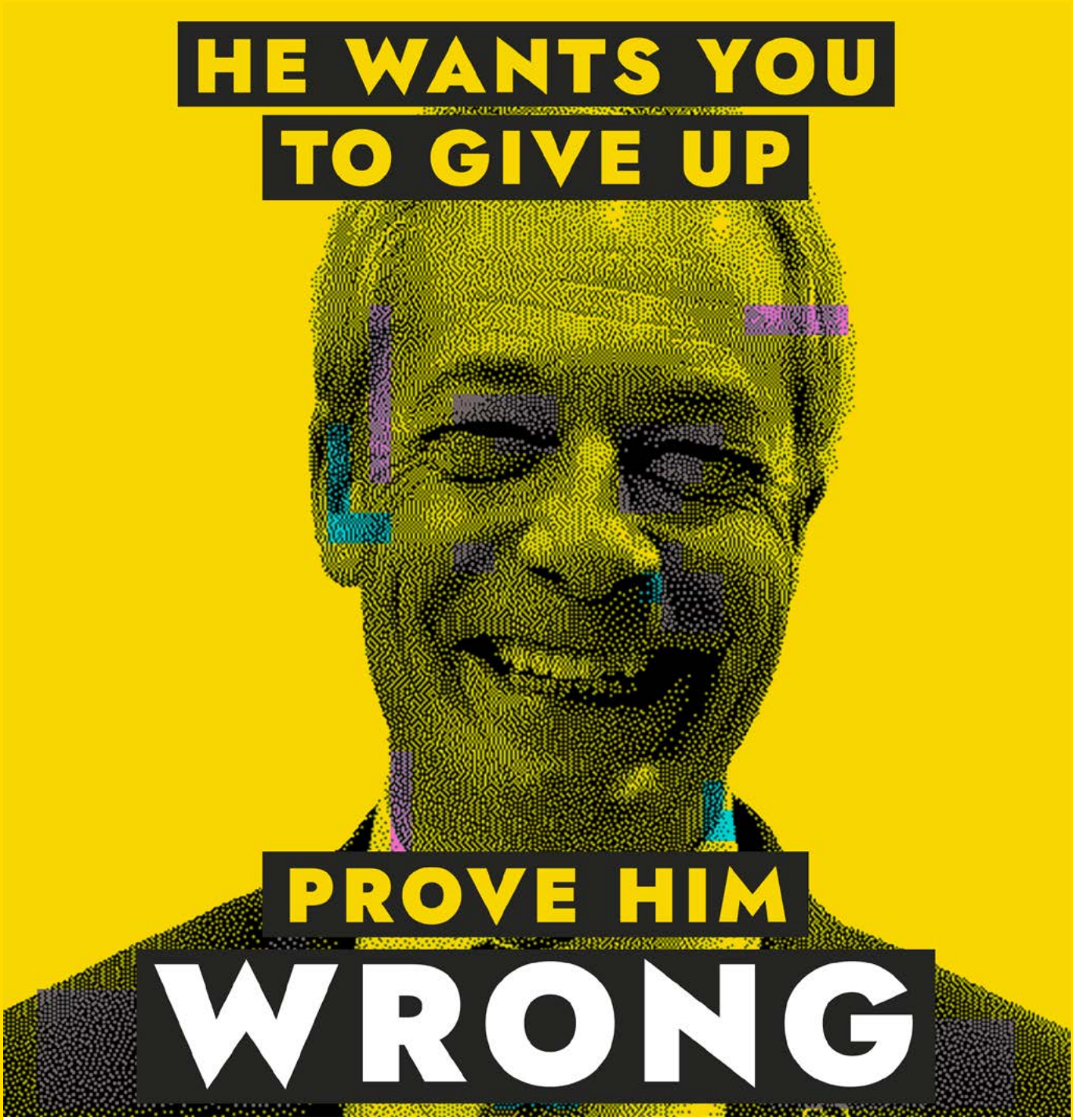
STATE OF HATE 2026

IT COULD HAPPEN HERE





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Reform UK is already preparing for the next election. But thousands of people like you are fighting back. Join the 2026 club and fund HOPE not hate's campaign against Reform UK. Together we will expose their lies, build campaigns that empower local people, and push back where it matters most.

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Nick Lowles
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EDITORIAL

Welcome to our **State of HATE 2026** report, the most comprehensive and analytical guide to the state of far-right extremism in Britain today.

This year's report comes against the backdrop of a far right that is growing in size, in its extremism and in its confrontational stance.

Last year might not have seen the like of the riots we experienced the previous year, but we did witness an explosion of large anti-migrant protests at hotels, accommodations and barracks. We also saw Union Jack and St George's flags go up on lamp posts and buildings across the country in a deliberate attempt to assert an exclusive English identity, which some saw as intimidating. Anti-racist activists and charities, especially those in the migrant and asylum sectors, became increasingly vilified and targeted by an increasingly confident and aggressive far right.

Unquestionably the most important new development of the year was Stephen Lennon's (AKA Tommy Robinson) Unite the Kingdom movement, which saw in excess of 150,000 people take to the streets of London. It was the largest far-right protest in British history.

More worryingly, as our State of Hate report reveals, a quarter of the British population identify positively with Lennon's Unite the Kingdom movement.

Nigel Farage's Reform UK continue to lead in the polls, though its support appears to have plateaued at about 30%. However, in the new world of five-party politics, this level of support could be enough to see Reform UK being swept to power, if the remaining vote is shared roughly equally amongst four other parties.

Sadly, so far, the government has failed to adequately meet the challenge. At a time when political leadership was most needed, the government was – at best – largely silent, only adding to the sense of fear that many people felt. Worse still, in its attempts to appear tough on immigration, it echoed far-right narratives about feeling like a stranger in one's own country, and made claims that mass immigration had done "incalculable damage" to the British economy.

The coming year looks as though it is going to be equally challenging, if not more so, not helped by the fact that the Donald Trump's National Security Strategy, published last December, appears to set out a course on direct intervention and support for Europe's far right. The first sign of this new approach appears to be the US State Department rolling out the red carpet for Stephen Lennon during his recent visit to Washington DC.

While the outlook is certainly tough, and our work environment challenging, it should always be remembered that the majority of British people reject the politics of the far right, and that given an option between HOPE and hate, most people do choose HOPE.

I'd like to finish by thanking everyone who has contributed to this report and the thousands of others who donate every month to our **HOPE Action Fund** – it is because of your support that we can produce in-depth publications such as this.

If you are not yet a member of our fund, then please do sign up. For as little as the cost of a cup of coffee or a sandwich every month, you can help us continue vital work, positively affecting communities up and down the country.

With difficult times ahead, please keep the faith. Our work is needed more than ever.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: THE FAR RIGHT IS BIGGER, BOLDER AND MORE EXTREME THAN EVER BEFORE

THE RISE OF REFORM UK

Reform UK is widely tipped to make large gains in the May 2026 elections. The party hopes that heavy losses for Labour and the Conservatives will further its ambitions to be seen as the next government-in-waiting.

However, Nigel Farage could find trouble from his right flank, both electorally and on the streets. From Tommy Robinson's 150,000-strong Unite the Kingdom rally to Rupert Lowe's burgeoning Restore Britain, Farage is being forced ever rightwards.

Two thirds of Reform UK party members have a positive view of Rupert Lowe, who recently launched his rival Restore Britain party, and 61% like Tommy Robinson.

Over half (54%) think non-white British citizens born abroad should be forcibly removed or encouraged to leave, compared to 24% if the citizens are white.

One in five (22%) think non-white British citizens whose parents were born in the UK should be forcibly removed or encouraged to leave, compared to just 7% if they are white.

Reform UK has announced policies to ban the burqa and repeal the Employment Rights Act, Renter's Right's Act and the Equalities Act – all while also promising a new ICE-style deportation agency.

SHIFTING PUBLIC OPINION

As the far right grows more confident and more vocal, public opinion is shifting to meet it, polarising British society.

Our most recent polling shows worrying levels of support for Tommy Robinson's Unite the Kingdom movement amongst the general public; 26% of the public view the Unite the Kingdom rally positively, rising to almost 50% among men aged 25-34.

In 2025, we tracked 251 anti-migrant protests. Whilst many protestors were hardened far-right activists with histories of violence, others were local people with no formal connections to the broader movement.

In Epping, residents voiced understandable anger at the assaults of local women, with far-right actors taking the opportunity to exploit such concerns to spread their hateful ideology.

ETHNIC VS CIVIC NATIONALISM

Debates about who does or does not belong to "the nation" have always been fundamental within the far right. But in the last few years, and as part of a backlash to the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, ethnic conceptions of national identity have moved beyond the traditional far right.

The spread of explicitly racial nationalism is dangerous because of the proposed solutions that follow, most notably "remigration". This concept repackages older ideas of ethnic cleansing and forced repatriation in softer, more bureaucratic language.

Ethnonationalists, represented by people like Steve Laws and the Homeland Party, believe that the nation is rooted in blood and ancestry. To them, being born in England, or even your grandparents being born in England, doesn't automatically make you English.

Civic nationalist like Reform UK or Tommy Robinson believe in what could be called "cultural nationalism", whereby they can accept non-white people if such people are seen as assimilating into and contributing to the perceived version of a white, Christian English society.

BILLIONAIRE MEDDLING

From rumoured Reform UK donations to virtual appearances at Tommy Robinson rallies, tech billionaire Elon Musk continues to pull his transatlantic strings on UK politics.

Musk's refusal to comply with the UK's Online Safety Act has turned his debased X platform into a safe space for the far right, where multiple categories of priority illegal content spawn with impunity. HOPE not hate and the Good Law Project's research into "incitement to violence" posts found a proactive moderation rate of just 4%, and a reactive moderation rate of 22%.

The Representation of the People Bill is an unmissable opportunity to clean up our politics. To eliminate the intimidation, disinformation and deepfakes that spawn from platforms like X and often target electoral candidates.

