani militant training camp. Khyam whose grandfather served in the British Army became interested in religion at college where he attended meetings of *al-Muhajiroun* during which videos depicting the conflicts in Chechnya and Bosnia were shown. It was during this time that he began to learn about fighting in Kashmir. His commitment to militant Islam intensified following 9/11 after which he is reported to have said, "I was happy. America was, and still is, the greatest enemy of Islam. They put up puppet regimes in Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt...".²⁷

The other group of Muslim radicals in the UK are Muslim converts or asylum seekers who are generally less educated and less integrated into British mainstream society. The presence of Muslim converts in terror plots has become a worrying development, as seen with Richard Reid (shoe-bomber)²⁸ Germaine Lindsay (one of the July 7 bombers)²⁹ and more recently Don Stewart-Whyte and Brian Young (aircraft liquid terror plot), all of whom converted to Islam and became Islamists.³⁰ On the asylum seekers front, there is evidence of radicalisation within prisons and it is suggested that at least one of the July 21 suspected terrorists (Muktar Said-Ibrahim) adopted militant Islam whilst in prison.³¹ These individual appear to attempt to carry out terror operations which *prima facie* are less intricate which may explain why to date they fail.³²

British Foreign Policy: Aiding Recruitment?

British involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq coupled with what British Muslim youth perceived as limited comment from the government on events in the Palestinian territories, Chechnya, Kashmir and other such locations, fortify the belief by British Muslims that Islam is under attack from the West. Osama Saeed of the Muslim Association of Britain has argued that what fuels British Muslims to engage in terror campaigns is not what happens in the mosques in England but rather the sense of injustice that Muslims see is being meted out against Muslims around the globe.³³ Coupled with their growing sense of alienation from mainstream British society and the proliferation of internet Islamist interaction increased, as

young Muslims strive to find explanations as to why they and their communities suffer discrimination and hostility. Groups such as *Al-Muhajiroun* are able to use the anger of young British Muslims to claim that "The feeling for Jihad (holy war) at the current time in the light of Iraq and Afghanistan and the continuing intifada in Palestine is very hot within the Muslim community... People are very eager to support their Muslim brothers and sisters in Palestine and in other areas as much as they can... Of course, the ultimate sacrifice for a Muslim is to lay down his life for the sake of Allah in the struggle of Jihad."³⁴ In other words, it is the 'silence' if not apparent 'collusion' of mainstream British society in the perceived assault on Islam and Muslims that is encouraging young British Muslims to become active in the 'defence' of their religion and their brethren.

Responding to the threat

Since 9/11 Britain has attempted to grapple the Islamic radicalism through three main channels: legislation dealing with security issues, which also includes the issue of financing the security services, inter-community and inter-faith dialogue and programmes designed to encourage greater Muslim participation in mainstream British society, and finally the question of Britain's foreign policy.

On the legislative side, the government has passed a variety of anti-terrorism measures³⁵ that include punishing those who incite terrorism or glorify terrorism.³⁶ Under the 2006 Terrorism Act, for example, a person commits an offence if they publish a statement that induces another to commit, prepare or instigate the act of terrorism or Convention offences (section 1(1) and 1(2)). The Act requires that at the time the individual publishes the statement, they intend members of the public, either directly or indirectly to commit, prepare or instigate the act of terrorism (section 1(2)(b)(i)) or they are reckless in doing so (section 1(2)(b)(ii)).³⁷ There have also been measures dealing with detention of suspects for 28-days without charge coupled with a stronger willingness to extradite those promoting an Islamist agenda.³⁸

An integral element in Dame Manningham-Buller's November 2006 speech was to call on the state to invest more funds in the security services. It has been suggested that it was lack of funds that prevented the Security Services from paying Mohammad Sidique Khan, the leader of the July 7 London bombings more attention even though he appeared in various intelligence communiqués as a potential militant.³⁹ Overall it seems that on the legislative side there have been numerous failings as often legislation has been passed only for the courts to reject it, seen most famously with 'detention orders' and Part IV of the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act (2001) which necessitated the passing of a new format to detain suspects.

