Friends of Al-Aqsa (FOA): a pro-Hamas British organization based in Leicester which advocates Israel’s elimination. The organization takes part in all aspects of the campaign to delegitimize Israel in Britain: boycotts of Israel, dissemination of anti-Israel propaganda, involvement in convoys and flotillas for the Gaza Strip, and anti-Israel demonstrations in London.
Overview

Friends of Al-Aqsa (FOA) is an anti-Israeli NGO established in Britain in 1997. The organization is based in the city of Leicester (home to a large Muslim population) and has branches in London and other British cities. Self-described as anti-Zionist, the FOA qualifies Israel's policy as “apartheid”, supports Hamas and the “resistance” (i.e., terrorism), and seeks to put an end to Israel's existence as the state of the Jewish people under the title of “liberation of Palestine”. Similarly to other organizations taking part in the delegitimization effort, the FOA attempts to conceal and play down its real objectives by fine-tuning its rhetoric for Western ears and using such terms as “peace in Palestine”, “respect for international law”, “respect for human rights”, and “implementation of UN resolutions”.

The FOA takes part in the campaign to delegitimize Israel in Britain, collaborating with like-minded organizations and activists in that country and elsewhere. In this context, it actively participates in the campaign to boycott Israel and Israeli products (BDS) and has even expanded the campaign to boycott large Western companies that maintain business relations with Israel (such as McDonalds, Coca Cola, and Amazon).

In addition, the FOA also disseminates anti-Israeli propaganda (“education on Palestine”, as stated on its website), while its activists are involved in sending flotillas and convoys to the Gaza Strip with the purpose of challenging Israel and assisting the Hamas de facto administration. Since the beginning of the Palestinian terrorism campaign (the second intifada), the FOA has taken part in anti-Israel and anti-West demonstrations in London. It is one of the 18 organizations and groups from Britain that participated in the Jerusalem Day march and rally held in London on August 21, an international anti-Israel and anti-West propaganda event initiated by Iran. ¹ (Note: In the rally, held in Trafalgar Square,

¹ See our August 14, 2011 Information Bulletin: “Jerusalem Day, marked on August 26 this year, is an annual Iranian-sponsored event in support of the Palestinian cause. The Iranian regime expects extensive participation in events in Iran, the Arab-Muslim world and the West (including the United States and Britain). The events are traditionally exploited for anti-Israeli anti-West incitement"
demonstrators carried flags of Hezbollah and raised signs such as “Death to Israel”. A summary of these events will be published separately).

4. **The leader and founder of the FOA is Ismail Patel**, a British citizen of Pakistani descent, graduate of Manchester University, from Leicester. In the past Ismail Patel made vicious anti-Israeli statements in public and private settings. In his remarks, he dismissed the Zionist ideology underpinning the state of Israel and announced its coming demise (“The Zionist edifice... will soon fall. It's a matter of time now...”). He also expressed support for Hamas by stating that it was not a terrorist organization and saluted Hamas for standing up to Israel. Ismail Patel took part in the Mavi Marmara flotilla in May 2010 and in the Miles of Smiles 3 convoy in June 2011, whose leaders met with Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration.

**The FOA’s establishment and ideology**

5. FOA is an NGO founded in 1997 by its current leader, Ismail Patel. The organization is headquartered in Leicester, a city some 100 km north of London and home to a large Muslim population. The FOA has additional branches across Britain, including in London, Bradford, and Glasgow. The organization’s yearly membership fee is £10.

6. While the FOA’s stated purpose is to protect “Palestinian rights”, it actually supports Hamas, its ideology, and terrorism (the so-called “resistance”). **The organization emphasizes the theme of “protecting the Al-Aqsa Mosque”** and has embraced the false argument peddled by Sheikh Ra’ed Salah, head of the northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel, about the so-called threat posed by Israel to the mosque (Ismail Patel was present at Sheikh Ra’ed Salah’s hearing following the latter’s recent detention in Britain).