MARGINAL BUT DANGEROUS

Whilst the Westminster bubble focuses on Reform UK, fascist groups and far-right activists continue to spout hate online and in our communities.

Increasingly, the most disillusioned elements of the far right are abandoning attempts to appeal to the general public, and militant fascists have become both more organised and visible last year.

Active Clubs – a network of fascist combat training groups – have spread rapidly across the country and are actively preparing for violence.

Tiny but extreme groups like White Vanguard and Aryan Front are also drilling martial arts and seeking to intimidate local politicians and minoritised groups.

Committed extremists can exert an outsized influence, whether by inflaming local tensions, or by inserting their talking points into public debates. Others sink into militant networks that pave the way for ever more extreme ideas to take root. Both directly and indirectly, this can and does lead to violence. Last year, 19 individuals were brought to justice for far-right terror offences, with more awaiting trial.

BIGGER, BOLDER & MORE CONFRONTATIONAL

THE RISE AND RISE OF THE BRITISH FAR RIGHT

By JOE MULHALL and NICK LOWLES

The far-right landscape in the UK has undergone significant transformation since the 2024 general election, becoming larger, more confident and increasingly confrontational.

At the centre of this shift is Reform UK, which achieved an unprecedented breakthrough in 2024. Since then, the party has expanded rapidly, establishing nearly 500 local branches and claiming a membership of more than 270,000. With increased funding, high-profile defections from the Conservative Party, and growing organisational capacity, Reform is now a major political force.

Reform UK currently has eight MPs and holds 965 council seats, with outright control of ten councils and minority control in three others. Its policy platform reflects a hardline agenda, particularly on immigration. Party leader Nigel Farage has proposed detaining and deporting around 600,000 asylum seekers over five years, a plan that would require withdrawal from multiple international human rights conventions and the repeal of the Human Rights Act, replacing it with a "British Bill of Rights".

Worryingly, things are set to get worse in the coming year. Reform anticipates large gains in council elections in England, possibly taking control of more than a dozen councils, challenging Plaid Cymru to become the largest party in the Welsh Senedd elections, and possibly coming second in Scotland this spring. The party hopes that heavy losses for Labour and the Conservatives will further its ambitions to be seen as the next government-in-waiting.

With Reform giving Conservative MPs a deadline of early May to defect, the party will be hoping to add to its parliamentary total before then.

A strong performance in May's local elections will greatly destabilise Labour and the Conservatives, and could lead to damaging and divisive leadership challenges within each party, further allowing Reform UK to present themselves as the only serious and stable party out there.

PRESSURE FROM THE RIGHT

As mainstream political parties struggle to deal with the threat of Reform, Nigel Farage might find more trouble coming from his right flank, both electorally and on the streets.

Alongside Reform UK, splinter groups such as Restore Britain and Advance UK have emerged. Advance UK, led by Ben Habib, has received backing from figures such as Tommy Robinson, and positions itself to the right of Reform. Advance UK boasts 40,000 members, though many are likely to jump ship to Rupert Lowe's new operation.

Restore Britain, formerly a pressure group, has transformed into a political party. At the launch event, Lowe delighted the audience with his policy of mass deportations. "Millions will have to go," he said. It is this type of extreme rhetoric that has made Lowe the darling of the far right over the last year, and won his new party the support of overt fascists on the very fringes of our politics. Everyone from Katie Hopkins through to Steve Laws and Michael Wright (AKA Morgoth) welcomed the news.

A number of the most influential alternative far-right media outlets have already pledged their support. While these will be considered fringe by most, some have a dedicated following of hundreds of thousands, much of which is young and male, and potentially more radical. Significantly, it has also received the backing of the world's richest man, Elon Musk, who owns X - the platform through which Lowe has built his support.

According to Restore, membership is about to hit 100,000, but there's no restrictions on who can join and HOPE not hate is already aware of supporters from overseas signing up.

While Lowe himself is already by far the most extreme MP, the team around him is even more radical, with key figures openly advocating for "remigration". There is a perception in some quarters of the extreme right that his team is essentially ventriloquising him, and these quarters are placing hope in his team rather than Lowe himself.



Stephen Lennon remains a key mobilising figure

Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) remains a key mobilising figure. Following his release from prison in May 2025, he organised the largest far-right protest in UK history: a "Unite the Kingdom" (UTK) rally in London in September, drawing in excess of 150,000 people. Lennon has distanced himself from Reform UK, and many of his supporters now favour Advance UK, further fragmenting the movement while sustaining mass mobilisation.

While the media seemed keen to stress how "normal" much of the crowd were, the same could not be said of the speakers. Several described multiculturalism as a "failed experiment", many described Islam as supremacist and claimed that the only answer was to expel Muslims from Europe, while others called for the banning of non-Christian places of worship in the UK.

More worrying is the level of support for Lennon's Unite the Kingdom movement amongst the general public. Polling suggests that among men aged 25-34, support is running at almost 50%.

Polling of more than 8,000 people commissioned by HOPE not hate indicated that 26% of adults view UTK positively. While many more do not, the fact that a quarter of Britons may have a positive view of Lennon's movement is deeply worrying, and reflects just how big the reach of the far right has become and how polarised British society is becoming.

The combination of the strength of Lennon's support, Rupert Lowe's Restore Party (and his own personal antagonism to Reform) and Elon Musk's online clout has forced Farage to shift his party rightwards. After six months of Reform UK moderating its stated policies on immigration and Muslims in a bid to attract the more moderate voters it requires to win a parliamentary majority, the pendulum has now swung back, with the party announcing increasingly hardline policies in a bid to stem the defections to Restore Britain.

Its new policies to create an ICE-style deportation agency, its decision to deport the 600,000 to 1,000,000 people who are in the UK with Indefinite Leave to Remain – on top of the estimated 400,000 asylum seekers who have no current status to stay – and its pledges to ban the burqa and repeal the Employment Rights Act and Equality legislation, clearly put the party in step with other far-right and populist-right parties across Europe and North America.

However, even this will not be enough for Lowe, Lennon and Musk, and it is likely that Reform UK will have to shift further right if Restore Britain retains its support in the polls – currently at 5-7% – and threatens to deprive Farage his chance of becoming prime minister.

PROTESTS

A major feature of the current threat environment has been the wave of anti-migrant protests that reignited in Epping in July 2025. HOPE not hate tracked 251 demonstrations throughout the year, often outside hotels housing asylum seekers. These continuing protests frequently exploit fears about crime and sexual violence, and while some are genuinely local in origin, others are coordinated or amplified by organised far-right networks. The emergence of the so-called "Pink Ladies" protests – which feature women dressed in pink, and are framed around women's and children's safety – has provided a softer public image for strongly anti-migrant messaging.

One worrying feature is that these anti-migrant protests have persisted through the winter months in key areas, with some attracting several thousand people. As we head towards the hot summer months, we will very likely see a surge in activity once again.

Symbolism plays a significant role in these protests. Union Jack and St George's Cross flags are ubiquitous, and activism has escalated from flag displays to vandalism, including painting roundabouts and crossings with nationalist symbols. The initial "Operation Raise the Colours" initiative was organised by Andrew Currien, a former English Defence League member with a violent criminal history, illustrating the overlap between grassroots activism and hardened extremists. Since then, a Birmingham-based group formed off the back of the campaign, known only as "Raise the Colours", evolved into a separate organisation running operations in Calais.

While the flag movement has recently suffered splits between Danny Tommo (real name Daniel Thomas) and the Raise the Colours team, and some of the momentum behind the protests has waned of late, we are likely to see a resurgence as we approach the summer, against the backdrop of the World Cup.

Many traditional far-right groups are in a period of flux. The anti-Muslim group Britain First has abandoned elections and pivoted to protests, organising a series of "March for Remigration" events, the largest of which brought roughly 800 people to the streets of Manchester in August. UKIP has seen modest growth under Nick Tenconi, who has transformed it into an aggressive street group, but remains constrained by its extremism.

At the more extreme end of the spectrum, the organised fascist scene remains small but persistent. The Homeland Party became the largest fascist group

in the UK, growing to roughly 1,400 members by April, but has suffered a remarkable collapse, with many of its newest members retreating to longer-standing groups such as Patriotic Alternative and the British Democrats – and now Restore Britain. Of particular concern is the rapid growth of the Active Club network, a series of fascist fight clubs which have established regional chapters across England and Scotland and are actively preparing for conflict. HOPE not hate has recently exposed new fascist threats in the form of two organisations: White Vanguard and Aryan Front, which, while tiny, are highly confrontational and potentially violent. Far-right terrorism arrests continue in large numbers, underscoring the ongoing security threat posed by these networks.

Finally, the most expansive element of the contemporary far right is the "post-organisational" space: vast, decentralised online networks with no formal leadership. Thousands of individuals contribute time, money, and digital activity to shared causes, often guided by influencers such as Lennon. Online platforms, forums, gaming spaces, and social media allow anonymous participation, dramatically lowering the barriers to engagement. These loose, transnational networks function as hubs for information-sharing and mobilisation, and act as incubators for offline protest activity.

Together, these dynamics reveal a far right that is no longer confined to fringe organisations, but one that spans electoral politics, street mobilisation, extremist subcultures, and global online ecosystems, posing a complex and evolving challenge.

RISING RACIAL NATIONALISM

One of the most worrying trends within the far right over the last year is the rising prevalence of racial nationalist thinking. Debates over who belongs to the nation have always sat at the core of far-right politics, but in Britain they are being fought through the language of civic versus ethnic nationalism.

While civic and cultural nationalists claim that Britishness can be earned through values, contribution, or cultural conformity, this inclusion is rarely secure. In practice, people of colour are treated as conditionally British, with their belonging open to challenge or withdrawal.

Over the last two decades, the supposedly non-racial approach dominated much of the far right, particularly through movements fixated on Islam and Muslims. Yet recent years have seen a clear re-racialisation of the scene, with ethnonationalist ideas about blood, ancestry, and immutable difference gaining traction. Figures who once avoided explicit racial politics now openly argue that being born in Britain is insufficient, and that black Britons can never truly belong. Of course, the supposed divide between civic and ethnic nationalism is often overstated, as both rest on the assumption that national belonging must be policed and restricted.