The government has attempted to deal with the threat of Islamist preachers by engaging in a limited debate on immigration⁴⁰ and the role of imams, coupled with initiatives designed to enhance integration. Traditionally the United Kingdom prided itself on its willingness to allow those who are prosecuted in their own countries to find a home in the Britain and retain their cultural identity. Unfortunately it is tolerance that allowed Muslim dissenters from Algeria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and other countries to move to Britain, where they have continued to propagate their radical views and attract new converts to their cause, as they sought changes in their home countries. This is seen with the Abu Qatada, who received asylum status in 1993, despite entering the UK on a forged United Arab Emirates passport. The man considered as "Osama Bin Laden's right-hand man in Europe" was allowed to advocate his brand of militant Islam until the authorities using emergency counter-terrorism orders detained him in October 2002.⁴¹ Ironically, Britain's commitment to international law ensures that Qatada's deportation became difficult and attracted condemnation from civil libertarians more concerned with Qatada's human rights (as defined by Western jurisprudence) than with his message.⁴² Qatada is not the only Islamist to settle in the UK as other notable figures are Abu Doha, an Algerian believed to be bin Laden's key man in the UK;⁴³ Khaled Al-Fawwaz the founder of the Advice and Reformation Committee and Yasser al-Sirri, the founder of the Islamic Observation Centre.⁴⁴ The two most militant Islamists to receive asylum in Britain were Sheikh Omar Bakri Mohammed and Sheikh Abu Hamza.⁴⁵ In terms of integration, it is noteworthy that when turning to the July 7 bombers, it is difficult to

see how community cohesion could have prevented the atrocity. The Official Report into the bombing emphasises that the four men were well-integrated into British society and that the four were open about their religious views. The Report states "...there was little outward sign that this had spilled over into potentially violent extremism." Moreover, "...there is little in their backgrounds which mark them out as particularly vulnerable to radicalisation, with the possible exception of Lindsay."⁴⁶

The British government has conducted various studies and initiated a number of initiatives aimed at improving race and community relations between mainstream British society and the Muslim community, which often feels disadvantaged. The process of improving relations between communities has been defined largely by the Cattle Commission which conducted a comprehensive study into community cohesion in the UK following a number of disturbances in various towns in England in the summer of 2001. The Commission produced sixty-seven recommendations as to how to improve community cohesion which it defined in a much broader sense than merely economics, as it also focused on education, employment, poverty, social inequalities, social and cultural diversity and access to communication and information technologies.⁴⁷

The process of integration and improvement of inter-community relations depends on the ability of the Muslim community to identify 'hotspots' of Islamic extremism one of which is on university campuses.⁴⁸ This campaign is also part of the growing debate on the issue of 'Britishness' as radical Muslim preachers are able to convince British Muslim youths to abandon their British identity in favour of an Islamic one and consequently identify with Muslims around the world.

An integral part of the government's work in encouraging British Muslims to enter mainstream British society is to deal with the sense of social and economic injustice which British Muslims feel exists. For example, in 2001-2002, Bangladeshis had the highest male unemployment rate in Great Britain at 20 percent. This is four times that for White British or White Irish men. The picture is similar for women, with Bangladeshi women having the highest unemployment rate of all (24 percent, six times greater than that for White British or

White Irish women). For all ethnic groups unemployment was highest among young people aged under-25. Over 40 percent of young Bangladeshi men were unemployed, while young Pakistani men and women had unemployment rates above of 20 percent. The rate for young White British men and women were 12 percent and 9 percent respectively.⁴⁹ The sense of discrimination is not only affecting groups but also areas, Beeston, the suburb in Leeds from where two of the July 7 bombers came from is deprived in that 47 per cent of households rely on some form of state benefit, which is more than double the average for Leeds as a whole. Moreover, 93 per cent of the homes are in the poorest council tax band.⁵⁰ These factors enhance the belief that Muslim communities are discriminated against and receive a smaller portion of the welfare budget, which fuels the culture of resentment.⁵¹

