

STATE OF HATE 2019

PEOPLE VS THE ELITE?



HATE
HOPE
HATE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE STATE OF BRITAIN TODAY

- Britain is increasingly divided and that is likely to increase whatever the Brexit outcome
- The way Parliament has handled the Brexit process has deepened the poor attitude many hold towards our politicians. 68% now say that there is not a political party that speaks for them and 55% think the political system is broken.
- Anti-Muslim prejudice has replaced immigration as the key driver of far right growth, however after six years of increasingly positive views, attitudes towards immigration in Britain are deteriorating

TERRORISM

- While the numbers arrested for terror-related offences in 2018 was down on the previous year, we are witnessing a growing threat of far right terrorism
- The threat of far right terrorism comes from both organised groups, like National Action, but also from lone actors who get radicalised via the internet
- Over 25 Al-Muhajiroun activists have been released from prison in the last 12 months, including most of its leadership

THE FAR RIGHT

- The extreme far right is getting more extreme and younger
- The far right is successfully tapping into the political rage and discontent that is prevalent in society.
- A narrative of 'betrayal' and 'traitors' increasingly dominates the far right's discourse, with much of their anger focused on MPs – and female MPs in particular.
- Continued decline of the traditional ideological far-right and the rise of an emotionally driven, conspiratorial populist message
- UKIP has become a far right party under the leadership of Gerald Batten
- Continued increase in internationalisation of ideas, tactics, money and collaborative working
- The adoption of the 'free speech' narrative by the far right has enabled them to deflect from their own extremism and attract a more mainstream audience

STEPHEN LENNON

- 55% of Britons have heard of Tommy Robinson (real name Stephen Lennon)
- Of those, 37% have seen or heard one of his videos on social media. This rises to 57% of 18-24 year olds
- Only 6% of Britons have a positive view of Lennon

ONLINE HATE

- Five of the 10 far right activists with the biggest social media reach in the world are British
- There's been a continued rising trend in traffic to far-right websites and followers of far-right social media accounts, although increasing moderation by social media companies seems to have slowed down, and in individual cases reverted, the explosive increase we saw last year

ISLAMOPHOBIA

- The 2017 terrorist attacks have had a lasting negative impact on attitudes towards British Muslims
- 49% of 2017 Conservative voters think that Islam is incompatible to the British way of life and 47% think there are no go areas in Britain where sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter

ANTISEMITISM

- Left-wing antisemitism is a very real problem. While extremist antisemitism and Holocaust Denial is less common, a larger number engage in conspiratorial antisemitism and use antisemitic tropes, especially in relation to supposed Jewish power and an even larger group are involved in denying a problem exists and dismissing the issue as a right wing and Zionist smear
- Labour is still not doing enough to tackle antisemitism

INVESTIGATIONS

- We expose the increasing influence of the Order of Nine Angles, the world's most extreme nazi-satanist group, on a young generation of violent nazis including National Action and the Sonnenkrieg Division
- We reveal an illegal steroids factory run by Polish nazis living in London
- We examine both Loyalist and Republican paramilitary groups
- We investigate the manosphere and the growing anti-feminist movement

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

- We are likely to see a resurgence of a far-right electoral threat
- A strong far-right vote in the European Elections will give a boost to the far right and populist right in the UK
- Divisions within Britain are likely to increase and this will further split communities and boost the far right's populist anti-politics message
- We are likely to see a continued far right terrorist threat, though possibly more from "lone actors" than organisations
- The Identitarian movement will continue to replace the Alt Right as the main international movement
- Al-Muhajiroun is likely to become more active

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THE STATE OF HATE

BY NICK LOWLES

One of the lasting memories of 2018 was the first Free Tommy demonstration held in London last June. Men, some in their 40s and 50s, clambering up the gates at the entrance of Downing Street throwing beer cans and screaming “traitors” at the armed police watching on. Up the road, a group of at least 500 demonstrators were clashing with police, even chasing them out of Trafalgar Square.

Ostensibly there to protest against the imprisonment of Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson), the people marching down Whitehall said a lot about the state of far right extremism in the UK today.

With possibly over 10,000 people on the demonstration, it was the largest far right demonstration since the 1970s. It tapped into the growing anti-elite feeling within society, which resonates much wider than ideological fascism or specific forms of prejudiced politics. It embodied a free speech narrative, which is increasingly being adopted by the far right and used as a cover for its extremist views. It brought together a wide range of people – from Trump supporters to hardline nazis, UKIP members to football hooligans. And the mood of the crowd was angry, bordering on violent.

To understand the attraction of today’s far right, one has to appreciate the growing sense of disconnect between large swathes of people in society and the structures of power. Polling from HOPE not hate over the last few months has found widespread dissatisfaction with the political system and the main political parties. A YouGov poll taken at Christmas found that 68% of people felt that there wasn’t a political party that spoke for them. This was up from 61% when we asked the same question last July.

A more recent HOPE not hate poll, taken earlier this month, found that 55% of people thought our political system was broken. Only 34% thought it was working, even if not perfectly.

Three quarters of people (76%) think politicians put the interests of big business before people like them, whereas only 7% think that “politicians generally work to represent the views and interests of people like me above big businesses.”

The way our politicians have dealt with Brexit, or probably more accurately not dealt with Brexit, has deepened the anger at our political class. In our poll earlier this month, only 2% of people were impressed with the way politicians were handling Brexit. 89% were unimpressed.

With such negative attitudes towards the political system and our politicians, it is perhaps not surprising that the far right is effectively mining this anti-establishment seam.

THE FAR RIGHT

The narrative of ‘betrayal’ and ‘traitors’, which increasingly dominates the far right’s discourse, is heavily focused on MPs – and female MPs in



particular. Over the past year numerous female MPs have been targeted by far right activists or generally by angry men.

Helen Goodman was amongst several North East MPs to have pickets and protests outside their surgeries or party offices. Tory MP Anna Soubry has been very publicly confronted and abused outside Parliament by James Goddard, and earlier this year Cat Smith, MP for Lancaster and Fleetwood, cancelled a meeting about Brexit after receiving threats from far right extremists shortly before it was due to take place. More depressingly, even Tracy Brabin, the MP for Batley & Spen, the seat previously held by Jo Cox, has faced abuse from angry men in her constituency.

Last year saw the continuing rise of the anti-feminist movement. Growing gender equality has long caused a male backlash in society and this has been reflected in virulent anti-women views and policies of the far right. However, in recent years, particularly in the US, we have seen the emergence and growing popularity of the men’s rights movement.

One influence on the contemporary far right’s understanding of gender politics is the “manosphere”: a loose collection of websites, forums, blogs and vlogs concerned with men’s issues and masculinity, oriented around an opposition to feminism and, within parts, embrace of extreme misogyny.

Tens of thousands of men in the UK regularly access these websites, some already active in the far right but most not.

FREE SPEECH

The increasing adoption and exploitation of the ‘free speech’ narrative by far right has enabled them to deflect attention from their own extremism and portray their opponents – from anti-fascists to the police – as being the real fascists. This has allowed the far right to mainstream their message and attract



a slightly respectable audience who would probably be horrified by the tactics of the old-fashioned far right.

The elevation of Gerald Batten to leader of UKIP heralded its shift to becoming a fully-blown far right party and its adoption of a strongly anti-Muslim agenda.

Batten has referred to Islam as “a death cult, born and steeped in fourteen hundred years of violence and bloodshed, that propagates itself by intimidation, violence and conquest” and claimed that “a normal non-Mohammedan should have a perfectly rational fear of ‘Islam’”

The shift to the right coincided with a move to street politics, with Batten now a regular speaker on DFLA protests and the appointment of Stephen Lennon as his advisor on grooming gangs.

Batten has also revitalised the party, increasing the membership from 18,000 when he took over to 26,500 by the end of the year. He also raised money to write off the party’s debt, which was no mean feat given the party was facing bankruptcy after losing a big libel case.

However, not everyone is happy. Several high profile UKIP members and MEPs have left the party in disgust at the rightward shift, among them former UKIP leader Nigel Farage. He has never liked Lennon, but his public repudiation of UKIP’s anti-Muslim stance was also about repositioning himself as more moderate as he prepared for the launch of his own new right wing party.

STEPHEN LENNON

Stephen Lennon, better known as Tommy Robinson, continues to be the most high profile far right activist in the UK, with 55% of Britons having heard of him, making him better known than some of our national politicians. Of those, 37% have seen or heard one of his videos on social media. This rises to 57% of 18-24 year olds.

However, people overwhelmingly have a negative impression of him, with just 6% viewing him positively.

2018 was a huge year for Lennon. In late May he was sent to prison for contempt of court, after reporting on a grooming trial in Leeds, yet this seemed to do him no harm at all as it resulted in a huge influx of donations (at least £300,000 just into his legal fund alone) and widespread international support.

US congressman Paul Gosar spoke at one of the two Free Tommy demos in London, and Lennon also received support from Donald Trump Jnr, the son of the US President. Meanwhile, the British Ambassador to the US was called in by Trump’s ambassador for international religious freedom suggesting that the British authorities should be more “sympathetic” to Lennon.

Lennon’s fame and notoriety shot up and despite being booted off Twitter, where he had 400,000 followers, he remains the fifth ranking far right activist in terms of social media reach.

He hoped to capitalise on his growing reputation in the US with a trip to DC in November, where he was set to attend a Middle East Forum conference and then speak at an event in Congress. However, because of an earlier conviction and ban he wasn’t allowed in and similarly, he was also blocked from entering Australia, where he had planned to tour with Gavin McInnes.

The Free Tommy demos highlighted the growing internationalisation of the far right. There were demonstrations in at least nine countries, many organised by Generation Identity.

Steve Bannon, meanwhile, spent time in London as part of his attempts to create an organisation that would support far right political parties across Europe ahead of the European Elections. Called The Movement, this was to be based in Brussels and headed up by Raheem Kassam. In the end it did not materialise, mainly because far right and populist

right parties have proven to be able to do well enough themselves without Bannon and Kassam's involvement.

ONLINE HATE

While social media companies are increasingly removing leading far right figures from their platforms, there remains an upward trend in online hate.

Five of the 10 far right activists with the biggest social media reaches in the world are British and last year also saw the emergence of a new generation of activists, such as James Goddard, who try to earn money through their aggressive and confrontational tactics.

Internationally, the fragmentation of the alt-right as a self-identifying movement post-Charlottesville has increased apace last year and is increasingly being replaced by the Identitarian movement. We expect this trend to continue into 2019.

TERRORISM

The number of people arrested for terror-related offences in 2018 was down on the previous year, which is probably not surprising given the Manchester and London terrorist attacks that happened the previous year. While the majority of arrests were of alleged Islamists, there was a growing number of people arrested from the far right. While most of these were connected to the round-up of National Action supporters, which has led to four trials and 13 people being imprisoned, there were several others too, unaligned to any specific far right group.

Last year saw National Action finally destroyed by the authorities. Despite having been banned in December 2016, the group carried on underground, but it was not until HOPE not hate revealed the plot to murder a Labour MP and a police officer, that the police realised that they were still operating and organised. However, while NA is no longer an organisational threat, it has been replaced by a number of smaller, and if anything more hardline, groups.

The latest, the Sonnekrieg Division, is probably the most worrying of all. Hardline nazi in ideology, it also draws on the satanic influence of the Order of Nine Angles, the world's most extreme satanic-nazi group. The ONA, whose one time leader David Myatt was influential in Combat 18 before becoming an Islamist and a key al Qaeda propagandist, was also influential on National Action.

The trend towards younger, more violent nazis is a real concern and needs to be monitored closely.

The threat of terrorism still remains overwhelmingly from the Islamist spectrum, and 2018 saw the release of several of the leading al-Muhajiroun leaders – either because their sentence had come to an end or out on license. While leaders like Anjem Choudary will have such strict conditions placed on him he cannot do anything, the mere presence of these people back on the streets is likely to inspire and galvanise his supporters.

ANTISEMITISM

The Labour Party continues to be embroiled in its antisemitism scandal, which sadly is mostly of its own making. While it is undoubtedly true that its opponents have publicly exploited as anyone involved in politics would exploit problems in their opposition,

the fact remains that a few Labour Party members and supporters, from the top to the bottom, have either engaged in antisemitism and the party has a whole has failed to deal with issues as they arise.

Central to Labour's problem has been Jeremy Corbyn himself, whether that is his conflation of his anti-Israeli position with the Jewish people more generally, his repeated presence in the company of Holocaust Deniers and anti-Semites, his failure to apologise for his past statements or associations and his complete lack of empathy with the concern of his own Jewish MPs and activists and the wider Jewish community more generally.

Even his own closest advisers privately admit that his handling of the antisemitism row has only made matters worse.

Of course, the overwhelming majority of Labour Party members, supporters and MPs are not antisemites, and as research on conspiracy theories shows, those people who voted UKIP in 2015, which is four million people, are far more likely to believe in Jewish conspiracies than Labour voters. Indeed, there is virtually no difference between the number of Labour voters who believe in anti-Jewish conspiracies than Conservative Party voters.

However, left wing antisemitism on the left is very real amongst a small but very vocal group of people. A study of thousands of left wing social media accounts by HOPE not hate shows gives a glimpse into the extent of the problem. While overt antisemitism and Holocaust Denial is uncommon, a larger group engage in conspiratorial antisemitism and use antisemitic tropes, especially in relation to supposed Jewish power, and an even larger group are involved in denying a problem exists and dismissing the issue as a right wing and Zionist smear

ISLAMOPHOBIA

While Labour has its problems with antisemitism, the Conservatives have their own issues with anti-Muslim prejudice. Half of the party's 2017 voters think that Islam is incompatible to the British way of life and 47% think there are no go areas in Britain where sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter.

The negative attitudes of Tory voters towards Muslims and Islam has increased in recent years as many of the four million voters who backed UKIP in 2015 switching allegiance to the Tories. And with it they brought their hostile attitudes to Muslims and immigration more generally.

While the Government has spoken out against Islamophobia, and overseen a more robust reporting system within the police and Government departments, it needs to do more to better educate their own members and challenge their negative views.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Brexit is going to dominate British politics in 2019 and with a hard Brexit extremely unlikely, a narrative of 'Brexit Betrayal' will be heavily used by the far right. UKIP claim that it will stand 3,000 candidates in May's local elections, but this is likely to be overshadowed by the launch of Nigel Farage's Brexit Party.

We are likely to see the continuation of street protests, which will no doubt fluctuate in size and anger depending on events, and a strong far right vote in the European Elections will give a boost to the far right and populist right in the UK.

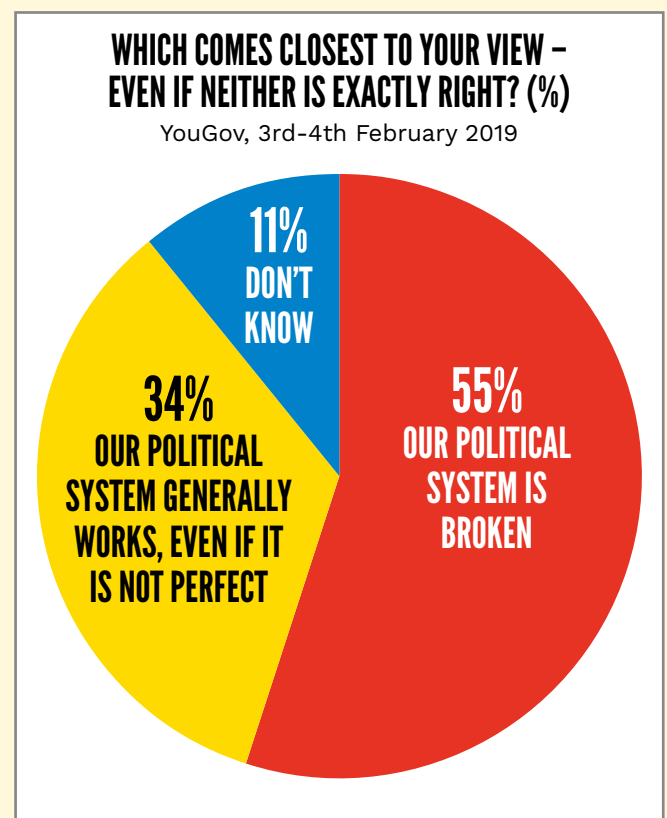
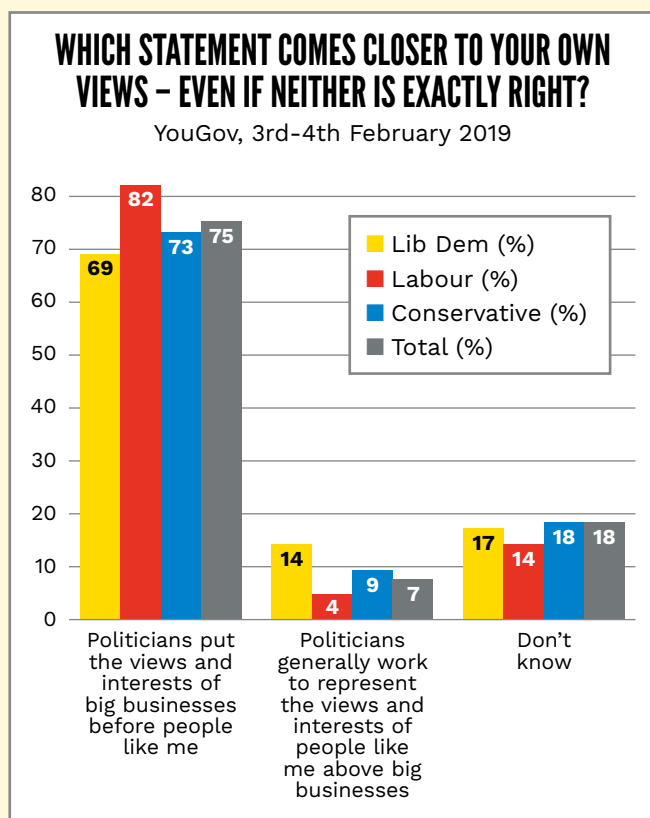
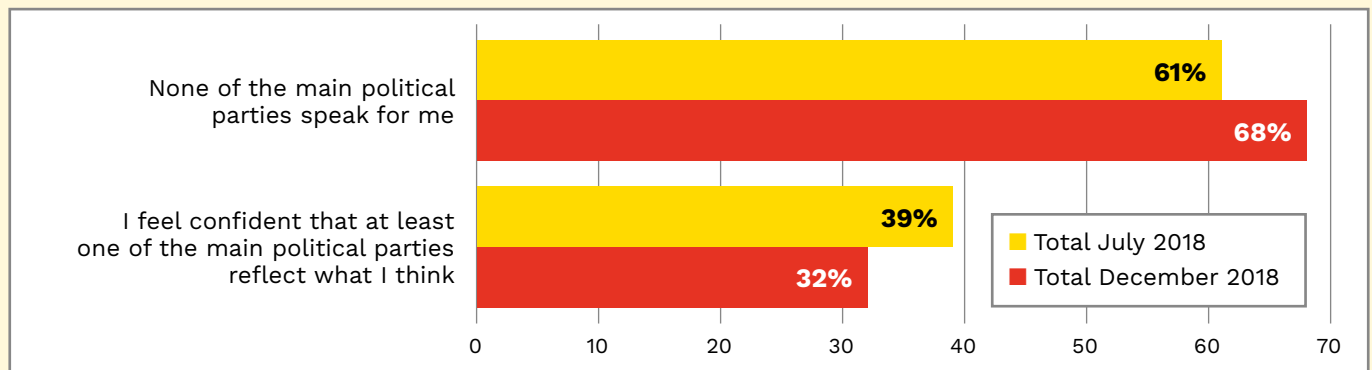
GROWING ANTI-POLITICS MOOD

A sense that the political system is broken, that there is a democratic deficit, and that elites and the establishment do not speak for ordinary people has charged populist far-right movements across the world. When people feel that the system is broken, they look outside of the traditional system where the far-right has capitalised on these fears, offering simplistic answers based on nation and race for complex problems.

The UK is facing a crisis of mistrust, and a growth in anti-politics sentiment. Our most recent polling, from February 2019, shows a massive 55% of people think that our political system is broken. A huge three quarters of people (75%) think that politicians

put the interests of big business before people like them. Social group C2DE (58%), Labour voters (65%) and UKIP voters (70%) are most likely to think the political system is broken. A feeling of distance from the political system has grown as the Brexit negotiations have gone on, with many feeling they are not represented by the political system.

In just six months, our polling shows that the proportion of people who feel that any of the main political parties reflect what they think has fallen, with just 32% of people saying that they feel represented by any of the main political parties. A staggering 68% of people now feel that none of the main political parties speak for them.



UNDERSTANDING & COUNTERING EXTREMISM

BY NICK LOWLES

One of the big dilemmas facing people and organisations challenging extremism is to actually explain what extremism is. And it is not as easy as it might first appear.

Search the internet and you get a wide variety of options, but none of them really seem to work in practice. Some are perfectly sensible when looking at one specific type of extremism, but work less well on another type of extremism. A definition that works well for violent extremism, might not be appropriate when applied to non-violent extremism.

The Government, in its 2015 Counter Extremism Strategy document, defined extremism thus:

“Extremism is the vocal or active opposition to our fundamental values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and respect and tolerance for different faiths and beliefs. We also regard calls for the death of members of our armed forces as extremist.”

However, most people, especially those working in local communities, do not really identify with this definition either. It begs the question of what our “fundamental values” are and who decides them, and in just mentioning calls for the death of members of the armed forces, it could be implied that other groups do not matter.

There are huge academic fields and masses of literature dedicated to debating these definitions. One of the criticisms in the field regarding defining ‘extremism’ is that people simply ‘construct their enemies as such’. We need to be extra careful we don’t create a definition which actually defines what we don’t like about a particular identified enemy rather than defining ‘extremism’ as an abstract thing.

One of the key problems is that extremism can be a behaviour or a belief, or both. Hence, one can believe one is a ‘victim’ but not behave in an extreme way. Or conversely, one can believe one is the opposite of a victim (believing in a version of supremacism) but still act in an extreme way.

Similarly, the behaviour might only be extreme in context. In a conflict setting for example, we would not call soldiers ‘extremists’ for committing violent acts unless they behaved in a way that was removed from the ordinary in that context. Similarly, one society might view an action as normal, while another society might view that exact same practice as extremism.

There is also the danger that an academically robust definition is sometimes hard to translate in the real world so that it can easily be understood by ordinary people. This makes the Cambridge Dictionary definition of an extremist - “someone who has beliefs that most people think are unreasonable and unacceptable” – quite appealing. But even this definition has its shortcomings, as it could mean that



people who have unorthodox but perhaps harmless ideas could be labelled extremist.

The Collins dictionary describes an extremist as: “a person who favours or resorts to immoderate, uncompromising, or fanatical methods or behaviour, especially in being politically radical”. But is this really understandable at a local community level?

Coleman and Bartoli state: “Most simply, it can be defined as activities (beliefs, attitudes, feelings, actions, strategies) of a character far removed from the ordinary.” But then this surely depends what “the ordinary” is. The “ordinary” in a military or fascist dictatorship will be quite different from that of a liberal society.

Given the problems with any definition, it is understandable why some people prefer to sidestep the issue and just get on with their day-to-day work of challenging extremism. But I think this is wrong. However difficult it is, we have to come up with a

clear and appropriate working definition. Of course, extremist groups display different ideologies, tactics and motivations, but surely there must be a useful definition that can encapsulate them all and be easily understood by people in local communities.

A clear definition helps us create the red lines with which we can measure whether a group or individual is extremist or not. This is particularly important when dealing with non-violent and less extreme groups.

A better definition of “extremism” will help us better understand and identify religious extremism, something which HOPE not hate has not really done over the years but certainly should be addressing going forward.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EXTREMISM

For me, and this is just my personal view, there are six possible characteristics to an extremist. Some extremists might hold several of these characteristics, but not others, while others will hold some of these characteristics mildly, but others more forcefully.

They include:

- **Supremacism** – the believe that they (individually or as a group) are superior to another group;
- **Denigration** – the conscious belittling/opposition to another group/religion etc.
- **Separatism** – the unwillingness to mix or integrate with people of other races, religions or lifestyles
- **Against democracy** – a refusal or unwillingness to engage or even believe in representative democracy
- **Victimisation** – a belief that others are [often deliberately] conspiring against a group/religion/country
- **Intent** – the motives behind words and/or actions
- **Violence** – the use of or active support for violence to achieve one’s political goals

Of course, within each of these categories, there is a spectrum of opinion. So, there are many examples of where victimisation will not be seen as an extremist attitude, possibly because it might well be real, but in its extreme form it can be used to denigrate and attack others. Likewise, an individual who decides they do not want to mix with people of different cultural or religious backgrounds is not automatically an extremist, but a group that calls for its followers to keep away from others or denigrates another group in the process is.

Likewise, it is important to differentiate between religious conservatism and extremism, as the two can be very different.

While accepting the need for context and a spectrum of opinion, we should be able to come up with a general definition that is both robust and understandable. Just as importantly, it needs to be useful in real life scenarios as they play out in local communities.



HOW HOPE NOT HATE DEFINES FAR RIGHT EXTREMISM

Generally speaking the far right is an umbrella term that encompasses those individuals and organisations whose political outlook is more extreme or hard-line than those of the centre right of the political spectrum, primarily in cultural terms (race/immigration/identity). In practice, this usually means a belief in nationalism (exceptionalism) of either a race or country rather than mere patriotism. Coupled with this is a belief that the nation (either geographic or racial) is in decay or crisis and radical action is required to halt or reverse it.

The ‘nation’, however defined, usually includes an in-group that is under threat and an outgroup/enemy, usually now identified as Islam and Muslims though this can be any minority community.

As an umbrella term it encompasses people and movements ranging from the democratic, populist, radical right through to the extreme authoritarian far right.

ADDITIONAL BENEFIT

Having a clear definition of what extremism is, and how we measure it, will have the added benefit of allowing us to define what we actually are and stand for. As we have repeatedly discovered throughout the years at HOPE not hate, it is not just good enough to be “anti”, but it is important to articulate what we are “for”. By defining extremism, we can then define the values which we live our lives around. While accepting this has to be fluid and no-one should be forced to think or behave in a certain way, having a positive set of values around which we can organise might also be the best way to unite communities against hate. This, ultimately, may be the best reason why we need a definition of extremism.

Over the next few months HOPE not hate will be inviting others to share their definition of extremism with us and through this process we will hopefully formulate a useful working definition.

COMMENT

EXTREMISM – A SIKH PERSPECTIVE

BY *GURINDER SINGH JOSAN*

The Sikh community in the UK, like all communities, is not a homogenous community. Within the wide expanse of the Sikh community there are demographic differences that one would expect including age, generation, gender etc. There are also differences of belief and practice of the Sikh faith, much of these differences coloured by cultural experience, and much of that historical. There are also differences in relation to beliefs influenced by societal factors and political belief. The community is not homogenous!

Within this range of demographics, beliefs and practices there are also, as one would expect, some who hold beliefs and exercise practices more strongly and differently to others. Within this range it is easy to identify and label some beliefs and some practices as extreme or extremist even when the belief or practice is simply just different to one's own or the generally expected.

In a democratic society such as the UK there are expected standards and norms of society, some regulated and legislated for, and others seen as good community or neighbourly behaviour. The Sikh community has resided in the UK in significant numbers for several decades now and should be well versed with what is acceptable and what isn't. Any study of the community will show that these acceptables have themselves changed over the decades within the community as the community became more settled and integrated. Practices and beliefs within the Sikh community that are often referred to as extreme or extremist can often be better described as legitimate activism. It is clearly the case that believing in and campaigning for self-determination in the Punjab, India or for the creation of Khalistan is a legitimate political position to hold, promote and campaign for. Raising awareness of and campaigning to prevent and to bring to justice perpetrators of grooming is a legitimate and necessary activity to defend and create community understanding and cohesion. Ensuring the principles of the Sikh faith are not distorted and the proper observance of Sikh principles in our Gurdwaras is a legitimate and righteous pursuit.

So why is it that these same activities and pursuits also generate allegations of extremism and extremist behaviour? Is it just a simple difference of opinion and practice with one labelling the other extreme? Is it a lack of understanding of one another and even a lack of desire to understand the other? Or is there something more sinister?

As somebody who over many years has had an interest in far-right extremism and more recently Islamist extremism I now find increasing dialogue and commentary over other types of extremism including religious extremism and even Sikh



extremism. I find myself wanting to understand these phenomena further and to find clear lines that can be used to delineate between what is extremism and what isn't.

What I do know is that the vast majority of people, Sikh and non-Sikh, would believe that behaviour that encourages hatred of others is extremist. Behaviour that seeks to demonise whole communities or demographics in response to the actions of a few is extremist. Behaviour that is intolerant of difference and different viewpoints is extremist. Activism that promotes or encompasses violence and aggression is extremist. And where any of these behaviours are carried out by Sikhs in support of or as part of the otherwise legitimate campaigns for self-determination, for Khalistan, against grooming or for protecting Sikh principles in Gurdwaras then by definition that would be seen as Sikh extremism.

The above may be an over-simplistic view but it is one that is regularly applied to far-right and Islamist extremism. There are many uncertainties even in my mind but the one certainty I do have is that this is an area that requires further study and commentary to understand properly. I believe this is a proper pursuit for HOPE not Hate as part of our anti-extremism work and one that I hope others from across the spectrum of the Sikh community will contribute to.

Oh, and before anybody is tempted, I should just point out that abusive and aggressive responses designed to shut down discussion and debate are also extremist behaviours!

COMMENT

COMING FACE TO FACE WITH HATE

PETER ADAMS, A CHRISTIAN WORKER AND CLOSE FRIEND OF HOPE NOT HATE, EXPLORES RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM THROUGH HIS PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE IN LUTON.

On 10th March 2009 I met extremism face to face on the streets of Luton. As the group that became English Defence League confronted members of al-Muhajiroun the raw hatred was tangible. Over the ten years since that time we've faced a lot of extremism in our town, but it has been hatred, the strongest symptom of that extremism, that has too often poisoned the atmosphere, its corrosive presence seeking to eat away at the heart of community relationships.

Antifascist groups like HOPE not hate have long successfully sought to challenge political extremism, but the religiously motivated extremism that burst into popular consciousness in September 2001 has provided a different challenge. Both far right and Islamist terrorism have played to the script of a clash of civilisations, portraying their cause as inevitable when western Christian/liberal civilisation meets Islam. They have too often plundered history for its stories and icons, restating their case and with it justifying the most awful crimes.

As a community mediator and peacebuilder based in Luton's town centre parish church and working across the community I have worked closely with churches and mosques to challenge this narrative. We have sought to bring the perspective and teachings of our faiths to challenging religiously motivated extremism, and the hatred it generates.

My Muslim friends quickly convinced me that the attempts of al-Muhajiroun and others to claim the moral high ground of Islam were not true to the Qu'ran or the mainstream scholarship of Islam. Their sincerity, commitment to challenge those in their midst who held to a different view, and most importantly their friendship, have made it easy to reject the idea that al-Muhajiroun, al Qaeda and ISIS represent Islam.

For our part it was relatively easy for us as Christians to dismiss the claims of the EDL or the BNP to represent the Christian heritage of our nation. However when Britain First's "Christian Patrol" appeared on our streets with their large crosses and professed "righteous anger" at what they claimed was happening to Luton we had to fine tune our message. When they announced plans to march in Luton in June 2015 church leaders in the town wrote to them challenging their plans. Three of us met with them. We heard of faith journeys that sounded convincing, all too like some of our own, and statements of faith we could superficially share. Yet at the heart of their words in

that meeting was a lot of fear and hatred, and what was lacking was love. It made me hold a mirror up to the way I expressed my own faith.

Genuine faith, whether Christian or Muslim, or that inspired by other faiths, is not at its heart about an ideology that leads to extremism and generates fear and hatred, but the outworking of that faith in people's lives as love and service. An arson attack on a mosque in early May 2009 concentrated our minds as churches and mosques as to how we were going to face down the hatred and resist the attempts of the extremes to pull us apart. There has been a lot of work done in Luton, and as faith communities we have been a central part in all of it. However for me the key piece was a statement made at a press conference covered on national TV where we said we would not allow religious extremism to be at the heart of Luton's story, but rather love and service.

"As Muslims and Christians in Luton we are committed to grow in understanding of each other and to work together for good. In doing so we are inspired and challenged by words that lie at the heart of each of our Holy Scriptures, where we are commanded to love God and love our neighbour. As neighbours in this town, we need to discover the things that unite us, and celebrate those. Where we are different we are committed to seek understanding and trust, rather than resorting to hatred and strife. Let us respect each other, be fair, just and kind to one another and live in sincere peace, harmony and mutual goodwill. In this time of tension we are calling for people of all communities and every area of life in Luton to take every opportunity to strengthen our unity."

Very practically I would hazard a working definition of religious extremism as "faith inspired ideology without love." My thinking has been profoundly impacted by Dr Martin Luther King's teaching. Yet I am reluctant to throw the word extremist around too freely. I would rather focus on the hatred and fear it generates. There has understandably been a lot of talk about extremism as our nation has sought to respond to the challenges of the past two decades.

But just as the adage "One man's terrorist is another's freedom fighter" is true, so I'd suggest "one mans extremist is another's truth bearer."

Its certainly very easy to attach the label extremist to people of faith. It sometimes feels that anyone with a conservative approach to interpretation of faith is fair game. Yet across Luton I can point you to deeply committed Muslims and Christians, conservative in their faith, who have been at the heart of the community's commitment to living at peace. That is simply because they know the faith they take seriously calls them to love. And so they reject hatred with their whole being.

STATE OF THE NATION: 2018

BY ROSIE CARTER

Over the course of 2018, we polled over 30,000 people, carried out comprehensive data analyses and travelled across the country to run focus groups and interviews.

Our research gives us the state of the nation: what unites us, what divides us, and how we can build resilience against hate.

OVERVIEW: MOST PEOPLE HAVE MODERATE VIEWS ON IMMIGRATION AND SEE BENEFITS OF DIVERSITY

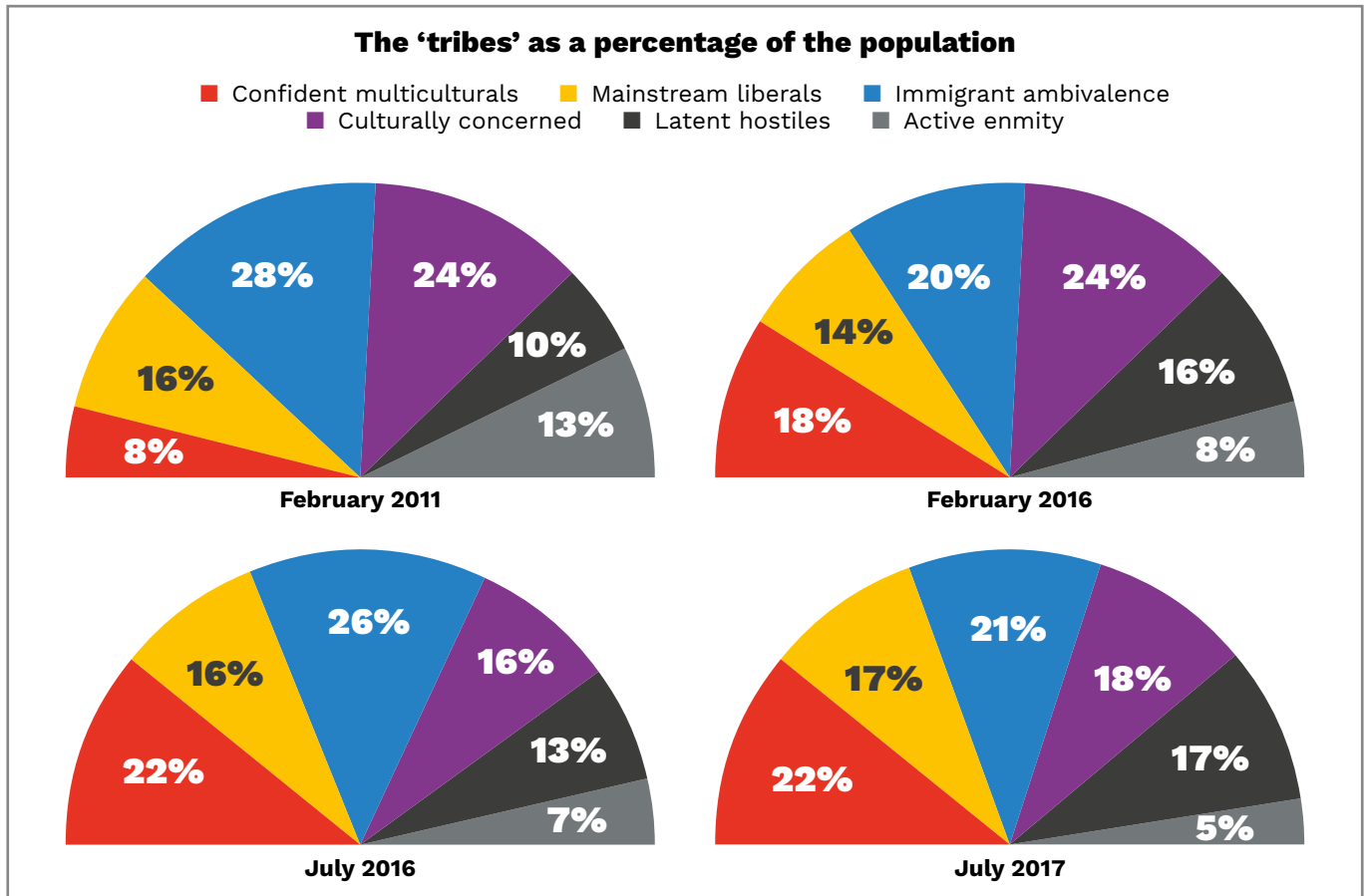
Since 2011, we have consistently seen a liberal shift in public attitudes, with those most supportive of immigration and diversity now making up the largest segment of the population. People who share the views of the hateful groups and figures profiled in this report remain a tiny, though constant, minority. Most people reject the politics of hate, and the vast majority of people would oppose any political party that advocated for violence.

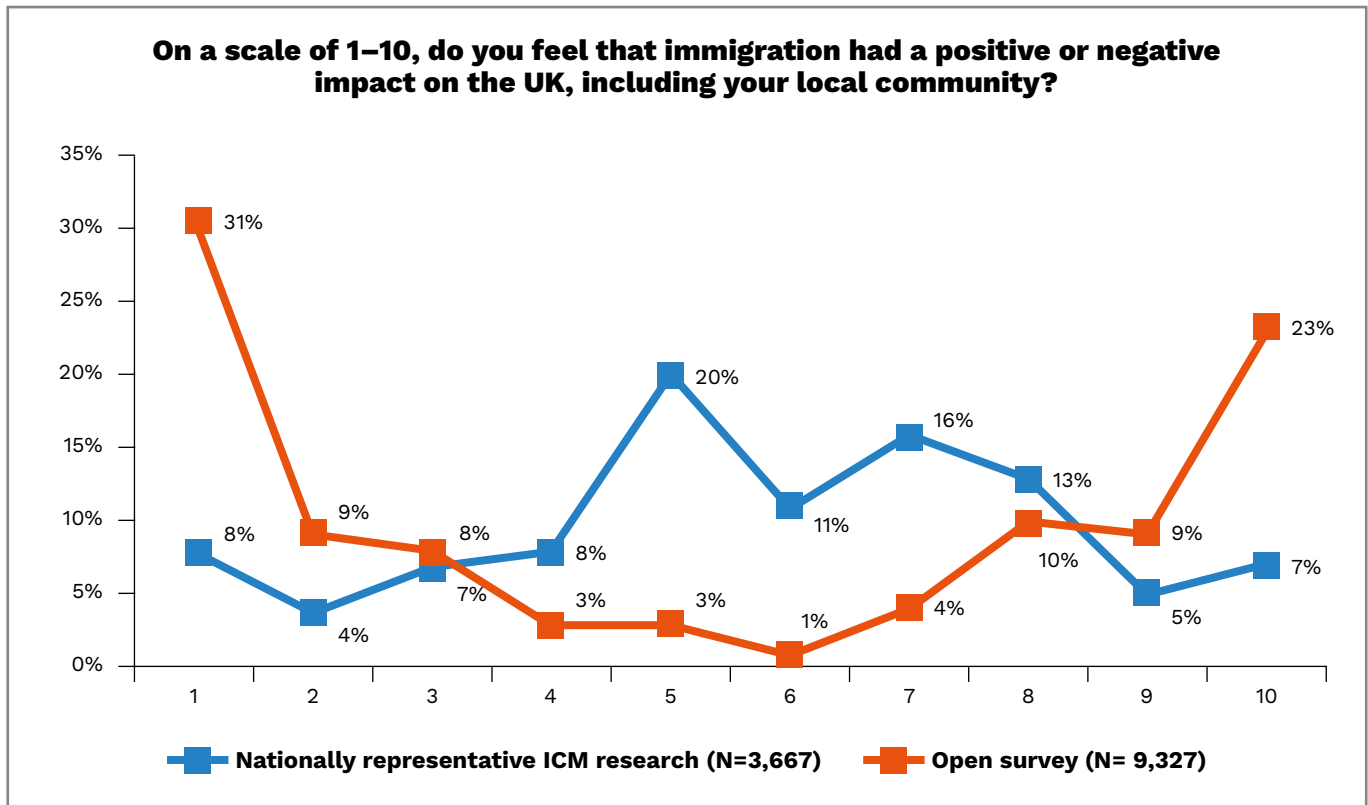
At the same time, the terror attacks of 2017 have had a profound impact and concerns about Muslims and Islam in Britain have hardened. We have also noted an increase in the public salience of integration, with

perceptions cynical, and at odds with the reality of community relations in the UK. While hate remains marginalised, we have witnessed some far right narratives that have seeped into the mainstream over recent years, facilitated by a polarising media and social media.