At the same time, racialised definitions of Englishness are aired by mainstream commentators and politicians, who frame demographic change as a crisis and question the legitimacy of non-white English identity. While most people in England continue to reject racial definitions of identity, the steady normalisation of these ideas in public debate risks dragging extremist thinking into the mainstream, with profound consequences for how citizenship, equality and belonging are understood.

So mainstream has this discussion over Britishness become, that former prime minister Rishi Sunak felt forced to defend his own British identity in the national media.

CIVIL WAR

Another dangerous trend is the growth in confidence and aggression displayed by much of the movement, including the idea that a civil war is inevitable, or even something to be welcomed. Once confined to the fringes of the counter-jihad scene or neo-Nazi groups, these narratives are now much more widespread.

New HOPE not hate polling shows how far this thinking has travelled. A third of British adults have read or seen material about civil war in the past two years, which is probably not surprising given that major newspapers like the *Daily Telegraph*, *Guardian* and *The Times* have all covered it.

More worrying, though, is the number of people who think a civil war could happen. Eight per cent of Britons in our poll of 8,200 people think there will definitely be a civil war within the next five years, either between communities or against the state, with another 23% saying it is possible. Amongst Reform UK members, 66% think a civil war will happen, whilst amongst those who strongly like Stephen Lennon, the figure is 78%.

The precise likelihood of a civil war matters less than what these figures reveal about the mood on the far right, which is markedly more aggressive and antagonistic than it was even a few years ago. The magma chamber of anger and resentment beneath British society, laid bare during the riots of 2024, has not cooled; if anything, it has intensified.

Almost two thirds of those who strongly like Stephen Lennon (60%) think political violence is justified for a cause they believe in.

This escalation is taking place in a global context where the far right is no longer relegated to the margins but increasingly holds power, whether in parliaments, governing coalitions, or as the state itself. That shift emboldens extremists, hardens rhetoric, and blurs the boundary between fantasy and action, creating a volatile environment in which violent ideas feel not just imaginable, but legitimate.

A WORRYING YEAR AHEAD

There is no doubt these are extremely uncertain times. The far right, in its various forms, poses a larger threat that at any time in HOPE not hate's existence. Whether on our streets or at the ballot box, the far right is larger, more confident and ever more confrontational.

Adding to this, there are foreign actors, both states and individuals, who are only too keen to further widen divisions in British society.

In its 2025 National Security Strategy, published in December 2025, the Trump administration set out a more confrontational stance towards Europe, building

on, and cementing into policy, JD Vance's February 2025 speech at the Munich Security Conference.

The speech took aim at Western liberalism and inferred a policy to actively support anti-immigration movements and parties – a truly frightening prospect.

As the respected Dutch political scientist Cas Mudde noted, "Trump's new national security strategy seeks to destroy liberal democracy as we know it."

And let us not forget Elon Musk's words when he was interviewed on video at Tommy Robinson's Unite the Kingdom rally. "Whether you choose violence or not, violence is coming to you. You either fight back or you die, that's the truth, I think."

Earlier that morning, he posted on X: "Either we fight back or they will kill us."

The causes of the far right's growth are complex, but much can be explained by the growing feeling in the UK that the country is declining and mainstream politicians have failed. De-industrialisation, the financial crash and the more recent cost-of-living crisis have left many families struggling and parents fearing their kids will have a worse life than their own.

While, as this report shows, there is often a big difference between reality and perception, a feeling of decline is sweeping the country, and personal and political scandals appear to be sinking Labour like they did the Conservatives before them.

The far right poses its most significant threat in Britain for decades, perhaps ever. The threat is at the ballot box, on the streets and in our communities.

The sense among many members of the far right that they are in an existential battle for their very survival, coupled with the promotion of these sentiments by Elon Musk and by Donald Trump, could very well signal real trouble ahead. In last year's State of Hate report we complained about the absence of a cohesion strategy from the government. While that strategy has only just begun to materialise, the situation we are in goes beyond this. This is a threat to our national security. It is that serious.

There are no easy fixes to this. If we are to prevent the far right from gaining power, or even just from making more disturbances in our communities, then we need to step up and get organised.

But never underestimate the power of people, because people can do amazing things. Time and again, when given an option, people will usually choose HOPE over hate. It's just that we need to give them the HOPE – offer them a better future, and provide them with the skills, resources and arguments to use, and give them the confidence to believe that a better tomorrow is possible.

HOPE NOT HATE'S WORKING DEFINITION OF FAR RIGHT

The "far right" is an umbrella term that encompasses those individuals and organisations whose political outlook is more extreme or hardline than those of the centre right of the mainstream political spectrum. However, it is important to recognise that the "far right" is distinct from more traditional "Conservatism", and often aggressively opposed to it.

Though "far right" is a useful term, this segment of the political spectrum is certainly not a monolith, and its breadth means it is necessary to split it further into its constituent parts, namely the radical right and the extreme right.

The radical right accepts the fundamentals of democracy but rejects certain values of liberal democracy, such as minority rights and pluralism. Many radical-right movements and parties are also populist, meaning that they divide society into the "pure people" and the "corrupt elite". The extreme right, which includes Nazis and fascists, fundamentally rejects democracy, popular sovereignty and majority rule and may also advocate violence and even terrorism.

Some of the far right is electorally focused, whilst other elements prioritise ideological and cultural issues. The broad spectrum of the far right is generally united by a common set of core beliefs. In practice, this usually means a belief in chauvinistic nationalism (exceptionalism) of either a race or country, rather than mere patriotism. This can be a belief that the nation (either geographic or racial) is in decay or crisis, and that radical action is required to halt or reverse it. At the same time this nationalism can be steeped in a sense of superiority.

The "nation", however defined, usually includes an in-group that perceive themselves to be under threat, and an outgroup/enemy. Historically, the enemy has been identified as Jews and/or non-white immigrants, though over the last 20 years we have seen the increasing targeting of Muslims and Islam more generally.

The far right taps into economic pessimism, inequalities, and real or perceived grievances, offering simplistic solutions, scapegoating and demonisation, deliberately undermining trust in the political process. Far-right extremism has common features with other forms of political and religious "extremisms", and can share prejudices such as misogyny and homophobia, but it also has some quite specific and unique elements which mark it out as distinct. Far-right extremism propagates and utilises conspiracy theories to spread ideology, and sometimes this too can overlap with other forms of extremism.

Far-right extremism can be violent or non-violent, and it can be parliamentary and extra-parliamentary in nature. However, its narrative, propaganda and actions can incite fear in its targets and encourage violence and hatred amongst its followers. Whilst far-right activists, parties and movements can differ enormously – and are increasingly adopting a more amorphous, looser, and post-organisational form – most will include some form of authoritarian outlook and provide a clear political, legal, and cultural challenge to liberal democracy and its institutions, to human rights, and to cohesive communities.

THE COMING CIVIL WAR?





Southport merseyside UK July 30th 2024 riot police standing in front of burning police van. Photo: Ian Hamlett/Shutterstock

NICK LOWLES investigates the growing far-right narrative that Britain is heading for civil war

"Civil war is inevitable."

Elon Musk's post, made during the 2024 riots in the UK, ignited fierce reaction from politicians and the media. Keir Starmer's spokesperson said there was "no justification" for Musk's comments, and the spat was carried by news outlets across the world, much to the delight of the far right.

It seemed, to most commentators, such a ludicrous thing to say that it was widely considered hyperbole – albeit dangerous hyperbole, given that Musk's post occurred at the height of violent racist disturbances sweeping the UK.

Eighteen months on from Musk's seemingly provocative tweet, his comment now appears all too familiar. There are few on the right of British politics who are not talking about the prospect of the coming civil war that will be happening in the UK within the next few years and the media are regularly writing stories about it – so much so that it is catching the attention of the general public.

Polling of 8,000 UK adults, carried out in January 2026, found that 35% of people had heard, seen or listened to content about civil war. Amongst 18–24-year-olds, 40% had heard about civil-war narratives, whilst for those who voted Reform UK in the 2024 general election, it was 54%. For supporters of Tommy Robinson's Unite the Kingdom movement it was 58%, and for those who said they "strongly like" Tommy Robinson, the figure was 68%.

Even more frightening is the number of people who think a civil war is likely to happen in the UK in the next five years. According to our poll of 8,000 adults, 8% think a civil war (be it a serious conflict between communities or against the British state) is very likely to happen, while another 23% think it is quite likely.

