

# Submission to the Senate of Canada

The Standing Senate Committee On Human Rights
The Honourable Senator Salma Ataullahjan, Chair of the Committee

# Islamophobia in the Senate of Canada Protected by Parliamentary Immunity

January 5, 2023

#### **About CMPAC**

The Canadian Muslim Public Affairs Council (CMPAC) is a lobby organization established to strengthen and advance the interests of the growing Canadian Muslim community through engaging and educating decision-makers and influencing public policy and mobilizing communities.

CMPAC has been a voice on issues impacting the Muslim community including recommending policy approaches to tackling Islamophobia.

Some examples of contribution to public discourse that is relevant to the Senate's study on Islamophobia include:

The Liberal government must rid the country of systemic Islamophobia <a href="https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/november-2021/the-liberal-government-must-rid-the-country-of-systemic-islamophobia/">https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/november-2021/the-liberal-government-must-rid-the-country-of-systemic-islamophobia/</a>

Issam Saleh: The Conservatives cannot afford to alienate Muslims if they hope to win next time around

https://nationalpost.com/opinion/issam-saleh-the-conservatives-cannot-afford-to-alienate-muslims-if-they-hope-to-win-next-time-around

When it comes to Islamophobia, doublespeak seems to be the order of the day <a href="https://www.thespec.com/opinion/contributors/2021/06/14/when-it-comes-to-islamophobia-doublespeak-seems-to-be-the-order-of-the-day.html?rf">https://www.thespec.com/opinion/contributors/2021/06/14/when-it-comes-to-islamophobia-doublespeak-seems-to-be-the-order-of-the-day.html?rf</a>

Islamophobia is on the rise during COVID-19 <a href="https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/october-2020/islamophobia-is-on-the-rise-during-covid-19/">https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/october-2020/islamophobia-is-on-the-rise-during-covid-19/</a>

## **Purpose for the Submission**

On Thursday, September 22, 2022 the Canadian Muslim Public Affairs Council (CMPAC) testified before the Standing Senate Committee On Human Rights on Islamophobia in Canada.

As part of the remarks, CMPAC's senior advisor, Khaled Al-Qazzaz, stated the following:

"We have also seen Islamophobia present in parliamentary hearings like these under the previous Conservative government. For instance, the Senate Standing Committee on National Security, Defence and Veterans Affairs in November 2014 invited Lorenzo Vidino, who is connected to numerous anti-Muslim think tanks and has been published in various anti-Muslim outlets. The Senate also invited Thomas Quiggin, a well-known Islamophobe who uses fear tactics to drive anti-Muslim hate. Recently, he was part of the leadership of the "Freedom"

Convoy" and is deeply connected to Canada's Islamophobia network. Both were afforded the ability to spread misinformation about Muslims while protected by parliamentary immunity."

After several questions by members of the Committee, the Chair requested further submissions on examples.

# **Impact of these Testimonies**

In an oped in the National Observer by Faisal Kutty, principal lawyer at Kutty & Associates and serves as an adjunct professor of law at Osgoode Hall Law School of York University, titled "Hate should have no parliamentary immunity," Mr. Kutty sheds light on many examples of Islamophobia and hate expressed with parliamentary immunity.

#### He states:

"But there is one place where anti-Muslim discourse should be least expected, least tolerated and yet, is surprisingly protected: Parliament. Statements made during parliamentary proceedings are protected under the guise of parliamentary privilege.

Yet, as the alt-right makes inroads into national legislatures and mainstream political parties pander to them, parliamentary privilege is protecting individuals disseminating misinformation and hate against Muslim communities."

#### He further states:

"While Islamophobia must be challenged online and in the courts, one place where it must be stamped out is in Parliament. Given the necessity of parliamentary privilege, this becomes a matter for Parliament itself to regulate."

Under parliamentary immunity individuals associated with spreading misinformation and anti-Muslim discourse have attached Muslim charities and organizations, as well as Muslim activists by making unsubstantiated allegations of connections to terrorism and extremism. These remarks in turn have been relied upon by Government, whether the CRA or the CBSA as evidence for actions against organizations or individuals.

