

Fleetbank House,
2-6 Salisbury Square,
London,
EC4Y 8JX
United Kingdom

28 May 2019

Dear David Isaac CBE,

I am writing on behalf of the Muslim Council of Britain – the largest umbrella body of Muslim organisations in the UK – to formally request the Equalities and Human Rights Commission to investigate whether the Conservative Party has breached its obligations under the Equality Act.

Given the Act makes it unlawful for the Party to discriminate against its members, prospective members or its guests, we believe there is sufficient evidence to suggest that there is a prima facie case to answer of systemic unlawful acts by the Party.

The main pillars of the case proposed are as follows:

1. **Islamophobia amongst Members of Parliament:** When Members of Parliament engaged in Islamophobia or a campaign for Mayor of London engaged in Islamophobia, no action was taken, demonstrating a tolerance for Islamophobia at the highest levels of the Party;
2. **Atmosphere of Hostility Against Muslim Conservative Party Members:** Islamophobia has also been tolerated towards Muslim members of the Party, indicating an atmosphere of hostility towards Muslims in the Party;
3. **Scale of Islamophobia in the Party:** The problem of Islamophobia runs deep into the Party with a total of c.150 representatives of the Party and members of the Party who have engaged in Islamophobia;
4. **Failure of Complaints Process:** Those in charge of the process of handling complaints within the Party (Chair, Deputy Chair) have demonstrated a callous attitude to complaints, misleading members and the public with limited (if any) transparency; and
5. **Denial of Islamophobia:** The Party and its representatives have denied there is even a major problem of Islamophobia in the Party.

Any one of these charges should be sufficient to indicate a serious problem. Taken together, this has led to there being a situation where members of the Party and prospective members from a Muslim background specifically, have felt and publicly stated that there is an institutional problem of Islamophobia, where racism against Muslims is not dealt with other than where there is a media spotlight on the issue.

We believe that the evidence we have collated – attached in an Appendix to this letter – is sufficient to support the case outlined above. We also recognise that the EHRC is able to request further evidence given the lack of transparency within the Party and request the relevant individuals within

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the Conservative Campaign Headquarters (CCHQ) to add further examples of potential breaches of the Equality Act.

Despite the escalation in the number of cases of Islamophobia, there appears to have been no change in the approach taken. The Party has thus far failed to sufficiently engage with members of the Party who have raised these concerns privately and then publicly (from Baroness Warsi and Lord Sheikh to the Conservative Muslim Forum), or Muslim community groups such as the Muslim Council of Britain.

Given this lack of willingness to take any opportunity to tackle this problem once and for all, we are hoping that the EHRC will be able to launch a formal investigation into this presumed breach of the Equality Act, and identify ways to ensure to rectify this serious issue within the governing Party of this country.

If there is any further information that may support your work, please do not hesitate to get in touch.

Look forward to hearing from you

Yours



Muslim Council of Britain

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Appendix

This appendix provides the prima facie evidence outlined in the letter in each of the four areas of the case proposed. Given the unwillingness of the Conservative Party to engage constructively in these discussions, the evidence provided is of two types:

- **Views of those with direct and first-hand knowledge** about the issue within the Conservative Party e.g. those with current / former positions in the Party, representatives of the Party, members of the Party who have been at specific events
- **Public information** about incidents that have taken place within the Party or statements made by Party representatives or members

The evidence provided is collated in each of the 6 sections highlighted in the letter:

1. **Islamophobia amongst Members of Parliament:** When Members of Parliament engaged in Islamophobia or a campaign for Mayor of London engaged in Islamophobia, no action was taken, demonstrating a tolerance for Islamophobia at the highest levels of the Party;
2. **Atmosphere of Hostility Against Muslim Conservative Party Members:** Where Islamophobia has also been tolerated towards Muslim members of the Party, indicating an atmosphere of hostility towards Muslims in the Party;
3. **Scale of Islamophobia in the Party:** The problem of Islamophobia runs deep into the Party with a large number of representatives of the Party and members of the Party who have engaged in Islamophobia;
4. **Failure of Complaints Process:** Those in charge of the process of handling complaints within the Party (Chair, Deputy Chair) have demonstrated a callous attitude to complaints, misleading members and the public with limited (if any) transparency; and
5. **Denial of Islamophobia:** The Party and its representatives have denied there is even a major problem of Islamophobia in the Party

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1. Islamophobia amongst Members of Parliament

This section of the appendix will provide examples of the Islamophobia at the very top of the Party, even used as an election tactic, which demonstrates a tolerance for Islamophobia. There are two sections to this part of the Appendix:

- A) Campaign for Mayor of London
- B) Comments and behaviour of other Members of Parliament

A) Campaign for Mayor of London

The campaign for the Mayor of London against Sadiq Khan by Zac Goldsmith, has been widely described as worse than “dog whistle” racism targeting Muslims, including by Andrew Boff, the Conservative group leader on the Greater London assembly.¹

Mohammed Amin, chair of the Conservative Muslim Forum, stated that “Zac began to paint Khan as a closet extremist....**Every Muslim member of the Conservative** Party who has discussed the campaign with me has understood the messages in this way, as have many, probably most, non-Muslim commentators. I concluded that Zac had abandoned any attempt to appeal to Muslim voters”.²

During this campaign, there appeared to be a co-ordinated strategy to employ the Islamophobic tropes that Muslims are extremists or linked to extremists, all the way to the top of the Party:

- Prime Minister Theresa May, home secretary at the time, declared Khan unsafe to run London because of an alleged history of defending extremists;³
- Former Prime Minister David Cameron falsely accused an Imam associated with Khan of supporting Islamic State. The claim was later retracted;⁴
- Former Defence Secretary, Michael Fallon, similarly falsely accused the same Imam. Fallon had to pay damages.⁵

Zac Goldsmith has since refused to apologise and has doubled down on his position throughout the Mayoral Campaign. No action has been taken by the Party in any of these cases.

B) Members of Parliament

Further to the above, there are a number of serious examples of Islamophobia within the Party at the highest levels, where no action has been taken. Given these Members of Parliament are not satirists or ordinary members of the public in a private setting but representatives of a diverse nation, they have the responsibility to set the tone for the UK.

¹ [Zac Goldsmith attacked by senior Tory over London mayoral election tactics](#), 6 May 2016, Guardian

² [Mohammed Amin: I'm a Conservative, and voted for Zac. But I was disgusted by his repeated, risible attempts to smear Khan](#), 7 May 2016, Conservative Home

³ [Sadiq Khan 'isn't fit to be Mayor of London because of his links to extremists', declares Theresa May as a string of senior Tories turn up heat on Labour candidate](#), 10 April 2016, Mail Online

⁴ [David Cameron apologises after saying ex-imam 'supported Islamic State'](#), 11 May 2016, Guardian

⁵ [Michael Fallon pays damages to imam at centre of Sadiq Khan storm](#), 23 June 2016, Guardian

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Attacks on Islam or Muslims create an atmosphere of hostility towards the Muslim members of the Party, and a number of examples are set out below:

1. Boris Johnson:

- He has made a number of statements about Islam e.g. he wrote that “Islam is the problem”, defended Islamophobia as a “natural reaction”⁶
- He made “dehumanising” comments about Muslim women wearing the niqab referring to them as “letter boxes” and “bank robbers”, pandering to the far right,⁷ which had *real-world consequences* for Muslim women (Muslim women mocked as letterboxes in a range of different situations⁸, pensioners echo niqab comments at doctor's surgery⁹, Muslim women wearing niqab facing more abuse generally¹⁰). These were comments that the EHRC called “inflammatory and divisive” and risked “vilifying Muslim women”¹¹ – he has refused to apologise (see later section on the process that cleared him)
- He has been secretly meeting with Steve Bannon, who as the former executive Chairman of Breitbart – described as “far-right” – provided a platform for falsified information about Muslims; and as the former Chief Strategist and Senior Counselor for President Donald Trump, had a key role in writing the Executive Order banning immigration from seven Muslim-majority countries that many have called a “Muslim Ban”¹²

2. Bob Blackman:

- Shared an anti-Muslim post by Tommy Robinson,¹³ and then re-tweeted accounts defending him even though they had a history of hurling abuse at Muslims¹⁴
- Hosted an anti-Muslim extremist (Tapan Ghosh) in Parliament¹⁵ – a man who said the UN should try & “control the Muslim birth rate world over”, has propagated fake anti-Muslim stories like “One million white English children may have been the victims of Muslim rape gangs” and that “Islam has massacred over 669+ million non-Muslims since 622AD” and who appears to be a friend of Tommy Robinson.¹⁶ He later re-tweeted comments asking why there was such a fuss over this individual¹⁷
- Shared a story titled “Muslim Somali sex gang say raping white British children ‘part of their culture’” from the anti-Muslim website Hardcore News USA on his Facebook¹⁸
- Shared a fake story about a Hindu woman being stabbed to death by her Muslim driver for rejecting marriage proposal from an anti-Muslim website, which has been repeatedly accused of publishing false stories designed to cause community tensions between Hindus and Muslims.¹⁹
- Was a member of several far-right and Islamophobic Facebook groups – he was a member of “Britain for the British”, “For Britain Political Party” and “Pendragons Fight Back”. Details of the vile Islamophobia can be found on the Vice website²⁰

⁶ [Boris Johnson wrote that 'Islam is the problem' and defended Islamophobia as a 'natural reaction'](#), 6 August 2018, Business Insider

⁷ [Boris Johnson accused of 'pandering to the far right' and making 'inflammatory and divisive comments' about Muslims](#), 7 August 2018, Independent

⁸ E.g. woman on LBC (via [Twitter](#)), 9 August 2018, LBC; [The Boris Johnson veil debate ignores the women at the centre of it](#), 12 August 2018, Independent; Amanda Fleiss (via [Twitter](#)), 10 August 2018; other examples on [Twitter](#), 12 August 2018, Miqdaad Versi; [Boris Johnson's burqa comments fuel violent crime against Muslim women](#), 9 August 2018, Dal Babu (former senior police officer)

⁹ [Pensioners loudly echo Boris Johnson's niqab comments in doctor's surgery](#), 9 August 2018, Tell Mama

¹⁰ E.g. [‘She might blow up the bus’: Muslim mother, 20, says she was left ‘humiliated’ when British bus driver told her to remove her veil because he ‘didn’t know what she was capable of’ if he couldn’t see her face](#), 10 August 2018, Mail Online

