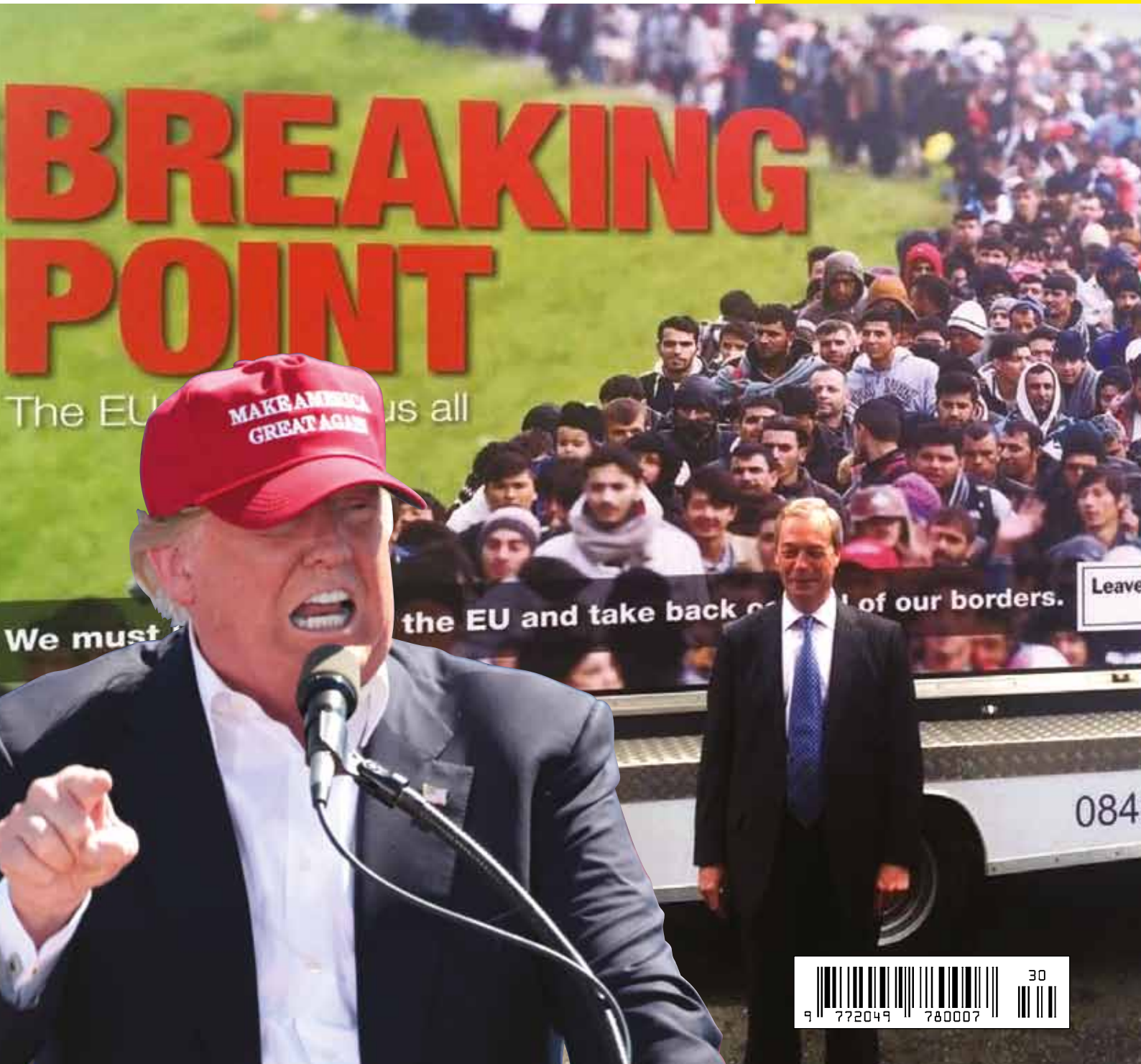


# 2017 STATE OF HATE

**HOPE**  
not hate  
special

A HOPE not hate special  
report into extremism in Britain  
and Europe today

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**The year hate went mainstream**

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# HOPE not hate

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 to combat them.

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**HNH uses research, education and public engagement to challenge mistrust and racism, and helps to build communities that are inclusive, celebrate shared identities and are resilient to hate.**

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. HOPE not hate has over 214,000 online supporters and over 240,000 followers on Facebook. We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

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**HOPE  
 not hate**

# Editorial

# State of Hate sections

## Mainstreaming hate

WELCOME to our latest State of Hate report, the most authoritative and comprehensive exploration of extremism in Britain and Europe in 2016.

This report looks at the most influential groups and individuals disseminating hate in Britain and abroad. It explores the traditional far right, anti-Muslim “counter-jihadists” and racist street gangs. We also investigate the state of Islamist extremism, both violent and non-violent and we profile the main far right or populist right group in each of 27 European countries.

A number of special investigations includes one revealing Jim Dowson’s growing European network that stretches from Loyalists in Northern Ireland to Russian fascists linked to the Kremlin.

We carry a major article from Cas Mudde, a leading expert on populism, on whether far right extremism is the “new normal” in Europe.

In a new departure, we survey the rapidly expanding and increasingly important alt-Right and Britain’s leading Holocaust deniers.

We also carry the results of our State of the Nation poll, conducted by YouGov for HOPE not hate, on the opinions and attitudes of Britons.

Democracy in Europe is under stress like never before as a range of diverse threats – from Donald Trump and Steve Bannon in the US, right-wing populist parties in Western Europe, authoritarian regimes in central and eastern Europe and Russia’s continued interference – are converging to challenge social and economic justice, equality and human rights.

The State of Hate report is an essential tool to helping us understand and assess the character of those threats.

*Nick Lowles*

Nick Lowles

**Read about our new investigations unit, page 74**



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# Picture of resistance



TESS ASPLUND, 42, stood in front of a nazi Nordic Resistance Movement demonstration in central Sweden in March 2016 in rejection of their nazi views.

"It was an impulse. I was so angry, I just went out into the street," Asplund said. "I was thinking: hell no, they can't march here! I had this adrenaline. No Nazi is going to march here, it's not okay."

# State of Hate

By *Nick Lowles and Matthew Collins*

**A** year dominated by the UK's vote to leave the European Union (EU) and the election of Donald Trump in the USA, saw mixed fortunes for Britain's far right.

For the traditional extreme far right, it was a year of further marginalisation, convictions and bans punctuated only by extreme acts of violence.

However, 2016 was also a year where a new far right threat became more evident, one played out largely on social media and to an international audience.

It is this same new-style far right that has been at the heart of the global fake news phenomenon and that can engage and mobilise greater numbers of people across Europe and north America than ever before.

Now, with the uncertainty of the Brexit negotiations, the fall out from Trump's presidency, increased influence of far right parties in Western Europe and the authoritarianism seen in parts of Eastern Europe, the problems emanating from Britain's far right will be more numerous

and multifaceted.

There is still a growing risk of violence and even terrorism from ever smaller but more extreme far right groups while, at the same time, the newly emerging generation of far right activists – who use YouTube, Facebook and conspiracy websites as their platforms – has never been more able to circumvent traditional media and reach huge audiences.

\*\*\*



# 2017

2016 STARTED with a violent confrontation in Dover, where fascists and anti-fascists had a four-hour clash at a National Front march, which led to the jailing of over fifty far right activists.

It ended with the leader of the anti-Muslim outfit, Britain First, being sent to prison and the nazi grouplet National Action (NA) banned as a terrorist organisation by the British government.

Added to all this there was the murder of campaigning MP and young mother, Jo Cox, by veteran nazi Thomas Mair at the height of the summer's EU referendum campaign.

## **Traditional Far Right**

The Dover convictions were the single most significant event that impacted on the British far right in 2016. In a single act, almost the entire top layer of the most militant and violent far right organisations in the UK were swept up and imprisoned.

The North West Infidels (NWI), South East Alliance (SEA) and National Front (NF) are now largely inactive with their leadership and key activists convicted and behind bars.

In their absence the Pie and Mash group, led by convicted hooligan Joe Turner *aka* Marsh, is becoming increasingly important and vocally aggressive but the pool of supporters it can mobilise has been greatly reduced because of convictions.

The one region of the country where arrests and imprisonment have little impact on the mobilising ability of violent far right groups is the north east where the North East Infidels (NEI) and the Sunderland Defence League (SDL) continue to pose a serious physical threat to opponents (and increasingly each other).

Britain First (BF), which has received so much publicity for having over a million followers on Facebook and for its provocative stunts, ended the year in a desperate state.

A fall in donations and a series of debilitating court orders clearly demoralised its leader, Paul Golding. A court order resulting from a "Christian Patrol" through a heavily Muslim area of Luton in January 2016 meant the group was banned from entering any mosque in the country and Golding and his deputy, Jayda Fransen, were banned from the town and the group forbidden from organising any activity there.

As a result, Golding began scratching around in the hope of merging his party with another on the far right or, at the very least, bringing in a new leader. Talks with Liberty GB boss Paul Weston collapsed after the murder of Jo Cox amid claims that the killer, Thomas Mair, had shouted "Britain First" during the attack.

By December, as he was about to be sent to prison for breaking the strict court order not to enter a mosque or encourage others to do so, Golding clearly wanted out. However, his short spell in prison enraged him and, on leaving jail – in one of the most confrontational videos from a far right leader in years – he promised violent revenge.

## **New Nazis/National Action**

The decision of Home Secretary Amber Rudd to outlaw National Action (NA) as a terrorist organisation was a momentous end to the year.

It was the first such classification of a British far right group since WWII. While some dismissed this as a PR stunt, the truth is that the authorities felt compelled to act as a result of NA's increasingly violent rhetoric. Some of its more senior activists, it was evident, were trying to encourage younger recruits to carry out acts of terrorism.

These same activists also loudly celebrated the murder of Jo Cox and called for the same punishment to be handed out to other Labour politicians. On the ground, new recruits posted vile

antisemitic stickers on Jewish buildings and in neighbourhoods as an initiation test. A Bradford teenager, who joined NA after googling "Joseph Stalin" was later groomed and encouraged to engage in violence by older activists.

So concerned were the authorities about the NA's potential for extreme violence and terrorism that a number of its activists were placed on a police watch list.

While the ban has effectively shut down the organisation, the people within it and the networks in which they operate continue. Some are considering setting up under a different name. Others are content to continue to operate on their own or in smaller groups. We are concerned that some of these young nazis will be emboldened by the attention the ban has awarded them.

What is equally worrying is that even before the ban, a few of the more hard-line activists had already begun to split off and form smaller, more extreme groups. The highly secretive Omega Systems is one of these.

## **Older Nazis/Combat 18**

2016 also saw the resurgence of the 1990s nazi terrorist group Combat 18 (C18) both in the UK and across Europe. While Combat 18 (which takes the first and eighth letter of the alphabet – AH – Adolf Hitler) has never entirely gone away, it has been largely inactive and underground in many countries following a series of state security and police operations in at least eight European countries between 2002 and 2008. However, last year saw the group expanding in Hungary and re-emerging in countries like Sweden, where it has been inactive for many years.

C18 supporters were heavily involved in a massive nazi music gig held in Switzerland in the autumn attended by 6,000 people, making it the largest white power gig ever. What was even more

**ORGANISATIONAL THREAT CHART** HOPE not hate has graded Britain's far right groups for the extremism of their ideology and their capability of an impact on society





remarkable about this concert was that those attending paid online, in advance, for their tickets. The transport redirect point was in Germany, 200km from the venue with the organisers lining up a huge convoy of buses to take people into Switzerland.

This resurgence has coincided with an elevated public C18 profile for many of its key leaders from the 1990s, among them Germany's Thorsten Heise and Norway's Erik Blücher.

Two far right marches in Dortmund, in June and October, saw C18 leaders from across Europe take to the streets for the first time in 20 years.

### Far right and radical right parties

UKIP, and the national attention focused on the EU referendum, continued to marginalise traditional far right parties in the UK last year.

Fringe political parties such as the British National Party (BNP) and the British Democratic Party (BDP) struggled to maintain any significant presence, torn by endless splits and seeing their support drain away.

While some within far right circles seemed to have hoped that the EU referendum result would lead to the collapse of UKIP and open a space for a racial nationalist party, a rather different reality took shape.

Talk of unity that would accrue from the launch of a new far right party was more an admission of weakness and isolation than an expression of strength.

However, all is not well for UKIP either. Former leader Nigel Farage and millionaire backer Arron Banks (who funded the Leave.EU campaign) are increasingly operating parallel to the party. Meanwhile, the EU vote result has seen a drop in UKIP's electoral support as some of its voters obviously feel "the job is done" while others believe that Theresa May's government has assumed much of the UKIP agenda.

More significantly, UKIP is in a financial mess. After losing funders it was able to raise less than half the amount raised by the BNP in the three months prior to September 2016. UKIP has also been ordered to repay more than €172,000 by the European Parliament after being caught misusing €500,000 of European grant money on opinion polling ahead of the 2015 General Election and Brexit campaigns. In addition, UKIP MEPs, including new leader Paul Nuttall and Nigel Farage, are under scrutiny for using EU cash to pay for political staff in the UK.

With UKIP defending 121 wards – achieved during the party's first electoral breakthrough in 2013 – in the 2017 County Council elections, any decrease in seats will be seen as confirming the party's decline.

Success in the forthcoming Stoke-on-Trent Central by-election is, likewise, vital for both Nuttall and his party. Standing as candidate, his failure to win a seat would probably relegate the party to semi-irrelevance. A win, however, would enliven the beleaguered organisation and could keep Farage (and possibly Banks) in its ranks as well helping to retain the backing of Trump's chief strategist (and ex-Breitbart editor-in-chief) Steve Bannon.

If Nuttall achieves this, we think his radical populism would quickly alienate the UKIP "moderates" but prompt intensified, aggressive and divisive UKIP campaigning in socially-deprived post-industrial, mainly Labour, constituencies.

A by-election has seldom been so crucial to the fortunes of a political party and, with other parliamentary by-elections likely in key Labour constituencies in the North West and the North East over the next few months and with the party posing a serious challenge in the Teesside super mayoral election (which will cover five local authorities across Teesside), there is still a path for a UKIP revival.

It is abundantly clear that there will be compromises over Brexit and this, coupled with rising economic anxiety and probable inability of the government to reduce immigration substantially, could lead to mounting disenchantment and anger. With the Labour Party currently in turmoil, it will be a UKIP-type party that benefits.

### The "Alt-Right"

2016 saw the emergence and increasing impact of British Alt-Right and far right bloggers and vloggers.

Among these are Milo Yiannopoulos, one of the most high profile and controversial Alt-Right figures in the USA. He is heavily involved in the far right-friendly Breitbart News network. Yiannopoulos recently signed a \$250,000 book deal with Simon & Schuster and is highly active on both social media and at public events.

Another Alt-Right Briton is Battersea-based vlogger Paul Watson, who is enmeshed in the conspiracy website InfoWars. Watson, with 451,000 Twitter followers and 717,722 subscribers on YouTube, was one of the main figures behind fake news/conspiracy theories about Hillary Clinton having debilitating health issues in the run up to the US election, including the disgusting "Is Hillary Dying?" hoax. His videos on the topic were viewed millions of times even taken up by the right-wing network, Fox News.

A third figure is Colin Robertson who runs the Millennial Woes YouTube channel seen by tens of thousands of people. Robertson is increasingly popular in the US and last November he addressed the Alt-Right National Policy Institute conference in Washington DC.

Outed by the media in January 2017, Robertson has announced that he is considering moving to the US.

While the Alt-Right is more generally a US phenomenon, a similar trend has been growing in the UK under the name New Right. One of its expressions, The London Forum, is now regularly attended by over 100 people and new groups have formed in the South West, Yorkshire and Scotland.

Last year, saw expansion of the Forum network into America with the creation of a New York forum and a North West Forum that held its founding meeting in Seattle. There are plans to create another branch in Washington DC.



(left) Colin Robertson who runs Millennial Woes and (right) Alt-Right British vlogger Paul Watson



Donald Trump  
Photo: Gage Skidmore  
(right) Steve Bannon  
Photo: Don Irvine

Also intervening in the US elections was former Britain First leader Jim Dowson. From his new Hungarian office, in city centre Budapest, Dowson set up a series of US-focused websites with the sole intent of denigrating Mrs Clinton and promoting Donald Trump. *The New York Times* made the point that, while there were other fake news outlets trying to influence the US elections that emanated from central and eastern Europe, Dowson's operation was the only clearly politically inspired intervention.

Dowson, with former BNP leader Nick Griffin spent much of 2016 building an international network of far right parties, militia groups and religious extremists. Most worrying have been his growing links with people and organisations with links to the Russian state.

This growing internationalisation of the far right, mainly through the New Right and its US-linked Alt-Right networks, poses a mounting threat. That a young man sitting in a small flat in south London can create headlines in the US or a Belfast-based extremist can use the Hungarian capital as a base to influence politics in central, eastern and southern Europe makes monitoring and countering such individuals groups very difficult.

Similarly, the presence of Polish far right groups – such as National Rebirth of Poland and Polish C18 and pro-Ukrainian paramilitaries in the UK such as the leaders of the Misanthropic Division – brings a new level of extremism and experience to British far right activists.

### Assault on liberal democracy

While the fortunes of the far right in the UK fluctuate, often due to police intervention or internal disputes, the trajectory is still heading in the wrong direction. The Trump administration's mainstreaming of anti-Muslim hatred, the increased political impetus of far right parties in parts of western Europe, the activities of Alt-Right activists spreading prejudice and fake news online and authoritarian regimes becoming more confident in central and eastern Europe, all show we are living in very dangerous and uncertain times.

These right-wing forces, coupled with Russia's continued attempts at interference in world politics, are challenging the foundations of the liberal democracy that was largely created as a result of WWII and the defeat of Nazi Germany.

A disturbing trend is that the one point of convergence for all these quite disparate threats – and to this one can add the right-wing faction within the Catholic Church which has become increasingly vocal and active over the last few years – is a common desire to dismantle the central pillars of liberal democracy in order to achieve political goals. These include human rights, equality and interventionist and collectivist foreign policies to intervene to prevent conflict and genocide or alleviate suffering and discrimination around the world.

From the far right, that seeks to replace the EU and the liberal democratic system with nationalist regimes, to the central and eastern European government that want to disregard some of the EU's basic premises to introduce ever

more authoritarian rules and to those who believe that social democracy and secularism in Western Europe has created the conditions for an Islamist takeover, all are united in the central belief that the post-war democratic consensus has to be dismantled.

While there has been outrage at Trump's ban on travel from seven Muslim-majority countries, the promotion of Steve Bannon – who has gone on record stating that the US should go to war with Iran and China within the next five years – to Trump's National Security Council is equally worrying. In a speech to a right-wing conference at the Vatican in 2014, he made it a clear political objective to destroy liberal democracy in Western Europe through the advancement of far right parties.

The British far right is still a bit part player in this wider picture but, in its many guises, it is still dangerous. We are likely to see this danger manifested in more far right violence and terrorism originating from small, secretive and extreme networks. It is also likely that the new generation of vloggers and social media networkers from the Alt-Right and their fellow travellers will have an increasingly influential role on the shape of events.

And, most significantly, UKIP's central role in the campaign to get Britain out of the EU has given a lift to populist and far right parties and politicians across western Europe, in north America and to authoritarian regimes in eastern Europe.

2016 was the year of Brexit and Trump's election. 2017 could turn out even more tumultuous. ●

# The Dirty Dozen – Britain’s most influential far right activists

▲ Up from last year    ▼ Down from last year  
 New Entry  
 Last year's rankings in arrows

**1 JIM DOWSON** Influential behind the scenes in Britain and Europe with men in robes and camouflage. He is now the main far right link to Europe and the USA 5

**2 LARRY NUNN** Nothing moves without comment or approval from Larry Nunn *aka* Max Musson. The only fascist still willing to spend money on the movement 7

**3 JEREMY BEDFORD TURNER** The enthusiastic and ubiquitous bagman for Nunn. Not a man of many means, but the driving force in front and behind Nunn's lofty ambitions 2

**4 PAUL GOLDING** Despite trying to shift Britain First off his plate, his imprisonment has left him bitter, aggravated and potentially more dangerous 3

**5 MARK COLLETT** The BNP's former Golden Boy has reinvented himself with a book, a regular podcast and appearing alongside former KKK leader David Duke NEW ENTRY

**6 AREK RZEPINSKI** Leader of the Polish nazi gang NOP, domiciled in Britain NEW ENTRY

**7 JULIE LAKE** Former BNP south-west regional organiser. Appears to be playing mother to all and now leading the South West Forum NEW ENTRY

**8 STEPHEN LENNON** A truly fallen star. He put more effort into building his ego than he ever did 1 Pegida UK

**9 ALEX DAVIES** National Action's former deputy may be rather dim but there are those who want to save him from himself and reinvent him as Collett's sidekick NEW ENTRY

**10 JAYDA FRANSEN** The first woman to lead (if only temporarily) a right-wing extremist group in the UK. The temporary leader of Britain First has leadership dreams of her own NEW ENTRY

**11 JOE TURNER, *aka* Joe Marsh,** leads the Pie n' Mash squad, the most active far right street gang around at the moment. NEW ENTRY

**12 MARK COTTERILL** Cotterill edits the only remaining and salient magazine for the British far right, *Heritage & Destiny*. NEW ENTRY



# THE STATE OF THE NATION

**Britain is deeply divided and there is general pessimism and uncertainty about its future, a survey conducted by YouGov on behalf of HOPE not hate has found. *Nick Lowles* reports.**

OUR 2016 *State of the Nation* poll found that most people are worried about the future of the UK economy as well as their own region's finances. The poll also shows how the European Union (EU) referendum has not only divided the nation but that how we voted in the referendum greatly determines how we see the future of Britain and its relationship with the EU.

The poll confirmed that people's attitudes to immigration and integration are more thoughtful, complex and nuanced than often thought to be the case and certainly more rational than the media portray.

The poll was taken just a fortnight after the release of the Casey Review into problems of integration in British society and that, while the idea of making newcomers speak English was very popular amongst British society, an even more important prerequisite for new immigrants was paying taxes.

There was widespread belief that Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilisation but also recognition that discrimination against Muslims is a problem. However, there was little consensus on how to tackle Islamic extremism or promote integration amongst communities.

## Issues facing Britain

Britain leaving the EU (60%) and Immigration (45%) are perceived to be the two top issues facing the country with Health (34%) and the Economy (33%) following closely.

Interestingly, leaving the EU was of equal concern to both Remain and Leave voters.

There was little consensus on other issues. Immigration was a major concern for 67% of Leave voters but just 25% of Remain voters.

Immigration was selected as a major concern by 72% of people who voted UKIP in 2015 but just 35% who voted Labour.

Housing is seen as important by those who identify with the Labour Party (27%) and a fifth of UKIP identifiers put welfare benefits in their top three issues (20%).

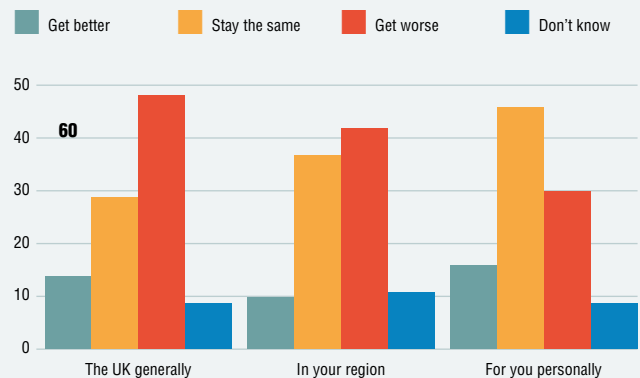
The environment is only seen as an important issue among young people (ranked fifth) with 18% of 18-24-year-olds selecting it compared with 5% of the over 65s.

## Political trust

The poll confirms the widespread mistrust Britons have towards politicians, political parties and the political process generally. Politicians are the least trusted, with 45% of the public not trusting them at all and a further

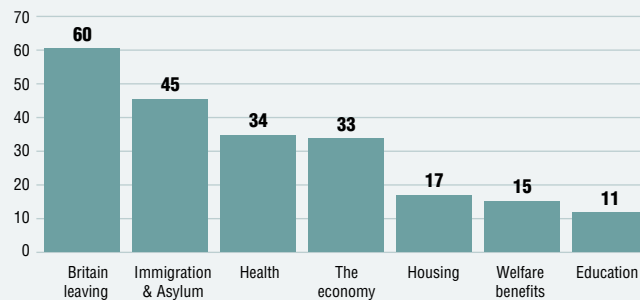
### Q. How do you think the financial situation of each of the following will change over the NEXT 12 months?

Sample size: 1679 GB Adults; Fieldwork: 16th – 19th December 2016



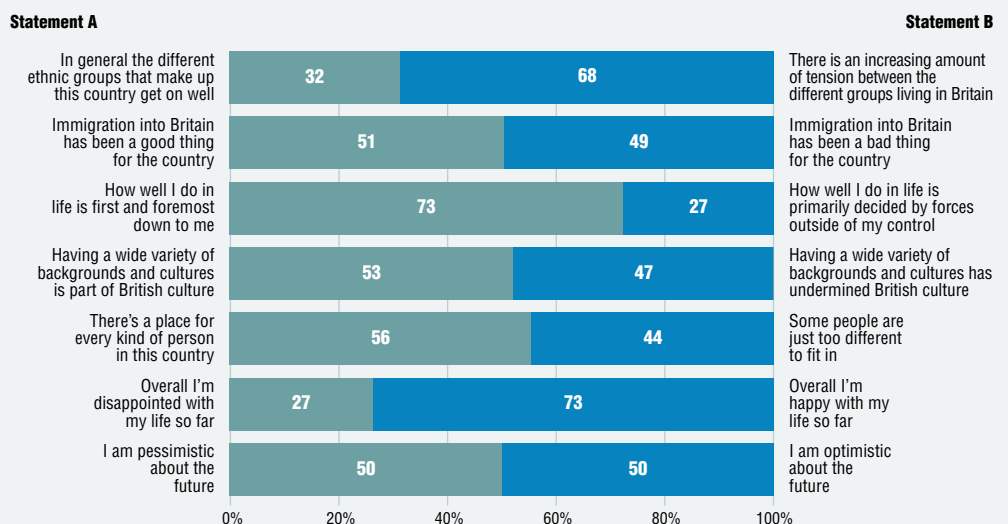
### Q. Which of the following do you think are the most important issues facing the country at this time? Please tick up to three.

Sample size: 1679 GB Adults; Fieldwork: 16th – 19th December 2016



### Q. Please say which of these pairs of statements you most agree with, even if you don't agree with either entirely.

Sample size: 1679 GB Adults; Fieldwork: 16th – 19th December 2016



35% not trusting them much. This level of trust is consistent across the different demographic groups.

Academics have a net positive trust score of 32% compared with religious leaders whom almost two thirds (61%) of the public do not trust. 72% of Remain voters trust the

BBC compared with just half (51%) of Leave voters.

Your friends	+82
Academics	+32
BBC	+24
Trade unions	-31
Religious leaders	-32
Newspapers	-41
Facebook	-55
Politicians	-65

Public alienation from mainstream political parties is also evident in the lack of identification with parties and their leaders. Almost a quarter of people did not identify with any political party and a further 11% said they did not know.

When asked which leader represented their views, Theresa May topped the poll

with just 15%, followed by Jeremy Corbyn with 10%. Almost a half of people (48%) either said that none of the political leaders represented their views or did not know.

### Pessimism v Optimism

There is a general pessimism about the state of Britain today. 58% of people think things are worse now than 10 years ago, with only 10% thinking they are better.

Asked about their own personal position, 36% think things have got worse while 27% think they have got better.

People are equally pessimistic about the future. 42% think Britain will be worse off in 10 years time with just 14% thinking it will get better.

Age plays a factor in attitudes. Although most are happy with their lives, two thirds (32%) of 25-39-year-olds are disappointed with their lives so far.

Looking forward to the next 12 months, the public are fairly pessimistic about how the financial situation will change for the country, their region and their own finances. However, a fifth (22%) of Conservative identifiers think their own financial situation will improve compared with just 12% of those who identify with the Labour party.

Half of those living in the North and Scotland think their region's financial situation will get worse, compared with 35% of Londoners.

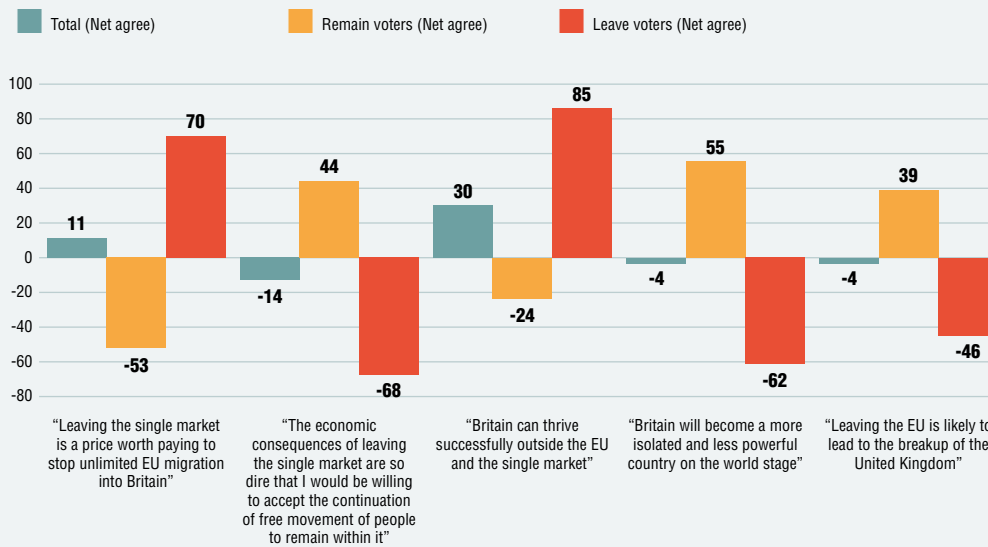
### Brexit

Brexit is the single most important issue facing Britain, our poll unsurprisingly discovered. We are deeply divided as to how it will go and on the priorities for our negotiated settlement.