In terms of foreign policy the United Kingdom has stood by America's 'war on terror' with British troops serving alongside American ones in Iraq and Afghanistan. However, the Blair government has increasingly come under criticism for its foreign policy and the unequivocal support given to the Americans,⁵² which eventually led Tony Blair to call for an urgent reappraisal of this position (a claim that has become more viable with the November 2006 elections in which the Republicans lost control of Congress). The underlining theme of Blair's 'new' foreign policy agenda is to move away from the emphasis on military power and call for more moderation and alliance-building especially with the Arab/Muslim world. Thus, in his speech before the World Affairs Council, the Prime Minister declared, "There is an arc of extremism now stretching across the Middle East and touching, with increasing definition, countries far outside that region. To defeat it will need an alliance of moderation that paints a different future in which Muslim, Jew and Christian; Arab and Western; wealthy and developing nations can make progress in peace and harmony with each other. My argument to you today is this: we will not win the battle against this global extremism unless we win it at the level of values as much as force, unless we show we are even-handed, fair and just in our application of those values to the world."⁵³

Conclusion

Overall it is clear that there is a tremendous debate over Britain's domestic and foreign policies. Internally, the country is striving to find a balance between the challenges of modernity and multiculturalism and the post-9/11 world of indiscriminate international terrorism. Government and community leaders are facing a monumental task exacerbated by claims of racism and Islamophobia. Attempts at dealing with Islamists leads to allegations that mainstream British society is intrinsically anti-Muslim, which became very clear following Jack Straw view on the *niqab* which angered a number of Muslim groups such as Islamic Human Rights Commission, Muslim Public Affairs Committee and Protect-Hijab. It is becoming apparent that mainstream British society is increasingly at odd with the devout Muslim community because there is a feeling that devout Muslims reject the fundamentals that lie at the epicentre of traditional liberal society that embraces and encourages pluralism.⁵⁴

British foreign policy has also been at the centre of the debate about the rise of Islamic radicalism in the United Kingdom with an increasing number of leaders and military personnel holding that the British presence particularly in Iraq is encouraging anti-British sentiments. This is part of a global movement which asserts that the American-led invasion of Iraq was a colossal mistakes fuelled by misinformation if not down-right lies. However, ultimately for those who study the development of Islamic radicalism it is clear that the movement is on the march and if Iraq was not the cause celebre of the Islamists, they would be effective in finding a new cause to promote and use for their recruitment and it is a truism that they have plenty of places that they can use to claim that the West is either attacking Islam or not doing enough to protect Muslim. This is why the decision by Brown and Blair to spend more money on development aid ton Muslim countries is a step in the right direction as the best way to defeat Islamic militancy is to develop a long term strategy that centres on predominately secular education and economic growth and empowerment, as individual that have stake in a society are less likely to undermine that society. At the same time, more effort must be made to show people that Iraq and Afghanistan are not hopeless causes as there have

been some positive developments, with elections, the empowerment of women, and reconstruction programmes. The public must appreciate that instability in Iraq fuelled by clandestine Syrian and Iranian involvement, which is stocking up civil unrest. The situation in Afghanistan is more complicated predominately of ISAF initial failure to leave Kabul early and assume control over the rest of the country. This allowed the Taliban to regroup and re-establish control. Pakistan's failure to deal with Taliban and pro-Taliban forces within its own borders adds to Afghanistan's woes. The public must understand that ultimately, western governments want to end their presence in Iraq and Afghanistan and return to their weary soldiers homes, but they cannot until those countries have secured regimes. Therefore, the reassessment in Britain's foreign policy is a worrying development has it comes after a number of successful anti-Western and anti-British attacks, which send the message that terrorism and anti-Westernism pays dividend. That is, it is increasingly felt even by non-Muslim that it is British foreign policy fuelling the tension between Britain and the Muslim world,⁵⁵ and may explain why Tony Blair has recently began calling for a new Middle East strategy,⁵⁶ seen most recently following the death of four British servicemen on Remembrance Sunday.⁵⁷ Critics of Britain's foreign policy fail to appreciate that in the post-9/11 world, the international community is linked and nations must work together to promote the maintenance of international peace and security and that insecurity. Without international cooperation instability in Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia and so on impacts on the home front, especially as Islamists always find somehow to blame in the West for something. The international community is engaged in a global war to protect its way of life which embraces pluralism, multiculturalism and democracy, things abhorred by Islamists. It is only by promoting these fundamental issues within our own society and encouraging Muslim communities to participate can societies stem the flow of moderate Muslims embracing the Islamist mantra.

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NOTES

¹ This is the term used by the British Security Service and Police when describing Muslims who use religion to justify their terrorist activities. The larger British counter-terrorism community prefer the terms 'international terrorism and "AQ-related" terrorism" "Report into the London Terrorist Attacks on 7 July 2005" *House of Commons, Intelligence and Security Committee* (May 2006).