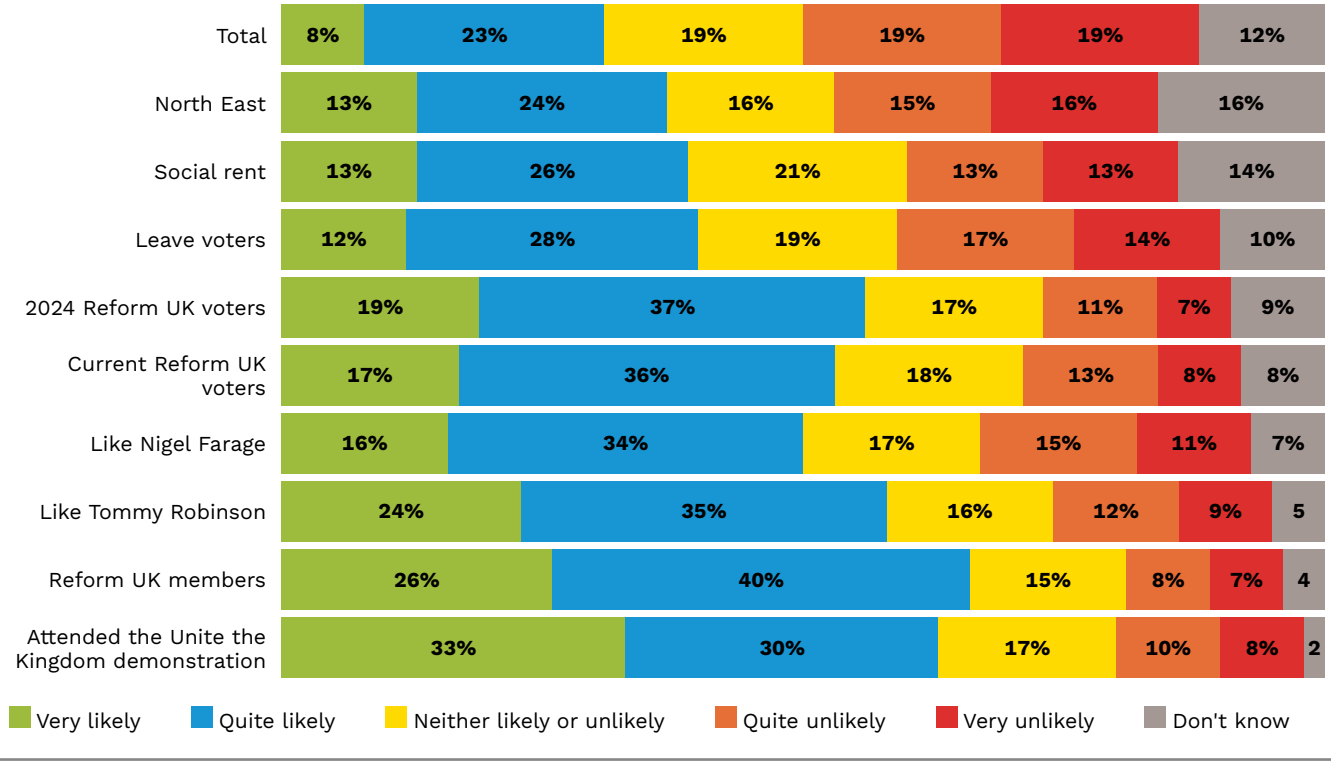
Once again, there are some groups of people who believe it much more strongly. Amongst people living in the North East and East Midlands, 37% believed civil war to be quite likely or very likely, while for those living in council housing, the figure was 39%. Amongst those who voted Reform UK in the 2024 General Election, the figure was 56%, while amongst Reform UK members and those who strongly like Tommy Robinson it was 66%.

CIVIL WAR ORIGINS

The idea that civil war is going to break out in the UK is not new. Many, especially those within the self-defined counter-jihad movement, have been arguing that civil war in Europe is inevitable because Islam is a "supremacist religion" for the past 20 years.

There have been those who have felt civil war to be an unavoidable outcome of Islam existing in Europe, though they found the prospect regrettable. Then there were some who feared a civil war, and thought they had to be prepared for it. A third group, however, not only thought of civil war as inevitable, but that it should actually be encouraged as the only way to expel Muslims from Europe given that liberal society

How likely or unlikely is it that there will be a civil war (be it serious conflict between communities or against the British state) in Britain in the next five years?



was allowing Islam to take over through immigration and multiculturalism.

However, it was the writing of a previously little-known professor at King's College London that really grabbed the right wing's attention during and after the 2024 riots.

The previous year, Professor David Betz wrote an article titled "Civil War Comes to the West" in *Military Strategy* magazine. Over six pages, Betz – who works in the War Studies department at King's and specialises in civil wars and counter-insurgency policy – explained that many Western countries now have the core components for civil conflict. These include emerging ethnic groups that break the unity of society, a collapse in trust, political polarisation, and economic hardship.

"It can be said that a generation ago all Western countries could still be described as to a large degree cohesive nations, each with a greater or lesser sense of common identity and heritage," he wrote. "By contrast, all now are incohesive political entities, jigsaw puzzles of competing identity-based tribes, living in large part in virtually segregated 'communities' competing over diminishing societal resources increasingly obviously and violently. Moreover, their economies are mired in a structural malaise leading, inevitably in the view of several knowledgeable observers, to systemic collapse."

He wrote this piece almost a year after disturbances in Leicester between Hindu and Muslim communities in September 2022, which he claimed made his point about the risk of "intertribal conflict".

"What this reflects above all is the considerable irrelevance of Britishness as an aspect of the pre-political loyalty of a significant fraction of two of largest minorities in Britain," he added.

Betz's theory really hit the airwaves when he was interviewed by Louise Perry on her Maiden Mother Matriarch podcast in February 2025, an episode that has been listened to by over 200,000 people. Betz went further on this podcast than he had in his original article, claiming the situation was too far gone for the government to do anything about, and that civil war in Britain was likely to happen within the next five years.

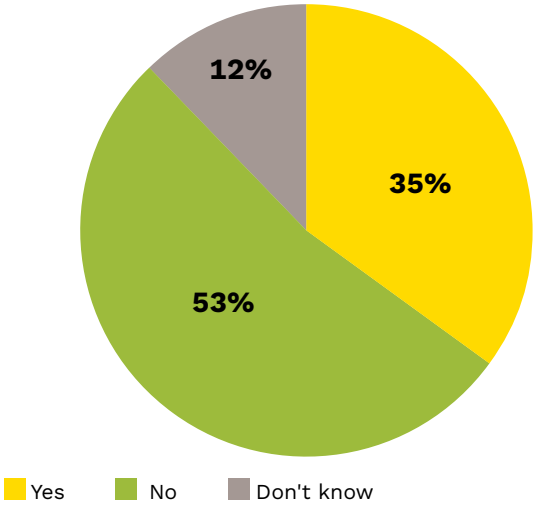
His theory was then discussed by Blue Labour advocate Paul Embery, which is where I first came across it. "There was a time when the question would have seemed so absurd that no serious person would have deemed it worthy of consideration," Embery wrote on his Substack.

"I have no idea if Professor Betz will be proved correct. I hope not. But having heard him make his case, and considered his status and experience, I no longer think the possibility of civil war in Britain is as fanciful as I once did."

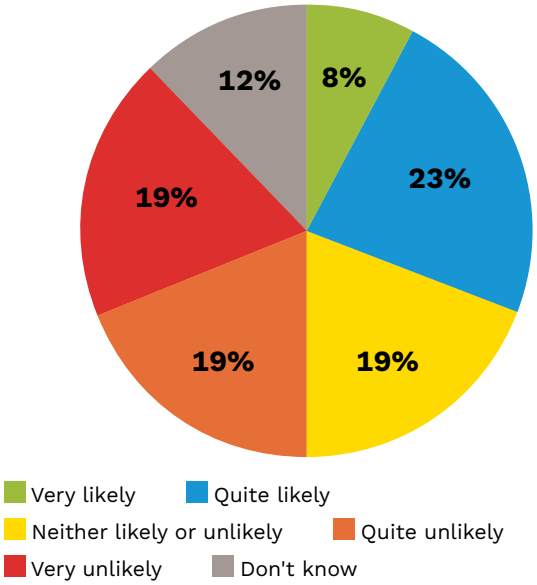
Since the Louise Perry interview, Betz has been all over the right-wing media. More than half a million people watched his interview with right-wing cultural association the New Culture Forum, and almost 70,000 have listened to him on the Brussels Horizon podcast.

His ideas have been written about in the *European Conservative* and by Tim Stanley in *The Telegraph*. "Betz sees no solution, so suggests we prepare for anarchy," concludes Stanley. "I'm more concerned about fascism. We're not far away from a politician running for office as explicitly anti-Muslim, and to

In the last two years have you read, watched or listened anyone talk about the possibility of a civil war breaking out in Britain, whether that is as the result of violent clashes between white British and Muslim communities or a general uprising against the state?



How likely or unlikely is it that there will be a civil war (be it serious conflict between communities or against the British state) in Britain in the next five years?



those who say authoritarianism cannot happen here, I reply: lockdown."

For some, listening to Betz only confirmed what they already knew – principally that Islam is such a threat to Britain that it will eventually lead to conflict. "My husband, a calm and rational accountant, who hates politics, has been telling me for 10 years that war


Gad Saad.
Photo: Gage Skidmore

ELON'S SPIRITUAL LEADER

The most influential thinker in Elon Musk's adoption of the civil war narrative is Gad Saad, a Canadian-based author and marketing professor at the John Molson School of Business at Concordia University. Born in Lebanon, Saad's book, Suicidal Empathy, claims that empathy in politics leads to civilizational collapse.

Translated, Saad believe that the failure to confront Islam is leading to the destruction of the West.

He sees no difference between Islamists and ordinary Muslims. For him, they are one and the same – and that same is an existential threat to western civilisation.

In a recent post on X, he set out his beliefs:

"There are 2 billion Muslims in the world. If we were to play the "but not all Muslims" game, let's explore the numerical implications. Let us be extraordinarily charitable and presume that only 10% of Muslims are violent in their desire to impose Islam on the rest of us. This means that there are 200 million Muslims that are deeply problematic to our way of life. This leaves 1.8 billion Muslims. How many of those would sit idly while the 200 million are killing and subjugating the world? Let's assume that 50% of the remaining 1.8 billion were to be apathetic (a very charitable assumption). This would mean that 200 million would cause global mayhem while 900 million would watch idly. What about the other 900 million? Would they take up arms to fight on behalf of the non-Muslims? Well, the 1,400-year history of Islam suggests otherwise."

is inevitable," wrote one woman on Perry's YouTube channel.

"The only thing worse than a civil war here would be no civil war," wrote another. "War is coming, the riots were only a reminder of the anger felt by us English people," added a third. "This anger has been brewing for over 20 years."

"As a 28 year-old fighting age male, I am ready to lay down my life for Mother England and the survival of my folk," said one of many people clearly longing for the fight.