Our poll graphically shows how the British put reducing immigration above economic considerations in their

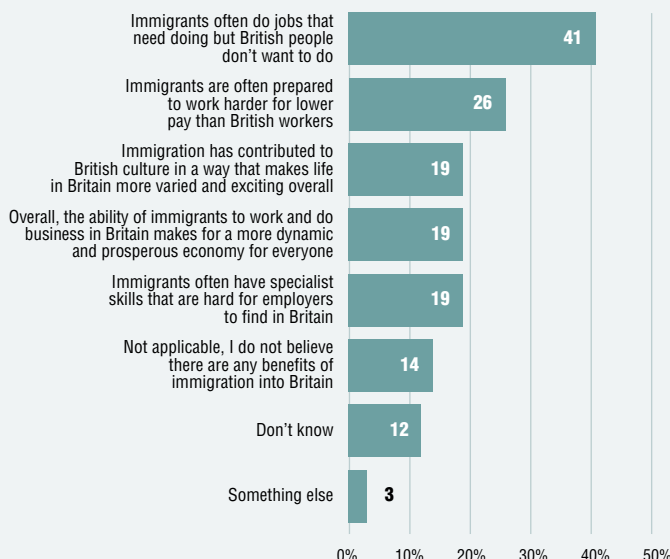
### Q. As Britain prepares to negotiate its departure from the EU, to what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

Sample size: 1679 of which 786 voted Remain and 715 voted Leave; Fieldwork: 16th – 19th December 2016



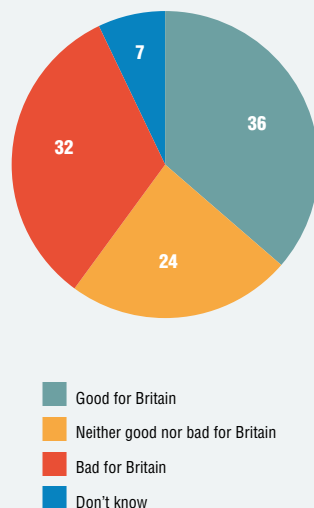
### Q. Which two of the following, if any, do you think are the biggest benefits of immigration into Britain?

Sample size: 1679 GB Adults; Fieldwork: 16th – 19th December 2016



### Q. Do you think EU nationals already living in Britain should?

Sample size: 1679 GB Adults; Fieldwork: 16th – 19th December 2016



decision to leave the EU. Almost a half of voters (42%) thought leaving the European Single Market (ESM) was a price worth paying to end the free movement of people with 31% disagreeing.

Whilst most are confident in Britain being able to thrive outside the ESM, the public is less unanimous in its view of Britain's place in the world and the future of the EU.

Statements powerfully underline the difference in attitudes between Leave and Remain voters. For example, 12% of Remain voters compared with 76% of Leave voters agree with the statement "Leaving the single market is a price worth paying to stop unlimited EU migration into Britain".

What will disappoint some but delight others is that if the EU referendum was rerun now the outcome would not change. 44% would vote to Leave and 41% would vote to Remain. The remainder are undecided or would not vote.

Interestingly, 6% of people who voted to remain last June would switch their votes now while just 4% of people who voted to leave would now vote to remain. And this is despite 20% of Leave voters, and 45% overall, thinking the economic situation in Britain will deteriorate after

Britain leaves the EU. Just 21% think it will improve. An even more remarkable statistic is that only 12% of people think their own economic situation will improve post-Brexit, including just 19% of Leave voters.

An overwhelming majority (71%) thinks EU nationals already living in Britain should be allowed to stay here even after the EU referendum vote but 18% of Leave voters think that they should be encouraged to leave. While this is still a significant majority, it is a slight decline on the 81% who felt the same last July.

**Immigration**

The public remains deeply divided on the merits of immigration into Britain with slightly more people (36%) believing immigration has been good for Britain than bad (32%).

Almost half of young people (49%) and 51% of those in London think that immigration on the whole has been good, compared with only 28% of those living in the Midlands/Wales.

Conversely, 89% of UKIP identifiers and 58% of Conservative identifiers think that, on the whole, immigration has been a bad thing for Britain. 28% of

18-24-year-olds believe that immigration has contributed to British culture in a positive way, a view also more widely held amongst Labour and Liberal Democrat identifiers.

The types of work immigrants do are seen as the bigger benefits of immigration. For example, immigrants do jobs that British people do not want to do (41%).

However, almost a quarter of Leave voters (24%) do not believe there are any benefits from immigration.

The strongest single reason giving for opposing new immigration is the pressure it allegedly puts on public services, with 67%, and yet 43% think that many organisations – such as the NHS – could not cope without these immigrants.

Age continues to be a big factor in attitudes to immigration. Only 25% of over 65s think immigration has been good for Britain, compared with 49% of 18-24-year-olds.

Conversely, twice as many people aged over 65 think immigration has been bad for Britain than 18-24-year-olds.

Although 32% of the public think that immigration has, overall, been bad for Britain, only 9% would like to see all immigration stop

permanently (although a quarter of UKIP identifiers say this). Almost half of Conservative identifiers (48%) think we should only allow skilled immigrants who help the economy compared with 32% who support including unskilled workers as well.

**Muslims**

Britons continue to hold quite mixed and sometimes contradictory views on Muslims and Islam. Half of the British public thinks that Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilisation, with 60% of Conservative and 75% of UKIP voters believing this.

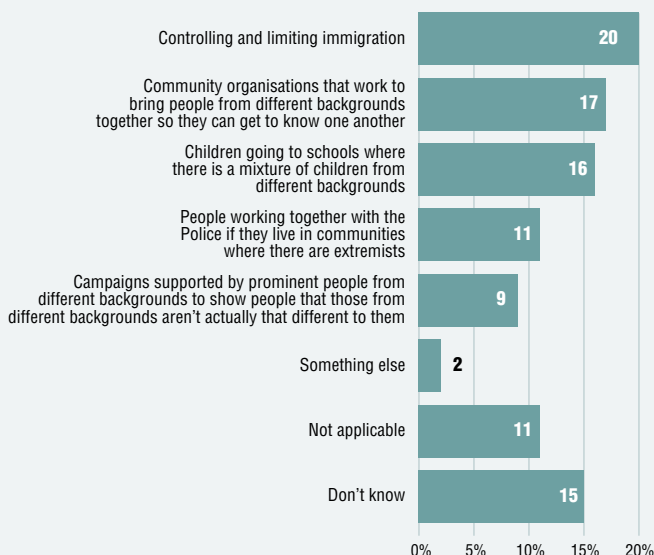
However, 4 in 10 think the media is too negative towards Muslims. Over half thinks discrimination towards Muslims is a serious problem in Britain and 69% think it wrong to blame an entire religion for the actions of a few extremists.

Only 11% think it fair to blame the entire religion for the actions of a few and this rises to 19% of UKIP voters.

A fifth of the public believes Islam is a dangerous religion that incites violence with a quarter (25%) of Conservative voters and 39% of UKIP voters thinking this. 14% of 18-24-year-olds think that Muslims being associated with violence and terrorism

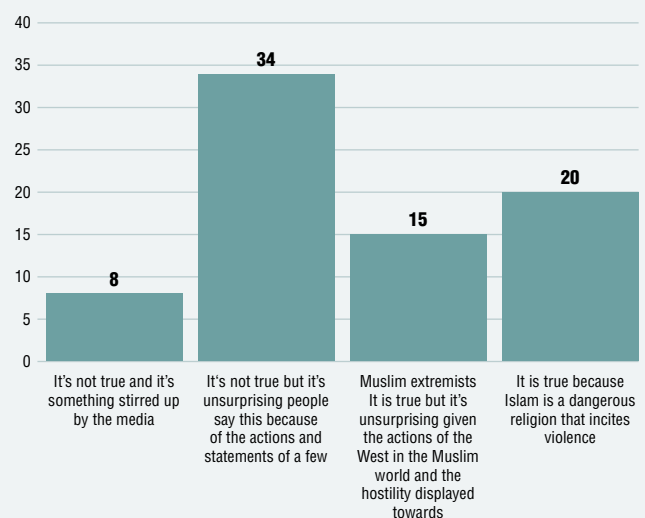
**Q. Which of these things do you think can play the biggest role in defeating extremism in communities?**

Sample size: 1679 GB Adults; Fieldwork: 16th – 19th December 2016



**Q. When you see or hear that Muslims are increasingly associated with violence and terrorism, which of these comes closest to your reaction?**

Sample size: 1679 GB Adults; Fieldwork: 16th – 19th December 2016



is not true and is something stirred up by the media.

There is a widely held view (67% of voters) that Muslim communities should do more to challenge Islamic extremism. This includes 60% of people who voted Remain in the EU Referendum. However, by a margin of 39% to 25%, people think most Muslims have integrated successfully into British society.

The British support a wide range of policy ideas to improve integration of Muslims into British society from ensuring they speak English, supported by 73% of people, to promoting a high profile campaign to challenge anti-Muslim hatred.

76% of Conservative identifiers, compared with 61% of Labour identifiers, thought that active promotion of British values within Muslim communities would be beneficial.

**Cohesion/extremism**

The British are keen for cohesion to work and believe that integration is a two-way street. By a slight margin (40% to 37%) of people believe they should learn more about other cultures in order to help new immigrants integrate into society rather than just believing it is the job of immigrants to integrate.

A majority of Britons (68%) see their local community as peaceful and friendly with just 11% thinking the opposite.

Interestingly, however, attitudes in London are more negative than the rest of the country with 57% of Londoners, compared with 75% of those living in the South, saying this.

While the views of Londoners are more positive and progressive on virtually every issue, attitudes to new immigrants are quite different. Almost a third (32%) of Londoners believe that the arrival of immigrants has changed their local area for the worse compared with 24% who agreed with the statement that they have changed things for the better.

This probably reflects the rate of immigration in

London – which has been far higher than anywhere else – and possibly the cultural differences between more established immigrant communities and new arrivals.

42% of Remain voters would like to get to know their neighbours better compared with only a quarter of Leave voters. Most people, and more specifically older respondents and Conservative/UKIP voters, do not believe that new immigrants want to integrate.

Most interestingly, from the options given, the public thinks that someone paying taxes is more important for them to be regarded as British than being able to speak English or having British citizenship. The least important factor was that they support the UK or

England/Scotland/Wales/Northern Ireland at sporting events, although 17% of UKIP voters still said this was “very important”.

Only 22% of 18-24-year-olds thought that being able to speak English was “very important” compared with 47% of over 65s. Almost a fifth of Remain voters (18%) felt that it was “not important at all” that someone is born here to be regarded as British.

Seven in ten 18-24-year-olds believe that there is a

place for every kind of person in this country.

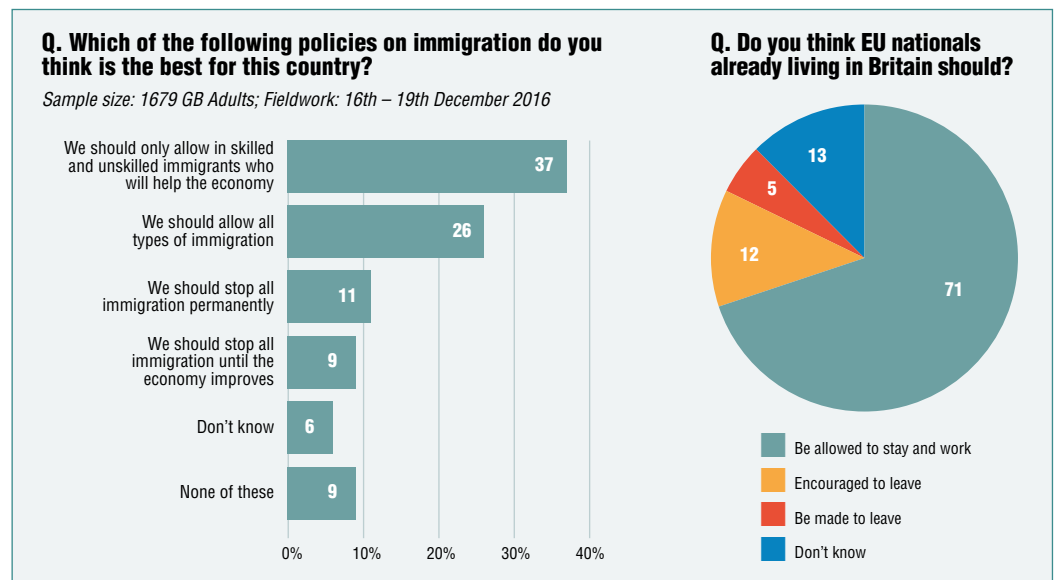
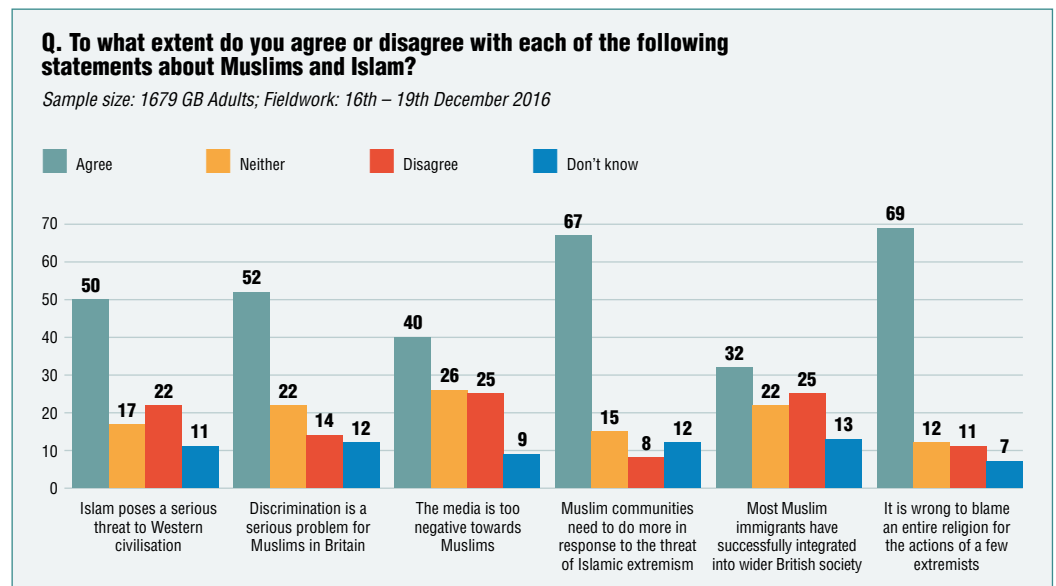
**Anxious but tolerant**

Anxiety and economic pessimism is growing in Britain today and this is likely to increase as our government negotiates exit from the EU. While tolerance and desire for a cohesive society remains strong and resilient among the public, growing anxiety and economic pessimism in the coming years could test this to the limit.

**An unsafe world**

58% of Britons believe that the world is a less safe place now that Donald Trump has become US president. Only 4% think the world is safer.

Almost half of voters are also worried about the rise of far right, anti-immigrant parties across Europe.



# Nuttall's UKIP: Uni

**On 28 November, after a prolonged and profound crisis, UKIP elected Paul Nuttall to succeed Nigel Farage as leader with a landslide 62.6% of the vote on a turnout of 47%. By David Lawrence.**

NUTTALL NOW HOPES to rebrand the party after six months of PR disaster and assemble a fresh platform that justifies its existence post-Brexit. This ambition now hinges upon February's Stoke-upon-Trent by-election.

## **Nuttall's Populism**

As UKIP's deputy leader, Paul Nuttall served two primary purposes: spearheading its campaign to win over disillusioned Labour and British National Party (BNP) voters in post-industrial towns and staking out a radical populist position to provide a voice for the most reactionary and hard-line elements in the party.

Nuttall used his leadership acceptance speech to trumpet his intention to "replace the Labour party and make UKIP the patriotic voice of the working people". In reality, as an ardent Thatcherite, Nuttall's approach to championing the interests of "left-behind" communities boils down to little more than exploiting fears around immigration and utilising his working class, politically incorrect, persona to justify punitive policies and alarmist language about Islam.

For example, Nuttall has justified an "Australian-style" points system for immigrants by warning of Ebola outbreaks and of a coordinated Muslim plot to "breed out" Europeans. He has labelled the European Union (EU) response to the refugee crisis as "freedom of movement of Jihad" and called upon the government to reveal the location of refugees legally living within the UK to prevent "British Cologne" sexual attacks.

Nuttall has called for return of the death penalty and repeal of the 1967 Criminal Justice Act to make prison conditions

deliberately harsher. He opposes same-sex marriage and would restrict the rights to roam of Roma people, supposedly, to protect the rights of "indigenous, taxpaying, hardworking" people.

This is the politics of the man now standing for UKIP in Stoke-on-Trent, until recently a Labour stronghold. The city recorded a 70% Leave vote in the EU Referendum despite Labour's policy to back Remain.

Nuttall has made a political career of exploiting the disillusionment felt towards Labour in disadvantaged post-industrial communities, and has wasted no time using the same tactics in Stoke.

Speaking at a recent meeting in the city, he told the crowd: "We need to stand up for the patriotic working classes. It is quite clear that Jeremy Corbyn does not have their interests at heart" and, referring to outgoing Labour MP, Tristram Hunt, stated: "Your Labour MP cares so much for you that he's upped and left for a better job in London rather than working here for you."

Until Labour can establish a clear and coherent policy around immigration, the defining issue on Brexit, UKIP has what Nuttall has described as "an open goal" in Labour's heartlands. This been reaffirmed by Labour's dire results in November's Sleaford by-election. Provided Nuttall can keep his house in order, Stoke could be the first of several coups over Labour and remake UKIP as an effective electoral outlet for widespread frustration at the perceived Westminster elite.

## **The Balancing Act**

Despite Nuttall's radical populism, he needs to smooth over his most extreme tendencies to deliver his central leadership pitch of uniting the



party. While Farage actively sidelined opponents and promoted extreme elements loyal to him, such as Raheem Kassam, Nuttall has remained friendly to both sides of the conflict and has attempted to appease the far right Faragists without alienating the more moderate, libertarian, faction headed by Douglas Carswell MP, Neil Hamilton AM, Suzanne Evans and Patrick O'Flynn.

His early leadership has been testament to this difficult balancing act. He has appointed O'Flynn and Evans to influential posts and simultaneously promoted hard-liners such as Bill Etheridge, Mike Hookem and Ray Finch to policy positions.

Nuttall has already conceded on policies such as NHS privatisation and the death penalty but has also doubled-down on the *burqa* ban and vowed to delve into issues "that the other parties are too scared to touch".

In the long term, it seems unlikely that Nuttall can maintain this uneasy alliance. Farage's sheer force of personality held UKIP together but



# ite or Right?



Nuttall is considered an indecisive and easily influenced leader by party insiders. Farage holds enormous sway among hard-liners and the grassroots and his new role as the party's "frontline spokesman" is destined to overshadow the leadership. Despite his protestations, Nuttall remains at the mercy of Farage's popularity and megalomania.

It is almost certainly due to pressure from the Faragists that, despite expectations, Carswell has not been promoted to a policy-making position. If Farage can continue to manipulate Nuttall and marginalise the moderates, UKIP is likely to drift further rightwards. It seems only a matter of time before the startlingly illiberal views of the likes of Etheridge, Farage and Nuttall himself once again start to alienate the libertarians and old cracks reappear.

## Banks or Bust?

UKIP is in dire financial straits. After haemorrhaging funders, it was able to raise just £43,000 in the three months

prior to September, under half the amount raised by the BNP.

UKIP has also been ordered to repay more than €172,000 by the European Parliament after being found to have siphoned over €500,000 of European grant money on multiple opinion polls ahead of its divisive 2015 general election and Brexit campaigns.

Unfortunately for Nuttall, this means scrambling to keep UKIP's largest funder and Leave.EU founder Arron Banks aboard. Banks has criticised Nuttall for wanting to "push [UKIP] to the centre" instead of standing on a "radical" platform. He has zero interest in party unity and is a sworn enemy of Carswell and Hamilton, pledging to abandon UKIP if the two remain.

January 2017 saw Banks apparently make good on this promise, launching a Breitbart-style "news" website "Westmonster", co-owned and edited by Farage's former press adviser Nigel Heaver.

Westmonster, essentially a reactionary Breitbart-clone, is an attempt to utilise the social media following of Banks' Leave.EU campaign to appeal to young voters, amassing over 11,000 followers on Twitter in its first few weeks. Banks' new venture signifies a possibly final break from the UKIP vehicle.

With Banks' money gone, Nuttall will have to display remarkable resourcefulness to keep UKIP as a force in politics if he does not win the Stoke seat. However, if he is able to enter parliament and with all major parties preparing for a General Election in 2017, it is possible Banks will not pull the financial plug just yet. If he were to do so, he would be able to exert enormous pressure on Nuttall to force out the Carswell clique, abandon the centre ground and embrace the hard right of the party. Banks' financial influence also greatly increases the burden on the penniless party to win Stoke.

## Breitbart

Also of increasing influence is Breitbart News Network, an outlet which, under Trump's right-hand man Stephen Bannon, has gained infamy as an online home of "alt-right" white supremacists. Bannon has spoken of forging a "global tea party" that links Trump, Brexit

voters, and the Front National in France and has already established a revolving door into UKIP.

Nuttall and Farage both have columns on Breitbart.com, and its divisive London Editor Kassam moves seemingly at will between the two organisations.

Nuttall, who has previously been critical of Trump, was notably absent when Bannon flew Farage, Kassam and Banks to become the first UK politicians to meet Trump. This has led speculation that Banks and Bannon will embark on a new venture together with Farage in tow, leaving Nuttall and the clapped-out UKIP trailing behind.

On the other hand, Bannon and Trump could throw Nuttall a lifeline in the likely case of Banks' exit. Nuttall has performed a sharp U-Turn and scrambled to ingratiate himself with Trump, describing himself as "happy he's got over the line".

Moderates like Evans understandably want to distance themselves from Breitbart's incendiary populism but Nuttall finds common ground both with Bannon's Islamophobia and his enthusiasm for forming links with the European far right.

If Nuttall can appease Farage and successfully forge his own links with Bannon and Trump, UKIP as a party (as opposed to Farage) could secure a privileged position with the most powerful far right players in the world.

Peering into financial abyss, victory in Stoke is make-or-break for both Nuttall and UKIP. Failure to win the seat would likely doom the party which would seem incapable of having a meaningful purpose after Brexit. Election, however, would provide a vital burst of momentum for it and could just keep Farage and, possibly, Banks on board as well as providing a bargaining chip for winning Bannon over.

If Nuttall can achieve this, his own radical populism under the influence of the hard-liners would quickly alienate the moderates and could see UKIP charge into disadvantaged post-industrial constituencies with discriminatory, no-holds barred campaigning that would further exacerbate divisions in these communities.

Rarely has a by-election been so crucial to the fortunes of political party. ●

# Empire builders



Griffin, Fiore and Dowson at the Reform Church in Budapest, March 2016

By **Matthew Collins** and **Nick Lowles**

**T**wo British fascists spent 2016 building an international network of far right, Christian extremist and pro-Russian groups across Europe and boasting of a direct influence on the US Presidential elections.

Jim Dowson, the Northern Ireland-based anti-abortion activist and former Britain First leader, and former BNP leader Nick Griffin have been busy cultivating extremist links across the continent as their influence at home has waned.

HOPE not hate has pieced together their movements over the past year to show a disturbingly large network of alliances and friends that have been formed, ranging from links with pro-Putin extremists in Russia to right-

wing self-styled “border militias” in Bulgaria.

At a time of growing internationalisation of the far right, Dowson and Griffin have been pioneers. Both men have made the Hungarian capital, Budapest, their new political home. Not only does the right-wing government there offer a degree of political security for their operations but the country offers a gateway to southern and eastern Europe.

It was in 2015 that Dowson rekindled his fraught, but previously profitable, relationship with Nick Griffin who has been hanging around Europe and the Middle East with a proverbial begging bowl since being kicked out of the European Parliament.

Griffin spent the last few months as his tenure as

both BNP leader and as an MEP acting as a cheerleader for Syrian president Bashar al-Assad. This provided a platform for his move into the pro-Putin arena.

In April 2015, Dowson and Griffin attended a St Petersburg conference lauding Putin and heaping scorn on the West.

Despite losing his seat in the European Parliament in 2014, Griffin remains at the heart of the European parliamentary group, the Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF). Dowson, meanwhile, has been representing the religious anti-abortionist New European Family Forum.

The duo has travelled extensively through eastern and Central Europe lauding Putin as a new messiah and



**Jim Dowson has developed links with far right leaders across Europe**

(top to bottom)  
Edwin Wagenveld (Netherlands)  
Stefan Jacobsson (Sweden)  
Tatjana Festerling (Germany)



encouraging small – and fractious – nationalist groups in countries formerly behind the Iron Curtain to agitate against the West and, in particular, the European Union.

Now based in Budapest, Dowson has ingratiated himself into the radical fringes of polite society. He now travels with a Bible and religious garb – and with Griffin, the *faux* statesman who was once an MEP in tow – to pump small groups of individuals with horror tales of western decline, Islamic immigration, abortion and falling birth-rates among European whites.

In September, the pair met a radical right-wing militia carrying out a border patrol in search of Muslim refugees in Bulgaria. Dowson had also arranged materials for the militia and, in return, received the names of Syrian refugees entering which Griffin then allegedly sent to Damascus.

With the APF likely to lose its European parliamentary funding, Griffin finds himself almost entirely at the financial mercy of Dowson's ridiculous "religious" order, Knights Templar International.

Dowson's main talent, other than rabble-rousing and uttering dire Biblical warnings, is his ability to manipulate social media. Having helped Britain First attain a million Facebook followers by manipulating its algorithm through a mixture

of emotive memes, Dowson is able to flood the Facebook pages of unsuspecting users further with hard-hitting right-wing and socially conservative material.

His social media skills have raised his profile in the European far right and opened doors to new political and professional relationships.

From his Budapest bolthole, he engaged in a concerted campaign to promote Donald Trump during the US Presidential elections often by spreading false news about Hillary Clinton. Operating behind a plethora of websites and Facebook groups, Dowson announced his mission to "spread devastating anti-Clinton, pro-Trump memes and sound bites into sections of the population too disillusioned with politics to have taken any notice of conventional campaigning."

"Together people like us helped change the course of history," one message said, adding in another: "Every single one of you who forwarded even just one of our posts on social media contributed to the stunning victory for Trump, America and God."

While there were other, and probably more important, fake news outlets operating across central and eastern Europe, what marks Dowson out is that he is the only identified participant driven by a far right political agenda.

Amusingly, Dowson sees his operation has providing a nationalist alternative to Stephen Bannon's nauseous Breitbart operation.

Emboldened by Trump's victory, Dowson is now intent on expanding his social media operation to influencing what he believes is an inevitable civil war that will engulf Europe.

His work has not gone unnoticed. HOPE not hate understands that a growing number of far right groups and leaders from central and eastern Europe are keen to use his services.

Among them is Aleksandr Dugin, a Russian academic and fascist with alleged links to the Kremlin and the Russian military.

Last year, Dugin was credited with brokering a deal between Turkey and Russia which defused tensions following Turkey's shooting down of a Russian fighter plane over Syrian airspace. Dubbed "Putin's Rasputin" by Breitbart, when it was run by Steve Bannon, Dugin described the new Trump administration as "ideological allies".

It is through Dugin's own network that Dowson is now set to open an office in the Serb capital Belgrade dealing in propaganda and news sites entirely in Cyrillic script.

Dowson has found a way to mix business with politics and, for the time being at least, this has enabled him to fatten his bank account and increase his political clout. ●

## Groups Dowson and Griffin are linked to



Alliance for Peace and Freedom



Order of the Dragons (Serbia)



Jobbik (Hungary)



Magyar Onvedelmi Mozgalom (Hungary)



Betyarsereg (Hungary)

Imperial Movement (Russia)



Identitaire (Austria)



Partido Demócrata Nacional de España (Spain)



Union of Bulgarian Veterans (Bulgaria)

# State of Hate **political groups**



## Britain First

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Anti-Islam, Anti-Immigration, Nationalist</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>Approx 1,000</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Paul Golding (leader) Jayda Fransen (deputy)</b>
<b>Publications</b>	<b><i>Britain First</i></b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Facebook and Twitter</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Across the whole of the UK</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

It was a year of headlines for Britain First (BF), often ridiculously exaggerated by some in the media, but it was also a year when Britain First seemed never to be out of the courts.

The assassination of Labour MP Jo Cox hit Britain First more than any other group after the killer shouted out the words “Britain First” during his attack. This led to the party sitting out the subsequent by-election for fear of a local backlash. Only days before the murder, Britain First activists had also been pictured training with wooden “training” knives and wearing combat fatigues.

In the early part of the year, Golding was in discussions about merging the party with Paul Weston and his Liberty GB party. Despite Golding’s desire to reinvent BF as a serious electoral concern in 2016, it only stood in the London mayoral elections, Golding polling just 1.2%. However, the campaign was only remembered for his infantile stunt of turning his back on the winning candidate, Labour’s Sadiq Khan, solely because he is a Muslim.

Golding and his deputy Jayda Fransen also found themselves banned from entering Luton and, later, all mosques and Islamic centres in England and Wales. In November, Fransen was convicted and fined by a court in Luton for abusing a Muslim woman and also fined for wearing a political uniform. On the same day, Golding was charged with having entered premises in Wales against a Court Order instructing him not to do so.

Internally, in an organisation that shrouds itself in secrecy and has a strong “führer” complex, both Golding and Fransen were frustrated by feelings of isolation not just from leading activists but each other. There were also frustrated attempts to forge links with likeminded groups in Hungary and Poland.

After a difficult party conference in November, Golding decided he should step back from the leader’s role and allow Fransen the opportunity to run the party.

A month later, Golding found himself in prison having been sentenced to eight weeks for breaching a court order forbidding him from entering mosques.

Before his imprisonment, Golding clearly wanted to drop out of party activity but his spell in prison revitalised him and fuelled his anger against the system.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Golding’s prison release was marked by an extraordinary public statement when, in January 2017 – having reinstalled himself as leader – he issued a chilling video statement where among other threats, he proclaimed: “I can promise you, from the very depths of my being, you will all meet your miserable ends at the hands of the Britain First movement. Every last one of you.”

His words were aimed at politicians, journalists and “leftists”, all of whom he deemed to be “traitors” and “Marxists” irrespective of their politics.