¹¹ [Boris Johnson's burka comments inflammatory and divisive - equalities watchdog](#), 10 August, BBC

¹² [FACTSHEET: STEVE BANNON](#), 16 September 2016, Bridge Initiative

¹³ [Anti-Muslim post retweeted by Tory MP Bob Blackman](#), 28 October 2017, The Times

¹⁴ [Twitter](#), 31 October 2017, Miqdaad Versi

¹⁵ [Tory MP Bob Blackman hosts anti-Muslim nationalist Tapan Ghosh](#), 26 October 2017, The Times

¹⁶ Evidence available on [Twitter](#), 25 October 2017, Miqdaad Versi

¹⁷ [Twitter](#), 28 October 2017, Miqdaad Versi

¹⁸ [Tory MP Bob Blackman attacked for anti-Muslim Facebook post](#), 27 March 2018, The Times

¹⁹ [Muslims want Tory 'Islamophobia' test case following Bob Blackman tweet](#), 1 June 2018, The Times

²⁰ [Tory MP with History of Islamophobia Was a Member of Racist Facebook Groups](#), 30 May 2018, Vice News

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It is worth noting that the Prime Minister campaigned with Bob Blackman after many of these incidents.²¹

3. Nadine Dorries:

- Shared a tweet from Tommy Robinson²²
 - Shared a false story about Muslims claiming benefits for several wives from an Anne-Marie Waters supporter who considers Tommy Robinson to be a “truth teller”²³
 - When Sadiq Khan talked about hate crime, Nadine Dorries had the audacity to ask him about grooming gangs, playing to far-right tropes about Muslims (given the specific and real issue of grooming gangs have been most prevalent in other areas of the UK where Sadiq Khan is not Mayor)²⁴
 - Stated that she was disappointed that Boris' de-humanising comments about Muslim women who wear the burqa being “bank robbers” and “letterboxes”, “didn't go further”²⁵ and separately that Muslim women choose clothing to “hide...her bruises”, accusing (without evidence) the Muslims in the families (?) of those wearing a niqab, of domestic violence.²⁶ Further, she linked FGM (without any evidence) to Muslim women wearing a burqa²⁷
 - Despite voting against same-sex marriage, she weaponised gay rights (specifically “gay marriage”) as a means of attacking Muslim women wearing a burqa who she claimed were “forced to cover up”²⁸
 - Said a Muslim woman should “appreciate” everything Britain had given her²⁹
4. **Ben Bradley** vociferously defended a Conservative Councillor who shared Islamophobic posts, lied to a reporter about it and the same Councillor was later caught out.³⁰
 5. **Damian Green** responded to a deeply Islamophobic manifesto about “halting Muslim birth-rates” sent to him, without condemning the tropes but instead thanked them and responded as if they had made valid points.³¹
 6. **Andrew Rosindell** was found to be a member of a Facebook group called Conservative Debating Forum - thought to be the second largest pro-Tory group on Facebook, which was riddled with Islamophobia. It carries several posts a day regarding Muslims or Islam, accompanied by comments such as “send them back” and “we should ban Islam”. Others suggested that Islam represents an “threat to our country” to Britain and that only someone with a “mental illness” would convert to the religion. One member simply stated, “I am Islamophobic”. He was later also found to be a member of a group supporting the far-right leader Tommy Robinson. The Times noted that you can't be added “without accepting an invitation...or requesting to join”.
 7. **Andrea Leadsom** responded to a question by Naz Shah MP about the definition of Islamophobia by saying that it should be discussed “with foreign ministers”. As the New Statesman says: “Apparently, to the Leader of the House of Commons, Muslim equals foreign.”³²
 8. **Phillip Hollobone** said the burqa was 'the religious equivalent of going around with a paper bag over your head with two holes for the eyes'³³
 9. **Philip Davies** called for the abolishment of Sharia councils but made no such request about similar Beth Din courts, indicating a clear differentiated treatment for Muslims³⁴

²¹ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 14 March 2018, Miqdaad Versi

²² Screenshot available on [Twitter](#), 8 January 2019, Miqdaad Versi

²³ Screenshot available on [Twitter](#), 17 September 2018, Miqdaad Versi

²⁴ Screenshot available on [Twitter](#), 17 September 2018, Miqdaad Versi

²⁵ Via [Twitter](#), 8 August 2018, talkRADIO

²⁶ Screenshot available on [Twitter](#), 17 September 2018, Miqdaad Versi

²⁷ Via [Twitter](#), 8 August 2018, Red Roar

²⁸ Screenshot available on [Twitter](#), 17 September 2018, Miqdaad Versi

²⁹ [Nadine Dorries MP says I should 'appreciate' everything Britain has given me. This is why that's racist](#), 22 May 2018, i news

³⁰ [A Tory Party Vice-Chair Defended A Councillor's Anti-Muslim Facebook Posts](#), June 2018, BuzzFeed

³¹ Via [Twitter](#), 27 March 2019, MatesJacob

³² [WATCH: Tory minister Andrea Leadsom thinks Muslims are a case for “foreign ministers”](#), 7 March 2019, New Statesman

³³ [MP Philip Hollobone was referred to police over 'paper bag' burka comments](#), March 2010, Guardian

³⁴ [Muslim leaders say Philip Davies 'misinformed' after he calls for abolishment of Sharia councils](#), 1 March 2018, Telegraph & Argus

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10. **David Davies** claimed that Islamic headwear is “an excuse for sexual violence against women”³⁵
11. **Former Prime Minister David Cameron** alleged that a school (Islamic Shakhsiyah Foundation) was linked to Islamic extremism – a view dismissed by Haringey Council who found no evidence of “inappropriate influence”³⁶ In one of his many speeches in the past 6 years about Muslims and extremism³⁷, he most famously last year proposed that Muslim women (specifically) should learn English to help tackle extremism³⁸. Even within the government’s message in 2015 to Muslim communities on the celebration of Eid, he felt compelled to refer to the attacks by Daesh on Kobane and Tunisia.³⁹
12. **Mike Fabricant** shared an Islamophobic picture of Sadiq Khan as a pig, claiming that he had not seen the picture of Sadiq Khan (although it is unclear what the political point of the photo without Sadiq Khan).⁴⁰ He believed that Jewish schools face a threat from Muslim schools (without evidence)⁴¹ and falsely claimed that 100 anti-Jewish attacks were committed by “intolerant Muslims” when no such claim was made in the article he cited.⁴²
13. **Michael Gove** was accused of having “extreme” views about Muslims by the former Co-Chair of the Party Baroness Sayeeda Warsi.⁴³
14. **Other MPs** were also found to be part of the Conservative Debating Forum mentioned above including Jacob Rees-Mogg, Ben Bradley, Julian Sturdy, Stuart Andrew, Glyn Davies, James Duddridge, Vicky Ford, George Freeman and Kevin Hollinrake.⁴⁴ Some have claimed that they were added without their knowledge.

Not all of these should be considered of the same seriousness, but the fact that not a single MP on this list has faced any suspension or action (other than Boris Johnson where a secret inquiry cleared him – see later section), demonstrates a woeful tolerance of Islamophobia in the Party.

³⁵ [MP's claims that Islamic headwear is 'an excuse for sexual violence against women' are branded 'ridiculous'](#), April 2016, South Wales Argus

³⁶ [Islamic school condemned by Cameron is cleared](#), 12 December 2009, Independent

³⁷ Speech in Munich on radicalisation and Islamic extremism: [Full transcript of speech](#), 2011; Speech in Indonesia including how Muslims must abandon “the dead-end choice of dictatorship and extremism”, [Daily Telegraph](#), 2012; View that multiculturalism aided extremists³⁷ and call on Muslim leaders to confront extremism, [Daily Mail](#), 2013; [The Times](#), 2013; Ordering an inquiry into the Muslim Brotherhood [The Guardian](#), 2014; View that Muslim silent majority must tackle Islamist extremism at launch of the counter-extremism strategy, [Daily Telegraph](#), 2015

³⁸ Former Prime Minister Cameron’s proposal that more Muslim women should ‘learn English’ to help tackle extremism, [Daily Telegraph](#), 2016

³⁹ Eid 2015: [David Cameron's message](#)

⁴⁰ [Tory MP Michael Fabricant tweets Islamophobic picture depicting Sadiq Khan as a pig](#), 13 July 2018, Independent

⁴¹ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 12 July 2018, Miqdaad Versi

⁴² Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 12 July 2018, Miqdaad Versi

⁴³ [Michael Gove has same 'crazy' anti-Muslim policies as Donald Trump, former Tory chairwoman says](#), March 2017, Independent

⁴⁴ [Pro-Tory Facebook group filled with Islamophobic abuse](#), June 2018, Observer; [Tory MPs amongst membership of Facebook group riddled with Islamophobia](#)”, June 2018, Red Roar

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2. Atmosphere of Hostility Against Muslim Conservative Party Members

The way to best understand whether Islamophobia is tolerated in the Party and if there is an atmosphere of hostility against Muslims in the Party, is by looking to the most senior Muslims outside of Government, but within the Conservative Party – who are free to discuss their views on the issue:

- **The former co-chair of the Party** Baroness Warsi has a unique insight into the workings of the Party. In 2016, she discussed how there was a “simmering underbelly of Islamophobia” in the Party⁴⁵ and has since explained how she believes there is “institutional” Islamophobia in the Party⁴⁶
- **The founder of the Conservative Muslim Forum** and longstanding senior Muslim peer Lord Sheikh has stated how the concerns of Islamophobia are “no surprise to me and should not come as a surprise to the party either” as he urged the Party to launch an inquiry into Islamophobia⁴⁷ - he has since been hounded by the Party, receiving dozens of “vile” Islamophobic emails⁴⁸ together with calls for him to be expelled from the Party⁴⁹
- **The current Chair of the Conservative Muslim Forum** and longstanding activist Mohammed Amin has accused the Party of failing to root out Islamophobia because they are scared of damaging their own political power, noting that they were instead hoping the issue “will magically go away”⁵⁰.
- **Chair of the Youth Wing of the Conservative Muslim Forum** and long-term activist Hashim Bhatti discussed the “feeling that Muslims are not being listened to when they express concerns about the bigotry they face” and joined the call for an inquiry into Islamophobia in the Party⁵¹