GENERAL NARRATIVE

Where Betz led, others have followed. Over the course of the last six months, numerous figures on the right have echoed Betz's dire warning. Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) has repeatedly posted on X that he fears civil war in the UK. Colonel (retired) Richard Kemp, the former head of British forces in Afghanistan, recently went on Opinionated, a current affairs program on i24 News hosted by Benjamin Anthony, to claim that a civil war was looming between native Britons and Muslims. Joey Barton devoted a recent episode of his podcast to the issue, and Dominic Cummings issued a warning in a recent Substack essay, adding that the intelligence services were already discussing the risk for "racial/ethnic/mob/gang violence".

Even Douglas Murray has warned about possible social conflict in a recent interview with the New Culture Forum. "We cannot become homeless in our own house," he told interviewer Emma Webb. "We will only be pushed around so far and maybe we've been pushed around enough, too much. I would simply issue a warning once again, which is if we do not sort this out, we will have to learn to live like the Lebanese."

But it is Elon Musk who is amplifying the threat more than anyone, with rarely a week going by without the world's richest man raising the issue on X.

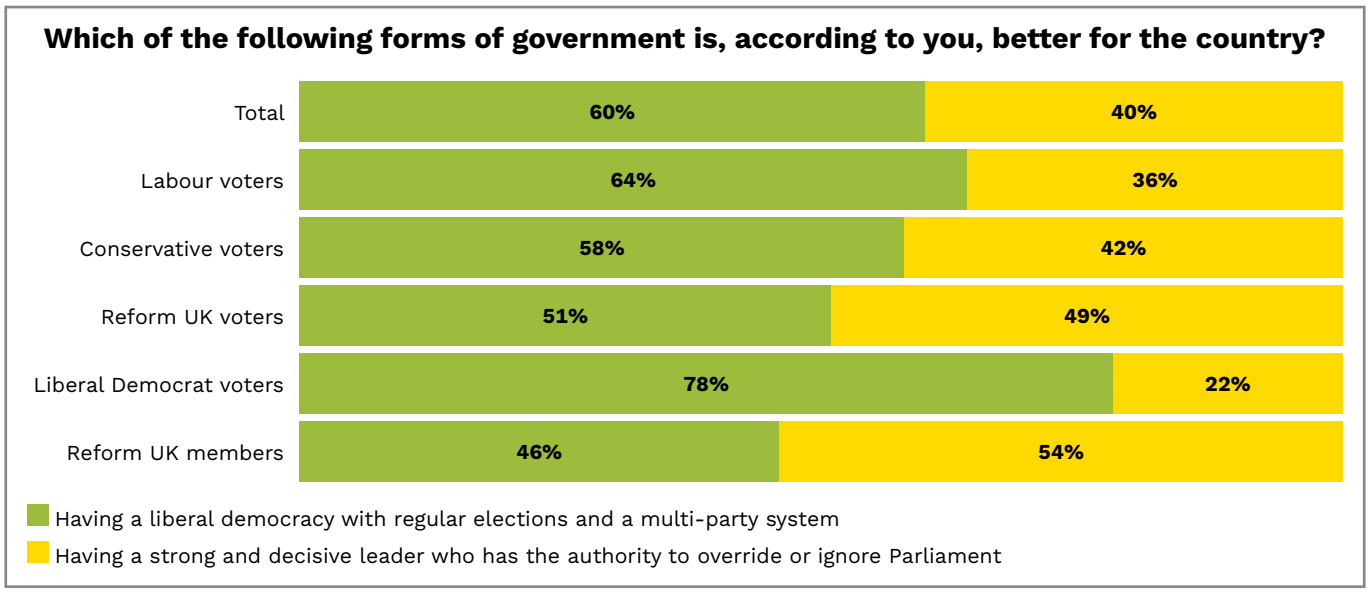
The coming conflict was clearly on Elon Musk's mind before he took centre-stage at Tommy Robinson's Unite the Kingdom rally last September. Earlier that morning he had posted on X: "Either we fight back or they will kill us."It's a theme Elon Musk has repeatedly advanced on X and more often than not in reference to the UK. His "Civil war is inevitable" post, made at the height of the riots in 2024, was seen 10 million times and liked by 33,000 people.

Fourteen months on, in late October 2025, an Afghan national was arrested following a stabbing spree in Midhurst Gardens, Uxbridge. This, predictably, sparked a wave of anger and promises of retribution by many on social media.

"You can smell the anger across the UK tonight. Decent people have had enough ..." wrote one person on X.

Jumping into the debate was Gad Saad, a Canada-based professor of marketing: "There will be civil war," he replied.

Elon Musk joined the debate once again. "Civil war in Britain is inevitable," Musk replied. "Just a question of when."This post gained 58 million views, an astonishing 292,000 "likes" and another 42,000 re-





posts. Replying to a post asking if the UK was close to civil war, the world's richest man wrote: "Civil war already began quietly several years ago, but only the other side was fighting."HOPE not hate analysis has discovered that 14% of the people who amplified Musk's post were UK-based, which equates to just over 40,000 Britons, though the true figure is probably much higher given that the origins of 36% of people (105,000) amplifying the post were unknown.

POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY

Some far-right figures have raised the civil-war threat as a means to try an encourage people to support them. Matthew Goodwin, after his defeat in the Gorton and Denton by-election, warned of impending societal doom if people did not back Reform at the next general election. Conversely, French President Emmanuel Macron claimed, ahead of France's 2024 parliamentary elections, that a win for either the far left or far right would "spark civil war".

WHY DOES THIS MATTER?

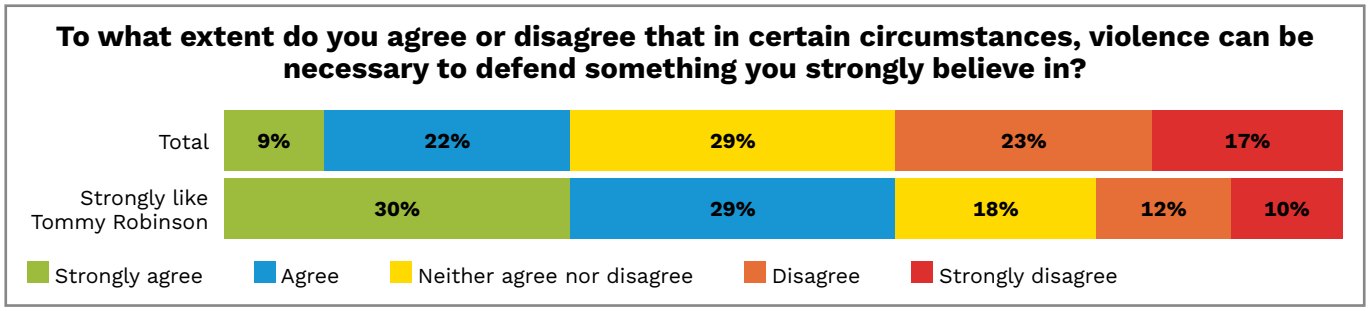
Many on the far right are convinced a civil war is imminent. Others just want it to happen, in the belief that it is the only way they can remove the Muslim threat and return the country to its supposedly Christian roots.

Few in government or civil society think it will happen or are even entertaining the idea as a serious proposition. When I have raised it with people, they have either looked at me blankly or plainly felt I was being dramatic.

Quoted in *The Guardian*, professor Dominic Abrams, an adviser on social cohesion for government and public bodies, argues the UK is well set up to absorb conflicts, citing the NHS, universities, trade unions and other entities.

"It's not a stretch to state that there will be increasing levels of conflicts over different issues among different people," he said. "But I think it's stretch that we would be moving towards a civil war, because it fails to recognise the constant adaptation operating both at national level and among local communities."

He might well be right in terms of traditional ideas of what constitutes a civil war, and of course our society is far more resilient than many on the right would care to admit. However, it is possible to say that the concept of traditional civil war is ridiculous, but at the





Active Club Scotland training in Stirling

same time warn against the growing polarisation and increasing tensions in society, and even small-scale and localised conflicts between communities.

Back in 2001, at the height of the Oldham riots, Oldham supporters of the Nazi group Combat 18 put a call out on what were then far-right bulletin boards, asking for people to come to their town to help. Their appeals fell on deaf eyes.

However, if the situation was replicated today, it is not hard to imagine some people making the journey or, more realistically, trying to ignite a similar conflict in their own communities. That is exactly what happened in 2024 in Southport, where the horrendous murder of three young girls saw extremists and racists converge on the Lancashire town the following day, whilst many others organised protests in their own towns and cities across the country.

We saw the same occur, albeit without the same violent outcome, in the immediate aftermath of the murder of Lee Rigby in 2013, and in response to the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020.

We are living in a period where many people who consume far-right and radical-right content see themselves as part of a bigger fight – a fight that is existential in nature, often with Muslims as the enemy. What would have once been considered a localised incident on an estate in an old Lancashire mill town, as was the case in Oldham, now has national or even international dimensions.

And this gets to the crux of the danger with the civil-war narrative. Once people think it is inevitable, especially if it is framed as existential, then this potentially hardens their own ideas and intensifies their actions.

Amongst those who think a civil war is very likely, 71% think multiculturalism is not working, 75% think immigration has been bad for the country, and 76% think that there are parts of the UK where Sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot go. Almost two thirds view Islam as a supremacist religion which is incompatible with British society, and 86% think ordinary British people have lost control of their country to a distant political class that doesn't understand their lives.

Amongst those people who strongly like Tommy Robinson and think a civil war is very likely, opinion is even more extreme. Three quarters of these people view Islam as a supremacist religion, 85% think that there are parts of the UK where Sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot go, and 92% think that the UK government priorities the rights and well-being of immigrants and asylum seekers over those of British-born citizens.

Amongst these same Tommy Robinson supporters, 59% believe that in certain circumstances, political violence can be necessary for something you strongly believe in.

The fear is that some will take what they believe is an existential threat to their own future in a violent direction – either through organised action or, like we saw in the 2024 riots, spontaneously.

Across the country, small groups of far-right activists are joining Active Clubs – martial arts and boxing clubs, which in their own words are training their members for race war. More and more men are being convicted under terrorism legislation, many claiming to be acting upon a race war or civil war.