Britain First is set for a busy year as Golding pursues revenge. The only question is: will the authorities step in and take action over his video first?



(front, left) Jayda Fransen and Paul Golding

**Research by Matthew Collins, Joe Mulhall, David Lawrence and Nick Lowles**

## British National Party (BNP)

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Racial Nationalist</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>Under 300</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Adam Walker (chairman), Clive Jefferson (deputy chairman)</b>
<b>Publications</b>	<b>Identity</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Website, Facebook and Twitter</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Batley &amp; Spen, Bexleyheath, Blackpool, Burnley, Croydon, Darwen, Essex, Leeds, Lincoln</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

2016 was a bad year for the BNP with the only moment of respite coming in October 2016 when it took control of Heybridge Parish Council in Essex. The year started badly when the party's deputy chairman and treasurer Clive Jefferson closed the party's regional bank accounts in January 2016 meaning that all party monies would now have to go directly through him. The party has also closed its head office and moved above a supermarket in Wigton instead.

What goodwill the party did have with its remaining activists was used up this year and only renewed creativity in begging emails showed that Adam Walker and Clive Jefferson were actually still alive and working for the party.

Despite boasting 3,000 members, only 50 turned up to the party's AGM. The party's London region split acrimoniously just before the mayoral elections in May and, since then, former London regional organiser, Steve Squire, has spent considerable time and effort attempting to inform the rest of the party of the supposed criminality of the BNP's leadership. Squire also attempted to join the rival Britain First but his application was rejected on account of his "bad character".

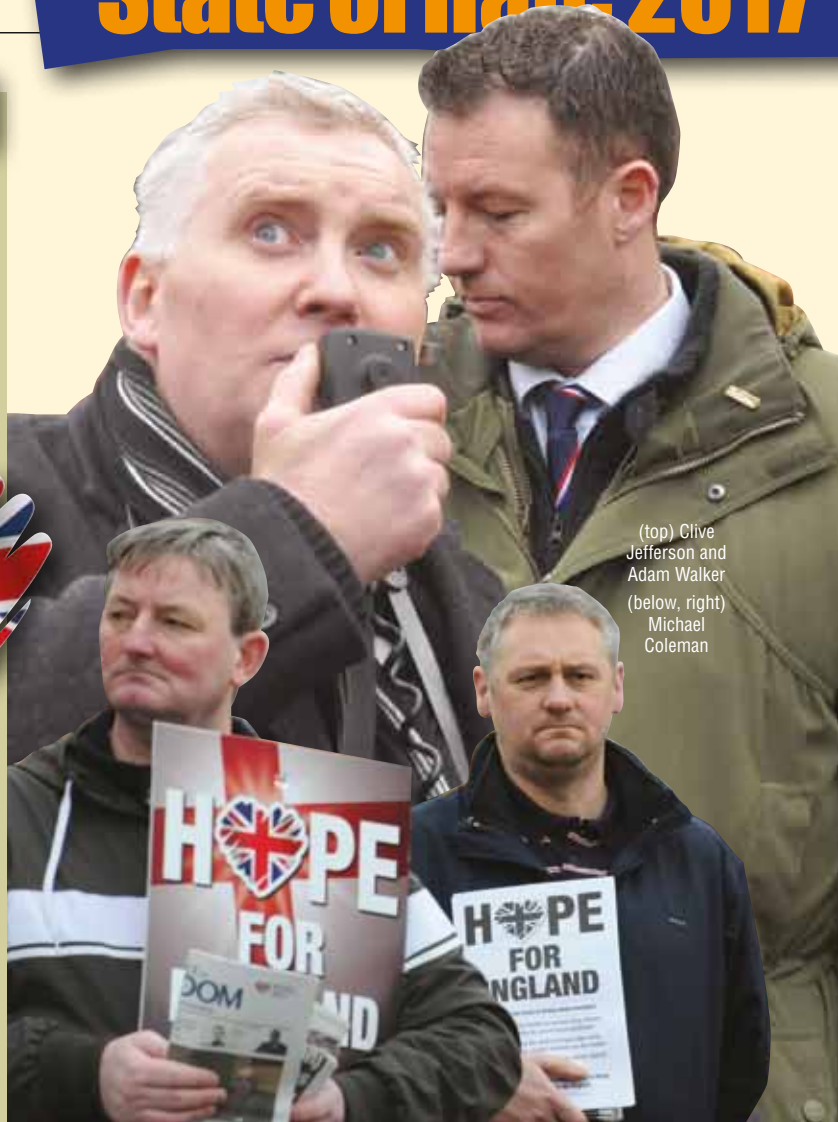
The party squared up to Britain First during the London mayoral and Assembly elections and was surprisingly trounced with Britain First more than doubling the BNP's 13,325 (0.5%) for the mayoral vote.

The party also made a listless effort to fight the Batley & Spen by-election where it did, at least, manage to beat two other far right parties but trailed in third behind the English Democrats in a seat that was not contested by the Conservatives, Lib Dems or UKIP.

Sporadic donations still make their way into the BNP as a result of it having had a substantial but short-lived political footprint. The party's leadership keeps the party afloat so that it can continue to collect a series of bequests that it worked so hard to obtain while at its peak.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

The political conditions may improve for a nationalist party in 2017 but the leadership's preoccupation with money and its ongoing internal squabbles and personal difficulties mean things will most certainly not improve for the BNP.



(top) Clive Jefferson and Adam Walker  
(below, right) Michael Coleman

## Albion First

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Racial Nationalist</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>No formal membership – up to a dozen activists/adherents</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Michael Coleman, Alwyn Deacon</b>
<b>Publications</b>	<b>None</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Facebook</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Stoke, Telford, Dudley, Shrewsbury</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

This is an organisation made up of former BNP and English Defence League (EDL) members. It is run by Michael Coleman, former leader of the BNP on Stoke council, with the help of Alwyn Deacon, a former employee and elections officer for the BNP. So far the group has only really tested the water in old BNP strongholds but has failed to make an impact.

Coleman has been agitating across the Midlands and attempting to use mosque applications and sexual grooming issues to his advantage to attract activists from other BNP splinter groups, most notably, British Voice.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Can Coleman maintain his interest in the project and even expand on it or will the same incompetence that dogged Deacon in the BNP repeat itself? Unlikely to cause many ripples on the far right.



Former London regional organiser, Steve Squire

## State of Hate **political groups (continued)**



### English Democrats

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Nationalist, Anti-Immigration, Anti-Islam</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>1,500-2,000</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Robin Tilbrook (chairman), Steve Uncles, Winston McKenzie</b>
<b>Publications</b>	<b>A new one in the pipeline</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Website, Facebook and Twitter</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Kent, London, Essex, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, South Yorkshire</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

Despite being totally overrun by the UKIP juggernaut, the English Democrats persisted at the ballot box, favouring mayoral and Police Commissioner elections.

The party trumpeted the recruitment of “Z-list” celebrity and ex-pugilist Winston McKenzie from UKIP early in the year and put him forward as its mayoral candidate in London. McKenzie then made a mistake with his nomination papers and also tried to pay the deposit with £20,000 in cash (even though the the deposit was only £10,000). He never made it onto the ballot paper.

Elsewhere the party moved silently into darker waters by tying up with a host of satellite groups around Stephen Lennon’s failed Pegida UK. It was in the “backroom” of Pegida that the English Democrats found themselves embroiled in an enormous row with rival far right party Liberty GB. The English Democrats annoyed and then trounced Liberty GB by coming second in the Batley & Spen by-election.

‘Counter-jihadists’ Ann Marie Waters and Toni Bugle of MARIAS both joined the English Democrats in 2016, with Bugle standing as Police and Crime Commissioner candidate for the party.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

The English Democrats will limp on in 2017 but will continue to struggle to get any profile because of UKIP’s presence. Instead, it is likely to nibble at the fringes of the far right in search of recruits, candidates and supporters.

Robin Tilbrook



## National Front (NF)

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Racial Nationalist</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>Estimated at 200, but in sharp decline</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Dave McDonald (chair), Tony Martin (deputy chair)</b>
<b>Publications</b>	<b><i>The Flame, Britain First, The Sentinel, Bulldog</i> (all appear to have ceased publication)</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>A series of websites and Facebook accounts at war with each other</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Across the whole of the UK</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

In our previous *State of Hate* report we questioned whether the NF could stay together given its entangled cliques, gangs and criminal entrepreneurs. In its fifty-year history, the National Front (NF) has experienced countless arguments and schisms but 2016 may well have been its bloodiest and most destructive yet.

Buoyed by an unnerving and quite unfounded belief in itself, it was the National Front that allowed its Kent organiser to call a “unity” demonstration in Dover that was little more than a call to arms for the entire far right to riot. It turned out to be one of the most devastating failures the British far right has suffered in decades and its long term effects are that some 60 far right activists are off the streets and jailed for up to seven years. Many of those imprisoned blamed the NF.

Rumblings about electoral failures and engagements with drug gangs persisted throughout 2016. Some of those who avoided prison for involvement in Dover were involved with other criminality that saw them imprisoned. This included stubbing a cigarette out on a pregnant woman, biting another man’s ear off in a pub and the thirteen-year sentence for its

Scarborough organiser after an horrific attack on a disabled woman during a botched burglary. The party’s Liverpool organiser was also sentenced to five years for smuggling amphetamines into the country.

Activists walked away over a number of fallouts about the group’s tie-in with both the North West Infidels (NWI) and National Action (NA).

In the summer, the party removed a number of people from key positions including the deputy chairman Adam Lloyd who was considered too close to the NWI and NA. Lloyd appears to have remained close to the party but the arguments and threats go on.

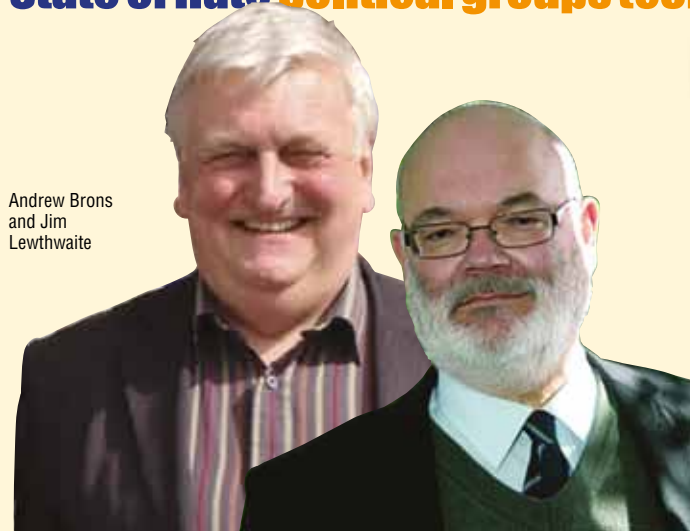
The party’s Kent organiser, Mark Freeman, announced a ‘White Lives Matter’ march in Margate for October. The party became so divided over a possible physical confrontation with anti-fascists that it split. Freeman, Kevin McMahon and some other peripheral figures were then denounced and expelled, accused of being *agents provocateurs*.

Interestingly and confusingly, it was McMahon and his wife who had initially been most vocal in their opposition to an NF link with the NWI and NA over their violent antics. The party’s flagship activity, the march to the Cenotaph on Remembrance Sunday, was marked by the absence of a number of activists and members of the leadership, leaving veteran nazi Richard Edmonds to take control on the day.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

The old guard of Eddy Morrison, Kev Bryan and Peter Williamson are poised to launch a bid to lead the party again. This will be a relief to the current chairman, Dave McDonald, who has struggled to cope with the spectacularly brilliant schism those very people set in motion two years ago.

## State of Hate **political groups (continued)**



Andrew Brons and Jim Lewthwaite

### British Democratic Party

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Racial Nationalist</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Andrew Brons, Jim Lewthwaite</b>
<b>Publications</b>	<b>linked to <i>Heritage &amp; Destiny</i></b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Website and Facebook. Rarely updated</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>West Yorkshire, Leicestershire, London</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

Now known as the *British Democrats*, the party was deserted by many in the last year.

Brons has now finally assumed the role of elder statesman of the far right and contributes irregular articles to the party's website. Jim Lewthwaite fought a council election in May of 2016 but other than that, it has been deathly quiet.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

The BDP is unlikely to see the year out as its few activists drop out one by one.

### Liberty GB

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Anti-Muslim (Counter-Jihadist)</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>Under 100</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Paul Weston &amp; Jack Buckby</b>
<b>Publications</b>	<b>None</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Prolific website blogging and tweeting</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Batley &amp; Spen by-election, Rotherham, Birmingham, New York, London</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

Last year saw the close relationship between Paul Weston and Jack Buckby begin to sour. Both jumped excitedly onto the Pegida UK chariot and, rather like their own party, that quickly ground to a halt.

Although Weston blogs and writes regularly and Buckby tweets, both pulled in different directions once the demise of Pegida UK became apparent.

Weston found a number of excuses to avoid turning up to Pegida demonstrations and it appears, anecdotally at least, that nobody appeared overly keen to drive Buckby (who does not like public transport) to meetings and marches.

Buckby has lately been slouching around New York on the coattails of "comedian" Gavin McInnes, the founder of Vice Magazine, and contributes regularly to his internet radio show on of all things "manliness".

Weston looked at options outside Liberty GB and held private discussions with Paul Golding but withdrew from talks once Jo Cox MP was murdered.

Buckby threw Liberty GB's hat into the ring for the Batley & Spen by-election and left Weston to carry the can for some very hostile media reaction. He also picked online fights with the National Front, British National Party and English Democrats in the run up to the election but sat hidden from those parties on the night of the count.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

2017 is likely to be a bad year for the party following 2016's internal tensions. It will continue to have little or no influence in the UK. However, Weston remains a well-known name on the international anti-Muslim scene and will continue to be so in 2017.

Paul Weston at the Pegida UK demonstration in February 2016





## State of Hate nazis



Francesco Saverio Fontana

### Greenline Front (GIF)

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Fascist, Anti-Capitalist, Environmentalist</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>Up to 10 (UK)</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Francesco Saverio Fontana, Steve Foster</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Part of the wider Misanthropie Division network. Has a UK blogspot</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Cumbria, Cambridgeshire, Stoke</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

Greenline Front (GIF) is a pro-nazi group formed by Francesco Saverio Fontana, who is also involved in the Misanthropie Division, after becoming exasperated by the failure of young Britons to join the civil war in Ukraine. Much material produced by GIF has a "Political Soldier" feel to it. Not surprising given Fontana's links to Casa Pound.

There is also, like in early National Action material, an anarchist influence.

Its main activities in 2016 involved holding training camps.

GIF is active in a number of countries where the Misanthropie Division (MD) is active. Its activities are meant to be family-orientated to deflect attention from the group's hardline nazi activities.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

It is likely to remain just another front for the MD.

### Misanthropie Division (MD)

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Neo-nazi</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>adherents: 20-30</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Francesco Saverio Fontana, Robyn Gray, Steve Foster, Chris Livingstone</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>VK, Facebook, Iron March, blogspot</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>London, Stoke, Swansea, Cumbria</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

A propaganda and recruiting front for the fascist, pro-Ukrainian government Azov battalion with emphasis on recruiting and training people who want to go to Ukraine. The group describes itself as "political soldiers" engaging in ideological and "holy" preparation for conflict.

The Russian authorities cracked down on Azov supporters in 2016, a move replicated in other countries across Europe where MD has been busy.

The UK branch is closely tied to the banned National Action and MD supporters have taken part in a number of training camps run by National Action and Western Spring. Polish nazis resident in the UK seem particularly keen on MD.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

MD is back up and running online around Europe after having a forced hibernation last year. It will keep on agitating and trying to recruit but mainly focus on trying to build its propaganda among the British far right where there would appear to be a split over who gets the (almost worthless) support of British nazis in the dispute between the Ukraine and Russia.

## State of Hate nazis (continued)

### Omega Systems

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Neo-nazi</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>Not known</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Terry Andre Miles, John White</b>
<b>Online</b>	-
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Battersea, Dorchester, Sweden, Norway</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

Omega Systems is a splinter group from NA, led by the abrasive Miles from south London. Miles spent a large amount of time in Scandinavia last year and also entertained some Swedes in the UK shortly before Christmas.

The group has run training and hiking adventures in the UK.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

One to watch. Consciously seeks less attention than the outlawed NA and this has led some to suspect it has more sinister plans.



### National Action (NA) – banned Dec 2016

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Neo-nazi</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>Under 100</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Ben Raymond, Alex Davies, Wayne Bell, Ashley Bell, Mark James, Kevin Layzell</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Website, Twitter, Facebook, VK, Iron March</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>London, Bath, Berwick, Birmingham, Cardiff, Dundee, Dover, Bolton, Castleford, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, Cambridge, Newcastle, Manchester, Swansea, Swindon, Wakefield, Widnes, York</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

National Action (NA) was the most notorious nazi group operating in the UK during 2016 but, by the end of the year, found itself banned by the government as a terrorist group. It was the first time since WWII that a British far right group had been outlawed.

NA was regularly in the headlines, because of its provocative demonstrations, regular stickering and its slick and confrontational videos and social media posts.

2016 was also a year of setbacks for the group. In January 2016, HOPE not hate broke the story of how one National Action member was a predatory child abuser. While NA leader Ben Raymond quickly tried to spin it as a proof of the group's

supposed revolutionary potential, the case became a useful excuse for the rest of the far right to distance itself.

Even the National Front, itself hardly a paragon of nazi virtue and already burdened with a troublesome tie-in with the diminishing drug gang, the North West Infidels (NWI), tried desperately to untangle itself from NA after lurid stories of paedophilia within the group began to surface.

During 2016 NA was physically humiliated, most notably in Liverpool in February where, for the second time, its louts stood petrified under the glare of militant opposition.

In May, five of the group were arrested after a twenty-strong flash mob descended on York to make nazi salutes. Raymond had been under the impression in the runup to the demonstration that dozens of activists were on their way to join in but few materialised leaving him dejected.

In the same month, the group's deputy and front man, Alex Davies, was the subject of a humiliating video that went viral after a mixed-race teenager in Bath confronted him while out leafleting.

NA member Lawrence Burns from Cambridge was convicted of inciting racial hatred in December. He had recorded himself wishing for a "real Holocaust". The NA unit in London was of particular concern. In East London, Mark James, also known as Mark Jones, who does the group's stylish graphics, began training half a dozen young men in a park on Sunday mornings with input from older, more seasoned

## State of Hate **loyalist**

### English Loyalist Prisoners Association/ Ulster Defence Association

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Loyalist/Anti-immigration</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>2-300</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Frank Portinari, Mark Simpson, Mark Todd, Rob Hilton</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Private Facebook page</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

The “mainstream” Ulster Defence Association (UDA) had its biggest public showing in Northern Ireland for quite some time on 12 November when Frank Portanari, the group’s long-term leader in England, made his way to Lisburn in Northern Ireland for his book launch.

*Left Right Loyalist* is Portanari’s first of two instalments on how he went from naughty schoolboy to football hooligan to gunrunner for the murderous UDA despite being born a Catholic with no known connection to Ireland.

The English Loyalist Prisoner Association allegedly provides £3,000 per month to its bosses in Northern Ireland, though this has probably reduced as terror has subsided.

The group’s main activities focus on raising the profile of what it feels are the anti-Protestant injustices of the peace agreement. The group held a demonstration in London in December.

Portanari has the unique distinction of being the longest serving commander of any UDA Battalion or far-right group in the United Kingdom and has surrounded himself with many current and former nazis and football hooligans.



Polish nazis. In south-east London, young NA member, Alfie Stevens, tried to join the Army and Territorial Army.

In similar vein, in the north of England, the group takes instruction from a mixed martial arts instructor from Rochdale who organises romps in the country with “airsoft” rifles.

In the North West, a couple of dozen NA members meet regularly with their Polish counterparts to discuss actions. Radziu Rekke, a gun-toting Pole living in Manchester, leads late night expeditions into Manchester’s Jewish areas where he and others stalk Jewish buildings, leaving leaflets and stickers from a variety of other European far right groups.

However, similar to C18 in years gone by, not everyone has bought into this increasingly confrontational approach. While NA leader Ben Raymond would often pull back from advocating violence, there are others in the group who are less shy. This growing militancy, shown graphically when NA members celebrated the murder of Labour MP Jo Cox, eventually caused the authorities to act.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

It is too soon to know if NA will get around its ban by reforming under a new name but even if it does many on the group’s periphery will drift away.

HOPE not hate’s concern is that the group, or more likely individuals within it, might take an even more confrontational and violent path.

**nazis  
continued  
over ►**

London UDA boss Frank Portinari



## State of Hate nazis (continued)

### Racial Volunteer Force (RVF)

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Neo-nazi</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Mark Atkinson</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Facebook and website</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Berkshire, Surrey</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

Another group on the slide, the RVF's only public activity was a demonstration outside Royal Holloway College after the sacking of cleaners Mark Atkinson and a fellow RVF member.

The demonstration attracted just 11 people, including the London Forum's Jeremy Bedford-Turner and Eddie Stampton.

Other than that, the RVF has been largely invisible.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

The RVF is likely to decline further though it is unlikely to disappear completely. Atkinson is now linked in with the fringe of the fringe so what RVF activity there is will be in collaboration with the likes of Bedford-Turner, Eddie Stampton and Peter Rushton.



Mark Atkinson

### British Movement

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Neo-nazi</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Steve Frost</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Facebook and website</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>West Yorkshire, East Midlands, Kent, South London, South Wales</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

After a busy 2015, the BM had a much quieter year in 2016, organising fewer of its own events and collaborating with few other far right groups.

The BM maintains a loyal but ageing activist base with many having been around since the early 1980s. Its youth wing, which was quite active in 2015, appears to be fairly dormant.

Its influence in Blood&Honour also appears to be waning. Kent-based Micky Lane, who was lead singer of Eye of Odin, appears to be more focused on the biker scene and Benny Bullman, lead singer of Whitelaw, appears to have become disillusioned.

There was a sizeable BM contingent on the Dover demo but other than the group has been conspicuous by its absence.

# State of Hate 2017



## Combat 18

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Neo-nazi</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>30-50</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Will Browning, Nick Field, Karen Henderson</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Website</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>East London, South East London, North West</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

Combat 18 (C18) had a revival in 2016, though mainly due to a growing number of North West Infidels identifying themselves as C18 even if these people weren't directly linked to the C18 leadership. Many wore C18 paraphernalia at the Dover demonstration last January, including wearing C18 facemasks and flags.

The imprisonment of many of these younger activists halted this process and it remains to be seen whether they will continue their affiliation when they come out of prison.

C18 also benefited from the presence in the UK of several Polish C18 supporters. A joint gig held in November in Dagenham, east London, attracted 100 people. Most of the British C18 supporters present were in their 40s.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

C18 will continue to operate in the shadow of the British far right. It remains to be seen if the C18 revival in several European countries will be continued here. Browning attends nazi marches in Germany.



Will Browning

## Northern Patriotic Front

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Racial Nationalist</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Paul Birlson (leader), Kevin Scott (deputy)</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Facebook and website</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Sunderland, Newcastle, Darlington, Berwick</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

Paul Birlson is the leader but the arrival of former British Democratic Party (BDP) leader Kevin Scott has given a new lease of life to the group though not without purging some elements.

Scott is considered to be on the "left" of the far right (he reads the Guardian) and is a popular and intelligent figure on the scene. Scott has set himself the target of making the Northern Patriotic Front the new home for the many fractured groups that operate in the North East but he shuns the very idea of the noisy and counter-productive protests that so many in his region favour.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Scott is still smarting from being pushed out of the BDP due to his broad, regional accent. A smart, local political operator, he is fishing around to see what the opportunities are for a political intervention locally by the NPF. He will balk at the suggestion of a national role again but will have to find full time employment at some stage.

## Right Wing Resistance

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Neo-nazi</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Gary Crane</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Eastbourne, Kent</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

A tiny group of no more than eight to ten members, this group is a considered laughable due to the military ranks it bestows on members.

It was active during and immediately after the Dover clash at the beginning of the year but quickly faded as leader Gary Crane fell out with others to the point where he was eventually expelled from his own organisation.

He set up home with a female recruit, leaving his wife in the process, before being sent to prison. The worldwide leader of the group left Sweden in search of love in New Zealand and has not been since.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Unlikely to register any activity.

# State of Hate music scene

## Blood&Honour

Blood&Honour (B&H) is the main White Power music organisation in the UK and, since being formed in 1987, has become a worldwide network. It is uncompromisingly Nazi in outlook, idolises Adolf Hitler and attracts hordes of nazi boneheads to its concerts.

Founded by Ian Stuart Donaldson, lead singer of the notorious racist band Skrewdriver, to establish a White Power organisation run by and for nazi skinheads, it quickly became an umbrella organisation for nazi bands and their supporters.

Today, the B&H network is active in seventeen countries across Europe, plus North and South America and Australia, making it the largest international nazi structure.

B&H held six concerts in the UK last year attended by between 150 and 600 people. However, the most high profile gig, due to be headlined by the US band Bound for Glory, was cancelled after a lively campaign by HOPE not hate.

B&H attracts supporters from a range of far right groups, with the British Movement (BM) and National Front (NF) regularly having stalls at concerts.

Because of the history of the skinhead movement in Britain and the pre-eminence of the English language, B&H UK holds a pivotal role in the international B&H network and UK bands regularly perform at gigs across Europe.

HOPE not hate estimates that there are between 750-1,000 active B&H supporters in the UK. However, attendances at gigs are often swollen by UK-based European nazis, especially Poles and Italians.



## Leadership

### ROBERT TALLAND (AKA GINGER ROB)

The current leader of Blood&Honour, Robert Talland – alias Ginger Rob – has a long history in the far right stretching back to the 1980s. During the 1990s, he was a supporter of Combat 18 and ran security at White Power concerts.

He runs a building company from his home in Waltham Forest and lives in a £1,000,000 house.

Talland organises the annual Ian Stuart Donaldson gig in late September, always the largest event in the B&H calendar. This year's event, held in Cambridgeshire, was attended by almost 600 people who each paid £25 to get in.

Talland personally made over £15,000 profit at this gig. While ticket sales go to B&H and into a bank account that he and Simon Dutton control, Talland rents B&H the stage and PA system.

He and his son, Steve, also control all drink sales, this year providing 20 barrels of beer and 4,000 cans of lager at a 600% mark up. His son also runs the largest merchandising stall, selling hundreds of CDs, T-shirts and books.

### SIMON DUTTON

Co-organiser of B&H with Talland, Dutton has been involved in the White Power music scene since the late 1980s. He was involved with the nazi terrorist group Combat 18 during the 1990s before switching his allegiance to the BNP.

Dutton, who produces *Blood&Honour* magazine and is lead singer of the White Power band Legion of Saint George, runs a scaffolding company in Staines and regularly works at Elstree film studios.

# State of Hate 2017



(top row)  
Robert Talland  
and Steve Talland

(middle row)  
Simon Dutton  
and Gary Smith

(bottom)  
David Braddon

## Bands

**BRUTAL ATTACK (London)**  
**EMBERS OF AN EMPIRE (London)**  
**LEGION OF ST GEORGE (Berkshire & Sussex)**  
**WHITELAW (Heanor)**  
**PRIME SUSPECTS (Southampton)**  
**MARCH OR DIE (Yorkshire)**  
**REDNECK 28 (Swansea)**  
**SUSPECT 88 (Farnborough)**  
**NEMESIS (Scotland)**  
**SQUADRON (Kent)**  
**CURFEW (London)**  
**BLACKOUT (Wales)**



Two of the most racist bands are Redneck 28 from Swansea and Section 88 from Farnborough.

Redneck 28 has produced openly racist songs like "Jew Jew Train" and band members are active in the NF Section 88, likewise, has recorded a CD titled "Ain't no Black" with lyrics that are not only viciously racist but also illegal. Its members are involved in the BM.

Members of both Section 88 and Redneck 28 were present during the violent fascist demonstration in Dover in January that resulted in over 60 far right supporters being jailed.

### JOHN 'BENNY' BULLMAN

Lead singer of Whitelaw, Benny Bullman has also been active in the nazi movement since the 1980s and is a leading member of the BM.

Bullman regularly puts on B&H gigs in the East Midlands as well as the two-day BM Sunwheel festival.

### STEVE TALLAND

Son of 'Ginger Rob', Steve is the youngest person in the B&H leadership and runs Rampage Productions, now the only nazi mail order business in the UK. He works for his father's building firm. He is also lead singer of the White Power band Embers of an Empire.

### GARY SMITH

Gary Smith, or "Fat Gary" as he is known in the movement, plays for Legion of Saint George alongside Simon Dutton. In the 1990s, he was a supporter of Combat 18 but later switched his support to the BNP.

As a day job he runs a koi carp fish company, specialising in importing fish from Japan. He was previously a leading officer in an international organisation of koi carp enthusiasts.

### DAVID BRADDON (AKA BRAD)

A veteran nazi with over 25 years in the far right, Braddon is heavily involved in the nazi BM and previously was an active supporter of Combat 18.

He runs a tattoo shop in Bargoed and, in 2010, he was convicted of involvement in dog fighting after an RSPCA undercover operation. He was jailed for 6 months (later reduced to 16 weeks on appeal) and banned from keeping animals for 15 years. The RSPCA described Braddon as a major figure in the British dog fighting community.

# State of Hate **defence leagues**



## English Defence League (EDL)

<b>Ideology</b>	Anti-Muslim, Anti-immigration, Nationalist
<b>Membership</b>	100-150
<b>Leadership</b>	Alan Spence (Leader), Ian Crossland (Spokesperson)
<b>Online</b>	Sporadic use of Facebook and Twitter
<b>Areas active</b>	Newcastle, Telford, Leeds, London, Nottingham, Dover, Sheffield, Thanet, Walsall

### SUMMARY OF 2016

After a lethargic and alcohol-fuelled almost comic collapse, the mainstream media now seem to have woken up to the fact that the EDL is increasingly irrelevant, even on the far right in the UK.

Early in 2016, the EDL's leadership entered into discussions with some of its splinter groups for a kind of "non-aggression" pact but this came to nothing once old rivalries reared their heads and the EDL insisted it was still *the* major player on the street movement scene. The group also suffered a short-lived shift of activists to former leader Stephen Lennon's Pegida UK and few returned when that group fell flat.