It is unclear who better within the Party could speak out to highlight the concerns they have seen. However, if these voices are insufficient, their views are supported by a series of specific examples of behaviour targeting Muslims within the Conservative Party:

- Baroness Warsi was labelled a “P***” in Conservative Party meetings⁵²
- Conservative Party Candidate Shazia Awan left the Party because it has “a notion that Islam is not compatible with British values” explaining a worrying incident at a party event⁵³
- A Muslim member has stated how he was asked to door-knock certain houses while campaigning because the residents were not white⁵⁴
- At the Hammersmith association annual dinner 2016, the 5 ethnic minorities that attended were put on the same table at the farthest end of the hall (other than the girlfriend of one of the exec)⁵⁵
- A Muslim former Deputy Chair of a local Party states he was not included on mailing lists for campaigning, was told his application for wards had gone missing and was only given three days’ notice for a selection event for Holland Park ward prompted after he asked why he had heard nothing for three months.⁵⁶

⁴⁵ [Is Islamophobia taken as seriously as anti semitism?](#), 12 May 2016, BBC Asian Network

⁴⁶ [Baroness Warsi hits out at ‘institutional’ Islamophobia in the Tory party](#), 5 March 2019, ITV News

⁴⁷ [Theresa May urged to launch inquiry into Conservative Islamophobia by senior Tory peer](#), 2 June 2018, Independent

⁴⁸ [Tory Muslim peer who called for Boris Johnson to be kicked out of party receives barrage of ‘vile Islamophobic emails’](#), 10 August 2018, Independent

⁴⁹ [Conservatives call for Lord Sheikh to be expelled from party](#), 16 August 2018, Guardian

⁵⁰ [Conservatives hoping Islamophobia issue ‘will magically go away’, warns senior party activist](#), 5 June 2018, Independent

⁵¹ [I’m a Tory councillor. Islamophobia in my party goes beyond Boris Johnson](#), 7 August 2018, Guardian

⁵² [Good Morning Britain](#) via Twitter, 31 May 2018

⁵³ [As a Muslim member of the Tory party, I saw Islamophobia firsthand](#), 1 June 2018, New Statesman

⁵⁴ [‘Ex-council candidate accuses Conservatives of prejudice and discrimination as he quits party’](#), 4 April 2019, SW Londoner

⁵⁵ Directly from an attendee at the dinner

⁵⁶ [‘Ex-council candidate accuses Conservatives of prejudice and discrimination as he quits party’](#), 4 April 2019, SW Londoner

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- The local party leader had said that one member looked “too Muslim” and “wouldn’t be accepted”⁵⁷
- There were insinuations made by Conservative Party members that some Muslim members were not British⁵⁸
- One Muslim Party member explains how he was told that good Muslims only being of one sect⁵⁹
- Former Tory candidate Kishan Devani quit the party due to “uncomfortable lurch to the right which caused Islamophobia scandal”⁶⁰
- One Muslim member telling how a councillor had told him he was “not welcome” in the party and the same Muslim member later being told during a candidate’s interview that “naturally in your core belief women are not allowed to work”⁶¹

These incidents are some of the comments from Muslims within the Party demonstrated a culture of Islamophobia faced by Muslims. This is supplemented by the Islamophobia from those who are not Muslim as outlined in the later parts of the Appendix.

Muslim communities across the UK have raised concerns and called for an inquiry into Islamophobia in the Conservative Party, including:

- The Muslim Council of Britain, the largest umbrella body of Muslim organisations in the UK, which the majority of Muslims believe is doing a “good job” in representing their views⁶²
- Councils of mosques across the country representing over hundreds of mosques and Muslim institutions⁶³
- The largest Muslim student union FOSIS representing 120 Islamic societies, and the Union of Jewish Students (UJS)
- Two out of the four Muslim Conservative peers Baroness Warsi and Lord Sheikh
- Muslim organisations including the Muslim Women’s Network and Jewish organisations such as the Jewish Council for Racial Equality
- The affiliated Muslim group, the Conservative Muslim Forum

These calls have been ignored – we can only imagine how Muslims within the Party would feel treated when their representative bodies and communities are being ignored.

Furthermore, for any Muslim member of the Conservative Party to be involved in the Party, they would be in one of the various social media groups. Some of the most well known have been full of Islamophobia:

- **Conservative Home:** the most high profile Conservative Party grassroots activist forum was littered with Islamophobia e.g. comments talking of the need to discuss “how to eradicate the cancer” of “Islam and Middle Eastern cultures”. One commenter said Muslims should be “explaining and justifying what their faith has to offer civilised society”, while another seemed to threaten Muslims.⁶⁴
- **Conservative Debating Forum:** the second largest pro-Conservative Facebook (closed) group was full of regular Islamophobic abuse (a 42-page dossier has been collected). Comments include demands to “expel the London mayor” and “send back” immigrants, while another

⁵⁷ [Conservatives hoping Islamophobia issue 'will magically go away', warns senior party activist](#), 5 June 2018, Independent

⁵⁸ [Conservatives hoping Islamophobia issue 'will magically go away', warns senior party activist](#), 5 June 2018, Independent

⁵⁹ ['He inferred I wasn't British': Tory members tell of Islamophobia](#), 31 May 2018, Guardian

⁶⁰ [Former Tory candidate quit party due to 'uncomfortable lurch to the right which caused Islamophobia scandal'](#), 10 June 2018, Independent

⁶¹ [Conservatives hoping Islamophobia issue 'will magically go away', warns senior party activist](#), 5 June 2018, Independent

⁶² [BBC Muslim Poll, 2015, ComRes and C4 / Juniper Survey of Muslims 2015](#), Question 8 (Table 26), ICM have polled similar questions – see screenshots on [Twitter](#) from the original polls

⁶³ Federation of Muslim Organisations (Leicester), Bradford Council of Mosques, Manchester Council of Mosques, Muslim Council of Scotland, Muslim Council of Wales, Bolton Council of Mosques, Rochdale Council of Mosques, Federation of Redbridge Muslim Organisations, Waltham Forest Council of Mosques, Council of European Jamaats, Joint Mosque Council of Peterborough, Luton Council of Mosques, Luton Sunni Council of Mosques, Belfast Islamic Centre

⁶⁴ [The Online 'Home' of the Tory Party Is a Hotbed of Islamophobia](#), 10 August 2018, Vice News

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post states that “Islam should be banned”. 10 Conservative MPs were found to be members as well as “dozens of Tory councillors” and other senior Conservatives. Some have since distanced themselves from the group.⁶⁵

- **Boris Johnson’s official Facebook page:** the official Facebook page hosted hundreds of Islamophobic messages. Among the remarks on the former foreign secretary’s official Facebook page are calls for “no Muslims in government, police or army”; one post reads: “That’s crazy to trust them. They are just waiting for the Jihad signal to turn on us. #islamophobicandproud.”; another tells the Conservative MP for Uxbridge and South Ruislip: “Come on Boris, you had the bottle to start getting rid of these bloody muslims, just like Enoch [Powell] wanted to rid us of all yer bloody c**ns!”⁶⁶
- **Jacob Rees-Mogg Supporters group on Facebook:** this group with 23,000 members, had a large number of Islamophobic comments. One comment mentioned entering a mosque with a rifle while another called to “stop the Islamification of Britain”.⁶⁷ Muslims whose murder have been called for, on this group include Sajid Javid, Sadiq Khan, Naz Shah and Magid⁶⁸.
- **True Blue Tories:** Rebecca D’Amato, administrator of the True Blue Tories group, appeared to suggest that Christchurch was a hoax, calling it “a stitch up”. Martin Oddy, a Conservative supporter who has helped organise events for Brexiteer MP Andrea Jenkyns, replied with the sick joke “shoe sale in New Zealand”.⁶⁹

For members who are Muslim, this adds to the atmosphere of hostility they face in the Party as such groups are tolerated.

Finally, the very existence of Islamophobia as a problem in the Party has been denied by its representatives (see later section of the Appendix).

Together, these explain how the Party has fostered and tolerated an atmosphere of Islamophobia within the Party.

⁶⁵ [Pro-Tory Facebook group filled with Islamophobic abuse](#), 10 June 2018, Guardian

⁶⁶ [Boris Johnson’s Facebook page mobbed by racists after burqa furore](#), 19 August 2018, The Sunday Times

⁶⁷ [Conservatives suspend 25 more members for posting Islamophobic or racist comments on Facebook](#), 19 March 2019, Independent

⁶⁸ [Twitter](#), 26 January 2019, MatesJacob

⁶⁹ [Tory groups respond to Christchurch massacre with sick jokes and conspiracy theories](#), 18 March 2019, The Red Roar

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3. Scale of Islamophobia in the Party

The problem of Islamophobia runs deep into the Party with a large number of representatives of the Party and members of the Party who have engaged in Islamophobia. This section provides examples of serious issues of Islamophobia and hate about Islam and/or Muslims by Conservative councillors, candidates and representatives, for whom it is unacceptable to share hate about Muslims or Islam.