For instance, at the Senate standing committee meeting on national security and defence on Nov. 24, 2014, Tarek Fatah, once a Toronto Sun columnist, accused Hamilton lawyer Hussein Hamdani, then a member of the cross-cultural roundtable on security, of "pushing the Islamist agenda". Islamophobic websites then relied upon Fatah's racist allegation to launch a

https://www.nationalobserver.com/2019/08/07/opinion/hate-should-have-no-parliamentary-immunity

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co-ordinated smear campaign against Hamdani, which eventually resulted in his suspension from his position on the roundtable.

At the same Senate standing committee meeting where Syed Sohail Raza, an affiliate of the Gatestone Institute, insinuated that the Muslim Association of Canada (MAC) and the National Council of Canadian Muslims (NCCM) are linked to terrorism and play a role in the radicalization of Canadian Muslims. Gatestone is funded to advance anti-Muslim and anti-Islam sentiment. Later, in February 2015, then-Conservative senator Daniel Lang invited Marc Lebuis, an anti-Islam blogger, where he accused MAC of being a source of radicalization. All of these Islamophobic allegations are now part of the parliamentary record, unchecked and unchallenged, courtesy of parliamentary privilege.

Additionally, at the February 2015 national security Senate hearing, Marc Lebuis attacked a number of Muslim lawyers, including myself, with innuendo and mischaracterization of tenuous or even non-existent links and associations.

In an article published by Haroon Siddiqui he explains how the Senate allied anti-Muslim voices to make unsubstantiated statement against the Muslim community.<sup>2</sup>

#### He states:

"The Harperites' penchant for tarring Muslims with the terrorist brush was starkly on display at hearings of the Senate committee on national security, held in the fall of 2014 and spring of 2015. The committee did not invite groups representative of Canada's more than one million Muslims. Instead it preferred anti-Muslim activists such as Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a Somali-born critic of Islam who lives in the United States and is a favourite of Islamophobes.

It also invited a handful of Canadian Muslims who have made a career of attacking other Muslims. Such witnesses claimed that Muslim militants were crawling under every Canadian minaret. Using parliamentary immunity, they hurled unsubstantiated, indeed false, accusations against Canadian Muslims. The majority Conservative senators harried the witnesses who refused to go along with the prescribed party line — as illustrated in an exchange with Shahina Siddiqui."

<sup>2</sup> 

#### Recommendations

In May 2019, at the House of Commons standing committee on justice and human rights hearing for exploring online hate speech, St. Albert—Edmonton Conservative MP Michael Cooper told witness Faisal Khan Suri, president of the Alberta Muslim Public Affairs Council, he should be "ashamed" of linking "conservative commentators" to the online history of the Quebec City mosque shooter.

Instead of acknowledging the obvious link between Bissonnette's online history and his anti-Muslim act of terror, Cooper tried to further discredit Suri by quoting the manifesto of New Zealand's Christchurch killer, an act which would now earn a criminal conviction in New Zealand.

Members of Parliament were so appalled by Cooper's reading of the manifesto into the parliamentary record that, in a rare move, the justice committee unanimously voted to expunge Cooper's comments from the record.

Cooper's removal from the justice committee by his own party and the expungement of his heinous comments are a precedent in ensuring parliamentary immunity should not be abused to spread hate.

Based on this precedent in Parliament, CMPAC is recommending to the Standing Committee on Human Rights to expunge statements by such individuals.

# The Canadian Islamophobia Industry

Recently Professor Jasmin Zine published a major report called "The Canadian Islamophobia Industry: Mapping Islamophobia's Ecosystem in the Great White North."

Zine is an expert on the topic of Islamophobia and the author of a recent book titled "Under Siege: Islamophobia and the 9/11 Generation," She serves as a consultant on the subject for international human rights agencies such as The Council of Europe and the UNESCO.

Her recently released 240-page report based on a four-year study unveils an ecosystem that comprises media outlets and Islamophobia influencers, white nationalist groups, fringe-right pro-zionist groups, self-professed "Muslim dissidents," think-tanks and their designated security experts, and the donors who fund their campaigns.

Her report can be found at:

https://iphobiacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Canada-Report-2022-1.pdf

The report includes details on many of the individuals listed in this submission.

## Islamophobia in Senate Hearings

#### Tarek Fatah

# **Testimony:**

41st Parliament, 2nd Session Issue No. 11

Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence

Tarek Fatah is a columnist who spreads anti-muslim misinformation and denies the existence of Islamophobia in Canada. Fatah was born in Pakistan and identifies as a liberal Muslim. After the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States, Fatah founded the Muslim Canadian Congress, an organization that claims to "represent the Muslims in Canada who are not currently represented by another organization."