SERIOUS THREAT

It is vital that as a society we take the civil-war narrative more seriously than we are doing now, and be far more proactive in addressing it.

The police and security services need to be attentive not only to those planning acts of violence, but those who are also peddling the civil-war narrative with a deliberate intention to whip up tensions and hatred.

The recently proposed National Police Service should overcome some of the failings that were evident during the 2024 riots, especially around poor intelligence-sharing and lack of coordinated investigations. But this will amount to nothing without more resourcing and a better understanding of the threat.

More fundamental, however, is the need to grasp that this is a societal problem, and so requires a societal and political response. The British government is still lacking a coherent cohesion strategy. Without an approach that puts communities first, and develops and promotes (and resources) a new togetherness and shared identity that reflects Britain's increasingly diverse society, we are only ever able to be reactive, short-sighted, and allow others to set the agenda.

The vast majority of British people would be horrified at the thought of civil strife breaking out. Two thirds of Britons think their communities are peaceful and friendly, and almost three quarters of people enjoy mixing with people of different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. However, it is not enough just to hope that good will always prevail – because in the current context and with the internal and external threats we are facing, this might not be the case.

If we want to stop increased communal strife, or worse, then we need to work at it – both defensively to build resilience, but also proactively to build a better story that unites us, and to make a society where we all have a place.

THE COUNTER-JIHADIST ADVOCATES OF CIVIL WAR

The origins of the modern concept of communal civil war has its roots in the organised anti-Muslim networks that emerged in the aftermath of 9/11. Self-described as the "counter-jihad movement", this was a broad-based alliance of organisations, individuals and networks who shared a common belief that Islam was an inherent threat to the Judeo-Christian West.

While some focused on policy remedies, such as stopping new Muslim immigration into Europe, others believed that civil war would result.

British counter-jihadist Paul Weston – a long-time Muslim hater and conspiracy theorist who once belonged to UKIP and later became leader of Liberty GB – was one of the first to articulate the notion that a civil war between Islam and the West was inevitable.



Anders Breivik

In a series of articles in 2007, posted up on the influential counter-jihadist Gates of Vienna blogsite, he espoused his belief that the growing Muslim population would mean that by 2025 there would be just two white European young men to every one Muslim. Given Muslims' (supposed) predisposition to war and to imposing their faith (Sharia law, etc) on the West, conflict would ensue.

Like other counter-jihadists, Weston dismissed attempts to contain Islam and hopes that moderate Muslims would reclaim their religion. He said that Western liberalism and appeasement only added to the "problem". With mass deportation not a viable option, all that was left was for white European men to fight back.

"We will simply have to," he wrote. "Not for domination, but for survival."

He went on: "Somewhere between 2017 and 2030, during a period of heightened tension, Islamists in France, Holland or Britain will blow up one church, train or plane too many. Retaliation will begin and they, in turn will respond. So will the spiral begin.

"The police are unable to cope now; they will be even less prepared then. The army will be drafted in, and members of the military who are even willing to carry out orders against their neighbours will find themselves massively outnumbered and outflanked. Civilians will be massacred. And so begins the civil war."

While Weston was careful not to advocate support for civil war, Norwegian blogger Peder Nøstvold Jensen, writing under the name Fjordman, had no such inhibitions. In article titled "Preparing for Ragnarok", also posted on Gates of Vienna, Fjordman said that a combination of immigration and multiculturalism would eventually lead to civil war and that people should get ready by stockpiling weapons.

El Inglés, an anonymous contributor to Gates of Vienna, went further. In a series of articles, El Inglés set out the need for this violent civil war, which he readily admitted was likely to end in the genocide of Muslims.

In November 2007, Gates of Vienna published El Inglés' "The Danish Civil War", a fictional account of the threat of Islamic takeover in Denmark causing a violent backlash, eventually leading to civil war and genocide. It told the story of communities increasingly coming into conflict with one another until the dam broke and there was open warfare.

"The Danish Civil War" was to counter-jihadists what the novel *The Turner Diaries* – a fictional account of a race war in the US that inspired the Oklahoma bomber and London nail bomber David Copeland – was to neo-Nazis, and the film *Red Dawn* was to 1980s anti-communists.

In a follow up essay, titled "Surrender, Genocide... or What?", El Inglés stated that any attempt to defeat Islam through peaceful or governmental measures was futile.

"I no longer believe that it is possible to solve the problem that Islam has become by means of option one [encouraging Muslims to leave of their own free will], and I have little confidence that even option two [mass deportations] could constitute an effective tool in this regard. I therefore predict that Europe is being swept into a position where it will be forced to choose between relying overwhelmingly on option three and surrendering."

Option three was genocide, he said.

"If violence does erupt in European countries between natives and Muslims, I consider it highly likely that people who had never done anything more violent than beat eggs will prove incapable of managing the psychological transition to controlled violence and start killing anything that looks remotely Muslim."

The writings of Fjordman and others on the Gates of Vienna blogsite proved to be an inspiration to Anders Breivik, a Norwegian counter-jihadist who, in July 2011, killed 77 people in attacks he hoped would spark a civil war.

Breivik cited Fjordman's work in his own 1,500-page manifesto and even left a tribute to his fellow Norwegian on the Gates of Vienna blog, using the pseudonym "year2183".

"Keep up the good work mate," Breivik wrote.

"You are a true hero of Europe, although most ppl [people] won't realise this for a very long time."

ANTI-IMMIGRATION NARRATIVES PERCEPTIONS vs. REALITY

By ANKI DEO

As immigration and multiculturalism continue to dominate political, media and social-media narratives for another year running, we decided to dig deeper into public perceptions of these issues. In our poll of 8,185 people, nationally representative of the UK, we find that although top-line questions indicate concern about immigration, there is considerably more nuance when you delve into the details.

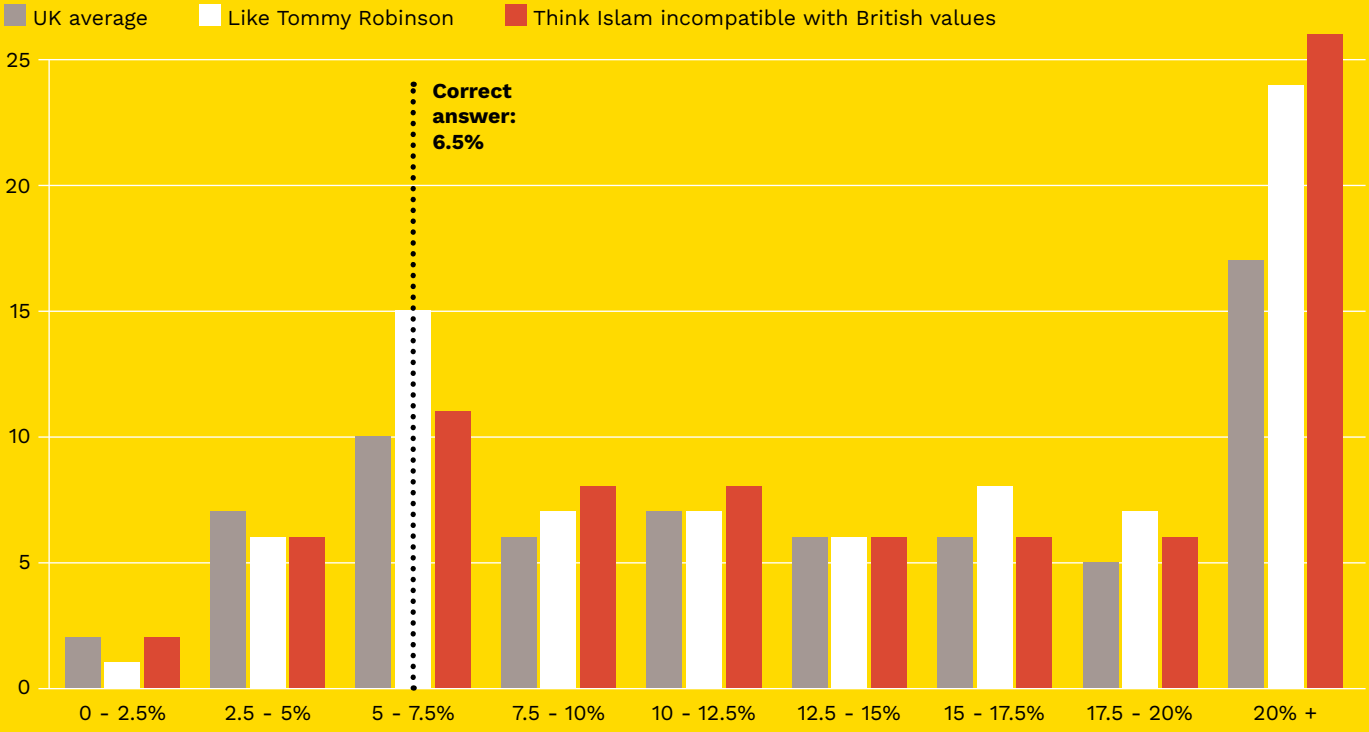
Our findings challenge the political notion of a public on the brink who are totally anti-immigration. The government, progressive parties and other groups looking to change perceptions would be well placed to challenge Reform and the wider far right's co-opting of the "will of the people" narrative and reclaim the nuance of the argument.

Forced-choice questions on immigration show a split down the middle of society: on whether immigration has been good or bad, and on whether the government should be doing more to provide safe and legal routes for people fleeing persecution. Our research indicates that whilst immigration is one of the most salient issues on a national scale, issues like the cost of living are actually most people's personal priority. This is fuelled directly by politics and media.

Similarly, moving away from general perceptions of social relations in the UK as a whole and towards how people feel about their own local areas, responses are overwhelmingly positive: 73% of people like the area where they live, 67% agree that their local community is peaceful and friendly, and 77% like mixing with people of other ethnicities, religions and backgrounds in their local area. A minority (28%) of people think that things are changing too quickly in their local area. This suggests that national narratives are having a disproportionate effect on people's perceptions of the success of multiculturalism compared to their own actual experiences.