Given the Party refuses to be transparent in its processes, these are therefore only a subset of the likely much larger group of councillors, candidates and representatives who have been involved in such anti-Muslim or anti-Islam activity:

1. Mike Payne shared an article which called Muslims 'parasites' who 'live off the state and breed like rabbits' amongst a number of Islamophobic comments⁷⁰
2. Alexander van Terheyden called Islam a 'violent political ideology' comparable to fascism and communism.⁷¹
3. Darren Harrison (Conservative council candidate for Watford Borough Council's Tudor Ward) was alleged to have links to Generation Identity, an anti-Islam organisation with strong links to far-right groups across Europe.⁷²
4. Phillipa Auton (prospective Conservative candidate for Hounslow council's Iselworth ward) retweeted a tweet from Tommy Robinson and separately tweeted 'Revoke Muslim immigration, repatriate and secure European borders..' as a means of keeping Europe safe.⁷³
5. Peter Lucey (former Conservative Mayor of Wokingham) liked a page by right-wing extremist Tommy Robinson and Geert Wilders, the anti-Muslim Dutch politician, and made a number of posts about Islam and the English Defence League.⁷⁴
6. Nick Sundin (prospective Tory Councillor in Newcastle) tweeted the Prophet Mohammed was a 'f***** paedophile' and that Allah was a "c*****"⁷⁵
7. Karen Sunderland (candidate for Lewisham Council) called Islam 'the new Nazism' and attacked women who wear the headscarf stating "Such a lame attempt you made to justify hijabs. Self indulgent to think anyone would give a toot that you showed your hair".⁷⁶
8. David Boston (Conservative candidate for Enfield Council's Turkey Street ward) posted a picture of bacon hanging on a door handle as a way to 'protect your house from terrorism'.⁷⁷
9. Stephen Goldsack had formerly been the "Scottish security adviser" for the BNP in 2001⁷⁸, which led to the Muslim Council of Scotland accusing the Conservative Party of a "deep problem" of racism and Islamophobia
10. Ray Bray (Kirkburton Parish Council's Conservative member for Shelley) said Labour were to blame for "Muzzie rapists" amongst a number of offensive and Islamophobic tweets and re-tweets.⁷⁹
11. Stephen Ardley (former Mayor of Lowesoft) allegedly said it was "unbelievable" that a Muslim had been elected and went on to describe those who voted for him as "blind"⁸⁰
12. Ian Hibberd (Southampton) who asked a fellow councillor "Why are you dressed like a p*****"⁸¹
13. Linda Freedman (Barnet) who expressed support for the detention of Muslims⁸²

⁷⁰ [Calderdale councillor suspended over 'Muslim parasite' posts](#), 4 April 2018, BBC

⁷¹ [Tory candidate in Hoxton suspended for anti-Muslim posts on social media](#), 17 April 2018, Hackney Citizen

⁷² [VICE Exclusive: The Tory Council Candidate Who Supports Far-Right Extremists](#), 20 April 2018, VICE News

⁷³ [Claims that tweets sent by woman selected as Conservative election candidate were anti-Muslim](#), 27 April 2018, MyLondon

⁷⁴ [Town's mayor resigns over claims he liked Islamophobic and far-right social media posts](#), 29 April 2018, Mail Online

⁷⁵ [Tory candidate suspended over tweets calling prophet Mohammed a 'paedophile'](#), 27 April 2018, Chronicle Live

⁷⁶ [Lewisham Tory candidate suspended over 'Islamophobic tweets'](#), 1 May 2018, BBC

⁷⁷ [Tory candidate suspended for 'deep-seated racist' Facebook post of bacon on door handle to 'protect your house from terrorism'](#), 1 May 2018, Mirror

⁷⁸ [Tory councillor expelled over BNP links](#), 23 May 2018, BBC

⁷⁹ [Examiner Live \("Islamophobia, bully claims and a far-right retweet - how councillors fell foul of social media"\)](#), March 2018

⁸⁰ [Tory councillor suspended after 'posting Islamophobic comments about Sadig Khan on Facebook'](#), 10 June 2018, Independent

⁸¹ [Two Conservative councillors suspended following allegations of Islamophobic comments on social media](#), 4 June 2018, Independent

⁸² [Jewish Tory councillor suspended for backing 'detention of Muslims'](#), 4 June 2018, Jewish News

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14. Dr Teck Khong endorsed and shared various messages including: “Naturally Muslims can be humane in spite of their religion, much as not all Nazis were guilty of murder”, “And evil religion if ever there’s one” and “Muzzies don’t need any help with radicalising.”⁸³
15. Afzal Amin (Parliamentary candidate for Dudley North) made plans to persuade the English Defence League to announce an inflammatory march against a new £18million ‘mega-mosque’ to attract votes for him.⁸⁴
16. Rosemary Carroll (a former Conservative Mayor and councillor for Pendle Borough Council) posted a joke on Facebook which compared Asian people to dogs.⁸⁵
17. Jeff Potts (Councillor in Solihull) shared posts including: “Deport and repatriate all Muslims from the UK or watch terrorists kill innocent people for generations to come” and “You’ve clearly not experienced the Pakistani hospitality, having a daughter raped by men who think she’s ‘white trash’”.⁸⁶
18. Mike Franklin retweeted of a post which said the Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, had been “worshipping the devil” alongside a photo of Mr Trudeau kneeling in a mosque, he shared various posts about Sadiq Khan including “Islam is incompatible with everyone. Where there are Muslims, there is conflict” and “If Islam is the answer, could the question be “What’s the most irritating, dull and violent religion on earth?”⁸⁷
19. John Raper (Sherburn’s Conservative ward councillor) shared posts mocking Muslims including a picture of a pig with a caption stating “share this pig if your (sic) not celebrating Ramadan” or a “joke” about people having a whip-round to procure petrol in order to allow three Muslim protestors to set themselves on fire. He also published a picture of David Cameron promising to “hand-over” the country to a Muslim man.⁸⁸
20. Robert Phipps (councillor representing Teignmouth East on Teignmouth Town Council) shared a Facebook post from the far-right group Britain First showing a picture of a dog with its nose poking through a blue sheet captioned ‘Guide dog for a Muslim woman known as a Barka’⁸⁹
21. Martyn York (Conservative councillor in Wellingborough) was a moderator for “Boris Johnson: Supporters’ Group”, which included comments calling for the bombing of mosques around the UK, comments that Muslims were “ragheads”; and calling Sadiq Khan a “conniving little muzrat”⁹⁰
22. Dorinda Bailey, a former Conservative council candidate, wrote “I agree” after comments saying mosques should be bombed.⁹¹
23. Len Milner and Chris Smith (East Staffordshire Council) “liked” a cartoon posted on Facebook depicting a mock beheading of Labour’s Sadiq Khan.⁹²
24. Peter Lamb (prospective council candidate in Harlow) Mr Lamb tweeted: “Islam like alcoholism [sic]. The first step to recovery is admit you have a problem”, “Turkey buys oil from ISIS. Muslims sticking together” and “Do they want us to call ISIS Daesh now so that we don’t associate them with Islam?”⁹³
25. George McIntyre (prospective candidate for Bonnyrigg and Lasswade ward) stated how he was “sick to the back teeth” of “whinging” Muslims and suggested they should leave the country.⁹⁴
26. Ian Lawson (Staffordshire county councillor) said in a council training meeting that he would “send them home” in what the complainants believed was referring to Muslims generally

⁸³ [Meet Cllr Dr Teck Khong, Conservative Councillor and General Practitioner](#), 20 April 2016, Tell Mama

⁸⁴ [Exposed: Star Tory candidate plotted with race thugs to stage fake EDL demo in cynical bid to win votes](#), 22 March 2015, Mail on Sunday

⁸⁵ [Tory councillor who shared joke comparing Asian people to dogs suspended](#), 4 July 2017, indy100

⁸⁶ [Solihull councillor suspended after sharing racist tweets](#), 24 September 2017, Birmingham Live

⁸⁷ [Cllr Mike Franklin suspended from Conservative party over offensive tweets](#), 6 February 2019, Kent Online and [Conservative Cllr Mike Franklin suspended over Islamophobic retweets](#), 6 February 2019, Tell Mama

⁸⁸ [Facebook ‘jokes’ land councillor in hot water](#), 30 September 2015, The Scarborough News

⁸⁹ [Councillor pictured with Prime Minister under fire for sharing Britain First post on Facebook](#), 1 December 2017, Devon Live

⁹⁰ [Tory councillor suspended over Islamophobic comments about bombing mosques made in Facebook group he moderates](#), 2 March 2019, Independent

⁹¹ [Tory councillor suspended over Islamophobic comments about bombing mosques made in Facebook group he moderates](#), 2 March 2019, Independent

⁹² [Tory councillors in East Staffordshire quit over Islamophobia row](#), 6 March 2019, BBC

⁹³ [EXCL Tories slammed after activist suspended for Islamophobia allowed to stand as council candidate](#), 4 March 2019, Politics Home

⁹⁴ [Midlothian Tory candidate suspended over anti-Muslim rant](#), 10 March 2017, Edinburgh News

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although he has since “clarified” that he meant those who had committed crimes in this country, which remains problematic⁹⁵

27. Paul Messenger (Conservative county councillor representing Ramsgate) admitted social media posts were written by him including Posts that were highlighted include one that says: “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... 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.”⁹⁶
28. Ron McKail (Aberdeenshire councillor and deputy provost) shared an image comparing Muslim women to patio umbrellas.⁹⁷
29. Mike Kusneraitis (Englefield Green ward councillor) posted a number of images relating to Muslims on a private Egham residents’ group on Facebook including a dog wearing a towel⁹⁸
30. Graeme Miller (Sunderland City Councillor representing Washington South) shared posts on Facebook including a meme of the Queen advising Kate Middleton not to “leave William for a Muslim”⁹⁹
31. Chris Joannides shared a photo on Facebook comparing Muslim children wearing burkas to binbags on Facebook.¹⁰⁰
32. Bob Frost (Councillor in North Deal) has a history of racist posts about Muslims including memes and statements about Muslims being anti-Semitic, Muslims committing voter fraud, claiming that Sadiq Khan’s background is responsible for grooming, that Islam is not a religion of peace because of a terror attack etc.¹⁰¹
33. Andrew Boles (leader of Swale Borough Council in Kent) shared a Twitter post defending Tommy Robinson¹⁰²
34. David Pulman (a town council election candidate in Hampshire) wrote that Islamophobia is “not surprising” in a Facebook rant about Muslims. He said: “I guess people will stop being afraid of Islam ... 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?”¹⁰³
35. Robin Popley (candidate in the Charnwood borough and Shepshed town council elections for Shepshed East in Leicestershire), has endorsed Facebook posts suggesting Sajid Javid was appointed home secretary to secure “the ethnic vote” and criticising Prince Harry for having a relationship with “a divorcee of mixed race” .¹⁰⁴
36. David Abbott (deputy mayor of Houghton Regis) said: “Moslems are commanded to do everything in their power, including killing, to rid the world of every person who does not follow Islam.” In another exchange he was told that Muslims “hate” being called “Mohammedans”. Mr Abbott replied: “I’ll have to remember that” before using the term in other posts himself, including one in which he said that the religion had a “breed for Islam” philosophy.¹⁰⁵
37. Charalampos Kagouras (local election candidate who has repeatedly stood in north Manchester e.g. for Charlestown and Cheetham and Newton Heath) wrote: "F*** Muslims and their mosques...confiscate their British passports" and "How about teach the f*** [sic]

⁹⁵ 'I've had two operations with Muslim doctors...' - Race-row councillor hits back after 'send them home' comment sparks official complaints, 23 December 2018, StokeonTrent Live.