Narratives which amalgamate a number of issues, conflating Euroscepticism with a fear of Islam ‘taking over’ towns and cities across the UK, narratives that draw on and feed mistrust in the establishment, frustration at a perceived suppression by ‘PC culture’, resonate with a sizable percentage of the population.

How people form their views on identity issues is complex, dependent on individual factors and experiences as well as social and cultural norms, education, knowledge and information received and absorbed, levels of trust as well as the conditions of their own lives. As our *Fear, Hope and Loss* report¹ showed, resentment towards ethnic minorities, migrants and Muslims is often part and parcel of broader resentments in people’s lives, especially in post-industrial and coastal communities which have seen decline. Issues are often merged in their articulation, bound up with frustrations about declining living standards and the perceived inability of politicians to respond to this.





It is not that economics alone drive hostility towards others, but a sense of displacement and loss feeds anxieties and speaks to pre-existing prejudice. A sense of power and privilege slipping away fuels resentment and fuels fears among dominant groups of being ‘overtaken’, a dislocation of social status for those who are white and British, who struggle to keep up with progressive social norms.

We have also seen the impact of national and international events on public attitudes. Brexit has exposed some core divisions in our society, with anger and frustration on both sides of the debate further driving polarisation. Managing and overcoming these divisions will be a key challenge for years to come.

ATTITUDES TO IMMIGRATION HAVE SOFTENED

Immigration was a driving force behind the vote to leave the European Union, but attitudes have softened. Our July 2018 poll found 60% of people think that immigration has been good for Britain, up from 40% when people were asked the same question in 2011, and 50% when people were asked in January 2016. The reasons for this more positive view of immigration are complicated, but much can be attributed to a broader liberal shift in public attitudes, increased diversity, and an improvement in economic conditions. For those with more hostile attitudes a sense that Brexit might solve the ‘immigration problem’ has reduced concern.

In 2018 we co-ran the largest ever public engagement on immigration, the National Conversation on Immigration², and found that most people have balanced views on immigration. There were common themes everywhere of contribution, control and fairness, but participants also draw on their own experiences and local contexts to frame their views. Most see economic gains of immigration, and where people have meaningful contact with people of

different backgrounds to themselves, they are far more likely to have more nuanced understandings. Local tensions such as rogue landlords or pressures on school places become part of a lens through which people develop a national perspective on immigration.

We also found a distinct difference between the online and offline immigration debates, with the online debate dominated by relatively few voices, most at either extreme of the debate. Many participants told us that they would avoid any discussion of immigration on social media, not because they did not hold opinions on the subject, but because the discussion often became toxic or divisive.

Those with stronger views at either end of the spectrum are most likely to share their opinions, which are reinforced through the ‘echo chamber’ effect, mimicked in our own online survey, open to anyone and taken by almost 10,000 people. In this survey, almost one-third of respondents held extremely negative views on immigration and a quarter (23%) saw immigration in the most extremely positive terms. By contrast, just 15% of the representative ICM poll shared these views, with the vast majority sharing more moderate, balanced opinions.

Immigration has been a highly politicised and divisive issue, but our research has shown that there is also room for consensus. Immigration is less of a live issue than it was before the referendum, but it has not completely escaped public concern, and anxieties are likely to re-emerge in the Brexit fallout.

MULTICULTURALISM REMAINS DIVISIVE

Multiculturalism remains a divisive issue; 41% of our March 2018 poll, including 67% of Conservative Leave voters, believe that Britain’s multicultural society isn’t working and that different communities generally live separate lives. In contrast, 43% of people felt that Britain was a successful multicultural society where



Since 2011 we have found that fears about immigration have shifted to fears about Muslims and Islam. While most people do not conflate extremism with Muslim communities, suspicions heightened following the series of 2017 terror attacks.
 Floral tributes to the victims of the attack in St Ann's Square in Manchester city centre, following the the 2017 Manchester Arena bombing.
 Photo: Tomasz "odder" Kozlowski

people from different backgrounds generally get along well.

Our July 2018 poll of over 10,000 people finds a significant difference between younger and older people, with younger people far more likely to see the benefits of multiculturalism. 76% of 18-24 year olds feel that diversity is integral to British culture, whereas less than half of those aged 65+ share this view. 76% of people educated to degree level or above feel that having a wide variety of backgrounds and cultures is part of British culture, compared to just 45% of people educated to GCSE or equivalent who are more likely to think that diversity has undermined British culture (55%).

But we also found that anxiety about multiculturalism sits at odds with how people see community relations in practice. Data from the community life survey found that 81% of people feel well integrated into their community³. In our *Fear and HOPE 2017* report, 76% of people told us that their local community was peaceful and friendly; only 7% disagreed.

In the *National Conversation on Immigration*, many participants raised concerns about integration which were conflated with a perception that multiculturalism was not working, or that some people are 'too different' to fit in. It was usually during these conversations that anti-Muslim sentiments were voiced, as a stereotyped group who 'did not want to integrate'. These anxieties were most profound where the local population has little social contact with Muslims.

ANTI-MUSLIM PREJUDICE

Since 2011 we have found that fears about immigration have shifted to fears about Muslims and Islam. While most people do not conflate extremism with Muslim communities, suspicions heightened following the series of 2017 terror attacks. Only a third of people (33%) in our January 2018 poll told us that they thought Islam was generally compatible with the British way of life, and in the *National Conversation* we found widespread anti-Muslim prejudice, as

participants conflated fears about integration with international events.

Muslims are seen as uniquely different from the majority British public, and distinctly different from other religious groups. Just 10% of our July 2017 poll believed Muslims are similar to them. Almost a quarter of our January 2018 poll (23%) thought that most Muslims do not want to integrate despite the few that do; 7% felt that almost all Muslims do not want to integrate. More people (44%) say Pakistani migrants are not integrating into British society, than feel that they are integrating (34%), while a staggering 64% of Conservative Leave voters feel that Pakistani migrants are not integrating into British society.

In our July 2017 poll, an astounding 52% of people believed that Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilisation. At the same time, people recognise discrimination faced by Muslims in the UK – 40% felt that media portrayals of Muslims were too negative – and 77% agreed that it is wrong to blame an entire religion for the actions of a few extremists.

Anti-Muslim hatred has become increasingly mainstreamed, with the conflation of cultural incompatibility and global threat – a narrative pushed by the counter jihad movement – no longer quarantined to the margins.

CONSPIRACY THEORIES, TRUST AND THE ESTABLISHMENT

According to the 2018 British social attitudes survey, the proportion of people who think that, generally speaking, people can be trusted, is at its highest level since they first asked the question in 1998⁴. However, the impact of anti-establishment sentiments at the core of international populist movements, twinned with a rise in fake news and the spread of misinformation over social media is clear in our research and elsewhere.

In the *National Conversation's* July 2018 ICM poll, just 13% felt that MPs tell the truth all or most of the time and just 20% of people trust national newspapers to tell the truth all or most of the time. Almost a third

(29%) of people thought that the Government never told the truth on immigration.

A 2018 Cambridge University study⁵ found that voting for Trump and Brexit was associated with a propensity to believe a wide range of conspiratorial views. The study also found that where people got their news from made a big difference, with over half of respondents getting their news from social media, and those who got their news from YouTube most likely to subscribe to conspiracy theories. The study found 41% of Trump voters and 31% of Brexit voters subscribed to the conspiracy known as ‘the great replacement’: the idea that Muslim immigration is part of a bigger plan to make Muslims the majority of a country’s population.

In our July 2018 YouGov poll, we found that antisemitic conspiracies are only shared by a minority of the population. Thirteen per cent of all respondents thought it was true that Jewish people have an unhealthy control over the world’s banking system, with men (17%) almost twice as likely as women (9%) to believe this was true.

However, in response to the statement ‘There are ‘no go areas’ in the UK where sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter, a shocking 32% of people told us that this was true, compared to 31% of people who thought this claim was false. This was a belief that we also found to be common through the National Conversation. In many of the citizens’ panels, integration problems were linked to specific locations in the UK, with participants concerned about cities being ‘overtaken’ and naming places with large Muslim communities such as Birmingham or Tower Hamlets. Many we spoke to felt that British culture was under threat because people were ‘forced’ to pander to ‘political correctness’ and the sensitivities of Muslims. We were frequently told that schools are no longer allowed to put on nativity plays at Christmas or

celebrate Easter because of the Muslim community.

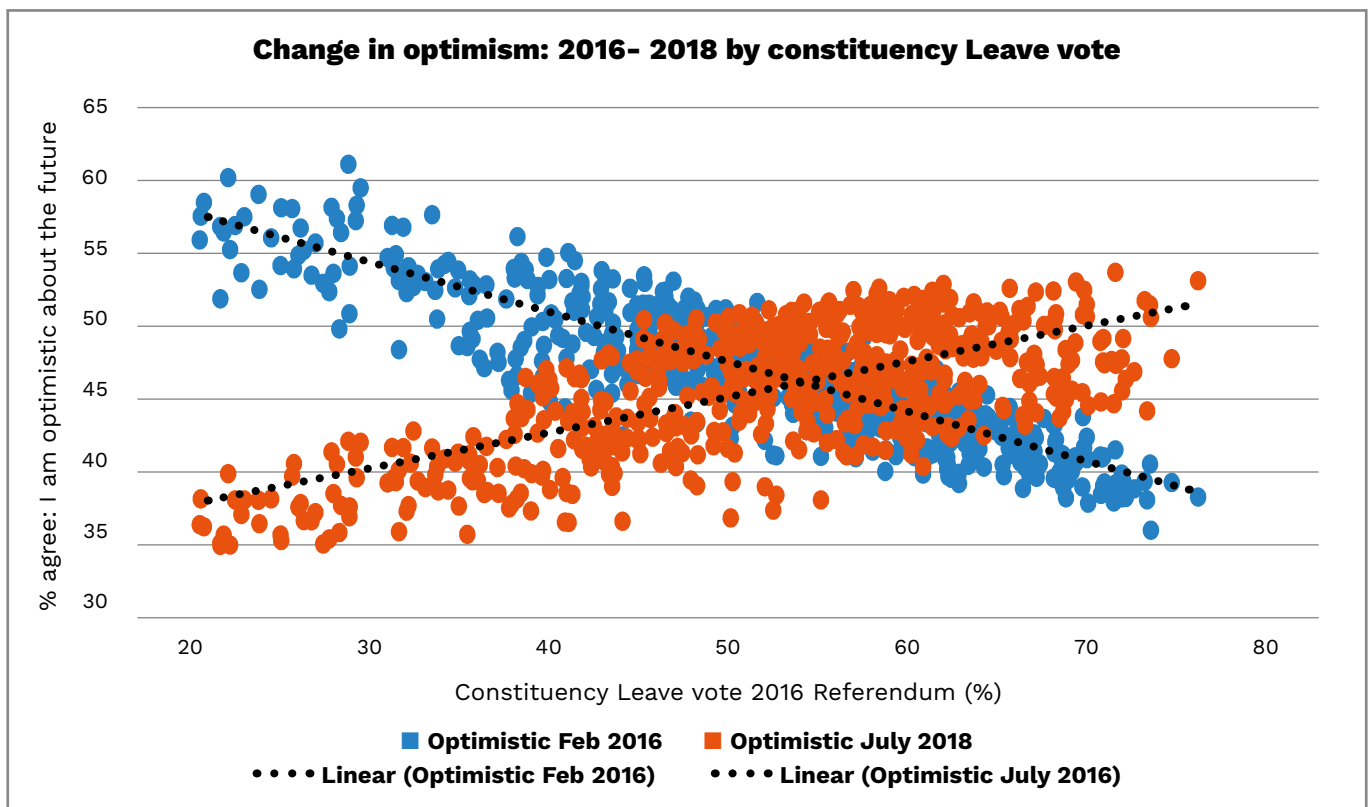
Our polling also found a high level of mistrust of ‘the establishment’ and mainstream media. A third (33%) of people thought it was true that the BBC deliberately distorts the news to fit its left wing agenda, with only 3% more (36%) rejecting this claim. This, compared to a 2007 poll⁶ which showed a clear majority of viewers and listeners (58%) said they thought that there was no difference between the BBC and other channels, suggests growing scepticism as social media has become increasingly dominant.

This mistrust in mainstream media carries darker tones of the spread of ‘cultural marxism’ conspiracies into the mainstream. “Cultural marxism” is the theory that the left-wing has been engaged in a decades-long plot to undermine and overthrow tradition Western values by infiltrating cultural institutions and enforcing its ideas, so as to promote progressive countercultural social movements. While extreme and alt-right ideologies remain marginalised, anti-establishment mistrust at the core of populist movements has a strong and growing hold on the British public.

BREXIT DIVISIONS

The 2016 referendum result brought longstanding divisions to the forefront of public and political discourse. Our polling suggests that as the process of leaving the EU has gone on, public anger and mistrust in the establishment have grown. What happens in 2019 is critical for either deepening or repairing these divisions.

The proportion of people who feel that Brexit is feeding prejudice and division and taking our country backwards is rising, having grown from 57% in July 2018 to 62% in December 2018. Brexit is increasingly defining us, and when asked whether people consider themselves more of a Remain voter, or more of a Leave voter, the majority of people (58%) see





The 2016 referendum result brought longstanding divisions to the forefront of public and political discourse. Brexit demonstration in London December 2018.

themselves at the extreme of either side, with many angry at the prospect of reversing the decision to leave the EU, or leaving the EU without a deal.

Between February 2016 and July 2018, we saw a shift in patterns of optimism and pessimism as areas like Clacton and Lincolnshire, which had been pessimistic about the future displayed a surge in optimism that accompanied the Brexit vote, while areas such as in London and Scotland went from the most optimistic about the future to the most pessimistic.

In our July 2018 poll, nearly two-thirds (64.3%) of Remain voters felt that the economic prospects for themselves and their family would be better if the UK remained in the EU, compared to a tiny 5.1% of Leave voters. Instead, 42.7% of Leave voters felt optimistic that their personal economic situation would improve if the UK left the EU, while 32.2% felt it wouldn't make much difference either way.

This crossing line in optimism and pessimism between Leave and Remain matters, because many of the places experiencing newfound optimism are among those most likely to feel the impacts of predicted economic downturn after the UK leaves the EU.

Many of these are areas feeling a newfound surge in optimism, a feeling that Brexit will deliver for them. If these economic predictions come to fruition, the bubble of newfound optimism among those most supportive of Brexit and most anxious about identity issues will burst. Moreover, an economic crash will most likely add to inequality, rather than reverse it. This opens a window of opportunity for populist exploitation.

By January 2019, it seems that this optimism is waning, with the majority of people now more pessimistic than optimistic about the future. An anti-establishment

sentiment was a driving force, the motive of many to vote to leave the EU, but the poor handling of Brexit has actually increased anti-politics feelings and mistrust. Whatever the outcome of a deal, no deal, or no Brexit at all, politicians will be held accountable not only for the economic impacts but also for failing to deliver a reality that meets optimistic perceptions. This will reflect on all politicians as failing to deliver on their promises, and will add to anger about a democratic deficit that works in the favour of metropolitan elites.

Further, our research consistently shows that a sense of loss, economic decline, and economic difficulties, are key driving forces for fear and hate. Economic downturn can easily be converted into resentment towards others. Immigration was a key driver of the Brexit vote, and although concerns have relaxed, a worsening in economic conditions with less money available for public services could see concerns about immigration re-emerge with even more force.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 HOPE not hate, Fear, Hope and Loss (2018) <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/fear-hope-loss/>
- 2 The National Conversation on Immigration, HOPE not hate and British Future (2018) <http://nationalconversation.uk/>
- 3 Ethnicity Facts and Figures, 2017, <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/>
- 4 British Social Attitudes Survey (2018) http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/media/39284/bsa35_full-report.pdf
- 5 Cambridge University (2018) <https://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/brexit-and-trump-voters-more-likely-to-believe-in-conspiracy-theories-survey-study-shows>
- 6 <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2007/jul/28/broadcasting.bbc>

HATE CRIME IN THE UK

Data from the Home Office shows that recorded hate crime in England and Wales increased by 17% in 2017/18 from the previous year, with 76% recorded as race hate crimes, 9% recorded as religiously motivated, and Muslims disproportionately targeted (52% of recorded religious hate offences were targeted at Muslims, though this is likely to be higher). While this is in part due to improved police recording, the terror attacks of 2017 and the EU referendum both triggered spikes in hate crime¹.

A 2018 report from Demos², looking at patterns of hate crime in London found an even higher proportion of hate crimes based on race- 84%- and 7% on religion, with the majority of hate crime offenders being white and male. They also found that, although most hate crimes were recorded in public locations in inner London boroughs, the most common relationship between victims and suspects was neighbours or acquaintances.

The spikes in racially or religiously motivated hate crime following the EU referendum, and the general increase in racially or religiously aggravated offences during the EU Referendum campaign, from April 2016- peaking in July 2016- highlight the impact of these incidents in fuelling and enabling hatred. We saw similar trends in public attitudes, with our polling showing a hardening of attitudes towards Muslims following the series of terror attacks in 2017.

A 2016 report from the Equality and Human Rights Commission³ found that hate crimes are individualistic and complex, motivated by a combination of issues, are usually dependent on norms and social environments, and almost all act in response to a perceived threat. Threats can be linked to economic stability, access to social/state resources, people's sense of safety in society, and/or values and social norms.

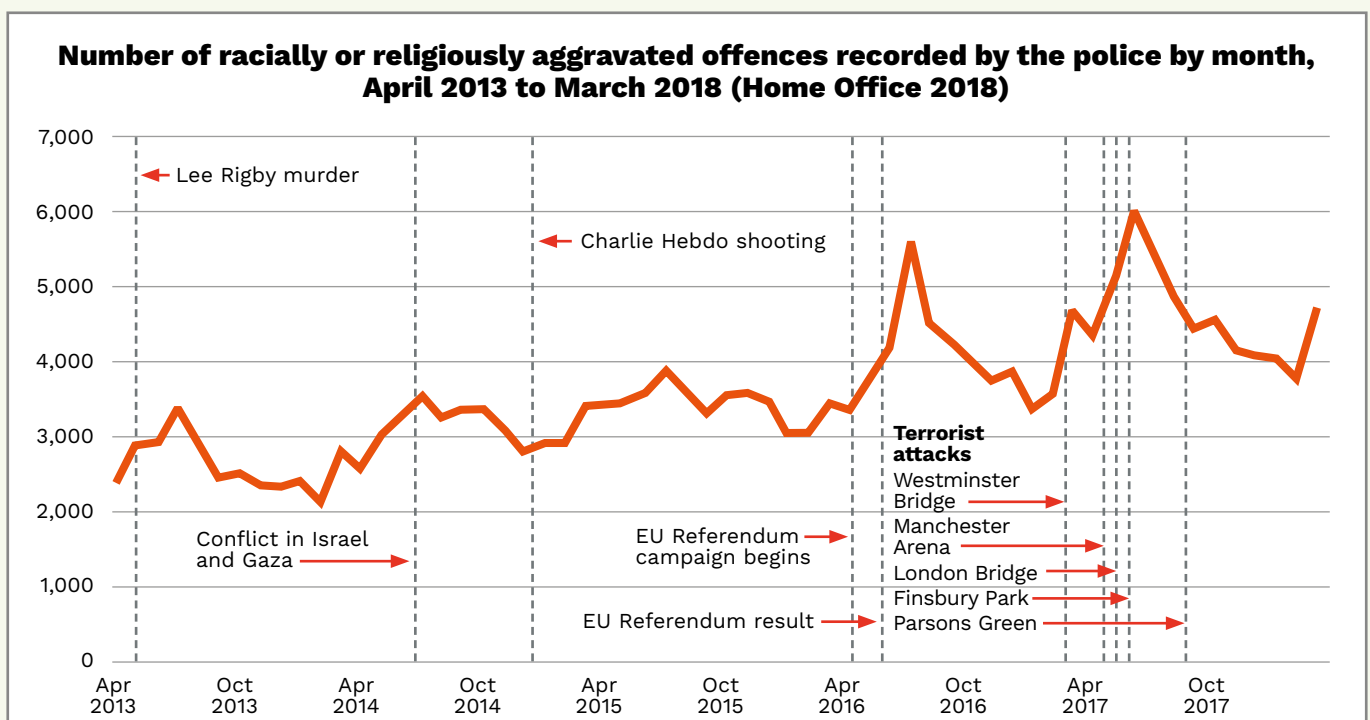
It is difficult to ascertain through Home Office and police data how many hate crimes were carried out by organised hate groups and how many were committed

by individual motives. However, the correlation between national and international events and hate crime rises suggests the impact of online activity from organised far right actors and groups in mobilising perpetrator of hate crime. For example noting the sharp rise in racially and religiously motivated hate crime following the Westminster Bridge attack, in the immediate aftermath far right conspiracy-theorist Paul Joseph Watson was the most mentioned person on Twitter, while the most popular YouTube video was produced by Stephen Lennon- the 10th most watched YouTube video in the UK on the day of the attacks⁴.

The divisive and xenophobic rhetoric of the Leave campaign during the EU referendum set a tone for anti-immigration hate, which legitimised and galvanised prejudice beliefs, but the rise in hate crime following the vote was also indicative of people's expectations. Many who voted to leave the EU on the basis that it would offer greater control over British borders also expected numbers of migrants, not just those from the EU, to return to their countries of origin once the decision had been made to leave the EU- with BAME people often confused with migrants. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services has also warned about a predicted further spike in hate crimes following Britain's exit from the EU⁵, scheduled for March 29th 2019. Police are preparing for this, but hate crime remains underreported, and more needs to be done to improve responses to victims.

FOOTNOTES

- <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/research-report-102-causes-and-motivations-of-hate-crime.pdf>
- https://action.hopenothate.org.uk/page/-/website/The_international_Alternative_right.pdf
- <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/our-work/article/hate-crime/>
- https://action.hopenothate.org.uk/page/-/website/The_international_Alternative_right.pdf
- <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/our-work/article/hate-crime/>



SECURITY AND TERRORISM IN NUMBERS

The Prevent strategy forms part of the Government’s wider counter-terrorism strategy, known as CONTEST. According to the Government, Prevent aims to safeguard people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism.

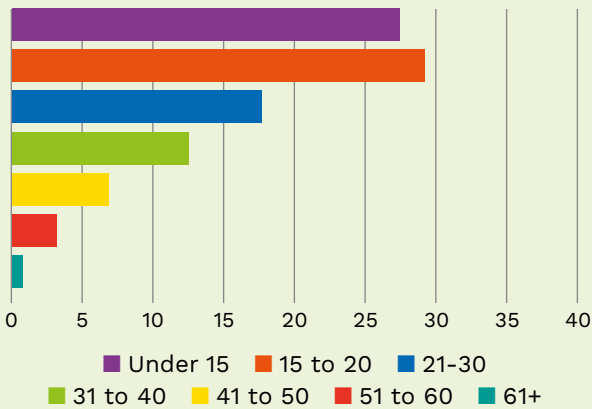
If a member of the public, or someone working with the public has a concern about a person they know who may be radicalised, they can raise these concerns with their local authority safeguarding team or the police for an assessment.

The Channel programme in England and Wales is a voluntary initiative that provides a multi-agency approach to support people vulnerable to being drawn into terrorism.

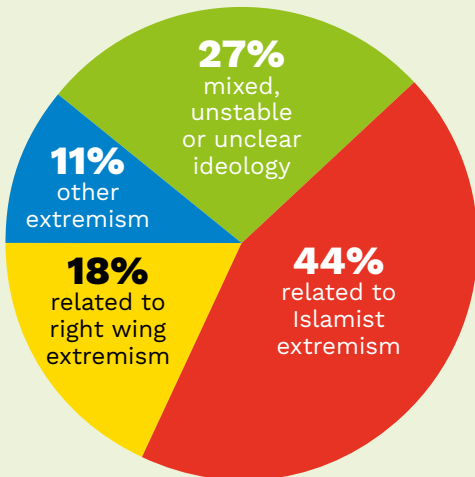
Prevent has faced fierce criticism since its inception, particularly from the Muslim community, and last month the Government announced an Independent Review.

AGE

PREVENT REFERRALS

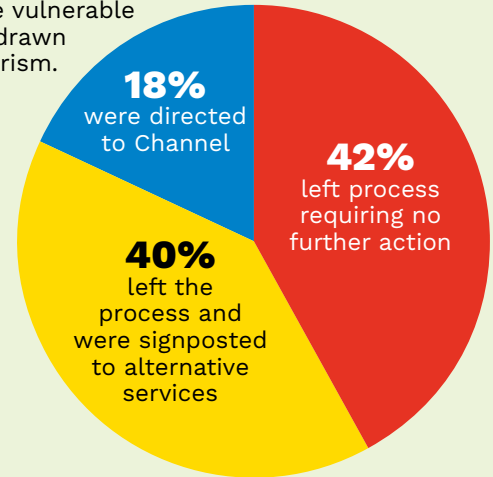


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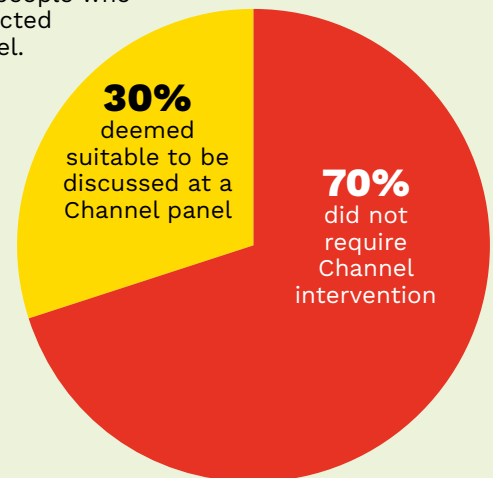


PREVENT AND CHANNEL

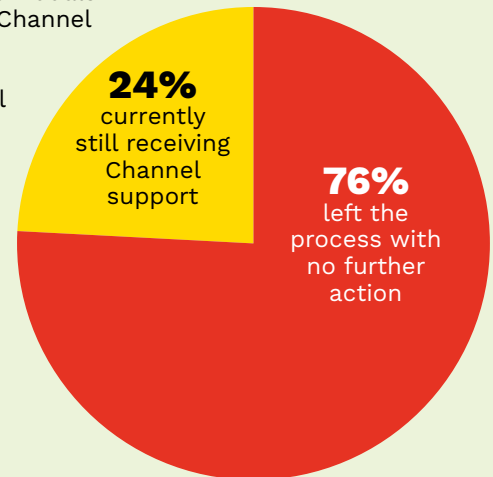
In 2017/18, a total of **7,318** individuals were subject to a referral due to concerns that they were vulnerable to being drawn into terrorism. Of these:



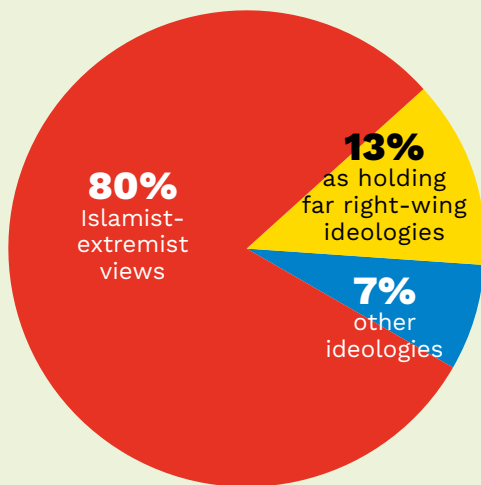
1,314 people who were directed to Channel. Of these:



394 individuals received Channel support following a Channel panel. Of these:



OF THE 224 PRISONERS IN CUSTODY



There were 317 arrests for terrorism-related activity in the year ending 30 September 2018, a decrease of 31% compared with the 462 arrests in the previous year, according to Home Office statistics.

The fall was largely due to the exceptionally high numbers of people arrested after the terrorist attacks in London and Manchester in 2017.

Of the 317 arrests for terrorism-related activity:

- 113 (36%) resulted in a charge, of which 85 were terrorism-related;
- 165 (52%) people arrested were released without charge
- 17 (5%) persons were released on bail pending further investigation
- 20 (6%) faced alternative action
- two cases were pending at the time of data provision

Of the 85 persons charged with a terrorism-related offence, 37 had been prosecuted, all of whom had been convicted. A total of 47 people were awaiting prosecution and 1 was not proceeded against.

At the end of September 2018, there were 224 persons in custody in Great Britain for terrorism-related offences, an increase of 5% on the previous year. The vast majority (186 – 83%) had been convicted, with the remaining 38 (17%) on remand awaiting trial.

However, the convictions have not been without controversy. In December, 15 people were convicted under terrorist legislation after blocking the takeoff of an immigration removal charter flight at Stansted airport. They and their supporters have claimed that this is an appalling abuse of the system and an “unprecedented crackdown on the right to protest”.

The Guardian has estimated that 40% of those convicted of terror-related offences between 2007 and 2016 would have been eligible for release by the end of 2018.

Amongst the most high profile convictions in 2018 were:

**SAFAA BOULA**

15-year-old Safaa Boula became the youngest woman to have been convicted for terrorism after she was given a life-sentence for plotting to bomb the British museum. She had earlier tried to travel to Syria.

**UMAR HAQUE**

Umar Haque was jailed for life for trying to build a child army to carry out jihadist attacks. He was convicted of attempting to groom children as young as 11 at a mosque in Barking, showing them footage of beheadings and conducting terrorism role-play exercises.

**ETHAN STABLES**

20-year-old Ethan Stables was sentenced to an indefinite hospital order after he was caught plotting a machete attack on a gay pride event in Barrow, Cumbria. The white supremacist told friends on Facebook that he was going to carry out the attack because he was ashamed of being bisexual.

**DARREN OSBORNE**

In February 2018, 47 year-old Darren Osborne was sentenced to life imprisonment after being found guilty of killing one Muslim man and injuring several other people after driving his van into a crowd at Finsbury Park. Osborne was radicalised online over just a few weeks, including regularly reading Stephen Lennon's and British First's tweets.

THE FALL OF NATIONAL ACTION, SEE PAGES 36/37

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIMS IN BRITAIN

While there appears to have been a softening in attitudes towards immigration since 2011, our research has shown that anti-Muslim prejudice is widespread, with concerns that combine perceived failures of integration and cultural incompatibility with fears of international extremism.

EXTREMISM

Our polling showed that attitudes towards Muslims in Britain had improved between 2011 and 2016, but with the spate of terror attacks in the UK in 2017, this was offset, and that has had a lasting impact on public perceptions. In our 2017 *Fear and HOPE* study, 42% of those polled said their suspicions of Muslims in Britain had increased as a result of recent terror attacks.

In the same poll, a quarter of English people believed that Islam is “a dangerous religion that incites violence”. 52% believed that Islam poses a serious threat to Western Civilisation including a staggering two thirds (66%) of Conservative voters who saw Islam as a threat.

Moreover, 28% of people, including a massive 42% of Leave voters, thought that Islamist terrorists reflected a widespread hostility to Britain amongst the Muslim community. In our August 2018 poll of over 5,000 people, 30% said that they would support a campaign set up by local residents to stop proposals to build a new mosque near where they live. 21% say they would still support the campaign if either side became violent, because the issue is so serious.

The link between international extremism and Muslims in Britain was drawn by some participants in the National Conversation, typically in places where people did not have contact with Muslims locally. Sometimes this was conflated with concerns about the impact of Islam on British culture and perceptions of failed multiculturalism.

In our July 2018 poll, we found that 35% of people think that Islam is generally a threat to the British way of life, compared to 30% who think it is generally compatible. 49% of Conservative voters and 47% of Express and Mail readers see Islam as a threat to the British way of life.

INTEGRATION

Muslims are seen as uniquely different from the majority British public, and from other religious groups. In our July 2017 poll, just 10% of the total public believed Muslims are similar to them, and only 50% of people agreed that most Muslim immigrants have successfully integrated into wider British society.

In the National Conversation, participants overall had a cynical view about the integration of Muslims in Britain, which we also found in January 2018 when we polled a series of questions about integration. Just 10% of people thought that almost all British Muslims do want to integrate. Almost a quarter of our poll (23%) thought that most Muslims do not want to integrate despite the few that do; 7% felt that almost all Muslims do not want to integrate.



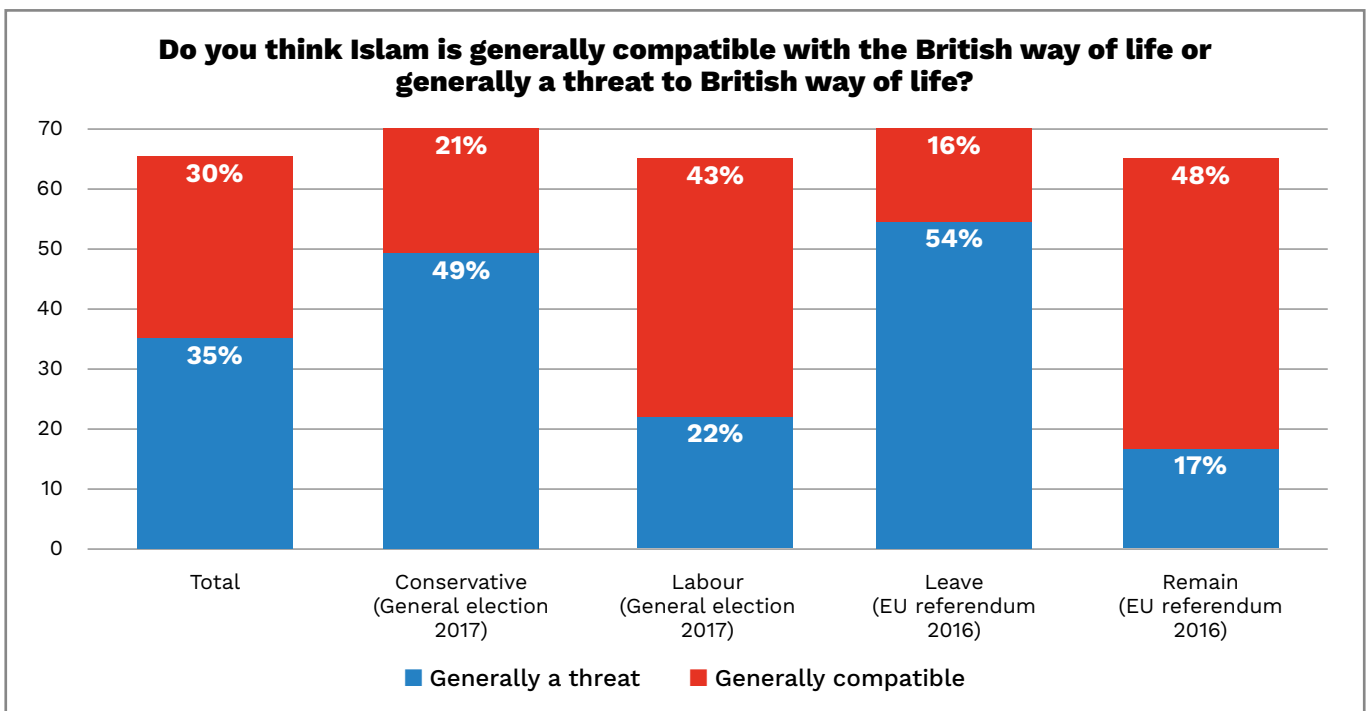
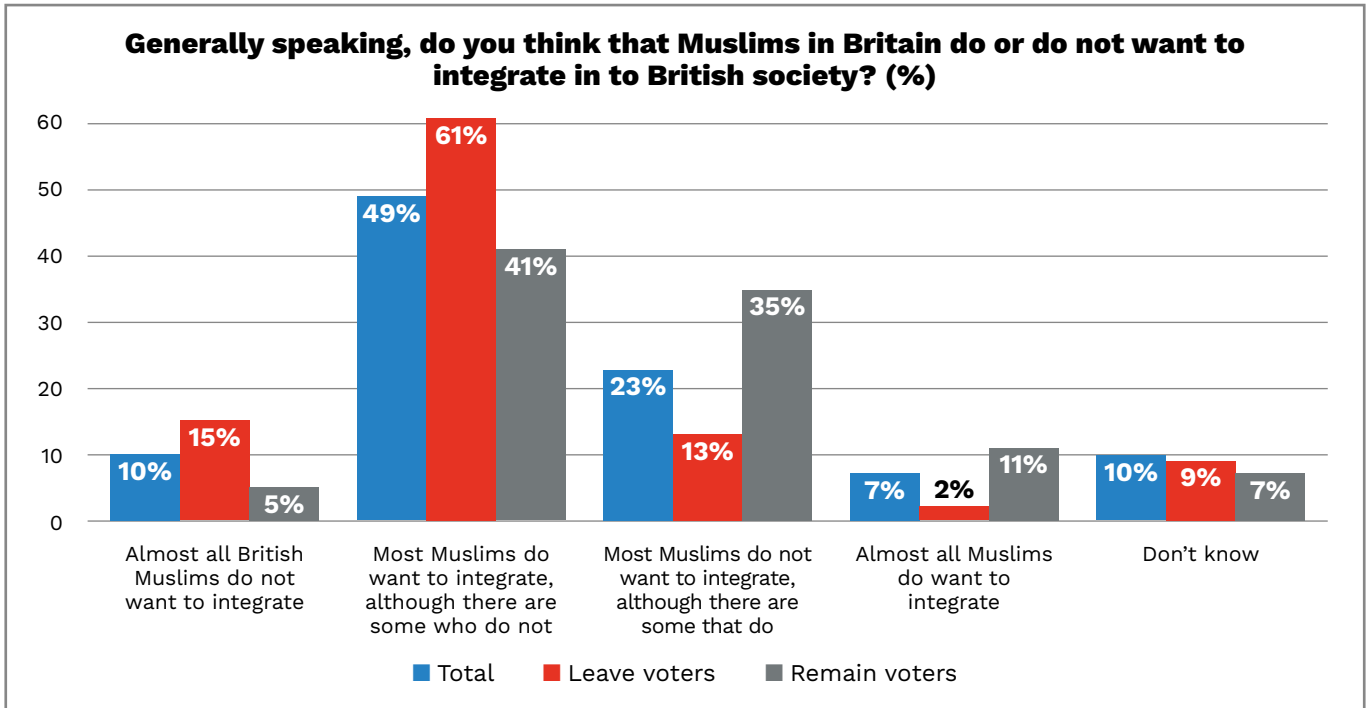
An Internet meme illustrating the conspiracy theory known as ‘the great replacement’, the idea that Muslim immigration is part of a bigger plan to make Muslims the majority of a country’s population, has seeped into the public consciousness

When asked whether they feel Pakistani immigrants are integrating, people respond more negatively than any other ethnic or national group. More people (44%) said that Pakistani immigrants are not integrating into British society, than feel that they are integrating (34%). These negative responses are most profound among Conservative and Leave voters: 64% of Conservative Leave voters feel that Pakistani migrants are not integrating into British society.

There is broad support for measures to improve integration, such as increasing interaction between Muslim and non-Muslim communities or offering English language classes, however, cultural symbols like the burqa remain a contentious point for many, especially over 65s, Conservative and Leave voters. 46% of over 65s and 49% of Conservative Leave voters in our January 2018 poll thought banning religious clothing that covers the face, like the burqa, would improve community relations compared to just 12% of 18-25 year olds and 11% of Labour Remain voters.

THE ‘TAKE OVER’

The conspiracy theory known as ‘the great replacement’, the idea that Muslim immigration is part of a bigger plan to make Muslims the majority of a country’s population, has seeped into the public consciousness. While most do not subscribe fully to this conspiracy, in the National Conversation on



Immigration it was common for us to hear participants talking about migrants and minorities ‘taking over’ certain areas or cities, or that they were having Halal products ‘forced’ upon them.

People told us they sometimes felt that they had been made to pander to Muslim sensibilities, as part of a ‘PC agenda’. We were told in a number of citizens’ panels that schools are no longer allowed to put on nativity plays at Christmas or celebrate Easter because of the Muslim community, despite no evidence that this was true.

According to our July 2018 poll, 32% believe that there are no go areas in Britain where sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter. Almost half of all Conservative voters (47%) and people who voted to

Leave the EU (49%) think that this is true. We also found, in our July 2017 poll, that people are more likely to overemphasise the number of self identifying Muslims in British society (39%), while just 13% estimate the correct number of 5% of the population.

DISCRIMINATION

Despite the prevalence and normalisation of public hostility towards Muslims, most people do recognise and oppose discrimination felt by Muslims. 57% of our 2017 Fear and Hope poll thought that discrimination is a serious problem for Muslims in Britain, while 40% thought that the media is too negative towards Muslims. 77% believe it is wrong to blame an entire religion for the actions of a few extremists.

POLITICALLY CORRECT ISLAMOPHOBIA

ISLAMOPHOBIA IS CREEPING THROUGH THE HEART OF THE TORY PARTY – AND THE LACK OF ACTION IS WORRYING

HOPE not hate's polling over the last eight years has uncovered hardening attitudes towards Muslims overall, but those who voted Conservative in the 2017 general election are among the most likely to hold anti-Muslim sentiments.

When Zac Goldsmith launched a 'dog-whistle' campaign during the 2016 London Mayoral election and attempted to associate the Muslim Labour candidate (now Mayor), Sadiq Khan, with extremism, it backfired spectacularly.