7. According to its website, the organization aims to raise awareness of what it refers to as “violations of Palestinians’ human rights” and pressure Israel into respecting international law. It does so by raising the issue of Palestine (from a clearly anti-Israeli standpoint) at international and human rights forums, accusing Israel of pursuing a “policy of apartheid” and disregarding international law. In addition, the FOA actively participates in the battle for hearts and minds by producing publications, organizing lectures, and holding conferences. However, for all the human rights rhetoric geared towards Western audiences, the

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2 In a few years, Leicester will become the first British city where immigrant communities make up the majority of the population. For more information, see “King Muhammad: Welcome to Leicester. The city offers some services in Hindi, half of the students don't have English as their native language, and studies show that the immigrants are set to become the overwhelming majority in a few years. This is how an average city in central England is becoming Europe's first multicultural city. And then the floodgates will open” (Doron Ben Gil, Ma’ariv, Saturday Supplement, June 25, 2010, in Hebrew).
organization harbors an intense hatred for Israel, campaigns for its elimination, denies its Jewish character, and supports Hamas, which can be seen in statements made by FOA leader Ismail Patel (see below).

**Highlights on Ismail Patel’s profile**

8. The FOA is headed by its founder Ismail Adam Patel, the organization’s dominant figure. Patel, a British citizen of Pakistani descent, born in 1963, father of three, from Leicester, Britain, graduated from Manchester University, optician by trade, has two clinics in Leicester and Derby.

9. In addition to his activity in the FOA, Patel is also a consultant and commentator on Muslim community affairs in Britain for the Conflicts Forum, a British organization which supports radical Islam and promotes dialogue with it. In addition, Patel is a spokesman for the British Muslim Initiative (BMI), an organization affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood. Patel was the director of IslamExpo, a BMI-sponsored exhibition and festival of elements affiliated with radical Islam. He is also a member of an organization known as the Special Advisory Board of Clear Conscience. Patel is a commentator for various media, including the British dailies The Guardian and The Independent, the English-language edition of the Al-Jazeera channel, and a periodical dedicated to business in the Arabian Peninsula (Arabian Business).

10. **Ismail Patel is actively involved in projects carried out as part of the delegitimization campaign against Israel.** He is involved in convoys and flotillas (e.g., he took part in the Mavi Marmara flotilla), has visited the Gaza Strip (where he met with Ismail Haniya), and takes part in pro-Palestinian demonstrations and in disseminating anti-Israel propaganda in London. **He often makes appearances at universities to indoctrinate students with anti-Israel propaganda.** In recent years he has made appearances at the following universities: Birkbeck, Warwick, SOAS, Nottingham, Leicester, Kingston, De Montfort, Cambridge, Birmingham, etc. (Harry’s Place, 2011).

11. **Ismail Patel has taken part in anti-Israel demonstrations in London and often made vicious remarks against Israel in his public appearances and interviews.** For example:

   a. **On September 28, 2002,** the peak year of Palestinian suicide terrorism, a mass rally was held in London to mark the second anniversary of the Al-Aqsa intifada (the

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3 Harry’s Place website, 2011. Muhammad Sawalha, a Hamas activist who was granted asylum in Britain, and Dr. Azzam al-Tamimi, an activist affiliated with Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, are among the founders of BMI.
Palestinian campaign of terrorism known for deadly suicide bombing attacks). The main slogans of the events were “Freedom for Palestine” and “Don’t Attack Iraq”. One of the speakers was FOA leader Ismail Patel, who read a statement on behalf of Neturei Karta (an act which we believe reflects his sympathy for that orthodox anti-Israel group): “There should be no doubt that the root of the problem facing the entire middle east and the world is the terrorist Zionist state - what has been perpetrated by the Zionists, the heretics with religious collaborators who unfortunately sold their soul to irreligious Zionists for money and power... Fear not brothers and friends, evil cannot long triumph. The Zionist nightmare is at its end. It is exhausted, it’s lasted its brutalities, its death rattle of terminal illness... We will yet need to see the day, the day when Jews in Palestine will embrace in peace under the Palestinian flag in Jerusalem” (inminds.co.uk). In his speech, Patel strongly condemned Tony Blair and the presidents of the United States (“Little Bush and Big Bush”) for the war in Iraq. He called on the British public to demonstrate its commitment to the “oppressed” in Palestine, Iraq, and wherever they are. He issued a call for action so that Palestine is free from the “oppression” of Sharon, Bush, and Blair (inminds.co.uk).

Ismail Patel giving a speech at the anti-Israel demonstration in London (September 2002)

Ismail Patel reading a statement on behalf of Neturei Karta, with two members of that organization standing to his left and right (inminds.co.uk)

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4 During the second intifada (2002-2005), terrorist organizations perpetrated 146 suicide bombing attacks, killing 518 Israelis, most of them civilians. The peak year of suicide bombing attacks was 2002 (with 60 suicide bombings), marking the beginning of a gradual decline. This was mostly due to the intensive activity conducted by the IDF against hotspots of terrorism in Judea and Samaria since Operation Defensive Shield (April 2002) and the completion of many sections of the security fence. No mention was made of Palestinian suicide terrorism at the anti-Israel demonstrations held in London during that time.
Anti-Americanisms at the anti-Israel demonstration in London (September 2002).