⁹⁶ Councillor suspended by Conservative Party over Islamophobic posts admits guilt and issues apology, 17 March 2019, The Isle of Thanet News

⁹⁷ Tory councillor apologises for sharing 'Muslim women as patio umbrellas' post, 10 August 2018, The Scotsman

⁹⁸ Tories to investigate Runnymede councillor's alleged anti-Muslim social media post, 31 August 2015, Surrey Live

⁹⁹ Sunderland councillor slammed for sharing anti-Muslim and offensive Facebook posts, 13 March 2018, Chronicle Live

¹⁰⁰ Tory councillor who shared burka joke on Facebook expelled from party, 4 March 2014, Daily Telegraph

¹⁰¹ Screenshots via Twitter, 13 February 2019, Miqdaad Versi

¹⁰² Fresh Islamophobia row hits Conservative Party as chairman Brandon Lewis intervenes, 6 March 2019, Sky News

¹⁰³ Tory candidates suspended over racist and inflammatory posts, 25 April 2019, Guardian

¹⁰⁴ Tory candidates suspended over racist and inflammatory posts, 25 April 2019, Guardian

¹⁰⁵ Conservative candidate David Abbott is suspended over Islam posts, 9 April 2019, The Times

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Muslims how to get the f*** out of Europe before getting kicked out" amongst other Islamophobic posts¹⁰⁶

38. Shaun Bailey (candidate for Mayor of London) wrote in 2005 that accommodating Muslim culture "robs Britain of its community" which could lead the country into a "crime-riddled cesspool"¹⁰⁷ and shared a tweet referring to Sadiq Khan as "mad mullah Khan of Londonistan"¹⁰⁸
39. Laurel Ellis (council candidate for the Gurnos ward on Merthyr Tydfil) shared Facebook pages including Facebook pages included one post that suggested Britain was tolerant "until... Muslims marched". Another, captioned "Sharia May", includes a photoshopped image of May wearing Muslim religious dress. In a Twitter post Ellis said: "Theresa May is a front-runner really? A leader that supports Islam and is happy to have Sharia Law in our country?"¹⁰⁹
40. David Bishop (candidate in Brentwood South in Essex) posted comments on Twitter including: "It's good to be anti-Islam" and "'Islam 'the religion of peace' & rape"¹¹⁰
41. Mick Murphy (Hucknall North in Ashfield) shared an image showing a woman and child in burqas flanked by black rubbish bags. The caption read: "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" and also shared an image on Facebook with a watermark for Britain First's website.¹¹¹
42. Evan Woolcock (council candidate running for the Portishead West ward in Somerset) labelled Islam a "stone age death cult" in one post, and wrote "submit or resist, that's the only choices Islam presents."¹¹²
43. Ivan Lyons (set to contest Westbourne ward) joked about telling a suicidal Muslim man to "stay on the line" when calling the Samaritans from a railway track. Another talked about being frightened of women wearing Burkas and "Muslims, angry bearded types" while on a trip to Afghanistan – with the payoff being that this "scary hell hole" was actually Hounslow.¹¹³
44. Carola Godman Irvine (chair and president of the Conservative Association in the Lewes constituency), claimed Islamic extremists were raping British women to create "Muslim babies" and that also said the Manchester arena bombing may have been the "wake-up call that was needed" to spur the police into "radical monitoring" of Muslims.¹¹⁴
45. Andrew Bowles (leader of Swale Borough Council) shared a post hailing Tommy Robinson a 'patriot'¹¹⁵

From the above list, given the Party's unwillingness to be transparent in its processes, it is unclear what has happened to each of these councillors, whether they have been re-admitted into the Party and if so, whether there was any apology or training prior to re-admission.

There are also a large number of moderators of conservative party groups or members of the Conservative Party who have been identified as having shared Islamophobic content.

Examples of these are listed below:

1. Tony Fell shared a video with the subtitle, "why Muslims kill for Islam," and referred to the "osmosis" of Islamic influence on British politics. Elsewhere he stated that "the biggest

¹⁰⁶ [Tories drop Manchester election candidate who dubbed Curry Mile the 'P*** Mile'](#), 30 April 2019, Manchester Evening News

¹⁰⁷ [Tory London mayor candidate's comments 'Islamophobic'](#), 3 October 2018, BBC

¹⁰⁸ [Conservative London Mayor candidate embroiled in new Sadiq Khan Islamophobia row](#), 27 September 2018, Independent

¹⁰⁹ [Tory councillor suspended for Islamophobic comments](#), 27 July 2018, The Muslim News

¹¹⁰ [Tory council candidate quits after anti-Islam and homophobic comments](#), 4 May 2014, Guardian

¹¹¹ [A Tory Party Vice-Chair Defended A Councillor's Anti-Muslim Facebook Posts](#), 16 June 2018, BuzzFeed

¹¹² [Prospective councillor suspended over Islamophobic tweets](#), 23 April 2019, BBC

¹¹³ [Hove Tory candidate quits over 'Islamophobic' jokes](#), 28 March 2019, Brighton & Hove News

¹¹⁴ [EXCL Senior Tory official suspended after 'Muslim babies' comments](#), 12 July 2018, Politics Home

¹¹⁵ [Conservative council leader suspended after tweeting post describing Tommy Robinson as a 'patriot'](#), 6 March 2019, Independent

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- problem” is “Governments weaponising against their own people,” and referred to Sadiq Khan as “the king rat of the most polluted sewer in the UK.”¹¹⁶
2. Caroline White shared a Russia Today article claiming that George Soros was implementing a plan to create a “Muslimized Europe” through immigration, referring to the far-right “Kalgeri plan” conspiracy theory.¹¹⁷
 3. Ally Stubbs wrote a post about Muslims being wiped out in the future, and posted a petition calling for an end to all immigration into Britain which accused “foreign citizens” of “trying to change the UK into a Muslim country.”¹¹⁸
 4. Mary Wilkins shared a meme of Theresa May wearing a headscarf, blaming terrorist attacks on Islam, accompanied by the comment “the only way we can stop terrorism is by removing the threat.” She also shared a post bemoaning the lack of “White Pride Day” and an image of Theresa May shooting herself in the mouth with a pistol labelled “Islam.”¹¹⁹
 5. Sue Anderson shared a post about the far-right “great replacement” conspiracy where the European people are replaced by “Islamic” people, and in another called Mark Zuckerberg “Grandad Rothschild.”¹²⁰
 6. David Hitch referred to the British capital as “Londonistan” and bemoaned feeling “like a pilgrim in a foreign land” in response to an article about “Jihadis”.¹²¹
 7. Phyllis Holmes shared a meme asking “has Britain gone mad?” with a picture of an “Islamic advisor to the armed forces” leading a prayer. She also shared a meme fearmongering about sharia law, a quote from Tommy Robinson warning about the “Islamic takeover of our beautiful land,” and a video of Katie Hopkins titled “Muslims can not run our city.”¹²²
 8. Annette Susan Martin shared a long post on the different ways Muslims act depending on their size in relation to the rest of the population, another on the disproportionate influence they have on British society, and a third warning Muslims would “stab [the USA] in the back as [they] did on 9/11.” She also shared several videos by alt-right Infowars employee Paul Joseph Watson.¹²³
 9. Margaret Mary Rebecca Kiely commented that she was “not ashamed” to say she agreed with Tommy Robinson and his work in “exposing the truth behind radical Islam,” and also that “Islamic refugees should go to Saudi Arabia or Iran.”¹²⁴
 10. Amanda Toland wrote that there was “not much to disagree with” in UKIP leader Gerard Batten’s call for Muslim-only prisons and the abolition of all hate crime laws. She also regularly expresses concern about the “escalating number of mosques in the UK,” celebrating those which are abandoned, and shared fake news about Europe being “handed to Islam without a shot being fired.”¹²⁵
 11. Philip H Clarkson shared a video by Infowars’ alt-right YouTuber Paul Joseph Watson bemoaning how Muslims are treated differently in Britain from “white people,” and shared a video titled “Muslim horde swamps English town” commenting that it was “scary.”¹²⁶
 12. Mandy Greenhaigh said “tow them back to sea, sink the boat!! Simple.”¹²⁷
 13. Abigail Winsor said she would never vote for a “cuckoo” in what appears to be an Islamophobic slur referring to Sajid Javid¹²⁸
 14. Lynn Moughan shared a post about the “Muslim invasion”¹²⁹

¹¹⁶ [Tory Islamophobia crisis deepens as FIFTEEN members’ offensive Facebook posts revealed](#), 17 March 2019, The Red Roar. Note all the individuals cited here identified themselves as members of the Conservative Party in replies to a post in the Jacob Rees-Mogg Supporters’ Group on Facebook.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 4 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹²⁸ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 6 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹²⁹ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 6 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

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15. Terence Alan Brown said “I was going through a few magazines the other day down at the local mosque. I was really enjoying myself. Then the rifle jammed.”¹³⁰
16. Sheila Sears stated: “No Muslim will get my vote” and thinks Muslims were coming to steal dogs¹³¹
17. Phil Barber shared the same conspiracy theory as Sue Anderson above and in his post explained that is “why our government and politicians have tolerated the Islamic ideology of rape, pillage and terror, by allowing them to attack the people of Britain”¹³²
18. Jacqueline Dixon shared an Islamophobic post (and video) from the British National Party requesting people to share if they are angry that there will be a Muslim Prime Minister and Muslim Parliament soon¹³³
19. Marilyn Foster Catling shared Islamophobic posts including one stating that our armed forces are being directed by the Muslim Council of Britain and another by “Make Britain Great Again” about Sharia Law taking over¹³⁴
20. Dave Pendrey wants to close all mosques, deport all imams and hang Theresa May.¹³⁵
21. Susan Terry Bennett appears to be against any Muslim in public office and claims that “we’ll be a Muslim country under sharia law if Labour get in”¹³⁶
22. John Lyndon Sullivan thinks Muslims should be banned from Parliament and calls British muslims ‘gullible penniless dregs’.¹³⁷
23. Diane Gummer shared an Islamophobic British National Party post entitled “Muslim in charge of immigration and policing; Muslim rape gangs”¹³⁸
24. Fiona Pancheri stated she would “ban Sharia and all those who practice it, turf all Muslims out of public office...”¹³⁹
25. Sheila Stokes stated “..nor Muslims with their outlandish way of life, belong in this country...” amongst other Islamophobic statements¹⁴⁰
26. Valerie Lee wants to “get rid of all MOSQUES”¹⁴¹
27. Irene Sheffar stated “Muslims don’t seem to care who they bed” and “Don’t really want a Muslim running our country”¹⁴²
28. Rocky Pinder stated “If you lot want the country run by a muslim, with all that goes with it, rather than a well spoken, quick thinking English Christian gentleman, then you need to have your head read, and find somewhere else to spout your rubbish.”¹⁴³
29. Jill Philpot stated “no Muslim PM for me”¹⁴⁴
30. Malcolm Burton states that “The Muslem Mayors round England are making a mockery of our laws & culture”¹⁴⁵
31. Haydn Wilkins blames “...the bloody Muslims who want to preach their hate and paedophilia in our country...send them home now”¹⁴⁶
32. Val Tromans has issued a number of Islamophobic posts including one which states “Muslims are a very small minority in this country but wield great power....You should control where your money goes, don’t spend it in shops and supermarkets that pay into the Muslim council, don’t buy halal meat,...you don’t have to fund Islam”¹⁴⁷
33. Keith Farrington believes that Muslims are “here to destroy us”¹⁴⁸