EDL personnel were visible and active in riots in both Dover in January and Liverpool in March despite their being organised by groups the EDL opposes.

A demonstration the EDL called for London in July was described by the organisation itself as an "embarrassment" when fewer than 50 attended.

That humiliation led to another split in the organisation, with fifty activists vowing to form a rival group that was temporarily led by Stockport organiser Andrew Edge. This new group soon collapsed after another argument erupted.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

The EDL will likely continue to drag on through 2017 but it will continue to be small and ineffective. Bereft of ideas and lacking leadership, the EDL's decline will continue.

## Casuals United/5W/Pie & Mash Squad/South Coast Resistance

<b>Ideology</b>	Nationalist, Anti-Immigration, Anti-Communist
<b>Membership</b>	20-30
<b>Leadership</b>	Joe Turner <i>aka</i> Joe Mars <i>aka</i> Jeff Marsh
<b>Online</b>	Blog, Facebook, Twitter (prolific)
<b>Areas active</b>	London, South Coast, Portsmouth, Bolton

### SUMMARY OF 2016

Turner harnesses the internet to terrorise and distract anti-fascists and anti-racists. One example is his habit of calling rallies (for example, Brighton and Hastings) that he does not turn up to.

In December, Turner collaborated with members of National Action at an anti-mosque protest in Bolton.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Turner is particularly keen on targeting non-league football fans linked to anti-fascist groups. Expect to see more confrontation from this group. One to watch.

## North East Infidels

<b>Ideology</b>	Neo-nazi, Anti-Muslim
<b>Membership</b>	Up to 50
<b>Leadership</b>	Warren Faulkner
<b>Online</b>	Facebook and Twitter, plus high profile personal accounts
<b>Areas active</b>	Dover, Margate, Darlington, Berwick, Newcastle, Liverpool, Berwick, Sunderland, Bishop Auckland

### SUMMARY OF 2016

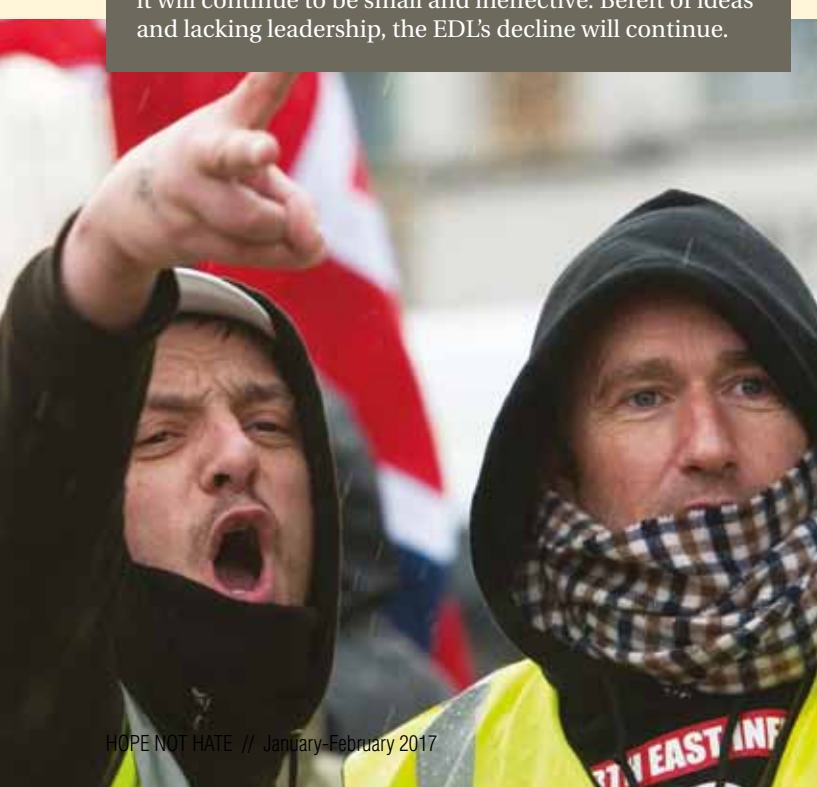
Last year saw the NEI's leader Warren Faulkner trail his group around the country a lot more than in recent years. The NEI made trips to Margate, Berwick and Darlington with National Action and Faulkner was front and centre in the violence at Dover but evaded arrest. This led to quite a major fall-out with the Sunderland Defence League's (SDL) Billy Charlton, who reckoned his gang were bigger and tougher than Faulkner's.

Much of this fallout is also football related but as both gangs ostensibly operate out of Sunderland they regularly rub each other up the wrong way. Charlton called on backup from friends in South Yorkshire as it threatened to spill out into a "straightener" between both gangs.

Faulkner quit NEI to concentrate on his charitable work but it is quite likely he feared police were or are about to feel his collar. His parting shot was to issue threats to HOPE not hate.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Faulkner is unlikely to remain out of the scene for long and the NEI will re-emerge or he will join with one of the nastier gangs on the far right. Expect his ongoing feud with Charlton to continue.





# State of Hate 2017



## South East Alliance (SEA)

<b>Ideology</b>	Anti-Muslim, Nationalist
<b>Membership</b>	15-20
<b>Leadership</b>	Paul Prodromou (aka Paul Pitt)
<b>Online</b>	A couple of Facebook pages
<b>Areas active</b>	Essex, Margate, Dover, Liverpool, Maidstone

### SUMMARY OF 2016

A small but increasingly vocal street group, the South East Alliance is run by Paul Prodromou (alias Paul Pitt) and operates in Essex and Kent.

Prodromou is little more than a violent but comedic figure on the far right. He is a man constantly encouraging violence and confrontation from others but everything he organises himself is a complete disaster.

2016 was a bad year for Prodromou, especially after the police took decisive action against the Dover rioters. He set out to “heal” the wounds opened by the events in Dover with a series of ludicrous stunts, including a weekend rock concert that was poorly attended and held 51 miles away in Maidstone.



Paul Prodromou (aka Paul Pitt)

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Having failed to deliver anything other than arrests and ridicule, Prodromou’s 2017 will be considerably less interactive with friends who very quickly became foes.

## North West Infidels (NWI)

<b>Ideology</b>	Neo-nazi, Anti-Muslim
<b>Membership</b>	20-30
<b>Leadership</b>	Shane Calvert, Tommy Law, Gerard McCullion, Peter Hawley
<b>Online</b>	Facebook & Twitter
<b>Areas active</b>	London, Dover, Rochdale, Blackburn, Swansea, Darlington, Burnley, Coventry, Margate, Bolton, Blackpool, Wigan, Liverpool, Manchester, Darwen

### SUMMARY OF 2016

Calvert, the leader of the NWI, bit off more than he could chew last year. Acting as though he and the NWI could do exactly what they wanted with impunity and without consequence they kept on drug dealing and engaged in widespread violence.

Calvert was jailed for two and a half years in September for his part in the Dover riots where he was filmed by police throwing rocks and debris. He joins a long list of other associates in the north west sentenced for violence and drug dealing in 2016.

Calvert’s absence split the group almost immediately and some members found their way into the ranks of National Action where the NWI’s violence was, at first, most welcome.

With Calvert away, the group’s social media fell into the incapable hands of Peter Hawley and Gerard McCullion who produced threatening and vulgar material, some even aimed at the family and friends of murdered MP Jo Cox.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

The group is severely damaged and off the streets for now and so will have less impact in 2017. However, much will depend on Calvert’s appetite for further confrontation when he is released from prison in the summer.



## Sunderland Defence League (SDL)

<b>Ideology</b>	Nationalist
<b>Membership</b>	Up to 30
<b>Leadership</b>	Billy Charlton, Kieron Wright
<b>Online</b>	Facebook
<b>Areas active</b>	Dover, Margate, Darlington, Berwick, Newcastle, Liverpool, Berwick, Sunderland, Bishop Auckland

### SUMMARY OF 2016

Billy Charlton launched the SDL in 2015 when he made an outrageous drunken speech at the Newcastle “White Man’s March.” In 2016, he excelled himself further with a drunken racist rant in Dover after the far right had finished rioting. Charlton spent most of the year issuing “call outs” over a number of issues in local papers, concerning Muslims mainly, and was joined by a small gang of fascists and criminals for noisy flash demonstrations.

Charlton also picked a fight with the rival North East Infidels (NEI) as some of his closest friends and activists were arrested for their activities in Dover in January, and NEI members were not. He spent the tail end of the year desperately trying to make new friends as the NEI responded with an invitation to settle their mutual problems in a fistfight.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Charlton’s drunken behaviour is likely to land him in prison and with it the SDL is likely to falter.

# State of Hate counter-jihad

## Knights Templar International

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Christian Fundamentalist/Anti-Muslim</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>Under 100 (UK)</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Jim Dowson</b>
<b>Publications</b>	<b><i>The Templar</i></b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Jim Dowson controls a number of Facebook pages and “news” websites with an enormous reach across social media</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Austria, Bulgaria, Belgium, Germany Hungary, Italy, Northern Ireland, UK, Poland, Russia, Serbia, Syria</b>



Jim Dowson

### SUMMARY OF 2016

The Knights Templar International (KTI) was set up by Jim Dowson soon after he left Britain First.

In 2016, HOPE not hate revealed how Dowson and ex-BNP leader Nick Griffin went to Bulgaria to supply materials to a border patrolling, extreme right-wing militia group. Both have also spoken at conferences on the “demographics” they claim prove the white race (read “Christian” in Dowson’s phraseology) is facing extinction. Both are now regular visitors to Budapest, where Dowson’s KTI has opened a “hub” in an old Reform Church building for far right guests from as far afield as Sweden and the United States.

KTI has not only proposed to help resettle hundreds of former Boer farmers from South Africa in Hungary’s under-populated rural areas (for a small fee) but Dowson has also used his internet reach to promote Hungary as the chosen destination for a European-wide “white flight” of dreamers seeking a life of agrarian hardship away from the “excessive liberalism” of the European Union.

KTI employs a full-time team of Hungarian IT professionals within the “hub” to update websites that are then monetised to produce “cash for clicks” for the organisation.

In December 2016, the New York Times reported that Dowson had run 16 websites and Facebook pages directed at the US population through which he disseminated anti-Clinton and pro-Trump propaganda.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Dowson and Griffin have made clear they want to move to central or eastern Europe. Not only will this offer more protection from the law but open up new markets across eastern Europe.

Expect Dowson’s business empire to grow as the KTI secures new friends in Russia to match the ones it has in Hungary



## The 4 Freedoms Library

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Anti-Muslim (Counter-Jihad)</b>
<b>Run by</b>	<b>Alan Ayling and “Kinana Nadir”</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

This is an online counter-jihad discussion forum run by Alan Ayling and “Kinana Nadir” to share and circulate articles and views about Islam and the “fundamental defects in the constructed model of Western secular democratic government.” It is the public face of the Ayling/“Kinana” network.

The forum remained pretty much unchanged in 2016.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

The forum will likely continue to be a meeting place for anti-Muslim activists but is unlikely to change much or grow.

## ShariaWatch UK

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Anti-Muslim (Counter-Jihad)</b>
<b>Run by</b>	<b>Anne Marie Waters</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

This was a quiet year for ShariaWatch UK with both its social media and website being relatively quiet. This is because Anne Marie Waters has been busy elsewhere, most notably with the failed UK branch of Pegida as one of its leaders. This relationship was shortlived and she is no longer working with it.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Now that Waters is no longer involved with Pegida it is possible that she will begin to concentrate on ShariaWatch UK again meaning it may be more active in 2017. However, even if this is the case it will remain a marginal anti-Muslim platform.



Anne Marie Waters

## State of Hate **holocaust deniers**

### Michèle Renouf

Renouf is an Australian-born, UK-based, former model and leading Holocaust denier.

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

In June 2016, Renouf appeared as the sole defence witness at the trial of convicted denier Robert Faurisson in Paris for contesting a crime against humanity. The trial concerned statements made by Faurisson at the infamous 2006 Holocaust denial conference in Tehran, Iran, that Renouf also attended.

Renouf explained her role in the trial at a London Forum meeting in July 2016.

Earlier in 2016, Renouf addressed a protest by far right activists outside the German Embassy in London in support of the nazi National Democratic Party (NPD).

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Renouf will continue to be a notorious figure on the Holocaust denial scene.

### Nicholas Kollerstrom

Kollerstrom is a former honorary research fellow at the University College London who was dropped by the university in 2008 after it emerged he was engaging in Holocaust denial. In 2014 he released *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust: Myth and Reality* that was published by Germar Rudolf's denial publishing house, Castle Hill Publishers.

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

In 2016, Kollerstrom was active in far right circles and gave a talk at the London Extremist Club titled "Was Jesus a Nazi?" He also attended the conspiratorial group Keep Talking where he sold his material on Holocaust denial.

In November 2016, he dissolved his unsuccessful publishing company New Alchemy Press Ltd.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Kollerstrom will remain a marginal and ignored figure only known among Britain's extreme antisemitic far right.

(left to right)  
Nicholas Kollerstrom,  
David Irving and  
Michèle Renouf



### Focal Point Publishing / David Irving

Focal Point is the publishing outfit set up by Irving in 1980 and is now solely used to reissue and publish his discredited books.

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

2016 has been a bad year for Irving. He has been forced to move back to the UK and now resides in Inverness, Scotland.

None of the three books he claimed he was likely to finish in 2016 have emerged and his own speaking tour in November and December was cancelled after a few dates due to illness.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

2017 may finally see publication of a number of works that he has been claiming is near completion since last year. One is his biography of Heinrich Himmler, subtitled "Always be decent and brave and kind".

He also claims to have nearly finished Volume 3 of *Churchill's War* as well as his own memoirs. However, he has also said before that they were nearing completion so it is unclear if any or all will be published in 2017. If they are, they will be self-published as mainstream publishers have long since abandoned Irving.

### Castle Hill Publishers

The British-based publisher of Holocaust denial literature, set up in 1998 by the convicted German Holocaust denier Germar Rudolf. Based in Hastings, it publishes a large catalogue of denial literature from prominent international and domestic deniers including Thomas Dalton, Arthur Butz, Nicholas Kollerstrom and Rudolf himself.

In 2013, Castle Hill joined forces with the American Holocaust denial organization CODOH (Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust) and, in 2014, officially became part of the CODOH trust. As such it is now just the book and video publishing outlet for the American organisation.

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

Last year, it launched a new series of books called "Mainstream Failures" that seek to refute mainstream and legitimate works of Holocaust scholarship. For example, they published *Fail: 'Denying the Holocaust.' How Deborah Lipstadt Botched Her Attempt to Demonstrate the Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* by Germar Rudolf.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

It is unlikely anything significant will change for Castle Hill Publishers in terms of its size or influence. It has a number of works scheduled for publication in 2017 including a number of titles in the "Mainstream Failures" series.

# State of Hate bookclubs/ intellectual

## Historical Review Press

Founder: Anthony Hancock

### SUMMARY OF 2016

Despite the death in 2012 of Anthony Hancock, its founder, the HRP continues to limp on. Once a powerhouse of the international Holocaust denial scene it is now a shadow of its former self.

In 2016 it once again made no impact and its website now sells a variety of fascist, far right and Holocaust denial literature, much of it produced by others.

It also runs a blog that was regularly updated throughout 2016, though often it just republished articles by other news outlets.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

It is highly unlikely that there will be any change of note in 2017.

## Western Spring

Webmaster: Larry Nunn ( alias Max Musson)

### SUMMARY OF 2016

This UK website is a racial nationalist site publishing articles about and for “people indigenous to the British Isles”. It is similar to American websites like Counter-Currents, Alternative Right and the Occidental Observer. As well as a website, Western Spring classes itself as a “movement” that can be joined.

Little changed for Western Spring in 2016 and it continues only to exert influence over the more “intellectual” parts of the nationalist movement. The content on the site is primarily produced by Nunn himself though there are numerous other far right contributors.

Nunn himself continues to also be an important player in the London Forum.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

It is very unlikely that anything will change for this website/movement during 2017.

## Mjolnir

Editor: David Yorkshire (Alias)

### SUMMARY OF 2016

This magazine emerged in 2015 and produced only two editions in 2016 taking its total to just four since it was started.

The magazine is primarily an arts journal of the cultural nationalist variety, drawing its ideology from the New Right. It is pitched at the more intellectual wing of the far right and includes contributions on right-wing and traditionalist literature, poems and art.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

The magazine's circulation is very small and is unlikely to increase much in 2017.

## Heritage & Destiny

Editor: Mark Cotterill

### SUMMARY OF 2016

It continues to be Britain's leading non-party racial nationalist newspaper. It published six editions during the year with a regularity rarely matched by other publications of this type. It published its usual array of articles by prominent far right activists, reviews and adverts for similar nationalist publications.

It also operates an online shop for nationalist paraphernalia.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

It is very unlikely that anything will change for this publication during 2016.

# State of Hate 2017



## Black House Publishing

Director: Janet Elaine Slatter

### SUMMARY OF 2016

This tiny enterprise publishes and sells reissued versions of far right, fascist and anarchist books.

Likely named after the Oswald Mosley's headquarters, "The Black House", it produces high quality reprints of much of Mosley's back catalogue as well as other fascist, national socialist, Third Position and right-wing literature. Its books are also sold via Steven Books, run by the League of St George and the Historical Review Press website.

In 2016, it published books on Anarchism by Keith Preston, possibly with a view to attracting National Anarchists.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

It is unlikely that there will be any change of note in 2017.

## A.K. Chesterton Trust / Candour Magazine

Leader: Colin Todd

### SUMMARY OF 2016

The Trust continued to run its website and promote the legacy of AK Chesterton, founder of the long-deceased League of Empire Loyalists and a former early leader of the National Front.

Its main preoccupation is publication of *Candour*, the longest-running nationalist journal in the UK. It continued to appear on a semi-regular basis during 2015 and provides a mouthpiece for nationalist, far right and racist commentators from across the British far right.

It admitted facing a financial crisis in 2016 and has been attempting to sell off books and magazines at discount prices to raise funds.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Things are not looking good for 2017 with financial problems ongoing and no sign of help.

It will continue to sell far right material and *Candour* will continue to be published for a diminishing readership.



# State of Hate **the forum network**

## The Forum Network

**Ideology** Racial Nationalist  
**Leadership** Jeremy Bedford Turner

### SUMMARY OF 2016

The Forum Network is a collection of racial nationalist discussion groups that includes the London Forum and its regional branches. Unlike a political party, the Forum's have no formal membership but are meetings where fascists, nazis, racists and Holocaust deniers come together to hear speeches and discuss extremist ideas. The network is organised by long time British Nationalist Jeremy Bedford Turner along with Stead Steadman and Mick Brooks.

In the 2016 edition of our *State of Hate* report, we flagged up the London Forum as one to watch in 2016 and our prediction proved correct.

2016 turned out to be one of development and expansion for the Forum making it one of the UK's leading far right organisations.

Building on the growth of 2015 that saw the creation of the Yorkshire Forum, 2016 saw the addition of branches in Scotland, Wales, the South West and, even, New York. In addition, the Forum once again fielded an impressive list of speakers from both Europe and North America.

Arguably the most notable international speaker at a UK far right event was not even allowed to enter the UK. Matthew Heimbach, chairman of the US-based white nationalist Traditionalist Worker Party, was due to speak at an event organised by Jack Sen's Institute on Merseyside but was banned from entering the UK by the then Home Secretary Theresa May after his invitation was exposed by HOPE not hate.

As a result London Forum founder Jez Turner went to Czechia and filmed an interview with Heimbach in the Prague office of the Czech Workers' Party of Social Justice.

The year also saw the launch of a number of new initiatives. On 30 July, London Forum supporters held the first Forgotten Heroes of Britain Campaign demonstration outside St Martin-in-the-Fields church near Trafalgar Square.

The campaign, founded and organised by fascist stalwart Martin Webster, aims to use the deaths of British soldiers in Palestine in the late 1940s during the creation of Israel as a means to whip up antisemitism.

Similarly, on 7 August at Cromwell Gardens in South Kensington, it staged a ceremony to remember the worldwide victims of Communism, again with a view to attracting new members.

Speakers at the event included the former deputy chairman of the BNP Richard Edmonds and veteran Holocaust denier Peter Rushton.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

In a year that saw the British far right continue to be fractured and ineffective, the growth of Forum Network in 2016 marks a solitary positive for the nationalist movement.

Its importance lies in its ability to attract support from across the far right thus making it a likely facilitator of any new unified nationalist movement. They are again the people to watch for 2017.

## Key Players in the Forum Network

### Jeremy (Jez) Bedford Turner

Turner has a long personal history as an activist, standing for the National Front in a council by-election in Central Twickenham in 1992.

He later spent 12 years in the army during which time he learned the Afghani language Pashto and allegedly did translation work for military intelligence. His supposed links with military intelligence and his later promiscuousness in far right circles has, unsurprisingly, lead to some suspicion among far right activists. Turner claims he was forced out of the military for attending a British People's Party meeting in 2008.

He set up the London Forum in August 2011 after a split with Troy Southgate and the London New Right.

Last year, in addition to the meetings of the Forum network, he also built links with the expat branch of the fascist National Revival of Poland (NOP) and, on 15 May, spoke at its ramshackle "Globalism is Jewish" demonstration near Canary Wharf.

Last year saw Turner cement his place as a key player on the British far right. His role as the leader of the cross-party Forum means he has links to almost every active far right organisation in the UK and many across Europe and North America.

### Laurence (Larry) Nunn (aka Max Musson)

Nunn, better known in far right circles as Max Musson, is a former BNP organiser from Northampton. He is now the main figure behind the far/New/Alt right website Western Spring. Nunn is also a key funder of the Forum Network and is thought to provide the travel expenses for many speakers and attendees.

### Greg Johnson

Based in America, Greg Johnson is the editor in chief of Counter-Currents Publishing, a webzine associated with the American New/Alt Right. He spoke at the London Forum on 27 September 2014 and in October 2015 and has been a driving force behind the Forum network's expansion into America.



(center) Jeremy Bedford Turner, (right) Larry Nunn

## The Forum Network Branches

### London Forum (LF)

**Organiser** Jeremy Bedford Turner

The LF held five meetings in 2016 (January, April, June, July, September) with high profile domestic and international speakers. From the UK, speakers included the Holocaust denier David Irving and National Action founder, Alex Davies. International speakers included the American far right writer, Roger Devlin, who contributes regularly to *The Occidental Quarterly*, *American Renaissance* and *Counter-Currents* and Paul Fromm, a Canadian with a show on White Resistance Radio.

### Yorkshire Forum

**Organiser** Liam Kernaghan

The Yorkshire Forum started in 2015 and held six meetings in 2016.

The group is organised by Bradford-based Liam Kernaghan of the British Democratic Party.

Speakers have included former BNP MEP and now leading figure in the British Democratic Party, Andrew Brons, and Simon Sheppard, a Holocaust denier convicted for inciting racial hatred in 1999.



Liam Kernaghan



### NEW BRANCHES IN 2016



Julie Lake

### South West Forum

**Organiser** Julie Lake

The South West Forum is the latest branch to be launched with its inaugural meeting on 29 October 2016. The group is organised by former Bristol BNP activist Julie Lake.

Speakers at the October meeting included Richard Edmonds, Larry Nunn (alias Max Musson), Alex Davies and Jeremy Bedford Turner.

### Welsh Forum

The Welsh Forum was launched on 23 July 2016 in Cardiff and held one meeting with the main speaker being David Irving.

### Scottish Forum

The Scottish Forum was launched on 21 March 2016 and held one meeting, the main speaker being David Irving.

### US Branches

Last year, saw an expansion of the Forum network into America with the creation of a New York forum and a North West Forum that held its founding meeting in Seattle. There are plans to create another branch in Washington D.C.

The driving force behind the American branches is white nationalist Greg Johnson of *Counter-Currents*.

The New York Forum was launched on 28 May 2016 in Manhattan. Speakers included Greg Johnson, the author and political philosopher, Roger Devlin, and the British barrister and former Monday Club and Swinton Circle activist, Adrian Davies. Also present at the first meeting were assorted *Counter-Currents* authors including Collin Cleary, Michael Polignano and James O'Meara.

The inaugural meeting of the North West Forum took place on 12 November last year in Seattle. Speakers included creator of *Identity Evropa*, Nathan Damigo, the ceramicist and white nationalist and Holocaust denier Charles Krafft and the Scottish based 'Alt-Right' YouTuber Millennial Woes.

## 'Alt-Right' (UK)

**Organiser** Matthew Tait

### SUMMARY OF 2016

This is not really an organisation at present. Rather, there were two social events organised by Matthew Tait in 2016 billed as 'Alt-Right' events.

While Tait does not get along with Jeremy Bedford Turner, often ridiculing him, many of those who attended his two socials also attend London Forum events.

Tait also travelled to Washington D.C. to address a meeting organised by the National Policy Institute in November 2016.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

It is unlikely that this group will get off the ground in 2017. While future meetings have been discussed it seems that Tait is not as interested as he once was. It is very unlikely to mimic the success of similar groups in America.



Matthew Tait

# State of Hate **the tory right**

## Traditional Britain Group (TBG)

President	<b>Lord Sudeley</b>
Vice Pres.	<b>John Kersey, Stuart Millson</b>
Treasurer	<b>Gregory Lauder-Frost</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

The TBG is a right-wing group that meets for conferences and meetings. There has been little change for the group this year.

Events in 2016 included a meeting in London in March addressed by Jacob Williams, founder of the Oxford magazine *No Offence*, and, in May, it held a dinner addressed by the Earl of Burford.

Its yearly conference was on 22 October at the Royal Overseas League on St James Street, addressed by former Monday Club Executive Council member Stuart Millson, Dr Selby Whittingham, Arktos Media author Isac Boman, Matteo Luini from Italy, Ricardo Duchesne from Canada and former BBC producer David Keighley.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Unlikely much will change in 2017.

## The Monday Club

President	<b>The Viscount Massereene and Ferrard</b>
Chairman	<b>Andrew Grocock</b>
Publications	<b>A Conservative Foundation; Club Comment</b>

### SUMMARY OF 2016

The Monday Club is right-wing pressure group aligned with the Tory Party though they are no longer officially endorsed by it.

In May 2016 it held an event about the EU referendum addressed by Gerald Howarth, MP for Aldershot.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

The group is a very pale shadow of its former self but will continue to organise meetings. In 2017, it will continue to have very little influence.

Lord Sudeley, Alan Harvey and The Viscount Massereene and Ferrard

## Swinton Circle

Leader	<b>Alan Harvey</b>
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### SUMMARY OF 2016

This is a small organisation that does nothing more than organising speakers for its sporadic meetings.

In terms of meetings and growth, little happened for the Swinton Circle in 2016. However, Harvey did have an eventful year as it emerged that Thomas Mair, murderer of Jo Cox MP, had written three letters to his magazine *S.A. Patriot* some years ago.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

It will continue to be an irrelevance.

## London Swinton Circle

Leader	<b>Allan Robertson</b>
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### SUMMARY OF 2016

The London Swinton Circle is a group that split away from the Swinton Circle in 2008. As well as Robertson, other key members include Daniel Wilkinson and Gareth Gillingham, formerly of the National Front.

The group is tiny and holds its increasingly infrequent meetings in a small room in The Counting House pub near Bank tube station in London.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

It will continue to be an irrelevance as it seems to be having fewer and fewer meetings. This downward trajectory looks set to continue.





## State of Hate foreign nazis



### Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski / National Rebirth of Poland (NOP)

<b>Ideology</b>	<b>Neo-nazi</b>
<b>Membership</b>	<b>20-30</b>
<b>Leadership</b>	<b>Arek Rzepinski</b>
<b>Online</b>	<b>Part of the wider Misanthropic Division network. Has a UK blogspot</b>
<b>Areas active</b>	<b>Glasgow, Exeter, London, Norwich, Manchester (in conjunction with the now banned National Action)</b>

#### SUMMARY OF 2016

European nazis are now active in the UK. The largest, and certainly the most organised, is the *Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski* / National Rebirth of Poland (NOP). Over the past year, it has organised its own protests, joined British far right groups on their activities and even organised soup kitchens for homeless Poles.

Despite being spread across the UK, NOP has a communal spirit, helping other members move around the country or even back home to Poland should the authorities look too closely at their activities.

The NOP's leader in Britain is Arkadiusz Rzepinski although he is known to others by a host of aliases. Rzepinski first appeared on the NOP scene in 2007, coming from the small town of Walcz in Western Pomerania. He studied in Szczecin but moved to the UK in or around 2013 and took it upon himself to organise the NOP's UK group for expat Poles.

NOP straddles everything from the National Front to the London Forum. One member, David Czerwonko, who lives in Brentford, West London, attempted to attack comedian Eddie Izzard during the EU Referendum campaign, running

away with the comedian's trademark pink beret.

Czerwonko was unable to receive an award from the London Forum for his efforts as a mixture of other appointments, including work and bail, prohibited him from attending. He has a reputation in Poland for violence against political opponents and has been a welcome addition to the ranks of National Action (NA).

Like NA, which has tried to use food banks to grab cheap publicity, NOP has been working among the homeless Polish community in London and Glasgow, delivering food, blankets and literature to its less fortunate compatriots.

The group has also adopted Kevin Layzell, a former BNP youth member, as its English-speaking spokesperson and he has been useful in helping Polish nazis find accommodation here. In return, Layzell, has been regularly fêted in Poland.

NOP seems to like nothing more than making late night excursions to Jewish parts of Manchester looking for excitement. Local NA members are in awe at how ready and adept the Poles are for violence.

The organisation has also branched out into the Blood&Honour scene, putting on at least one gig last year.

Polish security services take the activities of NOP in the UK so seriously that they are believed to have at least one full-time officer monitoring the group in the UK.

#### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

With NA outlawed, NOP will most likely be carrying out the bulk of NA's vandalism. Arek Rzepinski, NOP leader in Britain, has no desire to return home and seems keen to make NOP a permanent and formidable fixture on the British far right.

We can expect to see the activities of the NOP grow in 2017.

# State of Hate the “alt-right”

## What is the “Alt-Right”?

The ALTERNATIVE RIGHT is an international set of groups and individuals, organised primarily online, though with offline outlets, whose core belief is that “white identity” is under siege by so-called “social justice warriors (SJW)” and pro-multicultural and liberal elites using “Political Correctness” to undermine western civilisation and the rights of white males. Its roots lie in the so-called “Reactosphere” or “Dark Enlightenment”, a community of bloggers active since the 2000s.