Fatah regularly <u>accuses</u> prominent North American Muslim organizations and politicians of being linked to the Muslim Brotherhood, and openly denies the existence of Islamophobia. In one of his columns, Fatah dismisses the term "<u>Islamophobia</u>," using Andrew Cummins' characterization that it is "a word created by fascists, and used by cowards, to manipulate morons."

Additionally, Fatah falsely <u>claimed</u> that the gunman, Alexandre Bissonnette, "was not alone" and that "his Muslim accomplice has been made state witness to avoid talk of Muslim on Muslim terror," in response to the Quebec City mosque shooting. Fatah also weaponized the Qur'an by providing a limited interpretation of the opening verse from Surah Al-Fatiha while addressing Parliamentary committee hearings on Motion 103 and Islamophobia in Canada, <u>claiming</u> that Muslims "mock Christians and Jews daily."

Fatah has been a vocal opponent of the veil and niqab and has <u>repeatedly claimed</u> that the hijab is a "political flag of the Islamofascist Muslim Brotherhood." Moreover, Fatah has <u>supported Maxime Bernier's views</u> on immigration and called for the Multiculturalism Act to "be revoked for the simple reason that not all cultures are equal."

Fatah is also known for spreading anti-Muslim misinformation. BOOM - an independent digital journalism platform that focuses on debunking misinformation - published an article showing a long history of misinformation <u>peddling communally-charged misinformation</u>.

In a video, Fatah has defended far-right British white nationalist Tommy Robinson.

Fatah has written for the Clarion Project and for the Middle East Forum where he has written over 155 articles for their website.

## **Syed Sohail Raza**

## Testimony:

41st Parliament, 2nd Session Issue No. <u>11</u>

Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence

Syed Sohail Raza, an affiliate of the far-right think tank Gatestone Institute, which is known for publishing anti-Muslim content. He is also a board member of the Council for Muslims Facing Tomorrow, a reformist Muslim organization that <a href="mailto:opposes">opposes</a> "bigotry in the name of Islam as preached and practiced in the mainstream mosques in Canada and across the Muslim world."

Sohail Raza insinuated at a Senate standing committee meeting on national security and defense on November 24, 2014 that the Muslim Association of Canada (MAC) and the National Council of Canadian Muslims (NCCM) are linked to terrorism and play a role in the radicalization of Canadian Muslims.

Sohail Raza also published opinion pieces in The National Telegraph, which has a history of carrying anti-Muslim sentiment, linking <u>Islamic Releif to terrorism and glorification and anti-Semitism</u>, and <u>criticizing the Emergency National Action Summit on Islamophobia</u>, which was announced following the tragic killing of a Muslim family in London, Ontario. In the piece, Raza claimed that such summits and actions are merely used to "score political points."

Sohail Raza is the treasurer of Muslims Facing Tomorrow, founded by Raheel Raza who is a speaker, writer, and analyst for the Clarion Project and a distinguished senior fellow at the Gatestone Institute, both major funders of the Islamophobia industry.

## Salim Mansur

#### **Testimonies:**

41st Parliament, 2nd Session Issue No. <u>12</u> & <u>18</u>

Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence

Salim Mansur is a frequent guest on radio and television shows discussing issues of Muslims, multiculturalism, and radicalization in Canada. He has testified before Canadian parliamentary standing committees on immigration and public safety. Mansur is the vice president of Muslims Facing Tomorrow and a writer and senior fellow for the Gatestone Institute. According to Georgetown University, Gatestone has continuously released articles designed to fuel concerns about a Muslim takeover of Europe and America. The articles warn that the "Islamization" of Europe would result from the rising Muslim immigration. Moreover, Gatestone partnered with The Rebel, a Canadian media company "with a history of bigotry and anti-Semitism," to produce a series of 12 "cross-branded videos" that promote "paranoid, apocalyptic far-right themes vilifying Muslims and refugees."