¹³⁰ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 6 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹³¹ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 7 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹³² Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 8 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹³³ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 9 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹³⁴ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 9 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹³⁵ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 10 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹³⁶ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 10 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹³⁷ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 12 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹³⁸ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 12 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹³⁹ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 24 February 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁴⁰ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 28 November 2018, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁴¹ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 17 November 2018, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁴² Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 24 February 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁴³ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 25 February 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁴⁴ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 25 February 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁴⁵ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 25 February 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁴⁶ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 26 February 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁴⁷ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 26 February 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁴⁸ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 28 February 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

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34. David Homewood states that “Islam is no different to Nazism...” as part of an Islamophobic post about Islam’s followers¹⁴⁹
35. Wes Boorman believes that Muslims are “allowed to lie to further the cause” as well as that immigrant “invaders” are inherently violent¹⁵⁰
36. Lynne Fincher stated that “Muslims must go to Muslim countries! There is no excuse for them to crucify US”¹⁵¹
37. Laura White under a post entitled “Shrewsbury Against the Islamification of Britain’s Post”, she wrote “Sikhs everytime, mussions NEVER!”¹⁵²
38. Mark Beaumont appears to want to “Deport” Baroness Warsi after a post was shared about her latest book, and in the context of her calling for an inquiry into Islamophobia in the Party.¹⁵³
39. Jillian Giddens states that Britain is becoming an “Islamic s***hole”, and that Sajid Javid and Sadiq Khan are “political jihadists”¹⁵⁴
40. Lynda Anne Heath states Sajid Javid is a “Trojan horse” and agrees that he is “part of the Muslim brotherhood take over of the UK helped by there puppet Sharia May”¹⁵⁵
41. Tony Madden appears to wish to bulldoze mosques and states that “Those so called hard workers from the Middle East, Africa and so on (mainly of Muslim Faith) do not come here to work, but to live on benefits...”¹⁵⁶
42. Paul Shearn stated “A practicing Muslim should not be allowed to work in any of the emergency profession’s”¹⁵⁷
43. Andrew Spencer Machin says that “Islam must be banned from Europe”¹⁵⁸
44. Dave Richardson states that a vote for Sajid Javid is a vote for “Islam to lead this country”¹⁵⁹
45. Irene Burton stated “Who in sane mind would vote for someone who takes their oath to Queen and Country on the Koran have we learnt nothing remember Khan”¹⁶⁰
46. Colin Raine stated “We need to stand up for our culture and history and stop pandering to an alien intolerant religion”¹⁶¹ and the local MP Helen Goodman wrote to the Chair about him stating “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”¹⁶²
47. Antony Goodall apparently considers halal certification of Kellogg’s (which does not exist) a “Muslim tax and that us Brits are against it” and also “I sure as hell won’t pay a penny to Muslims” and shared an Islamophobic post stating “Basically Europe has been handed to Islam....now you know why there is a law for Muslims and a law for us”¹⁶³
48. Richard Woods contrasted Muslims with “normal British communities” who “don’t form rape gangs”...”slaughter teenagers at a pop concert”...”demand that non-Moslems be slaughtered or Jews exterminated”¹⁶⁴
49. Alan Wingrove stated “How come there are all these stabbings but no one gets to Khan” and hoping for his murder states “...fingers crossed one day soon”¹⁶⁵

¹⁴⁹ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 1 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁵⁰ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 1 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁵¹ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 1 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁵² Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 2 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁵³ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 3 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁵⁴ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 3 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁵⁵ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 3 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁵⁶ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 3 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁵⁷ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 3 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁵⁸ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 4 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁵⁹ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 4 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁶⁰ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 4 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁶¹ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 13 February 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁶² [Tories Failed To Expel 'Islamophobic' Member Allegedly Behind Far-Right Protest At MP's Office](#), 1 March 2019, Huffington Post

¹⁶³ Screenshot via [Twitter](#), 13 March 2019, MatesJacob. This tweet also shows this person has self-identified as a member of the Conservative Party.

¹⁶⁴ Private confirmation of membership and screenshots available on request

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

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50. Maureen Aston shared a meme of Prime Minister Theresa May with the statement “Sharia May – Remember Islamic attacks on the UK are nothing to do with Islam!” as well as a post from the BNP and Daily Stormer¹⁶⁶
51. Clive Dudley shared a post stating “Halal funds terrorists: Zakat – Boycott Halal”¹⁶⁷
52. Ian Grist stated with reference to a previous post about Muslims: “These people are cavemen...personally I’d like them rounded up and returned to point of origin”¹⁶⁸
53. Christina Toal posted laughing face emojis responding to an article headlined “Muslim prisoners ‘forced to eat pork and drink alcohol as punishment in China’s brutal anti-Islam camps’” and responded “most do” to a post stating “Not all Muslims sexually assault young women”¹⁶⁹
54. Barbara Brown shared conspiracy theories about Muslims, including stating “It is happening and it was planned , the the replacement of Christianity and its culture and replacement by Islam” and “...the take over of our country by Sharia Law” when sharing a Jihad Watch article.¹⁷⁰
55. Tony Jacks responded “Yes” when asked if he would support a ban on Muslim immigration¹⁷¹
56. Pamela Joan Rolfe responded “Yes they cause mayhem wherever they decide to invade” when responding to a post asking “Would you support a ban on Muslim immigration in your country”¹⁷²
57. Carol Ann Citroen asked “Why the surprise its part of their culture” when referring to a “pedophile” who appears to be Muslim (based on a site called Free Patriot Post) and stated “looks like Ireland may have the right idea after all” when sharing a post entitled “Muslims flee Northern Ireland to escape anti-Islam violence”¹⁷³
58. Nigel Hodgson shared a post after the New Zealand Christchurch massacre stating “We allowed them [Muslims] to come to our country, even though they refused to integrate, they groomed, raped, abused and murdered our children...”¹⁷⁴
59. Margaret Robinson wrote a post using the Islamophobic trope of Muslims taking over – she states “perhaps the intention is a fully Islamic Europe. Another step to the new world order. Definitely for Europe, one country – one people and that has to be Islam.”¹⁷⁵
60. Sonia Jayne Luff stating “Time we did the same thing and get them out” (like the Buddhists have done with the Rohingya) as the “Rohingyas getting what they deserve”¹⁷⁶
61. Deanne Maria Santini states “they need to be rounded up and shipped into an Islamic country where they can practice their Sharia to their hearts content”¹⁷⁷
62. Alan Endacott states Sadiq Khan “is only the Mayor of Londonistan...Theresa May needs to get a grip of this Mus&lim Br@therh@@d stooge.”¹⁷⁸
63. Paul Tupman commented on a meme of how Europeans disappeared through Muslim men marrying 4 wives and having 12 children noting “and we are also paying for most of them”¹⁷⁹
64. Jeremy Wilks stated “Go home and dirty up your own countries. We don’t want you in a decent country” as he shared a YouTube clip from Robert Spencer entitled “Muslims want Sharia Law...”¹⁸⁰ Note Spencer is banned from entering the UK as his presence was “not conducive to the public good”
65. Annemarie Fleming shared a post stating “To understand what makes Muslims tick, you need to understand how utterly slavishly they imitate the founder of their death-cult...”¹⁸¹

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.
¹⁶⁷ Ibid.
¹⁶⁸ Ibid.
¹⁶⁹ Ibid.
¹⁷⁰ Ibid.
¹⁷¹ Ibid.
¹⁷² Ibid.
¹⁷³ Ibid.
¹⁷⁴ Ibid.
¹⁷⁵ Ibid.
¹⁷⁶ Ibid.
¹⁷⁷ Ibid.
¹⁷⁸ Ibid.
¹⁷⁹ Ibid.
¹⁸⁰ Ibid.
¹⁸¹ Ibid.