It is a broad movement that can be roughly split into the so-called “alt-light” and the more hardcore “alt-right”, a term coined by the white nationalist extremist Richard Spencer of the National Policy Institute (NPI). Together the, the “alternative right” is a far right, anti-globalist, grouping that offers a radical “alternative” to traditional/establishment conservatism (Republicanism) in America.



Richard Spencer

The “alt-right” is essentially a repackaging of racial nationalist ideas disseminated through modern means: vlogs, blogs, websites, images, catchphrases and podcasts. Its ideas are partly ideologically aligned with European New Right movements rooted in the French Nouvelle Droite and the ideas of Alain de Benoist and have parallels with the Identitarian movement in Europe.

A key dividing line between the “alt-right” and the “alt-light” is the so-called “Jewish question” with “alt-right” activists generally being more antisemitic and more prone to believing conspiracy theories about “Jewish power”. Another is that the “alt-light” is more likely to talk in terms of “culture” while the more extreme “alt-right” talks openly in terms of “race”.

While most notable people and groups are based in America, there some British activists who can be placed under the “alternative right” umbrella.

## Milo Yiannopoulos

Yiannopoulos is a British right-wing journalist now based in America as the technology editor for the far right American news outlet *Breitbart News*. He is very much on the “alt-light” end of the spectrum with views that are less extreme than Spencer and the NPI. He has however been called a “spokesperson” for the “alt-right” though he has distanced himself from the movement.

An outspoken opponent of social justice, feminism and political correctness, he makes no distinction between Islam and extremist Islamism. His exact ideology is sometimes unclear. That he prioritises causing offence, provocative stunts and attention-grabbing behaviour over ideas is, in itself, an articulation of his beliefs. Generally his ideas can be described as cultural nationalism or western chauvinism.

### SUMMARY OF 2016

Yiannopoulos’s profile was significantly raised in 2016 when became a regular commentator on the American elections and the rise of the “alt-right”.

In July 2016, he was permanently banned from Twitter for what the website called “inciting or engaging in the targeted abuse or harassment of others”. Also, in July, he was due to lead a gay pride march through what was called a “Muslim ghetto” in Stockholm but the event was cancelled with Yiannopoulos citing security concerns. The event was organised by the Swedish counter-jihadist Jan Sjunnesson.

Throughout the year, Yiannopoulos continued his “Dangerous Faggot Tour” of universities with many events being met by confrontational counter-demonstrations and some being cancelled all together. This added to his martyr complex.

In December 2016, he reportedly received a \$250,000 advance as part of a book deal with the publisher Simon & Schuster. The deal was met with controversy with many believing such a respected publisher should not have agreed to publish a book by such an author. *The Chicago Review of Books* said it would not review any more Simon & Schuster books and several of the publishing house’s authors have since quit.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

He is set to continue touring American universities in 2017. Also, his book is due to be published in March which will no doubt cause widespread media interest.



## Paul Joseph Watson

From Sheffield but based in Battersea, London, Watson is a prominent right-wing commentator who creates content for his own YouTube channel as well as for the Prison Planet website and the fake news website InfoWars.com which is run by the American conspiratorial radio host and “shock jock” Alex Jones. Watson has amassed a large following on social media with 451,000 Twitter followers and 717,722 subscribers on YouTube.

He is known for his confrontational style, creating conspiracy theories and his willingness to fabricate stories and manipulate facts.

### SUMMARY OF 2016

Watson was one of the main people behind the conspiracy theory about Hillary Clinton having debilitating health issues in the run up to the election, the “Is Hillary Dying?” hoax. In a series of wildly conspiratorial videos, he suggested Mrs Clinton might have had syphilis, brain damage, a tumour, a degenerative disease, autism and Parkinson’s disease. He also claimed she is a drug abuser. His videos on the topic were viewed millions of times. The conspiracy theory that Watson contributed to was, unsurprisingly, picked up and discussed by Fox News.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Watson promised to move to America if Donald Trump won the election and, as much of his content is about America, it will be no surprise if keeps his promise.

## Matthew Tait

Tait is a former BNP organiser who now belongs to the “alt-right”.

### SUMMARY OF 2016

While the attendance of Colin “Millennial Woes” Robertson at the now infamous NPI event in Washington DC in November garnered headlines in the UK, the attendance of another British activist, Matthew Tait, who also addressed the event, went relatively unnoticed.

Tait is the person behind a number of “alt-right” socials in Holborn, London in late 2016.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

While there is a small chance that Tait will manage to get an offline “alt-right” group off the ground, it is unlikely and if it does form it will be unlikely to see much success or growth. Tait himself, meanwhile, plans to set up a YouTube channel to increase his online presence.

## Colin Robertson (Millennial Woes)

Robertson is an online vlogger who produces racist YouTube videos from his parents’ home in Linlithgow, Scotland.

### SUMMARY OF 2016

Last year was a big year for Robertson who hit the headlines after his involvement with America’s leading “alt-right” organisation, the NPI. Robertson attended and spoke at its *Becoming Who We Are* conference at the Reagan Building in Washington DC in November. The event won international media attention after footage emerged of NPI supporters giving Nazi salutes and yelling “Hail Trump”.

Less reported is that, while in America, Robertson also spoke at the inaugural meeting of the Seattle Forum, run and founded by the American Greg Johnson who also runs the Counter-Currents website. The Seattle Forum is an American imitation/branch of the UK-based London Forum.

The year ended on a sour note when, after several years of operating anonymously as Millennial Woes, his true identity was finally revealed causing him to flee.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Despite his real identity being exposed, it has also greatly raised his profile. He has already returned to making regular videos and will continue to do so. His fortunes are attached to those of the wider “alt-right” milieu.

(left to right)  
Milo Yiannopoulos,  
Paul Joseph Watson  
and Colin Robertson



# ISLAMIST, SALAFIST AND BARELV

## Sara Khan on the Islamist and fundamentalist groups operating in the UK

THAT ISLAMIST and fundamentalist groups have been operating in the UK for the last few decades has been a long established fact.

Key to their activism has been the pro-active dissemination of Islamist propaganda and ideas to recruit impressionable young Muslims. To a large degree, they have been successful. In the 1990s for example, many Salafi-Islamist hate groups attracted thousands to their annual events.

In 2006, when four British Muslims carried out the London bombings, the incident was a stark demonstration that Islamist-inspired violence is a threat to our shared values.

However, since that time, what is clear is that Islamist ideals and beliefs have spread even more widely in part because of the existence and exploitation of social media. The active propaganda efforts of Al-Qaida, and ISIS in particular, have helped radicalise a significant number of young British Muslims.

However, while some Islamist and fundamentalist groups have condemned ISIS, their promotion of Islamist ideals, propagation of hatred and discrimination towards others (both Muslims and non-Muslims) continues to normalise and create a climate where violent ideologues are able to recruit impressionable individuals.

ISIS, Al-Qaida and other Salafi-Islamist groups represent the Islamist far right and continue to threaten not only our security but also hamper our ability to foster a climate of compassionate co-existence and cohesive communities. It goes without saying that, as with the traditional far right, it is imperative that Salafi-Islamism is countered.

As we enter 2017 and with the continuing destabilisation of ISIS' caliphate alongside far right extremism (both traditional and Islamist), the threat of violence and radicalisation remains high.

Building an inclusive movement against Salafist, Islamist and Barelv extremism in defence of our shared values has never been more important.

By working together in actively opposing all forms of extremism, we can help build an inclusive, tolerant and united Britain.

### ISIS-inspired extremism

The reality of Islamist and religious-inspired extremism in the UK continued to be highlighted throughout 2016.

The good news this year is that Europe's most prolific hate preacher Anjem Choudary who, for decades, inspired a generation of jihadist fighters, was finally found guilty of terrorism offences on 28 July after signing an oath of allegiance to ISIS and openly supporting it.

Fifteen major Islamist terror plots since 2001 have been linked directly to Choudary and his network, including the July 7 bombings and the murder of Fusilier Lee Rigby.

Numerous Britons connected with Choudary and his group have travelled to ISIS' caliphate including Siddhartha Dhar (Abu Rumaysah) and Britain's first suicide bomber who fought for an al Qaeda-affiliated group, the al Nusra Front, Abdul Waheed Majeed.

Mohammed Mizanur Rahman, who had thousands of followers on his Twitter account that he used to spread his hate and extremist beliefs, was also convicted of the same offences.

While it is welcome news that both these preachers are behind bars, the spread of Islamist extremist beliefs still resonates with some young Muslims.

Since 2014, approximately 850 people from the UK have travelled to Syria and Iraq, a significant number to support or fight for jihadist organisations. Seventy-five have been convicted for offences related to Syria/Iraq and include people of all ages and backgrounds.

The Crown Prosecution Service concluded 14 cases this year including those of:

- Nadir Sayed who plotted to behead a member or members of the public in the days around Remembrance Sunday in 2014
- Tarik Hassane, 22, and Suheib Majeed, 21, who, between July 2014 and October 2014, plotted to carry out one or multiple terrorist murders in London. Hassane had pledged allegiance to ISIS in July 2014
- Mohammed Moshin Ameen was charged with five offences of encouraging terrorist activity.

Between March 2015 and November 2015, Ameen sent approximately 8,000 tweets using 16 different Twitter accounts in 42 different names. A significant proportion of these messages expressed support for ISIS and at least 250 encouraged the commission of a terrorist act or invited support for ISIS.

Compared with 2015, significantly fewer people have travelled to Syria from the UK. Internationally, foreign fighters travelling to the region have also dwindled. ISIS' caliphate is currently under threat as it loses territory and suffers heavy setbacks.

Prominent ISIS ideologue Muhammad Al-Adnani, whose infamous speech in September 2014 triggered a wave of lone wolf attacks and inspired individuals like Tarik Hassane, has been killed.

However, the crumbling of the "caliphate" presents its own set of challenges including further lone wolf attacks. In September 2016, ISIS released a new video celebrating recent terrorist attacks in France, Canada and the United States and has actively encouraged lone wolf attacks in the West.

It has also released propaganda videos and material, including a new magazine, *Rumiyah*.

Secondly, returning foreign fighters to Europe and the UK present serious security challenges, a "ticking time bomb". Europol chief, Rob Wainwright, has warned that up to 5,000 Jihadist Europeans have returned to the continent after training at terrorist camps.

Despite Al-Adnani's death, no one should be complacent about the influence of *takfeeri* jihadist ideology and Salafi-Islamism (including non-violent extremist variants).

The spread of Islamist and other religious-inspired extremist ideologies has resulted in the killings of other Muslims on our streets. 71-year-old imam Jalal Uddin from Rochdale was bludgeoned to death in February 2016 by ISIS supporter Mohammed Syeedy, 21, who has been jailed for life. Jalal Uddin's son, Saleh Al Arif, told the press that, having spoken to some members

# BARELVI EXTREMISM IN THE UK

(right) Tanveer Ahmed murdered Asad Shah, a Glasgow shop keeper in a religiously-motivated crime.

(below) Prominent ISIS ideologue Muhammad Al-Adnani



of the local Muslim community, there was acknowledgement and concern that youngsters in their area were ISIS supporters.

## Barelvi extremism

Not all Muslim-derived extremism derives from Salafi-Islamism. The presence and danger of Barelvi (a Sufi-orientated sect) extremism in the UK gained national recognition in March 2016 after Tanveer Ahmed, in a religiously-motivated crime, murdered Ahmadi Muslim Asad Shah, a Glasgow shopkeeper.

Offended by Shah's religious belief and utterances, Ahmed murdered Shah for what he perceived to be blasphemy. Judge Lady Rae who sentenced Ahmed stated that the crime itself was not directed towards the Ahmadi community. However, there has been increased hate directed at Ahmadi Muslims in Britain. TELL MAMA documented 29 anti-Ahmadi incidents in 2016 (from January to 1 July 2016), a stark rise from the 9 incidents reported for the whole of 2015.

These have included attacks on Ahmadi mosques and organised campaigns for a boycott of Ahmadi businesses by other Muslims. TELL MAMA also reported that a personality cult was developing around Tanveer Ahmed with social media posts praising his actions. His supporters glorify him as an "authentic" defender of the Islamic faith.

Branches of the anti-Ahmadi organisation Khatme Nubawwat that were affiliated to the Muslim Council of Britain (and that are temporarily suspended) celebrated Shah's death.

Writing on their Facebook page, Tahafuz Khatme Nubuwwat wrote: "congratulations to all Muslims." It was also revealed that leaflets, undersigned by a Khatme Nubuwwat branch in Stockwell Green, described Ahmadi Muslims as being "worse than an apostate" and stated that if they did not "get back into the Islamic fold...he is to be awarded capital punishment." These leaflets were distributed in universities, mosques and shopping centres across London.

Barelvi extremism was also evident earlier this year after it transpired that a number of British Barelvi mosques and imams had glorified killer Mumtaz Qadri who assassinated the Pakistani Punjab governor Salmaan Taseer in 2011 for his opposition to Pakistan's blasphemy laws.

Qadri had been inspired by Pakistani Barelvi cleric Mufti Hanif Qureshi who had openly incited murder against Taseer for "committing blasphemy."

Qadri was executed by the Pakistani state on 28 February 2016 and a number of British imams, Muslim groups and individuals described him as a "martyr" and supported his murderous act in the name of "defending the honour of the Prophet."

Friday sermons in some Barelvi mosques were dedicated to Qadri. British imams from Coventry, Dewsbury and other areas were openly supporting a murderer in "the name of Islam."

Muhammad Masood Qadiri who presented a weekly programme on Ummah TV flew out to Pakistan to attend Qadri's funeral. Qadiri told the media that he had "always been the first to condemn terrorism" but that it was "not only my human right, but also my democratic right of freedom of expression, both as a British and Pakistani national," to express feelings and support for Qadri.

British imams such as Muhammad Asim Hussain, from Bradford who has 137,000 followers on Facebook wrote that the execution was a dark day in the history of Pakistan. Ironically, Muhammad Asim Hussain has been on a tour (the Crisis of ISIS tour) condemning ISIS.

Despite his vile hate speech and incitement to murder, Mufti Hanif Qureshi was allowed to enter the UK for a speaking tour at a number of British mosques in May this year including, in Luton, the Jamia Islamia Ghousia Trust where he spoke to hundreds of British Muslims. He also spoke at a Khatme Nabuwwat meeting. A senior cleric at the Luton mosque defended Qureshi saying that he gave an "impressive speech." ●



## Salafi-Islamist extremism Chief Imam Shakeel Begg of Lewisham Islamic Centre

IN THE FIRST case of its kind, a court ruled in October 2016 that Salafi-Islamist preacher, Shakeel Begg, chief Imam at the Lewisham Islamic Centre, “is an extremist Islamic speaker who espouses extremist Islamic positions” and “has promoted and encouraged religious violence.” His speeches were “consistent with an extremist Salafist-Islamist worldview”.

Begg had taken the BBC to court after journalist Andrew Neil on the *Sunday Politics* show (aired on 3 November 2013) had described him as an extremist. However, Mr Justice Haddon-Cave dismissed Begg’s claim.

Despite providing testimonials from local inter-faith leaders who described Begg as being of good character and as a man who had spoken out against radicalisation and extremism, evidence was submitted by the BBC of speeches delivered by Begg – including one at a CAGE dinner and another at a demonstration outside Belmarsh prison – that were judged to show that Begg indeed held an extremist Salafist-Islamist worldview.

Begg has repeatedly praised and glorified violent 20<sup>th</sup> century Islamist ideologues like Sayyid Qutb and Abdullah Azzam. Qutb’s book *Milestones* became the blueprint for modern-day Islamist extremist ideologies and influenced Osama Bin Laden and current Al-Qaida leader, Ayman Az-Zawahiri.

Qutb’s anti-Western and Manichean worldview and calls for violent jihad to make Islam “dominant in the world” are part of the bedrock of Islamist extremist ideology.

Abdullah Azzam is often known as “the Godfather of Global Jihad”, promoting armed jihad and martyrdom, twin ideas that are doctrinal beliefs in violent Islamist ideology and pivotal in shaping the Al-Qaida network.

Mr Justice Haddon-Cave described Shakeel Begg as a “Jekyll and Hyde” character who presented the face of respectability to the general local and inter-faith community but, to predominately Muslim audiences, he revealed “the horns of extremism.”

Speaking to hundreds of Muslim youth in the “compelling and seductive way he did under the cloak of respectability,” made Begg, according to Justice Haddon-Cave, all the more effective and dangerous.

Begg has been a regular speaker at CAGE events and has shared platforms with other extremists. Unsurprisingly, he has been an active advocate against counter-terrorism and counter-extremism policies and is an important ideologue for British Salafi-Islamists.

The Lewisham Islamic Centre has itself invited numerous Salafi-Islamist preachers to speak there including Bilal Philips, Murtaza Khan, Haitham al Haddad and Uthman Lateef. The killers of Fusilier Lee Rigby, Michael Adebolajo and Michael Adebowale, were said to have worshipped at Lewisham Islamic Centre.

Following the High Court judgement, Lewisham Islamic Centre defended Begg and described him as a “pillar of the community” despite clear evidence of his extremist lectures.

## HATE PREACHERS

### Abdur Raheem Green

Green is chairman of iERA and a leading Salafist preacher in the UK. He has made numerous hate speeches over the years. He has made statements that Muslims should not mix with non-believers as “they will not fail to corrupt you” and has suggested that, in a Muslim state, Jews and Christians would have to pay the *jizya* tax “to make the Jew and the Christian know that they are inferior and subjugated to Islam.” Green has also lectured that Muslims should be striving for a *sharia*-governed world and has advocated a “slow and painful death” by stoning for adultery.

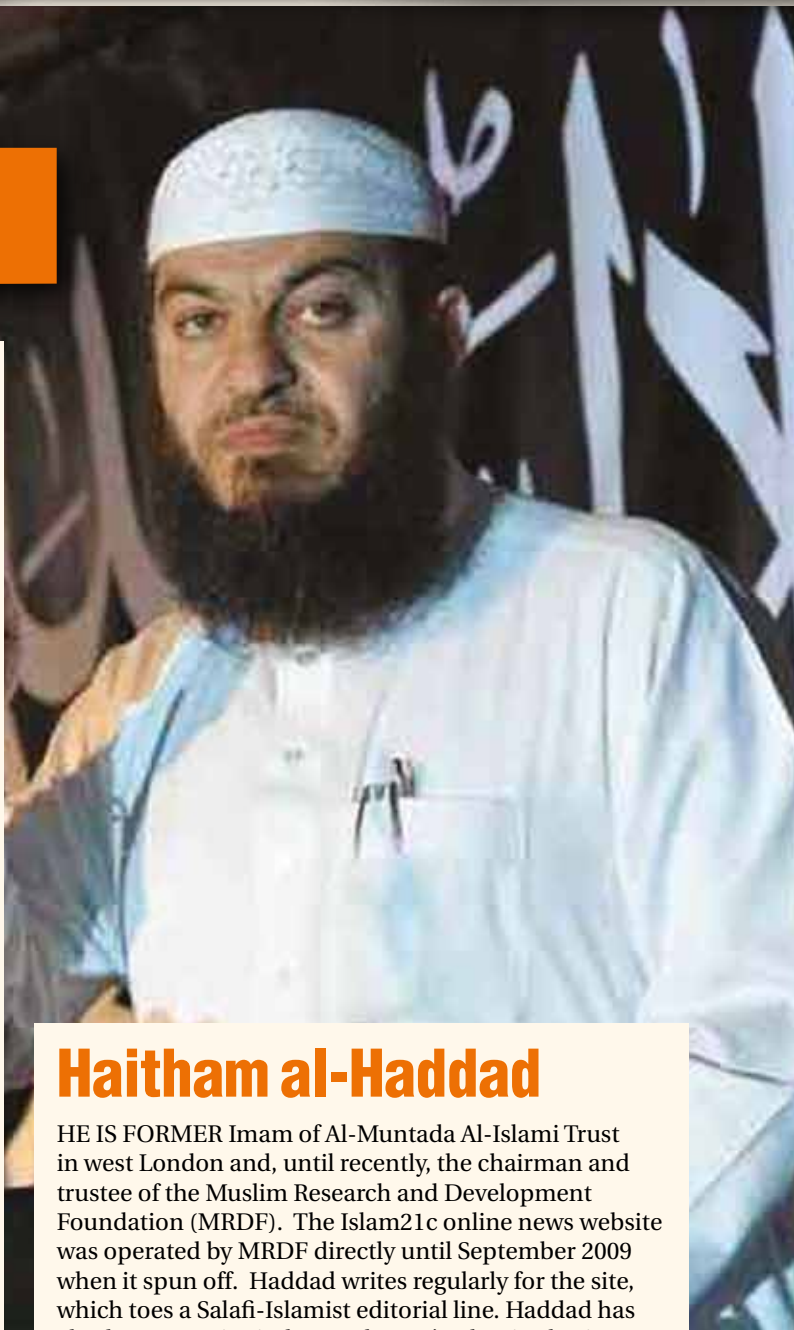
Filed preaching at Hyde Park corner, Green said: “Why don’t you take the Yahoudi [Jew] over there, far away so his stench doesn’t disturb us?”

iERA regularly promotes the language of multiculturalism, inter-faith and diversity and has been organising “Don’t hate, debate” discussions for example.

However, the Salafi group has been accused of promoting “soft Islamism” where Salafi-Islamist ideas and norms are promoted through so-called dialogue. *Evangelising Hatred*, a detailed report on iERA, says the group has “promoted Islamists who have preached hate against non-Muslims, women, gays, progressive Muslims and ex-Muslims. It is also one of the main organisations behind the call for the imposition of Islamist norms in society, including gender segregation at UK universities and the assertion of preachers who promote *sharia* courts.”

An investigation by the Charity Commission concluded in November 2016 that there had been misconduct and mismanagement in the charity’s administration and, after concerns were raised about iERA’s associations with extremist speakers, it was warned by the Commission that it must distance itself from individuals who condone “violent extremism and acts of terrorism”.

Green, iERA and other leading figures in the organisation have an active following both online and offline.



### Haitham al-Haddad

HE IS FORMER Imam of Al-Muntada Al-Islami Trust in west London and, until recently, the chairman and trustee of the Muslim Research and Development Foundation (MRDF). The Islam21c online news website was operated by MRDF directly until September 2009 when it spun off. Haddad writes regularly for the site, which toes a Salafi-Islamist editorial line. Haddad has also been a senior judge on the UK’s Islamic Sharia Council, based in east London and dispensing rulings on matters like family law and divorce.

Thousands of people signed a petition in early 2015 to stop him addressing the Islamic student society at the University of Westminster because of his strident opposition to homosexuality. There is also his endorsement of female genital mutilation (FGM) as a religious requirement, even though this is illegal in the UK.

Haddad wants Islam throughout “the whole world”, with the enforcement, under *sharia* legal conditions, of *hudood* punishments. These would include stoning for adultery and the judicial murder of apostates. The *deen* (religion/belief) of Allah would be “superior above any other *deen*... superior to any other system... any law other than the law of Allah is invalid”. He repeated this message to students at a Queen Mary University Islamic Society dinner in 2010.

In an interview on Huda TV, Haddad has called for “Islamisation of the whole globe” and, venting his “hatred” for democracy, has articulated how to create an “Islamic Republic of Britain.”

# ISLAMIST AND SALAFI-ISLAMIST GROUPS

## Co-ordination and co-operation

In the 1990s, Salafist and Islamist groups in Britain were largely in competition with each other in recruiting British Muslims to their ideological cause. However, in recent years, this competition has been replaced with co-operation and co-ordination online, on campuses and in communities. This had led to the combination of previously existing organisations and new Salafi-Islamist groups.

Among the Islamists, Hizb ut-Tahrir and various Jammāt-e-Islami and Muslim Brotherhood-inspired organisations operate in the UK while, on the Salafist side, proselytising organisations like the Muslim Research and Development Foundation (MRDF) and the Islamic Education and Research Academy (iERA) are active. The MRDF until recently operated a Salafi-Islamist online news service called Islam21c and the now cooperative Salafists and Islamists receive further editorial backing from a propaganda “news” site called 5Pillars.

## Propaganda and activism

The British Salafi-Islamist ideology pushes victimhood grievance propaganda which is often anti-Western, advocates belief in establishing and supporting a caliphate governed by *sharia* law and promotes intolerance (and sometimes excommunication) towards other Muslim beliefs and practices outside the folds of Salafism and Islamism.

British organisations promote Islamist and Salafi agitators at events, some of whom have propagated hate, religious violence (exemplified by individuals such as Shakeel Begg) and discrimination.

Salafi-Islamists in conflating their modern ideological beliefs with classical Islam and in an attempt to shut down debate, label anyone who criticises the former as “Islamophobes” including Muslims.

Inevitably their activism is characterised by the spread of their ideological beliefs via Salafi-Islamist sites like Islam21C (Facebook followers: 225,000, Twitter: 17,900) and 5Pillarsuk.com (Facebook followers: 182,071, Twitter: 7,816). Aggressive propaganda against non-Islamist, secular and human rights-advocating Muslims is a regular feature.

It should also be noted that many Salafi-Islamists often even employ the language of human rights, multiculturalism and liberalism to neutralise opposition and conceal their illiberal worldview. This has often led to a *de facto* alliance between Islamism’s reactionary Right and deluded sections of the hard Left in Britain.

## Hizb Ut-Tahrir (HT)



AN ISLAMIST extreme group which seeks to establish a global Islamic state or caliphate across the world that would be governed by a totalitarian interpretation of *sharia* law.

HT UK is currently led by Dr Abdul Wahid and has been operating since 1986. HT has rejected ISIS’s caliphate and while it may oppose ISIS’ methodology it also shares many ideological beliefs including the binary view that the world is divided into two abodes, the land or abode of Islam (Dar al Islam) and the land of disbelief (Kufr) or war (Harb).

HT believes that because the “Islamic State” has not been established, the whole world is Dar al Kufr which means Muslims have a religious duty to strive for its establishment. ISIS also believes in the narrow and outdated binary understanding of Dar al Islam and Dar al Kufr but claims the “Islamic State” now exists and

that Muslims are obligated to live there.

While HT claims to support non-violent methods, it has been subject to continual criticism over its extremism and, while it does not engage in terrorist acts itself, it has been accused of being a “conveyor belt for terrorists.” In the past it has supported violent groups such as Islamic Jihad, Hamas and Jama’ah Islamiyyah.

Many believe HT to be a college of ideological indoctrination that, while abstaining from terrorism, develops recruits for more extreme organisations. For example, in 2003, while searching the houses of Omar Khan Sharif and Asif Mohammed Hanif, following their failed attempt to blow up a bar in Tel Aviv, police found HT literature. Bilal Abdullah, the doctor who attacked Glasgow airport in 2007, also had links to HT.



### Hizb Ut-Tahrir social media reach

- Facebook followers: 14,335
- Twitter followers: 12,100



## CAGE

CAGE claims to be a “human rights organisation working to empower communities impacted by the War on Terror” yet, in 2015, Amnesty International declared that it would no longer share a platform or work with the group because it is at “odds with human rights principles”.

This came after Asim Qureshi of CAGE, in a BBC interview, was unable to condemn Salafi-Islamist preacher Haitham al-Haddad’s views on homosexuality, stoning or female genital mutilation.

In 2006, Qureshi spoke at a Hizb ut Tahrir rally outside the US Embassy in London telling Muslims: “It is incumbent upon all of us to support the jihad of our brothers and sisters in places such as Chechnya, Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan.”

The organisation regularly hosts numerous Salafi-Islamist preachers including Haddad, Shakeel Begg and, in June 2015, held a live video link with Abu Qatada. In November 2009, it attempted to have a live video link with Al-Qaida ideologue, and “bin Laden of the internet” Anwar Al-Awlaqi at a CAGE fundraising dinner at Kensington and Chelsea Town Hall.

Awlaqi’s preaching has radicalised many convicted terrorists, including Londoner Roshanara Choudary who stabbed MP Stephen Timms. She admitted downloading all of Awlaqi’s sermons in November 2009.

CAGE’s Moazzam Begg has argued that “the most credible voices against ISIS have been Islamic clerics traditionally associated with al-Qa’ida”. He has named the Jordanian Salafi-jihadist preachers Abu Muhammad al-Maqqdisi

and Abu Qatada as two such individuals.

In 2006, the Combating Terrorism Centre, based in New York, published a study suggesting that, contrary to popular perception, it was not Bin Laden or the current Al Qaida head Ayman Al Zawahiri who was the most influential scholar amongst militant Islamists but Abu Muhammad al-Maqqdisi.

Begg has used his Twitter account to promote interviews with Abu Muhammad al-Maqqdisi. The article Begg shared was from a website called Al Muwahideen Media, an anti-ISIS but pro al-Qa’ida website. Begg shared another article on Twitter written by jihadist Maqqdisi with his Twitter followers from the website “Al-Minara Dutch Mujahideen in Syria”, another Jabhat al Nusra supporting and anti-ISIS website.

Giving evidence to the Home Affairs Select Committee, it emerged that, in February 2014, CAGE praised a suicide bombing attack carried out by 41-year-old British Muslim Abdul Waheed Majeed who had joined al-Qa’ida affiliate Jabhat al Nusra. When questioned by the Committee about CAGE’s praise for Majeed, CAGE representative

Dr Adnan Siddiqui stated he stood by the comment that the act carried out by Majeed was a “price worth paying.” Apologists for convicted terrorists, they have also defended Munir Farooqi, who was given four life sentences for terror charges, and Roshanara Choudary.

CAGE is actively opposed to counter-extremism, counter-radicalisation and counter-terrorism measures. After the arrest of terror suspect Tarik Hassane in 2014, the organisation defended Hassane claiming that excessive force had been used in the police raid, that there was “mass hysteria” around the arrest and that “these young men became criminalised and their lives tarnished with the broad brush stroke of ‘terrorism’...giving further give further credence to a belief among many that Muslims have become a suspect community.”

This victimhood grievance stance regularly promoted by CAGE is indifferent to truth or fact. Hassane, as mentioned earlier, was found guilty of plotting to carry out terror attacks in London, having pledged allegiance to ISIS.