Mansur is also a fellow with the Mozuud Freedom Foundation Mozuud Freedom Foundation which is a not-for-profit organization founded by Irving Weisdorf. Weisdorf has denied that Islamophobia exists, stating that "fear of Islam is justified and is not a "phobia." Weisdorf has said the term "Islamophobia" is a tool with which "forces" influenced by the Brotherhood use to turn Canada into a "Sharia-compliant society."

Mansur opposed Motion M-103, claiming that it "threatens freedom of speech in Canada." Additionally, he <u>believes</u> that "Muslims, in general, are a 'third-world' people whose understanding and practice of Islam remain fixed in their pre-modern cultures," and <u>supported</u> Donald Trump's 2017 travel ban on people from seven Muslim-majority countries. Mansur has denied that Muslims are "victims of anti-Islamic bigotry"

Mansur has testified in 2012 to the house of commons Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration that Canada should <u>stop immigration from Muslim countries</u> and argued that Canada needs to curtail immigration from Muslim countries.

#### **Marc Lebuis**

## Testimony:

41st Parliament, 2nd Session Issue No. 14

Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence

Marc Lebuis is the director of Point de bascule and has many writings published in Islam Watch, a project that belongs to The Middle East Forum (MEF), an American conservative think tank. MEF is known for its many Islamophobic publications and ties to Israel. According to numerous reports, Israel has been identified as a major financier of the Islamophobia industry, and many donors with ties to Israel have supported anti-Muslim think tanks.

A <u>2015 study</u> that looked closely at <u>The Center for American Progress' report</u> on the roots of the Islamophobia network in America, found that the seven major Islamophobia industry donors gave nearly \$11 million in total to Israel-related causes, indicating that there is an undeniable overlap in the giving patterns of at least four out of the seven foundations; funding Islamophobia and giving undeniably significant amounts to Zionist projects. Islamophobic misinformation from Israel is not limited to rhetoric but has had dire consequences on the Muslim community in Canada, a prime example of this is the CRA's audit of IRFAN-Canada. According to a <u>report</u> by the International Civil Liberties Monitoring Group (ICLMG), the majority of the evidence used by the CRA in IRFAN-Canada's revocation was from Israel and the United States.

Lebuis is behind many articles on Point de bascule, a far-right, Islamophobic, conspiratorial-style site which describes itself as a resource for exposing "methods and means used by Islamist organizations and leaders to implement their program in Canada."

Lebuis is an anti-Muslim Montreal blogger who said that mosques and Muslim organizations in Canada were "controlled and financed, proven, by countries known to harbour the most radical fringes of Muslim, the Wahhabism fringes."

Lebuis called wearing the veil a representation of radicalization. Lebuis also <u>alleged</u> that mosques and Muslim organizations in Canada were "controlled and financed, proven, by countries known to harbour the most radical fringes of Muslim, the Wahhabism fringes."

Lebuis in his Senate testimony had said that Jamal Badawi, former professor at the Sobey School of Business, Saint Mary's University in Halifax, and also a prolific author on Islam, "started" or "is behind" several Muslim organizations that are part of "the network of the Muslim Brotherhood infrastructure in North America," and that Badawi urges Muslims "to become judges and officials" in order to "take advantage of their position of influence to stop applying current national legal provisions that are incompatible with sharia law." Lebuis was echoing such American Islamophobes as Frank Gaffney, who have said that the Muslim Brotherhood had infiltrated the American government.

Lebuis called Toronto lawyer Faisal Kutty "the spokesperson of two Al Qaeda funding organizations," who "consistently defends and promotes people who are known and banned in certain countries." Kutty teaches law at Osgoode and also taught at Valparaiso University, Ind. He has written extensively on radicalization, including what Muslims must do to stop it. He said he has worked with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, and been consulted by the U.S. House Homeland Security Subcommittee on Intelligence.

Lebuis accused Hamilton lawyer Hussein Hamdani of having lobbied Ottawa to stop using "Islamic" in relation to terrorism by Muslims, and having done so with "a delegation of Islamist leaders linked to the Muslim Brotherhood infrastructure operating in Canada." Since 2005, Hamdani had been a member of the federal government's Cross-Cultural Roundtable on National Security, which fosters dialogue between the government and leaders of various cultural communities on national security matters. Within weeks of Lebuis's accusation, the Harper government removed Hamdani from the federal advisory committee.