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66. David Adams stated “there’s no good ones or bad ones...just Muslims, if it came to the push, the so-called “good ones” will side with the bad ones, they read the same book of lies”¹⁸²
67. Alan Renault states “we all know who what can we expect from may who is not only tring to give our country to the eu but also to the muslems next it will be sarah law and finally we all have to convert to Islam time to stand up and fight like our forefathers who fought 2 wars to keep this country British”¹⁸³
68. Colin Ash states “Its Muslims that are planting bombs...Muslims are doing all the bad things in the world. And they wonder why people are suspicious about them.”¹⁸⁴
69. Sandra Blake states “We voted for the securing of our borders to halt an Islamic invasion” amongst other posts¹⁸⁵
70. Helen Cante wrote to David Cameron where she said: “...you have gone ahead and decided with Merkel and Junkel to flood Britain with Muslims from around the world...no background checks...We have so many no go areas where People who are not Islamic cannot enter...this is British genocide”¹⁸⁶
71. Andrew Wyrobeck asked “I don’t understand why our “betters” (and I use that term very losely) have decided that we want a medieval barbaric cult to take precedence over us” And “94%...are forced to buy halal meat...90% of child grooming and rape is down to them”¹⁸⁷
72. Ann Wilshaw said “The men with their awful facial hair scare me to death. This isn’t how it should be in our country...” and “I agree, they are slowly taking over...”¹⁸⁸
73. Simon Aspinall shared a series of Islamophobic posts including a claim that “fundamentalist Deobandi” control 45% of the UK’s 1700 mosques and that “Hijrah is a core part of jihad....involves Islamic conquest by migration” etc.¹⁸⁹
74. Theresa Bates stated “The Hone Secretary will protect his own. He was sworn in on the Koran”; and about Sadiq Khan “We make the decision not a Muslim who has a completely different set of values to most of the uk”¹⁹⁰
75. Sue Rowell Jnr has said “Britain has an Islamic problem”, shared a meme of the “World Order” showing Jews who apparently run the world and endorses a quote saying “Muslims, who are Sharia law have been asked to leave Australia by Wednesday...each and every mosque will be searched...”¹⁹¹
76. Graham Forbes shared a YouTube clip about “The Terrifying Results of Muslim immigration in the UK”, stated “Muslim hordes of Turkey are equally in favour of robbing us of our financial resources” and “this is the UN/Soros/EU/May plan, total destruction of the white Caucasian European population, in a word genocide”¹⁹²
77. Mary Simmonite shared a post from LibertyGB’s Paul Weston stating “We will do whatever it takes to prevent an Islamic takeover” and another stating “Well i never thought that England would be destroyed from within by traitorous MP’s allowing the invasion of Muslims”¹⁹³
78. Paul Glover stated “I hope trump becomes president and stops the Muslims taking over the world, I know it’s happening here in the uk and we don’t have a politician strong enough to lead us away from this infestation”¹⁹⁴
79. Beverly Maller shared a post stating “The future is Islam, but it can be halted if you act now. VOTE LEAVE on 23rd June and we can then at least start to control immigration and put a stop to any of the migrant Muslim hordes...”¹⁹⁵

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

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80. One member, who is in a closed group of Conservative party members and called Muslims “muzz rats” and “sub human scum”, asked: “why have we got them in our country?” He also wrote: “This lot should be rounded up and put on a boat home. They don't like our flag - but they love our welfare payments.”¹⁹⁶
81. A man who wrote last week that he had joined the Tories to get a Brexiteer elected as prime minister said of Sajid Javid: “Britain is not ready for a Muslim PM, that would be taking the absolute piss out of the country”. He also wrote of Sadiq Khan: “This man does not represent the United Kingdom, he is only the Mayor of Londonistan... Theresa May needs to get a grip of this Muslim Brotherhood stooge.”¹⁹⁷
82. One woman who wrote two days ago that she was staying as a Tory member “so that we can elect the right leader” wrote that Javid “will protect his own. He was sworn in on the Koran”.¹⁹⁸
83. Another woman, who said, “I'm ready to cancel my membership only holding onto it in case I could use it against them”, wrote that “Britain has an Islamic problem”.¹⁹⁹
84. One man, who wrote on Facebook last week, “I intend to stay a member because I hope to be able to influence the party and help get it to move in the right direction”, accused the government and the EU of “facilitating Hijrah”, which he called “Muslim conquest by emigration”. He also wrote: “We have serious problems with young Muslim men. Too many of them are running wild. They think they have a direct line to Allah.”²⁰⁰
85. Another woman who said she was a Tory member shared a post calling Islam a “death cult” and Mohammed a “paedophile”.²⁰¹
86. A man who wrote last week that he has “retained my membership so I could have my say in who will be the next PM” claimed May is “trying to give our country to the muslims [sic] next it will be sarah law [sic] and finally we all have to convert to islam time to stand up and fight like our forefathers who fought 2 wars to keep this country british”.²⁰²
87. One man who last week urged fellow members to “Stay til we choose the next leader” wrote: “Why do the press continue to defend Muslims. Muslims are doing all the bad things in the world. And they wonder why people are suspicious about them”.²⁰³
88. A woman who says she is a Tory member wrote: “When I look around London, there's no sound of the English language it's completely Asian, what have you done to make me feel like a foreigner in my own country, you have gone ahead and decided with Merkel and Junker to flood Britain with Muslims from around the world”.²⁰⁴
89. Another woman who is a Tory member said of Conservative peer Lord Sheikh: “I'm bloody fed up of people coming to our country like he did because Amin booted him and others out of Uganda, and then after everything we have given to them, they kick us in the backside and start telling us what we should and should not say or do”.²⁰⁵
90. One man who says he is a Conservative member wrote: “Muslims, it's either AK47s, power in liberal groups or politics... they are like knot-weed in your lawn.”²⁰⁶
91. A male Tory member shared a post claiming “Islam wants our entire culture” and said the government has to “start getting tough” on Muslims.²⁰⁷
92. A woman who last week wrote that she is a Tory member called Islam a “weird cult and not a religion” and claimed that under sharia law “they can have sex with white children”. She claimed “evil people are stopping white people rightly exposing that”.²⁰⁸

¹⁹⁶ [Anti-Muslim Tory Members On Facebook Are Telling One Another To Stop Sajid Javid From Becoming Prime Minister](#), 8 April 2019, BuzzFeed

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

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93. Several other Conservative members posted about a “Muslim invasion” and the so-called white genocide conspiracy theory.²⁰⁹

Together with the councillors and representatives in the list above, this forms a selection of c. 150 cases to demonstrate the scale of the issue – ITV News has reported over 100 (other?) cases²¹⁰ and BuzzFeed has claimed that “it is understood that more than 50 Tory members have now been suspended over anti-Muslim posts, though the party refuses to say which members it has suspended, or how many.”²¹¹

It is therefore also not clear what has happened to all the aforementioned list of members, if they have been suspended and/or re-admitted, and if so, whether they underwent any training or gave an apology to local Muslim communities. Further discussion on this, is in section 4 of the Appendix.

Although perhaps outside the scope of this section, voters for the Conservative Party have troubling views,²¹² which might help explain why Islamophobia appears so embedded in the Party:

- 47% of Conservative Party voters believe in at least one conspiracy theory about Muslims e.g. there are no-go areas where sharia law dominates & non-Muslims cannot enter
- 49% of Conservative Party voters see Islam as a threat to the British way of life

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ [ITV News Exclusive: Dossier exposes more than 100 accusations of Islamophobia and racism from Conservative Party members](#), 17 May 2019, ITV News

²¹¹ [Anti-Muslim Tory Members On Facebook Are Telling One Another To Stop Sajid Javid From Becoming Prime Minister](#), 8 April 2019, BuzzFeed

²¹² [State of Hate 2019 - People vs The Elite](#), February 2019, Hope Not Hate

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4. Failure of Complaints Process

The Party has claimed that it has dealt with any complaints swiftly and the Prime Minister claimed that the process was being handled well.²¹³ However, this section aims to demonstrate that this is categorically not the case.

(Former) Party Vice Chair Ben Bradley not only did not deal with Islamophobia, he:

- Vociferously defended a Conservative Councillor who shared Islamophobic posts
- Lied to a reporter about it; and
- Attempted to cover up his dismissal of Islamophobia when the same Councillor was later caught out.²¹⁴

Another senior Member of Parliament, albeit not part of the Party machinery, Damian Green responded to a deeply Islamophobic manifesto about “halting Muslim birth-rates” sent to him, without condemning the tropes but instead thanked them and responded as if they had made valid points.²¹⁵

However, Brandon Lewis is the Chair of the Party, responsible for the complaints process. He claims there is a “zero tolerance approach to any form of discrimination” with “swift action” being taken²¹⁶ given there is “no place” for Islamophobia in the Party.²¹⁷

The previous sections outline how Islamophobia appears to be quite prevalent within the Party but this section will focus on demonstrating his claims of swift action and integrity in the complaints process, are false.

Firstly, there appears to be a culture in the Party to try and stop complaints being made by Muslim members of the Party, including:

- One Muslim councillor stated he was worried about taking concerns to the Party because it would be “political suicide”²¹⁸
- One Muslim Party member alleges he was told to “suck it up” and stop complaining after alleging discrimination²¹⁹ - this was from the current Mayoral Candidate for London for the Party. This member has since cancelled his membership of the Conservative Party because he has “...repeatedly experienced discrimination, racism and at times been either bullied or emotionally blackmailed to keep silent about my experiences.”²²⁰
- A party member in the West Midlands says he made a complaint to the Conservatives’ regional headquarters, after an older councillor made a racist remark during a meeting. “It was totally brushed under the carpet; they didn’t want to know,” he says. “They just said ‘don’t worry about it, he’s an old man’.”²²¹

²¹³ PMQ raised by Afzal Khan, clip via [Twitter](#), 27 March 2019, Miqdaad Versi

²¹⁴ [A Tory Party Vice-Chair Defended A Councillor’s Anti-Muslim Facebook Posts](#), 16 June 2018, BuzzFeed News

²¹⁵ Via [Twitter](#), 27 March 2019, MatesJacob

²¹⁶ Letter sent by Brandon Lewis to Conservative colleagues, screenshot of letter available via [Twitter](#), 6 March 2019, Sayeeda Warsi

²¹⁷ [Islamophobia: ‘No place’ for it in Conservative Party says chairman](#), 19 March 2019, BBC

²¹⁸ [‘He inferred I wasn’t British’: Tory members tell of Islamophobia](#), 31 May 2018, Guardian

²¹⁹ [Tories are prejudiced against Islam, says council candidate](#), 6 March 2019, Guardian

²²⁰ Via [Twitter](#), 26 March 2019, Amir Sadjady

²²¹ [‘He inferred I wasn’t British’: Tory members tell of Islamophobia](#), 31 May 2018, Guardian

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When those complaints are made, they appear to be ignored by Brandon Lewis and CCHQ:

- Ajay Jagota, chair of South Shields Conservative Association, resigned after complaints of Islamophobia he had experienced (he had been referred to as a Muslim in a pejorative way), were ignored by the Party (noting that he had spoken to Brandon Lewis directly as well as followed the formal process). He notes that “it seems like there was a deliberate attempt to sweep the complaint under the carpet in the hope that it would go away.”²²² After his resignation, despite Downing Street even getting involved to assure him of a response, Mr Jagota did not receive anything from CCHQ.²²³
- Baroness Warsi has raised a number of complaints which have not been responded to swiftly, leading to her raising them in the public e.g. she stated “I raised this with @BrandonLewis privately and no response so here we go again...”²²⁴
- Conservative party members in the Portsmouth South constituency in Hampshire have told the Guardian that Brandon Lewis has failed to acknowledge repeated requests to investigate a dozen alleged racist and Islamophobic incidents. Registered letters of complaint sent to his office had been ignored, activists said. Massoud Esmaili, a Tory activist for 10 years who stood to become a city councillor, has written to Lewis outlining a number of allegations of racism but says he has yet to receive a reply. The ousted chair of the Portsmouth South constituency, Leo Ciccarone, said he first sent a letter to Lewis alleging racism in the party two years ago. Since then he had sent another two letters to the party’s chair by registered post, he said, as well as numerous emails. Ciccarone, 70, who is of Italian origin, said Lewis was misleading the public when he claimed that he investigated all allegations. “Our local party is riven with racism, from top to bottom. Lewis has blatantly ignored my pleas to investigate,” he said.²²⁵
- Conservative officials warned Brandon Lewis MP and the Conservative Campaign Headquarters complaints team about anti-Muslim posts by party members in the “Jacob Rees-Mogg Supporters Group” on October 4 2018, but no action was taken until March 2019.²²⁶
- Conservative Party councillors knew of Michael Franklin’s Islamophobic comments for three years before they took any action against him²²⁷
- After Conservative MP Helen Goodman complained about Colin Raine organising a demonstration outside her office with anti-Muslim far right groups, Raine was not expelled and the Party instead “waited for Colin Raine’s membership to expire”²²⁸

In fact, it appears that there is strong evidence that Mr Lewis has misled the public on this issue. He claimed there were “none outstanding” when asked about complaints of Islamophobia in the Party in November 2018 by Hope Not Hate – but this has since been proven to be untrue, and Mr Jagota’s case above was one of many cases that appears to have been outstanding at the time.²²⁹ This has led to Hope Not Hate to ask if he “misled” them in his response²³⁰ and Mr Peter Osborne to state “he does not provide a convincing response to the deadly allegation that his statement on 7 November was misleading. There clearly were complaints outstanding last November - when Lewis said there weren’t...Lewis’s latest remarks form part of a pattern of denial in the upper reaches of the Conservative Party”²³¹

²²² [My complaints of Tory Islamophobia were ignored, so I had to resign](#), 12 March 2019, Guardian

²²³ [These Leaked Emails Reveal Number 10 Apologised After Conservative HQ Failed To Respond To Islamophobia Complaints](#), 11 March 2019, BuzzFeed
²²⁴ [Twitter](#), 20 March 2019, SayeedaWarsi

²²⁵ [Tory chairman accused of repeatedly ignoring racism complaints](#), 7 March 2019, Guardian

²²⁶ [Leaked Emails Show The Tory Head Office Was Warned About Anti-Muslim Facebook Posts Last Year. No Action Was Taken.](#), 8 March 2019, BuzzFeed

²²⁷ [Local Tories knew of councillor’s ‘Islamophobic retweets’ 1,000 days before he was expelled](#), 11 March 2019, Mirror

²²⁸ [Tories Failed To Expel ‘Islamophobic’ Member Allegedly Behind Far-Right Protest At MP’s Office](#), 1 March 2019, Huffington Post

²²⁹ [Tory chairman Brandon Lewis asked if he ‘misled’ public over Islamophobia in Conservative party](#), March 2019, i news

²³⁰ [Tory chairman Brandon Lewis asked if he ‘misled’ over Islamophobia complaints](#), 19 March 2019, Sky News

²³¹ [Tory party Islamophobia: Theresa May must act now](#), 19 March 2019, Middle East Eye

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It is worth noting that no action has been taken against any Member of Parliament, despite the fact that the less powerful councillors or Conservative Party members have been suspended for actions far less serious than those done by the MPs listed in the section above. In fact, Zac Goldsmith was re-admitted into the Party after stepping down²³² – this re-admission and selection to be on the shortlist for Richmond Park was despite the racism in his Mayoral Campaign outlined in the earlier section.

The only exception is Boris Johnson, where an apparently independent investigation took place, clearing him (despite his actions being worse than other councillors e.g. Stephen Ardley said the former foreign secretary and mayor of London, Boris Johnson, should have been suspended for saying women in burqas look like “letter boxes” and “bank robbers” and that it was unfair that he was treated differently.)²³³ It is worth noting that this investigation was done behind closed doors, with the composition of the investigating panel not public, with no understanding of whether the impact of his statements were understood by the panel, and with no detailed rationale provided as to how he was cleared. This demonstrates that even when an investigation takes place in the Party, it appears to be a whitewash.²³⁴

In any case, in the event where action is taken by the Party, it is often the case that it is done without any transparency in the process. This is why it is unclear which of the many cases raised in the earlier sections, have been responded to, and which have not.

Furthermore, the evidence below suggests that where action is taken, it appears this is a response to satisfy media concerns. This is because there are a significant number of cases where suspended individuals were quietly let back into the Party without any apology, acknowledgement of the harm caused or any apparent training:

- A former mayor, Councillor Rosemary Carroll, who was suspended by the Conservatives for sharing a racist joke on Facebook was reinstated. Her re-admission allowed the Tories to gain control of Pendle Council in Lancashire by one seat.²³⁵ After an internal investigation prompted by the media outcry at the re-admission, the Party decided to take no action and chose not to challenge her reinstatement.²³⁶
- Peter Lamb, who ran for the party in a 2017 council by-election in Harlow, was allowed to stand as council candidate after being suspended following a series of comments he made on social media about Muslims.²³⁷
- Mick Murphy, who had been suspended after sharing a post mocking Muslim women wearing the burqa, has been reinstated as a councillor²³⁸
- Channel 4 News was informed about Andrew Bowles’ suspension live on air, whilst Andrew Bowles was not even aware of his suspension,²³⁹ suggesting the purpose of the suspension was to placate the concern raised by the journalists. Councillor Andrew Bowles was readmitted to the party 13 days following his suspension and after a social media training course.²⁴⁰
- 15 suspended councillors were quietly reinstated with their suspensions lifted with no indication as to whether they apologised, if they had any training or engagement with the

²³² [Zac Goldsmith shortlisted to stand for Conservatives in Richmond Park months after by-election defeat](#), 25 April 2017, Independent

²³³ [‘Boris Johnson should be suspended’ says councillor expelled from Conservatives over ‘Islamophobic’ comments](#), 15 August 2018, Eastern Daily Press

²³⁴ [Conservative Party Gives License to Bigotry](#), 21 December 2018, Muslim Council of Britain

²³⁵ [Suspended Rosemary Carroll rejoins Tories ahead of election win](#), 4 May 2018, BBC

²³⁶ [Rosemary Carroll: No action against Lancashire councillor](#), 23 May 2018, BBC

²³⁷ [EXCL Tories slammed after activist suspended for Islamophobia allowed to stand as council candidate](#), 4 March 2019, Politics Home

²³⁸ [The Tories Have Reinstated A Councillor Who Posted A Meme Comparing The Burqa To A Rubbish Bag](#), 6 March 2019, BuzzFeed

²³⁹ [Via Twitter](#), 5 March 2019, Miqdaad Versi

²⁴⁰ [Cllr Andrew Bowles allowed back into Swale Conservative party after Tommy Robinson retweet](#), 19 March 2019, Kent Online

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victims of their racism. The party's response was to state "that selective cases did not provide a complete picture of how complaints were dealt with"²⁴¹

There are likely to be many other such cases that have not reached the public domain.

These actions point to an institutional problem within the Party, where issues of Islamophobia are ignored until there is a media spotlight, at which point the minimum required to divert that spotlight is done – rather than any meaningful action that will resolve the issue.

²⁴¹ [Tory Islamophobia row: 15 suspended councillors quietly reinstated](#), 24 March 2019, Guardian

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5. Denial of Islamophobia

The scale of Islamophobia within the Conservative Party is explained in the other sections of the Appendix. Yet the Party and its representatives have consistently denied there is an issue of Islamophobia in the Party.

A selection of examples include:

- Party Chair Brandon Lewis MP disputed there was even issue of Islamophobia in the first place in May 2018²⁴²
- Deputy Chairman James Cleverly did not agree with Baroness Warsi on the Islamophobia in the Party²⁴³
- Home Secretary Sajid Javid MP denied the Party had a problem with Islamophobia because: "My name is Sajid Javid. I am the Home Secretary"²⁴⁴, instead launching an attack on the Muslim Council of Britain who shared the evidence in the public domain.
- MP Kemi Badenoch claimed calls for an investigation into Islamophobia have a "political motive"²⁴⁵
- MP Henry Smith denies there is a problem of Islamophobia in the Party stating "I have never come across any of that in the Conservative Party"²⁴⁶
- MP Nadhim Zahawi denied there was any evidence that the Party was institutionally racist²⁴⁷
- MP Nicky Morgan said the Conservative party does not have an Islamophobia problem²⁴⁸
- MP Owen Paterson denied there is a problem of Islamophobia in the Conservative Party²⁴⁹
- MP Jacob Rees-Mogg and MP Tom Tugendhat appear to believe that the Party has dealt with Islamophobia well²⁵⁰
- Conservative Party Mayoral Candidate for London Shaun Bailey denied there was Islamophobia in the Party noting "I'm a black man in the Tory Party and I don't feel the racism"²⁵¹

It is unclear how the Party and its representatives can continue to deny the scale of Islamophobia in the Party.

²⁴² Via [Twitter](#), May 2018, LBC

²⁴³ Sunday with Niall Paterson via [Twitter](#), April 2018, Sky

²⁴⁴ [Sajid Javid denies the Conservative Party has an Islamophobia problem](#), 3 June 2018, Mirror

²⁴⁵ [Sophie Ridge on Sunday](#), 4 November 2018, Sky News

²⁴⁶ [BBC Politics Live](#), 28 February 2019, BBC

²⁴⁷ [Islamophobia in the Tory Party?](#) on BBC Politics Live, 6 March 2019, BBC

²⁴⁸ [The Conservative party does not have an Islamophobia problem, says Nicky Morgan](#), 6 March 2019, Business Insider

²⁴⁹ Via [Twitter](#), Husayn Summit, March 2019

²⁵⁰ Via [Twitter](#), March 2019, Paul Brand, ITV

²⁵¹ Via [Twitter](#), February 2019, TalkRadio