² Vikram Dodd "Al-Qaida plotting nuclear attack on UK, officials warn" *The Guardian* [UK] November 14, 2006. Available on line at:

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/terrorism/story/0,,1947036,00.html>

³ Abul Taher and Dipesh Gadhher "Islamists infiltrate four universities" *The Sunday Times* [UK] November 12, 2006. Available on line at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-2449930,00.html>

⁴ Investigators for example believe that the London bombings plot was hatched in Waziristan in March 2004. Anthony Barnett and Martin Bright "We Warned MI6 of Tube Attacks, Claim Saudis" *The Observer* [UK] September 4, 2005. The 9/11 plot was approved in an al-Qa'ida summit in Kuala Lumpur in January 2000. Barot was in Malaysia at the time and allegedly met a number of the people involved in the plot. Jamie Doward "How a barbershop arrest led to heart of al-Qaeda's web" *The Observer* [UK] November 12, 2006. Available on line at: http://observer.guardian.co.uk/uk_news/story/0,,1945941,00.html

⁵ About a week after the July 7 bombings, a leaked Whitehall document stated that a network of "extremist recruiters" are circulating around British universities targeting individuals with technical and professional qualifications" focusing especially on those taking engineering and IT degrees. Robert Winnett and David Leppard "Leaked No. 10 dossier reveals Al-Qaeda's British recruits" *The Times* [UK] July 10, 2005. Available on line at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-1688261,00.html>

⁶ Gordon Brown, Blair-heir apparent has mentioned that he would support extending the detention period from 28-days to 90. David Cracknell and David Leppard "Brown: I'll be

terror overlord" *The Sunday Times* [UK] November 12, 2006. Available on line at:
<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-2450152,00.html>

⁷ Britain plays a major role in international politics through such initiative as the Commission for Africa, Britain's permanent seat at the Security Council or Britain's involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan.

⁸ Dr Mohammad Naseem, chairman of the Birmingham Central Mosque, claimed "The German people were told Jews were a threat. The same thing is happening here," Steve Bird and Russell Jenkins "We're vilified like Jews by the Nazis, says Muslim leader" *The Times* [UK] February 3, 2007. Available on line at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2-2581783,00.html>

⁹ "Electing to Deliver: Working for Representation in Britain" *The Muslim Council of Britain* (2005), p. 11.

Available on line at: <http://www.mcb.org.uk/vote2005/ELECTINGTODELIVER.pdf>

¹⁰ "Fallout over Straw veil call spread" *The Daily Telegraph* [UK] October 9, 2006. Available on line at:

<http://www.news.com.au/dailytelegraph/story/0,22049,20548012-5001028,00.html>

¹¹ Patrick Barkham, Polly Curtis and Joseph Harker "Islamic voice of reason speaks out, but the anger remains" *The Guardian* [UK] November 21, 2005. Available on line at:

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/islam/story/0,15568,1647171,00.html>

¹² Fareena Alam "Vision of a new Islam" *The Observer* [UK] April 4, 2004. Available on line at:

<http://observer.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,6903,1185265,00.html>

¹³ Peter Walker and David Fickling "Police apologise to east London raid family" *The Guardian* [UK] June 13, 2006.

Available on line at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/terrorism/story/0,,1796442,00.html>

¹⁴ The Pew Study found that around one-in-seven Muslims in France, Spain and Great Britain feel that suicide terrorism could be justified to defend Islam from its enemies. "Europe's

Muslims More Moderate: The Great Divide: How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other” *Pew Global Attitudes Report* June 22, 2006, (Washington DC), p. 3. Available on line at: <http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/253.pdf>

¹⁵ Raza Jaffrey, chairman of the *Muslim Youth Hotline* states, “...for the past two or three years we have seen a situation where people have become very frustrated because the government is not listening to what they have been saying - and that's why some young Muslims feel alienated.” Dominic Casciani “What do young Muslims think?” *BBC News On-line* August 1, 2005. Available on line at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4735127.stm

¹⁶ Dominic Casciani "Can radicalism be tackled?" *BBC News On-line* November 10, 2006. Available on line at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/6136434.stm

¹⁷ Dominic Casciani “Disaffection among British Muslim youth” *BBC News On-line* March 31, 2004. Available on line at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/3586421.stm

¹⁸ In other words, these Muslims may live in Britain, but their home life is very much akin to the way their lives would be conducted in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Kashmir, etc. as they still have very strong roots in those countries.