CAGE has staged speaking tours, promoting numerous Salafi-Islamists in a number of cities and speaking directly to hundreds of Muslims. It has partnered the National Union of Students (NUS) in its “Students Not Suspects” campaign and Moazzam Begg has been defended by NUS’s Shelly Asquith.

CAGE representatives have also shared platforms with and received the support of Malia Bouattia, the current NUS president. Bouattia was recently condemned in a report by the Home Affairs Select Committee this year for “outright racism” and it was said, he “does not appear to take sufficiently seriously the issue of antisemitism on campus.”



CAGE’s Moazzam Begg

## MEND

An organisation that claims to challenge “Islamophobia” and regularly engages with MEPs and MPs has often shared platforms with representatives of CAGE. Some of MEND’s key team members have openly supported CAGE.

MEND CEO, Dr Shazad Amin, supported and spoke at CAGE’s national tour in December 2016. Azad Ali, “Head of Community Development and Engagement” at MEND has also spoken at CAGE events in December 2015, praising the organisation.

In 2010, Ali himself lost a libel court case against the *Daily Mail* after Mr Justice Eady ruled: “I would hold that [Ali] was indeed, in November 2008 and for so long as the blog remained available, taking the position that the killing of American and British troops in Iraq (whether before or after the 2005 elections) would be justified.”

The blog, posted by Ali on 18 November 2008 and entitled “Defeating extremism by promoting balance”, referred to the views of Abdullah Azzam and his son, Huthaifa Azzam. It was accepted by Mr Justice Eady that Ali’s blog endorsed the ideas of Abdullah Azzam as “the ‘balanced’ view of jihad”.

■ Sara Khan is co-founder and director of Inspire, a counter-extremism organisation. She is an award winning activist and author of *The Battle for British Islam: Reclaiming Muslim Identity from Extremism*.

### CAGE social media reach

- Facebook followers: 88,000
- Twitter followers: 17,700

# Mainstreaming anti-

By Joe Mulhall

**A**nti-Muslim hatred has gone mainstream. With the inauguration of Donald Trump as the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, organised anti-Muslim activists – self-styled “counter-jihadists”(CJ) – have a seeming ally in the White House.

Worryingly, a similar process of mainstreaming is also happening in Europe. On this side of the Atlantic, the picture is more complex with a combination of “counter-jihadists” entering the mainstream in some areas, while, in others, they have been shunned while mainstream politicians and commentators have adopted their ideas.

## Counter-jihadists

“Counter-Jihadism” is a broad alliance of organisations and individuals that believe that Western civilisation is under attack from Islam. Some are extreme, others less so, but all generally agree that Islam is a supremacist religion and many see little difference between violent jihadists and ordinary Muslims who live their lives quite peacefully.

While there is absolutely nothing wrong with opposing jihadism or even criticising Islam, the term “counter-jihadist” is one coined by anti-Muslim activists and actually describes a specific type of conspiratorial anti-Muslim prejudice.

Most “counter-jihadists” believe that secular, liberal, society is aiding Islam through mass immigration into Europe and multiculturalism that, they are convinced, silence any criticism of Islam.

This conspiratorial notion of conscious and planned invasion is one of the key ideas that mark “counter-jihadism” out from more general anti-Muslim sentiment.

Often, activists articulate cultural nationalist ideas that spurn the narrow nationalism of the traditional far right in favour of continent-wide or, more specifically, Occident-wide brotherhood.

Broadly speaking “counter-jihadists” believe there is a clash of civilisations between Islam and the West. While ideas around the nature, inevitability and

desirability of this clash vary greatly, many see some sort of conflict as inevitable, with a few, including some of the most prominent CJ bloggers and activists, believing that this is both necessary and desirable. At its most extreme fringes, some argue that it will only be through civil war that new leaders will emerge and do what is required – expel Muslims from Europe and the West.

Also, mythical, usually Christian, Western culture and identity is said to be facing extinction at the hands of an Islamic invasion. It is for this reason that “counter-jihadists” have often adopted imagery associated with the medieval Crusades. “Counter-jihad” street demonstrations, such as organised by the English Defence League (EDL) often display cross-emblazoned shields and images of armour-clad knights.

## America

Trump’s election was a catalyst for the international anti-Muslim movement. After many years of slowly and painstakingly edging their way out of the political wilderness, the “counter-jihadists” suddenly have an apparent advocate in the White House who echoes some of their positions on Islam and Muslims.

As Pamela Geller, a leading American “counter-jihadist” shrieked in an article for the ultra-right outlet, Breitbart: “Finally, someone with a huge platform is calling out the enemedia (a portmanteau of “enemy” and “media”) and the *dhimmi* (a non-Muslim living under Muslim law) press, and giving them the long overdue, much-needed middle finger they so richly deserve. Trump must win in order for this nation to survive.”

As the dust settled from Trump’s victory, those expecting him to moderate his tone and jettison his more controversial positions regarding Muslims have been disappointed. Instead, he has gathered around him a coterie of dubious advisers, some of who are “counter-jihadists” and activists of the anti-Muslim scene.

## During the campaign

In the wake of the San Bernardino terrorist attack when 14 people were killed and 22 others were seriously injured in December 2015, Trump addressed a crowd at Charleston, South Carolina and infamously said: “Donald J. Trump is calling for a complete and total shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country’s representatives can figure out what the hell is going on.”

This was a Presidential candidate demanding a discriminatory policy that would ban 1.6 billion people outright from entering America. His comments shocked the world and caused upset and anger among America’s 3.3 million Muslims.

While his exact policy regarding immigration and Muslims changed during Trump’s campaign, the general tone throughout was consistently hostile towards Islam and its adherents. What is so worrying is that his anti-Muslim rhetoric was shaped by leading CJ activists who then used Trump to advance their own prejudices.

In a statement outlining his proposal to ban Muslims, Trump quoted discredited research about Muslims and their attitudes produced by Frank Gaffney’s “counter-jihad” think-tank, the Centre for Security Policy (CSP).

Gaffney was a key figure behind the absurd “Obama is a Muslim” conspiracy theory, writing an article in *The Washington Times* in 2009 that was titled “America’s first Muslim president”. Famously, of course, Trump echoed this pernicious lie and was involved in the so-called “birther movement” that called for Obama’s birth certificate to be published.

Another controversial anti-Muslim activist who advised Trump during his campaign was lawyer and former inspector general of the US Department of Defense, Joseph Schmitz. Brought in to advise on foreign policy, Schmitz is also linked to Gaffney’s CSP, for which he has written a number of articles and was a contributor to its conspiratorial report

# -Muslim hatred



Trump's Team (left to right) Walid Phares, Michael T. Flynn and Stephen Miller

*Sharia: The Threat to America.* Schmitz also sits on the Advisory Board of the American Freedom Law Centre (AFLC), which is run by the controversial David Yerushalmi.

## Trump's Team

Trump has gathered around him a whole coterie of controversial advisers, a number of whom are “counter-jihadists” including Walid Phares, named in the Centre for American Progress report *Fear, Inc* as one of the “validators” that make up the Islamophobic network in America.

Despite Fox News reporter Brian Kilmeade incorrectly stating Phares is a Muslim, he is actually a Maronite Christian who was once a “top political official” for the mostly Christian Lebanese Front. The Front was responsible for the Sabra and Shatila massacres of Palestinians during the 1982 Lebanese civil war.

Like Trump, Phares is not shy of using scare tactics when it comes to Islam and Muslims. In 2008, he stated that in the next four years “Jihadists may recruit one million suicide bombers” and that by 2016, they would have 10 million.

Another “adviser”, Michael T. Flynn is a retired army lieutenant general who served as Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency from 2012 to 2014. A recent *Guardian* article described him as a “conspiracy theorist and Islamophobe who hangs around the darker corners of the white nationalist internet.”

Other “counter-jihad” linked individuals include Stephen Miller, Senior Policy Adviser, who is linked to leading “counter-jihad” exponent David Horowitz. Also, there is Monica Crowley, Senior Director of Comms at National Security Council – linked to Gaffney and his Centre for Security Policy and the David Horowitz Freedom Center – and, finally, Kellyanne Conway, whose polling company has done work for anti-Muslim groups. She also has links with Gaffney and his Centre for Security Policy.

## Europe

Unlike in America, European CJ organisations and activists generally remain marginal and controversial.

Of course, there are some notable exceptions, such as Geert Wilders in The Netherlands and the Alternative for Germany (AfD) in Germany. However, there is no doubt that the wave of bad press and attention that “counter-jihadism” received in the wake of the murderous attacks by Anders Behring Breivik in Norway in 2011 retarded the “movement’s” expansion and limited the chances of key European activists becoming more mainstream figures.

Instead, in the majority of European countries where CJ activists have been shunned, and their networks and organisations have crumbled, some of their core ideas have fared better. Often conspiratorial anti-Muslim views are adopted by supposedly mainstream politicians and media outlets.

In the last decade, talk of a Muslim

invasion and a threat to Western civilisation has moved from social media and the blogosphere, to media-grabbing street demonstrations and into the parliamentary chambers of Europe.

This mainstreaming process has rapidly accelerated over the last few years as a result of the refugee crisis and the spate of terrorist attacks that has shaken the Continent.

The adoption of some CJ ideas by mainstream politicians is likely both a cause of and a result of rising anti-Muslim sentiment across Europe.

A report published in 2016 by the Pew Research Center showed that unfavourable views about Muslims have surged in some European countries. The percentage of unfavourable views of Muslims in Hungary was 72%, 69% in Italy, 66% in Poland and on the rise in other countries. In Greece, research found unfavourable views of Muslims had risen to 12%, 9% in the UK and 5% in France between 2015 and 2016.

Such negative views are linked to the 2015 “migration crisis” and the recent spate of vicious jihadi terror attacks that has hit the continent. In eight of 10 European countries surveyed by Pew, more than 50% questioned said they felt that incoming refugees increased the likelihood of terrorism in their country.

Negative perceptions of Muslims are also probably affected by the reams of hostile and prejudiced portrayals of Muslims published by parts of the mainstream press, in “fake news” (often shared on social media) and by right-wing and populist politicians.



Czech President Miloš Zeman is the best example of mainstream politicians adopting “counter-jihad” and anti-Muslim ideas.

### Eastern Europe

In Eastern Europe, there are numerous examples of prime ministers and presidents adopting hostile anti-Muslim rhetoric, much of which echoes strongly the conspiratorial assertions of the “counter-jihadists”.

Generally, “counter-jihadist” groups and activists have not entered the mainstream *themselves* and the movement remains relatively small but with supposedly mainstream politicians saying the same things there is little impetus or need for the movement to exist or grow.

Trump has already invited a number of the most explicitly anti-Muslim leaders from Eastern Europe to the White House, raising concerns that transatlantic anti-Muslim alliances are being formed at the highest levels of decision-making.

In Slovakia, prime minister Robert Fico has said that “Mass migration of Muslim immigrants who would start to build mosques will not to be tolerated” and has called for the “restriction of the freedom of Muslims in Europe”. Last year, he said: “Islam has no place in this country”.

In December 2016 a law was passed effectively banning Islam from gaining

official status as a religion. Sponsored by the Slovak National Party (SNS), the law requires a religion to have at least 50,000 members to qualify for state subsidies and to run schools.

As there are just between 2,000 and 5,000 Muslims in Slovakia, the new legislation will marginalise them completely from public and official life.

Andrej Danko, the SNS chairman, has said: “We must do everything we can so that no mosque is built in the future.”

The Hungarian PM Viktor Orbán has become a hero to the movement because of his anti-Muslim and anti-refugee views. In late 2015, Tatjana Festerling, formerly of the German anti-Muslim street movement Pegida, sang his praises at a demonstration in Dresden and the crowd chanted his name in adoration.

Over the last year, Orbán’s public statements regarding Islam and Muslims have frequently been indistinguishable from the ideas of the “counter-jihadists”. Of all the European leaders, Orbán has gone furthest in adopting CJ rhetoric and has even echoed its conspiratorial assertions.

Unsurprisingly, Orbán has endorsed Trump on several occasions and praised his anti-immigrant rhetoric.

Czech President Miloš Zeman is the best example of mainstream politicians adopting “counter-jihad” and anti-Muslim ideas.

In late 2015, he took the shocking decision to speak at a large anti-Muslim demonstration organised by Martin Konvička and his Bloc Against Islam. A large mob of Czechs was joined by a contingent from Pegida and Stephen Lennon (*aka* Tommy Robinson), founder and former leader of the EDL.

The event was another landmark moment in the journey of “counter-jihadism” from the margins to the mainstream. Since then, Zeman’s rhetoric has regularly echoed “counter-jihadi” ideas. In December 2015 he repeated a key CJ motif, stating: “I am profoundly convinced that we are facing an organised invasion and not a spontaneous movement of refugees”.

He later added: “I believe that the invasion is organised by the Muslim Brotherhood”, saying on Czech radio that “It cannot declare war on Europe, it does not have enough forces for it, but it can prepare a growing migrant wave and gradually gain control of Europe as it has been happening in some West European cities that police are afraid to enter at night.”



### Western Europe

In western and central Europe there has been a rise in the number and size of explicitly anti-Muslim parties, as populist radical-right parties have emerged and elevated anti-Muslim prejudice to the top of their political agendas.

2017 will be an important year for measuring just how far anti-Muslim politics has become mainstream with a number of key elections where anti-Muslim parties and candidates are expected to advance.

Marine Le Pen, for example, has long taken a hard line on Muslims and Islam with much of her rhetoric making only the smallest distinction between Islam and Islamist extremism. However, France been hit by a number of brutal terrorist attacks in recent years – perpetrated by Islamist extremists – and the result has been that Le Pen's views have been partly echoed by politicians from the main parties.

Le Pen has called for expulsion of “foreigners who preach hatred on our soil” and for stripping dual-nationality Muslims with extremist views of citizenship. Her ideas were endorsed by both the Socialist PM Manuel Valls and by president Francois Hollande.

Similarly, Francois Fillon, the Republican party presidential party candidate, has described radical Islam as a form of totalitarianism like the Nazis.

France was the first country in Europe to ban Islamic face veils in April 2011. The issue is a very complex one, centred on debates around the issue of France's staunch history of secularism versus freedom of religion.

The face veil ban hit the headlines again in 2016 when the Mayor of Cannes, David Lisnard, banned the burkini (a swimsuit that covers everything except

the hands, feet and face), calling it “the uniform of extremist Islamism”.

While in keeping with France's traditional secularism, the result caused a degree of shock, heightened by press pictures of Muslim women being forced by armed police to undress on the beach.

In March 2017, there will be a general election in the Netherlands to elect all 150 members of the House of Representatives, sparking a real chance that Geert Wilders' Party for Freedom (PVV) could emerge as the largest party.

Wilders is arguably the most successful explicitly “counter-jihadist” in the world. His prominence in Dutch politics has secured his position as main standard-bearer across Europe of the “counter-jihad” networks, and he is fêted by campaigning organisations in North America.

Wilders has extensive links with leading CJ activists around the world and attended the U.S. Republican Convention in America in Cleveland in 2016.

In December 2016, he was found guilty of inciting discrimination against Dutch Moroccans but was cleared of inciting hatred. The courts imposed no fine or sentence, stating that the criminal conviction was sufficient punishment.

For many liberals and progressives, Germany and Angela Merkel have been beacons of hope due to their humane and sympathetic refugee policy. However, Merkel's position has by no means been universally popular and a spate of sexual assaults and terrorist attacks have, understandably, made many question her policy.

While Merkel has generally held firm, the last few years has seen the growth of more organised anti-Muslim movements. The most notorious is the German Patriotic Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes (Pegida –

Patriotic Europeans against Islamisation of the Occident) which was formed in October 2014 in Dresden, Saxony, out of public concern about violent street clashes between supporters of the Kurdish PKK and Islamist extremists in the city.

While the 2015 migrant crisis breathed some life back into the movement – its two-year anniversary demonstration in October 2016 attracted between 5,000 and 8,500 people – it seems that the movement is already well past its peak.

Pegida's initial successes in Dresden spawned copycat groups around Germany and the rest of Europe, all of which have flopped.

Part of the group's troubles stem from the competition of the more politically adept and influential right-wing populist Alternative für Deutschland (AfD). Konrad Adam, Bernd Lucke and Alexander Gauland founded the party in 2013 but Lucke quit in July 2015, claiming it had become increasingly xenophobic.

The party's growth in recent years has been fast. In the 2013 federal elections it won 4.7% of the vote while, by 2014, it had won 7.1% and seven seats in European elections. By the end of 2016, it had gained representation in 10 of the 16 German regional parliaments.

In 2016, the AfD adopted explicitly anti-Islam policies, calling for a ban on face veils, the call to prayer and minarets. It was reported that, at an AfD conference in Stuttgart in April 2016, a delegate who called for dialogue with Muslims was booed. The slogan “Islam is not a part of Germany” was aired to the point of tedium.

The growth of the AfD has resulted in the centre ground tilting rightwards on the issues of Islam and Muslims. In December 2016, Chancellor Merkel said wearing the full-face veil should be outlawed in Germany. At least half of Germany's 16 federal states have since banned teachers from wearing headscarves and, in Hesse, civil servants are included.

In 2016, in Switzerland, it was made illegal to wear a face veil in public in the Tessin region, following a 2013 referendum on the issue.

2017 is likely to see this mainstreaming continue. Trump, and his officials, are likely to implement his anti-Muslim agenda and key elections across Europe will mean the issue will be centre-stage of the political debate.

While this is all likely to encourage anti-Muslim attitudes in society it is also likely to create resentment and a backlash amongst Muslims who will understandably feel persecuted and targeted.

# 2016: The New

**As *Cas Mudde* looks back, 2014 seems to have been the end of the “cry wolf era”, in which pundits and politicians could warn about an upcoming “far right victory” just as a cynical tool to try to suppress the actual vote for far right parties**

After over a year of almost full-time scaremongering from the centre-left to the centre-right, the 2014 European elections led to just a modest increase in far right MEPs, despite headlines about “earthquakes”, who were unable to form a strong political group and consequently continue to be largely marginalised within the European Parliament.

The next year was supposed to be a calm year. Except for the British general elections, in which the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) was expected to do well, no major far right electoral victories were expected, at least not in major European countries. But while UKIP did well electorally, its role in parliament remained limited to just one MP, who is at odds with the party leadership.

And yet, 2015 seems to have become a transformative year for the far right which continued to reap the benefits in 2016.

There were three major developments in 2015 that created an EU-wide sense of “crisis” that aggravated the situation favourably for far right parties in Europe. The first was the Greek crisis, in particular the protracted negotiations about a third monetary bailout with the new left-wing populist government in Athens which frustrated many on the far right as well.

While most far right parties vehemently opposed another bailout to the “lazy Greeks”, their leaders used

the opportunity to highlight the “dictatorial” behaviour of the EU.

Of much more significance, though, was the so-called refugees crisis, which brought the far right’s pet topics – immigration, Islam, crime, political incompetence – to the top of the political agenda.

Finally, a series of terrorist attacks – most notably in Brussels and Paris – and the highly publicised, but barely proven, link to Syrian refugees brought it altogether. Europe was now “at threat” from “an army” of “immigrants” including many “Islamic terrorists.”

Although the strength of this “perfect storm” seems to have reached its peak in the first part of 2016, at least for now, far right parties across Europe continue to ride its winds across all types of election well into the end of the year.

## Parliamentary Elections

There were twelve parliamentary elections in Europe in 2016 but none were expected to lead to a big win for the far right – itself an important reminder that, while far right parties are seeing an all-time high in support across Europe, many countries do not have a successful far right party. Table 1 presents an overview of the all results of the far right parties in parliamentary elections in 2016. As is clear from a quick scan, the results are very diverse and, overall, quite modest.

In Eastern Europe, the usual

suspects contested elections with varying levels of success. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy’s Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) was able to add 1.5 percent to its tally, becoming the third largest party in Russia with 13.1 percent of the vote. Together with the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) the LDPR is the longest serving parliamentary party, having been continuously represented in the increasingly irrelevant Duma since 1993.

The Motherland-National Patriotic Union (Rodina) party, which is broadly viewed as a Kremlin initiative to weaken the KPRF, was refounded in 2012 and won one seat (1.5 %) in the 2016 elections. Both the LDPR and Rodina combine extremely nationalist and populist campaigns with mostly loyal pro-Putin voting in the Duma.

In Serbia, one far right party that was considered moribund found an unexpected second life. The Serbian Radical Party (SRS) had lost most of its supporters when its infamous leader, Vojislav Šešelj, stood trial at the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague.

Tomislav Nikolić, caretaker leader of the SRS during this period, left to found the more moderate Serbian Progressive Party (SNS) and took most of the voters with him. The SRS dropped from 29.5 percent in 2008 to a mere 2.0 percent in 2012, before Šešelj returned, acquitted, from The Hague

and led the party back into parliament with 8.1% of the vote – making it the third biggest party in the country. Its offshoot in Montenegro was much less successful, however, not even breaking 0.2%.

The Croatian Party of Rights Dr. Ante Starčević (HSP AS) has been struggling for over a decade, merely surviving by joining broader right-wing electoral coalition. In the December 2015 elections, HSP AS won three seats as part of the dominant Patriotic Coalition but it had left that coalition because it felt it was merely the mouthpiece of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), the country’s main right-wing party. In the early election of September 2016, a consequence of the fall of the government within its first year, HSP AS was part of the unsuccessful, right-wing Homeland Coalition, and lost its seats.

Like the parties in former Yugoslavia, the Slovak National Party (SNS) also combines a mostly radical right agenda with extreme right reverence for interwar and wartime Slovak fascism.

In 2012, it had lost parliamentary representation for the second time in its (post-communist) existence, which led to the replacement of its controversial leader Ján Slota. His successor, Andrej Danko, moderated the image of the party and almost doubled its support, from 4.6 percent in 2012 to 8.6 percent in 2016. This not only made the SNS the fourth biggest party in Slovakia but also gave it a place in the new

# Normal?

**Table 1. Electoral results of far right parties in national elections.**

Country	Party	% Votes	#Seats
<b>Croatia</b>	Croatian Party of Rights Dr. Ante Starčević (HSP AS)	0.6	0
<b>Cyprus</b>	National Popular Front (ELAM)	3.7	2
<b>Ireland</b>	Identity Ireland	0.0	0
<b>Iceland</b>	Icelandic National Front (IP)	0.2	0
<b>Lithuania</b>	Against Corruption and Poverty	0.6	0
<b>Macedonia</b>	Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – People's Party (VMRO-NP)	2.1	0
<b>Montenegro</b>	Party of Serb Radicals-Montenegro in Safe Hands	0.2	0
<b>Romania</b>	Greater Romania Party (PRM)	1.2	0
	United Romania Party (PRU)	3.0	0
<b>Russia</b>	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR)	13.1	39
	Motherland-National Patriotic Union (Rodina)	1.5	0
<b>Serbia</b>	Serbian Radical Party (SRS)	8.1	22
<b>Slovakia</b>	Kotleba-People's Party Our Slovakia	8.0	14
	Slovak National Party (SNS)	8.6	15
<b>Spain</b>	Spanish Phalanx of the Councils of the National-Syndicalist Offensive (FE de las JONS)	0.0	0

coalition government under three-times prime minister Robert Fico, leader of the increasingly xenophobic populist party Direction – Social Democracy (Smer-SD).

In Romania there was a change of guard within the radical right. The Greater Romania Party (PRM) has dominated the radical right since the early 1990s, but has lost its leader, Vadim Corneliu Tudor, and its parliamentary seats in recent years. This year they remained insignificant. The future might now belong to the United Romania Party (PRU), founded by a former member of the Social Democratic Party (PSD), Bogdan Diaconu, in 2014. While the PRU was unable to overcome the 5-percent threshold, for now, it did gain a respectable 3 percent of the vote.

More shocking than the continued, or renewed, success of these radical right old hands was the success of two clear extreme right parties within the EU. In Slovakia Marin Kotleba, former leader of the neo-fascist Slovakia Together, which was banned as a political party, rode his new Kotleba-People's Party

Our Slovakia into parliament on a wave of Islamophobic demonstrations against Muslim refugees, in which Kotleba and his supporters had played a prominent role. With 8.04 percent of the vote, an increase of 6.5 percent, the People's Party became the fifth biggest party in the country.

On the island of Cyprus the National Popular Front (ELAM) continued its slow but steady growth, gaining 3.7 percent of the vote – an increase of 2.6 percent – and entering parliament with two seats. ELAM is the little brother of Greece's infamous Golden Dawn, which allegedly helped fund its campaign. Although party leaders officially denounce violence, ELAM members have been involved in attacks on immigrants and political opponents.

Finally, there remain several countries with traditionally weak, or completely absent, far right parties. In both Iceland and Ireland a new radical right party contested the elections unsuccessfully: the Icelandic National Front and Identity Ireland were both founded in 2016 and stayed well below 1 percent.

In Lithuania and Spain, older far right parties continued their unsuccessful run. Against Corruption and Poverty, an electoral alliance of Young Lithuania (JL) and Lithuanian Nationalist Union (LTS), under the leadership of former MP Stanislovas Buškevičius, stayed well below 1 percent of the vote, while in Spain various far right parties – including various neo-Falangist groups and the Platform for Catalonia (PxC) – failed even to break the 0.1 percent mark.

In Macedonia, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization–People's Party (VMRO-NP), a split from the governing party with a similar name, gained just 2.1 percent of the vote, not enough for parliamentary representation.

## Presidential Elections

At the beginning of 2016 most people had their eyes on the presidential elections in France in 2017, but that changed as soon as Donald Trump secured the nomination for the Republican Party. Then, all eyes moved to Austria, where Norbert Hofer seemed on course to beat Marine Le Pen by becoming the first directly

elected president in a western democracy in the postwar era.

Traditionally far right parties and politicians have been irrelevant in presidential elections in Europe – notable exceptions include Franjo Tudjman in Croatia in the 1990s and Jean-Marie Le Pen in France in 2002.

This is still so in most cases – in three of the five presidential elections last year no far right candidate ran. In Bulgaria the radical right Attack party (Ataka) only played a role because of an electoral alliance with the Patriotic Front (PF), itself a coalition of right-wing nationalist parties.

Under the name United Patriots, the PF's co-leader Krasimir Karakachanov ran for president with Ataka deputy chairman Yavor Notev as his running mate. Karakachanov came in third with 15 percent of the vote, not enough for the run-off.

The run-off between Hofer and van der Bellen became a thriller and was so close that the winner was only announced when all votes had been counted. Hofer was defeated by a mere 30,000 votes: 49.7 percent versus 50.3 percent. But the drama continued when the Constitutional Court annulled the second round and Austrians had to return to the ballot box half a year later. This time, to the surprise of many, Hofer was more comprehensively defeated, Van der Bellen winning by a margin of more than 7.5 percent and almost 350,000 votes. This notwithstanding, Hofer's 46.2 percent was the

**Table 2. Electoral results of far right politicians in presidential elections.**

Country	Presidential candidate	Party	% 1st Round	% 2nd Round
Austria	Norbert Hofer	FPÖ	35.1	46.2
Bulgaria	Krasimir Karakachanov	United Patriots	15.0	--
Iceland	None			
Moldova	None			
Portugal	None			

best result of any radical right politician in an established European democracy.

### Referenda

Last year saw many high-profile referenda that, in one way or another, were linked to the far right. In addition to the usual anti-immigration referenda in Switzerland, there were no less than three referenda that linked the EU to immigration, creating a powerful cocktail of Euroscepticism and nativism that was successfully fuelled and used by far right parties and politicians.

The most important, obviously, was the British referendum on EU membership, which had dominated European news for almost a year. The referendum had been called for by the then prime minister David Cameron, responding at least as much to internal pressures, inside his own Conservative Party, as to external pressures, mostly from UKIP.

While the Leave camp was internally divided, as Tories and (U)Kippers tried to manage their uneasy temporary coalition, the Remain camp was both uninspired and uninspiring.

Throughout the year most polls had Remain with a small lead although often within the margin of error while most media coverage sided with Leave.

The role of UKIP became most pronounced in the campaign's final stage when Nigel Farage increasingly linked EU membership to "uncontrolled mass immigration" – the low point being the now infamous "Breaking Point" poster that had the slogan "We must break free of the EU and take

back control of our borders".

Obviously, the 17.5 million people who voted Leave – 52% percent of the registered voters – had a variety of motivations, many completely unconnected to nativism or populism. However, surveys showed that many were particularly concerned about immigration which makes it highly likely that UKIP's intervention was crucial in the Brexit victory.

While the Dutch referendum on the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement of April 2016 was much less dramatic, it has major repercussions for the role of the far right in both the Netherlands and the EU.

The referendum itself was the consequence of the ill-conceived Advisory Referendum Act, adopted in 2015, which allows an "advisory" referendum on most new laws if 10,000 requests have been received within four weeks of adopting the law and 300,000 requests in the six weeks after that.

A newly constructed collection of far right extra-parliamentary groups used the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement as a first attempt by flex their political muscle and rattle the political establishment.

The main organisation behind the referendum campaign was *GeenPeil* (NoLevel), a creation of the far right website *GeenStijl* (NoStyle), perhaps best perceived as a Dutch *Breitbart News*, which collaborated with two tiny right-wing populist organisations, the Eurosceptic Civic Committee EU and the populist radical right Forum for Democracy (FvD). Together they collected 427,000 valid requests for the referendum, almost 50%

more than required.

After a low-key campaign, and despite a very low turnout (32%), the right-wing populist coalition won the referendum with 61%, putting the Dutch government in an awkward position. As prime minister Mark Rutte is stalling on a final decision, both *GeenPeil* and FvD have been transformed into a political party, while *GeenPeil* campaign leader Jan Roos has become leader of *Voor Nederland* (For The Netherlands, VNL), a small party of defectors from Geert Wilders Freedom Party (PVV). All these new parties will now compete with the PVV for the substantial radical right vote in the next Dutch parliamentary elections, scheduled for March 2017.

The third major referendum of 2016 was held in Hungary in October and was an unexpected failure. Prime minister Viktor Orbán had organised a referendum on the EU's migrant relocation plan even though the plan had been dead on arrival and had been changed from compulsory to optional well before the referendum's date.

In essence, the referendum was designed to eliminate two birds with one stone: marginalise Orbán's main domestic competitor, the even more extreme Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik), and transform the EU into an illiberal democratic structure based on his radical right logic of "Hungary for the Hungarians, Europe for the Europeans!"