Some of his writings are also published by MEF, a right-wing anti-Islam think tank that spreads misinformation. <u>Islamist Watch</u> was created by MEF to stop "Islamists" in the West. Islamist Watch contains a compilation of "extensive profiles of organizations, activists and clerics belonging [to] various Islamist networks." Among the organizations listed are the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the largest Muslim civil liberties organization, the Muslim Public Affairs Council, and the Muslims Student Association.

#### **Lorenzo Vidino**

## **Testimony:**

41st Parliament, 2nd Session Issue No. 17

## **Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence**

Dr. Lorenzo Vidino is the Director of the Program on Extremism at George Washington University. He is an Italian American legal scholar whose research promotes conspiracy theories about the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe and the United States. Vidino is connected to numerous anti-Muslim think tanks in the United States and Europe, and has published in various anti-Muslim outlets.<sup>3</sup> While Vidino has published a number of publications about the Muslim Brotherhood, in an interview with NPR in March 2017 Vidino stated, "I've been studying the brotherhood for 15 years...I maybe understand 10 percent of how it works." Most of his publications are with anti-Muslim institutions, with a history of producing anti-Muslim research and promoting voices supporting anti-Muslim legislation. Vidino has a history of advancing unscientific theories and anti-Muslim tropes.<sup>4</sup>

In 2004 and 2005, Vidino served as Senior Analyst with Steve Emerson's Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPT) in Washington.

In November 2005, Vidino gave an interview to the far-right, anti-Muslim website FrontPage Magazine. In late 2005, Vidino published an article titled "The Muslim Brotherhood's Conquest of Europe" in the Middle East Quarterly (MEQ), which is published by Daniel Pipes' anti-Muslim Middle East Forum (MEF). MEF is a research institute bankrolled by wealthy right-wing donors and MEF itself financially supports right-wing leaders and their activities.

Vidino has been <u>charged</u> with promoting conspiracy theories about the Muslim Brotherhood and is connected to a number of anti-Muslim think-tanks in the US and Europe. In November 2006, Vidino <u>published</u> an essay titled "Aims and Methods of Europe's Muslim Brotherhood" for the Hudson Institute, a Washington, D.C.-based think tank with a history of ant-Muslim actions.

Furthermore, He advises the Austrian Documentation Center for Political Islam, an organization that co-published the highly disputed 'Islam map', which shows the locations of more than 600 mosques and Muslim associations. with the Austrian government.

Vidino <u>has maintained</u> connections with many anti-Muslim organizations and writers in the United States and Europe. In 2004 and 2005, Vidino served as Senior Analyst with Steve Emerson's Investigative Project on Terrorism (IPT) in Washington, D.C. Emerson has a long history of propagating anti-Muslim conspiracy theories.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-lorenzo-vidino/

<sup>4</sup> https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-common-anti-muslim-tropes-2

# **Matthew Levitt**

## **Testimony:**

41st Parliament, 2nd Session Issue No. <u>17</u> 42nd Parliament, 1st Session Issue No. <u>12</u>

Matthew Levitt is a Fromer-Wexler Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP), a Washington, D.C.-based pro-Israel American think tank, and the director of the Jeanette and Eli Reinhard Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence. He is currently the Director of the Stein Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence at The Washington Institute. M.J. Rosenberg, who has worked on Capitol Hill for various Democratic members of the House and Senate for 15 years, criticized the WINEP for being the think tank of the pro-Israel lobbying group American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). AIPAC is a pro-Israel advocacy group that has long been running attack ads against Israel's critics in Congress. AIPAC faced accusations of Islamophobia and incitement after doubling down on attacks against Muslim-American congresswomen Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib. Dozens of Jewish-American figures working in policy, politics, and advocacy have condemned AIPAC's action in a letter. Additionally, AIPAC has made financial contributions to individuals and organizations in the Islamophobia Network.

Levitt is probably the most commonly cited "terrorism expert" by anti-Muslim groups. Previously, he served as: counterterrorism intelligence analyst at the FBI; deputy assistant secretary for intelligence and analysis at the Department of the Treasury; and counterterrorism advisor at the State Department.