In fact, Zac Goldsmith's 2016 team also sent leaflets specifically targeted at British Indian voters claiming that Sadiq Khan was after their family jewellery via a wealth tax, and wrote in the *Daily Mail* that Khan was a candidate who "repeatedly legitimised those with extremist views."

Goldsmith lost, his attempts to take advantage of the Islamic State attacks in Britain and France were unsuccessful and other politicians in the party rushed to condemn the campaign as shameful (a rare few, such as former Conservative candidate Shazia Awan, condemned it as "racist" early on). But the fact that Goldsmith went ahead with this strategy in the first place, with the support of Number 10 and several senior officials peddling the same lines, is telling.

HOPE not hate has commissioned polls around its various *Fear & HOPE* reports which have shown that those holding Islamophobic views were more likely to vote for the Conservative Party than for Labour or the Liberal Democrats. One survey revealed that more people in Britain believe that there are 'no go' areas in Britain where 'sharia law' dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter than not. A far higher proportion of Conservative voters thought that this was true (47%) than the wider public at large.

Our 2018 YouGov survey of more than 10,000 respondents in Great Britain also showed that when asked if Islam was generally compatible with the British way of life, just under half of the Conservative voters agreed it was a threat, compared to 22% of Labour voters.

An earlier poll in our *Fear & HOPE* report produced in April 2018, for the 50th anniversary of Enoch Powell's infamous 'Rivers of Blood' speech showed similar results. Conservative voters were less likely to believe that Muslims wanted to integrate, that Muslims faced discrimination or that British Muslim leaders were doing enough to stop British Muslims being radicalised. In fact, when asked about integration, 43% of Conservative voters favoured a banning on religious face coverings compared to 20% of Labour voters.

The attitude of Conservative voters to Muslims has got considerably worse over the last few years, down largely to the influx of voters who backed UKIP in 2015.

Conservative voters are not the only Britons to see Muslims as a distinct homogenous group, set apart

from wider society. The effects of terror attacks and assimilationist rhetoric that distinguishes Muslims as a culturally-distinct outgroup have hardened hostile attitudes among those already predisposed to prejudice across Britain. The events of 9/11 are considered by many to be a pivotal moment which has shaped contemporary attitudes to Muslims, which triggered an enduring rise in associations of Islam and Muslims with violence and extremism internationally. Concerns about the supposed incompatibility of Islam with British values doubled between 2001 and 2006, as controversies about veiling and free speech hit the front pages of newspapers across Europe and America.

However, the series of incidents casually perpetuating anti-Muslim rhetoric seen across the Conservative party over the last several years has sent a clear message to voters. When MP for Harrow East, Bob Blackman, posted an article last year on Facebook titled "*Muslim Somali sex gang say raping white British children 'part of their culture'*" it was not the first time he had shared anti-Muslim posts through social media. He followed this up by inviting Tapan Ghosh, a highly-controversial anti-Muslim Hindu politician from India to parliament last year. Ghosh later went on to meet Stephen Lennon ('Tommy Robinson') during his UK trip.

MP for Lichfield Michael Fabricant also shared a racist picture of Sadiq Khan last year, while local council candidate George McIntyre said in 2017 he was "sick to the back teeth" of "whinging" Muslims and suggested they should leave the country. Several MPs and councillors were also found to be members of a pro-Tory group on Facebook which often had anti-Muslim comments such as "we should ban Islam", it is "a threat to our country" and a "mental illness". The MPs, who included Jacob Rees-Mogg and Andrew Rosindell, said they had no knowledge of it.

Last May, the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) called for an independent inquiry into Islamophobia in the Conservative Party. "The inaction taken in high-profile cases, sends a signal that Islamophobia is to be tolerated in the Conservative party," Secretary General Harun Khan wrote in the open letter to Brandon Lewis, Chairman of the Conservative Party.

Baroness Sayeeda Warsi, former co-chair of the Conservatives, has long criticised her party's attitudes towards Muslims and its inaction against perpetrators. After the series of Islamophobic incidents involving councillors, MPs and even Cabinet Ministers, she has joined the calls of the MCB.

"I've been warning my party of its 'Muslim problem' for far too long, and a combination of indifference and denial has meant Islamophobia has festered as a racist underbelly within our ranks," she told HOPE not hate recently. "For too long Islamophobic rhetoric and campaigning has been tolerated within the Conservative Party."

The litany of casual Islamophobia exhibited by Conservative party members is exemplified by the



Tapan Ghosh with Tommy Robinson

former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Boris Johnson, who compared women in burqas to “letter boxes” and “bank robbers” last August while arguing against the Danish ban to the face veil in the *Telegraph*.

HOPE not hate campaigned for the Conservative Party to suspend Johnson for his comments, which remain highly insensitive as well as dangerous. In fact, Tell MAMA, an organisation monitoring anti-Muslim hate crimes, said there was a “direct link” between the former Foreign Secretary’s comments and an uptick in incidents targeting women who wear the face veil.

Mohammed Amin, Chairman of the Conservative Party’s Muslim Forum said, “His words were inflammatory and pander to the far-right narrative that Muslims do not belong in this country. These comments divide our country at a time when we are under so much stress already.”

Some commentators accused Boris Johnson of virtue signalling to garner populist support. In fact, Warsi told Sky News last year that Boris Johnson was deliberately making anti-Muslim comments to exploit the “Ukipification” of their party and win the votes of new right-wing members. “I sincerely hope that he doesn’t continue to use Muslim women as a convenient political football to try to increase his poll ratings and to try to increase his profile and his presence on these issues that he knows will be heard.”

The Conservative Party said they would investigate the comments, but when HOPE not hate reached out to Conservative Chair, Brandon Lewis, last November, he tweeted, “We deal with complaints, none outstanding.” A month later a public statement proclaimed Boris Johnson innocent after an internal and apparently speedy investigation.

“The lack of transparency about how many cases have been investigated, how they were investigated and the outcome shows a clear lack of political will to deal

with this issue – instead the leadership have chosen to hide behind bureaucracy and process,” points out Sayeeda Warsi.

Several organisations have joined the calls for an independent inquiry into the issue, such as the Muslim Women’s Network UK, British Muslims for Secular Democracy, the Jewish Council For Racial Equality and the Union of Jewish Students, as well as Mohammed Amin, the chair of the Conservative Muslim Forum.

Miqdaad Versi, Head of Media Monitoring at the MCB, says his organisation has raised concerns over the existence of Islamophobia within sections of the Conservative Party for some time. “None of our political parties should give safe haven to bigotry. Despite repeated calls for serious action against Islamophobia from Conservatives themselves and a diverse range of Muslims, the Party response has been tepid at best. The party risks normalising bigotry towards Muslims and giving the impression that it is institutionally Islamophobic. We hope that this is not the case.”

However up until this point there has been no discernible change.

Meanwhile, there remains a stark political issue here for the Conservatives. Only 11% of Muslim voters chose the Conservative party in the 2017 General Election (as opposed to 85% for Labour) and this is unlikely to change while the Party remains in denial over anti-Muslim sentiment. This also relates to the Conservative party’s shrinking demographic – only 19% of Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) voters endorsed the Conservatives in the last election – down from 23% in the 2015 General Election.

Unless the Conservatives have chosen to cynically abandon the Muslim vote in upcoming elections to solidify their hold on anti-Muslim supporters, they must stop signalling to voters they find Islamophobia acceptable within its ranks and visibly address the growing problem.

THE STATE OF ANTI-LGBT+ HATE

BY DAVID LAWRENCE

Far-right movements have long persecuted and oppressed LGBT+ people. At worst, this has involved the Nazi imprisonment of more than 50,000 gay men, including an estimated 5,000 to 15,000 men who were sent to concentration camps, alongside lesbian and transgender people. Throughout the postwar period, anti-LGBT+ hate has remained a central tenet for groups across the far-right spectrum, with a recent, urgent example being Brazil's new President Jair Bolsonaro. Bolsonaro has boasted of being "very proud" of his homophobia, and has claimed that he'd "rather have [his] son die in a car accident than have him show up dating some guy".

However, anti-LGBT+ hatred has never been confined to just the far right and still, to this day, infects society more broadly, and it is imperative to understand and combat the challenges facing LGBT+ people.

THE FAR RIGHT

It is no surprise that far-right movements have traditionally targeted LGBT+ individuals, given their tendency to emphasise traditional gender roles and family structures, to fixate on perceived societal decline, and to scapegoat minorities. However, it is not always a simple black and white issue. Whilst much of the far right remains resolutely and vehemently anti-LGBT+, some prominent far-right groups and individuals proclaim to hold the *right* to be gay as a core Western value. Whilst this voiced value is, in practice, very narrow and partly serves strategic purposes, explicit homophobia has become something of a dividing line for the far right in the West. There have long been openly gay, radical populist right and far-right leaders in Europe, such as Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn, and as *VICE* states, figures such as Geert Wilders "have played to an LGB – but not T – crowd".

This has especially been the case since the focus of many far-right groups shifted to exploiting anti-Muslim antipathy in the 2000s. By presenting Muslims as universally hating LGBT+ people, far-right groups seek to present Islam as incompatible with the West. British-born, US-residing former Breitbart figurehead Milo Yiannopoulos has driven this line, for example, recently writing for the 'counter-jihad' outlet *FrontPage Mag* that he is applying for asylum in America because "as a gay conservative in public life, [he does not] feel safe in an Islamized Britain anymore". As an article in *Slate* states, for some far-right movements, such tactics also constitute "pinkwashing", appearing gay-friendly to moderate their image and broaden the appeal to younger people who may be more supportive of gay rights than previous generations.

In the UK, the founder of the English Defence League's (EDL's) LGBT division, Tommy Cook (AKA Tommy English), also founded Gays Against Sharia, which held a small street demonstration in Stockton in 2018



LGBT love is stronger than anti-gay hate – Peter Tatchell and other activists at London's vigil in memory of the victims of the Orlando gay nightclub terror attack.
Photo: Alisdare Hickson

featuring Anne Marie Waters, who is both a lesbian and leader of the far-right For Britain Movement. It is notable that at The Day for Freedom rally in May, the most significant far-right demonstration in London for years, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) introduced the drag queen Vanity von Glow (AKA Thom Glow) to the stage. It is also notable, however, that Glow's performance prompted walkouts.

Whilst some may hold a sincere concern about attitudes in Muslim communities towards gay people, others have little genuine compassion towards LGBT+ individuals, and the far right widely continues to deride gay rights movements as overly sensitive and associated with societal decline. Many forgo pretences towards being gay inclusive. In 2018 UKIP, during its shift into far-right territory, appointed Alan Craig, who has referred to LGBT activists as the "Gaystapo", as its Families and Children spokesman. *Pink News* have reported that Craig also has ties to 'gay cure' practitioners, and that his appointment prompted resignations from UKIP's LGBT officials.

Extreme homophobic material from the far right is readily available online, thanks in part to the white nationalist alt-right, and at its most fascistic, gay people have been presented as hostile parasites worthy of eradication. The London nail bombings may have been 20 years ago, but last year 20-year old Ethan Stables was convicted of preparing a terrorist attack on a pub hosting a gay pride night in Barrow-in-Furness. The BBC has reported that Stables was both



a self-confessed neo-Nazi sympathiser and a self-hating bisexual man, and had intended to “slaughter every single one” of the attendees with a machete.

TRANSPHOBIA

Despite a degree of divergence on the issue of gay rights, the contemporary far right remains near-uniformly transphobic, and increasingly vocally so as public awareness of trans rights campaigns increases. Notions of gender fluidity and pro-transgender policies are often held to be the result of malign, corrupting “cultural Marxist” doctrines. Yiannopoulos, for example, has labelled trans people as “deeply mentally damaged, and they are failed by a liberal establishment obsessed with making them feel good about themselves”. As such, while the issue of rights for lesbian, gay and bisexual people has become something of a dividing line within the contemporary far right, there is widespread unity on anti-transgender rights.

This disparity between attitudes towards LGB people and trans rights is reflected in society more generally. Galop, the LGBT+ anti-violence charity, told HOPE not hate that far-right elements are capitalising on a widespread transphobia, evident when considering coverage of trans issues in the media. The *Mail*, for example, has run opinion pieces with titles such as “The transgender zealots are destroying truth itself”. As Owen Jones wrote in *The Guardian*, “just as gay rights was once seen as the preserve of the “loony

left”, trans people are desperately lacking in influential media allies”.

A 2016 parliamentary report on Transgender Equality found that “high levels of transphobia are experienced by individuals on a daily basis (including in the provision of public services)”. In response, NatCen Social Research have written that findings from its British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey suggest that “the majority of Britons have supportive attitudes towards transgender people”, but “when probed deeper, some of that support becomes more qualified as you explore practical examples”. Its findings also state that only “About 4 in 10 [people surveyed] say qualified transgender people “definitely should” be employed as a police officer or as a primary school teacher. The need for radical improvements is starkly evident when examining hate crime statistics.

SOCIETAL ATTITUDES

Of course, when exploring prejudice and discrimination against LGBT+ people it is certainly not enough to look at the far right in isolation. Rather, they make up just one part of a wider societal problem of anti-LGBT+ sentiment. However, while significant problems remain, there have been encouraging indications regarding the direction of societal travel on LGB rights, if not T, rights. For example, NatCen’s BSA findings report that the number of people believing that same-sex relationships between adults were “not wrong at all” has increased from 11% in 1987 to 64% in 2016.

Ian Paisley Jr, Member of Parliament for North Antrim, has stated that he is “pretty repulsed by gay and lesbianism.”

However, while we have seen significant improvements over the last quarter century, progress has not necessarily been uniform across the whole of society. Unfortunately, elements of the UK’s religious communities appear to be increasingly out of step with wider societal trends when it comes to this issue.

For example, an ICM poll released in 2016 into attitudes amongst British Muslims claimed that 52% believed homosexuality should be illegal, and 47% thought it unacceptable for a gay person to become a teacher. The study has faced criticisms for its methodological short fallings, but any evidence of prejudice and discrimination has to be taken seriously and clearly work has to be done to challenge such attitudes. Extreme groups will seek to exploit such sentiment; for example in February 2019, a school in a predominantly Muslim area of Birmingham experienced protests due to its “No Outsiders” programme, which includes education on LGBT rights. The Salafi-Islamist propaganda “news” site 5Pillars sought to capitalise and stoke tensions with inflammatory articles and a video.

Similarly, BSA findings show that the proportion of Christians who believe that same-sex relationships are “not wrong at all” has consistently been below the UK average since the survey began in 1983, although attitudes have improved significantly since 2012. Polling is hard to come by for other religious communities but conservative communities within many faiths have long had concerns about the increasing liberalisation of society regarding gay rights.

While all prejudice, whether rooted in religious faith or not is deeply worrying, it is particularly concerning when in elected office. The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), which is rooted in an ultra-conservative form of Christianity and has a history of homophobia, has held the balance of power in Parliament since the Tories fell short of a majority in the 2017 General Election. Theresa May’s Conservative Party has proved willing to work with the DUP, which was founded by Ian Paisley. Among the MPs allied to May’s coalition is Ian Paisley Jr, who has stated that he is “pretty repulsed by gay and lesbianism. I think it is wrong. I think that those people harm themselves and – without caring about it – harm society.” Despite May’s willingness to work with the DUP, it should be noted that the party, which is anti-same-sex marriage, does not yet appear to have influenced Conservative policy on this issue.

HATE CRIME

Understanding levels of anti-LGBT+ sentiment in society is vital, as it has a real and often tragic impact on LGBT+ people. Stonewall, Britain’s leading charity for LGBT equality, has impressed that whilst positive changes in the law have been made, “for many LGBT people, these legal changes have not translated into true equality, and for trans people in particular, there is still much progress to be made before they are fully protected and equal under the law”.

Records of anti-LGBT+ hate crime in the UK show a dramatic rise in recent years, especially since



2014, when the police changed the way hate crime is recorded. Whilst this overhaul is undoubtedly a factor in this increase, the Home Office’s Hate Crime statistics for 2017/2018 shows 11,638 incidents of hate crime based on sexual orientation (a 27% increase) and 1,651 for transgender people (a 32% increase), over the preceding year. Galop, who offer a range of support for victims of anti-LGBT+ hate crime, told HOPE not hate that they have seen a big escalation in use of their support services in recent years. A BBC Three analysis of homophobic hate crimes in Merseyside since the murder of Michael Causer in 2008 quotes an LGBT activist as saying that whilst the upswing is partly attributable to people feeling more comfortable about reporting hate crimes, and the police taking them more seriously, “We’re more visible so we’re easier to find, and we’re easier to bash”.

The statistics also only show part of the picture. Stonewall’s 2017 report *LGBT in Britain: Hate Crime and Discrimination*, based on polling of more than 5,000 people, reported that 81% of LGBT people who have experienced a hate crime or incident did not report it to the police. Stonewall also reports that 21% of LGBT people have experienced a hate crime or incident due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity in the past 12 months. Importantly, Stonewall have also found that “LGBT staff who are black, Asian or minority ethnic, trans or disabled” were all more likely to receive harassment and abuse in the workplace, with 10% of black, Asian and minority ethnic LGBT employees suffering physical attacks from customers and colleagues in the previous year (compared to 3% of white people).

The internet age also poses new challenges. Stonewall’s 2017 report states that one in ten LGBT+ people, including one in four trans people, have been the direct target of “homophobic, biphobic, or transphobic” abuse online in the last month, and Galop’s *Online Hate Crime Report 2017* highlights that “verbal abuse, insults, threats, intimidation, harassment, outing and doxing are all common components of anti-LGBT+ online hate crime”.

Whilst attitudes have slowly improved, and steps have been taken in the law, there is evidently much to be done to ensure that LGBT+ people are protected and treated equally in society. As the Conservative’s union with the DUP shows, unprecedented polarisation in the UK, and an increasingly unstable political climate, could lead to the de-prioritisation and neglect of vital issues such as LGBT+ rights. The far right will always be present to exploit such wells of prejudice.

“THE PEOPLE” VERSUS: POPULISM ON THE STREETS OF LONDON



March for Tommy Robinson,
London 9th June 2018.
Photo: Steve Eason

BY JOE MULHALL

According to research commissioned by HOPE not hate, more than two thirds of the British public feel they are not represented by the main political parties. When asked about leading political figures, this disconnect is clear across the political spectrum, with less than 10% of people saying they closely identify with any leading political figure. We are facing a crisis of growing political mistrust across all sections of the population, with no figure able to galvanise the support they need to overcome this disconnect.

A mistrust in political representatives adds potency to a mix of unmet expectations, broken promises, and possible further decline and anger. The result is an increase in the number of British people conceptualising the current problems they face as being the result of a corrupt and detached elite oppressing the (often undefined) ‘people’.

While the far right has not necessarily created this narrative they have been beneficiaries of it.

BIGGEST SINCE THE ‘30S

The last year has seen a number of far-right demonstrations in London that have attracted, in some cases, 10,000 people. Whether it was the

‘Free Tommy Robinson’ event in July or the ‘Brexit Betrayal’ demonstration in December, the far right descended on the capital in numbers not seen in decades, perhaps not since the interwar period of the 1930s. Last year’s unprecedented demonstrations came off the back of the huge Football Lads Alliance demonstrations at the end of 2017.

The primary focus of this string of demonstrations has ranged from the imprisonment of anti-Muslim activist Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), the supposed suppression of free speech (especially in regards to speaking about Muslims), and the perceived betrayal of the Brexit vote by politicians and elites. Similarly, 2019 has kicked off with a number of small, insignificant ‘Yellow Vests’ demonstrations, notable primarily for their wildly disproportionate press coverage, also focusing on the Brexit issue.

Despite the divergent range of issues, the demonstrations have, on the whole, been attended by the same group of people. Our analysis of the events found activists from across the far right, ranging from former English Defence League (EDL) and Britain First activists, supporters of Generation Identity, old BNP and NF stalwarts, UKIP and For Britain activists and alt-right and alt-light figureheads, happy to march shoulder to shoulder whatever the cause; something approaching a far-right popular front.

“THE PEOPLE” VERSUS: POPULISM ON THE STREETS OF LONDON (CONTINUED)

The bulk of the demonstrators, however, seemed to hold little or even no affinity with the formal far-right organisations represented on the day. This is significantly different from the EDL days when most attendees were, at the very least, loosely affiliated with the organisation or even their local branch, and often attracted by the community aspect and sense of group identity as much as the issue being demonstrated.

This begs the question why 2018 saw demonstrations, on a range of different issues, attended by roughly the same group of non-aligned protesters; what were the common mobilising factors?

ANGRY AND IGNORED

These protestors are best understood as an angry collective, united by a deep distrust of politicians and the political system more generally, who believe that there is a devious and sinister ‘elite’ – sometimes domestic, sometimes international – who oppress and control them, often with the ‘tool’ of political correctness. They feel angry, ignored and oppressed.

As such, they understand each issue being demonstrated against – be it the arrest of Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, the ‘cover-up’ of what they call ‘Muslim grooming gangs’ or the ‘betrayal’ of Brexit – as symptoms of a ‘broken’ or ‘rigged’ system, rather than as independent and separate injustices.

This conspiratorial worldview comes through in the whole range of ancillary issues that are concurrently protested about at each demonstration regarding Lennon, Muslims or Brexit. The small Yellow Vests protest in Trafalgar Square on 19 January, for example, was primarily about Brexit, yet despite being attended by less than 100 people, it had numerous other mini-causes being simultaneously raised. These included the tragic but conspiratorial Justice For Our Boys campaign, a vest reading ‘Stop Forced Adoption’, another saying ‘Free Melanie Shaw’, and one asked people to ‘look up’ the theft of pensions in the Finchley Road area.

That such varied causes could coalesce is down to the common perception amongst those demonstrating that they are all symptoms of a pernicious and powerful elite consciously (and constantly) depriving the ‘people’ of justice.

‘THE PEOPLE’ VS. ‘THE ELITE’

Despite the eagerness of some to describe these demonstrations as ‘fascist’, they fit much more comfortably within Cas Mudde’s definition of populism: “an ideology that considers society to be separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, “the pure people” versus “the corrupt elite”, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people.”

This current movement’s binary distinction between the “pure people” and the “corrupt elite” is why the accusation of “traitors” is so readily thrown at any



authority figure they disagree with, be that politicians who back remaining in the EU or judges who sentence Stephen Yaxley-Lennon to prison. Those who disagree with their take on any issue are understood to be disagreeing with the general will.

This movement’s populist outlook is likely one of the reasons that the demonstrations were so large last year. While traditional far-right demonstrations or even English Defence League events tapped into the politics of only a small section of society, the overarching narrative of last year’s demonstrations – the betrayal of “the people” – resonates with much larger sections of society.

Though there are of course fascists amongst the crowds, especially those associated with groups such as the BNP or Generation Identity, the demonstrations themselves are generally not fascist, by which I mean the majority of the organisers and participants cannot accurately be described as fascists. On the whole, this angry mass of protestors lack a structured ideology and are driven much more by visceral emotions such as anger and betrayal.

This is not to say that what starts as an emotional mobilisation can’t and won’t be increasingly politicised towards fascism. We saw this with the EDL, with large numbers starting as single-issue activists then expanding their ideological outlook to a much more traditionally fascist platform with time. Perhaps, as author and politician Vernon Bartlett wrote of fascism before WWII, it “starts by being an emotion; it only develops a plan and a philosophy after the emotional crisis has passed its height”.

LEADERLESS BUT NOT DIRECTIONLESS

The fact that these demonstrators self-identify as ‘the people’ and have great antipathy towards elites could explain their reticence to have formal structures which necessitate hierarchies. Generally speaking, this is a movement with organisers, spokespeople and martyrs rather than traditional leaders. While Stephen Yaxley-Lennon is an important figurehead for this movement,



Yellow Vests UK and James Goddard at Media City Salford
January 2018

he has not sought to launch a formal vehicle, or adopted a formalised leadership position within it, unlike he did with the EDL and Pegida UK in the past. Similarly, in the wake of the Yellow Vests harassment of Anna Soubry MP and Owen Jones outside parliament in January this year, the press christened James Goddard as their leader to which he responded: “The #YellowVestsUK has no leader or political affiliation. They can’t silence us all!” When the press then identified Tracy Blackwell as the new leader, Goddard tweeted, “Seriously how many times do we have to explain that the yellow vests have No Leader, No Egos and No money !! It’s normal people who are frustrated with the system [...]”

The lack of formal leaders, however, does not mean they are directionless, merely that the rank and file look to a range of far-right social media ‘influencers’ and the ‘alternative media’ for direction rather than a formal leadership team. Lennon is obviously *primus inter pares* but other influencers include Daniel Thomas (AKA Danny Tommo), Raheem Kassam, Liam Tuffs, Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad), and Markus Meechan (AKA Count Dankula), amongst a whole host of others. Together, their social media output provides a veritable pick ‘n’ mix of grievances for demonstrators to choose from, each mutually reinforcing the overarching sense that the system is rigged against them.

While the anti-Muslim party The For Britain Movement has been well represented at all the demonstrations last year, it has been UKIP that has been most successful in courting these demonstrators. Party leader Gerard Batten has spoken at numerous Lennon focused demonstrations last year, and led the ‘Brexit Betrayal’ event in December, consciously setting out to gather this leaderless mass into one place and exploit its electoral potential. To do so he has shifted the party in an increasingly far-right direction. Whether he manages to convince these people that UKIP is a legitimate vehicle to affect the vast societal change they demand remains to be seen, though May’s local elections will give a clear indication.

INTERNATIONAL

The final element at play here is the international outlook of this movement. For a movement made up of nationalists, they are quick to reach out internationally. They conceptualise the threat in regards to Islam as occident-wide and their own oppression at the hands of a corrupt British elite as comparable to the oppression of ‘the people’ in America or in other European and Western countries; in some cases, such as with respect to the EU, they believe they are ‘oppressed’ by the exact same elite.

Organised to coincide with President Trump’s UK visit in July, the ‘Free Tommy Robinson’ demonstration in London, for example, saw far and radical right populists descend on London from across Europe, North America and Australia, all articulating their support for Lennon as part of a wider international struggle.

Simultaneously, all events saw vocal support for Donald Trump, no stranger to framing politics as the people vs. the elite. Similarly, the Yellow Vests UK is literally a copy of the French *Mouvement des gilets jaunes*, seeking to capitalise on their success across the Channel.

THE THREAT IN 2019

How long this movement can continue as a shapeless and leaderless mass of angry people is difficult to say. It is of course possible that it could solidify into a more formalised movement under the leadership of Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, or within UKIP under Batten. However, this would not sit well with the numerous existing far-right groups that were well represented at the demonstrations last year who, while happy to be part of a far-right popular front demonstrating a particular range of issues, would not countenance being subsumed into a formal umbrella organisation.

The danger is that the overarching mobilising driver of this movement – the populist dichotomy of the ‘people’ vs. the ‘elite’ – is very popular. With trust in politicians and our political system reaching staggering lows there is a ready pool of people that could be attracted to this type of messaging. Whatever happens with Brexit there is bound to be a narrative of betrayal being advanced by the far right that will no doubt speak to large numbers of people in the UK and reinforce existing disillusionment.

One thing is certain. We cannot wait for a traditional, united, far-right umbrella organisation to emerge before we act. We need to start connecting the dots now and to realise that what we’ve seen over the last year is various incarnations of the same threat. Once we conceptualise it as such we can properly begin to find ways to deal with the underlying problems driving this phenomenon. The hate might be the same as before, as are their targets, but the nature of the far right is changing and we need to understand that. Shouting ‘Nazi’ and ‘fascist’ won’t be enough.

THE FAR RIGHT ONLINE

Social media has come to play an essential role in the modern far-right. It helps in bridging distances, lower the cost of participation and, as Joe Mulhall points out in his article *The 'People' Versus* in this report, influential social media figures provide direction to movements that lack formal structures and leaders. Together they provide constant reinforcement of grievances and set the agenda of what specific questions to rally around at the moment.

The #FreeTommy campaign is a clear example from the past year. The campaign spread across the world aided greatly by social media. His Facebook page has 1,080,000 followers which put him roughly on the same level as the Labour Party's page and the campaign racked up over 1.5 million posts on Twitter, resulting in demonstrations in London and other cities with approximately 10,000 attendants and tens of thousands of pounds in support of a far-right leader.

The effect of hatred and harassment online is also an important issue that we cannot look past. Everyone deserves to be treated with respect, both online and offline. Moreover, we need to ask whether the normalisation of hate against minority groups online carries over to direct consequences in the offline world in the form of a lower threshold of harassment and attacks.

The Anti Defamation League's yearly report on extremist murders in the US showed that every perpetrator was linked to at least one right-wing extremist group, many of which mainly organise online, such as the incel and manosphere movements. The far-right terrorist who murdered 11 people in a synagogue in Pittsburgh in October was also radicalised, at least in part, on the social media platform Gab.

In other words, what happens on social media does not stay on social media. Closely following what happens online helps HOPE not hate to understand the issues and trends that matter to the far-right at the moment. For that reason, we track trends and the intensity of racist movements online.

This year's list is heavily influenced by suspensions of key figures over the last year. Alex Jones, who was the most followed far-right personality online in 2017, has now completely dropped off the list. A welcome development. However, despite increasingly harsh stances by social media platforms their suspensions are carried out inconsistently, leaving many extreme users with large followings on the platforms. Compared to last year, this year's list contains more Britons than before, with five of the top 10 most followed far-right figures on social media coming from the UK.

A significant reason for their success in attracting attention is their use of social media. Based on data from Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram and Gab HOPE not Hate has compiled a list of the top haters on social media to estimate the reach of far right accounts on these platforms.

Comparing audience size between websites and social media users does not allow us fully to measure impact. These users, websites and forums are not all equally extreme but based on data on followers of over a thousand accounts from a wide spectrum of the far right across five different social media platforms, it provides a high-level overview of the potential reach of these activists' messages.

MOST INFLUENTIAL USERS

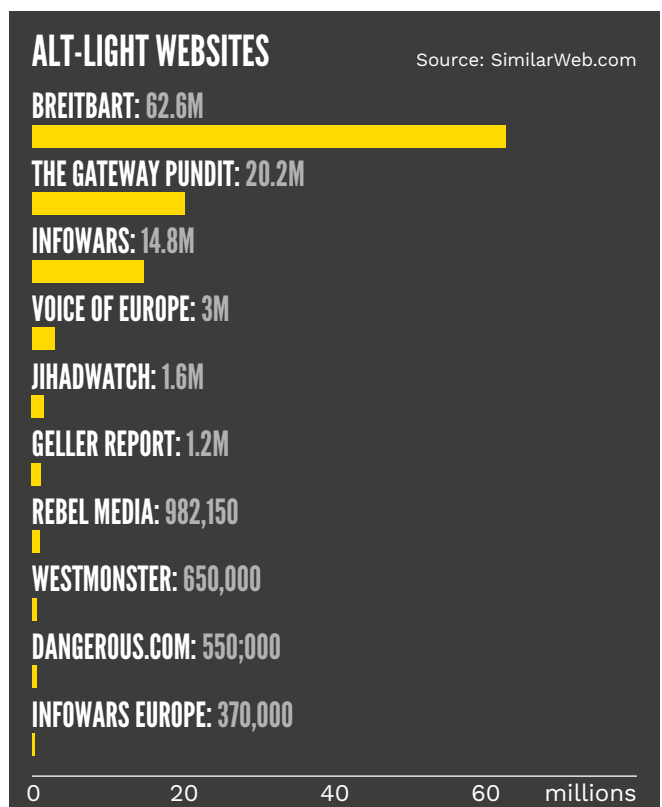
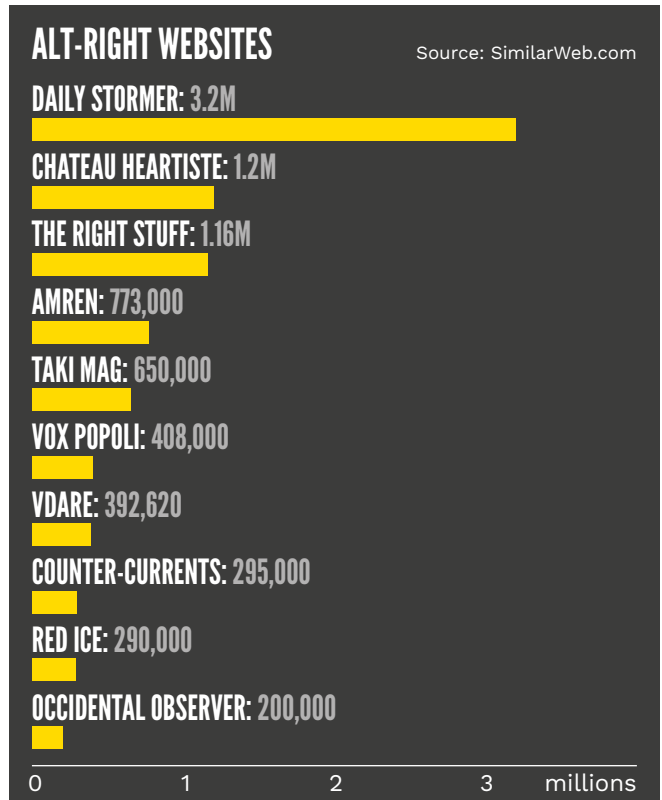
Bans of several key far-right figures affected this year's list significantly. American conspiracy theorist Alex Jones and his Infowars network, as well as former Proud Boys' leader Gavin McInnes, were suspended from almost every mainstream media platform, meaning that they do not make the list. This is a remarkable achievement, considering that Alex Jones was the most followed far-right activist world wide in 2017. Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) was similarly hurt by being banned from Twitter in March, but compensated by a four-fold increase in followers on YouTube after he left Rebel Media and began producing content on his own channel.

WEBSITES

There was no significant change in the most visited far-right websites in 2018. A large majority of sites both in the category of alt-light as well as alt-right websites, are North American, and so it is unsurprising that this region makes up most of their visitors. Breitbart continues to attract the highest amount of visitors but did not grow significantly in the last year. The nazi Daily Stormer's dominance among alt-right websites remains worrying, although it is important to note that the large amount of media attention might mean that those numbers include a larger proportion of visitors who are not supportive of the website's extreme ideas.



Alex Jones (left) and Gavin McInnes (right), have been suspended from almost every mainstream media platform



THE FAR RIGHT ONLINE (CONTINUED)

MOST INFLUENTIAL FAR-RIGHT FIGURES ON SOCIAL MEDIA

(X = The user is banned or is not using the site)



MILO YIANNOPOULOS

- 848,054
- 2,338,599
- X
- 398,000
- 67,191

TOTAL 3,651,844



PAUL JOSEPH WATSON

- 1,532,000
- 700,000
- 934,000
- 143,000
- 80,000

TOTAL 3,389,000



ANN COULTER

- X
- 688,383
- 2,100,000
- 13,500
- 31,334

TOTAL 2,833,217



PAMELA GELLER

- 28,400
- 1,349,287
- 195,000
- 88,400
- X

TOTAL 1,632,687



TOMMY ROBINSON

- 272,704
- 996,216
- X
- 141,000
- 20,806

TOTAL 1,430,726



STEFAN MOLYNEUX

- 902,520
- 58,430
- 384,000
- 11,400
- 48,277

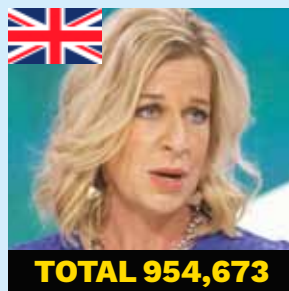
TOTAL 1,404,627



CARL BENJAMIN

- 901,999
- 92,680
- 13,900
- 17,700
- 30,563

TOTAL 1,056,842



KATIE HOPKINS

- X
- 32,322
- 897,000
- 21,000
- 4,351

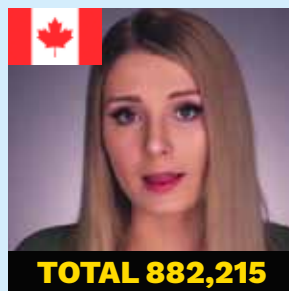
TOTAL 954,673



MIKE CERNOVICH

- 69,460
- 392,022
- 445,000
- 18,000
- 39,196

TOTAL 894,218



LAUREN SOUTHERN

- 687,788
- 289,985
- 393,900
- 172,000
- 26,330

TOTAL 882,215

FORUMS

4Chan's /pol/ board continues to be a central platform for far-right supporters online. Whilst the platform contains many different boards, a significant amount of users look specifically for /pol/. Kivifarms is another racist forum that continues to attract the most extreme expressions of hate online. The forum regularly encourages and celebrates the deaths and suicide of left-wing activists and LGBT+ people, sometimes through targeted harassment campaigns.

GAB

After Twitter took a harsher stance on far right accounts on its platform, far-right users turned to Gab, a site with almost the same functionality as Twitter that “champions free speech and individual liberty”. Gab has grown significantly since the start of 2018, and peaked in September 2018 with over 3 million new posts during that month. Several controversies and the recent introduction of an invitation-only system raise questions on whether the platform will continue to grow.

The amount of activity on the platform does not solely determine the platform's impact however. The perpetrator of the attack on a synagogue in Pittsburgh in October seemed to, in part, have been radicalised on the platform.

TOP FAR-RIGHT FORUMS

Source: SimilarWeb.com

4CHAN: 27.7M

United States (47%), United Kingdom (8%), Canada (6%), 7.71% of organic searches mention “pol”

8CHAN: 14M

US 47.8, Brazil 5.5, UK 5.4

KIWI FARMS: 5.9M

US 48.6, UK 9.1, Canada 4.9

STORMFRONT: 990,000

US 41.5, UK 11.2, Brazil 10.9

DAILY STORMER FORUM: 350,000

US 55.9, Ireland 5.4, Germany 5.0

0 10 20 30 millions

POSTS PER MONTH ON GAB

3.5 millions

3.0

2.5

2.0

1.5

1.0

0.5

05

06

07

08

09

10

11

12

01

02

03

04

05

06

07

08

09

10

11

12

2017

2018

THE FALL OF NATIONAL ACTION

2018 saw a series of trials that ended with 13 supporters of National Action being convicted under terrorism legislation, by far the most significant prosecution of any far right group on serious terrorist or violent charges since Colin Jordan and John Tyndall were prosecuted for the Spearhead paramilitary group in 1963.

Two trials in Birmingham and one in London saw 10 people convicted of membership of National Action. Among those convicted were Christopher Lythgoe, the leader of National Action, and serving soldier Mikko Vehvilainen.

However, it was the trial and conviction of Claudia Patatas, a Portuguese national, that attracted most media attention. Stories of her encouraging others in the group to commit violence and pictures of her baby – named Adolf – surrounded by nazi and KKK imagery captivated the media.

Another two trials in Leeds saw 19-year-old Jack Coulson admit to making a pipe bomb and Wayne Bell convicted of using social media to post racist and antisemitic material.

A further alleged National Action supporter, who cannot be named for legal reasons, pleaded guilty to a plot to kill a Labour MP and a police officer.

Following the sentencing at the second Birmingham National Action trial, Det Chief Supt Matt Ward, of West Midlands Police, said: “These sentences are the culmination of two years of painstaking work in the West Midlands and across the country to recognise and understand the threat of National Action.

“These individuals were not simply racist fantasists; we now know they were a dangerous, well-structured organisation.

“Their aim was to spread neo-Nazi ideology by provoking a race war in the UK and they had spent years acquiring the skills to carry this out.

“They had researched how to make explosives, they had gathered weapons and they had a clear structure to radicalise others. Unchecked they would have inspired violence and spread hatred and fear across the West Midlands.”

While the authorities are now confident that these convictions have destroyed National Action, it should not be forgotten that for six months after its proscription, the group operated without the knowledge or any surveillance from the police. Indeed, it was only after information supplied by a HOPE not hate source within the group that the authorities learnt of Christopher Lythgoe, the group’s leader.

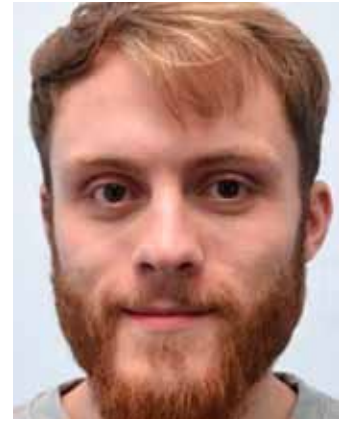
While these convictions are to be welcomed, the group’s demise has led to a number of smaller, if anything more extreme, groups being formed.



CHRISTOPHER LYTHGOE

The secretive leader of National Action. Little or nothing was known of Lythgoe until August 2017 when HOPE not hate exposed he and the group’s secret office and gym in Warrington. Had a disturbing and dystopian vision of race war.

Sentence: Eight years



MATTHEW HANKINSON

Chillingly predicted there would be innocent victims if anybody got in the way of NA’s plans for a race war.

Sentence: Six years



ALEX DEAKIN

Leader of the Midlands gang, Deakin was also responsible for the demise of the group having failed to delete secret communiqués before his arrest.

Sentence: Eight years



DANIEL BOGUNOVIC

Little is known about Leicester-based Bogunovic. At an early court hearing he bellowed like an aristocrat that he would “clear my good name” and while he was less vocal in his views, on occasion “the true depth of their racial hatred leeches out.”

Sentence: Six years and four months



ADAM THOMAS:

Former EDL and NF activist from Banbury in Oxfordshire. After meeting Patatas they moved to Britain together to start a family in 2017. Rejected by the army, Thomas was infamously pictured with their new born son, 'Adolf' before being arrested.