The United States flag with stars replaced by swastikas and dollar signs (inminds.com, 2002). Demonstrators also carried a poster saying “Bush 21st century Hitler” (inminds.com, 2002).

b. Ismail Patel gave a speech at the Free Palestine Rally, held in London on May 17, 2007. In his speech, he called for “peace” and “justice” for all the residents of the Holy Land, whatever their religion may be. Rally-goers waved flags of Palestine and Hezbollah and carried posters condemning Ariel Sharon and George Bush, and encouraging the boycott of Israel. The following are several photographs from the rally (innminds, 2003).

Photographs from the rally held in May 2003 (inminds.co.uk)
c. Speaking at a demonstration against the war in Iraq and for the “liberation of Palestine” held in London on September 27, 2003, Patel reminded his audience that the problem of Israel was not just the “occupation of Palestine”. The main problem, according to Patel, is the “racist ideology” underpinning the state of Israel. Zionism is a discriminatory ideology,” he said. “We must dismantle this ideology, we must de-Zionise Israel. We must work towards integration and not separation [i.e., towards one country rather than two]...”
d. **In an interview granted to Islam Times on July 7, 2011, Patel said as follows:** “It is very unfortunate that one group of people because of their greed are oppressing another by occupying there [sic] land, supplicating them and expropriating there properties. We need to bring this to the forefront of the international community so that the international community is made aware what is happening to the Palestinians.”

e. **Speaking at a Hamas support rally held in Gaza on January 10, 2009, Patel said as follows:** “Hamas is no terrorist organization. The reason they hate Hamas is because they refuse to be subjugated, occupied by the Israeli state, and **we salute Hamas for standing up to Israel** [...] to the state of Israel: you no longer represent the Jewish people. You have no moral authority to speak for the Jewish people when thousands of Jews are against what you are doing. And finally, to the British Jewish Board of Deputies, shame on you, to work, to promote the genocide of the Palestinian people and the war crimes of the Israeli government...” (Harry’s Place, January 10, 2009).

f. Speaking at another demonstration held on January 24, 2009, during his stay in Gaza, he said, among other things: **“To the Palestinian resistance, we say we will support you until you gain your freedom!”** (YouTube, January 24, 2009; Harry’s Place, 2011).

g. The Harry’s Place website cites a statement made by Ismail Patel and reported by Qaradawi’s website in 2009: “…the present population of Israel is made of immigrants that have been brought from Russia, Europe and America. Hmm, no one came from Muslim lands, just Europeans and Americans” (Islam Online).

**The FOA’s involvement in the delegitimization campaign against Israel**

**Overview**

12. The FOA takes part in the campaign to delegitimize Israel in a variety of ways, collaborating with likeminded organizations in Britain and elsewhere. **It is active in the following areas:**

a. **The campaign to boycott Israel and Israeli products** (BDS), expanding the campaign to boycott Western companies that maintain business relations with Israel.

b. **Dissemination of anti-Israel propaganda** in various ways and methods (“educating public opinion”).
c. **Participation in propaganda events** such as support rallies for the Al-Aqsa intifada (the Palestinian terrorism campaign) and the Jerusalem Day march in London.

d. **Participation in flotillas and convoys sent to the Gaza Strip** to challenge Israel and assist Hamas.

13. Details follow.

**The FOA’s participation in the campaign to boycott Israel (BDS)**

14. BDS is an international campaign to boycott Israel focusing on Western countries, primarily Britain and the United States. BDS stands for “Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions”—i.e., boycotting Israel, preventing foreign investors from investing in its economy, and imposing sanctions on it. BDS’s aim is to brand Israel as an “apartheid state” and promote an international boycott of its institutions, leaders, economy, and culture, and eventually cause its collapse, similarly to the collapse of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Some aspects of the campaign are governed by a “national committee” of activists in Ramallah; in other aspects it is the result of local initiatives by organizations and networks in the Western world.

15. **The focus of the BDS campaign is a total boycott of Israeli companies,** Israeli goods, and companies that cooperate with and invest funds in Israel—it is not a selective boycott of “settlement products”. This was particularly evident in the “Top Ten Brands to Boycott” list published by BDS for Christmas 2010 (quitpalestine.org/dbdlia). Almost none of the companies featured on the list operate in the PA-administered territories, and some of them are international companies that conduct economic activity in Israel (such as Intel, L’Oreal, and Estee Lauder). The reason given for boycotting a company like Intel is that “they are one of Israel’s oldest foreign supporters” (BDS website).