¹⁹ In the latest *Pew Global Attitudes Report* it was found that solid majorities in Spain and Germany hold that there is a natural conflict between being a devout Muslim and living in a modern society. In Britain 54% of those asked replied that there is a conflict. “Europe’s Muslims More Moderate: The Great Divide: How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other” *Pew Global Attitudes Report* June 22, 2006, (Washington DC), p. 3. Available on line at: <http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/253.pdf>

²⁰ It has been noted that alcohol is a significant factor in hindering integration and Muslims who do not drink feel that they are unable participate in certain activities leading to exclusion which encourages Muslims to remain within their communities. Maha Sardar who trained to become a barrister has argued, "When I went to the bar to train as a barrister I had to go 12 dinners and they were all about alcohol. It's an archaic cultural thing. I felt very isolated but to qualify as a barrister, I had to attend all 12." Patrick Barkham, Polly Curtis and Joseph Harker

Islamic voice of reason speaks out, but the anger remains” *The Guardian* [UK] November 21, 2005. Available on line at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/islam/story/0,15568,1647171,00.html>

²¹ Interestingly, it is reported that one third of the calls made to the *Hotline* are about relationship, while another third is about depression and suicide. Only 5% of the calls are about religion. Dominic Casciani “What do young Muslims think?” *BBC News On-line* August 1, 2005. Available on line at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4735127.stm

²² Dominic Casciani “Disaffection among British Muslim youth” *BBC News On-line* March 31, 2004. Available on line at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/3586421.stm

²³ Jodie T. Allen “The French-Muslim Connection: Is France Doing a Better Job of Integration than Its Critics?” *Pew Research Centre* August 17, 2006. Available on line at: <http://pewresearch.org/obdeck/?ObDeckID=50>

²⁴ Fareena Alam "Vision of a new Islam" *The Observer* [UK] April 4, 2004. Available on line at: <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,6903,1185265,00.html>

²⁵ Text taken from “London bomber: Text in full” *BBC News On-Line* September 1, 2006. Available on line at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4206800.stm

²⁶ "Profile: Omar Saeed Sheikh" *BBC News On-Line* July 16, 2002. Available on line at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/1804710.stm

²⁷ David Pallister "British defendant in terror plot trial tells of gradual conversion to militant jihadist" *The Guardian* [UK] September 15, 2006. Available on line at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/terrorism/story/0,,1872942,00.html>

²⁸ Richard Reid grew up in Bromley. He began his career as a petty criminal whilst a teenager which led to his imprisonment in a number of prison including Feltham young offenders’ institution which is where he reportedly convert to Islam. Upon his release he followed the path taken by a number of Muslim prisoners by worshipping at Brixton Mosque which has a reputation of assisting ex-offenders readjust to life outside of prison. He quickly fell in with extremists changing his appearance to a more devout Muslim one and in 1998 it is believed

that he relocated to Pakistan. In December 2001, he attempted to blow up an American Airline flight from Paris to Miami. "Who is Richard Reid" *BBC News On-Line* December 28, 2001. Available on line at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/1731568.stm

²⁹ Germaine Lindsay was born in Jamaica but grew up in the United Kingdom. When he was 15, Lindsay followed his mother and converted to Islam, which seemed to have surprised his friends. He married Samantha Lewthwaite, who had also converted to Islam. The two met in Luton, where Samantha known as Sherafiyah, was studying. They got married and later on moved to Bradford, where Lindsay became a regular at the Hamara Youth Centre in Leeds, where he befriended the other July 7 bombers. David Sapsted and Duncan Gardham "Lost years of the 'nice boy' who killed' 25" *Telegraph.co.uk* July 16, 2005. Available on line at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2005/07/16/nbomb216.xml&sSheet=/news/2005/07/16/ixnewstop.html>

³⁰ Adam Fresco, Elsa McLaren, Lewis Smith, Lucy Bannerman and Nicola Woolcock "Who are the 'bomb plot' suspects?" *The Times* [UK] August 11, 2006. Available on line at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2-2308722,00.html>

³¹ Muktar Said-Ibrahim after various criminal activities ended up at the Feltham Young Offenders institution, where he converted to Islam and abandoned his errant ways. Paul Tumelty "Reassessing the July 21 London Bombing" *Terrorism Monitor* Vol. 3, Issue 17 (September 8, 2005), pp. 1-4.