Sentence: Six years, six months



CLAUDIA PATATAS

Portuguese national Patatas was the oldest of the NA members to be convicted. Before her arrest she searched on line for crossbows to use, believing a final conflict was looming. Hit the headlines with news that she called her baby Adolf.

Sentence: Five years



JOEL WILMORE

Mystery surrounds Wilmore, who convinced many in NA he worked for the US's Homeland Security. Is believed to have worked as a 'hacker' on internet systems

Sentence: Five years, ten months



CORPORAL MIKKO VEHVILAINEN

Finnish National, stockpiled weapons in his garage at home and acted as driver for the Midlands unit. Wrote a glowing reference for Adam Thomas' failed application to join the army.

Sentence: Eight years



NATHAN PRYKE

It was not until his arrest that colourful binman Pryke was finally known by his real name. Until then Pryke, who had drifted into the NF, was known as Nathan Bishop, or "Bish" by the rest of the gang. The court was told that he was an NA enforcer.

Sentence: Five years, five months



DARREN FLETCHER

Perhaps better known under his other names, Clift and Stephens, the Hitler obsessive had previous convictions for threatening to fire bomb a local newspaper and for hanging a golliwog at a National Front function whilst dressed in Ku Klux Klan attire.

Sentence: Five years



JACK COULSON

Lauded the murder of Labour MP Jo Cox and her killer Thomas Mair. Was found to be building a pipe bomb when police first raided his home in 2017.

Sentence: Four years



WAYNE BELL

A violent psychopath who threatened all and everyone around him. Had a particular penchant for threatening Jews.

Sentence: Four years, three months

SOCIETAL MISOGYNY AND THE MANOSPHERE

UNDERSTANDING THE UK ANTI-FEMINIST MOVEMENT

BY SIMON MURDOCH

“Feminists attack liberty, justice, equality and meritocracy. They attack men, women, and children, and relations between the sexes.”

So declared the ‘Non-Feminist Declaration’, created by British ‘Men’s Rights Activists’ and published online in July 2018. Its signatories included key UK far-right vlogger Paul Joseph Watson, Breitbart London writer James Delingpole and Valerie Price, National Director of ACT! For Canada, tied to the major US anti-Muslim organisation, ACT! For America. Despite their support, the Declaration’s impact was negligible; exemplifying the marginal nature of organised anti-feminist politics in the UK. The operative word there, however, is ‘organised’. A glance across the contemporary far-right landscape in the UK and abroad will find many singular voices who share this conspiratorial interpretation of feminism. Whilst this interpretation is not new, in the present political environment it appears to be resonating more and this is acting as a sign to organised anti-feminists that now may be an opportune moment to mobilise support.

THE ANTI-FEMINIST BACKLASH

Improvements in gender equality in recent years, and the feminist campaigns propelling them forward, have been met by opposition and resistance in parts of society, especially online. The broader political climate has also boosted this, with a number of candidates stoking such views: From the new Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, who opposes the country’s 2015 anti-femicide law and who told a Congresswoman in 2014 that “I wouldn’t rape you because you don’t deserve it”, to the leader of the Spanish Vox party, Santiago Abascal, who has railed against “supremacist feminism” and whose party, now in coalition with the regional Andalusian government, wished to repeal gender-based violence law. In the UK we have seen waves of abuse targeting, especially, female MPs. An Amnesty analysis of tweets in the six months running up to the 2017 general election found a growth from 2.53-5.03% in abusive mentions of female MPs. Almost half were received by

BAME MPs, despite their being almost eight times as many white female MPs in the study. More recently, in January 2019 the Conservative MP Anna Soubry was harassed outside the Houses of Parliament, a scary prospect in the wake of the brutal murder of Jo Cox MP in 2016 and the failed murder plot of Rosie Cooper MP in 2017.

Far-right violence towards women is not new, but the resurgence of conspiratorial anti-feminism has fuelled a particular online community which do pose a novel threat. ‘Involuntary Celibates’ (or ‘Incels’) are men who believe feminism and women are to blame for depriving them of the sexual relationships they believe women “owe” them. Incels are mainly active within online forums, yet many encourage violence towards women in these spaces and individuals from these communities have been linked to misogynist killings over the past year. Nikolas Cruz, who murdered 17 students and injured 17 others in Parkland, Florida on 14 February 2018 – the deadliest school shooting in US history – had praised Elliot Rodger, an incel-motivated killer who murdered 6 people and injured 14 others in 2014.

Of course, extreme misogyny does not originate solely from the far right but stems rather from endemic societal problems. In the same month as Anna Soubry’s harassment, The Fawcett Society in the UK published an analysis based on new figures from the Crime Survey of England and Wales, which found that gender-motivated hate crimes – which are currently not officially recorded as such – are “at least as common as the forms of hate crime that are currently recorded”. They added that, according to the Survey, gender was “the motivation for over half of the hate crimes women reported experiencing last year”.

Concerns were raised too about insufficient reporting and recognition of the gendered element of other forms of prejudicial abuse. This was highlighted in Tell MAMA’s November 2018 interim report on *Gendered Anti-Muslim Hatred and Islamophobia* which found that, at a street level, women remain the majority recipients of anti-Muslim





Daryush Valizadeh AKA 'Roosh V', a leading figure in the manosphere.

THE MANOSPHERE'S SUBCULTURES

Men's Rights Activists (MRAs): Emerging in response to second-wave feminism, MRAs initially supported feminism's aims but focused on how traditional masculinity also harmed men. In the 1980s and 1990s offshoots emerged who either reasserted traditional masculinity (the 'mythopoetic' movement) or who judged – often implicitly white, cisgender, heterosexual – men to be undergoing a crisis that was the fault of feminism and progressive movement's more broadly. As Data & Society's Alice Marwick and Rebecca Lewis note, the men's rights movement today is "defined as much *against* feminism as it is *for* men's rights".

Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOW): MGTOW are gender separatists who reject, or greatly minimise, interaction with women. MGTOW is understood to have developed from fractures in the MRA community in the early-to-mid 2000s, over unwillingness of some to cooperate with female MRAs and a belief that MRAs should not work as a collective.

Pick-Up Artists (PUA): As the Southern Poverty Law Centre describe, PUAs focus "on teaching men how to manipulate women into sex, all the while constantly disparaging women and the idea of consent". As Marwick and Lewis note, the PUA community distorts dating advice so that it dehumanizes women and grants all sexual agency to men. The PUA community snowballed online, receiving mainstream attention in the 2000s.

Involuntary Celibates (Incels): Incels are men who believe their lack of sexual and romantic success is involuntary and is the fault of feminism and women. Originating in the late 1990s in a support group for men and women "struggling to form loving relationships", from the mid-2000s a misogynistic strand grew (partly due to an influx of men disillusioned with PUAs). Edinburgh University's Tim Squirrell notes this resulted in less emphasis on support and an increasing pressure to take the 'blackpill': a fatalistic notion that "a man's life chances are fundamentally determined by his attractiveness". Many conclude their options are "living in misery or taking violent action".

hatred, re-affirming previous findings. That women from minority groups in the UK may in particular be targets was made salient too in a joint report on online antisemitism from the Community Support Trust and the Antisemitism Policy Trust published in January 2019. Report author Seth Stephens-Davidowitz noted that "Jewish women in public life or positions of power are the subject of more antisemitic searches than Jewish men in similar positions."

To understand the present state of such gendered hate in the UK it is vital to understand, not only how such issues are deeply rooted in society, but moreover the way in which the web has fuelled an organised, conscious political effort by some to turn back the clock on gender equality and impede moves against structural sexism and misogyny.

SOCIAL MISOGYNY AND THE MANOSPHERE (CONTINUED)



THE UK MANOSPHERE ONLINE

The manosphere community in the UK (and abroad) is found predominantly online. After the US, the UK is a major source of manosphere traffic. Below are the number of **non-unique** visitors from the UK to these sites, according to traffic analysis site SimilarWeb, **from desktops** between October-December 2018 (mobile traffic makes up **the majority of visitors**).

■ MRA –

J4MB.org.uk: 35,146/136,068 (2nd globally, after US visitors. This is likely due to the J4MB's close connections with the more popular US MRA site, A Voice for Men)

Avoiceformen.com: 32,566/615,617 (5th globally)

■ PUA –

Heartiste.wordpress.com: 123,984/3.78 million (5th globally. Notably, this site received a 71.57% growth from Brazilian users during the same period as Bolsonaro's election)

Rooshvforum.com: 438,663/5.083 million (2nd globally)

Returnofkings.com: 298,975/4.164 million (2nd globally)

Therationalmale.com: 162,657/1.705 million (2nd globally)

■ MGTOW –

Mgtow.com: 172,095/2.162 million (2nd globally)

■ Incel –

RedPillTalk.com: 36,946/329,878 (2nd globally)

Lookism.net: 364,258/3.124 million (2nd globally)

Incels.is: 126,814/1.754 million (2nd globally)

Looksmax.org: 42,841/424,170 (4th globally)

■ General –

Vivalamanosphere.com 5,415/200,573 (2nd globally)

THE MANOSPHERE

It has long been the case that far-right movements have held sexist, misogynist and anti-feminist views. Yet, in a pronounced way, for elements of the contemporary far right these ideas are not merely a result of their wider political outlook but rather a central pillar of their ideology (in some cases alongside disavowals of other bigotries).

One influence on the contemporary far right's understanding of gender politics is the "manosphere": a loose collection of websites, forums, blogs and vlogs concerned with men's issues and masculinity, oriented around an opposition to feminism and, within parts, embrace of extreme misogyny. The prevailing interpretation within the manosphere is that feminism is about promoting misandry (contempt or prejudice of men) rather than gender equality. This perception is central to understanding the manosphere, for whilst many of its interests and ideas are inherently sexist, anti-feminist and misogynistic, others, such as concerns about male suicide, are not themselves expressions of these. Rather, they are viewed in the manosphere through a lens which places the blame for such issues at the feet of women, feminism and progressive politics.

The often deeply conspiratorial worldview of the manosphere is crystallised by the manosphere's use of the 'red pill' term: a metaphor for the process of awakening to the truth of some aspect of reality that has supposedly been hidden by progressives and elites. The term had already existed online since at least 2004, but manifested itself most explicitly in the creation of the 'r/TheRedPill' subforum of the popular forum site, Reddit.com, in 2012. The subforum, revealed by *The Daily Beast* in 2017 to have been founded by then-Republican congressman for the New Hampshire House of Representatives, Robert Fisher, would go on to become a central online space within the manosphere and the term is now widely used by the far right online.

Disagreements abound between the manosphere's factions, nonetheless these came together online throughout the late 2000s and by the mid-2010s shared an increasingly politicised and conspiratorial rejection of feminism and progressive politics more widely. The manosphere's core ideas have snowballed into an ideology that has taken on a life of its own outside of its online niche, in part because the rejection of feminism and a broader conspiratorial outlook continues to find resonance with the wider contemporary far right.

THE UK MANOSPHERE

Whilst sexism, misogyny and anti-feminism remain endemic issues in the UK, organised political movements that are primarily focused on these ideas remain small and at the political fringes.

Electurally, the sole group in the UK primarily concerned with anti-feminism is the 'Justice for Men and Boys (and the women who love them)' Party



Mike Buchanan who founded Justice for Men and Boys.
Photo: Mike Buchanan

(J4MB), founded in 2013 by Mike Buchanan. Buchanan was a consultant to the Conservative party from 2006-2008, who cancelled his Conservative party membership after David Cameron's announcement that he would introduce all-women shortlists for prospective party candidates.

J4MB are electorally as marginal as they come, receiving just 0.3% and 0.1% of the vote share in the two constituencies they stood candidates in during the 2015 General Election (they stood none in 2017). In practice, the party functions as a pressure group carrying out small demonstrations to little attention, and only occasionally are engaged with by the media. More effective has been the party's ability to act as the central organisers of UK anti-feminist activity, and as a liaison to anti-feminists abroad. J4MB co-organised the 2018 (London), 2017 (Gold Coast, Australia) and 2016 (London) International Conferences on Men's Issues (ICMI), the key international meetup for anti-feminist activists, alongside anti-feminist groups in the US, India and Australia (the first was organised by the main US anti-feminist organisation, A Voice For Men, and held in Detroit in 2014).

This year's ICMI was held in London's ExCel Centre from 20-22 July and saw roughly 150 attendees from Britain, Sweden, Germany, America, India, Norway, France, Austria and Australia over the weekend. The other main UK event of 2018 was the second annual 'Messages for Men' conference, held above an O'Neills pub on London's Wardour Street on 18 November. This saw roughly 75 mainly British attendees, and though it featured many members and staff of J4MB, was organised by London's small, active anti-feminist community (though one co-organiser was J4MB's Director of Communications, Elisabeth Hobson).

Outside of J4MB, offline UK anti-feminist groups are few and marginal, such as the Oxford Men's Rights Action group (who have engaged in very few actions) and the Norfolk Men's Equality Network, a Norfolk meetup group established in early 2017

who appear to remain inactive. Also of note is the disparate 'Network4Men' (N4M) community who believe "Feminism is now the ruling ideology in Western society. Culture and law is being melded to conform with this anti-men and anti-family agenda". In response, they help people to "form local groups of men who meet for friendship, shared learning and activism" (N4M groups appear to have engaged in no actions).

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

The subcultures of the manosphere by and large undermine their own political growth, be it because they are focused primarily on individual lifestyles (PUAs), actively reject collective action (MGTOW), or discourage – as noted, other than violence – most political action and instead promote a nihilistic worldview (incels).

The exception to this are 'Men's Right's Activists' (MRA) (see sidebar), in part because they employ a framework (however misguidedly) of human rights activism. As the Non-Feminist Declaration suggests, a litmus test for the UK MRA movement will be their efforts to mobilise the supposed 'non-feminist' segment of the population who not only do not see themselves as feminists but who believe feminism to be inherently harmful. To this end, MRAs follow the current far right trend of presenting themselves as martyrs for free speech; censored for merely trying to speak the 'truth' about 'dangerous' progressive ideas, while they are in reality aiming to propagandise. Such an approach to feminism is clear in the Non-Feminist Declaration when it states:

Recognizing the growth of feminist aggression, we assert our right to exist and thrive without paying any respect to feminists or their ideology. We shall not permit feminists to dictate what we say, how we say it or how we interact with the world.

By promoting the idea that feminism is an authoritative, controlling ideology MRAs create room for sexism and misogyny to be legitimised through the undermining of feminist reform. That the UK MRA movement will adopt this strategy in 2019 is evident from the recent establishment of a London-based 'Women's Liberation Network' by some of the organisers of the Messages for Men conference. Their first intended action is a demonstration on International Women's Day on 8 March. Beyond this, J4MB are in the process of co-organising the 2019 ICMI in Chicago.

Many feminist activists are doing brilliant, vital work countering the manosphere and HOPE not hate is determined to give greater and sustained attention to counteracting it too. Not only is it essential that we fight for the feminist cause for its own end, but as we are increasingly seeing, sexism, anti-feminism and misogyny are acting as a prominent route into the wider far right for many, making it core to the mission of fighting hate and restoring hope in society more widely.



THE RISE AND RISE OF TOMMY ROBINSON

For those who are perennial watchers of the far right, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), has been an ever-present spectre in British politics over the last decade. Whether smashing up town centres as founder of the English Defence League (EDL), marching at the head of a derisory crowd as leader of Pegida UK or more recently as a self-styled alternative media ‘journalist’ and free speech ‘martyr’.

However, 2018 was the year in which Tommy Robinson became a household name in the UK. A YouGov poll commissioned by HOPE not hate at the beginning of 2019 found that a staggering 55% of respondents ‘have seen or heard’ of Tommy Robinson, thereby making him one of, if not the, best known far-right leader in Britain since Oswald Mosley. His arrest and imprisonment made him a national and internationally known figure and he was splashed across the newspapers, covered by TV news and even discussed on Radio 4’s comedy panel show *The News Quiz*.

DEMONSTRATIONS

2018 was a hugely significant year for Lennon in terms of street demonstrations, with some attracting more far-right activists onto UK streets than any time since the 1930s.

His first major public appearance came in March when roughly 1000 people gathered in Hyde Park to hear him read out the speech of Martin Sellner, the co-leader of the far-right youth movement Generation Identity in Austria, who had recently been refused entry to the UK.

Next up was the Day for Freedom demonstration in May which saw roughly 2-3000 gather on Whitehall to be addressed by Lennon and a host of speakers from around the world, including founder of the “Proud Boys” fraternity Gavin McInnes, alt-light misogynist Milo Yiannopoulos, and UKIP’s Islamophobic leader Gerard Batten.

However, things escalated significantly in the wake of Lennon’s arrest in late May for live streaming outside Leeds Crown Court in breach of reporting restrictions that risked causing a trial to collapse. After pleading guilty to contempt of court he was sentenced to 13 months in prison within 5 hours of his arrest. The reaction from his irate supporters was rapid, with hundreds gathering in Westminster the following day. Angry crowds waved #FreeTommy banners and some even climbed the gates of Downing Street.

The #FreeTommy campaign gathered momentum fast with hundreds of thousands signing a petition calling for his release and donations flooding in to support. On 9 June, a huge, 10,000 strong ‘Free Tommy’ demonstration was held in London that resulted in significant violence. The demonstration, which started at Trafalgar Square before marching down Whitehall, saw speeches from Dutch Islamophobe Geert Wilders, The For Britain Movement’s Anne Marie Waters, former Breitbart London editor Raheem Kassam, co-founder of the EDL Kevin Carroll and several others.



The demonstrators were extremely hostile towards the police and violence erupted when a group of roughly 500 went on a rampage near Trafalgar Square. Bottles, sticks and cones were hurled at police officers and vehicles were attacked. At one point the police were outnumbered and forced to flee the scene in a hail of flying projectiles, pursued by the angry mob. Another group of furious demonstrators attempted to force their way into Downing Street but were held at bay by the police.

Similar numbers mustered again in July to once again demand his release. The event, which coincided with President Trump’s visit to London, proved what a rallying point the issue had become for the international far right. As well as the regular host of British speakers such as Batten and Lord Pearson from UKIP were video messages from the American singer Joy Villa and Geert Wilders and speeches from the stage from Filip de Winter from Vlaams Belang in Belgium, notorious Swedish far-right politician Kent Ekeröth, Jérôme Rivière from France’s Rassemblement National (formerly the Front National), Congressman Paul Gosar from Arizona and Australian anti-Muslim activists, YouTuber Avi Yemini and President of the Q Society Debbie Robinson.

Lennon was released on bail in August after winning an appeal with the Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales, Ian Burnett, who ruled that the case be reheard after he identified technical failings. Then, in November, Lennon was formally released from bail after Judge Nicholas Hilliard QC referred the case to the Attorney General. Despite being midweek, roughly 1000 supporters gathered outside the Old Bailey to welcome him upon release.

The year was rounded off with something of an anti-climax when the much hyped ‘Brexit Betrayal’ demonstration, organised by Lennon and UKIP’s Batten, attracted 5000 people; still significant but far fewer than they likely expected. The joint event was just one part of the increasingly close collaboration between Batten and Lennon. For many within UKIP, Batten’s infatuation with Lennon and embrace of street politics proved too much in 2018. A slew of prominent party members, including former leaders Nigel Farage and Paul Nuttall, former Deputy Leader Suzanne Evans, and several other MEPs all quit the party, citing UKIP’s new far-right direction and obsession with Lennon.

Tommy Robinson demonstration in Copenhagen, Denmark, May 2018. Photo: Kristoffer Trolle



SOCIAL MEDIA

Lennon's ability to attract large numbers onto the streets mirrored a year of growth on social media.

His most important platform was Facebook on which he has over 1,080,000 followers and 996,300 likes at the time of writing, putting him roughly on the same level as the whole Labour Party, and hundreds of thousands more than the current Prime Minister. His posts on the platform regularly receive in excess of 10,000 shares. Meanwhile, on Instagram he has grown to over 140,000 followers in 2018.

The second most important platform for Lennon is YouTube where, since starting his channel in December 2016 he has racked up nearly 24.5 million views with over 15,190,000 of those coming last year alone. He saw significant growth in 2018, starting with 61,000 he added over 208,000 new subscribers to his channel by the close of the year. However, 2019 opened with a blow for Lennon as YouTube belatedly took the decision to demonetise his channel, thereby removing his ability to make money from advertising on the platform.

YouTube isn't the only platform to have moved against Lennon recently with Twitter, on which Lennon had over 400,000 followers, landing a significant blow in March 2018 when they permanently banned him after it was judged that he was in breach of its "hateful conduct" policy. Another blow came in November when the online payments system PayPal also banned him, saying "We do not allow PayPal services to be used to promote hate, violence, or other forms of intolerance that is discriminatory".

INTERNATIONAL FAR-RIGHT SUPERSTAR

Lennon's significant social media presence has, in part, contributed to his evolution from a significant far-right leader in Britain into a bona fide superstar of the international far right. While he was well known previously, especially with the international anti-Muslim movement, 2018 saw his supposed oppression at the hands of the British government become a cause célèbre for far-right activists around the world. A HOPE not hate investigation found that only 68%



of the over 616,000 signatures on a pro-Tommy Robinson petition were from the UK with nearly 10% coming from both Australia and the USA. Similarly, our analysis of over half a million tweets using the hashtags #FreeTommy and #FreeTommyRobinson found that only 40% came from a domestic audience. In addition to the UK, demonstrators hit the streets in the USA, Austria, Hungary and Denmark as well as Australia and Canada to show their support.

Most worrying was Lennon's increased celebrity status across the Atlantic. It was soon revealed that the UK demonstrations were, at least in part, being funded by the American neoconservative think tank, the Middle East Forum. The right-wing conspiracy theory channel InfoWars, on which Lennon has appeared numerous times, broadcasted reports from his team and its figurehead, Alex Jones, referred to Lennon as a "political prisoner". Donald Trump Jr., Mike Cernovich and The Gateway Pundit's Lucian Wintrich all also spoke out in defence of Lennon last year. ACT for America, Brigitte Gabriel's anti-Muslim organisation – which claims to have 1,000 local chapters across the



USA – told its email list that Lennon's case meant that "free speech is under attack". Major right-wing channel Fox News has also chimed in with Tucker Carlson giving Lennon's case significant airtime on his show. Also offering Lennon significant assistance was Ezra Levant and his the far-right Canadian alternative media platform Rebel Media, a former employer of Lennon, which jumped to his defence. Levant also concocted a "Tommy Robinson chant" ringtone.

Further evidence of his growing influence across the Atlantic came when he was invited to America to address two events in November; one at the invite of key Islamophobic 'Counter-Jihad' organisations, the Middle East Forum and the David Horowitz Foundation, and another by Republican Congressman Paul Gosar and 6 other members of Congress, to speak at the Conservative Opportunity Society in a closed-door event. However, the trip was blocked after HOPE not hate worked with Ruth Smeeth MP's office to organise a letter from a cross-party group of over 50 MPs to the US State Department, asking that they refuse his entry.

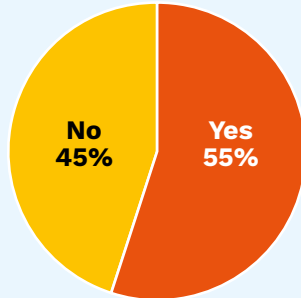
Despite being refused entry, the very fact that he was invited by elected Republican congressmen in the first place is hugely significant and an exemplar of his growing reach and influence. While 2018 was not an easy one for Lennon, his prison sentence has done wonders for his international profile, making him significantly more dangerous now than during the heydays of the English Defence League. He is already planning to capitalise both politically and financially on his heightened profile with a (now postponed) tour to Australia in 2019 planned alongside numerous other international trips.

In the UK, his links to UKIP seem set to grow ever closer, though question marks remain over the likelihood of any foray into electoral politics. He has, however, announced a new alternative media venture and his intention to campaign across the UK around the issue of child sexual exploitation by Muslims.

Whether 2018 will prove to be the highpoint for Lennon is hard to say but turmoil surrounding Brexit in 2019 will likely offer him significant opportunities to mobilise his supporters. The questions is what he decides to do with them.

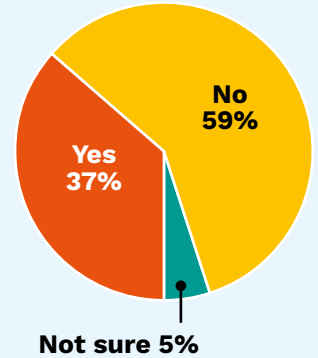
STEPHEN LENNON: A VERY PUBLIC FIGURE

BEFORE TAKING THIS SURVEY, HAVE YOU SEEN OR HEARD OF TOMMY ROBINSON (ALSO KNOWN AS STEPHEN LENNON)



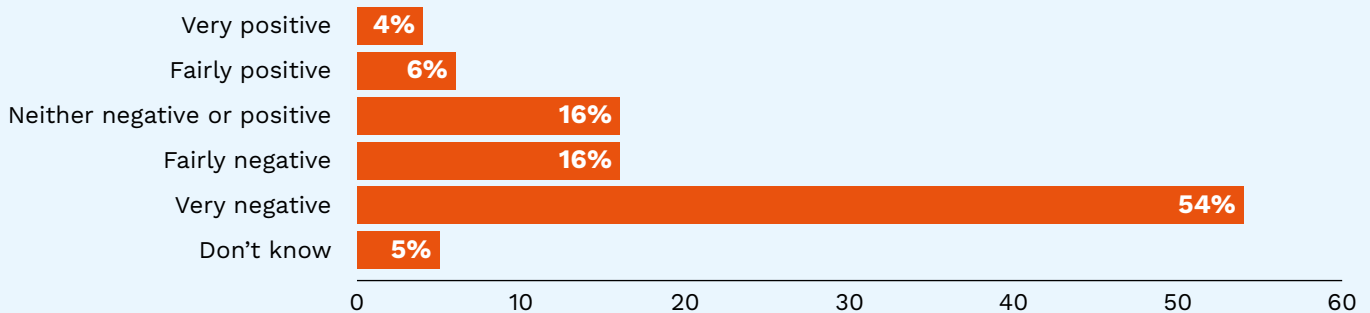
To those who had heard of Lennon, we asked:

HAVE YOU EVER SEEN OR HEARD A TOMMY ROBINSON VIDEO ON SOCIAL MEDIA (E.G. FACEBOOK, TWITTER, YOUTUBE ETC.)?



To those who had heard of Lennon, we also asked:

DO YOU HAVE A POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE VIEW OF TOMMY ROBINSON OVERALL?



We then asked those who had heard of him whether he had a positive or negative impact on a range of issues

DO YOU THINK TOMMY ROBINSON HAS A POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE IMPACT ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING?

	Vote in 2017				EU Ref 2016		Age				Social Grade		Region					2015 vote
	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Total	Re-main	Leave	18-24	25-49	50-64	65+	ABC1	C2DE	Lon-don	Rest of South	Mid-lands/Wales	North	Scot-land	

Local community relations

TOTAL POSITIVE IMPACT	10	13	6	1	3	18	9	13	11	8	6	19	5	10	15	13	6	29
Neither positive nor negative impact	12	19	6	6	6	17	12	10	9	17	10	14	10	9	18	12	5	26
TOTAL NEGATIVE IMPACT	64	55	78	85	83	50	56	65	68	63	72	50	72	66	53	62	81	35
Don't know	13	13	10	8	8	15	23	12	13	12	12	16	11	15	15	13	9	9

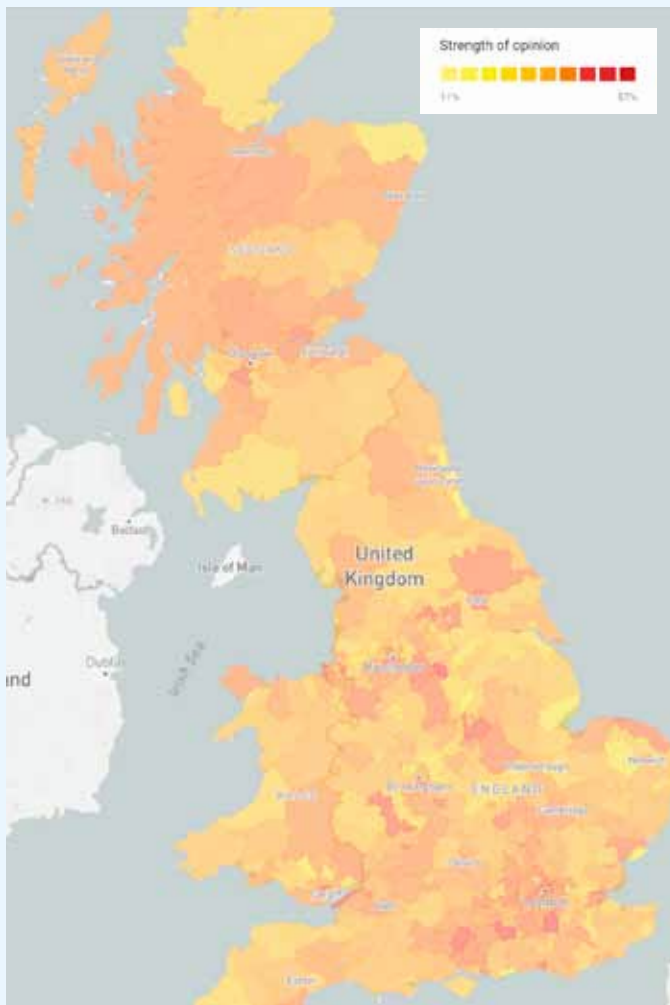
Fighting extremism

TOTAL POSITIVE IMPACT	17	24	9	1	4	30	16	18	15	16	12	25	14	15	21	18	11	47
Neither positive nor negative impact	12	17	9	5	7	16	15	11	13	11	10	14	11	11	11	14	11	24
TOTAL NEGATIVE IMPACT	61	47	73	88	81	41	57	61	62	61	68	49	69	64	54	56	68	22
Don't know	11	11	10	6	8	13	12	11	10	13	11	12	7	11	14	13	10	8

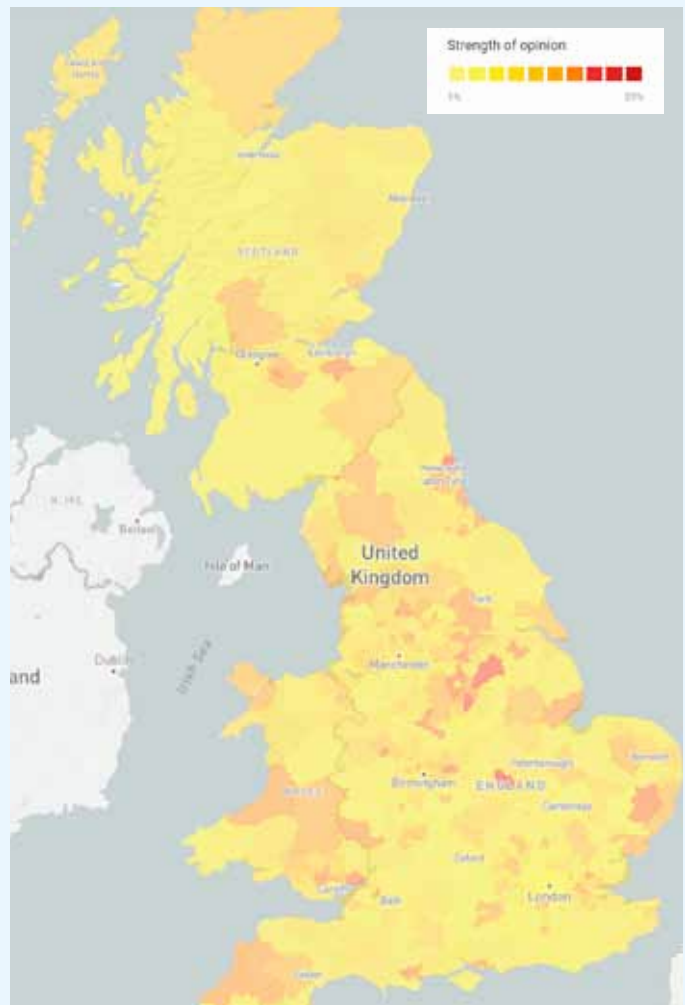
Highlighting issues ignored by the media

TOTAL POSITIVE IMPACT	29	42	18	7	11	50	25	29	31	29	24	38	23	27	31	33	28	66
Neither positive nor negative impact	15	11	16	17	17	11	22	14	16	12	16	13	21	16	14	11	13	16
TOTAL NEGATIVE IMPACT	45	36	58	63	63	27	37	47	44	47	49	37	49	45	41	45	49	12
Don't know	11	11	9	13	9	12	15	11	10	12	11	12	7	12	13	12	10	6

DO YOU HAVE A POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE VIEW OF TOMMY ROBINSON OVERALL?



NEGATIVE 32%



POSITIVE 6%

Last month HOPE not hate commissioned YouGov to test public knowledge of and support for Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson). Over the course of four days, the pollsters asked 7,000 people if they had heard of Tommy Robinson, whether they viewed him positively or negatively, if they had seen or heard one of his videos on social media and whether he had a positive or negative impact of several key issues.

The results were illuminating.

An astonishing 55% of people had heard of Lennon, making him better known than a lot of our national politicians. Middle-aged people, those living in London, Remain voters and those in the social group ABC1 were more likely to have heard of him.

Two-thirds of men had heard of him, compared to 45% of women.

Liberal-minded people are much more likely to have heard of Lennon. 69% of people who voted Lib Dem in 2017 and 65% of Labour voters have heard of him, compared to just 54% of those who voted Conservative.

Of those who had heard of him, only 10% had a positive view of him. 70% had a negative view of him, whilst 16% had no opinion of him.

When those who have never heard of Lennon are

included, our polling shows that 6% of the British people have a favourable view of him.

UKIP 2015 voters are unsurprisingly more supportive of Lennon. 27% view him favourably, with 34% viewing him unfavourably. The remaining 37% do not view him favourably or unfavourably.

More worryingly, 37% of those who had heard of Lennon had seen or heard one of his videos on social media. Amongst 18-24 year olds, this figure rises to 57%.

Using a statistical method called MRP (multilevel regression and poststratification), our partners at Focal Data have been able to estimate Lennon's support and opposition in each constituency in the country.

The areas of greatest favourability for Lennon are East Anglia, the northern parts of the East Midlands, West Yorkshire – but outside the cities – and Tyne & Wear.

The areas of greatest negative views towards him are London and other big metropolitan areas like Sheffield and Manchester. There are surprisingly high negative feelings towards Lennon in Surrey and Hampshire.

Amongst UKIP's 2015 voters, support for Lennon reaches almost 50% in Kettering, Bassetlaw and Ashfield.

GROUP REVIEW: NAZI GROUPS

SYSTEM RESISTANCE NETWORK

MEMBERSHIP: 10

AREAS ACTIVE: ABERDEEN, CARDIFF, DUNDEE, CHELTENHAM, CARDIFF, NEWPORT, BRISTOL, SOUTHAMPTON

SUMMARY OF 2018

System Resistance Network (SRN) emerged out of the members of National Action (NA), which was banned in December 2016. Looking around for a new name, some members of NA ‘stumbled’ across SRN in 2017 when it was a dormant group using the name Vanguard Britannia in homage to NA.

An organic mimic of NA, SRN appears to have attracted among a small number of others, NA’s former Scottish membership who had flirted with a series of small groups (including the banned Scottish Dawn) before falling out over ideology and strategy.

Because of its language, general geography and artwork, HOPE not hate confidently pinpointed NA founder Alex Davies as one of its senior members in 2018. Although Davies has strenuously denied this, he has given public encouragement to the group.

In August, 23 year-old Austin Ross from Newport, was jailed for six years for fifteen offences, including two of arson in the group’s name. Ross was not a known far-right activist and had no known previous links with National Action.

The group split over strategy and ideology, spawning a newer, even more extreme group, the Sonnenkrieg Division.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Likely to fizzle out.

SONNENKRIEG DIVISION (SKD)

MEMBERSHIP: UNKNOWN

LEADERSHIP: ANDREW DYMCK, OSKAR KOCZOROWSKI

AREAS ACTIVE: LONDON, BRISTOL, BATH, BROMLEY, PORTSMOUTH, LEEDS.

SUMMARY OF 2018

SKD, translated from German into Sun War Division, is the third generation of the British neo-Nazi terrorist group National Action (NA) that was banned in 2016.

It describes itself as a relative or “offshoot” of an American terrorist organisation guilty of five murders, that in turn modelled itself on National Action.

SD was formed as a splinter from the System Resistance Network (SRN) after a feud developed early 2018.

The identified leader of SKD is Andrew Dymock from Bath, who was expelled from SRN mid-year and was followed by others, including some similarly obsessed by Satanism.

Garron Helm

One of the more disturbing aspects of NA leading up to and then post its ban was the growing interest in Satanism, paedophilia and rape. Although such ideas were generally rejected by NA's footsoldiers, SKD has fully developed and embraced these as central, philosophical themes and ideology.

A large selection of SKD's outpourings encourage rape, paedophilia and murder. Sodomy was also a disturbing and repetitive theme.

The nominal leader of SKD, Andrew Dymock, had been a distant associate of National Action, but his co-leader Koczorowski had been a member and it has been suggested he worked closely with the National Action member responsible for developing the relationship with the Atomwaffen Division.

SKD also adopted and mastered much of the communication apparatus and technique first experimented with by NA during both its legal and illegal carnations- most importantly in keeping a strict code of secrecy and anonymity.

Ostensibly the group appears to have operated as a forum – as did National Action post ban. Working and communicating by using online 'gaming' forums, SKD developed ideology and links first initiated by NA. However, some of the more sickening and disturbing messages between members were reserved for secure messaging apps, as used by NA.

When Sonnenkrieg Division was exposed in a BBC investigation and arrests of its members made in December last year, the main headline focused on the group's charge that Prince Harry should be murdered for marrying a woman of colour – race mixing in their warped minds. What was less reported was the group's fixation with rape and sexual violence, though the BBC did report members of the group had shared videos of one female supporter being tortured and scored with a knife by one of the group's male members.

Last December Oskar Koczorowski pleaded guilty in court to two counts of encouraging terrorism, while another member of SD,

Sexual offence allegations against one member of the group is currently outstanding.

MISANTHROPIC DIVISION UK (MD)

MEMBERSHIP: UNKNOWN

LEADERSHIP: FRANCESCO SAVERIO FONTANA, JIMMY HEY, ROBIN GRAY

AREAS OF ACTIVITY: GREATER MANCHESTER, WEST LONDON, REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

SUMMARY OF 2018

The Misanthropic Division UK operations ground to a shuddering halt last year after HOPE not hate exposed the rat- line being used by Polish nazis and other proposed foreign fighters recruited by MD to fight in the Ukraine between the Republic of Ireland and Britain. So forthright was our report into MD's activities, the Russian embassy tweeted our findings to the Ukrainian embassy.

Already in disarray following the banning of National Action and the mass arrests of its members, Francesco Saverio Fontana dropped all MD operations in the UK- though still maintains contacts with some of his network through meetings of the Italian fascist party CasaPound in London.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

The civil war in the Ukraine continues. Expect to see MD creeping back into the UK to recruit again in the near future.

WODEN'S FOLK

MEMBERSHIP: 20-30

LEADER: 'THE WOLFE'

OTHER KEY FIGURES: GARRON HELM, EBONY HELM

AREAS OF ACTIVITY: WAYLAND'S SMITHY, AVEBURY STONE CIRCLE (AMONG OTHERS)

SUMMARY OF 2018

Based on an ancient German tradition that has severe blood and soil undertones, Wodinism was popular among Nazis in the 1930's when the Nazis dabbled with the occult. Similar to Odinism, Wodinism has taken off in the UK and found itself willing allies and adherents in some former National Action members as well as former members of another Nazi terror group, Combat 18.

Although most attendees of ceremonies in the UK see their attendance as politely doffing their caps at another obscure Nazi tradition, the emergence of Garron Helm, the nazi jailbird and disgraced former member of National Action member, makes Woden's folk a lot more interesting.

Although Woden is worshipped as a God of war, of all things, poetry is highly valued and members of the group are encouraged to recite verses whilst their arms are raised stiff around a fire, normally at some obscure, ancient site around the UK.

Helm is linked to the Satanist group Order of Nine Angles as well as close friends with a member of the equally disturbing Sonnenkrieg Division, the violent occultist Nazi group in the UK.

Helm has taken to holding his own 'solstice's' for the group nearer his home in the North West of England. Although these are poorly attended events, his sister Ebony – like Helm enrolled in the government's anti-extremist Prevent Programme, acts as a priestess at the ceremonies. For the sake of continuity, Ebony uses the name Thorum when going about her holy duties.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Woden's Folk is one of a number of small, occult worshipping groups springing up around the UK. Watch some of those linked to National Action or other banned groups use these as an excuse to meet up.

GROUP REVIEW: NAZI GROUPS

BRITISH MOVEMENT (BM)

MEMBERSHIP: 30. LEADERSHIP: STEVE FROST

OTHER LEADING ACTIVISTS: JOHN "BENNY" BULLMAN

AREAS OF ACTIVITY: SOUTH LONDON, KENT, WEST YORKSHIRE, EAST MIDLANDS, SCOTLAND

SUMMARY OF 2018

The British Movement's 50th anniversary passed almost unnoticed outside the very small clique of people surrounding the leader, Steve Frost.