16. **Britain is a major hub of operations for BDS.** Participating organizations aim to boycott Israel, relying on an ideology that considers such boycott a means to gradually weaken the country and ultimately bring about its collapse, as happened with the apartheid regime in South Africa. These organizations collaborate with several groups that limit their activities to boycotting settlement products and do not necessarily share the worldview that advocates Israel’s destruction.

17. **The FOA takes part in campaigns calling for economic, academic, and cultural boycott of Israel.** Many posters calling to boycott Israel could be seen at anti-Israel demonstrations in London in which the organization participated. Among the organizations taking part in the delegitimization campaign, the FOA is clearly one that does not settle for
boycotting settlement products or even Israeli products: it goes as far as to boycott international Western companies that maintain business relations with Israel (such as Coca Cola, McDonalds, L’Oreal, Amazon, etc.). Posters portraying Israel as an apartheid state and calling to boycott the country could be seen at a demonstration held in London in September 2000, attended by Ismail Patel (inminds.com, 2002). Similar posters were raised in the Jerusalem Day event in London (August 21, 2011).

**BDS posters at demonstrations in London attended by the FOA and other anti-Israel organizations**

“Boycott the apartheid state Israel” reads the Muslim Association of Britain banner. A poster to boycott Israel at a demonstration in London on September 28, 2002. The poster is held by the MAB, an organization taking part in the delegitimization campaign affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.

Poster at an anti-Israel demonstration in London (May 2003)
Within the context of BDS, the FOA currently participates in a campaign to boycott Israeli dates called “Check the Label”. As part of the campaign, Muslims fasting during the month of Ramadan have been asked not to break the fast with Israeli dates. According to the organization’s website, the campaign consists of two stages: reporting businesses that sell Israeli products, and reporting buyers. For stage one, the organization sent letters to more than one thousand suppliers and businesses asking store owners not to sell Israeli products. The FOA asked its supporters to send letters to other suppliers. For stage two, the organization asked the consumer audience to check the labels on the goods and boycott products made in Israel.
Additional anti-Israel activities

19. One of FOA’s stated objectives is “educating” British public opinion on the issue of Palestine in accordance with its anti-Israel views. It does so by releasing publications, giving lectures, and organizing conferences.

20. The organization distributes anti-Israel publications by selling them on its website and handing them out at mosques and at Islamic events:

   a. **Books**—the organization published several books that can be purchased on the website. The books include *Palestine Beginners Guide*, *A History of Palestinian Resistance*, and more. The organization’s website also has online books on Islamic subjects.

   b. **Leaflets**—as part of the campaign to raise awareness of the situation in Palestine and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the organization published a series of leaflets, each focusing on a different aspect.
c. **Quarterly publication** called Aqsa News, distributed free of charge at mosques and universities and sent to other organizations in Britain.

d. **Biannual publication** called *Aqsa Journal*, a selection of articles authored by academia members, politicians, journalists, and activists. According to the FOA website, the publication contains studies and analyses of various issues pertaining to the Israeli “occupation” presented from an anti-Israel viewpoint.

e. **Reports on the issue of Palestine**—over the years the organization published reports focusing on various issues pertaining to “Palestine and the occupation”. For example, the published reports include “12 Years of Campaigning for Peace in Palestine”, “War Crimes in Gaza”, “60 Years of Catastrophe”, etc.

f. **Book reviews**—the organization receives books on Palestine from various publishers to review. The reviews, written from a strongly anti-Israel perspective, appear on the organization’s website and in its periodicals.

g. **Posters**—the organization invites the public to buy posters to hang at homes, mosques, and social centers. The posters are available for purchase on the website (see section on BDS for an example poster on boycotting Israel and companies that assist it).

h. The organization's website also offers Palestine-themed shirts and accessories.