³² These individuals seem to be inspired by the Islamist ideology, but they appear not to have the links to al-Qa'ida and such organisations which allows the security services to foil their operations.

³³ Fareena Alam "Vision of a new Islam" *The Observer* [UK] April 4, 2004. Available on line at: <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,6903,1185265,00.html>

³⁴ "UK Muslims shocked by 'bombers'" *BBC News On-line* May 1, 2003. Available on line at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/2990841.stm

³⁵ See for example, Terrorism Act (2000), Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act (2001), the Prevention of Terrorism Act (2005) and Terrorism Act (2006).

³⁶ Mizanur Rahman a 23-years old web designer from North London has been convicted of incitement to stir up race hate as during a demonstration against the publican of the Danish cartoon depicting Muhammad he called for the killings of those who insult Islam and death to British soldiers serving in Iraq. Jenny Percival and Agencies "Cartoon protester guilty of race hate" *The Times* [UK] November 9, 2006. Available on line at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2-2445654,00.html>

³⁷ "Explanatory Notes to Terrorism Act 2000". Available on line at: http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/en2006/ukpgaen_20060011_en.pdf

³⁸ The recent Queen's Speech emphasised that security and the need to be tough on terrorism remains central to the British government, which is why the government is considering extending the period under which the security forces may detain a suspect without charge beyond 28-days. See for example, Alan Travis "Watchdog warns against 'rush to judgment' on extending 28-day detention" *The Guardian* [UK] November 16, 2006. Available on line at: <http://politics.guardian.co.uk/queensspeech2006/story/0,,1948847,00.html>

³⁹ Antony Barnett "UK was warned of July suicide attacks" *The Observer* [UK] February 5, 2006. Available on line at: http://observer.guardian.co.uk/uk_news/story/0,,1702660,00.html

⁴⁰ New applicants for British citizenship are required to sit an exam entitled "Life in UK" to instil a sense of 'Britishness' among new citizens. They must also prove that they are able to speak Basic English. Simon Freeman and Agencies "Citizenship test runs into flak for lack of perspective" *The Times* [UK] October 31, 2006. Available on line at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2-1851463,00.html>.

It is noteworthy that due to pressure and from Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus, the Home Office scrapped a 'Britishness Test' for foreign-born imams despite concerns from government ministers and security officials that foreign-born imams are radicalising young British Muslims. Richard Ford "Britishness test' for imams is abandoned" *The Times* [UK]

December 20, 2005. Available on line at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,22989-1943887,00.html>

⁴¹ Interestingly videos made by Abu Qatada were found in the flat used by Mohamed Atta, the ringleader of the 9/11 cell. Mark Hollingsworth and Nick Fielding *Defending the Realm: Inside MI5 and the War on Terrorism* (London: Andre Deutsch, 2003), p.173; Simon Jeffrey “Profile: Abu Qatada” *The Guardian*, [UK] August 11, 2005. Available on line at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/alqaida/story/0,12469,1547225,00.html>

⁴² Daniel McGrory and Richard Ford “Move to expel ‘al-Qa’ida cleric’ will test Britain’s resolve on law” *The Times* [UK] August 11, 2005. Available on line at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,22989-1730209,00.html>

⁴³ Audrey Gillan “Bin Laden’s ‘UK connection’ fights extradition” *The Guardian* [UK] April 23, 2002.

⁴⁴ Mark Hollingsworth and Nick Fielding *Defending the Realm: Inside MI5 and the War on Terrorism* (London: Andre Deutsch, 2003), pp. 168, 171-172.