Although Frost had hoped 2018 would see the BM eat into the disarray of a number of other small groups, his notoriously tight reins caused friction with the National Front and a rather explosive fallout with their former member and now the NF deputy leader Jordan Pont ensued.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Frost is obsessed about losing control of the BM and so it would appear, reined in a lot of the BM's activities in 2018 and instead put himself forward as a spokesman for the group at a number of pathetically small 'pan-nationalist' gatherings. Expect little more in 2019.

NEW BRITISH UNION (NBU)

IDEOLOGY FASCIST/MOSLEYITE

LEADER: GARY RAIKES

SUMMARY OF 2018

The NBU, which seeks to emulate Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists, has continued to be widely derided throughout 2018, doing little more than hold occasional meetings, produce its monthly newsletter *Blackshirt*, and update its website.

The group suffered a blow in the summer when the crowdfunding platform Donorbox closed its account, having already been banned from Paypal. In July, the outfit was forced to issue a plea to members for funds in order to pay the rent for its office, which it had only moved into in December of last year. NBU's solution was bizarre, writing in its newsletter: "we have set aside space in the office to clean, repair and repack vintage Action Man figures which we will then sell on the collectors market to help fund our operations".

The group has also suffered splits, with former members using the insignificant "Action Albion" platform to mock Raikes online.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Raikes has claimed, with characteristic overstatement, that his group aims to "light up the darkest corners of Britain as we take the truth of British Fascism to our embattled people in 2019". However, the group will continue to be insignificant.

COMBAT 18

IDEOLOGY NATIONAL SOCIALIST

LEADER: WILL BROWNING

SUMMARY OF 2018

After a spurt of activity in 2016 and 2017, Combat 18 (C18) became semi-dormant again in 2018. There were a couple of C18 gigs at the Bridge House club, East London but beyond social meet ups there was no organised political activity from the group.

Will Browning remains leader, but as he spends most of his time out of the country the organisation mainly keeps in contact via network and the occasional Oi gig put on by John 'Slaz' Henderson, a close confidant of Browning who is also lead singer in Last Orders.

C18-aligned bands are No Remorse and Last Orders.

Other key supporters are Essex-based Al Mornsey, Brighton-based Darren Wilkinson and Oldham-based Jason Wilcox and Kevin Gough. There must be 30-40 people who would identify themselves as C18, but for most it means no more than the occasional Saturday meet up. Kevin Whatmough continues to run its website and produce its stickers and flags.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Little is expected of C18 during 2019.

C18 Leader Will Browning in blue baseball cap. (below) Steve Frost BM leader



GROUP REVIEW: NAZIS – B&H

BLOOD & HONOUR

IDEOLOGY: NATIONAL SOCIALIST, RACIST

LEADERS: ROBERT TALLAND, SIMON DUTTON, BENNY BULLMAN

AREAS OF ACTIVITY: LONDON, SOUTH WALES, EAST MIDLANDS, WEST YORKSHIRE AND NORTH EAST

SUMMARY OF 2018

2018 was another year of decline for the Blood & Honour (B&H), the umbrella movement for the white power music scene. There are fewer gigs and those that are held are considerably smaller than in years gone by. The audience attending the gigs are overwhelmingly aging skinheads, most in their 40s and 50s.

Blood and Honour continues to be run by Rob Talland, aka Ginger Rob and Simon Dutton. Others involved in decision making are East Midlands-based Benny Bullman and Caerphilly-based David Braddon.

The largest B&H gig held in 2018 was September's Ian Stuart Donaldson weekend, an annual event to mark the death of the B&H founder and Skrewdriver frontman who died in a car crash in 1993. However, the 400 people who attended last year's event was considerably smaller than in previous years and even of these at least 100 were European nazis living in Britain or those who had travelled in just for the weekend.

Other gigs took place in London (13 January), the Violent Storm gig in Wales (10 March), the St George's Day gig in Yorkshire (13 April), the Stinko Memorial gig, Newcastle (17 August), the Remembrance day gig in London (9 November) and the White Xmas gig, held in Leeds (7 December).

West Yorkshire is becoming an increasingly important hub for the white power movement, with two B&H gigs being held there in 2018 and also other supposedly



Mark, better known as 'Sap'

non-political Oi gigs, which have attracted the same audience. The organisers of the gigs here are Mark, better known as 'Sap', and Bex.

After a torrid 2017, when several high profile gigs were cancelled or disrupted, Scotland failed to host a single B&H gig last year.

The bands in the B&H stable include Brutal Attack, Section 88, Embers of an Empire, Legion of St George, Nemesis, Squadron, March or Die, Blackout and Whitelaw.

Following strong police action to prevent nazi bands and supporters entering the country in 2016 and 2017, there was a noticeable drop off in people coming from abroad to gigs in the country.

The Blood & Honour magazine continues to be put together by Simon Dutton, a scaffolder from Staines. However, whereas once the magazine came out quarterly, only one edition appeared in 2018.

The merchandise continues to be tightly controlled by Ginger Rob and his son Mark, though with smaller crowds meaning less sales, even they seem to be losing interest.

With the declining scene in the UK, it is perhaps unsurprising that British bands and supporters are increasingly making their way to gigs on the continent. Squadron, who reformed in 2017 after a 20-year gap, have led the way, performing at more gigs than other British band. Brutal Attack also regular performs abroad.



Squadron in Berlin in late 2018

GROUP REVIEW: BRITAIN FIRST

BRITAIN FIRST (BF)

MEMBERSHIP: 2-300

LEADER: PAUL GOLDING (LEADER)

OTHER KEY FIGURES: ANDREW EDGE, GEORGE WHALE

AREAS OF ACTIVITY: BELFAST, NEWTONARDS, BALLYMENA, LISBURN, DERRY/LONDONDERRY (ALL NORTHERN IRELAND), MANCHESTER, KENT, LEEDS, DEWSBURY, BRADFORD, LONDON.

SUMMARY OF 2018

Four years ago, Britain First looked like it had the potential, at least in terms of membership and social media reach, to fill the vacuum left by the British National Party. Now, the party is in full self-destruct mode with one failed stunt after another.

Paul Golding and Jayada Fransen were jailed last March for 18 weeks (Golding) and 36 weeks (Fransen) after being found guilty of religiously-aggravated harassment carried out in Kent during 2017.

During their incarceration a bitter feud broke out between those entrusted with running the party in Northern Ireland and those close to the Golding family in Kent.

Upon Golding's release in July he shifted the party's operations to Northern Ireland where he planned to carry out a series of private prosecutions using legislation proved under the Good Friday Agreement against several social media companies. Rather sensationally, Facebook had removed Britain First's Facebook account, a platform by which they had become Britain's largest political party online.

His second act was to accuse controversial Belfast councillor and former friend Jolene Bunting of theft after he and fellow members carried out a supposed "investigation" into her. Bunting has since threatened to sue Golding for "reputational damage."

From there it's been one shoddy stunt after another as Golding has travelled Northern Ireland filming himself and a small band of loyal activists engaging in intimidation and confrontation against such diverse groups as Catholics having a picnic in Derry to members of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) in an office in Ballymena.

Golding has focussed BF's main activity in Northern Ireland against Romanian migrants moving into social housing in Ballymena, a campaign sadly not without some popularity on the ground there.

Not to be outdone, Fransen filmed herself being removed from a flight to Belfast at Christmas after attempting to leave Britain while a bench warrant was still outstanding in her name.

Between Christmas and New Year, traditionally pantomime season, an Irish newspaper ran a sensational story about Britain First's activities in Northern Ireland, alleging amongst other things: punishment beatings, pornography and blackmail, as well as an assault on a factional rival within the Loyalist community.

For Fransen, the alleged central character in the pornography and blackmailing, this was the last straw. Her two homes, including a recent purchase in Northern Ireland, are the proposed pay off in a longstanding legal action against the "movement" by some of its professional victims. She has decided to finally make a break with Golding and go it alone.

Golding, meanwhile, had his own plans to dump Fransen, though not before he cashed in on the remnants of her popularity.

Britain First did not respond immediately to Fransen's departure, though there will be questions asked as to how she managed to access some 15,000 names from various mailing lists to directly mail her news to.

In the days leading up to Fransen's announcement there were strong rumours that Britain First were at very strong risk of being "asked to leave" Northern Ireland by Loyalist paramilitaries who felt they were overstepping the mark.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Northern Ireland is supposed to be Britain First's bolthole from the popularity of Golding's nemesis Stephen Lennon. While Golding's anti-immigrant message has considerable traction in Northern Ireland, he also appears to be ignoring the strict rules some Loyalist paramilitaries demand of far-right groups that operate there.

Golding and Fransen still have a number of outstanding court cases in front of them.

Golding has begun a campaign to get BF supporters to register their interest in becoming candidates for the party in elections, which is quite a change from his previous view that elections are a waste of time and resources.

Expect to see Fransen launch a social media operation that combines attacking British Muslims and fundraising appeals.



Paul Golding

GROUP REVIEW: FOR BRITAIN MOVEMENT

THE FOR BRITAIN MOVEMENT

IDEOLOGY: ANTI-MUSLIM

LEADER: ANNE MARIE WATERS

SUMMARY OF 2018

Despite the endorsement of former The Smiths singer Morrissey in April, our prediction that the For Britain Movement was destined to become “a vehicle for the most extreme and disgruntled UKIP exiles and ex-BNP members” in 2018 proved correct.

The potential support base of For Britain, founded in October 2017 as an anti-Muslim UKIP splinter group, has been undercut by UKIP’s overtly far-right, anti-Muslim direction under leader Gerard Batten. Waters’ party has subsequently attracted former members of far-right groups such as the British National Party (BNP), who are barred from UKIP.

Officially registering as a political party in March, the local elections in May posed its first real test, standing a paltry 15 candidates and coming last in more than half of its contested wards. Several of these candidates had engaged in extreme racism and antisemitism online, and one Leeds candidate, Sam Melia, had a history in the nazi group National Action, which is now banned as a terrorist group. For Britain was forced to eject these figures after they were exposed by HOPE not hate.

In June, Waters contested the Lewisham East by-election, receiving just 1.2% of the vote. During the year the party’s sole local authority councillor, Richard Broughan of Stoke (who has a long history of controversy), was banned for three months from the premises of the council on which he sits following an altercation in a pub in October 2016.

For Britain’s national conference in September was addressed by Katie Hopkins, American ‘counter-jihad’ figure Robert Spencer (via video, as he is barred from entering the UK), and Ingrid Carlqvist, a Swedish anti-Muslim figure who has engaged in Holocaust denial. The extreme immigration policy in the new manifesto launched at the conference prompted Deputy Leader Jeff Wyatt to quit and re-join UKIP, just 79 days after he was announced in his role. The same month, Waters was permanently banned from Twitter.

For Britain claims to now have roughly forty branches across the UK, but has encountered a level of resistance from other far-right activists in Northern Ireland after establishing a branch there. Waters has increasingly looked overseas for support, where she still has friends in the ‘counter-jihad’ milieu. Waters attended the ‘Restoration Weekend’ hosted by the David Horowitz Freedom Centre in Palm Beach, Florida, and spoke at an event organised by Daniel Pipes’ Middle East Forum in Washington DC, in November. For Britain has also been accepted into the Movement for a Europe of Nations and Freedom, an alliance of Eurosceptic and far-right European political groups.



For Britain’s Anne Marie Waters

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

As long as Batten continues to appeal to occupy the anti-Muslim political space, For Britain will be forced to resort to even more extreme positions to find an audience. Further rifts may appear between the more libertarian ex-UKIP factions and the more hardline nationalist, such as former BNP elections chief Eddy Butler and his ilk. Butler in particular has the potential to become more influential, as Waters’ inexperience of running a party leaves her open to manipulation.

Areas of focus for elections are likely to be Hartlepool, Leeds, Stoke, Sandwell and Sunderland, where Waters believes she has support due to her involvement in the 2017 “Justice for Chelsey” campaign. Whilst the party will not pose a genuine electoral threat, it will seek to inflame local tensions. Waters will also continue to seek support from overseas.

GROUP REVIEW: BNP/NF



(left) Adam Walker and (right) Tony Martin

BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY (BNP)

MEMBERSHIP: 3-500

LEADER: ADAM WALKER (CHAIR), CLIVE JEFFERSON (DEPUTY)

AREAS OF ACTIVITY: SOUTH LONDON, SOUTH YORKSHIRE, ESSEX.

SUMMARY OF 2018

Once Britain's most successful far-right political party, the growing disinterest in the BNP finally appears to have infected its own leadership. Interested in cashing in on bequests to the party secured under former leader Nick Griffin's leadership, the party is moribund even if the bank account remains healthy.

Earlier last year the party reported that its annual income for 2017 had fallen from £416,000 to £229,000. This is still an extraordinary amount of money for a party that spends next to nothing on any general activity or campaigning. Since former MEP Griffin was jettisoned in 2014, bequests to the party are rumoured to have been invested in holiday lettings along the Cumbrian coast and Clive Jefferson recently moved into substantial premises on the outskirts of Silloth, a rural Victorian seaside town with spectacular coastal views and beach.

To placate growing grumblings from members, the party relaunched its dreadful magazine *Identity* as an online PDF early in the year, published by Jefferson's private company *Heritage Content Management*, which also owns and maintains the party's poor website.

In July the party's one remaining councillor announced he would not be standing for re-election. Like much of the rest of the BNP, he had simply given up.

The party's one bright star is Richard Perry, a hotelier from Essex, who as an independent was elected as Chairman of Heybridge Parish Council last May.

A fifty strong meeting in London of disaffected

members late in the year may have forced the leadership into a reluctant and overdue AGM, but it is unclear whether there was actually interest enough for the meeting to go ahead.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Nick Griffin, now much lamented by some, is rumoured to keen to launch a new bid for the party leadership or at least its few remaining members.

NATIONAL FRONT (NF)

MEMBERSHIP: UNDER 100

LEADER: TONY MARTIN (LEADER), JORDAN PONT (DEPUTY)

OTHER KEY ACTIVISTS: RICHARD EDMONDS, KEVIN LAYZELL

AREAS OF ACTIVITY: GREATER MANCHESTER, YORKSHIRE, CROYDON, NORTHERN IRELAND, BRISTOL, KENT

SUMMARY OF 2018

One of the world's longest surviving far-right groups it may be, but how the NF survives is somewhat a mystery. Every year the party stumbles and shuffles from one disaster to another and although there was rumour of a takeover/merger with the London Forum at the start of 2018, this failed to materialise and instead, the NF went about its preferred business of vicious internal fighting.

In July the party's footsoldiers voted with their feet when only ten people attended a march through Wakefield in Yorkshire. This prompted the resignation of Chairman Kevin Bryan and Croydon-based former soldier Tony Martin took over.

Foolishly assumed by many as being mildly competent – for an officer in the NF – Martin involved himself in a purge of some longstanding members and played up to rumours he is somewhat ubiquitous by taking himself off on an all expenses drinking binge around the country to empty meeting rooms.

Martin's new deputy leader, the thug Jordan Pont from Sheffield, opened a front against some of the NF's biggest funders including the wealthy widow Julie Lake who had pumped much needed money into the NF for three years. With Lake gone, Pont then threatened longstanding Yorkshire Nazi Eddie Morrison with violence if he, as threatened, challenged the election of NF officials loyal to Martin and Pont in breach of the party's constitution.

The year ended poorly when on the back of a horrific story involving Chairman Tony Martin and his girlfriend having a drunken night out in Newtonards near Belfast with men dressed as the Ku Klux Klan, the NF's annual Remembrance Sunday parade was the smallest in living memory.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

With Martin and Pont at the helm, the NF is likely to continue to struggle and shrink.

GROUP REVIEW: FAR RIGHT – UNDATABLES

It is ten years since the British National Party (BNP) opened their controversial but short-lived call centre in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Stuck out on an industrial estate in Dundonald in outer east Belfast, the BNP's call centre was the work of two almost irrepressible personalities that believed destiny had thrown them together to shake the political earth in front of them to submit to their political and religious will.

Two years later and with millions of pounds of members and supporters money donated, squandered and presumed missing, the two men would part in bitter acrimony. Each would decry the other as the cause of their downfall.

A kidnapping and an alleged murder plot were just two of the ways Nick Griffin, then the leader of the BNP and an MEP, and Jim Dowson, a firebrand anti-abortionist and Protestant preacher, would seek revenge.

The two would next meet in St Petersburg, Russia, in March 2015. Griffin was down at heel and at the mercy of crumbs from the Syrian regime, Italian fascist friends and a stipend as the nominal leader of a group of European fascist parties funded by the EU. Not only had he lost his seat in the European parliament a year before, months later, the BNP had sacked him.

In St Petersburg lauding Russian masculinity as the saviour of civilisation itself, was Jim Dowson. Basking in glow that he had somehow turned social media into the personal funder of his other venture, the BNP-lite Britain First. Dowson, like Griffin, was chasing assumed financial backing for the battle to unsettle and destabilise Western Europe.

Despite years of acrimony, the two rekindled like divorcees on a romantic cruise.

Since abandoning Britain First, Dowson turned to his first love. Founding a religious order, Knights Templar International (KTI), through a network of likeminded evangelical and orthodox anti-abortionists, Dowson was engaged in eulogising warnings about the spread of homosexuality, abortion, Islamic extremism and liberalism membership of the European Union could bring to suspicious congregations in the Visegrad countries.

A pair of scruffy comen they may appear in the cosmopolitan and therefore abandoned west, but with Griffin in tow as a former member of the European Parliament and a battle of wills raging between Moscow and Brussels, the pair were committed to chasing Russian Rubles across European pay dirt.

Their first pay day arrived when hundreds of Syrian refugees arrived in the Hungarian capital, Budapest, late in 2015. Cloaked in religious garb and gowns, the eugenicist version of Laurel and Hardy went on a speaking tour of central and Eastern Europe, lecturing on “demographics” and pointing to the “invasion” of Hungary as evidence that Europe was on the cusp of a migration meltdown on par with Jean Raspail's *Les Camp des Saints*.

In response to the anticipated invasion by a coalition of militant Jihadis and liberal abortionists, churches in Hungary offered KTI a sumptuous dwelling from where Dowson could expand his crusade of distorting news and social media.

From Budapest, Dowson oversaw a hub running a hothouse of news websites and Facebook pages whose content was so poisonous and distorted, that the *New York Times* questioned whether Dowson had even played a part in the outcome of the US Presidential Elections.

Griffin toured conferences of miniscule, failing, far-right parties across the EU lauding the potential for a new beginning in the intolerant, suspicious and religious East.

Griffin and Dowson's joint influence extended far beyond suspicious congregations. In Hungary and Serbia in particular the two found willing sponsors in both parliaments for a number of hair brained but dangerous schemes the two devised. They clothed, fed and kitted out a series of self-appointed militias in Hungary, Bulgaria and Serbia self-charged with hunting down refugees and asylum seekers navigating Europe, it is alleged, in exchange for Syrian pounds.

By 2017 Griffin and Dowson were cutting quite the horrendous dash around Europe. Hungary had very quickly developed an “onside” reputation, as Victor Orban riled against, refugees and liberalism.

Plans to make Budapest their home hit the buffers as the authorities there declared Griffin and Dowson “persona non grata”. Since vacating Hungary, Dowson has retreated back to Belfast after a period in Serbia. Griffin, meanwhile, having finally sold his Welsh home and given up plans of moving to Spain, is now contemplating a return to frontline politics.

Jim Dowson and Nick Griffin

GROUP REVIEW: UKIP

UK INDEPENDENCE PARTY

IDEOLOGY: EUROSCEPTIC/ANTI-MUSLIM/RIGHT-POPULIST

LEADER: GERARD BATTEN MEP

MEMBERSHIP: 26,500

Lord Pearson (right) with Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson)



SUMMARY OF 2018

UKIP began 2018 facing potential collapse and bankruptcy, and finished the year in a fresh crisis, losing many of its most significant figures due to its ever-deepening links to far-right extremist Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) and the party's increasingly overt anti-Muslim politics.

In early January 2018, then-leader Henry Bolton's reputation was irrevocably tarnished after news broke that he had left his wife for a party member less than half his age, who was subsequently revealed to have made racist comments. UKIP also faced possible bankruptcy due to a £175,000 legal bill, after MEP Jane Collins lost a libel case involving three Labour MPs. Soon after Bolton lost a vote of no confidence brought by UKIP's NEC. The fiasco prompted mass walkouts, including all 17 councillors in Thurrock, once considered UKIP's flagship branch.

The longstanding Islamophobe Gerard Batten MEP was appointed leader by UKIP's NEC, and successfully raised the funds to pay UKIP's debts.

The party had another poor showing at the May local elections, struggling to muster a quarter of the candidates it fielded in 2014. UKIP lost 123 councillors and gained just three, including two in Derby.

However, Batten has, to some extent, revitalised the membership, which had sunk as low as 18,000 in mid-February, but was back up to 26,500 at the end of the year (still well down from its peak of 46,000 during the 2015 general election).

Batten has also brought the worst tendencies in UKIP to the fore, by engaging in ugly nativist politics and seeking to recruit directly from anti-Muslim street movements. In June, the party has also welcomed a set of extreme online figures, Paul Joseph Watson, Milo Yiannopoulos, Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad), and Mark Meechan (AKA Count Dankula), who are profiled elsewhere in this report. Watson, Benjamin and Meechan all featured at UKIP's party conference in September, and Benjamin and Watson were photographed at a strategy meeting alongside the UKIP leadership in August.

Crucially, Batten and his ally, former UKIP leader Lord Pearson, have fallen under the spell of former English Defence League leader Stephen Yaxley-Lennon. Batten has spoken at a series of street protests and has actively pushed for his entry into UKIP, and has appointed him his "special advisor" on "rape gangs" and prisons. Batten's support of Lennon has proved enormously divisive, prompting former leader Nigel Farage to launch a failed attempt to push Batten out of the party in November, labelling Batten's UKIP the "new BNP". Farage then quit the party, alongside a number of MEPs, ostensibly in protest against Batten and Lennon's "Brexit Betrayal" March on 9 December. Some have since signalled that they may set up a new political party.

The march itself attracted roughly 5,000 people, and marked the consolidation of UKIP's new far-right direction.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

The 2 May local elections will be the first electoral test for Batten's new UKIP, and the party has set the wildly ambitious target of fielding 3,000 candidates. UKIP's fortunes will depend in part on Brexit proceedings; the party received a boost following Theresa May's Chequers plan, but on the back of multiple scandals, UKIP have fluctuated in the polls. Another factor is the potential formation of a new Farage-led radical right party, which would split the UKIP vote at any upcoming elections it seeks to contest.

Batten has announced his intention to initiate a leadership election after the local elections. He would likely succeed if he stood, as the party is now swollen with hardliners, and many feel gratitude towards him due to the perception that he has "saved" the party. The walkout of Farage and many other UKIP figures has removed internal roadblocks for UKIP travelling down an ever-more extreme path.

Already in 2019, Batten and two other MEPs have joined the Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF) group in the European Parliament, helmed by French far-right leader Marine Le Pen and in alliance with a number of European far-right parties.

UKIP's NEC have deferred the matter of Lennon's membership until after 29 March. Regardless, whether or not he formally joins UKIP, if Batten remains at the fore, Lennon is likely to become an ever-bigger presence in the party, as Batten has consciously pivoted UKIP to attract his supporters. UKIP could be the apparatus that provides Lennon influence through electoral politics for the first time.



UKIP leader
Gerard Batten
MEP

UKIP IS A FAR-RIGHT PARTY

UKIP has, under the leadership of Gerard Batten, become a far-right party, with alliances to influential far-right figures and with anti-Muslim politics a key feature of its programme. Most of UKIP's more 'moderate' figures have left the party since Brexit. It now openly courts far-right voters and engages in far-right street politics.

UKIP engages in hard line anti-Muslim rhetoric

- Batten is a veteran anti-Muslim activist and has referred to Islam as "a death cult, born and steeped in fourteen hundred years of violence and bloodshed, that propagates itself by intimidation, violence and conquest". He has claimed that "a normal non-Mohammedan should have a perfectly rational fear of 'Islam.'" Batten has defended his "death cult" comments.
- At a "Free Tommy" event in July, Batten railed against "organised paedophile rape gangs" made up of "followers of the cult of Mohammed", who was "himself a paedophile and kept sex slaves".

Batten is allied to the far-right extremist 'Tommy Robinson'

- Batten is a vocal supporter of Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, the former leader of the anti-Muslim street movement the English Defence League (EDL). Batten has strongly advocated Lennon's membership of UKIP.
- Batten appointed Lennon his "Special Personal Advisor on Rape Gangs and Prison Conditions and Prison Reform" in November.

UKIP has embraced far-right street politics

- Batten has been a prominent figure at a series of recent far-right demonstrations in support of Lennon, some of which have been marred by violence.
- Batten has sought to recruit directly from the hooligan-led Football Lads Alliance (FLA) and its offshoot, the Democratic Football Lads Alliance (DFLA), and has featured at DFLA marches.
- Batten and Lennon co-organised the far-right "Brexit Betrayal" march in December, which was dominated by UKIP but attended by known far-right groups and individuals.

Extreme online figures have become influential within the party.

- For more info, see profiles of Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad), Paul Joseph Watson, Milo Yiannopoulos, and Mark Meechan (AKA Count Dankula)

The party is bloated with hardliners

- Most of the 'moderates' within UKIP have left. Even former leader Nigel Farage, no stranger to ugly nativist messaging, has claimed that Lennon's influence will help transform UKIP into the "new BNP".

FOR MORE INFORMATION ON UKIP'S LURCH TO THE FAR RIGHT, SEE THE HOPE NOT HATE WEBSITE.

GROUP REVIEW: STREET-BASED GROUPS



EDL leader
Alan Spence



LIBERTY DEFENDERS

MEMBERSHIP: 20-30

LEADERSHIP: TIMOTHY SCOTT, JACK SEN

OTHER KEY ACTIVISTS: NICK GRIFFIN, JAMIE GODDARD, TRACY BLACKWELL

AREAS OF ACTIVITY: SOUTHPORT, KENT, LONDON

SUMMARY OF 2018

An almost comic pairing of Walter Mitty’s, Anglo-Bengali race hater Jack Sengupta and mercenary Timothy Scott have come together to launch Liberty Defenders as an attempt to emulate the French Yellow Vest protest.

Supporting them behind the scenes in former BNP leader Nick Griffin.

The entire group is made up of “DIY” social media stars, individuals with deep conspiracy theories and emotional scars prepared to travel the country carrying out pathetic stunts that reaffirm there is an Islamic/EU inspired conspiracy to defraud them of nationhood.

Although their conspiracy theories are comical, Scott has been one of the leading figures behind the hijacking of the popular ‘Yellow Vest’ movement from France. Griffin has called for more street protests in Britain’s cities against the government.

During December twenty members of the group held up traffic (including an ambulance) on London’s Tower Bridge chanting “we want Brexit.”

Scott has also tried to make a name for himself stalking the safehouse of Islamic hate preacher Anjem Choudary, who was released from prison during the year.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

We are likely to see more street confrontations and political stunts from this group, not least because much of their funding derives from online donations so they naturally requires ever more provocative and eye-catching stunts.

Any delay or reversal of Brexit will be used by this group to galvanise support and channel anger.

ENGLISH DEFENCE LEAGUE (EDL)

MEMBERSHIP: UNKNOWN, LESS THAN 100

LEADER: ALAN SPENCE

AREAS OF ACTIVITIES: NEWCASTLE, MANCHESTER, LIVERPOOL, LONDON, WORCESTER

SUMMARY OF 2018

In terms of numbers, gross and vulgar stupidity, the EDL is the mirror and spitting image of the National Front. The EDL has long given up all pretence of being anything other than a nasty racist organisation. It’s also almost completely moribund.

The EDL’s leader, Alan Spence made one public appearance, turning out for a miniature march in Manchester that attracted 40 people. The group also met fierce local opposition in Worcester.

The growth of DIY counter-Jihadism and Brexit betrayal narrative did little to help the EDL. A whole host of former EDL luminaries now act independently of the organisation, filling social media with hour after hour with their own spontaneous thoughts, minor activity and idiocy independently of the organisation. While the group attracted attention virtually every time the media talked about Stephan Lennon, Spence was unable to capitalise on this.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

The EDL is likely to become increasingly irrelevant as the focus turns to anger around Brexit and the DFLA.

JUSTICE FOR WOMEN & CHILDREN (JFW)

MEMBERSHIP: UNKNOWN

LEADER: NATASHA ALLAN, SHARON BINKS

AREAS OF ACTIVITY: NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

SUMMARY OF 2018

One of a series of and growing, 'DIY' groups that take the law into their own hands. Justice for Women & Children (JFW) is the first female-only led group to emerge in Britain.

Some of its members are former members of the English Defence League's (EDL) 'Angels'.

JFW is driven by a strong belief that because they are white and working class, their fears and frustrations about alleged marauding rape gangs are being ignored as part of a cover-up of a growing problem by a cosmopolitan elite.

JFW's roots are spawned on the back of a whole series of disastrous interventions in Sunderland and the surrounds by male led far-right groups and individuals during the dubious and disastrous Chelsey Wright ('Justice for Chelsey') campaign, which ended in bitter acrimony in 2017.

The group has both substantial and growing links with the far-right and this had been exemplified by both UKIP and the Democratic Football Lads Alliance encouraging and giving support to the group. Tommy Allan, the brother of the group's founder, Natasha Allan, has previously been active with the terrorist group National Action as well as the EDL, Sunderland Defence League and North East Infidels. Allen and his colleagues have provided muscle on JFW activities.

Natasha Allan denies that either she or JFW is "racist or fascist", though she proudly wrote on Facebook "Islam is the evil of this world and they are taking over just by having baby's... if because I [sic] think Islam is evil makes me a racist then yeah I'll take that".

Although it is right and proper to point out that on JFW marches in London and Sunderland there have been women of colour among their number, JFW's overwhelming *raison d'être* is best summed up by the support of UKIP leader Gerard Batten; the belief there is a conspiracy afoot.

At a rally which JFW were invited to speak, Batten declared the rape of women by Muslim gangs was the "biggest social scandal in English history." adding, "The white girls, and the Sikh girls, were supposed to keep their mouth shut for the sake of diversity."

The JFW refuses to engage with the mainstream media, in particular the BBC, because it believes it forms part of a fake news conspiracy against white people who speak out or about tense issues. The almost mainstreaming of such conspiracy and unwitting prejudice is exemplified further by the fact JFW feels that only in the far-right can there be any kind of justice sought and served and it would appear, this is not through the legal system.

The other leaders of the JFW group is Sharon Binks, a former Children's Advisor for a North Yorkshire council. She was sacked by the council in December 2017 for religious discrimination.

Binks told the UKIP conference in September 2018 that she only learned of the extent of child grooming and "rape jihad gangs" from listening to Stephen Lennon,

the founder of the anti-Muslim English Defence League. She believed that there has been a "cover up by the establishment" over the issue of women and children being raped by Muslims.

In November 2018, Binks travelled to Poland for a far-right demonstration where the EDL sounder Stephen Lennon was due to speak. She wrote upon her return, that she and a Pole had compared Poland's apparent "Jewish problem" where the "Jews are taking over" with Britain's "Muslim problem."

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Likely to increase its activities and profile during 2019 as it seeks to exploit on-going grooming scandals.



Shane Calvert (left) and Peter Hawley (centre)

NORTH WEST INFIDELS (NWI)

MEMBERSHIP: 10-50

LEADERSHIP: SHANE CALVERT

OTHER LEADING FIGURES: SHAUN JONES, TOMMY LAW, GERALD MCCULLION, DANNY HOLDEN, MARTIN CORNER

AREAS OF ACTIVITIES: BLACKPOOL, COVENTRY, BLACKBURN, WIGAN

SUMMARY OF 2018

A dreadful year for the group. With leading members jailed and the police cracking down on their drug dealing, many fled the North West to try their luck elsewhere. Tommy Law, the heavily tattooed loud mouth from Northern Ireland, returned from Edinburgh to Coventry and tried to reignite passions for violence but the group, at that moment, could not be resurrected. The main focus while the group treads water appears to be Paedophile Hunting.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

As well as being on license, leader Shane Calvert took paternity leave for most of 2018, making only fleeting appearances at court and at a funeral. This year, with more and more of the gang set for release, expect to see Calvert and the gang return to the fray.

GROUP REVIEW: STREET-BASED GROUPS

DEMOCRATIC FOOTBALL LADS ALLIANCE

FOLLOWERS: 1,000

OTHER KEY FIGURES: KEVIN KERWICK, PHIL HICKIN, MARK TURNBALL

AREAS OF ACTIVITY: LONDON, SUNDERLAND, WEST BROM, NEWCASTLE, LEEDS, BIRMINGHAM

SUMMARY OF 2018

2018 started off with a lot of promise but the year ended with the group in disarray, directionless and increasingly marginalised.

The Democratic Football Lads Alliance (DFLA) emerged out of the Football Lads Alliance, which itself was set up in direct response to the 2017 terrorist attacks. In almost Monty Pythonesque style, the first DFLA demonstration took place in Birmingham at the same time and in the same city as the FLA. In fact, only a couple of hundred metres separated the two groups.

This was to be the last formal outing of the FLA and since then the DFLA have acquired primacy. However, it has not been an easy time for the group's leadership. Unfocused and poorly led, the DFLA has drifted and – certainly in London at least – tended to join other people's events rather than organise their own.

Last summer they backed Stephen Lennon for his Day of Freedom and then march in former EDL leader's name after his imprisonment. More recently the DFLA backed the UKIP-led Brexit Betrayal demo and even the poorly attended yellow vest protests.

But without any real objective or even sense of purpose, the group has floundered and lost a lot of its active support.

Their relationship with Lennon has also hampered the group's development. While Lennon thrives on his football hooligan past, some of the DFLA leadership do not hold him so high. This almost came to blows last May, when the DFLA reacted badly when told that Islamist Youtuber Ali Dawah had been invited to speak by Lennon. Only a u-turn prevented by the event organisers prevented a physical confrontation.

In truth, many football hooligans resent Lennon, even if they support what he stands for. In vocalising their suspicions as to how he seemed to have so much money, but in truth this is probably more envious than anything else.

The DFLA is a far right movement but it is certainly not a fascist group and to say so is totally inaccurate. In London at least, most of the DFLA hardcore are drawn from hooligan gangs that have many black lads amongst them and have never shown overt racism or links with racist or fascist groups.

While there might be the odd fascist in the DFLA, the vast majority are football hooligans who would normally balk at being considered fascist. Yes, they will be hostile to immigration, oppose being in the EU and view all Muslims with suspicion, if not outright

hostility, but in truth their views are probably not dissimilar to many other white working class men in the 40s and 50s.

Most of the hatred of the DFLA is now directed at the 'Left' and the political establishment as a whole.

One gang who do buck the trend is the Chelsea Headhunters, who generally operate independently from the DFLA even though there is contact between the two groups. The Headhunters is more associated with the far right than any other football gang over the last 40 years and so once again they are coming out to fight their political opponents. Over 200 came out on the Free Speech demo, which was quite remarkable as Chelsea was playing Liverpool at home that day, and it was the Headhunters who attacked RMT Assistant General Secretary Steve Hedley during one of the Free Tommy demos.

Outside London, DFLA units tend to be more violent and more right openly right wing. This is particularly the case in West Yorkshire, where the DFLA have been involved in fighting with the police, and the North East, where there is a strong cross-over with the English Defence League and the North East Infidels.

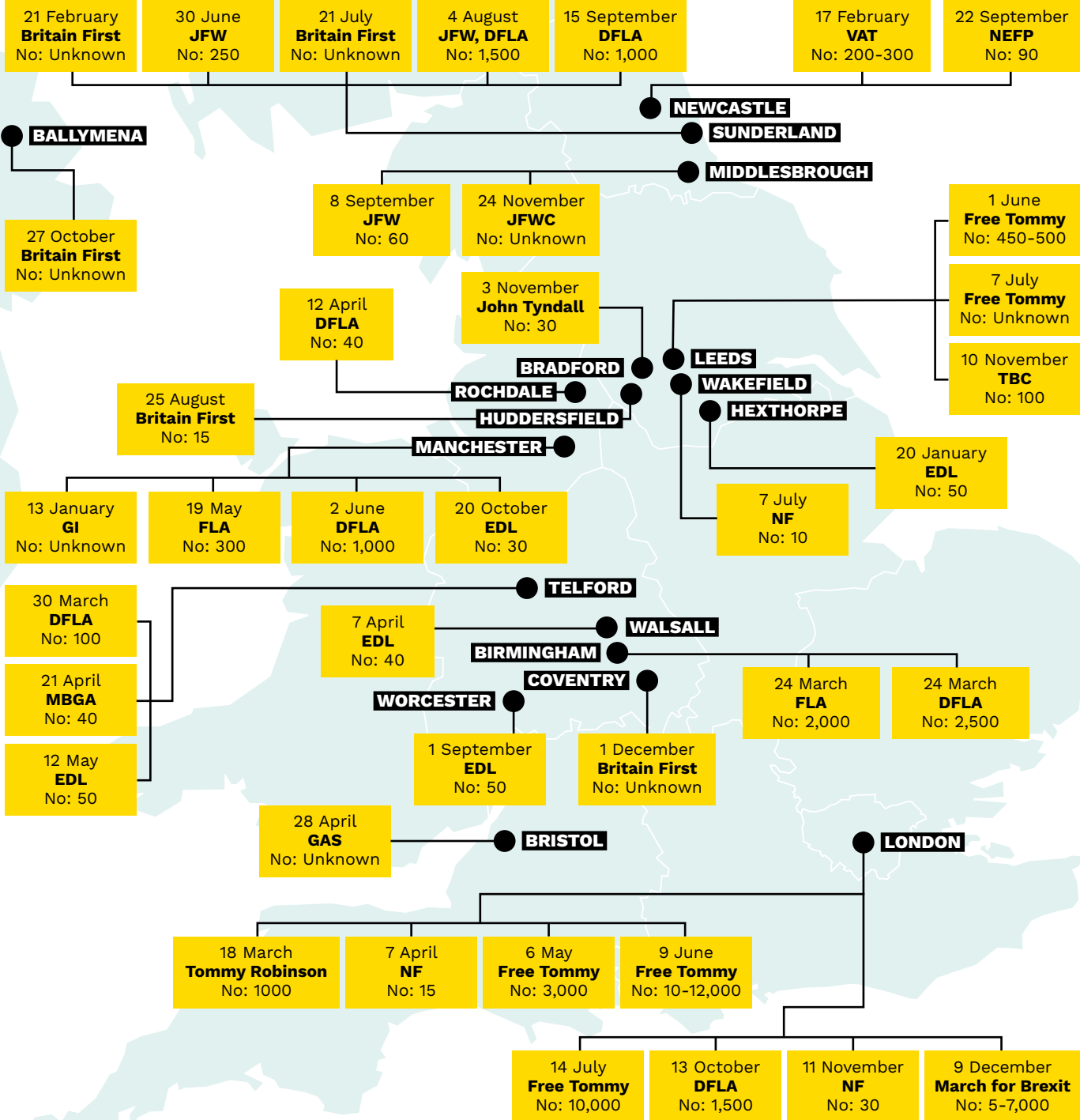
PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Without firmer leadership and clear objectives, the DFLA will continue to drift and could easily be usurped by more dynamic and confrontational action groups. However, there is clearly a huge 'lads' network out there for the DFLA to mobilise if it can overcome its problems.



MAP OF DEMOS

KEY	
GI	Generation Identity
FLA	Football Lads Alliance
DFLA	Democratic Football Lads Alliance
VAT	Veterans against terrorism
NEFP	North East Frontline Patriots
BF	Britain First
JFW	Justice for women
JFWC	Justice for women and children
MBGA	Make Britain Great Again
GAS	Gays against sharia
TBC	Take back control
EDL	English Defence League
NF	National Front



GROUP REVIEW: LEAVE.EU

LEAVE.EU

LEADER: ARRON BANKS

SUMMARY OF 2018

Leave.EU is the unofficial Brexit campaign led by millionaire former UKIP donor Arron Banks and his associate Andy Wigmore. The organisation relentlessly sought to exploit fears around immigration during the Referendum campaign, and has, if anything, become more extreme since the vote, deliberately attempting to provoke outrage in a bid for relevancy.

For example, in March the group was condemned for claiming that Labour “can’t be bothered to deal with the disgusting antisemitism in their party when they are so reliant on the votes of Britain’s exploding Muslim population? It’s a question of maths for these people, not justice!”. The group also received news coverage in October after tweeting an antisemitic image of billionaire George Soros portrayed as a sinister puppet master, pulling the strings of former Prime Minister Tony Blair.

In August, Banks encouraged Leave.EU followers to join the Conservative party in order to “secure Brexit”, adding that “our plan is to roll out a campaign that connects with local councillors, party chairmen and MPs to change the direction of the party and unite the right”, encouraging new members to “attend local meetings, and then push for fundamental change within the party”. Banks’ initial request to join the party was turned down by CCHQ, but he subsequently joined the North West Leicestershire Conservative association, home of the hardline Brexit MP Andrew Bridgen.

Leave.EU aims to achieve 50,000 new Tory recruits, and by January 2019 has claimed to have recruited “at least 25,000” new members, although this number seems highly unlikely, especially in light of the organisation’s proclivity for inflating its own importance. New recruits have been encouraged to pressure for de-selection of Remain Conservative MPs.

The group has faced intense scrutiny throughout 2018 relating to its conduct in the Referendum campaign. The group was investigated over its connection to the now-disgraced data firm Cambridge Analytica (CA), although the Electoral Commission ruled that it found no evidence it “received donations or paid-for services” from CA, and that the relationship “did not develop beyond initial scoping work”. In May the group were fined £70,000 for breaches to election law by the Electoral Commission. Banks has also faced scrutiny over his meetings with Russian in the run up to the Referendum.