The Orbán government went all out on promoting the referendum, using more than one quarter of the country's billboards and most of the increasingly streamlined Hungarian media.

The official campaign was expensive and xenophobic, spending a staggering 16 million euro alone on a controversial booklet that falsely claimed the existence of various "no go areas" in Western Europe and that was mailed to households across the country.

The government's xenophobic onslaught could not overcome the passivity of the Hungarian population, strengthened by a boycott by the liberal democratic parties. Although almost all voters said no to the leading referendum question – "Do you want to allow the European Union to mandate the resettlement of non-Hungarian citizens to Hungary without the approval of the National Assembly?" – only 44 percent of the electorate voted, well under the 50 percent threshold.

Ironically, Orbán had previously raised the threshold to make opposition to his government policies more difficult. The Hungarian government tried to spin the result as a victory and proclaimed it would achieve the same goal by changing the constitution, but that attempt, again surprisingly, failed in parliament.

### Prospects

The last year has shown the continued impact of the transformative year of 2015. The far right is now influencing all types of electoral contests in Europe, including presidential elections and referenda.

There is no doubt far right parties will be major players in several of forthcoming elections in 2017, most notably in France and the Netherlands. That said, their continued success should be kept in proportion, to prevent falling into an immobilising and self-defeating perspective.

Far right parties gained on average 4.2% of the vote in the twelve parliamentary elections in Europe in 2016 and far right candidates averaged 10% of the vote in the first rounds of the five presidential elections. Only one made it into the second round and was still clearly defeated.

Hardly a stampede to power.

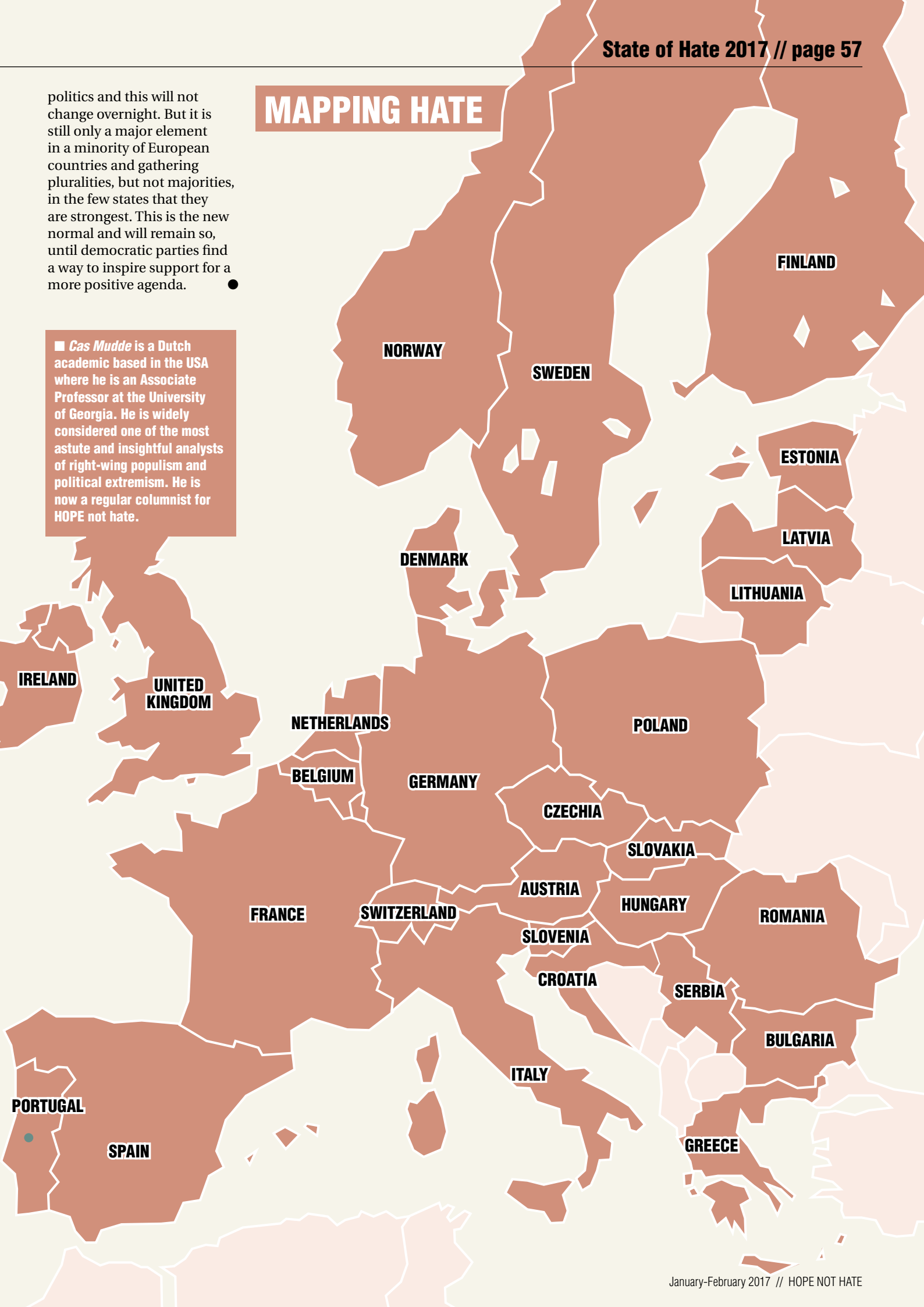
This is not, though, to be complacent. The far right is an established political factor in contemporary European



politics and this will not change overnight. But it is still only a major element in a minority of European countries and gathering pluralities, but not majorities, in the few states that they are strongest. This is the new normal and will remain so, until democratic parties find a way to inspire support for a more positive agenda. ●

## MAPPING HATE

■ *Cas Mudde* is a Dutch academic based in the USA where he is an Associate Professor at the University of Georgia. He is widely considered one of the most astute and insightful analysts of right-wing populism and political extremism. He is now a regular columnist for HOPE not hate.



# Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Finland



Iceland



**SWEDEN:**  
Sweden Democrats



**ICELAND:**  
Icelandic National Front



**NORWAY:**  
Progress Party



**FINLAND:**  
The Finns Party



## ICELAND BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	ICELANDIC NATIONAL FRONT
Political description	Anti-immigrant, far right, anti-Islam
Leader(s)	Helgi Helgason
Membership	Very small
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election	0.3 percent in national election in October 2016 303 votes
Main areas of activity	Opposes asylum seekers and Muslims especially. Wants to keep Iceland out of any supranational organization (Schengen area, TAFTA). Wants to introduce Swiss-style referenda
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	Founded in January 2016, the party was only able to contest 2 of the 6 parliamentary constituencies.
Prospects for 2017	Will remain a fringe party



Supporters of the Icelandic National Front. Photo: Iceland Monitor/Eggert

## SWEDEN BY ANNA-SOFIA QUENSEL

Main organisation	SWEDEN DEMOCRATS
Political description	Anti-immigrant populist with a strong anti-Muslim and anti-EU policy
Leader(s)	Leader: Jimmie Åkesson Key officials: Richard Jomshof, Mattias Karlsson
Membership	22,346 (2015)
Parliamentary representation	49 seats in the 349-seat National and 2 seats in EU Parliament
Vote in last national election	2014: 801,178 votes, 12.86% percent resulting in 49 seats in the parliament
Main areas of activity	With seats on almost all local and regional councils and in parliament, most of the party's work is carried out there. Its leading theme is anti-immigration policy Despite the government's decision to close borders, no longer to issue permanent residence permits and to impose other restrictions, the Sweden Democrats' policies are more harsh and extreme On local councils, the SD is doing its best to stop settlement of people granted asylum status by appealing against housing decisions. In some areas, the SD has proposed repatriation of immigrants if they have been unemployed and on social benefits for a long period of time
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	Support for the SD has diminished slightly. At the end of 2015, it had a 19.9% support among possible voters. Latest polling at the end of 2016 showed 17.5%. The decline is very likely due to restrictive changes in immigration laws Throughout the year, the party has reached out to the "Alliance" – formed by the Christian Democrats, the Liberals, the Centre Party and the Conservative party – offering its support in removing the government. This has been rejected to date
Prospects for 2017	The main issue is whether any of the parties in the Alliance will take up the SD's offers of collaboration. If so, this could mean a breach in the Alliance that could influence its possibility of forming a real opposition to the sitting government in the 2018 elections This also depends on how the SD deals with some of its errant members, especially Kent Ekeröth, an MP and their candidate for justice minister. Party scandals do not seem to affect the SD electorate but have impact on forming a pact with other parties



Sweden

Norway

Finland

**NORWAY** BY TOR BACH

Main organisation	FREMSKRITTPARTIET (PROGRESS PARTY)
Political description	Anti-immigrant populist
Leader(s)	Leader: Siv Jensen. Deputy leaders: Per Sandberg and Ketil Solvik-Olsen
Membership size	15,820 (January 2016)
Parliamentary representation	29 MPs in 169-seat parliament The party is also part of a coalition government with the Conservative Party, supported in parliament by the Liberals and Christian Democrats The Progress Party holds eight ministerial seats, including justice, immigration, agriculture, oil, fisheries and family and equality affairs
Vote in last national election	2013: 460 919 votes, 16.3%
Main areas of activity	Promotes both nationalism and the welfare state. The party is part of the government and sits on several important departmental bodies. It is the party's immigration and asylum policy that causes most public attention and debate
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	By autumn 2016, the party was down to 9.5% in the polls. In accordance with its populist tradition, the answer to this has been media rumbling by immigration minister Sylvi Listhaug, diverting attention from the ongoing debate on the state budget and sparking heated debate on Listhaug's rhetoric and political style
Prospects for 2017	With support for the Progress Party and its conservative coalition partner falling, a change of government could be a possibility after the 2017 general elections

**FINLAND** BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	FINNS PARTY
Political description	Populist, anti-EU, demands cut in immigration
Leader(s)	Timo Soini (Foreign Minister)
Membership size	Not known
Parliamentary representation	38 seats
Vote in last national election	17.7%(general election 2015) 524,054 votes
Main areas of activity	Promotes both nationalism and the welfare state. Increasingly anti-Muslim. Several party elected officials have been convicted for incitement to hatred of minorities, especially Muslims. The party also opposes the bilingual ( Finnish/ Swedish) status of the country as well as Sami (Lapland ethnic minority) rights
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	The party dropped to 8.5% in a December opinion poll, paying a heavy price for belonging to the centre-right coalition and economic crisis
Prospects for 2017	Jussi Halla-aho MEP, who belongs to the extreme wing of the party, might contest the Helsinki municipal elections on 9 April 2017 amid speculation that Soini may not seek a new term as party chairman in 2017



(left to right)  
Jimmie Akesson,  
Siv Jensen and  
Timo Soini

# France, Italy, Spain, Ireland

## FRANCE BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	FRONT NATIONAL (FN) Founded 1972 as an umbrella organisation of extreme-right groups ranging from the fascist Ordre Nouveau to national-revolutionaries and even outright nazis. Jean-Marie Le Pen (chairman until 2011) built the party into a major player in French politics in the 1980s, playing on immigration, crime and opposition to the EU
Political description	Anti-immigrant populism, extreme-right, racist, anti-Islamist
Leader(s)	Marine Le Pen, Florian Philippot and Marion Maréchal-Le Pen
Membership	57,000 (2016)
Parliamentary representation	22 seats in EU Parliament; 2 MPs in Lower House and 2 in Upper House; 358 members of regional councils (2015); 11 mayors
Vote in last national election	17.9% (6,421,426 votes) in 2012 presidential election
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-EU, anti-Trans Atlantic Free Trade agreement and wants to opt out of NATO. Wants to protect French jobs and workers. Takes care publicly to target Islamism and not Islam <i>per se</i>
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	In October, a court ordered that Jean-Marie Le Pen (MLP) be reinstated as the FN's Honorary Chairman Marine Le Pen kept a rather low-profile, as her tactic is to focus on the 2017 presidential election campaign and concern about terrorism, as well as the bad economic situation
Prospects for 2017	Almost all opinion surveys say MLP will come second in the 1st round of the presidential election with 26-29% but lose to conservative candidate François Fillon in the second, despite polling around 40%

## IRELAND BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	NATIONAL PARTY
Political description	Anti-immigrant, far right, anti-Muslim (advocates total ban on their entry), pro-Life
Leader(s)	Former Youth Defence leader Justin Barrett (chair), anti-EU farmer activist James Reynolds (vice-chair)
Membership size	Very small
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election	None
Main areas of activity	Barrett is a veteran of the anti-EU and Catholic Pro-Life movements. Was active in the anti-divorce campaign and other "Moral Majority" issues. Known for having attended German NPD meetings but claims he quit Youth Defence because it became too radical
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	Party was founded in November 2016 but its launch meeting in Dublin was called off
Prospects for 2017	Will remain a fringe party

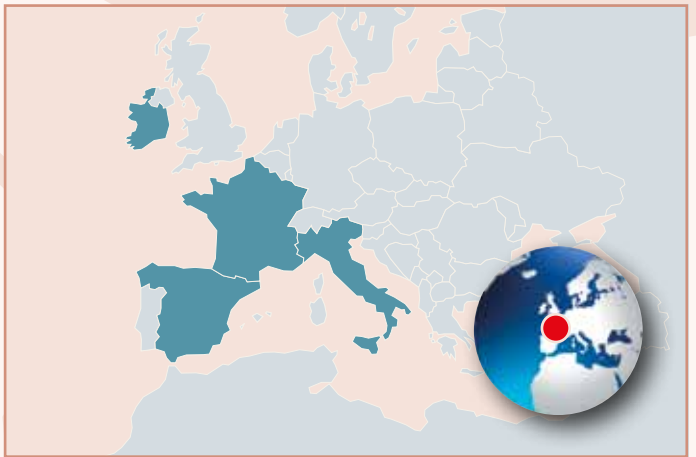


## SPAIN BY SANDRA CORTÉS

Main organisation	ESPAÑA2000
Political description	Anti-immigrant, populist, nationalist
Leader(s)	Rafael Ripoll, José Luís Roberto
Membership	200 activists
Parliamentary representation	No MPs in Spanish parliament. Five councillors in towns in Madrid region (Alcalá de Henares, Los Santos de la Humosa, Velilla de San Antonio, San Fernando de Henares and Camarma de Esteruelas) and one in Silla (Valencia)
Vote in last national election	2011 parliamentary elections: 9,266 votes, 0.04%
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, Spanish nationalism
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	The party has created an alliance with Plataforma per Catalunya (PxC) and Plataforma por la Libertad (PxL) – both far right populist parties – named Respeto (Respect)
Prospects for 2017	España2000 will intensify its efforts with the Respeto coalition and continue work at local level for the moment but will make little political impact



(left to right)  
Justin Barrett,  
Rafael Ripoll,  
Matteo Salvini  
and Marine Le Pen



Lega Nord supporters



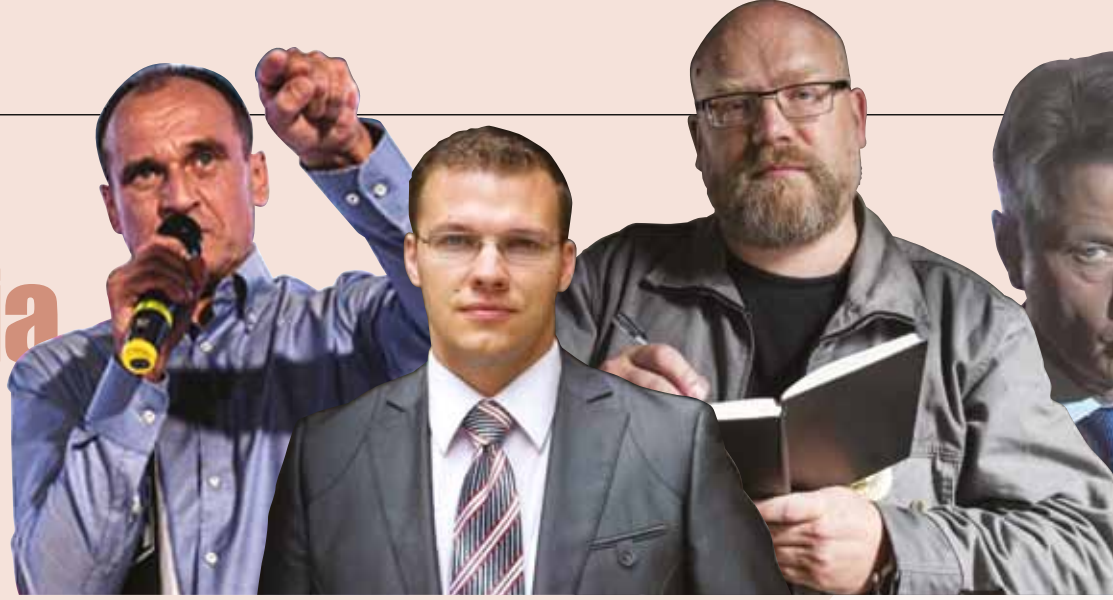
**ITALY** BY LUCA ORFEO

Main organisation	LEGA NORD (LN) The Lega Nord was founded in 1991 as a federation of several regional parties in northern and central Italy, most of which emerged in the 1980s
Political description	Xenophobic, regional separatist, populist
Leader(s)	Matteo Salvini Key officials: Roberto Maroni (President of the Lombardia Region) and Luca Zaia (President of the Veneto Region)
Membership size	122,000 (2013)
Parliamentary representation	18 MPs in 630-seat Lower Chamber 18 members in 315-seat Senate 5 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	National elections 2013 Lower Chamber) 1,390,156 votes – 4.08% Senate 1,328,555 votes – 4.33% European elections 2014 1,688,197 votes – 6.15% – 5 MEPs
Main areas of activity	Electioneering and leafleting, street stalls, very high media presence (in both mainstream and social media) concentrating on xenophobic, anti-immigrant, anti-Islam and anti-mainstream issues
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	2016 was not a particularly successful year for Lega Nord. Despite Salvini's efforts, the party did not manage to enlarge its electoral base beyond the northern regions. In the administrative elections in June, LN won only one medium-size city (Novara) Umberto Bossi, LN founder and 20-years long leader, questioned Salvini's leadership late in 2016. The party will hold a general convention and elect a new leader
Prospects for 2017	2017 forecasts depend on the evolution of the national political situation, especially how the new electoral law (necessary because of December's referendum results) will look While Beppe Grillo's Five Star Movement is more and more perceived as the anti-establishment party, the LN seems unable to replicate the French Front National's and German AfD's strong electoral results A coalition with Berlusconi's reformed Forza Italia will likely be the LN's only chance to be part of a future government

Italy



# Poland, Lithuania Latvia, Estonia



(left to right) Pawel Kukiz, Raivis Dzintars, Sven Kivisildnik and Rolandas Paksas

## POLAND BY RAFAL PANKOWSKI

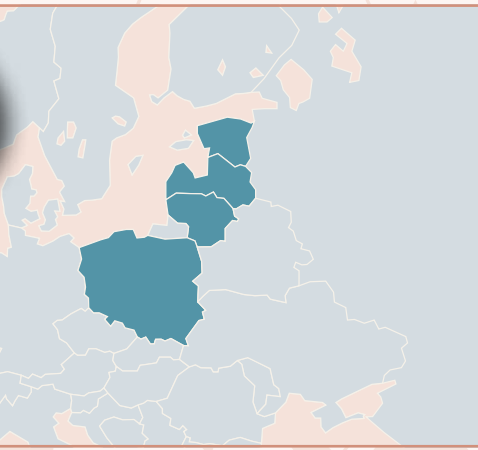
Main organisation	"KUKIZ'15" MOVEMENT
Political description	Right-wing populist
Leader(s)	Pawel Kukiz, a former rock singer, who became a politician in 2015
Membership	Unknown, the movement is composed of several groups and associations, including the far right nationalist 'Endecja' Association
Parliamentary representation	36 MPs in the 460-seat Polish parliament as of 10 December 2016. Since the elections in October 2015, 6 MPs have left the Kukiz movement. 7 MPs are simultaneously linked with the "Endecja" Association, established in May 2016 after a split in the extremist nationalist movement Ruch Narodowy
Vote in last national election	In May 2015, Kukiz ran for president as an independent candidate and came third with 3,099,079 votes (20.8 %) In October 2015, the Kukiz'15 Movement received 1, 339,094 votes (8.81% of the national vote)
Main areas of activity	Since its creation 2015, the Kukiz movement has been moving in a radical right-wing direction. "Stop refugees!" has become its major campaign, collecting signatures calling for a Hungarian-style referendum on closing Poland's borders to refugees The campaign is accompanied by strongly anti-migrant and Islamophobic rhetoric. Other campaign themes include: liberalisation of gun ownership regulations, legalisation of medical marijuana and the introduction of single member electoral districts
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	The Kukiz Movement has tried to establish itself as the main right-wing populist opposition to the current conservative-nationalist government of the Law and Justice (PiS) party However, it has supported the PiS on some key votes dismantling the liberal democratic constitutional order At the same time, it viciously attacks the liberal and leftwing opposition. For example, in a December 2015 radio broadcast, Pawel Kukiz alleged that mass demonstrations in defence of democracy were "sponsored from the pocket of a Jewish banker"
Prospects for 2017	The Kukiz Movement is still seen as a loose coalition of diverse elements led by an unpredictable leader and it might experience renewed internal tensions in the near future The movement is mostly popular with young people (including many young Poles in the UK), many of whom have turned to xenophobia and populism in recent years

## ESTONIA BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	EESTI ISESEISVUSPARTEI (ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY) Founded 1999.
Political description	Uses the Celtic cross as its emblem. Ethno-nationalist
Leader(s)	Sven Kivisildnik aka Sven Sildnik (b.1964)
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election	1,047 votes (0.2%) in 2015 parliamentary election (2,571 (0.4%) in 2011
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-European Union. Its geopolitical view supports Estonia as a self-reliant country keeping good relations with Russia
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	Leadership change in April 2015 with Vello Leito (b. 1941) leaving, his presidency having proved unsuccessful
Prospects for 2017	No breakthrough in sight



Latvia National Alliance



**POLAND:**  
"Kukiz'15" Movement



**LATVIA:**  
National Alliance



**LITHUANIA:**  
Order and Justice



**ESTONIA:** Estonia Independence Party



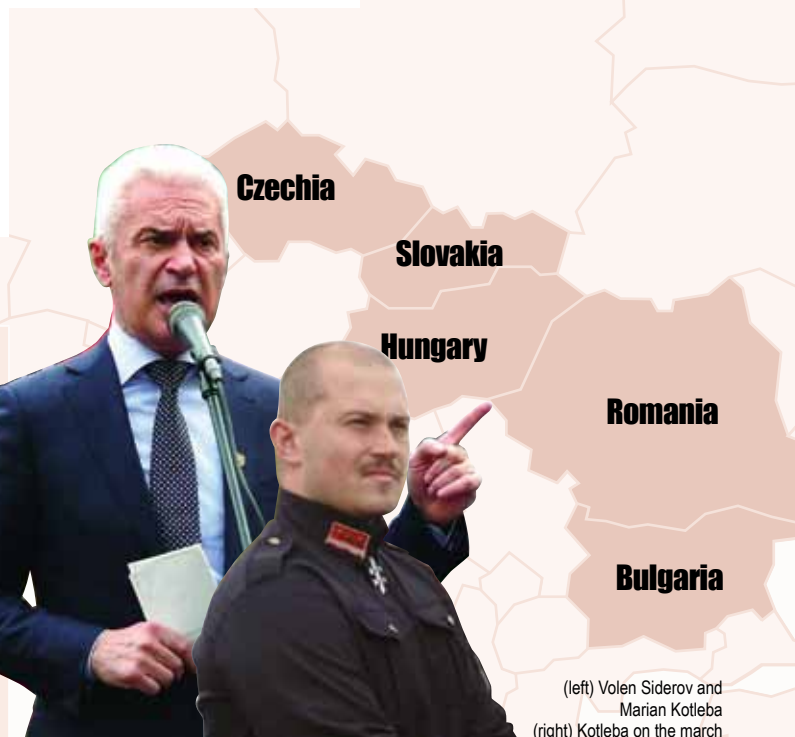
**LATVIA** BY ALEKSANDR KUZMIN

Main organisation	NATIONAL ALLIANCE (NA) "ALL FOR LATVIA!" – "FOR FATHERLAND AND FREEDOM"/LNKK (IN LATVIAN: NACIONĀLĀ APVIENĪBA "VISU LATVIJAI!" – "TĒVZEMEI UN BRĪVĪBAI/LNKK") Founded as a common electoral list in 2010, by two parties with a longer history. Transformed into a single party by their merger in 2013
Political description	A coalition of national conservatives and far right. Soft Euroscepticism with sympathies towards Polish and Hungarian government positions. Pro-NATO. Organises annual march in Riga on March 16 to commemorate Latvian Nazi Waffen SS Legion veterans
Leader(s)	Raivis Dzintars and Gaidis Bērziņš
Membership size	831 (2016)
Parliamentary representation	17 seats in the 100-seat Latvian parliament. 1 seat in the 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	2014 parliamentary election) 151,567 votes, 16.61%
Main areas of activity	Anti-linguistic (mainly Russian) minorities, anti-immigrant
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	In the new cabinet formed in February, NA has in the new cabinet formed in February, NA has the same three portfolios – from fourteen – as before: environment and regional development, justice and culture  The programme of the new cabinet includes preparing a switch of publicly funded minority schools (now bilingual) to Latvian as the only language of instruction – an NA priority  NA is able to present another success – many of those few (circa 100) refugees – redistributed to Latvia under an EU-organised scheme in 2016, have already left the country for richer EU member states. One reason for this was the reduction in benefits for refugees, another was Latvian language requirements for employment which remain in force from earlier times
Prospects for 2017	No major change expected on a national level. NA will keep its presence on the Riga city council (a third of Latvia's population, and even more crucial for ethnic minorities) after the local elections in June. It has a chance to take a power-sharing role in the capital, should the current centre-left coalition be succeeded by a right-wing one

**LITHUANIA** BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	ORDER AND JUSTICE
Political description	Nationalist
Leader(s)	Former state president Rolandas Paksas who is barred from running for parliament
Membership	12,899
Parliamentary representation	Won 8 seats in 141-seat parliament in 9 October 2016 legislative election
Vote in last national election	67,818 votes, 5.55%
Main areas of activity	National-conservative, anti-EU and anti-establishment party led by maverick politician Paksas, who had to step down from the state presidency after being impeached for corruption
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	Lost 3 seats and 2% compared with 2012
Prospects for 2017	No significant change expected

# Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechia, Slovakia



(left) Volen Siderov and Marian Kotleba  
(right) Kotleba on the march

## BULGARIA BY ELISABETH POP

Main organisation	ATAKA (ATTACK) founded in April 2005 as a coalition of several organisations around Volen Siderov, a charismatic former journalist and TV talk-show host populist, ultra-nationalist
Political description	Populist, ultra-nationalist
Leader(s)	Volen Siderov
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	11 in 240-seat Bulgarian parliament 0 in 751-seat European parliament
Vote in last national election	2016 presidential election: ATAKA as part of the "United Patriots" coalition finished third in the first round. 573,016 votes, 14.97 %
Main areas of activity	Nationalism, antisemitism, anti-Roma, anti-Turkish and anti-Islam
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	In November 2016, Bulgaria elected a new president. The Bulgarian National Movement (IMRO) and the National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria were already collaborating as the Patriotic Front, the fifth largest bloc in the Bulgarian parliament For the presidential election, they put aside their past enmities with Siderov's ATAKA and jointly supported the candidacy of Krassimir Karakachanov (IMRO leader and National Assembly deputy speaker). Extra-parliamentary formations like the extremist far right Bulgarian National Union also supported the joint ticket, in which ATAKA's Yavor Notev was the vice-presidential candidate
Prospects for 2017	Former prime minister Borissov's GERB, the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and the Reformist Bloc – the four largest parliamentary groups – all said that they were not willing to try to form a government ATAKA has announced that it will continue to work with the Patriotic Front under the "United Patriots" coalition and run under the joint ticket in next year's parliamentary elections expected to take place in late March or early April 2017

## SLOVAKIA BY ALENA KREMPASKA

Main organisation	KOTLEBA – PEOPLES PARTY OUR SLOVAKIA
Political description	Nazi, far right, anti-immigrant, anti-LGBT, Islamophobic
Leader(s)	Marian Kotleba
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	14 seats in the national parliament since the March 2016 elections
Vote in last national election	2016: 209,779 votes, 8.04%
Main areas of activity	Nazi, anti-immigration, anti-EU, anti-Muslim, traditional family and gender arrangements, anti-civil society rights, anti-democratic
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	2016 was a breakthrough year for the party. A fringe party until 2013 when Kotleba was elected as administrative head of a region, in 2016 it entered the national parliament for the first time with little or no budget for the campaign
Prospects for 2017	Kotleba – LSNS is rising in the polls, oscillating around 12%. Some polls show a particular interest amongst young people where the percentage is even higher. The prospects, given the low performance of other parties, are therefore "promising"



**HUNGARY** BY ISTVÁN TÓTH

Main organisation	JOBBIK (THE MOVEMENT FOR A BETTER HUNGARY) Founded as a party in October 2003. Its predecessor organisation (a "movement") was called the "Right-Wing Youth Community" consisting of primarily conservative university students
Political description	Neo-Arrow Cross, fascistic, anti-immigrant, antisemitic, anti-Roma, ultra-nationalist, claiming to be a "modern conservative party" distancing itself from the far right in an attempt to defeat the ruling right wing FIDESZ
Leader(s)	Gábor Vona was re-elected chairman of Jobbik with 80.5% of the secret ballot vote in May 2016
Membership	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	24 seats in the 199-seat Hungarian parliament 3 seats in the 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	In the 6 April 2014 parliamentary elections, Jobbik got: 20.22%, 1,020,476 votes (becoming the third strongest party in Hungary)
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigrant and xenophobic (like the ruling Fidesz party), anti-Roma, antisemitic, recently changed to pro-European Union, however Jobbik has close ties with extremist and paramilitary groups (like the Guards' alliance, the Outlaws' Army and the Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement). It is a pro-Russian, pro-Turkish, pro-Iranian party
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	Since September 2016 the support for Jobbik has continued to decline according to a poll by Median published at the end of November Its support had fallen to 10%, the lowest point since January 2014
Prospects for 2017	Stagnating. However, Vona wants to win the support of rich and influential entrepreneurs dissatisfied with prime minister Viktor Orbán, including former Fidesz treasurer Lajos Simicska, in order to bring down the government