Levitt sits on the board of advisors of the Foundation for Defence of Democracies (FDD), which Eli Clifton of Salon news website has called "Washington's premiere hawkish think tank". The Foundation for Defence of Democracies (FDD) is linked to the European Foundation for Democracy (EFD) - a think tank whose content focuses on defaming Muslim civil society organizations and attempts to exclude such organizations from the European political field. FDD is also a recipient of the William Rosenwald Family fund, one of the top seven funders of the 'Islamophobia Network' as mentioned in <a href="The Center for American Progress">The Center for American Progress</a>' report.

His work on terrorism has been subjected to widespread criticism by both journalists and academics. Heather Frizzell in her thesis in Washington University states that "over the course of his testimony, Dr. Levitt makes several statements about regular Muslim practices and radicalized individuals, then never defines the difference between the two, nor the line where one supposedly gives way to another. The overall effect of these repetitive claims is the erasure of the alleged line drawn between "normal" and "radicalized" Muslims, making it impossible to know which is which."

## **Ayaan Hirsi Ali**

# **Testimony:**

41st Parliament, 2nd Session Issue No. 19

#### About:

Ayaan Hirsi Ali is a Somali-born Dutch American activist, writer, and politician known for her views on Islam and its compatibility with Western democratic values. She has written several internationally bestselling <u>autobiographical books</u> and co-wrote the movie "<u>Submission</u>," which critiques Islam's treatment of women. Hirsi Ali has also been a member of parliament in the Netherlands, where she made headlines for <u>accusing the Prophet Muhammad of pedophilia</u> in an interview. She later <u>admitted to lying</u> about being forced into marriage in order to obtain asylum, though she claimed that her party was aware of the deception.

Hirsi Ali moved to the United States and works with the <u>American Enterprise Institute</u>, where she has <u>stated</u> that "The western world would be wise to recognize the realities of Islam, a religion laid down in writing over a millennium ago with violence and oppression at its heart." In testimony before the United States Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, she <u>stated</u> that "Islam is not just a religion as most Western citizens recognize the term "religion," a faith; it is also a political ideology, a legal order, and in many ways also a military doctrine associated with the campaigns of the Prophet Muhammad."

Hirsi Ali is the founder of the AHA Foundation and a founding member of the Champions for Liberty Against the Reality of Islamist Tyranny (<u>CLARITy</u>) Coalition, which aims to build a diverse group of "Muslim reformers," ex-Muslims, activists, writers, academics, and others to push back against what it sees as the "dangerous ideology of Islamist."

In 2016, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) <u>included Hirsi Ali in its list</u> of "anti-Muslim extremists" for "position[ing] herself as an ex-Muslim champion of women's rights." SPLC describes her "anti-Muslim rhetoric" as "remarkably toxic."

## **Haras Rafiq**

## **Testimony:**

41st Parliament, 2nd Session Issue No. 16

Haras Rafiq is a trustee of the charity <u>Muslims Against Antisemitism</u> in the United Kingdom. Since 2004, Rafiq has worked as a Counter-Extremism and Counter-Terrorism expert. Furthermore, Rafiq served as CEO and Executive Board Member of Quilliam International for 7 years.

The organization has been criticized by many civil rights organizations because the think-tank's views are based on faulty science and only seek to criminalize and securitize Muslims. Quilliam has historically supported the U.K. government's Prevent strategy aimed at preventing "radicalization." Prevent has been criticized by government officials, human rights experts, academics, teachers, and community organizers for securitizing and criminalizing Muslims.

Rafig stated in the Parliamentary meeting of the Standing Committee on Finance

"The way they [Islamists] do this is no different from the way fascism or communism has been spread. They build a number of entities within different spaces in our society, whether they provide education or pastoral care, and so on. Then by building their own individual capacity and education, they persuade them to come and join their gang or their club. They then, obviously, move them along through the grievance-based process."

The Quilliam Foundation is a "counter-extremism" think tank that has <u>collaborated with a number of anti-Muslim individuals and organizations</u>. The organization has called for tougher action against "nonviolent extremism" and supports CVE policies, which many civil rights organizations claim are based on flawed science and seek to criminalize and securitize Muslims.

Quilliam has previously worked with the Henry Jackson Society, a think tank whose Associate Director, Douglass Murray, published in June 2017 a piece in The Sun, declaring that the UK needs "less Islam."

In 2015, Quilliam signed on to a full-page advert in the New York Times, taken out by Gatestone Institute, calling on Muslims to condemn worldwide violence and implying that the explanation for such violence was Islam.