In November, Banks was referred to the National Crime Agency due to claims that, in relation to his funding of Leave.EU, “a number of criminal offences may have been committed”. Banks has denied all wrongdoing. Nigel Farage, who was once the face of Leave.EU, has quietly distanced himself from the outfit during these scandals.



Arron Banks

Westmonster, the blog co-founded by Banks and run by former UKIP figure Michael Heaver, continued to produce news items and videos, although its following remains comparatively small.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Whilst the true scale of its influence within the Tory party remains to be seen, and some of Banks’ political ambitions may have been curtailed somewhat in the wake of the scandals he has suffered, confusion and discontent around Brexit proceedings will provide the group opportunity to whip up publicity and anger among its large social media following.



GROUP REVIEW: ‘COUNTER-JIHAD’

THE 4 FREEDOMS LIBRARY

IDEOLOGY: ANTI-MUSLIM

LEADER: ALAN AYLING AND “KINANA NADIR”

SUMMARY OF 2018

4 Freedoms is an online counter-jihad discussion forum run by Alan Ayling (AKA Alan Lake) 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/“Nadir” network. Both remained active participants on the forum in 2018. The forum underwent no developments of note in 2018 other than continuing to decline in activity, with membership of the forum now closed to new members.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

It is unlikely to undergo any changes of note in 2019.



Anne Marie Waters

SHARIA WATCH UK

IDEOLOGY ANTI-MUSLIM

SUMMARY OF 2018

2018 was another quiet year for Sharia Watch UK, which has largely fallen by the wayside due to Anne Marie Waters’ preoccupation with her own political party, The For Britain Movement. The website provides little original content but continues to publish summaries of news items from other sources, usually of incidents involving people identified as Muslims committing crimes and acts of violence. The site now also reposts Waters’ For Britain party video addresses. Sharia Watch remains active on Twitter.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

After two years of declining activity and Waters’ leadership of the For Britain party, it is likely that the activity of Sharia Watch UK will be of increasing irrelevance during 2019.



Alan Ayling



Gavin Bobby

LAW AND FREEDOM FOUNDATION

IDEOLOGY: ANTI-MUSLIM

LEADER: GAVIN “MOSQUE BUSTER” BOBY

SUMMARY OF 2018

Founded in 2011 and led by planning lawyer and self-styled “mosque buster” Gavin Bobby, The Law and Freedom Foundation remained active in 2018, attempting to prevent planning applications for mosques.

The group claimed it has successfully prevented the building of mosques in Thurrock, Ipswich and Northampton, taking its tally to 37 “wins” out of 52. In March, Bobby announced a new website, albeit without much activity.

In May, Bobby appeared on the show of the ‘counter-jihad’ outlet the Glazov Gang, and in July 2018 he gave another extended interview to the ‘counter-jihadist’ YouTube channel Vlad Tepes, which also released a video titled “Gavin Bobby shuts down mosque application at Horcham Council meeting” in November.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Bobby appears likely to continue being in the public role, and be a well-known figure in the anti-Muslim “counter-jihad” scene.

GROUP REVIEW: DISCUSSION GROUPS



(centre) Jacob Rees-Mogg, with Gregory Lauder-Frost (right) at a Traditional Britain Group's dinner

TRADITIONAL BRITAIN GROUP

LEADER: GREGORY LAUDER-FROST

The Traditional Britain Group (TBG) is a London-based discussion group that hosts far right gatherings, dinners and conferences. The group's "High Tory" pretensions enable it to present a more moderate and "respectable" image than organisations such as the Forum network, and has attracted attendees on the UKIP and Tory fringes as well as open white supremacists.

SUMMARY OF 2018

2018 saw the TBG continue its status as one of the most important offline networking points for the more "high brow" end of the UK far right. It held several events, including its annual dinner on 30 June, addressed by Márton Gyöngyösi, Deputy head of the Hungarian far-right party Jobbik.

The TBG held its annual conference on 20 October. Speakers at the event included the disgraced reality TV star Katie Hopkins, Vice-President of the Europe

of Nations and Freedom group and former UKIP MEP Janice Atkinson, former Foreign Affairs Spokesman of the Freedom Party of Austria Johannes Hübner, and Armin-Paul Hampel, the Foreign Affairs spokesman for Alternative für Deutschland.

The group's Christmas social, featuring white nationalist vlogger Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes), was held on 15 December.

The group suffered a setback early on in the year when its Facebook page was removed by the platform, although it quickly established a new page, building it to 13,000 Likes. The group also launched an online journal, *Traditio*, which features long form essays and provides "a forum for elite, counter-revolutionary and traditional beliefs oppositional to the modern world".

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

The TBG will continue to be a primary meeting point for the far right in the UK, and to expand its use of social media though is unlikely to have any significant impact beyond the confines of the fringe far-right scene.

VORTEX LONDINIUM

IDEOLOGY: FASCIST

LEADER: FRANCESCO SUSINNO

SUMMARY OF 2018

Vortex Londinium (VL) describes itself as a “patriotic association”, but is the UK-based branch of the Italian fascist political party Casapound.

Despite its small size, VL had an active year, holding several meetings in London. At its inaugural event in March, the group hosted racists from the continent, including Greek neo-nazis from Golden Dawn, and Casapound-linked groups Hogar Social and Bastion Social, from Spain and France respectively.

They also distributed fliers at the Procession of our Lady of Mount Carmel, a religious event in Central London in July. An event in May was addressed by Stead Steadman, the hapless organiser of the London Forum, and the group hosted the leadership of the Italian Student bloc of Casapound in October, and promoted a gig with the far-right band Fantasmil del Passato in November.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

VL will continue to organise similar events in 2019, but are likely to remain a niche social group catering to a small group of fascists.



(left) Alan Harvey with Viscount Massereene and Ferrard



THE PATRIOTIC FORUM/ THE SWINTON CIRCLE

LEADER: ALAN HARVEY

AREAS ACTIVE: LONDON

SUMMARY OF 2018

Alan Harvey’s Patriotic Forum, formerly known as the Swinton Circle, managed to increase its activity and hold monthly events throughout 2018, although these remain tiny and attended by eccentrics. Guest speakers included Huw Shakeshaft, Bob Vinnicombe, and Marko Gasic. The group also continues to update its somewhat clunky website.

The pro-white South African Springbok Club, also run by Harvey, also held several small meetings.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

The group will continue to have little influence.

LONDON SWINTON CIRCLE

LEADER: ALLAN ROBERTSON

AREAS ACTIVE: LONDON

SUMMARY OF 2018

The London Swinton Circle is a group that splintered from Alan Harvey’s Swinton Circle (now named The Patriotic Forum) in 2008. The group has continued to dwindle, doing little more than holding the odd small meeting. It maintains a website, but produced just a single issue of its tatty online magazine.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Continuing irrelevance.

RIGHT-WING ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

PLATFORMS

THE REBEL MEDIA

EDITOR: EZRA LEVANT

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 1,127,800

YOUTUBE VIEWS: 397,144,600

SUMMARY OF 2018

Rebel Media followed up a bad 2017 with another bruising year. The outlet seems unable to retain its big name reporters, almost all of whom have abandoned ship or been fired over the past two years.

In January the outlet hired Katie Hopkins as a pre-emptive replacement for its biggest star, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) who left in February. Hopkins herself left in October, with Rebel's UK company dissolving the same month. Rebel's UK website has been dormant since 2017. Rebel was forced to cancel its upcoming cruise of the Danube, which was set to feature both Hopkins and Lennon, in September.

Levant still attempted to capitalise on the "Free Tommy" movement after Lennon's incarceration in May under contempt of court charges. Rebel launched a fundraising appeal for his legal defence, uploaded videos from the large pro-Lennon demonstrations held outside Downing Street, and reported from London on the developments of the trial. Levant even concocted a "Tommy Robinson chant" ringtone that could be accessed after signing up.

With Hopkins and Lennon now gone, Rebel's primary British commentator is former British National Party (BNP) figure Jack Buckby, who runs a daily show 'The Buck', and ran a "Jail Anjem" campaign in October after the Islamic extremist Anjem Choudary was released from prison. However, Buckby is devoid of charisma, and averages viewing figures significantly below Rebel's previous stars. Buckby's fiancé, Martina Markota, is also now a Rebel reporter.

Whilst still an important player in the far-right alternative media – Rebel reached a million YouTube subscribers in August – its average viewing figures are down considerably from its peak in early and mid-2017.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Rebel is revamping its main website in 2019. Whilst the outlet will primarily focus on Canadian and North American politics, Rebel has signalled that Brexit will be an area of focus throughout the year, and Levant will no doubt continue to seek to capitalise on the Tommy Robinson phenomenon.

Oliver JJ Lane editor of
Breitbart London

PLATFORMS

BREITBART LONDON

EDITOR: OLIVER JJ LANE

SUMMARY OF 2018

Breitbart News Network, the American far-right "news" outlet, suffered a declining in readership throughout 2018. Its UK-based wing Breitbart London, which produces Europe-focused content, also suffered a series of setbacks throughout the year.

Breitbart London lost its editor and primary personality, Nigel Farage's former aide Raheem Kassam, in May after he left to perform sidekick duties for former Breitbart boss Steve Bannon, who himself left Breitbart in January over a spat with US President Donald Trump. Since Bannon's departure, Breitbart has lost something of its driving force, and Breitbart London, now with longtime reporter Oliver Lane as editor, is also diminished following the loss of Kassam and several of its most productive reporters in 2017 and 2018.

Whilst the outlet once received regular contributions from a number of UKIP figures, it lost its foothold in the party in 2018, being colder towards current leader Gerard Batten than former leader Nigel Farage. *The Spectator* columnist James Delingpole continues to be the most significant name to contribute regularly.

In March, the outlet published a transcript of a full speech written by GI's Austrian co-leader, Martin Sellner, and delivered by extremist Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), after Sellner was barred from entering the country.

In October Breitbart revamped its website, with the Breitbart London section being restyled as 'London/Europe', likely indicating the acceptance of their failure to expand across Europe as once planned.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Breitbart will continue to publish ugly anti-immigrant, reactionary invective, and seek to capitalise on Brexit developments and in far-right politics. However, the outlet looks likely to continue in its gradual downward trajectory for now.



**PEOPLE****KATIE HOPKINS****SUMMARY OF 2018**

While already a figure shunned by legitimate news sources, 2018 saw the disgraced reality TV star turned ‘journalist’ Katie Hopkins head in an increasingly extreme, racialised and explicitly far right direction causing irrevocable damage to her reputation.

Hopkins joined the Canadian far-right platform Rebel Media in early January. South Africa became a key point of focus for Hopkins during the year, releasing a documentary about “the mass slaughter of South Africa’s whites” for Rebel in September. In May, she faced legal action from the mayor of Molenbeek, Brussels, for a video she had filmed for Rebel. Hopkins quietly left Rebel Media in October.

In September, Hopkins applied for insolvency after losing a costly libel action brought by food writer Jack Monroe earlier in the year. The same month she spoke at the conference of the anti-Muslim party The For Britain Movement. Ingrid Carlqvist, a ‘counter-jihad’ figure who has engaged in Holocaust denial also spoke at the conference.

In October, she also addressed the conference of the Traditional Britain Group (TBG) a far-right outfit profiled in this report. She also addressed the American ‘counter-jihad’ organisation, the David Horowitz Freedom Center, in Florida in November. During the year she also appeared on the show of the racist YouTuber Stefan Molyneux.

A sign of her increasing irrelevancy, in December, Hopkins led a tiny pro-Brexit march in Exeter, with reports estimating as few as 20 attendees.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Hopkins will be forced to continue appealing to the far right for an audience. Perhaps a sign of things to come, Hopkins kicked off 2019 by encouraging her Finnish followers to attend a conference featuring notorious antisemites and white supremacists.

GROUP REVIEW: ALT-RIGHT

COLIN ROBERTSON

(AKA MILLENNIAL WOES)

IDEOLOGY: ALT-RIGHT/WHITE NATIONALIST

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 54,000

YOUTUBE VIEWS: 5,970,800

SUMMARY OF 2018

Racist YouTuber Robertson, arguably the alt-right's most significant British commentator, slowed significantly in his online output throughout 2018, but spoke regularly at alt-right conferences in Europe.

After moving from Germany to a new location in June, Robertson's video output abruptly stopped, claiming to be suffering from "malaise". He instead focused on his Twitter account, but fell into a personal crisis after his account was banned in early October.

In late October, Robertson resumed regular output, and hosted his annual "Millenniyule" video series, hosting figures including American white nationalists Jared Taylor and Greg Johnson, online "comedian" and UKIP member Mark Meechan (AKA Count Dankula), and former aide of Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) Lucy Brown.

Robertson continued to speak at far-right and alt-right events across Europe: the Blue Awakening conference in Tallinn, Estonia in February; the Scandza Forum in Stockholm, Sweden and the Awakening conference in Helsinki, Finland in April; the Sezession conference in Magdeburg, Germany in May; a private gathering in Berlin, Germany and in Erkenbrand in the Netherlands in November; and at the Traditional Britain Group in London in December.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Robertson has voiced his intention to continue with regular video production in the new year, but has claimed that his videos will cover more personal issues and less political issues in 2019. Like many of his peers, he may quietly distance himself from the "alt-right" label, although will continue promoting racist and far-right standpoints. He will also continue to speak regularly across Europe.



(above) Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes)
(left to right), Tara McCarthy, Laura Towler (Defend Europa) and Mark Collett

TARA MCCARTHY

IDEOLOGY: ALT-RIGHT/WHITE NATIONALIST

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 50,100. YOUTUBE VIEWS: 64,500 (ON REMAINING VIDEOS)

SUMMARY OF 2018

McCarthy, a YouTuber and once a significant figure in the alt-right milieu, almost vanished from the online sphere in 2018. McCarthy's silence followed a late-2017 campaign led by the most misogynistic elements of the alt-right to force McCarthy and other women from public roles in the movement. She removed her YouTube content from public access, deleted her primary Twitter account, and has only released a handful of videos since.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

McCarthy has claimed that she wishes to resume creating regular videos, possibly in early 2019, but it is uncertain whether she will seek to return to the alt-right, and if she does, the degree to which she will be accepted.

DEFEND EUROPA

CO-EDITORS: LAURA TOWLER, JASON BERGKAMP, 'BORRNA VOLKOV',

'ALEX Z', 'O BEIRÃO'

SUMMARY OF 2018

Defend Europa (DE) is a small, volunteer-run alt-right/white nationalist news and opinion site, active since April 2017. The site's content largely focuses on popular talking points within the alt-right, including migrants, Islam and "population replacement".

According to an interview on Red Ice TV with two of the site's authors, Laura Towler (currently co-editor) and 'William', DE grew out of various individuals talking on the internet from across Europe before turning into a Twitter account and eventually a site. Its 35 writers' are located in England, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Croatia, the US, Poland and South Africa. Jason Bergkamp, believed to be the co-editor, under variations on the pseudonym "kek_sec", was retweeted by Donald Trump multiple times, as was a DE writer who uses the name "Neil Turner" during 2016.

Whilst remaining in the alternative media world, in May 2018 DE interviewed former UKIP MEP Janice Atkinson on its YouTube channel and in September, interviewed Dace Kalnina from the Latvian far-right National Alliance party, which holds 13 parliamentary seats and one European parliamentary seat at the time of writing.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Whilst DE is likely to remain within the alternative media world, not least given its focus on "spreading information [...] that the mainstream media refuse to publish", it will likely seek to feature more interviews and possibly articles from more mainstream figures.

MORGOOTH'S REVIEW

IDEOLOGY: ALT-RIGHT/WHITE NATIONALIST

SUMMARY OF 2018

Morgoth's Review is a racist blog run by the pseudonymous Geordie blogger "Morgoth" which, since its founding in 2014, has become well-read among the British alt-right for its far-right commentary on cultural and political issues. The comments section functions as a far-right discussion board, routinely receiving hundreds of comments on its blogs.

The blog remained active throughout 2018, with roughly 90 posts published during the year. Morgoth established a YouTube channel in January, accruing 4,200 subscribers and 200,000 views throughout the year.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

The blog will continue to be a significant alt-right platform.

MARK COLLETT

IDEOLOGY: ALT-RIGHT/NAZI

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 72,100. YOUTUBE VIEWS: 6,831,900

Collett is a Leeds-based nazi and the former Head of Publicity for the British National Party (BNP), notorious for starring in several humiliating documentaries during his time at the party. He has attempted to reinvent himself in recent years as a commentator in the "alt-right".

SUMMARY OF 2018

Collett continued to host his weekly show "This Week on the Alt-Right", which after several line-up changes, moved to Collett's own YouTube channel in June, where he also produces topical videos on current issues. His channel grew significantly, from about 13,000 to over 72,000 subscribers during the year, and some of his videos attracted hundreds of thousands of views. His "Alt Right 101" podcast, hosted with American Bre Faucheux, ground to a halt in March.

Collett also continued to propagandise effectively through Twitter. Throughout the year Laura Ingraham, a Fox News presenter, and Republican Congressman Steve King, retweeted Collett's Twitter posts.

Collett's relationship with David Duke, former grand wizard in the Ku Klux Klan, continued throughout 2018, with Collett appearing as a regular guest on Duke's show.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

One to watch for growing online influence. Collett will also continue to attempt to organise real-life meetups with a focus on fitness, for example the hike he embarked on with Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes) and Lucy Brown, former aide of Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), in the summer of 2018.

GROUP REVIEW: ALT-LIGHT

PAUL JOSEPH WATSON

EDITOR-AT-LARGE: INFOWARS

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 1,505,000

YOUTUBE VIEWS: 350,243,700

SUMMARY OF 2018

The most significant development for Paul Joseph Watson, far-right YouTuber and editor-at-large of the American conspiracy theory website InfoWars, during 2018 was his foray in UK party politics.

Watson joined UKIP in June, alongside fellow alt-light figures profiled here. Watson released a video encouraging his followers to also join the party, which was displayed prominently on the UKIP website homepage, and was played at the UKIP conference in September. Watson described the push as a “soft coup”, and he and Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad) have claimed that they are “advising on getting [UKIP’s] messages out”, and were both photographed at an August strategy meeting alongside Batten.

During the year he also continued to expand his online following, and continued to write frequently for Prison Planet, the sister website to InfoWars, where he is also editor-at-large. InfoWars was, however, dealt a heavy blow in August and September, after being banned from multiple social media platforms, including Facebook, Apple, YouTube, PayPal, Spotify and Twitter.

Despite his extreme beliefs, Watson has been quietly distancing himself from InfoWars and its erratic frontman Alex Jones, as well as some of the more extreme conspiracy theories he has previously spread. The fortunes of the outlet will no doubt have a knock on effect on Watson’s movements over in the coming year.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

There are strong rumours of an InfoWars UK operation being launched this year with significant investment but whether it will be fronted by Watson remains to be seen.

Watson also has links to Turning Point UK, and he could possibly become more involved in the new outfit over the year.



CARL BENJAMIN (AKA SARGON OF AKKAD)

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 1,411,100 (ACROSS THREE CHANNELS)

YOUTUBE VIEWS: 370,817,700 (ACROSS THREE CHANNELS)

SUMMARY OF 2018

2018 was a busy year for online anti-feminist Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad), who has moved from solely online activism to taking part in party politics and street movements in the UK.

In March, Benjamin gave lengthy interviews on Stephen Yaxley-Lennon's (AKA Tommy Robinson's) and racist "philosopher" Stefan Molyneux's YouTube channels. Benjamin also gave a short speech at the Lennon-organised "Day for Freedom" event in May.

In June, Benjamin joined Gerard Batten's UKIP, alongside fellow alt-light figures profiled here, terming the push "War Plan Purple". Benjamin has become especially active within UKIP, attending a strategy meeting alongside Watson and the party leadership. He has also conducted lengthy interviews with Batten and former leader Lord Pearson, and formed part of a "Free Speech Panel" at the European Parliament, chaired by (now former) UKIP MEP David Coburn, in September; had a pre-recorded speech played at the UKIP conference in September; addressed the UKIP youth conference in November 2018; and addressed the controversial UKIP "Brexit Betrayal March" in December.

In October, he interviewed Steve Bannon, the former Breitbart News Network chief and former advisor to US President Donald Trump. Benjamin's cameraman Michael Brooks, who has a history of posting white nationalist and nazi content online, was photographed with Bannon.

In December, Benjamin's Patreon account was deleted by the platform, due to having violated its hate speech guidelines in February for a rant in which he told opponents of "You are acting like a bunch of n**ers, just so you know. You act like white n**ers", adding "You're just acting like n**ers, mate. Have you considered that? You think white people act like this? White people are meant to be polite and respectful to one another".

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Benjamin continued to produce regular video content for his various channels, but has claimed he will focus on producing long-form videos rather than responding to topical news items. Benjamin will continue to be an active and influential figure within Batten's UKIP.



MARK MEECHAN (AKA COUNT DANKULA)

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 403,600

YOUTUBE VIEWS: 38,447,300

SUMMARY OF 2018

Mark Meechan is an online "comedian" best known for an April 2016 YouTube video, viewed millions of times, in which he taught his girlfriend's pug to perform a Nazi salute and to react to the phrase "gas the Jews". After a lengthy and much-publicised trial, Meechan was fined £800 and convicted of causing "gross offence" under the Communications Act in April 2018.

During his legal proceedings Meechan received support from mainstream figures, but he also embraced support from sections of the far right, which has attempted to capitalise on his trial, for example providing interviews to Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), alt-light figures Lauren Southern, Gavin McInnes and Milo Yiannopoulos, and Ezra Levant of Rebel Media and with American conspiracy theorist Alex Jones. In April, a protest for Meechan was held in London, attended by a few hundred people. Meechan also spoke at Lennon's misnamed "Day for Freedom" march in May.

In June, Meechan joined UKIP, prompting fellow alt-light figures profiled here to do the same. Meechan has become an active member of the party, addressing the UKIP national conference in September, the UKIP youth conference in November, and forming part of a "Free Speech Panel" at the European Parliament, chaired by (now former) UKIP MEP David Coburn.

Meechan also hosted a lengthy interview with Scottish white nationalist Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes) on his YouTube channel, and in turn appeared on Robertson's.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Meechan has voiced his intention to ignore the fine, and claimed that he is prepared to go to jail rather than pay it. Far-right activists will look to exploit his legal proceedings to the fullest in 2019. Meechan's channel was demonetised by YouTube in January.

GROUP REVIEW: ALT-LIGHT (CONTINUED)

**MILO YIANNOPOULOS**

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 846,000

YOUTUBE VIEWS: 129,737,800

SUMMARY OF 2018

UK-born, Florida-residing alt-light figurehead Milo Yiannopoulos followed up his terrible 2017 with another disastrous year.

After losing financial backers in 2017 due to his connections to white nationalists, Yiannopoulos sought financial backing from the cryptocurrency billionaire Matthew Mellon, who abruptly died of a drug overdose in April 2018. Yiannopoulos was subsequently forced to lay off staff members of his media venture, Milo Entertainment Inc.

Yiannopoulos gave a poorly-received speech at the Day for Freedom event organised by Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) in May. In June, he joined UKIP alongside other British alt-light figures. Being US-focused, he has, however, remained inactive within the party.

As Yiannopoulos' woes worsened, his video broadcasts and podcasts ground to a halt. In December, HOPE not hate exposed Yiannopoulos as being mired in millions of dollars worth of debt, after seeing documents pertaining to his aborted Australian tour. The same month the crowdfunding site Patreon banned his account, just one day after he set it up.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Once an effective far-right troll, Yiannopoulos is a much-diminished and isolated figure, and will never fully recover the blows he has suffered over the last two years. He is currently applying for asylum in the US, due to the alleged "Islamisation" of the UK. He has also due to tour Australia in February alongside Lennon and Gavin McInnes, though whether this will actually happen is uncertain.

**REDPILL FACTORY /
MAKE BRITAIN GREAT AGAIN**

LEADER: LUKE NASH-JONES

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 45,200

YOUTUBE VIEWS: 7,517,400

SUMMARY OF 2018

Make Britain Great Again (MBGA), the oddball Trump-supporting group, has consolidated its place as a subject of derision across the political spectrum.

The group's second in command, Martin Costello, represented UKIP in Swindon in the May elections, receiving a paltry 211 votes. The group held a "Welcome Trump" demonstration in July near the US embassy in Vauxhall, with speakers including Australian anti-Muslim activists Debbie Robinson and Avi Yemini.

In August, MBGA suffered a self-inflicted PR disaster after Nash-Jones and eleven others, including several prominent MBGA members, entered the London bookshop Bookmarks, instructed by Nash-Jones to follow him in and "make a right nuisance". In the resulting debacle, shop staff were abused and a sign was ripped up. Facing widespread outrage, Nash-Jones condemned the actions of 'third parties' at the bookstore. He and Costello subsequently had their UKIP membership suspended and Nash-Jones has since left the party.

The group continues to focus on social media, with 100,000 Likes on Facebook, and an active YouTube channel. Its website, RedPill Factory, is updated regularly with 'news' items.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

In the wake of the Bookmarks debacle, the group's offline activity has slowed somewhat. Whether or not this continues into 2019, Nash-Jones and his cohort look certain to continue to be a marginal force.



POLISH NAZI RUNS STEROID FACTORY FROM LONDON HOUSE

BY NICK LOWLES

Polish C18 supporters, living in the UK, are running an illegal steroids operation from their south London house, HOPE not hate can exclusively reveal.

Lucas Kox, assisted by his nazi colleague Szymon Partyka, have built a highly lucrative business selling steroids as well as a clothing range for body builders.

While it is not illegal to take steroids or buy for personal use, as a class C drug it is illegal to sell and deal if not proscribed by a doctor for medical reasons.

Kox and Partyka sell steroids on an industrial scale, often putting up photos on their facebook pages showing their merchandise stacked up in Kox's kitchen.

Kox is part of a growing contingent of Polish nazis living in the UK. As many as 30-40 regularly attend Blood & Honour and Combat 18 gigs and last year even provided security for a London C18 gig.

In September 2017, Kox and a large group of Polish nazis posed behind a Polish C18 flag at the annual Ian Stuart Donaldson gig in Cambridgeshire.

Kox is being supported in this venture by Partyka, another Polish nazi and former football hooligan. He is also a former cage fighter back in Poland.



The pair have become regulars on the body building circuit around the UK in the last few years. Last May, Kox had a large stall at the Birmingham body expo selling his merchandise.

Kox sells his steroids through Proton Pharma, which is also the name of a large Indian pharmaceutical but there is absolutely no connection between the two operations. Kox has merely ripped off the name, which will probably not please the Indian company.

Alongside steroids, Kox also sells protein powder and other bodybuilding supplements.

It is believed that Kox buys the ingredients in powder form from China, which is legal, but then makes the liquid form of the steroid using basic heating apparatus and glass vials. The making of the steroids and the selling are both illegal.

GROUP REVIEW: PUBLISHERS

HERITAGE AND DESTINY

EDITOR: MARK COTTERILL

SUMMARY OF 2018

Heritage & Destiny (H&D) continues to be Britain's leading non-party racial nationalist publication. The magazine produced its six bi-monthly editions last year, with a regularity unusual for other nationalist publications, featuring news articles, updates on the racist scene in the UK and book reviews, written by far-right figures like Peter Rushton and Adrian Davies. H&D continues to run a website selling nationalist paraphernalia, although it is only sporadically updated.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

The magazine will continue to publish and be influential in nazi far right circles, although it is unlikely its small readership will increase.

A.K. CHESTERTON TRUST/ CANDOUR MAGAZINE

EDITOR: COLIN TODD

SUMMARY OF 2018

Candour magazine, Britain's longest-running fascist publication, has long been in decline, suffering financially, and published just two issues in 2018. The Trust has continued to run its website, which promotes the legacy of A.K. Chesterton, founder of the long-defunct League of Empire Loyalists and a former early leader of the National Front. The website is of negligible importance on the British far-right scene.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Candour announced in January that the magazine is on "hiatus", due to editor Colin Todd suffering illness. It is unclear how much longer the magazine can limp on.

MJOLNIR

EDITOR: DAVE YORKSHIRE

SUMMARY OF 2018

Mjolnir, a project which began as a "White Eurocentric arts magazine", again failed to produce a single issue in 2018. Yorkshire has instead continued to run the Mjolnir blog, and produce the "Mjolnir at the Movies" YouTube series, but as predicted, he failed to significantly expand his minute audience throughout the year. He has also continued to collaborate with Dutch alt-right organisation Erkenbrand.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Yorkshire will continue to exist on the fringes of the far right and alt-right, but to no great consequence for the wider movement.



Mark Cotterill, editor of Heritage and Destiny

HISTORICAL REVIEW PRESS

FOUNDER: ANTHONY HANCOCK (DECEASED)

SUMMARY OF 2018

Despite the death of founder Anthony Hancock in 2012, the HRP continues to exist, but has fallen into a deep decline, which continued to deepen throughout 2018. HRP's website continues to sell a variety of fascist, far right and Holocaust denial literature, much of it produced by others. HRP continued to occasionally update its blog throughout 2018.

PROSPECTS OF 2018

Like much of the traditional Holocaust denial scene, HRP is a shell of its former self, and it is unlikely to make a resurgence in 2019.

LEAGUE OF ST GEORGE

LEADER: KEITH THOMPSON

SUMMARY OF 2018

The long-standing nazi League of St George continued its meagre existence in 2018. Steven Books, the publishing site linked to League of St George, continues to distribute racist, nationalist, Holocaust denial and fascist books and pamphlets in the UK.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Continuing irrelevance.



Daniel Friberg founder of Arktos Media

ARKTOS MEDIA

LEADER: DANIEL FRIBERG

HEAD OF ARKTOS UK: GREGORY LAUDER-FROST

SUMMARY OF 2018

Launched in 2010 by Daniel Friberg, Arktos Media has become the most important purveyor of European New Right and alt-right literature in the world. The group is registered in the UK, despite being based in Budapest, Hungary. Gregory Lauder-Frost of the Traditional Britain Group is the head of Arktos UK.

Following internal splits and departures in 2017, February 2018 saw the promotion of Arktos' John Bruce Leonard to Editor-in-Chief, the promotion of Martin Locker to Assistant Editor-in-Chief, and the hiring of William Clark to Head of Arktos US (Clark was previously Registrar and North Atlantic Regional Coordinator for the US identitarian group, Identity Evropa). In March, Arktos launched its 'Interregnum' podcast, and in December its 'Apollonian Transmission' podcast. In September the publisher also launched the *Arktos Journal*.

Throughout the year it published 19 new books and 4 audiobooks, launched themed 'Arktos Collections' of their titles alongside a scheme, 'Arktos Community Retailers', aimed at independent booksellers.

Arktos also appeared at the American Renaissance conference in Nashville Tennessee on 27-29 April 2018.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Arktos has announced that in 2019 it intends to publish titles by authors including Alain de Benoist, Guillaume Faye, Alexander Wolfheze, Alexander Dugin, Richard Storey, Norman Lowell, Tito Perdue and Fenek Solère. Despite this, unless the publisher sees another increase in sales (which, given that it did not report one for 2018 unlike the previous year, suggests they did not), its growth will hinge a great deal on its new podcasts, journal and bookselling schemes bringing it a wider audience.



Germar Rudolf of Castle Hill Publishers

CASTLE HILL PUBLISHERS

LEADER: GERMAR RUDOLF

SUMMARY OF 2018

Castle Hill Publishers is a 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, and in 2014 merged with the American Holocaust denial organisation CODOH (Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust), and is now part of the CODOH website.

Castle Hill published a handful of new titles/editions in 2018, including additions to its "Holocaust Handbooks" series works from the veteran Italian denier Carlo Mattogno.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Castle Hill, like the traditional, pseudo-academic Holocaust denial scene as a whole, is of declining importance and activity, but looks set to continue to publish "Holocaust Handbooks" for its dwindling audience.

BLACK HOUSE PUBLISHING

DIRECTOR: JANET ELAINE SLATTER

SUMMARY OF 2018

This tiny enterprise publishes and sells reissued versions of far right and fascist books, producing reprints of fascist, national socialist, Third Position and right-wing literature. Published authors include Oswald Mosley, Oswald Spengler, and Australian far-right author Kerry Bolton. Its website also hosts long articles on current political issues.

The publisher launched a sleek new website in January 2018, but the organisation remains peripheral.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

It is unlikely that there will be any notable changes in 2018.

GROUP REVIEW: HOLOCAUST DENIERS

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 the book *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust: Myth and Reality*, published by Germar Rudolf's Holocaust denial publishing house, Castle Hill Publishers.

SUMMARY OF 2018

In March, Kollerstrom's speaking engagement at the London-based conspiracy theory group Keep Talking, along with five other of the group's events, were cancelled by the venue after a HOPE not hate campaign. Kollerstrom remained active within the group, however, speaking to the group alongside notorious antisemite James Thring in October.

Kollerstrom also appeared on a number of marginal conspiracy-theory oriented media outlets, including the Richie Allen Show in November. He also wrote for the Occidental Observer, the antisemitic webzine run by Kevin MacDonald, in January, about Alison Chabloz' court case.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Kollerstrom will remain active on the fringes of antisemitic and conspiracy thinking in the UK.

MICHÈLE RENOUF

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

SUMMARY OF 2018

Renouf continues to split her time between the UK and Germany. She found herself in legal difficulties early in 2018, reportedly facing a probe from German police for suspected incitement after questioning the Holocaust at a far-right rally in Dresden in February.

Renouf was listed to speak at the "White Victims of Multiculturalism" conference, organised by Boadicea Events, in Blackpool in September, and at a fundraiser for then-incarcerated antisemite Jez Turner in August, but both events were cancelled.

During 2018, Renouf was at the centre of a split in the Holocaust denial scene, due to a remarkable falling out with her one-time flat mate Alison Chabloz.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Renouf will continue to be an active figure within the far-right and traditional Holocaust denial scenes.

FOCAL POINT PUBLICATIONS / DAVID IRVING ONLINE

Focal Point Publications is the publishing outfit established by Holocaust denier David Irving in 1980, now used to reissue and publish his discredited books.

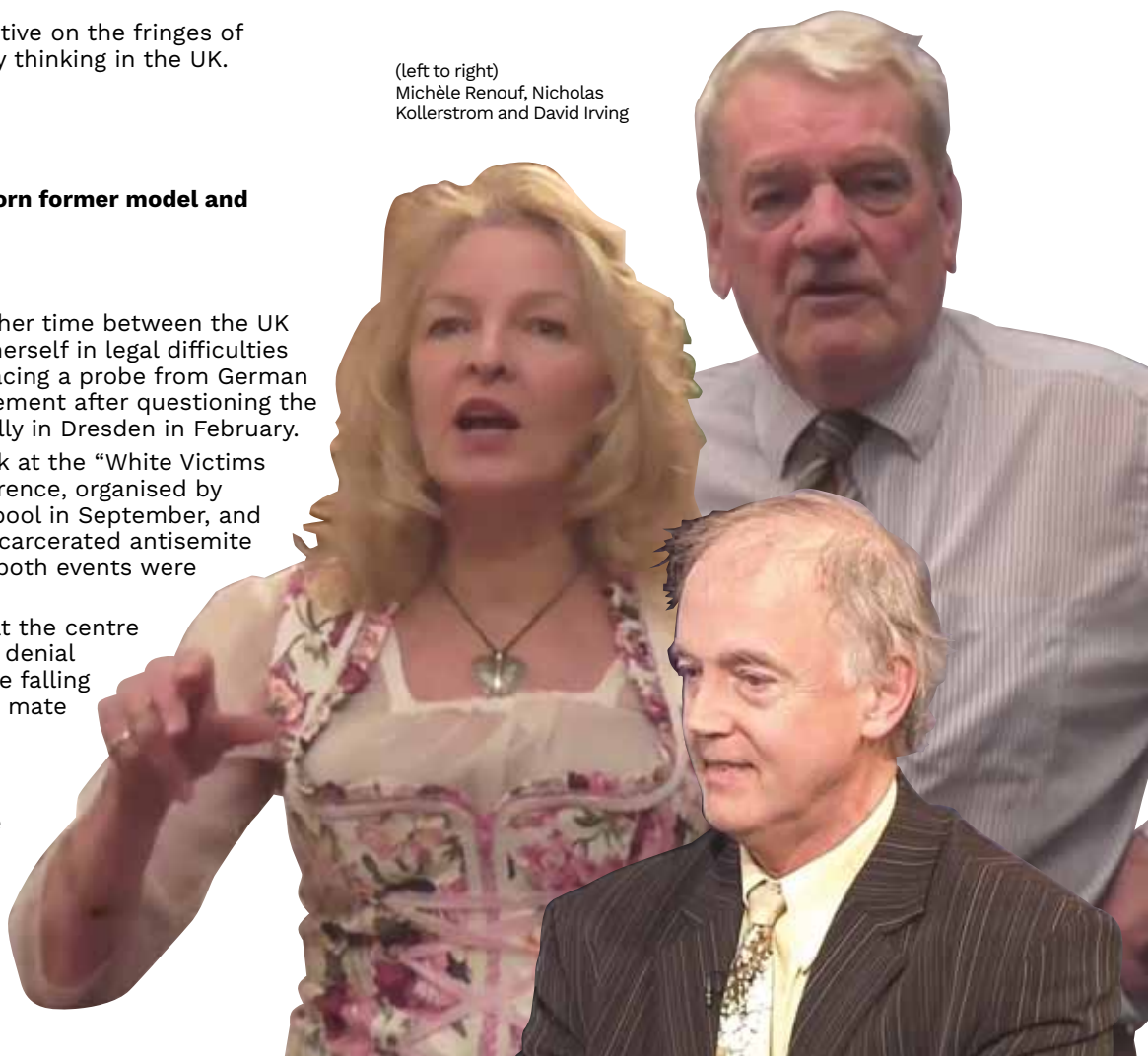
SUMMARY OF 2018

Now 80 years old, penniless and long dogged by ill health, Irving spent 2018 out of the limelight. Whilst he had claimed that his biography of Himmler would be released during the year, the book has yet to materialise.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Irving has several speaking engagements planned for 2019, announcing a tour of seven dates across the UK in February. Irving has also claimed that he will be visiting the USA in 2019, and will be reprinting his 1975 book *Hitler's War*. He remains a pillar of the traditional, pseudo-academic denial scene, however, is becoming increasingly irrelevant alongside the diminishing influence of the scene as a whole.

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



GROUP REVIEW: CONSPIRACY THEORISTS



DAVID ICKE

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 561,100

YOUTUBE VIEWS: 77,560,500

SUMMARY OF 2018

David Icke, the world-famous conspiracy theorist and antisemite, continued to tour in 2018, promoting his book, *Everything You Need To Know But Have Never Been Told*, including selling out at the 1,600 seat Southport Theatre and Convention Centre. However, he suffered a blow when his show in Leicester, the city of his birth, was cancelled by the venue.

Icke's European dates included Oslo in Norway, Helsinki in Finland, Copenhagen in Denmark, Budapest in Hungary and Wroclaw in Poland during October, before returning to the UK for more dates. Icke's event in Watford in November received protests from anti-racist activists.

Despite many on the left waking up to the sheer extent of the antisemitism in Icke's theories, he received some positive coverage in the press. A *Daily Express* article was entitled "Crickey Icke got it right! David Icke says EU wants centralised power and DEATH OF NATIONS". The article argued that "Mr Icke's straight-talking broadcast from Margate Beach seemed to nail what the BRITISH PEOPLE DEMAND from Brexit with the clarity and passion entirely absent from Parliament since the Brexit referendum itself."

In December Icke again received news coverage after American novelist Alice Walker wrote an endorsement of his 1995 book, *And the Truth Shall Set You Free*, for the *New York Times*. The book contains numerous instances of antisemitism.

Icke now has 560,000 YouTube subscribers, 777,000 Facebook Likes and 195,000 Twitter followers.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Icke will continue to be the most significant figure spreading conspiratorial antisemitism in the UK. In the new year he plans to take his paranoid bigotry to Australia, with events in Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, Hobart and Sydney planned in March. Icke's feature length biographical film, 'Renegade', is also due for release in Spring 2019.

RICHIE ALLEN

YOUTUBE SUBSCRIBERS: 22,200. YOUTUBE VIEWS: 2,385,700

SUMMARY OF 2018

David Icke's Manchester-based protégé Richie Allen, continued to run his own online conspiracy theory show. During the course of the year he hosted a number of antisemites, Holocaust deniers, and other conspiracy theorists as well as some more mainstream figures.

Allen launched his new website in January, but suffered a blow early in the year when his YouTube channel, which had 76,000 subscribers and 20 million views, was removed by the platform. Since February he has rebuilt his channel to 22,000 subscribers and gained 2,367,000 views.

Allen supported Holocaust denier Alison Chabloz during her summertime trial for charges relating to her antisemitic songs, describing her as "brilliant" and a "heroine". During the year he hosted Chabloz, nazi US Senate candidate Patrick Little, British Holocaust denier Nick Kollerstrom, Australian antisemite Max Igan (whom he described as an "old mate"), and antisemitic conspiracy theorist Kevin Barrett. Also appearing on his show in April 2018 was former Tory MP Ann Widdecombe. Alex Scott-Samuel, the chair of the Liverpool Wavertree CLP, and one of the proposers of a motion of no confidence motion in Jewish MP Luciana Berger, made an appearance in January 2019.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Allen has promised "more of the same" in 2019, and is set to continue to provide one of the biggest online platforms for conspiracy theorists, and conspiratorial antisemites, in the UK.