⁴⁵ In a recent expose, it has been argued that British immigration officials had repeatedly failed to deport Abu Hamza despite allegations that he had committed fraud, bigamy and lied on his application for British citizenship. Sean O'Neill and Damien McGrory "Blunders that left Abu Hamza free" *The Times* [UK] May 30, 2006. Available on line at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2-2202315,00.html>

⁴⁶ “Report of the Official Account of the Bombings in London on 7th July 2005” (London: The Stationary Office, 2006) HC-1087. Available on line at: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/7-july-report.pdf?view=Binary>

⁴⁷ “Community Cohesion” A report of the Independent Review Team, Chaired by Ted Cantele, *Home Office* (November 2001). Appendix C: Rosalyn Lynch “An Analysis of the Concept of Community Cohesion” *Home Office research, Development and Statistics Directorate*. The report is available on line at:

http://communities.homeoffice.gov.uk/raceandfaith/reports_pubs/publications/race_faith/community-cohesion.pdf?view=Binary

⁴⁸ Sheikh Musa Admani a Muslim chaplain at London Metropolitan University has claimed "We are dealing with people filled with hatred... It's hatred for the white man and the West in particular, because they have read the works of Qutb and Maududi (Islamist ideologues followed by Al-Qaeda) who set Muslims apart from everyone else." Abul Taher and Dipesh Gadher "Islamists infiltrate four universities" *The Sunday Times* [UK] November 12, 2006. Available on line at: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-2449930.html>

⁴⁹ Figures taken from "Terrorism and Community Relations" Sixth Report of Session 2004-2005 Vol. I *House of Commons Home Affairs Committee* (London: The Stationary Office Ltd., April 6, 2005): para. 22-23 (Para 69).

⁵⁰ Urme Khan "Young, British and Muslim: one woman's journey to the home of the 7/7 bombers" *The Observer* [UK] June 18, 2006. Available on line at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/attackonlondon/story/0,,1800423,00.html>

⁵¹ In a Pew Survey it was noted that 78% of British Muslims worry about unemployment. Jodie T. Allen ""The French-Muslim Connection: Is France Doing a Better Job of Integration than Its Critics?" *Pew Research Centre* August 17, 2006. Available on line at: <http://pewresearch.org/obdeck/?ObDeckID=50>

⁵² See for example the letter by 52 senior British diplomats to Tony Blair criticising Britain's foreign policy in the Middle East. "Doomed to failure in the Middle East" *The Guardian* [UK] April 27, 2004.

Available on line at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/israel/Story/0,2763,1204207,00.html>

⁵³ "Speech to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council" Los Angeles, USA, August 10, 2006. Available on line at: <http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page9948.asp>

⁵⁴ See for example, "Fallout over Straw veil call spread" *The Daily Telegraph* [UK] October 9, 2006. Available on line at: <http://www.news.com.au/dailytelegraph/story/0,22049,20548012-5001028,00.html>; Nigel

Morris and Sarah Cassidy "Race equality head backs Straw on wearing of veil" *The Independent* [UK] October 12, 2006.

⁵⁵ In an editorial entitled "The Blood of Innocents" referring to the Bein Hanoun incident in which a technical error led to the killing of 18 civilians *The Guardian* stated, "...Israel's actions, as in Lebanon this summer, have ignored the obligation to act in proportion to the threat, to avoid civilian casualties, and comply with international humanitarian law, which includes the personal responsibility of commanders for war crimes and crimes against humanity." The editorial ended by declaring "It bears repeating that there are no military solutions to this conflict. Those who ignore that will always end up staining their hands with the blood of innocents." "The Blood of Innocents" *The Guardian* [UK] November 9, 2006. Available on line at:

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/story/0,,1942901,00.html>

⁵⁶ Tony Blair has in a recent speech declared that to solve the situation in Iraq one needs to look beyond Iraq and especially Israel, the Palestinian question and Lebanon. The speech amounted to a significant shift in Blair's rhetoric and position especially as Blair called for dialogue with Iran and Syria. For Blair speech see, "PM's World Affairs Speech to the Lord's Mayor Banquet" November 13, 2006. Available on line at:

<http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page10409.asp>

⁵⁷ Nick Harvey, the Liberal Democrats Defence Spokesperson has said following the incident "You have to ask whether we are doing more harm than good in Iraq." In a separate comment prior to the attack Alex Salmond, the SNP leader said: "Those who are responsible for this blood-soaked quagmire now have the duty to tell us how they propose to remove our soldiers from this morass." Patrick Wintour and Richard Norton-Taylor "Four soldiers die in boat bomb as Blair prepares shift on Iraq" *The Guardian* [UK] November 13, 2006. Available on line at: <http://politics.guardian.co.uk/foreignaffairs/story/0,,1946356,00.html>