**CZECHIA** BY MIREK PROKEŠ

Main organisation	ÚSVIT – NÁRODNÍ KOALICE (DAWN – NATIONAL COALITION)
Political description	Anti-immigrant populist, anti-European Union
Leader(s)	Miroslav Lidinský
Membership size	Max. 50 individual members
Parliamentary representation	7 seats in the 200-seat Czech parliament
Vote in last national election	October 2013 elections (as Dawn of Direct Democracy): 342,339 votes, 6.88%
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-Muslim
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	After a major split in the movement, it has been regressing since 2014
Prospects for 2017	The party has no chance of leaping over the 5% hurdle and winning seats in the October 2017 parliamentary elections as its opinion poll ratings are showing just 2%



(left to right)  
Traian Basescu,  
Miroslav Lidinský,  
Gábor Vona

**ROMANIA** BY ELISABETH POP

Main organisation	MISCAREA POPULARA (POPULIST MOVEMENT PARTY – PMP) Founded in July 2013, around former Romanian president Traian Basescu, his family and friends, PMP is a personality cult for one of the most controversial presidents Romania has had since it became a democracy in 1989
Political description	Populist, anti-immigration, counter-jihadist
Leader(s)	Traian Basescu, Eugen Tomac, Cristian Diaconescu, Siegfried Mureşan
Membership	Circa 75,000
Parliamentary representation	Parliamentary representation – 26 seats in 504-seat Romanian parliament
Vote in last national election	December 2016 parliamentary elections: PMP finished fifth 5.35% – 375,698 votes
Main areas of activity	Nationalist, anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, anti-EU
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	In December's parliamentary elections took place in Romania. PMP just managed to pass the electoral threshold of 5% that allows political parties to win seats in the two chambers of Parliament. Thus, the PMP went from 24 members in the Senate to eight and from 37 in the Chamber of Deputies to eighteen Basescu, a very controversial and divisive figure in Romanian politics, expressed disappointment with the landslide the Social Democratic Party won, thus torpedoing his own nomination as the prime ministerial candidate to unite the nationalist and right-wing vote
Prospects for 2017	Three populist right-wing wing parties ran in this year's parliamentary elections: PRU (United Romanian Party), AN (Our Alliance Romania) and PMP (Populist Movement Romania). PRU ran a typical nationalist campaign symbolised by the party's logo – Vlad Tepes (the Romanian medieval ruler known in popular culture as Dracula), while AN ran on an anti-Muslim, anti-LGBT platform. PRU scored 2% and AN just 1% Out of them all, PMP is the only one that barely passed the 5% electoral threshold and will remain the mainstream political voice of Romanian nationalism and xenophobia

# Germany, Austria, Switzerland

## AUSTRIA BY MARTIN JORDAN

Main organisation	FREEDOM PARTY OF AUSTRIA (FPÖ) Founded 1955 as a vehicle for former Nazis and German nationalists unable to join either of the two main parties – Social Democrats (SPÖ) and the Christian-conservative People's Party (ÖVP) – or to re-integrate in the Second Austrian Republic
Political description	Far right populist, anti-EU, national conservatism, German nationalism
Leader(s)	Heinz-Christian Strache (party leader) Herbert Kickl (1. general secretary, PR & Communication) Harald Vilimsky (2. General Secretary, EU-Parliament & International Delegations)
Membership size	50,000 (by its own account) in 2014
Parliamentary representation	4 seats in the EU parliament. Its MEPs are members of the Europe of Nations and Freedom parliamentary group, and of the The Movement for a Europe of Nations and Freedom alliance. Harald Vilimsky is treasurer and vice-chairman of the ENF 38 seats in the 183 seat National Council (Lower House of Parliament) 13 of 61 seats in the Federal Council (Upper House of the Parliament) A total of 96 elected representatives in all nine federal state parliaments
Vote in last national election	20.51 % (958,295 votes) in national election September 2013
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-EU, anti-Islam, German nationalism
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	Despite losing the second round of the 2016 Presidential election, the past year was successful for the FPÖ. It bullied the Constitutional Court to overturn the first election result and give it not only a second chance of winning the presidency but added credibility to its fierce one-year long disinformation campaign This enabled it to undermine the democratic system in Austria and fabricate doubts about the legitimacy of the Electoral Commission as well as constitutional judges (who stated that they believe the FPÖ prepared to contest the election already before the vote took place). The election was eventually lost by the FPÖ but it prevailed in preparing for a harvest of hate to come
Prospects for 2017	The current SPÖ-ÖVP government is stuck in a coalition as well being mired in party-infighting and it is likely there will be early national elections in the spring of 2017. The FPÖ has real chances of becoming the strongest political force in those elections In 2016, the FPÖ fought a fierce one-year long disinformation campaign with false allegations, rumours and poisonous lies spread via social media, trying to whip up the frustrations and fears of people into an angry frenzy. This will not disappear. The FPÖ smells blood and will continue on the tawdry path that brought it this far

## GERMANY BY MICHAEL KLEIN

Main organisation	ALTERNATIVE FÜR DEUTSCHLAND (ALTERNATIVE FOR GERMANY – AfD) Founded 2013 to campaign against the European Union (against the Euro and for more national sovereignty). Changed to mainly anti-immigrant and racist positions
Political description	Anti-immigrant, far right
Leader(s)	Frauke Petry, Jörg Meuthen, Alexander Gauland, Beatrix von Storch, Bernd Höcke – who wants to remove German atonement for Nazism – and André Poggenburg
Membership	30,000
Parliamentary representation	2 seats in 751-seat European Parliament (EP) after defection of a further five to the Liberal-Conservative Reformers (LKR) Its MEPs are members of the conservative EFDD and of the ENF parliamentary group in the EP A total of 143 elected representatives in ten state parliaments
Vote in last national election	September 2013 national elections: 2,056,985 votes, 4.7%
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-EU, anti-Muslim, for traditional family and gender arrangements
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	The AfD was able to reorganise from its split in 2015 and campaigned successfully in five federal states' elections winning a share between 12.6 and 24.3% of the vote
Prospects for 2017	2017 will see growing AfD influence at both national level and regionally with another three state elections in which it will enter the respective parliaments For the national elections in late September, polls are currently showing the AfD at 12 % Much will depend on how Chancellor Merkel defends German interests against attacks from US president Trump and handles migration and the economy January's court rejection of a ban on the Nazi National Democratic Party could draw support away from the AfD in some regions





**AUSTRIA:**  
Freedom Party of Austria



**GERMANY:**  
Alternative für Deutschland



**SWITZERLAND:**  
Schweizerische Volkspartei

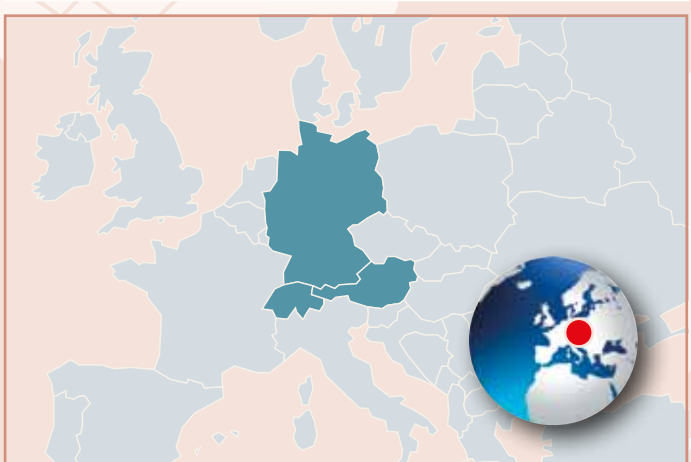


**SWITZERLAND** BY ULLI JENTSCH

Main organisation	SVP (SCHWEIZERISCHE VOLKSPARTEI/ SWISS PEOPLE'S PARTY) Founded 1971
Political description	Anti-immigrant national-conservative populists, anti-European Union (EU), anti-Muslim
Leader(s)	Albert Rösti, Guy Parmelin and Ueli Maurer (ministers), Roger Köppl (chief editor of Weltwoche), Oskar Freysinger (VP and key international promoter of the party)  The SVP has only 16.9% female representation in the national parliament (Nationalrat) which is the lowest of all parties represented
Membership size	90,000
Parliamentary representation	65 of 200 seats
Vote in last national election	In the last national election on 18 October 2015, the SVP received 740,954 votes (29.43 %) and is the strongest party in the national parliament
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, anti-EU. So-called <i>Volksinitiativen</i> (popular petitions) against immigration, against minarets (2009) and lately against migration by workers from EU countries into Switzerland
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	The SVP received its best election result in history in the October 2015 ballot, regaining the small losses it suffered in 2011. This makes the SVP one of the most successful far right populist parties in Europe. Köppl has been a key figure in changing the SVP's image and attracting new voters  The 2015 election campaign was dominated by the SVP's main agenda (anti-immigration, anti-EU). The SVP has two members in the 7-member Swiss government
Prospects for 2017	In 2016, the Swiss government adopted a new law against so-called mass immigration into Switzerland. It is based on the successful Volksinitiative vote in 2014 that the SVP initiated. The SVP, however, disagrees with the new law and is planning new initiatives in 2017 to force sharper legislation against immigration. Due to developments on the southern borders of Europe in 2016, the SVP also intensified propaganda against refugees. The SVP is also opposing a new initiative, to ease naturalisation of third generation foreigners, that will be voted on in February 2017.



(left to right)  
Frauke Petry, Jörg Meuthen, Heinz-Christian Strache and Albert Rösti





# Denmark, Belgium, Netherlands

Denmark

Netherlands

Belgium

## BELGIUM BY WIM HAELSTERMAN

Main organisation	VLAAMS BELANG (VB)
Political description	Fascist, anti-immigrant populist, counter-jihadist
Leader(s)	Thomas Van Grieken (chairman)
Membership	17,000
Parliamentary representation	All elections 2014 (next elections 2019) Federal parliament: 3.67% nationwide, 3 MPs (out of 150) – 247,000 votes Flemish parliament: 5.92%, 6 MPs (out of 124) – 248,000 votes Brussels Parliament: 5.6% of the vote of the Dutch-speaking community in Brussels – 1 MP (out of 89) – 3,000 votes
Vote in last national election	National election 2014: 247,000 votes, 3.67% 3 MPs (out of 150)
Main areas of activity	Anti-Muslim, anti-immigration, independence for Flanders, anti-EU
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	2016 was a good year for the party as it made a modest comeback where popular support is involved. Polls indicate the party would get 10% of the vote (in Flanders) due to the refugee crisis and growing discontent with the government, the rival separatist New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) in particular Over the last 5 years, however, the party has lost a dramatic number of votes as voters switched to the more popular and moderate nationalist N-VA To make things worse than they already have been since the N-VA's spectacular rise, the party is torn apart by ongoing internal conflict between Van Grieken, not a charismatic leader, and Philip Dewinter, who is still the most popular VB politician
Prospects for 2017	Difficult to predict. As long as the VB's leadership cannot solve its internal problems, the future does not look bright. Even a split with the VB's hardliners cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, the nasty political climate, the asylum crisis and the growing discontent with a weak federal government offers the far right party some hope

## DENMARK BY ANNE JESSEN

Main organisation	DANSK FOLKEPARTI – DANISH PEOPLE'S PARTY (DPP)
Political description	Anti-immigrant, far right, claiming that it is working for the Danish welfare state
Leader(s)	Kristian Thulesen Dahl, Søren Espersen and Peter Skaarup. The founder and former leader Pia Kjaersgaard is now president of the Danish parliament
Membership size	17,000
Parliamentary representation	37 seats in the national parliament. 3 seats in the EU parliament
Vote in last national election	National election 2015: 741,746 votes, 21.1 %
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-Muslim, anti-EU, calling for restriction of the welfare state only to Danes
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	At the national election in 2015, the DPP became the biggest right-wing party but refused to participate in a government Standing outside but with the power of being the parliamentary prop of the minority government, the DPP can maximise its influence on politics and legislation
Prospects for 2017	The DPP's EU parliamentarians cheated with EU money which has resulted in less support from voters. At the same, a new party on the far right has been founded: Nye Borgerlige – The New Bourgeois A national conservative party with hard rhetoric against immigrants, Muslims and the EU, it could become a serious competitor to the DPP



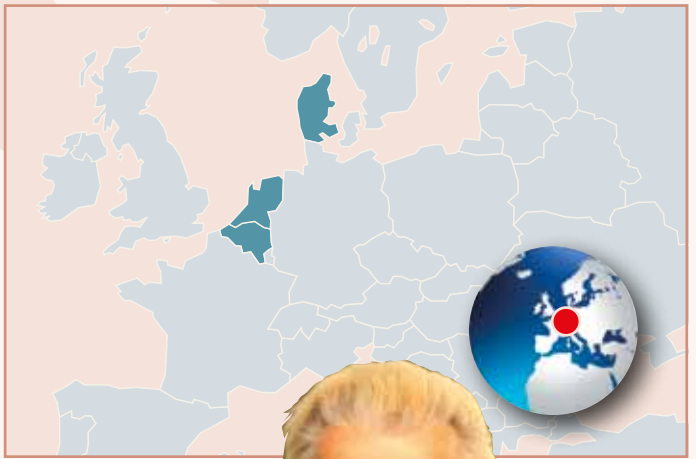
**DENMARK:**  
Dansk Folkeparti



**BELGIUM:**  
Vlaams Belang



**NETHERLANDS:**  
Freedom Party



(top to bottom)  
Geert Wilders,  
Kristian Thulesen  
Dahl and Tom  
Van Grieken

**NETHERLANDS** BY JEROEN BOSCH

Main organisation	FREEDOM PARTY (PVV) Founded in 2004 as a one-member, one-seat party by its founder Geert Wilders, in the Dutch Parliament, as an anti-Islam campaign. After elections in 2006, eight parliamentarians nailed their flags to his mast
Political description	Right-wing populist
Leader(s)	Geert Wilders
Membership size	One: Geert Wilders
Parliamentary representation	12 seats in 150-seat Dutch Parliament 9 seats in the 75-seat Dutch Senate 4 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	September 2012 elections: 950,263 votes, 10%
Main areas of activity	Anti-Islam, anti-immigration, anti-European Union, anti-Establishment, anti-Euro
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	After the 2012 elections, the PVV lost three seats in parliament when MPs quit the party but Wilders still set the public agenda during the refugee crisis. In the polls, the Freedom Party remains the biggest party
Prospects for 2017	In 2017, the PVV will probably keep polling high – current forecasts give the PVV as many as 37 seats – and placing itself in a strong position for the next national parliamentary elections in March  The Dutch system of coalition politics will probably prevent Wilders from attaining office as other parties continue to refuse to work with him Irrespective of the outcome, the vote for Wilders will be an important marker in the progress of right-wing populism in Europe

# Serbia, Greece, Croatia, Cyprus



(left to right) Boško Obradović, Nikolaos Michaloliakos and Hrvoje Niče

## Croatia

### CROATIA BY MARTIN BARIĆ

Main organisation	HSP AS (CROATIAN PARTY OF RIGHTS – DR. ANTE STARČEVIĆ)
Political description	Nationalist, anti-LGBT
Leader(s)	Hrvoje Niče, president Pero Čorić, main Secretary
Membership size	30,000 nationally (2015 estimate)
Parliamentary representation	3 MPs (November 2015 - September 2016) None (September 2016 - onward)
Vote in last national election	Parliamentary elections in September, 2016 11,024 votes nationally – 0.48%
Main areas of activity	Anti-national minorities (Anti-Serb in particular), national exclusivism, backsliding on rights of LGBT people.
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	2016 was an exceptional year for the party, since it was pulled out of political obscurity by the biggest party in the country – the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ – <i>Hrvatska demokratska zajednica</i> ), with its then leadership that led the party into a coalition with a number of extreme right-wing options In January 2016, the HSP AS leadership incited a march – marked by the use of nazi slogans – against the media regulator which had penalised a TV station for airing hate speech However, since the change of government in September 2016, the HSP AS has been left out of the ruling coalition and will likely no longer be a political force at the national level
Prospects for 2017	Now that it is no longer a part of ruling coalition, regressing (some members are already defecting to other parties)

### GREECE BY PANAYOTE DIMITRAS

Main organisation	GOLDEN DAWN/ΧΡΥΣΗ ΑΥΓΗ
Political description	Ultra-nationalist, anti-immigration, nazi parliamentary party
Leader(s)	Nikos Michaloliakos
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	18 MPs out of 300
Vote in last national election	7%
Main areas of activity	Systematically xenophobic, homophobic, anti-minority and anti-EU Occasional involvement in violent actions against opponents.
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	2016 was another good year as according to all opinion polls published they remain the third party, probably with a slightly higher share of the vote As the major trial of GD dragged on with marginal media coverage, the party increased public activities, including protests against refugees on some islands and disrupting public debates on ethnic minorities held by the Turkish minority party and minority rights NGOs in the European Parliament in Brussels in March and at the Athens Journalists' Union in December 2016 (Police had refused protective measures for the Athens meeting).
Prospects for 2017	The GD trial is expected to last through 2017 while several other trials involving GD are scheduled to be held. As there is no effective <i>cordon sanitaire</i> by the other parties, GD will stay third and slightly rising.

**SERBIA** BY DAŠKO MILINOVIĆ

Main organisation	THE DVERI MOVEMENT a political party renamed and reregistered in 2015 from the previous movement Serbian Assembly Dveri – a think tank and pressure group
Political description	Clerical fascist (merging Serbian Orthodoxy and state corporatist ideology)
Leader(s)	Boško Obradović
Membership	5,000 members (Source: Dveri)
Parliamentary representation	7 seats in the 250-seat national parliament
Vote in last national election	April 2016 Parliamentary elections. In coalition with also right-wing Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) 184,375 votes, 5%.
Main areas of activity	Anti-EU, pro-Russia, homophobic and anti-modern, anti-immigration, antisemitic and anti-Muslim
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	A very good year for Dveri. Positioning itself as a real, nationalist opposition to Aleksandar Vučić, it gained popularity among non-right wing voters. This is its biggest potential
Prospects for 2017	2017 is likely to see a growth of Dveri. Acting as a new, radical opposition to "nationalist sell-out and traitor" Vučić, it will probably grow, keeping its backward and most fascist side hidden... for now



Serbia

Greece

Cyprus

Christos Christou



**SERBIA:**  
The Dveri Movement



**GREECE:**  
Golden Dawn



**CROATIA:** Hrvatska Cista stranka prava



**CYPRUS:**  
Ethniko Laiko Metopo

**CYPRUS** BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	ETHNIKO LAIKO METOPO (NATIONAL POPULAR FRONT) Founded 2008 as the equivalent of the Greeknazi Golden Dawn in the Republic of Cyprus
Political description	Anti-immigrant extreme-right, opposes reunification of Cyprus, supports violence against Turks
Leader(s)	Christos Christou (Retired army brigadier-general Yiorgos Kyriacou joined in May 2016)
Membership	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	Won 2 seats out of 80 in 22 May 2016 legislative election. First time in Parliament.
Vote in last national election	13,041 votes, 3.7 %
Main areas of activity	Campaigns against negotiations with Northern Cyprus on Cypriot reunification. Strongly anti-Turkish/anti-Islam. Sympathetic to unification with Greece
Was 2016 a good year for the organisation?	ELAM not only made its way into Parliament but also got a double-digit percentage in 26 constituencies
Prospects for 2017	Will seek to increase visibility in sight of the 2018 Presidential election

# DIMENSIONS OF HATE

**Jan Raabe investigates the right-wing extremist music scene in Germany**

NO COUNTRY in the world has as big and as active a right-wing extremist music scene as Germany.

Although a slight decline in this area of fascist activity is perceptible, the scene is busily working on new ways of attracting supporters and keeping old ones.

The German secret service, which has consistently underestimated the size of the hate music scene, has, meanwhile, given the all-clear, just as new structures are growing up around the international networks of Blood& Honour (B&H) or parts of the Hammerskins movement.

## Collectors' items

Between 2002 and 2013, more than a hundred professionally produced records or CDs by German hate rock bands appeared annually. In 2014, the number fell to 87 for the first time but increased again, in 2015, to 91. The number of bands, standing at around 180, is relatively stable.

Computer downloads and unauthorised CD copies are deprecated in the scene where labels have responded by producing more and more high-quality Digi-Packs and offering their products as collector's editions in limited metal or wooden boxes. However, it is likely that the number of published CDs will continue to fall slightly and, in 2016, will be about 80-85.

The number of active record labels has also declined in recent years to some extent as a result of professionalisation and greater concentration on fewer labels. At the moment, Opos-Records from Dresden, PC-Records from Chemnitz and Rebel-Records from Chemnitz share a large part of the market.

In 2016, 24 German record labels were producing records compared with 45 in 2014, a higher degree of professionalisation accounting for the concentration of the business into fewer companies.

The remaining labels, nevertheless, continue to

complain about the falling numbers of copies pressed as a result of sellers – the bands – touting their music direct over the internet in mp3 format. The amount of other merchandise on offer, meanwhile, has risen dramatically. More and more band T-shirts and other promotional items are on sale. The full range of tawdry tat from such nazi-favoured brands as Thor-Steinar and Ansgar Aryan has, meanwhile, increased considerably, enabling the hate music side to remain profitable.

## World of experience

As far as hate music events are concerned, the trends are contradictory. A fall in the number of concerts has produced a stabilisation in the figures. While the number of concerts stood at 88 in 2015, a drop from the 95 the previous year, the number of so-called “song evenings” is, at 85 events, higher than ever. The decline in the number of concerts has not weakened the scene.

The hate music milieu now has a number of places where it can perform undisturbed with the consent of the authorities. Thus, for many concerts, tickets are even being offered for sale in advance, gigs no longer being mobilised clandestinely by word of mouth. Sold-out concerts are, thus, not a rarity.

The number of concerts organised out of the underground is declining. On the other hand, the number of concerts and “song evening” announcements registered by political organisations and which are under special protection of the right of assembly, has increased.

Parties and groups staged at least 47 events in 2015. These included the H8 concert series in 2015 under the slogan “Rock for freedom of expression” – some attended by as many as 1,500 – and the 2016 “Rock for identity” concert to which 3,500 participants travelled in organised buses to Hildburghausen in Thuringia.







### The rake-off

With entrance fees of €25 and additional income being raked in from drinks stands and the renting out of stalls to hawk various merchandise and kitsch, profits in the tens of thousands of euros can be scooped up. The rake-off from the so-called “Rocktoberfest” will have been substantially higher still.

That concert, with over 5,000 participants, took place in neighbouring Switzerland and was organised by German nazis. Here the profits from the €30 entrance alone would reach six-figures.

At least 30 music events, mainly song evenings but also some major concerts, were staged last year as political events, principally by the nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) but also by the relatively new and relatively small nazi parties, Die Rechte and Der III Weg.

### Let's have a Party

The number of big events



put on by the NPD is actually decreasing, but 420 nazis took part in one of its events and a gig set up by the notorious nazi Thorsten Heise on 28 May 2016 drew 280 participants. Die Rechte's biggest event, in 2015, attracted no fewer than 700 participants.

If one considers the German bands, as well as the people behind the labels, like the Hammerskins and the Blood&Honour organisation – banned since 2000 – it must be admitted that relatively good networking still exists.

German bands are still much admired by foreign nazis and in the international hate music scene. In 2016, German bands appeared no fewer than 63 times in concerts outside Germany. A series of concerts was organised in the border areas of Belgium, the Netherlands and France by German nazis, often in cooperation with local fascists, in 2015 and 2016.

Indeed, German bands perform at almost all major European far right rock concerts. Thus, in February 2016, Sturmkommando performed at a concert in Hungary to mark the annual so-called Day of Honour. In 2016, the White Power music scene was very active in Hungary as well as Italy.

In Italy, for example, not only the big “Return to Camelot” festival – attended by over a thousand over three days and featuring the German band Kraft durch Froide – took place but also the Boreal Festival, where Naked But Armed was a key

band. There is hardly any big international hate music concert that does not have a German group on the stage.

Especially noteworthy is increased nazi music activity in eastern Europe. The German band Kategorie C appeared at the 4th Orle Gniazdo Festival in Zytina in Poland. In Czechia, the “Hardcore Party” took place at a secret location November with Germans present. In Kiev in Ukraine, the “Dead for W.O.T.A.N. – Fest I” took place with international bands in March 2016 and the “5th Asgardsei”, a nazi black metal event, in December.

The Hammerskins networks and the outlawed (in Germany) Blood&Honour have continued to play a pivotal role in many of these events and have even “united” for some of them.

Probably the most important Hammerskin event was the “Hammerfest” in June in France with the German bands Division Germania and Wolfsfront. The Hammerskins were also active elsewhere in 2016, mainly in Italy, Hungary, Germany, Finland and Sweden.

Neither network in Germany has the dominant position it enjoys in other countries, not least because of B&H being outlawed. Veteran cadres of the network have, meanwhile, reappeared on the German hate music landscape, most recently Jens Hessler who not only played an important role in B&H in the 1990s but also in the massive concert in Switzerland in October. In recent months, there has

also been an increased and stronger involvement of the German structures associated with Combat 18.

Internationally, the B&H faction of the scene was active across Europe, including the “Day of Honour” concert in Hungary and in France, where “Blood&Honour Hexagone” staged various concerts and martial arts shows. In Eastern Europe, Blood&Honour Slovenia celebrated its 15th anniversary with a concert while its Bulgarian counterpart organised a “Defend Europe” concert in November. A separate concert was held in Serbia. New activity by Blood&Honour/C18, especially in Sweden and Finland, has been reported.

One of the most important international concerts in 2016 was undoubtedly the “Europe Awake” event in Italy in November, organised by the Hammerskins and Blood&Honour. The line-up, featuring *inter alia* Squadron (UK), Frontfeuer and Blitzkrieg (Germany), Malnatt and Katastrof (Italy) and Tors Frede (Sweden), indicates the extent of the hate music milieu's current networking.

Considering over 30 years of hate rock in Germany and the growing danger of parliamentary success by right-wing populists, the White Power music scene is being given too little attention not only because of the violent outbreaks of its hardcore nazi followers but, above all, because thousands of young people are being socialised by it into racist, anti-democratic and humanity-despising attitudes. ●

# DISPEL

## **Nick Lowles explains a new HOPE not hate initiative to tackle online and social media threats from the radical and populist right**

### **Introduction**

HOPE not hate will shortly be launching a new investigative unit to challenge the lies and expose the growing threat posed by a growing array of radical and populist right-wing political parties, leaders and their enablers.

We have to be able to investigate those who poison communities, poison the airwaves and choke social media with their rhetoric. We have to drag out those lies into full view and, by doing so, show them for the falsehoods they are.

### **The Issue**

Now, more than ever, it is imperative to analyse forensically the so-called populist and radical right and their *modus operandi*.

Across Europe, and the USA, highly divisive political movements and leaders have arisen on a wave of populist discontent.

These leaders, and supporters on social media and within alternative media outlets, are actively promoting racial division, persecution of minorities, fear and falsehoods, while fanning the flames of communal hatred.

Many of these movements and their supporting structures are rebranding old hates and conspiracies under new flags of convenience such as the so-called 'Alt-Right', a turgid mix of younger white nationalists, supremacists and antisemites proficient with digital media.

### **'Fake News'**

A key element of many of these radical and populist right-wing movements is the promotion of "fake news" partially, or wholly, made up stories that bypass the mainstream media.

Whether it is the lies and exaggerations whipped up by Nigel Farage and Leave.EU during the referendum or the bogus story about

a 1,000-strong mob screaming "Allahu Akbar!" setting fire to Germany's oldest church on New Year's Eve peddled by alternative media site Breitbart, the new far right threat is whipping up an atmosphere of hate and – ultimately – undermining our democracy.

A lack of background knowledge and facts is allowing right-wing commentators increasingly to go unchallenged in the mainstream media.

### **DISPEL**

In a world where black can seem white, when the stock-in-trade is fake news, now – more than ever – truth matters. This hatred and falsification must be challenged and this is what our new unit DISPEL will seek to do, working across international boundaries with a wide range of partners.

Our interdisciplinary team will be made up of seasoned journalists, researchers and digital specialists. We will be able to respond in real time to fake news and distortions. We will correct the errors, source the facts and provide copy for people to use.

More specifically, our unit will:

- Provide journalists and politicians with the sourced truth behind the stories and claims
- Monitor the vast array of alt-right websites and bloggers
- Offer our supporters simple ways to counter right-wing messages online
- Provide a counter-narrative to people on social media who might be swayed by right-wing news

Our unit will use the very latest in data-capture software to monitor right-wing websites and social media accounts. We will research every claim made and provide sourced rebuttals if required. With an in-house digital team, we will provide shareable social media memes and videos instantly.

Quite simply, this unit will be the most sophisticated and tech-savvy rebuttal unit in the UK today.

### **'Global threat'**

Our new unit, DISPEL, will monitor the likes of Breitbart and Arron Banks' new Westmonster blog as well as some of Britain's most virulent right-wing commentators.

We aim to take on, expose and counter the growing influence of key online British far right bloggers such as Millennial Woes and Prison Planet who each have hundreds of thousands of people watching their poisonous videos across Europe and America. And we'll focus on social media propagandists such as former Britain First leader Jim Dowson who, HOPE not hate and the *New York Times* revealed, ran one of the largest anti-Clinton and pro-Trump social media operations during the US elections.

Donald Trump's election is just the beginning. His chief strategist, former Breitbart editor-in-chief Steve Bannon, told a small rightwing audience at the Vatican in 2014 that the West was facing a "crisis of capitalism" after losing its "Judeo-Christian foundation."

He said that Breitbart's mission was to create a global news agency to spread its message to an international audience. The news site is actively promoting the far-right Front National, Geert Wilders' Freedom Party and the anti-Muslim Alternative for Germany. In the immediate aftermath of Trump's election, Breitbart announced it was expanding its media operation in the UK, France and Germany.

It is now our turn to do the same. And as we go forwards, I ask you to support our efforts. DISPEL will correct wrongs and allow truth to have the last word.



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