KEEP TALKING

LEADER: IAN FANTOM

AREAS ACTIVE: LONDON

Keep Talking is a conspiracy theory group holding monthly meetings in the capital. Prominent Holocaust denier Nick Kollerstrom has been an active member of the group, and has sold his denial material at events.

SUMMARY OF 2018

In 2018, the group continued to hold regular meetings, with speakers including Kollerstrom, notorious antisemite James Thring, and the pro-Assad conspiracy theorist Vanessa Beeley.

The group suffered a setback in March after six of their events were cancelled by the venue in which they were due to take place, after a HOPE not hate campaign.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Keep Talking will continue to hold small meetings for conspiracy theorists and Holocaust deniers in 2019.

GROUP REVIEW: TURNING POINT UK

TURNING POINT UK

CHAIRMAN: GEORGE FARMER

Turning Point UK is the new British branch of the American high school and college campus student organisation Turning Point USA, which aims to “identify, educate, train, and organize students to promote the principles of freedom, free markets, and limited government.” The Southern Poverty Law Centre has highlighted links to the alt-right and racist groups in the US.

The American founders Charlie Kirk and Candace Owens came to London and announced the official launch of TPUK on 11 December 2018 at an invite-only event at The Royal Automobile Club (RAC), on Pall Mall in London. The event was hosted by John and Irina Mappin, Peter Southall and Lord and Lady Plunket, and was advertised as “A Gathering of Political Genius”.

Since the launch, TPUK has begun to take a more formalised structure, and has even been endorsed by a host of Conservative politicians, including Priti Patel and Jacob Rees-Mogg as well as Nigel Farage.

The new UK group argues that it “is now more important than ever to defend our values against a dogmatic left-wing political climate, education system and radical Labour Party which sympathises with terrorists, wishes to disarm the nation and whose Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, if elected – would bankrupt the economy.”

TPUK is currently in the process of hiring five full time regional organisers.

PROSPECT FOR 2019

TPUK clearly has resources, and has been greeted with enthusiasm by some sections the right wing in the UK. There is no doubt that an audience exists for a group talking about ‘Free Speech’ on campus.

However, Turning Point is a very American organisation in terms of style and content, with an emphasis on libertarian ideals and anti-socialism that will not necessarily translate well to UK audiences. Despite the flurry of press interest, the chances of TPUK emerging as a force on British campuses, let alone within British politics more broadly, remains slim.

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HOPE
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COMMENT

IGNORANCE AND HYPOCRISY



THE FAR RIGHT AND THE FREE SPEECH DEBATE BY JOE MULHALL

The last year has seen the British far right increasingly portray themselves as defenders of free speech during a period of suppression at the hands of ‘politically correct social justice warriors’. Whether it was the numerous demonstrations at Hyde Park’s Speakers’ Corner, the large Day for Freedom event in May in London or the countless videos bemoaning the rise in social media de-platforming, the UK far right have adopted the issue as a central tenet of their rhetoric.

At best this has been based on a misunderstanding of the notion of free speech and at worst it has been nothing more than cynical politicking.

One of the major issues the far right fail to grasp is the difference between their right to say what they want (a right they have) with their desire to say it wherever they choose and without any criticism for doing so. These are not the same thing and should not be confused.

Furthermore, the far right’s use of the notion of a ‘marketplace of ideas’ (i.e. that the truth of a matter will emerge through the ‘market’ of competing ideas in public debate) does not take into account the quality or value of the speech they demand should be heard, when and where they demand. This is important when it comes to the question of whether universities – which are meant to advance debate – have an obligation to spend the often-exorbitant security fees to host a speaker like Milo Yiannopoulos.

They wrongly assume that diversity of opinion always leads to attainment of the truth, and that the correct argument will always win if debated. It would be wonderful if this were true but the point is such diversity of opinion is only *necessary*, not *sufficient*. This optimism ignores the possibility that ill-informed opinions will flood the debate and that ‘he who shouts the loudest’ will end up drowning out others.

At worst, debates can become flooded with proven falsities such as Holocaust denial and pseudo-scientific racism, which risks unduly legitimising topics that objectively are not legitimate. Here it should be obvious that, not only are such ideas low-quality, they are also of *disvalue* to debate: their proven falsity impedes understanding of, in these cases, the Holocaust and of race.

In addition, all too often those condemning the supposed clampdown on free speech fundamentally underestimate the potential for social inequalities to be reflected in public debate, and seem ignorant to the nature and extent of these inequalities in the marketplace of ideas. Those who recognise this feature of much debate understand very quickly why some are in a position to shout loudest in the first place.

As such, the position of these far right ‘free speech’ advocates is ultimately paradoxical. They claim to be committed to valuing equal free speech above other values, while simultaneously propagating an unequal debate that further undermines the free speech of those who are already harmed by social inequalities (namely minority groups).

Beyond the charitable explanation of ignorance is the outright hypocrisy displayed by many of these far right figures when they talk about free speech. For some on the far right free speech is not a right, it is merely a tactic. With their ideas long marginalised from the mainstream, they are using the notion of free speech to try and broaden the ‘Overton Window’ (the range of ideas the public will accept) to the point where it includes their prejudiced and hateful politics.

Paradoxically there are countless examples of these ‘free speech warriors’ admitting they agree with the suppression of free speech for groups they think are dangerous, most commonly Muslims.

THE NAZI SATANISTS

NICK LOWLES INVESTIGATES A SECRETIVE NAZI-OCCULT WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE INCREASING INFLUENCE ON BRITAIN VIOLENT NAZIS.



It was a small, unimposing picture on Garron Helm's mantelpiece, overlooked by most people as their eyes were drawn to the larger picture of Hitler hanging a foot above. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the police leading the investigation thought nothing of the strange nine angled image that clearly meant something to the person who lived in the house. When they investigated it, they decided that it was an old symbol from Nazi Germany.

How wrong they were.

The strange picture was the nine-pointed symbol of the Order of Nine Angles (O9A), unquestionably the world's most extreme Nazi Satanist group and Garron Helm, a leading member of the National Action before it was banned, was an active supporter.

If the police had looked into it more closely they would have found that Helm was not alone. At least two other leading National Action activists were also followers of the O9A. They might have also discovered that O9A philosophy is shaping the recently formed Sonnenkrieg Division, possibly the most extreme Nazi group we have seen in decades.

THE NAZI OCCULT

The Order of Nine Angles is a Nazi-Satanist "group" (or Nazi Occult as they prefer to describe themselves) that promotes a supernatural, hateful system of thought which condemns liberal, Judeo-Christian society and longs for a new imperial age created by a ludicrous sub-Nietzschean superman figure called 'Vindex.' Ultimately, the O9A elite aspires to colonise the solar system.

The racist order deifies Hitler and the Third Reich, which are regarded as having attempted to create a "Satanic empire" in order to achieve the destiny of the western world.

Much of the O9A writings and activities appear on the surface quite comical. The chanting, the dressing up, the rituals.

The Mass of Heresy, contained within the ONA's *Black Book of Satan*, is performed before an altar adorned with a swastika banner, a framed photograph of Hitler and a copy of *Mein Kampf*. With black candles and incense of Mars burning, the congregation, dressed in black robes, chant:

We believe Adolf Hitler was sent by our gods
To guide us to greatness.

We believe in the inequality of the races
And in the right of the Aryans to live
According to the laws of the folk.

In *The Ceremony of Recalling*, the Priestess blindfolds the Priest and takes him to each member of the congregation who kiss him. After being lifted on an altar containing "red candles and quartz tetrahedron", the Priest has his robe removed by the Priestess as the others walk around him. After performing a sexual act on the Priest, the Priestess removes the robes of the congregation. Meanwhile, the Mistress, dressed in a white robe, "takes the person she has

chosen and indulges herself according to her desire. The congregation consume the consecrated cakes [made from wheat, water, egg, honey, animal fat and marijuana] and wine and take their own pleasures according to their desires." The ceremony ends with the killing of a chosen one; in a symbolic sacrifice, an animal replaces a person. On the next new moon, the congregation consume cakes containing the sacrificial victim's blood.

But behind the fantasy and roleplay lies a very sinister organisation which has the potential to inspire their followers to commit extreme acts of violence.

The O9A believes civilisation must be undermined and destroyed from within, so adherents are encouraged to be as grubby and horrible as they like – committing crimes, random acts of violence, sexual assaults, and even the "culling" of human victims.

The three volumes of *The Black Book of Satan* are considered so extreme that they are kept in a special section of the British Library and not available to the general public. There is repeated talk of "culling", committing acts of violence and destabilisation and even terrorism. In the *The Dreccian Way*, an O9A training manual written by leader Richard Moulton, followers are encouraged not just to commit crime, but to "spread it, encourage it, incite it, support it".

O9A literature regularly advocates ritualised rape, random attacks on innocent victims and "human culling". The *Black Book of Satan* volume 3 describes how the Spring Equinox should be celebrated by a human sacrifice of somebody who volunteers for the role by their bad deeds, which, it suggests, could be "a Nazarene, such as an interfering investigative journalist."

"Culling is natural and necessary," wrote Moulton in *The Dreccian Way*. "To cull humans is to be the ONA. To cull – according to our guidelines and tests – is what makes us ONA."

LEADERSHIP

The O9A was formed in the 1960s by the coming together of three Shropshire-based Dark Pagan covens – Camlad, the Temple of the Sun and the Noctulians.

One of the early adherents was David Myatt (see profile on page 84), a quiet, unassuming man who had been drawn into the Nazism and the occult at an early age. He is believed to have had a relationship with the Lady Master and together they had a child. He was to take on the satanic pseudonym of Anton Long. After the Lady Master moved to Australia with her daughter Myatt became the leader and has written the vast majority of the group's literature.

In the 1990s the leadership of the O9A was taken over by Richard Moulton, who is now an artist and musician living in the Hebrides, and operates under the name Christos Beast. He publicly resigned from the O9A in 2001, but has since returned to the fold in 2008. Myatt has also publicly left the O9A, but again this is highly suspect as Moulton recently admitted that the two remain in regular contact.

THE NAZI OCCULT

The Order of Nine Angles is intrinsically intertwined with Nazism. Over the years Myatt has been involved in the British Movement, the National Democratic Freedom Movement and Column 88. During the 1990s, Myatt became involved in Combat 18 and the National Socialist Alliance, produced two e-newsletters *The National Socialist* and *Reichsfolk*, and then later created the National Socialist Movement, which included the London nail bomber David Copeland among its members.

When asked in 2005 if the O9A were posing as nazis to recruit and spread their message, Myatt – writing under the name Darkos Lago – responded: “You seem to have missed the point about ONA and National Socialism.

“From the get-go the ONA have propagated holocaust revisionism, have praised Hitler, have encouraged members to join NS groups, with one of their core principles being, to quote Professor Monette, ‘the Way of Defiance of and Practical Opposition to Magian Abstractions’. This principle refers to the ONA’s opposition to what it perceives as illegitimate Magian (western Judaeo-Christian) control of global culture and economics.

“Magian is ONA code for ZOG [Zionist Occupation Government – a phrase to describe the Jewish control of the state that became widely adopted by nazis in the 1980s and 90s].”

Disruption and subversion are two tactics widely encouraged by the ONA. Destablising society through terror and acts of sabotage formed a central theme of Myatt’s writings while he was associated with C18.

“We have to stop dreaming of winning national power by playing the unfair electoral game of our opponents and start being practical. The primary duty of all National Socialists is to change the world. National Socialism means revolution: the overthrow of the existing System and its replacement with a National-Socialist society. Revolution means struggle: it means war. It means certain tactics have to be employed, and a great revolutionary movement organised which is primarily composed of those prepared to fight, prepared to get their hands dirty and perhaps spill some blood.”

Even after the 11 years he spent as a Muslim, becoming a key ideologue for al-Qaeda, he never really left his National Socialism behind. In one interview he explained how he had tried to unite radical Islamists with national socialists in a joint war against the Jews, had pushed Holocaust Denial and whipped up Muslims to attack Israel.

Reflecting on 40 years of political activity, Myatt said in a 2005 interview with Aryan Nations, “In my own life, I have tried to create some things which can disrupt our societies and which can lead to the creation of strong, really dangerous, ruthless individuals – some things which are so subversive that no laws could ever outlaw them, and that attempts to restrain them, to outlaw them, would only make them more attractive to some individuals.”

INSIGHT

For a man so committed to his nazi occult ideals, it might appear strange that Myatt has punctuated his 50 years as a satanist with spells consuming himself in other religions. He has been a Taoist, a Bhuddist monk and more recently a Muslim. Likewise, when Richard



Richard Moulton

Moulton publicly resigned from the O9A, he became a Catholic and immersed himself with Bible study.

Rather than true conversions, they were following what they themselves describe as “insight” – a deliberate ploy to infiltrate, explore and subvert other organisations and religions, especially those that offer recruits the chance to learn violent skills. Supporters are encouraged to join the police and army in the hope that they get a chance to kill.

During Helm’s recent court case, where he eventually was found not guilty of being a member of National Action (NA) after the group was proscribed, it emerged that he had been part of the Prevent – the Government’s counter-extremist deradicalisation programme. While this fact helped persuade the jury that he was no longer active in NA, Helm described his participation in Prevent as “insight”, an implication that he had got involved to find out more about it and potentially subvert it.

A WORLDWIDE NETWORK

For many years the O9A had just been Myatt, Moulton and a handful of close followers. However, in recent years it appears to have taken off, with Nexions (chapters) and likeminded organisations springing up across the world.

But in the internet age, as extremists from around the world congregate together online, seeking out the “edgiest” positions and ideas, and younger people are drawn in, the O9A is arguably becoming more visible and influential than ever.

There are O9A groups, or connected groups, across North America, Europe and Australia. Among the connected groups is The Black Order, the Australian-based Temple of Them and Californian-based White Star Association.

In the UK, a key O9A organiser is a West Country-based musician who goes by the name Michael



(top, left) Andrew Dymock
(top, right) Ryan Fleming
(bottom) Garron Helm

Mouthwork. Mouthwork and Moulton have collaborated on several musical projects through Mouthwork's MMP Temple label, including *The Man Whom The Trees Loved*, produced in 2017.

According to writer Dylan Miller, Mouthwork's facebook page carried numerous satanic pictures, including one with a rotting head stuck on a pole, surrounded by a swastika made out of human bones. Other photos included Mouthwork wearing a nazi uniform, with a swastika armband and some strange leaf headgear.

THE NATIONAL ACTION LINK

The Yorkshire O9A nexion is run by Ryan Fleming, who went on to become a leading figure in National Action. He was also a prolific writer. Under the pseudonym A. A. Morian, Fleming has written several vampire/satanic books which have an international and youthful audience.

As a teenager in Horsforth, Fleming had a reputation for bullying others and a supreme confidence in his own looks, charm and personality. He liked to portray himself as a swashbuckling and debonair character and made a name for himself by often riding a horse bareback to the local pub or outside schools.

Among many of Fleming's disturbing heroes and heroines, were the Moors murderers Ian Brady and Myra Hindley, which strangely made him popular with NA.

In 2011 Fleming was jailed for the sexual assault of a vulnerable young man who he imprisoned and tortured before forcing him to perform a sex act.

NA refused to disown Fleming as it is thought Satanism played a part in the 'White Jihad' theory they and the American terror group Atomwaffen Division (AWD) was developing. Fleming's books focus on hunting down people in rural settings and feeding on them.

In July 2017, after National Action had been proscribed by the Home Secretary, Fleming was jailed for three years for raping a fourteen year old girl.

The O9A influence has also been seen in the Atomwaffen Division (AWD), a violent American nazi terrorist group operating out of Florida. According to the Southern Poverty Law Centre, the "AWD is organized as a series of terror cells that work toward civilizational collapse. Members, who can be fairly described as accelerationists, believe that violence, depravity and degeneracy are the only sure way to establish order in their dystopian and apocalyptic vision of the world."

There have been numerous mentions in support of the O9A on AWD forums.

SONNENKRIEG DIVISION

More worryingly, is the influence O9A appears to have on the Sonnenkrieg Division, which has emerged in recent months out of the now largely defunct System Resistance Network, which itself came out of National Action. Leading the group is Andrew Dymock, who is obsessed with the occult and believed to be close to Ryan Fleming and Garron Helm.

Under his leadership, the Sonnenkrieg Division has produced some of the most frightening and sickening material seen on the British far right for decades, including open interest in Satanism and the promotion of paedophilia, rape and murder. Sodomy was also a disturbing and repetitive theme.

Probably influenced by the O9A, members of the Sonnenkrieg Division openly celebrate and encourage sexual violence and even lionised notorious figures such as the Moors Murderer Ian Brady. Members frequently make reference to the O9A, often including keywords or acronyms in their online pseudonyms.

With the SD being more extreme and potentially violent than National Action, this is a very worrying development. HOPE not hate understands that some members have also carried out some of these satanic fantasies and allegations of rape and imprisonment against their own members are circulating.

A REAL THREAT

The O9A's absurd beliefs may contribute to the threat it poses being underestimated. However, any group that encourages racism, violence, sexual abuse and murder should be treated seriously.

In an interview as recently as 2013, Myatt explained their strategy. "Insofar as I understand the matter, it seems that the 'satanic' overtones of the ONA serves several subversive purposes. First, to propagate the heresy – contrary to the magian (Jewish) 'satanism' of Levey and others – that, as I mentioned in a previous reply, "as originally used and meant, the term satan refers to some human being or beings who 'diabolically' plot or who scheme against or who are 'diabolically' opposed to those who consider themselves as 'chosen' are the Jews.

"Second, to attract a certain type of rebellious young person who is prepared to do stuff – as an 'insight role' or otherwise – that NS and racial nationalist political groups can't do. Third, to propagate a certain mystique, an occult aura, of dangerousness, difficulty, perplexity, and to confuse outsiders."

DAVID MYATT: THE NAZI SATANIST

Born in 1950, David Myatt spent his early years following his father around Africa and the Far East. Myatt returned to England at the age of seventeen – after an upbringing in overseas public schools – to complete his education. His political opinions formed as he turned sixteen. Reading books about Nazi Germany, Myatt became engrossed in what he saw as the “loyalty, honour and duty” of the Germans of that period, particularly of the SS.

Even as a student, he was proud to announce himself as a national socialist at a time when other fascists were trying to disguise their politics. He joined the newly formed British Movement and would regularly get involved in fights. He learnt martial arts as a teenager and this, coupled with his youthful aggression, meant that he often acted as a bodyguard for party leader Colin Jordan.

After dropping out of Hull University, where he was studying physics, Myatt moved to Leeds where he was regularly involved in violence and after one particularly nasty attack on a young Asian he was sent to prison. After his release he helped form the National Democratic Freedom Movement (NDFM).

But politics was not enough for Myatt and he formed a small criminal gang to “re-distribute wealth stolen by big capitalist firms,” or so he liked to convince himself. Their burglaries led to an investigation by the Yorkshire Regional Crime Squad and he was again convicted. His activities did attract the attention of someone in authority though as he was invited to join Column 88, a secretive nazi group that was in reality a state-funded operation designed to cause chaos and violence in the event of a Communist takeover or Russian invasion. Myatt became increasingly active in C88, attending their training camps and meetings.

He became interested in the Occult as a teenager and joined a small Left Hand Path group in London, which was run by a woman who ran a high class brothel. He was later to form a relationship with the woman’s daughter and together they were to have a child.

Myatt’s Satanism did not derive from some rigid form of devil worshipping but from the ancient Greek word for adversary, in this case meaning opposition to the present order. “Expressed simply,” ONA literature read, “the aim of the ONA is to create a new species.” To Myatt, Satanism represented the Black Order, the only force that could unlock the stranglehold the White Order had on modern society, particularly through Christianity, which he believed had enslaved Western society.

Only with its replacement by paganism could the West possibly reach its potential.

For Myatt, satanism and fascism are inextricably linked. “National Socialism is the only real theory in existence, since it is based solely on the highest ideals of Honour, Loyalty and Duty, championed over and above selfish individual pursuits. It calls for a revolution of the Soul; a Triumph of the Will; a return of racial pride and defiance. In a very important sense, National Socialism IS contemporary Paganism.”

Myatt returned to political activity in 1993 even more committed to extra-parliamentary means. “We have to stop dreaming of winning national power by playing the unfair electoral game of our opponents,” he wrote at the time, “and start being practical.

“The primary duty of all National Socialists is to change the world. National Socialism means revolution: the overthrow of the existing System and its replacement with a National-Socialist society. Revolution means struggle: it means war. It means certain tactics have to be employed, and a great revolutionary movement organised which is primarily composed of those prepared to fight, prepared to get their hands dirty and perhaps spill some blood. To succeed, such a revolutionary movement needs tough, uncompromising, fanatical individuals.”

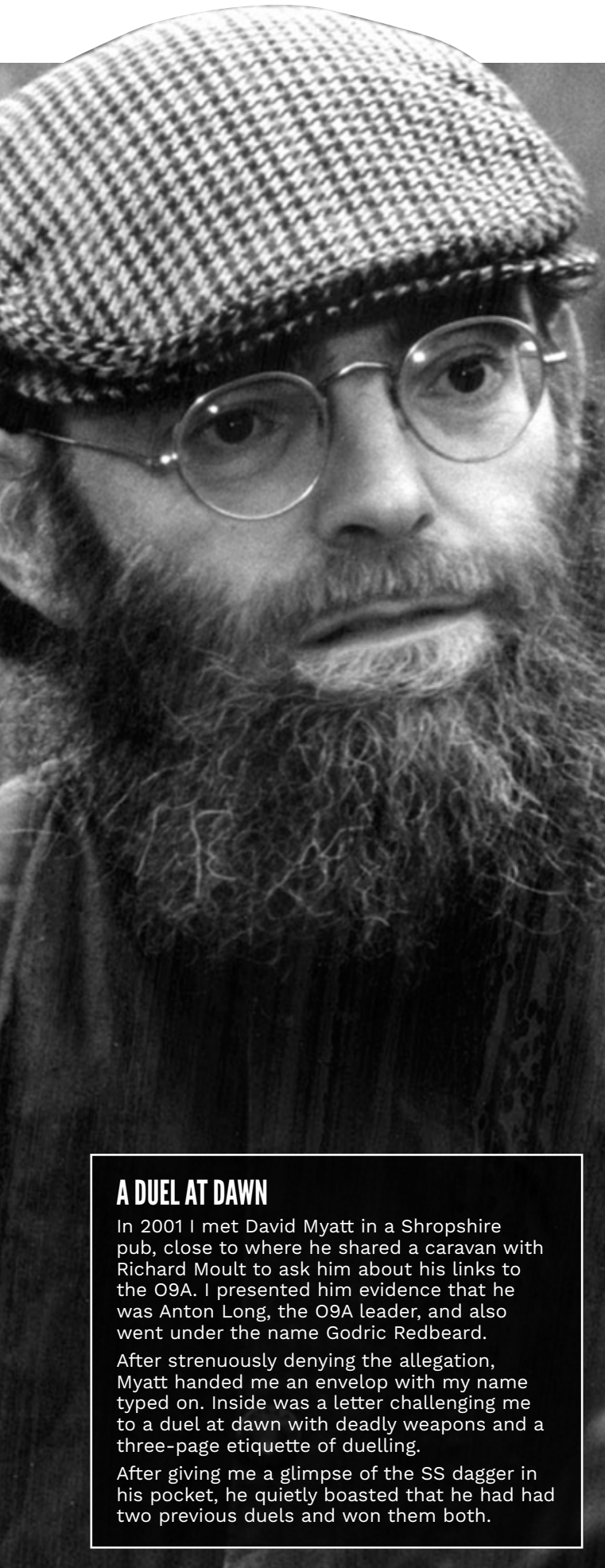
Perhaps learning from his experience with C88, Myatt believed that a twin strategy of public and private activity was required. Publicly he aligned himself to Combat 18 and its umbrella group, the National Socialist Alliance. Privately, he was running his own elite nazi groups – the Reichsfolk and the Aryan Resistance Movement.

In the streetfighters and pub brawlers of C18, Myatt saw the raw material from which a revolutionary movement could be formed. Myatt was particularly interested in the skinhead followers of Blood and Honour. “These mostly young Aryans have the right instincts; they have the right feelings about life. Their often rowdy behaviour, their tendency to like brawls, is natural and healthy because it is part of the warrior heritage.” Myatt saw his role as the educator, producing material to turn the C18 stormtroopers and Blood and Honour skinheads into fully conscious Aryan warriors.

In February 1995, he began publishing *The National Socialist*, a regular newsletter, to “educate people in the fundamental understanding of National Socialism.” C18, and the Sargents in particular, had a new guru.

He had called on C18 and NSA supporters to channel their energies into a terrorist campaign. “The primary duty of all National-Socialists,” wrote Myatt, “is to change the world. National-Socialism means revolution: the overthrow of the existing System and its replacement with a National-Socialist society. Revolution means struggle: it means war.”

In *System Breakdown: A Guide to Disrupting the System*, Myatt called for terrorism: not a few “wasteful and pointless” attacks on isolated targets but instead a prolonged attack on society, tantamount to a strategy of tension. “It means persistent and calculating pressure applied to the whole structure of everyday life – and it means that a power base has been built which can supply the dedicated people needed to mount and sustain such pressure over a period of many years. Tension within certain communities can be raised by ‘direct action’. Members of covert action groups should infiltrate themselves into organisations, groups, businesses and other concerns to either (a) sabotage it from within, or (b) obtain useful hardware. All covert direct action



A DUEL AT DAWN

In 2001 I met David Myatt in a Shropshire pub, close to where he shared a caravan with Richard Moulton to ask him about his links to the O9A. I presented him evidence that he was Anton Long, the O9A leader, and also went under the name Godric Redbeard.

After strenuously denying the allegation, Myatt handed me an envelope with my name typed on. Inside was a letter challenging me to a duel at dawn with deadly weapons and a three-page etiquette of duelling.

After giving me a glimpse of the SS dagger in his pocket, he quietly boasted that he had had two previous duels and won them both.

organisations must be prepared – at some time in the future – for armed conflict with the forces which aid and support the system.”

The collapse of C18 led Myatt to turn his attention to Islam. “I began to seriously study Islam, initially more to see what I could learn from it and perhaps apply to that NS Cause I then still believed in,” he was later to recall.

Over the next eleven years Myatt’s involvement in Islam became stronger. It also became more radical. He sought out hardliners within his local mosque and began to write in support of Jihad. “The pure authentic Islam of the revival, which recognises practical jihad (holy war) as a duty, is the only force that is capable of fighting and destroying the dishonour, the arrogance, the materialism of the West,” Myatt wrote in one article. “For the West, nothing is sacred, except perhaps Zionists, Zionism, the hoax of the so-called Holocaust, and the idols which the West and its lackeys worship, or pretend to worship, such as democracy.

“They want, and demand, that we abandon the purity of authentic Islam and either bow down before them and their idols, or accept the tame, secularised, so-called Islam which they and their apostate lackeys have created. This may well be a long war, of decades or more — and we Muslims have to plan accordingly. We must affirm practical jihad — to take part in the fight to free our lands from the kuffar (unbelievers). Jihad is our duty.”

Much of his work was devoted to encouraging nazis and Islamists to fight “the tyrannical New World Order, the dishonourable profane Zionist led Crusade alliance”, though he continued to publish editions of The National-Socialist newsletter and lead his underground group, the Reichsfolk. Professor George Michael was later to write that Myatt has “arguably done more than any other theorist to develop a synthesis of the extreme right and Islam.”

Gradually his belief in Islam, publicly at least, overtook his national socialism and during travels in Iran and Iraq, in 2000, he began praising Osama Bin Ladin and Al Qaeda. Writing under the name Abdul Aziz and Abdul-Aziz ibn Myatt, he quickly gained a reputation as a radical Islamist, supporting suicide attacks and defending both 9/11 and the London 7/7 bombings. His articles appeared on numerous militant Islamist websites, including one piece justifying suicide bombings on Izz al-Din al-Qassam, the website belonging to the military wing of Hamas.

His writings were so extreme that they caught the attention of the authorities and he was referenced at NATO-led conferences on extremism in both 2005 and 2006. At one conference, held in Slovakia, reference was made to an article he had written which called upon “all enemies of the Zionists to embrace the Jihad, the ‘true martial religion’ which will most effectively fight against the Jews and the Americans.” Myatt had lost none of his extreme antisemitism.

Myatt eventually lost interest in radical Islam and in 2011 announced that he was no longer a Muslim. He once again became a recluse and threw all his efforts into a new philosophy, which he called The Numinous Way. It was, he claimed, a philosophy of peace. However, despite publicly distancing himself from the O9A, Richard Moulton admits to being in regular contact with Myatt and the presumption must be that he is still actively involved in the nazi occult organisation he has spent almost 50 years supporting and leading.

AT WAR AND PEACE: THE UVF

Formed in late 1965, the Ulster Volunteer Force is the oldest and deadliest of Northern Ireland's loyalist paramilitary groups. A proscribed organisation for most of its existence, for over 30 years the UVF waged a violent terrorist campaign to maintain Northern Ireland's status within the United Kingdom and attack Irish republicanism or those it identified as its supporters, which left over 550 people dead, most of them civilians. Its violence peaked in the mid-1970s and was characterised by the use of no-warning bombs and a willingness to cause mass casualties. The UVF was responsible for the highest death toll in any single day of the Troubles when it carried out the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of May 1974, killing 33 people.

Unlike its much larger and more open rival, the Ulster Defence Association, the UVF was a highly secretive and militaristic group, influenced in no small part by the ex-services background of its early members, including its first leader Gusty Spence, Samuel "Bo" McClelland, and Harry Chivers, a former commando and member of the SBS. Politically, it maintains a link with the Progressive Unionist Party, a small left-wing party formed in 1979 by members of the UVF's welfare wing and former Northern Ireland Labour Party activists.

The UVF called a ceasefire in 1994 but over the next decade continued to engage in sporadic violence linked to splits and intramural feuds. The most recent outbreak occurred in 2005 when it finally moved to wipe out its anti-Good Friday Agreement splinter group, the Loyalist Volunteer Force. The elimination of the LVF, long regarded as "unfinished business" by the UVF, marked a turning point for the organisation. In 2007 it stood down its active service units, and two years later decommissioned the weapons and explosives under its control. From 2005 to 2018 only one murder, in 2010, was attributed to the UVF, but at time of writing (January 2019) the particularly brutal slaying of a man in East Belfast has been blamed on a local UVF unit. In spite of widespread revulsion at the killing, not least within the local loyalist community, it remains to be seen whether this will mark a turning point in the activities of the East Belfast UVF, and if they will wholeheartedly engage with the conflict transformation initiatives advocated and pursued by the UVF's central leadership on the Shankill.

While its upper echelons have contracted since 2009, with most positions on its "Brigade Staff" becoming defunct, the UVF retains a stable (though ageing) central leadership based in the greater Shankill area, its historical heartland and the community from which it still draws its greatest support. A potential revival of the supergrass system in the form of turncoat Gary Haggarty has evaporated, and with it the possibility of a leaderless and destabilised UVF. With stability seemingly secure, in the near term at least, the UVF central leadership has recently moved to consolidate efforts to turn its back on paramilitarism and illegality, something long demanded by civil society and which at times has seemed to happen at a glacial pace.

Nevertheless, the general picture is of an organisation drawing down. Its most dangerous activists, the last to have "done the business", have settled into middle-age. On the Shankill, its youngest members are now in their mid to late thirties. Many are now focused on their employment or families, with a small percentage pursuing higher education or community work qualifications. Since 2008 the UVF has pursued a programme of "disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration" over outright disbandment, that year seeing the formation of the ACT Initiative to enact such a strategy. According to one rural commander, "Because there's been a conflict for a number of years, you can't just disappear. You have to address the past before you can move forward, through the ACT Initiative [...] it's a control mechanism too. Say you have a guy who can cause severe harm to humans or property. You tell him that from midnight it's over, he's going to go out and get involved, probably through criminality".

In recent months the UVF has pushed to restructure and revitalise the ACT programme which, by its own admission, has enjoyed success and substantial engagement in some geographical areas but not in others. It has also pressed local commanders to properly enforce the 2007 ban on recruitment, which was inconsistently adhered to. The push to abandon illegal fund-raising, violent "community policing" activities, and to back the PSNI, comes amid growing police pressure on certain parts of the organisation, particularly the East Belfast UVF which has been publicly singled out for attention by the Paramilitary Crime Task Force, and the focus of much press coverage relating to allegations of ongoing criminality.

UVF leaders admit that support for the group within working-class loyalist communities has diminished since the ceasefires, with the exception of interface areas where inter-communal tensions remain high and confidence in the PSNI correspondingly low. Little or no appetite exists for a return to conflict and memories of the suffering and privation caused by the Troubles are still strong. As one senior member from the Shankill states, "I only got to enjoy [family life] when my grandkids came along. I was at my job during day and then at night I was out all the time". Some senior commanders are in their sixties or seventies and at this point have been involved in paramilitarism for over 50 years.

While its formal intelligence apparatus has been dismantled the UVF still maintains a watch on interfaces and dissident republicans. Some in the group fear that dissidents, having failed to disrupt the peace process with lethal attacks on policemen, soldiers, and prison officers, may eventually target a prominent loyalist in a desperate effort to destabilise the state. Nevertheless, its leadership appears content to leave things to the security forces as, in one figure's estimation, "the police are, with some exceptions, genuinely on top of the dissidents".

Northern Ireland is currently experiencing its most troubling period of constitutional uncertainty in over



20 years, and while the UVF remains committed to its ceasefire a number of broader hazards loom on the horizon. Uncertainty and disquiet thrown up by Brexit and the collapse of the Stormont Assembly, several ill-advised statements from an Irish government which appears poorly briefed on loyalism, and a republican movement emboldened by the imminent prospect of demographic parity all have the potential to discomfit loyalists. Irish Foreign Affairs minister Simon Coveney's remarks on joint Dublin/London authority, though directed towards Westminster and perhaps containing more bombast than substance, were particularly

unfortunate given that the last time an Irish government mooted the prospect the UVF responded by threatening to bomb Dublin.

So long as joint authority – a red line for loyalist paramilitaries – remains a rhetorical bluff it seems most unlikely that the UVF will “pull up the floorboards” and return to a war footing, but the wider prospect of unrest and dangers of inflammatory speechifying should be kept in mind when considering a country whose history has proved that a crisis can sometimes be talked into existence.

EAST BELFAST UVF



For the last eight to ten years, the leadership of the Ulster Volunteer Force has struggled to contain its 'East Belfast Battalion' whose power base is on the Newtonards Road, but stretches formally and informally, as far as Newtonards and Bangor.

The struggle to contain East Belfast UVF became notably more difficult during 2012's 'Flag Protests' which came at a time of increased tensions and suspicion between local UVF men and nationalists in the Short Strand, a nationalist area of East Belfast.

The bone of contention was the UVF's ongoing commitment (in public at least) to the peace process and the decommissioning of weapons in 2009. East Belfast UVF, which gave lip service to the idea, privately wanted to remain armed but committed to peace. It is worth noting that this would also mirror some of the initial doubts and mistrust that afflicted the rival UDA.

As the UVF wound down (most) of its military operations, in East Belfast, under the watch of "the Beat of the East" who oversees operations of the UVF there, in marked contrast to the rest of the organisation, the ranks of the UVF in East Belfast have swelled to an estimated 3,000 members. Such a growth in numbers in one Battalion makes it the largest and most powerful paramilitary group in Ireland.

Although they have not formally walked away from

the UVF leadership on the Shankill Road in the west of Belfast, East Belfast UVF is considered to be in breach of the peace process and no longer under the command of the UVF leadership, or influenced by the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), the UVF's political wing.

East Belfast UVF has run a number of community improvement initiatives, opening youth centres and running a series of sporting events and teams, but it holds a military structure in place the few can or would ever contemplate rubbing up against.

In January of this year, a young woman filmed her father being murdered on their doorstep by men she alleged were members of the (East Belfast) UVF. The victim, Ian Ogle, was apparently the victim of a longstanding feud between rival 'units' that operate in the UVF. As Ogle's daughter broadcast her father dying, crying "This is my daddy the UVF b*****s stabbed," neighbours became so scared they begged her to stop, through fear she may too become a victim of the group's retribution.

The killing was swiftly condemned by the leadership of East Belfast UVF, but as the Belfast Telegraph reported, "any positive work it has done in the past year, around bonfires and on interfaces, is now ruined, irreparably tainted by the image of a father lying in a pool of his own blood."

NEW IRA

A car bomb that exploded in Derry two weeks ago was carried out by the New IRA (NIRA) – who now represent the only republican group involved in an armed campaign in Northern Ireland.

Described as having a “huge and fragile ego” the dissident group boasts strongholds in Derry, Strabane, Lurgan and west Belfast but in truth their numbers are not particularly high in any of those areas – where mainstream republicanism under the wing of Sinn Fein continues to attract the vast amount of support in seeking an electoral path to Irish unity.

The car bomb which exploded outside the courthouse in Derry during mid-January caused shock and surprise and no small amount of outrage – not least because just moments before it exploded a group of teenagers could be seen walking past it, blissfully unaware of the danger they were in.

The bombing is being treated as a major success for NIRA, particularly in their quest to be seen as the inheritors of the mantle of the one and only IRA. The Provisional IRA, the group most responsible for Republican violence before 1997’s peace agreement and who held that mantle, has long since exited the fray as have the smaller Irish National Liberation Army (INLA).

Previous dissident groups, Continuity IRA and the Real IRA in particular, found the lack of public support for their attempts to reignite an armed campaign difficult to sustain their enthusiasm causing the groups to split, merge and then split again. The New IRA would appear to be a mixture of both latter groups but still lack the finesse, professionalism or support that so marked the campaign of the Provisional IRA.

The success of the NIRA’s Derry bomb may well have stalled what was predicted as an inevitable ending of their campaign. NIRA suffered serious blows recently, with several senior members facing terror charges and/or are being subject to near 24hr surveillance. Last November the Belfast wing of NIRA were left humiliated when a house fire led police to uncover virtually their entire arsenal of weapons.

Two AK47 assault rifles, two sawn-off shotguns, a high-powered rifle with a silencer fitted, three pipe bombs and more than 100 assorted rounds of ammunition were being stored in a boiler house in west Belfast without the house owner’s knowledge. The Police Service of Northern Ireland believe some of those guns were used in an attack on police officers back in 2015 but the fact someone left volatile weapons and ammunition on top of a hot boiler suggests the group is not blessed with a lot of brains.

Sources said the lucky seizure left the group in Belfast with just one gun left to their name. To add to their problems the group’s political wing Saoradh (Irish for Liberation) has been hit by Facebook removing their social media pages, denting a large part of their propaganda. Interestingly, the group has launched legal action citing similar laws and reasons enshrined under the Good Friday Agreement to that used by the



far-right Britain First in their own battle with the social media giant.

All this makes the New IRA’s ability to organise and explode a bomb on a busy Saturday night in Derry an even greater ‘coup’. It has emboldened the dissidents and put an end to any thoughts of them calling their campaign of violence off. The bombing was also seen as a deliberate attempt to exploit the growing uncertainty and anxiety over Brexit.

The Police in Northern Ireland have been swift to clamp down on any sign of any increasing dissident Republican activity. This would appear to have the support of Sinn Fein who still hold the sway over the Republican movement’s general thinking.

A number of dissidents arrested in connection with the car bomb are members of NIRA’s political wing Saoradh.

Whatever a success the Derry bomb was for NIRA – a large and telling explosion that narrowly avoided innocent deaths, the feeling in the wider Republican movement remains that the conditions are not right for a return to armed struggle.

While they may be dented militarily and the moment, NIRA remain an isolated threat to peace and dangerously reckless.

LONDON ULSTER DEFENCE ASSOCIATION

LONDON ULSTER DEFENCE ASSOCIATION (UDA)

OTHER NAMES/CAMPAIGNS: ANTI-TERROR ALLIANCE, BRITISH ULSTER ALLIANCE, JUSTICE FOR THE 21, ULSTER DEFENCE MOVEMENT, (LONDON) ULSTER POLITICAL RESEARCH GROUP (UPRG), ULSTER FREEDOM FIGHTERS (UFF), LOYALIST PRISONERS AID (LPA).

MEMBERSHIP: 300 (ACTIVE), 2000 SUPPORTERS

LEADER: FRANK PORTINARI

SUMMARY OF 2018

Now sixty years of age, Portinari celebrated 30 years at the helm of the 'Mainland' UDA last year, by announcing his retirement from the role of 'Commander' and declaring himself a 'researcher'.

Portinari was following the instructions of the mainstream UDA in Northern Ireland by moving his activities under the Ulster Political Research Group (UPRG) banner. There will be no actual replacing Portinari as the 'governor' as he likes to be known in both Britain and in mainstream UDA circles in Northern Ireland. Like the role of Commander, it appears mainland UDA is, in name only, also in mothballs.

The UPRG has been around for decades in various guises and under various leadership's but it is post the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) of 1997 which brought the relative peace now enjoyed in the six counties, that the outlawed UDA moved into senior positions within the group.

An advisory council to the UDA's six 'commanders', it is through the UPRG that government funding initiatives can be funnelled to paramilitary organisations and their satellites for the employment of former paramilitaries as 'community workers.' This is not a slight on this work or its methodology.