**Participation in flotillas and convoys**

21. FOA leader Ismail Patel and other activists belonging to the organization are involved in sending flotillas and convoys to the Gaza Strip. For instance:

a. **Ismail Patel’s participation in the Mavi Marmara flotilla**: Patel was on board the Mavi Marmara in the flotilla that took place in May 2010. He was a member of the British delegation which, with 28 British citizens—half of them Muslim—was the largest delegation sent by a Western country. Following the Mavi Marmara violent confrontation he was deported from Israel to Turkey. Upon his return to Britain he held a press conference where he talked about his experience.
b. **Ismail Patel’s participation in the Miles of Smiles convoy**: Ismail Patel took part in the Miles of Smiles 3 convoy (June 2011) and, in our assessment, in other aid convoys that came to the Gaza Strip, cooperating with such pro-Hamas British organizations as Interpal or Viva Palestina.

c. The FOA is one of the British anti-Israel organizations **that were supposed to take part in the “upgraded” flotilla that was due to set sail to Gaza from Greece (Freedom Flotilla 2)**. The five organizations are affiliated with Islamic and radical left-wing elements in Britain. Ultimately they could not leave Greece and the flotilla ended in failure.

**Other anti-Israel activities**

**Public activity for the release of Sheikh Ra’ed Salah**

22. When Sheikh Ra’ed Salah was detained in Britain in early July 2011, the FOA took part in a campaign for his release. Within the campaign, British citizens sign petitions calling for the release of the sheikh and held a demonstration near the prime minister’s house on Downing Street, London.
Participation in Jerusalem Day

23. The FOA is one of the 18 anti-Israel networks and organizations that participated in the Jerusalem Day March and rally, held in London on August 21, 2011. The events were organized by an anti-Israel Islamic organization called Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC). Jerusalem Day is an annual event initiated by the Iranian regime to express the support of Iran and the Muslim world for the Palestinian cause, defame Israel and call for its destruction, and defy the United States and Western countries (“the arrogant powers”).

Organization of a British parliamentary delegation that visited Judea and Samaria

24. About a year ago the FOA and representatives from the Middle East Monitor (MEMO), a radical anti-Israel, pro Hamas group based in Britain, organized a parliamentary delegation that visited Judea and Samaria. Members of the delegation included British MPs and several journalists. The delegation visited a few friction zones, including the Jerusalem neighborhood of Silwan, Hebron, and Bedouin villages in southern Israel. The delegation members met with local residents in Judea and Samaria, including Fatah and Hamas activists (MEMO website, November 29, 2010). The visit was coordinated by Lubna Masarwa, a Free Gaza Movement activist in Israel.

Consideration of an idea to hold a march to Jerusalem on November 29, 2011, the anniversary of the UN resolution on the partition of Palestine

25. In May 2011, anti-Israel groups involved in the delegitimization campaign considered an idea to have activists from across the globe, both in the PA-administered territories and from Arab countries, march to Jerusalem. The organizers were planning to secure the involvement of the governments of Arab countries bordering Israel. It is our assessment that the initiative is still being explored, and it remains unclear whether or

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5 MEMO is a UK-based group hostile to Israel. Established in mid-2009, it refers to itself as an independent institution for media research on Middle Eastern affairs that emphasizes the Islamic point of view in its coverage of the Palestinian issue. Judging by the views the group advocates, it appears that MEMO is affiliated with radical Islam. Its director is Dr. Daud Abdullah, a senior figure in the London-based PRC, an anti-Israeli propaganda center aiming to promote the idea of “right of return”. MEMO’s editor-in-chief is Ibrahim Hewitt, a British citizen who converted to Islam and the chairman of the Interpal fund. One of the institution’s advisors is Prof. Tareq Ramadan, a lecturer in Oxford University and the grandson of Hassan al-Banna, the founder of Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood. He is considered to be ideologically affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, which considers him one of its most prominent figures.

6 Lubna Masarwa, born 1978, lives in Kafr Qara, Israel. Works as a community organizer in East Jerusalem. Takes part in the flotilla campaign on behalf of the Free Gaza Movement (FGM) and participated in the Mavi Marmara flotilla. The FGM is an anti-Israel network that plays a key role in organizing the flotillas and in the delegitimization campaign against Israel.
how the march might take place. However, there have been calls on Facebook to prepare for massive non-violent demonstrations on November 29, march to Israel's borders, and to arrive by sea.

26. Some of the people involved in pushing forward this idea were Feroze Mithiborwala (an anti-Israel activist in India who headed the Asian convoy) and FOA leader Ismail Patel. On May 14, 2011, they discussed the idea of mobilizing one million people to march from the borders of Arab countries to Israel and pray in Jerusalem: “This will undermine the Israeli state, like no other strategy”, Ismail Patel said, “and then it will all begin to unravel and the Zionist edifice which is unraveling as we speak, will soon fall. It’s a matter of time now, as we well know”.