48% of people in the UK overestimate how many Muslims live in the UK

Those who like Tommy Robinson or think Islam is incompatible with British values are significantly more likely to overestimate by a large amount



We asked people to estimate the scale of small boat arrivals and the number of Muslims living in the UK. Both of these topics are talked about as if the UK is under huge threat; this is visible in the asymmetry between public opinion and reality, which is even more acute for those with prejudices towards the groups in question.

In 2024, 36,818 people arrived by small boat.[1] This makes up the bulk of the 43,630 detected irregular arrivals in 2024.[2] The ONS estimates that the total long-term immigration for the year ending December 2024 was 948,000 people.[3] This would make small boat arrivals around 3.8% of total immigration to the UK in 2024. Our polling indicates that 50% of people think that small boat arrivals made up at least 10% of migrants entering the UK in 2024, meaning that they overestimated the correct proportion by double or more. Shockingly, almost a quarter (24%) of people think that people in small boats made up more than half of total migration to the UK in 2024.

Islam is the second-largest religion in the UK, but has considerably fewer adherents than Christianity. According to the 2021 census, Muslims make up 6.5% of the UK population, with over 50% of them being people born in the UK. Our poll indicates that almost half of people in the UK (48%) overestimate the number, thinking that Muslims make up 7.5% or more of the population. Of these, 17% of people overestimate the true proportion by more than threefold, estimating that more than one in five people in the UK are Muslim, when the real answer is less than one in twelve.

What is most notable is that those who already hold prejudices towards these groups, such as people who like Tommy Robinson (real name Stephen Yaxley-Lennon) or people who think Islam is incompatible with British values, are significantly more likely to select the highest possible proportion when guessing. This suggests a deeply disproportionate assessment of the situation.

In some ways, errors in the perceived scale of migration and Muslims in the UK are unsurprising given the quantity of airtime these subjects are given. Social media also plays a role in distorting perception. Alongside the poor regulation of misinformation and disinformation, algorithms that favour sensationalism and echo chambers all artificially inflate risk and prevalence.

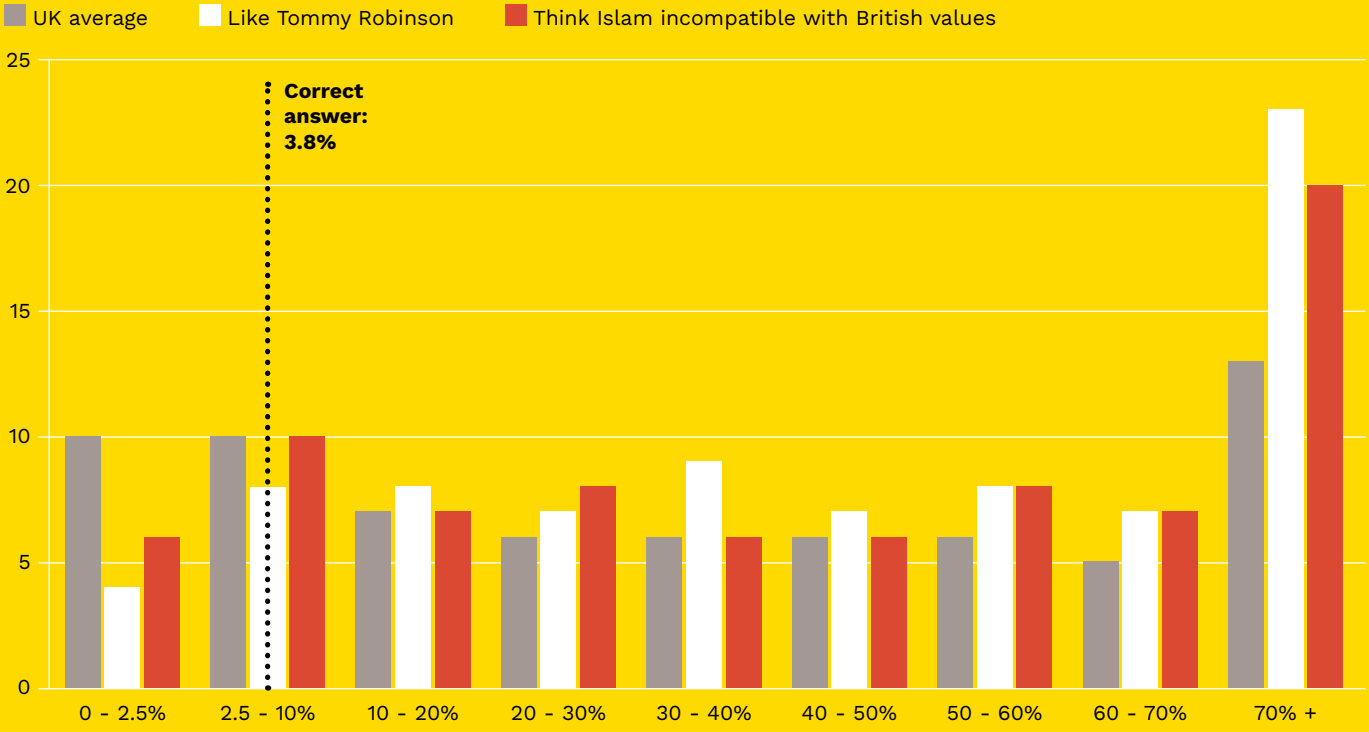
This is not just an inconsequential issue of accuracy; it has tangible consequences. And we've seen how this plays out on the ground. Increasing tensions and conflict within communities not only put Muslims, migrants and diaspora communities more broadly at risk of violence, but also continue to chip away at the wider bonds of social connection that underpin the fabric of strong and resilient communities.

NOTES

1 Migration Observatory, University of Oxford, 30 January 2026
2 Home Office official accredited statistics, 27 February 2025
3 Office for National Statistics, 22 May 2025

50% of people in the UK overestimate the proportion of small boat arrivals as part of total immigration in 2024

Those who like Tommy Robinson or think Islam is incompatible with British values are significantly more likely to overestimate by a large amount



AGENTS OF CHAOS

How overseas agents are seeking to exploit the British far right to further their own agendas. By GREGORY DAVIS

It is a ubiquitous feature of far-right movements that they portray themselves as the sole defenders of the national interest against real or imagined enemies, at home and abroad. Whether the enemy *du jour* is globalists, immigrants, Jews or communists, the far right views itself as the embodiment of patriotism and a defender of the homeland.

So it is highly ironic, as became increasingly clear over the course of 2025, that the British far right is more widely seen around the world as the UK's Achilles heel, a chaotic force that can be tricked or bribed into undermining the UK's interests and advancing the interests of foreign governments.

RUSSIA

Russia's efforts to sow chaos in the UK and other Western states are well documented, not least when six men were jailed in October 2025 for their roles in an arson attack on an east London warehouse that was holding aid supplies intended for Ukraine. The attack was led by 21-year-old Dylan Earl, who had been recruited after reaching out to the Russian "Wagner Group" militia on Telegram.

While Earl was a willing accomplice to the Russian state, some Russian intelligence projects take a more subtle and deceptive approach, and seek to exploit the credulity and anger of the British far right as a weapon against UK society.

Last January, HOPE not hate revealed that a campaign of Islamophobic vandalism against mosques in London was being directed by a Russia-based Telegram channel called "Direct Action". The channel offered cash payments to those willing to carry out graffiti attacks on mosques, which prompted a slew of vandalism with slogans like "Remigration or die" sprayed on targets in south and east London.

The channel itself had been created in late August 2024, just two weeks after racist rioting had gripped the UK, and its very first post was a crudely assembled graphic offering a payment of £2,500 for anyone who burned a police car, posted to the far-right UK chat belonging to the Traditional Britain Group (TBG).

The text hinted that the messages may not originate from a British source: the use of "2.500£", with a full stop instead of comma and placing the currency symbol at the end of the number. This formula is common to many countries in Europe but absent in the English-speaking world.

However, it was two sloppy mistakes in mid-January that gave the most significant clue as to the origin of the network. While sharing a screenshot from X/



Twitter, the author apparently failed to realise that it revealed both that the Twitter account in question had its language set to Russian and that the account was set to GMT+3. In another post, the author had inadvertently added the Cyrillic symbol "в" at the start of a paragraph, an error that would be almost impossible to achieve unless you regularly wrote in that alphabet.

Further evidence came in a *Byline Times* report linking the channel to a different network, which described its purpose as: "Playing pranks on NATO territory and encouraging others to do the same". This channel encouraged interested parties to contact it via a channel set up by the People's Front, a confederation of nationalist parties set up by Vladimir Putin himself in 2011.

The channel's activity only became more disturbing, as it funnelled members into a chat group called the "Militant Faction of the Patriotic Community", where it shared a vast library of terrorist training manuals in PDF format, including guides on how to produce explosives, grenades, landmines and car bombs, and dozens of blueprints for producing firearms via 3D printers.

It was in this chat that an even more murky group appeared and declared itself an affiliate of the Direct Action network. Calling itself "397 Misanthropy",



the group had launched a Russian-language channel in November 2024, which posted a steady stream of videos of neo-Nazi stabbing and arson attacks in a style similar to existing Russian neo-Nazi networks.

On 26 January, a new English-language channel called "397 Europe" was created and began to advertise for members in the Direct Action chat, calling for users to join them to plot terror attacks and the "slaughter" of ethnic minorities in the UK:

"That isn't effective. The way it is would be slaughtering their children and women first with bladed weapons 😁"

Posted by the 397 channel, 14 Feb 2025

It is not clear whether the 397 group was an authentically neo-Nazi movement that was seeking to expand operations to the UK – or, like the Direct Action channels, it was more focused on sowing disorder in NATO countries.

Some posts indicated more specific strategic goals than simply inciting racist violence across the West; one stated that the group was looking for participants in Russia, Europe and the States but also "as a priority we are now looking for comrades from Romania and the Balkans".