However, when the UDA splits, so too does the UPRG. Since 2006 the UDA and the UPRG has split several times and although UPRG is supposed to espouse legal comment from the UDA commanders in their various fiefdoms across the six counties, as the vacuous shift in Loyalism widens, some UPRG's simply deliver ultimatums, apologies and excuses for the UDA's continued racketeering and militarism.

Winding down Portinari's role as a Commander of the UDA in Britain was a somewhat protracted discussion but also an imperative as the faction Portinari is aligned to are still engaging with the peace process and post conflict resolution in Northern Ireland. The mainstream UDA, or UPRG as they prefer to be known, have perhaps the greater access to the ear of government than any Irish paramilitary organisation has since the 1920's.

In 2017 HOPE not hate exposed how the UDA mainstream faction had 'gotten into bed' with the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), who in turn found themselves propping up the newly-elected minority Conservative Winding down the UDA's paramilitary armour and activities became an imperative not just in the dusty halls of Westminster, but also in the Loyalist

enclaves still under the control of the mainstream UDA in Northern Ireland.

There certainly is an argument – or at least a discussion to be had about the merits of bringing former combatants from one community closer to the vestiges of power in Northern Ireland [Stormont]. It should not escape anybody's notice or understanding that Stormont has a dominant investment by former combatants' from the other community present and represented there- even if it is currently still not functioning.

That a party that props up the government is a presumably active ear of the whims of the UDA is however, extremely and urgently problematic. Although not under the auspicious of the mainstream UDA, across the province, the UDA(s) is still synonymous with violence and gangsterism as well as involved in continued recruitment – often press-gangging wider antisocial and criminal elements into its ranks.

Worse still, the vast majority of the Protestant and Unionist community see little resemblance between the current UDA and those that at times were heralded as their protectors during the most dark and murderous past before the GFA.

The process in convincing Portinari to follow suit and shed the vestiges and titles of terrorism was difficult and challenging. Regarded himself as a former combatant- having served a sentence for gun running during the UDA's most murderous period in the 1990's, Portinari has built an empire in Britain through a continuity of over thirty years work, replacing and overpowering other Commanders' around Britain until he was, in effect, the Brigadier of the British UDA.

In the run up to the GFA, Portinari was initially an outspoken critic of the peace process, an opinion which had he followed would have without doubt had a somewhat destructive effect on both his current position and that of the potential current make-up of the UDA.

Those that run the UDA in Belfast took the step of not only involving Portinari in the UDA's internal discussions on the issue of disarming and scaling down, but they would later reward him with a visit to meet the Queen in Dublin in 2011 in line with other UDA Commanders.

As we noted in last year's report, such elevations made Portinari not just one of the most powerful and longstanding figures on the British far-right, but also one of the most trusted lieutenants in the mainstream UDA. Assured that there would be no loss of kudos in his decision and for the better of the mainstream UDA's as yet to be determined future direction, Portinari's UDA is now the UPRG.

Throughout 2017 and 2018, Portinari has been a driving force behind the 'Justice for the 21' campaign by and on behalf of the victims and their families of the 1974 IRA bombs in Birmingham. The campaign is driven by the not wholly unreasonable suggestion that if the Birmingham Six are innocent (as they were proven to be so in 1991), then the families of the dead



and injured are entitled to demand those who are responsible for the bombings, be brought to justice.

The campaign's suggestions are little different to similar justice campaigns brought by other higher profile 'Justice' campaigners, in that there is a strong belief that the state and the police are behind a cover up of the truth. In the case of Portinari's and the UDA's involvement in 'Justice 4 the 21' campaign, that belief is that there is a cover up to appease the IRA and its political wing Sinn Fein- or that the Birmingham Six convictions being overturned was itself expedient.

No Stranger to collecting *nom de guerre*'s for his activities, Portinari dropped the short-lived 'Anti-Terror Alliance' and also quickly withdrew his support for the Football Lads Alliance (FLA) during 2018. Portinari is even alleged to have evaded security and made it into Congress House in London when Gerry Adams, former President of Sinn Fein spoke at a conference in London in March, though his supporters failed in their bid to disrupt the event.

PROSPECTS FOR 2019

Portinari's big struggle will be to keep those around subordinate to him and engaged. London UDA is deliberately not a young group; its members are mainly in their fifties and like Portinari, long in the tooth and drawn from former BNP, NF and C18 members.

The demand to keep raising funds for the main body will continue.

Although there is not meant to be swearing-in ceremonies of new Territorial antagonisms between the UDA and the rival Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) has never really played out in Britain though relations between the UDA and UVF in the capital are often frosty. The growing strength and militancy of the UVF in Belfast (allegedly some 3,000 strong in East Belfast and no longer engaged in the peace process) is bound to unnerve some of the English UDA's aging members.

A SMEAR CAMPAIGN? LEFT-WING ANTISEMITISM ON SOCIAL MEDIA

BY JOE MULHALL AND PATRIK HERMANSSON

Over the last few years the issue of left-wing antisemitism has hit the headlines in the UK. All too often, however, some people have sought to play down, ignore the problem or write it off as a smear. The reality is that a significant number of people on the left have promoted or engaged with antisemitic content.

To better understand the scale and nature of the crisis, HOPE not hate gathered data on left-wing antisemitism in the hope of properly analysing it.

We've found that the problem of left-wing antisemitism on social media can be split into four overlapping camps:

- At the most extreme end is a very small group of left-wing people who engage in extreme, violent or pro-genocide antisemitism or outright Holocaust denial.
- Then comes a larger group of left-wing people who engage in conspiratorial antisemitism and use antisemitic tropes, especially in relation to supposed Jewish power and influence with special reference to the Rothschild conspiracy. This group can, in turn, be split in two with some being conscious conspiratorial antisemites and others ignorantly regurgitating tropes they are unaware are racist.
- Then there are those left-wing activists who use antisemitic language when discussing issues relating to Israeli/Palestine, including occurrences during debates around the IHRA definition of antisemitism and false equivalency between the actions of Israel and Nazism.
- The final group is the largest and these are people who deny that there is a problem with antisemitism on the left, dismiss the problem as nothing more than smears against the left and/or attack those who believe there is a problem. In the case of Labour party supporters, denial is often used as a means of defending the leadership of the party, but others use this denial to attack and 'gaslight' Jewish Labour figures in often vitriolic language.

While there can be significant crossover between the various categories we see this as a useful working framework from which we can better address the problem of left-wing antisemitism.

HOPE NOT HATE ANALYSIS

HOPE not hate analysed approximately 27,000 Twitter accounts that follow a manually selected set of UK based left-wing accounts that we identified as regularly spreading antisemitic ideas. Among the posts by the 27,000 accounts we've categorised each tweet as antisemitic if it makes use of common antisemitic tropes, such as Jews controlling events or having undue influence in the world or that Jews are disloyal. Insulting phrases targeted at Jews as a group, suggesting that the Holocaust did not happen

or comparisons between the State of Israel and Nazi Germany have also been categorised as antisemitism. Additionally we've flagged denial of antisemitism as a separate issue.

The research is still ongoing but preliminary results have identified that up to 5,000 accounts in the sample have expressed these ideas twice or more. The results are worrying and should receive immediate attention. They highlight how left-wing antisemitism shares tropes with the far right but also how it's distinct and takes on a shape of its own, thereby calling for a different response.

LEFT-WING ANTISEMITISM SHARES TROPES WITH THE FAR RIGHT BUT ALSO IT'S DISTINCT AND TAKES ON A SHAPE OF ITS OWN

HOLOCAUST DENIERS AND ROTHSCHILD BANKERS

The research project intentionally included the examination of a range of levels of antisemitic ideas. The amount in each category varies greatly and, unsurprisingly, the less extreme expressions are also the most common ones.

In our study we found only a very small number of left-wing accounts that engage in Holocaust denial, often using the term "holohoax", such as the following post: "fools gullible fools & the 6 million lie & fraudulent holohoax museums zero for Armenian Genocide zero". In this category we also unsurprisingly find some overlap with far-right accounts; left-wing users who retweet far-right material and the other way around. However, this type of extreme antisemitism and explicit Holocaust denial remains relatively rare in left-wing circles.

The second group, which is considerably larger, consists of those that express antisemitic tropes and conspiracy theories. Antisemitism and conspiratorial ideas are closely entwined. The idea that Jewish people have undue influence on world politics and a secret agenda is an age-old trope. It is often promoted by claiming that Jewish people dominate in bank ownership and the media or that Jewish people have deep political connections.

While there are several other classic antisemitic tropes, we found the idea of control and variations on this theme are the most common. A single statement can often make use of several tropes at once. The conspiratorial idea of Jewish people having undue influence is, for example, often combined with the allegation of disloyalty to their own country:

We need to stand up against the Zionist lobby in the UK they are not putting Britain first but Israel first, why are we allowing them to dictate British politics when they put Israel's interests above any other interests, their agenda is making other nations sons die for Israel



The most common trope regarding undue influence propagated by left-wing antisemites is the suggestion that the “Zionist lobby”, “Israel lobby” or even Mossad are somehow steering UK domestic politics to such an extent that political leaders cannot be trusted. Words such as “Puppet masters” are also often used to describe these foreign powers.

This conspiracy is often also symbolised by individuals such as the Rothschilds who have come to embody the idea of Jewish control for some on the left. The “Rothschild agenda” is therefore used as an analogy to the “Zionist lobby”.

ANTI-SEMITISM A term now weaponised to attack anyone who opposes the Rothschild Zionist agenda #ZOG

Another recurring figure is David Icke who is often cited in connection to Rothschild conspiracies. Icke is an antisemitic conspiracy theorist, who the CST described as “essentially a hate preacher with a 21st-century spin on a very old antisemitic conspiracy theory”. He is one of the most commonly mentioned names among the posts analysed, frequently described as someone who “exposes Rothschild Zionism”. Despite his support from the far right he has also attracted the conspiratorial left with his anti-Israel stance and conspiratorial antisemitism.

It is important to note that amongst those on the left who use antisemitic tropes on social media there are those who are conscious and active antisemites but possibly also a proportion of people who repeat things through ignorance, not realising they are engaging in antisemitism. This is likely one of the reasons that many on the left reject the idea that there is a problem because they don't properly understand what is and what is not antisemitic.

TRIVIALISING AND DENYING ANTISEMITISM

The two remaining categories of posts we've identified are the largest and are more complex than the previous.

In these groups we find those that deny or relativise that there is a problem with antisemitism on the left and those that make use of antisemitic tropes when discussing the Israel/Palestine conflict. Debates on antisemitism inevitably touch on the topic of Israel and Palestine. ‘Israel’ and ‘Palestine’ are unsurprisingly two of the most commonly occurring words in the dataset that we based this research on.

Israel, like any other state, can be criticised for its policies, such as the controversial nation-state law passed in 2018. However, in the case of Israel such critique sometimes veils antisemitic ideas. In addition, the singular focus on criticism of Israel can in some instances indicate underlying antisemitic sentiment. A recurring discourse is the implicit or explicit blaming of Jews as a group and individually for the policies of the Israeli state, even Jews who are not citizens of Israel. Conversely, the conflation between Israel and Jewish people results in a fear that a more stringent definition of antisemitism would limit the possibility to critique the actions of the State of Israel.

In 2018 the debate around whether Labour should adopt the working definition of antisemitism as set out by the IHRA was a case in point. The Labour's executive committee first decided not to adopt the definition but later reversed its decision after intense internal and external pressure.

A large number of the posts we have examined argue that the IHRA definition, and more specifically the definition's examples, would curtail freedom of

A SMEAR CAMPAIGN? LEFT WING ANTISEMITISM ON SOCIAL MEDIA (CONTINUED)

expression, removing the ability of people to criticise the State of Israel. There are conclusions to be drawn from the animosity around the issue.

It showed the extent to which discussions around the Israel/Palestine conflict often end up regurgitating antisemitic tropes. There is a line between legitimate criticism of the Israeli state, in line with criticism of any other government, and antisemitism. We've found that the strong feelings for the plight of Palestinians in some cases take the arguments over that line.

In extreme cases, it leads to the equation of Zionism with Nazism. More broadly, it leads to Jewish people being portrayed as automatically supportive of the State of Israel's actions against Palestinians, leading to a lack of sympathy for Jews in Britain or even holding them accountable for the actions of a foreign government. One left-wing activist on Twitter for example writes:

"Zionism is anti-semitism. ZioNazis use antisemitism to silence people criticizing Israhell crimes against Palestinians murdering Palestinian children and stealing Palestinian land."

This type of post often simultaneously denies the existence of antisemitism. Many believe that the adoption of IHRA and the fight against antisemitism is in conflict with other anti-racist struggles, primarily that of Islamophobia. Denying and relativising antisemitism is not necessarily an indicator of core antisemitic belief itself, but it is a common problem and a barrier to tackling antisemitism on the left.

Allegations of antisemitic speech are met with responses that antisemitism is worse somewhere else, often on the right, or is a less serious issue than, for example, Islamophobia. With left-wing accounts we often found the argument that antisemitism in Labour is given too much attention and that Islamophobia in the Conservative Party is a larger problem.

One of the reasons that this problem has festered for so long is that there is a vocal and active group of left-wing activists who, while not openly displaying antisemitism themselves, attack vehemently those who raise it as an issue. High-profile figures, be that Labour MPs, journalists, activists or members of the Jewish community, who raise concerns will often face a barrage of attacks on social media. The danger of this is that many within the left may not feel confident enough to speak out about the issue for fear of reprisal.

A NEED TO RAISE AWARENESS

No matter the relative scale between different forms of intolerance or where it's most commonly found, the issue with antisemitism in the left remains. A presumptively defensive stance against accusations of antisemitism and an unwillingness to deal with it should be considered a problem. Antisemitism and Islamophobia are two forms of racism that can and should be combated in tandem.



Our research highlights that a relatively small group of accounts produce a large majority of the antisemitic content in our dataset. Some of these accounts posted over a hundred tweets that could be clearly identified as antisemitic. These accounts have had an outsized impact, causing fear among the Jewish community and urgent action needs to be taken against them.

However, it important to also focus on the largest group of users. These have never themselves authored an antisemitic post but have retweeted antisemitic content produced by others, or have just idly followed several clearly antisemitic accounts without reacting to such content. These bystanders are not necessarily sympathetic to these views but have either not noticed or simply chosen to ignore it.

It is increasingly clear that, within sections of the left there is a lack of understanding of what constitutes antisemitism and what harm it causes. More work needs to be done to formulate some guidelines for how the left more generally can support the Palestinian cause without engaging in antisemitism and there needs to be the same intolerance of antisemitism amongst the left that exists towards wider racism and Islamophobia.

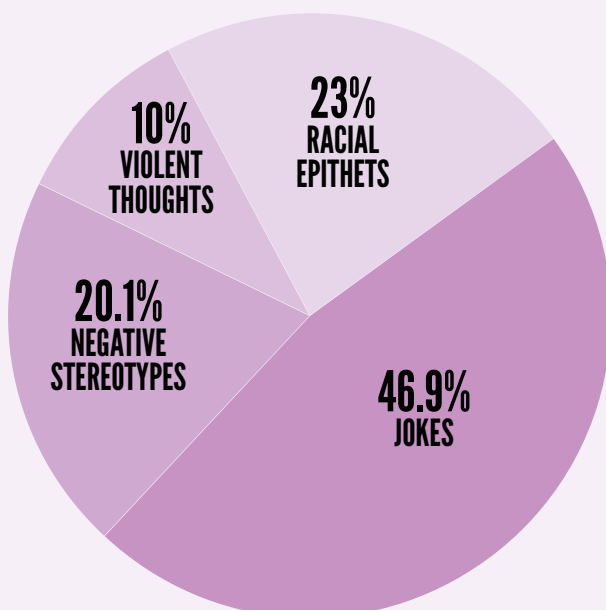
Those who seek to ignore or play down antisemitism on the left should listen to the words of Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel:

"Let us remember: what hurts the victim most is not the cruelty of the oppressor but the silence of the bystander."

ANTISEMITISM IN NUMBERS



170,000 GOOGLE SEARCHES WITH ANTISEMITIC CONTENT ARE MADE PER YEAR IN THE UK. APPROXIMATELY 10% OF THESE SEARCHES INVOLVE VIOLENT LANGUAGE OR INTENTIONS.



Reference: "HIDDEN HATE: What Google searches tell us about antisemitism today" a report by CST and the Antisemitism Policy Trust.

SEARCHES FOR THE ROTHSCHILD BANKING FAMILY HAVE RISEN 39 PER CENT IN THE PAST THREE YEARS.

THERE IS A DIRECT CORRELATION BETWEEN THESE SEARCHES AND THOSE MOCKING OTHER MINORITIES: SOMEONE WHO SEARCHES FOR "JEW JOKES" IS 100 TIMES MORE LIKELY TO ALSO SEARCH FOR "N****R JOKES".

THE UNITED KINGDOM RANKS THIRD IN THE WORLD FOR SEARCHES ABOUT ZIONISM, BEHIND ONLY ISRAEL AND LEBANON. SEARCHES FOR ZIONISM ARE 29 PER CENT HIGHER IN THE UNITED KINGDOM THAN IN THE UNITED STATES.

ON NAZI WEB FORUM STORMFRONT JEWS ARE OFTEN MENTIONED IN CONNECTION TO FEMINISM. OVER 60% OF THREADS ON STORMFRONT ABOUT FEMINISM MENTION JEWS.

ANTISEMITIC SEARCHES INCREASED BY 30% IN THE DAYS FOLLOWING ISRAEL'S VICTORY IN THE 2018 EUROVISION SONG CONTEST.

COMMENT

ANTISEMITISM IN THE LABOUR PARTY

Over the last few years, the Labour party, and, since his election as leader, Jeremy Corbyn himself, have become embroiled in numerous allegations of antisemitism and failing to deal adequately with those members and supporters who are perpetuating it.

In 2012, while still a backbencher, Jeremy Corbyn offered his backing to an artist whose clearly antisemitic mural was to be removed. It depicted profiteers with exaggeratedly large noses gathered around a board game, held up by the subjugated masses. A video has recently surfaced, filmed not long after this, in which Corbyn responding to a question by saying that Zionists “clearly have two problems. One is that they don’t want to study history, and secondly, having lived in this country for a very long time, probably all their lives, they don’t understand English irony either”, mobilising old antisemitic tropes of Jews as outsiders, lacking loyalty and not belonging in the UK.

This was just one of several instances involving Jeremy Corbyn.

While Corbyn has now spoken out about antisemitism on the left, many people have questioned his understanding of contemporary antisemitism, and how seriously he takes the issue. The problem of antisemitism within the Labour party goes well beyond Corbyn however, and the lack of action by the party has caused great worry amongst large sections of the Jewish community.

In 2018 seven elected Labour representatives were suspended or resigned after making antisemitic comments. These suspensions were held up as a potential signal that finally, after an extremely slow start, concrete action against antisemitism is being taken. However, the quiet readmission of members formerly suspended for investigation, without full transparency on the disciplinary process they underwent has led to concerns that the Party approach has been to try to make the problem of antisemitism go away, rather than to tackle the root causes. So much more is required to root out antisemites and to create a zero-tolerance approach of deeds as well as words.

There are cases which have resulted in no tangible repercussions. MP Chris Williamson recently signed a petition in support of Gilad Atzmon, an individual who is infamous for having promoted Holocaust deniers and spread antisemitic conspiracy theories.

Williamson’s belated but barely credible apology was taken at face value by the party and no action – not even an investigation – resulted.

Likewise, there was real reluctance from the party leadership to deal with Pete Willsman, a long-time colleague of Corbyn’s, after he accused Jewish “Trump fanatics” of making up allegations of antisemitism in the party.

Although dropped by Momentum, he was nevertheless re-elected to the NEC in 2018 as an independent candidate.

Even pro-Corbyn Jewish leftwingers like Jon Lansman and Rhea Wolfson have been on the receiving end of antisemitic abuse.

Disgracefully, some of those who have faced the worst antisemitic abuse from within the Labour Party are Jewish Labour members of parliament.

In a House of Commons speech in April, MP for Stoke-on-Trent North (and former Deputy Director of HOPE not hate) Ruth Smeeth explained in no uncertain terms the deluge of antisemitism she had experienced from the left such as: “Hang yourself you vile treacherous Zionist Tory filth. You are a cancer of humanity”. The chair of the Jewish Labour Movement’s parliamentary group, Luciana Berger, has faced abhorrent abuse online simply for highlighting instances of antisemitism within the Labour movement.

Encouragingly, there have been signs from within the left, most notably from the Jeremy Corbyn supporting group Momentum, of an awareness that this is a serious problem requiring serious action. They have produced a series of videos opposing antisemitism, and have run social media campaigns to expose left-leaning antisemites, warning supporters to steer clear of groups masquerading as Corbyn supporters which also post racist content.

But much more needs to be done to reassure people that the Labour party is taking the issue of antisemitism seriously.

Some have sought to play down the threat posed by antisemitism in the Labour party by pointing to antisemitism emanating from the far-right or Islamophobia in the Conservative Party. However, what worries so many within the Jewish community is the prospect of a mainstream political party, possibly a party of government, having a problem with antisemitism which is not only not taken seriously by its leadership but emanates from it.

Within this concern is a feeling that Jewish people are not considered ‘victims’ of racism and prejudice in the same way that other minority groups are, and that the Jewish community is powerful enough to look after itself, which of course is an age-old trope.

The family history of so many members of the British Jewish community includes first-hand experience of persecution. Many people in the Jewish community therefore identify with a sense of the precariousness of their safety, where material security and educational attainment are not seen as guarantors of security and safety. The inability of the Labour Party leadership to understand and acknowledge this experience is particularly chilling when the Labour Party and the left in general hold values of equality and antiracism as core to their identity.

CONSPIRACY THEORIES

In a poll of 10,383 people, HOPE not hate gave people four common statements that some people will believe as conspiracy theories. These ranged from asking about climate change, conscious left-wing news distortion, Jewish control of the banking system and 'no-go' areas for non-Muslims in Muslim neighbourhoods.

The results were illuminating.

One in eight people thought that humans are not the primary source for the warming of the planet, though two thirds thought they were.

A third of respondents believed that the BBC deliberately distorts the news to fit its left-wing agenda, with only a fraction more believing this to be a false statement.

Thirteen per cent of people thought that Jewish people have an unhealthy control over the world's banking system. While almost half of people disagreed, a worrying 41% said that they did not know.

More people (32%) believed the statement that 'there are no go areas in Britain where sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter' than disbelieved it (31%). Over a third (37%) did not know.

Conservative voters are much more likely to believe in these statements, with the exception of whether Jewish bankers have an unhealthy control of the world's banking system where they and Labour are virtually level pegging. A quarter of Conservative voters do not believe that humans are the primary cause of global warming (compared to 9% of Labour voters); half of Conservative voters believe the BBC deliberately distort the news and 47% believe that there are no go areas in Britain where sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter.

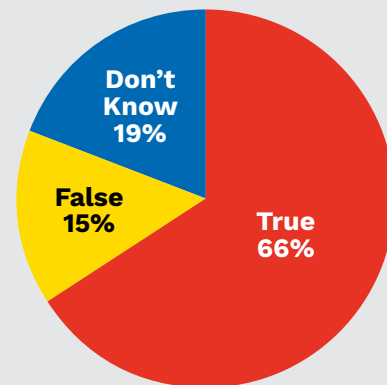
People who voted Leave in the EU referendum and UKIP in the 2015 General Election are much more likely to believe in these statements than anyone else. Once don't knows are excluded, 78.9% of UKIP's 2015 vote think the BBC deliberately distort the news and 72.6% believe in the no-go zones statement.

Men are more likely to believe in these statements than women, with, for example, 17% agreeing that Jewish people have an unhealthy control of the world's banking compared to just 9% of women.

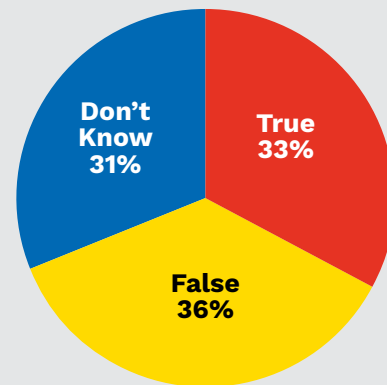
Age and educational levels are also factors. The older one is and the less educational qualifications one has, the more likely one is to believe these statements.

Support for the belief that Jewish people control world banking is worryingly high amongst British Muslims. Almost half of British-Bangladeshis (48%) and British-Pakistanis (41%) agree, though the sample size for both groups was small.

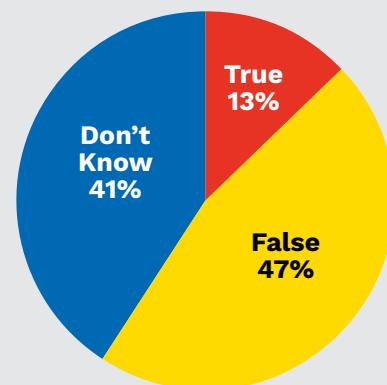
Humans are the primary source for the warming of the planet



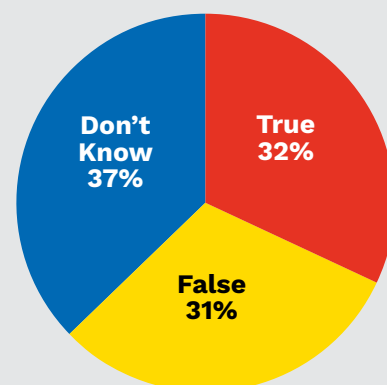
The BBC deliberately distorts the news to fit its left-wing agenda



Jewish people have an unhealthy control over the world's banking system



There are no go areas in Britain where sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter



THE RETURN OF THE TERRORIST RINGMASTER

BY NICK LOWLES

Britain's most prolific and dangerous extremist group is stirring back into life after two years of relative silence and with it comes a possible threat of terrorism and extreme violence. This comes as its leader, Anjem Choudary, has been released from prison – albeit on very strict controls – having served three years of a six year sentence for promoting the Islamic State.

Al-Muhajiroun, an Islamist extremist group formed in 1986, has seen several hundred of its supporters go on to commit acts of terrorism in the UK or fight in wars abroad. Among them are those responsible for the 7/7 London bombers, the killers of Lee Rigby and three years of a six year sentence for promoting the Islamic State.

Dozens of al-Muhajiroun-linked supporters have fought with IS in Syria and Iraq, including three well-known activists who became suicide bombers and another three were killed in targeted drone strikes. Mohammed 'Raza' Haque, dubbed the 'jihad giant' because of his imposing 6' 7" frame, was one of the infamous IS executioners, even beheading one supposed informer on video. Siddhartha Dhar became a pivotal part of the IS propaganda operation, producing manuals and literature to encourage others to join.

In January 2018, the US State Department designated him as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist, adding: "he is considered to have replaced ISIS executioner Mohammad Emwazi, also known as "Jihadi John." Dhar is believed to be the masked leader who appeared in a January 2016 ISIS video of the execution of several prisoners ISIS accused of spying for the UK.

Al-Muhajiroun's European network probably dispatched more people to Syria than any other network in Western Europe. Groups in Belgium, France, Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway and Denmark sent hundreds of fighters between them, and added together this was the largest single network supplying fighters for IS in Europe.

Jytte Klausen, who leads the Western Jihadism Project at Brandeis University, funded by the UK Home Office, told the BBC, "By my estimate, based on my studies of Western Europeans who have gone to fight, about a third, if not more, are members of these affiliates, these groups."

Al-Muhajiroun shot to notoriety through its high profile and provocative stunts. It organised weekly street stalls in towns and cities across the country, held regular protests outside foreign embassies and organised several stunts designed to attract media attention and aggressive opposition. It was one such protest in March 2009 against the Anglian Regiment's homecoming parade, which gave birth to the English Defence League.

The group's virtual disappearance from our streets came as the authorities responded to its support

for the Islamic State. While many of its supporters made their way out to Iraq, others were arrested for supporting the IS here and even picked up for offenses totally unrelated to extremism. The authorities were finally closing down the operation.

Its cause was not helped by the man designated as the 'emir' (leader) after Choudary was imprisoned. Mohammed Shamsuddin was less than impressive and struggled to win the respect of his fellow members. Another leading member, Abu Haleema, who earned quite a following on social media, not least for his running commentary about how he styled his beard, was banned from YouTube in 2017 and had to flee his Birmingham home after Stephen Lennon found his address and threatened to confront him.

However, the group is starting to emerge again, albeit on a much smaller and more tentative scale than before. Street stalls have been seen in East London again and al-Muhajiroun activists have made several appearances at Speakers Corner in central London. Trevor Brooks (aka abu Izzardeen), a key al-Muhajiroun leader, has re-emerged on Twitter; Anthony Small (aka Abdul Haqq) has begun making videos again; and Ricardo MacFarlene (aka Abdul Hakeem) is becoming increasingly prominent. Two other al-Muhajiroun activists engaged in a verbal confrontation with Rebel Media's Ezra Levant outside one of Stephen Lennon's High Court hearings.

In London, ALM continues to have active units in Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest, Newham and Redbridge, but other units in West London and Slough have largely collapsed.

Outside London, ALM only has functioning units in Luton and Derby. The convictions of Tahir Aziz and Mohibur Rahman in 2017 largely put an end to the group in Stoke-on-Trent, while the media publicity and police crackdown following the killing of Nasser and Aseel Muthana has caused the Cardiff group to collapse, or at least go inactive. There are the odd supporter in Birmingham, Leicester and Slough, but even these appear to have dropped out of any activities.

While Choudary himself will not be able to have any contact with any of his old al-Muhajiroun associates, his release will obviously act as a spur for others. There is also concern that Choudary's release will encourage younger, emerging leaders like McFarlene, to become more active in order to impress their Emir.

However tight his reported restrictions, it is very unlikely that he will be totally isolated from others. Choudary will obviously be able to have contact with his wife, Rubana Akhtar, who is herself a leading al-Muhajiroun activist and a leader of the increasingly important women's group within the organisation, and he probably will be allowed to attend family weddings and funerals at which other ALM supporters might be present.

A number of other prominent al-Muhajiroun activists have also come out of prison over the last six months.



(left) Anjem Choudary (above) Trevor Brooks, and Ricardo MacFarlane

They include Minazur Rahman, a key al-Muhajiroun propagandist, who was convicted alongside Choudary. While he does not have the national media profile of Choudary, many see him as more radical and confrontational.

Several key Luton al-Muhajiroun activists who were convicted in 2016 and 2017 have also been released. Among them is Mohammed Istiak Alamgir, known as Saifal Islam, who has led the group in the town for the past 12 years during which time over 20 al-Muhajiroun activists have been convicted of, or linked to, terrorism.

The ten al-Muhajiroun terrorists convicted of a plot to bomb the London Stock Exchange, including ringleader and close Choudary associate Mohammed Chowdhury, are eligible for release this month.

The release of so many leading al-Muhajiroun activists in such a short space of time is only part of the story. A report in *The Guardian* last summer noted that more than 40% of those convicted for terrorism over the last 10 years, numbering 80 of the 193 convicted between 2007 and 2016, will have served sentence by now. This is in addition to those prisoners who are eligible for release halfway through their sentence.

It remains to be seen how successful the newly released al-Muhajiroun activists and those re-energised by their release will be. The political landscape, particularly with the military defeat of IS in Syria and Iraq, is very different and the Muslim communities in which they once operated have probably moved on. However, it would be extremely dangerous to write off al-Muhajiroun, as people did after 7/7 and other police crackdowns and Government bans, because they have proved before to have the knack of re-grouping, exploiting grievances and holding the provocative stunts that give them the media coverage they need to attract recruits.

BACK ON THE STREETS

Over the last few months a number of leading al-Muhajiroun activists have been released from prison. They include:

STOCK EXCHANGE BOMB PLOT



Abdul Miah



Gurukanth Desai



Abdul Mohammed Shahjahan



Shah Rahman



Mohibur Rahman



Omar Sharif Latif



Usman Khan



Nazam Hussain



Mohammed Chowdhury

2017 ENCOURAGING SUPPORT FOR A TERRORIST GROUP



Rajib Khan



Yousaf Basir



Mohammad Istiak Alamgir



Mohammed Sufiyan Choudary



Ziaur Rahman

SUPPORTING IS



Anjem Choudary



Mizanur Rahman

2016 INVITING SUPPORT FOR ISIS



Ibrahim Anderson



Shah Jahan Khan

2016 BREAKING TERRORISM ACT



Trevor Brooks



Simon Keeler

ISLAMIC HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

The Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC) was established in London in 1997 with a stated mission to “work with different organisations from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds, to campaign for justice for all peoples regardless of their racial, confessional or political background.”

However, its activities and statements are quite contrary to its stated objectives. It campaigns exclusively for the interests of Muslims, particularly Shias, carries a strong anti-West narrative, condemns Muslims who work for the British Government and simplistically divides Muslims into ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Muslim camps.

Much of its narrative focuses on the belief that the West is intrinsically hostile to Islam.

After the Finsbury Park attack by Darren Osborne, in June 2017, IHRC issued a press release stating: “the trail of responsibility for the murderous attack on Muslim worshippers in north London’s Finsbury Park last June can be traced back to the door of the Zionist lobby in London.”

It has separately said that the British media has contributed to “turning our political discourse into one big call to arms against Islam and Muslims.”

This anti-West narrative is intertwined with a strong sense of victimhood. After David Parnham sent out letters promoting his Punish a Muslim Day call, the IHRC responded: “Everyday is Punish A Muslim Day. When will the UK Government stop it? Muslims are punished everyday in their social interactions and in their increasing vilification by state policy, law, political discourse and the media.”

In an article published on its website in March 2018 in response to Ofsted’s Chief Inspector adding her support to an East London school which banned the hijab, Arzu Merali, one of the founders of the IHRC, wrote that her intervention was “a statement of intent, a declaration of war, and a pre-emptive justification of the onslaught to come.

“What is to come we know not yet. Bans, exclusions, more laws, more Prevent referrals? That is just part of the gamut of the state. There is then the incitement this rhetoric stokes.”

Much of the criticism aimed at the IHRC is because of their demonisation of the Jewish community in the UK and their hostility to Israel.

In June 2017, in the immediate aftermath of the Grenfell Tower fire, IHRC director Nazim Ali, told protestors that “It is the Zionists who give money to the Tory party, to kill people in high rise blocks” and “Careful, careful, careful of those rabbis who belong to the Board of Deputies, who have got blood on their hands.”

Last December, the IHRC hosted a conference in London entitled: ‘Islamophobia and Silencing Criticism of Israel’. The material advertising the event included the following messaging:



Islamic Human Rights Commission demonstrating outside Downing Street, London, to mark Dignity Day 2016.

“Given the racist nature of Zionism, this marriage between the far right and Zionist activists was inevitable.

“Pro-Israel advocates see an overlap between their hatred of the Arabs whom they wish to displace in Palestine with the far-right’s hatred of Muslims.

“It is why you see EDL members attend pro-Israel events to deny the right of Palestinian self-determination and why you can see Zionist Federation placards flown at events where far-right racists shout ‘Allah is a Paedo’ and ‘Muslims rape our children!’”

Writing in the Jewish Chronicle, Faith Matters director Fiyaz Mughal eloquently wrote: “The statement suggests that the vast majority of Jews, who will be pro-Israel advocates, are drawn towards far-right groups. The audacity and blanket stereotyping of this statement takes no account how all of the mainstream representative Jewish groups, who are pro-Israel, have openly and vigorously challenged far-right, anti-Muslim bigots for years.

“And to suggest that the Zionist Federation speaks for all British Jews is like suggesting that one Muslim group speaks for all Muslims.

“This is twisted and childlike commentary but it is deliberate and aimed at playing to ignorance, fear and division.”

The IHRC aligns itself to the Iranian regime and has talked admiringly of its founder Ayatollah Khomeini.

HIZB UT-TAHRIR

Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) is an international pan-Islamic organisation, which aims to unite all Muslim countries into a Caliphate under strict Islamic Law.

Founded in 1953 in Jerusalem by Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, a Palestinian court clerk, the organisation is currently under the global leadership of Ata Abu Rashta. HT has become global in reach, with a membership possibly as high as one million people across 40 countries.

Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain (HT UK) was founded in 1986 by Omar Bakri Muhammad, who led the group until 1996, when he left to form the more extreme Al-Muhajiroun with Anjem Choudary. Bakri Muhammad has been a mentor to many of Britain's most extreme Islamists and is now barred from entering the UK. HT UK, which now focusses much of its activities on Birmingham, is currently led by Abdul Wahid.

HT's particularistic interpretation of Islamic law results in numerous extreme and illiberal positions laid out in its draft constitution. Its views are brutally misogynist, and argues that "the primary role of a woman is a mother and wife", and they are not allowed to "take control of ruling" which bars women from becoming the Khaleefah or a judge. It also demands the segregation and the covering up of women. The group calls for homosexuality to be made illegal and strongly opposes same-sex marriage, and is also an outspoken opponent of Western-style democracy, instead favouring a single elected Khaleefah with suffrage being restricted to Muslims only. As well as calling for the destruction of Israel, it has openly stated "In origin, no one likes the

Jews except the Jews. [...] The American people do not like the Jews nor do the Europeans, because the Jews by their very nature do not like anyone else".

While HT claims to support non-violent methods, and while it does not engage in terrorist acts itself, it has been accused of being a "conveyor belt for terrorists" and of developing recruits for more extreme organisations. For example, in 2003, while searching the homes of Omar Khan Sharif and Asid 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, had links to HT. In August 2018, a Birmingham-based HT organiser defended an Imam at a mosque attended by the Manchester bomber, who, six months before the attack, had allegedly called for "armed jihad". Whilst HT has rejected ISIS, in the past it has supported violent groups such as Islamic Jihad, Hamas and Jama'ah Islamiyyah.

HT treads the legal line very finely and, despite being banned in some European countries and much of the Middle East, the government has, thus far, felt unable to proscribe the group. The group remains active on social media, and the HT UK Facebook page currently has nearly 26,000 Likes, and over 15,000 Twitter followers. Its aggressive rhetoric distinguishes it as an extremist organisation, and it is still regarded as an ideological training college that, while abstaining from terrorism itself, has helped to create a fertile recruiting ground for more extreme organisations.



CAGE



Julian Assange
Interviews Moazzam
Begg and Asim Qureshi

HOPE not hate is including CAGE in our *State of Hate* report because it condones and justifies terrorism, has hosted hate preachers, peddles a narrative that is divisive, demonises Muslims who work with the Government and supports the formation of Islamist states where people are murdered for adultery and other so-called crimes.

While there can and should be legitimate criticism of Government's programmes like PREVENT, and indeed of its entire counter-extremism strategy, CAGE targets and vilifies anyone who it believes is collaborating with the Government, calling them "fronts for the Home Office", regardless of the quality or scope of the work undertaken.

By demonising groups for accepting Government funding – even if it is to support community work or challenge anti-Muslim hatred – CAGE tarnishes the reputation of these groups, deliberately discourages engagement and makes community engagement harder. This can only have a detrimental impact on these groups and the good work many do to combat extremism and bring local communities together.

CAGE, unsurprisingly, called for a boycott of the Sara Khan-led Commission for Countering Extremism (CCE). "Muslims who support the CCE will be effectively supporting self-criminalisation of their own community and unequal treatment," a statement read.

While CAGE describes itself as "an independent organisation working to empower communities impacted by the War on Terror" and has spoken out against the UK's anti-terrorism laws, others have called it an apologist for terror.

In both 2008 and 2009 CAGE invited radical preacher and al-Qaeda supporter Anwar al-Awlaki to address their events. While CAGE have defended this decision by pointing out that before al-Awlaki's detention in Yemen he had been considered a moderate and had even lectured at the Pentagon, they fail to note that by 2008 al-Awlaki had not only become a firm advocate of terrorism but was allegedly instrumental in orchestrating attacks.

In 2018 CAGE shared a tweet claiming that the West viewed Muslims as "barbaric".

"It should be pretty clear that we are not considered human by the West," stated the tweet that CAGE shared, "but something else that is less and unworthy of empathy or understanding. Only to be humiliated and killed, and should anyone go crazy and retaliate, that's just in our nature to be barbaric."

CAGE has long been accused of apologising and/or justify Islamist terrorism. In 2014, after Abdul Waheed Majeed drove a lorry packed with explosives into a walls of a Syrian prison, CAGE said that this was a "price worth paying" to release prisoners held by the Syrian regime.

What it failed to mention was that Abdul Waheed Majeed was a long-time supporter of Al-Muhajiroun, the Islamist group that has been linked to dozens of terrorist attacks in the UK and abroad, and was once the personal driver for the group's founder Omar Bakri Mohammed.

Majeed did not become a suicide bomber because of his sense of injustice at Assad's oppression but as part of his political mission to create an Islamist state.

One of Majeed's friends from Crawley was 52-year-old Khalid Masood, who in March 2017 drove a car into people on Westminster Bridge, killing five. Once again, CAGE sought to explain away the attack through a frame of its own political viewpoint.

"There is a risk that violence will continue as long as states line up to condemn violence and 'terrorism', while legitimizing state violence both actual and structural (in the form of counter-extremism programmes that criminalise belief and political dissent) towards Muslims."

There have also been deep concerns about the hardline Islamist views of CAGE directors. In 2015, during a Home Affairs Committee inquiry, Adnan Siddiqui said that CAGE supported a caliphate, albeit a different type to that being promoted by IS. However, in 2012, during an interview on Julian Assange's Russia Today programme World Tomorrow, Moazzam Begg and Asim Qureshi accepted that their version of a caliphate would include the strict implementation of Sharia law, including the the principle of death by stoning for adultery and other death penalties prescribed by Islamic law "as long as all due process elements are met".



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