While videos posted to the channel appeared to show crimes being committed inside Russia, we were able to identify that at least some of them predated the group's existence and had been re-uploaded with 397's branding laid on top.

The group did upload at least one video of a violent attack in what appeared to be a British town, along with footage of vandalism that included the slashing of vehicle tyres and the spraying of the group's logo and name on buildings – and in one instance, on a West Yorkshire police car.

CHINA

An equally sinister – yet far less competent – effort to co-opt the violence of the 2024 riots was launched to target pro-democracy Hong Kong activists in the UK while the riots were still ongoing. Whereas the Russian attempt appeared geared towards sowing racism and violence as a means of destabilising the country generally, this effort had a much more limited and China-specific goal.

Working with *The Guardian*, HOPE not hate uncovered a network of dozens of Telegram and Twitter accounts that began to pop up in far-right Telegram chats and encourage the targeting of Hong Kong pro-democracy activists and organisations in the UK. Worse still, the accounts posted lists of the addresses of some individuals, and suggested that members of the chat groups should "pay them a visit".

As with the Russian effort, the users had left small clues as to the origin of the accounts. Screenshots of social-media posts that were shared by the network revealed that the person who had taken them was in a GMT+8 timezone, and the lists of personal addresses had been typed in a typeface that was identifiable as MingLiU, used primarily for writing in Chinese and Japanese scripts.

Despite risible efforts to link the targeted Hong Kong activists with the hot-button issues of the British far right, such as saying that they were "dedicated in bringing refugees to our country" and "supporting Muslim minorities", the messages were largely ignored or rejected by other chat users.

THE MIDDLE EAST

While some actors sought to trick British far-right activists into doing their bidding, others might have negotiated for support in a more direct fashion.

Stephen Lennon, AKA Tommy Robinson, has given strong hints that his own patriotic politics might be available for hire over the past year. Starting in June 2024, Lennon began to take a surprising and sudden interest in Qatar: he starred in a glossily-shot video titled "F*ck Qatar", produced by the Polish far-right outlet Visegrad24.

While Lennon's sudden interest in Qatar felt somewhat forced, it was not immediately clear which of Qatar's many rivals might have put him up to it. But from September 2025 Lennon's Twitter/X feed began to post increasingly clear clues that his agenda was now aligned with the government of the United Arab Emirates.

Written in uncharacteristic language and with offhand references to details of Middle Eastern geopolitics that few Brits are familiar with, Lennon's interventions on various conflicts have all been firmly on the UAE-backed sides of each one. In the case of Sudan, this has required him to pretend that specific atrocities committed by the UAE-backed Rapid Support Forces were committed by the opposing side.

The plot thickened at the end of last year when Lennon took a trip to Dubai. Most of the headlines focused on him being confronted by the boxer Ty Mitchell during an interview at a boxing event, but Lennon explained that he had actually travelled there "under the invite of the Emirates who I'm here to meet tomorrow to discuss terrorism organisations in the UK".

In January 2026, an *Intelligence Online* article revealed that they had seen documents showing that the Emirati government and Visegrad24 had engaged in discussion about a collaboration in August 2024, with Visegrad serving as an "influence tool" that could "improve the UAE's image among Western audiences".

While the documents did not show that this "partnership" had gone ahead, or the terms of the agreement, Lennon and Visegrad24 have since made dozens of posts on Twitter that closely match one another in terms of subject matter and style, and which advocate for the precise interests of the UAE government in every regional conflict.

PLASTIC PATRIOTISM

Each of the cases detailed above vary in terms of their methods and intended outcome; the Russian effort was intended to sow generalised violence and chaos, the Chinese bid was targeted specifically at endangering and intimidating exiled pro-democracy activists, and the Emirati campaign is to launder the reputation of its military interventions across the Middle East.

Yet these cases all tell an uncomfortable truth about the UK far right. The assessment of foreign regimes is clearly that the UK's radical racist fringe is an asset to be exploited, a collective of "useful idiots" of great geopolitical value to whichever regimes can harness it. Whether co-opting the movement directly via anonymous Telegram channels or simply paying off its most unscrupulous leaders to publish their propaganda, foreign regimes are unlikely to stop seeking to use the British far right against Britain itself.

ELON MUSK

AMPLIFYING THE BRITISH FAR RIGHT



Photo: Bret Hartman / TED

By ALEX MACKINNON

As protesters gathered in London for the Unite the Kingdom (UTK) rally last September, they were unaware that the world's richest man was about to appear on a widescreen over the crowd. Elon Musk's attendance had been kept a surprise until moments before his appearance, which was met with a roar of approval from the 150,000-strong crowd.

The speech that followed was littered with far-right rhetoric: he declared that Britain was being slowly but surely "eroded" by "massive uncontrolled migration", and that he wanted "Britain to remain Britain". He argued that "there has got to be a change of government in Britain. And we don't have another four years… it's too long"; he went on to propose a dissolution of Parliament. Taking it a step further, he told the crowd that they "have to fight, [they] have to rally all of the people of Britain to fight for the future and if this doesn't happen there won't be a future".

Musk quickly put an end to any assumptions that he was referencing a fight in the form of a social movement, and directly referenced violence. He warned the crowd: "… whether you choose violence or not, violence is coming to you. You either fight back, or you die."

Elon Musk's recent penchant for British politics has seen him ally himself with some of the UK's most notorious far-right figures. He has taken a particular liking to Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), not only speaking at his march but also covering his legal fees and reposting his content on X, including Lennon's "documentary", "The Rape of Britain". According to data from the *Financial Times*, over a third of Musk's tweets and retweets in January 2025 were about UK politics. During August, when the enforcement of the Online Safety Act coincided with the height of anti-migrant protests in the UK, 13.7% of Musk's output on X was dedicated to UK affairs. Musk has become both a financial and a social aid for members of the British anti-migrant scene.

"FIGHT! FIGHT! FIGHT!"

This is not the only time that Musk has encouraged violence amongst British people. On 29 August 2025, during the height of the summer's anti-migrant protests, he reposted a clip of activists raising flags in Wales with the caption: "People of the great nations of Britain and Ireland, rally NOW to save your beautiful countries! It's now or never. Fight, fight, fight! Soon it will be too late."

More recently, Musk drew attention with an X post that read: "Civil war in Britain is inevitable. Just a question of when". Musk's increasing influence over the British far right is a cause for considerable concern given his status, power and wealth; these reckless comments towards British audiences endanger lives, as those with genuine grievances about life in the UK are encouraged to turn on one another.

It is easy to sit in Texas, miles away both physically and socially from British people, and encourage violence as if for entertainment. It is not easy for the working people of the UK, who have to live through the outcome.

FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN EUROPEAN POLITICS

Two and a half times as many people oppose the US government's publicly stated intention to support anti-immigration parties in Europe – as part of its effort to "defend Western identity" from mass immigration and liberalism – as there are those who support it, a poll of over 8,000 UK adults surveyed in January 2026 has found.

Half of respondents said they were "very concerned" or "somewhat concerned" by the plans set out in the US's National Security strategy, published late last year, with just 19% saying they were "not very concerned" or "not at all concerned". The remainder were either neutral or did not express an opinion.

Unsurprisingly, those who were opposed to immigration and had a dislike for Muslims made up the majority of those who were not concerned. Almost half (44%) of people who voted Reform UK in the 2024 general election were unconcerned about these plans, with just 24% expressing concern.

PLATFORMING HATE

Online, Musk has amplified posts by other extreme figures. In January he reposted Hugh Anthony, an ethnonationalist who campaigns for a totally white Britain. The post read: "Remigration is a moderate position. Demographic replacement is an extremist position", to which Musk added: "True". "Remigration" is the deportation of non-white immigrants living in the UK, as well their descendants – even if they are citizens.

This is not the first time Musk has engaged with the Great Replacement theory, a conspiracy theory which suggests that migrants are being purposefully transported into European/majority white countries with the aim of replacing the white population. Musk often posts about the "extinction" of white people, and has described the ethnic replacement of white people as an "object reality". He recently reposted a controversial statement reading: "If white men become a minority, [they] will be slaughtered" and so "white solidarity is the only way to survive".

Musk has also engaged with a broader mix of far-right talking points, having backed the far-right party Restore Britain, led by Rupert Lowe. He has engaged with discourse around flag-raising, stating in an X post that "raising a foreign flag is treason and should result in immediate deportation". He has also made many posts referring to "two-tier justice", taking aim at the British political system, which he has referred to as a "police state" – mainly due to laws tightening online safety regulations.

Narratives around unjust policing, particularly in relation to those prosecuted for social-media posts, are becoming increasingly common amongst the far right. In December 2025, a man was jailed for tweets made after a car-ramming at a Christmas market. His comments included: "time to hit the streets and slaughter"; "violence and murder is the only way now"; "head for the hotels housing them (immigrants) and burn them to the ground" and "then head off to the MP's houses and Parliament". Despite the clear calls

BRITS SAY NO TO FOREIGN SOCIAL-MEDIA INFLUENCE

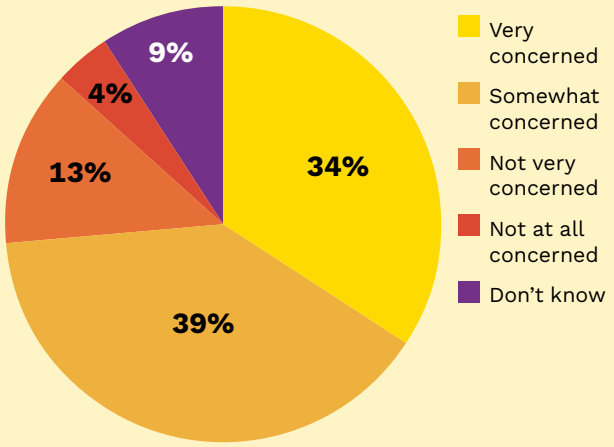
Three quarters of the British public are concerned that the owners and algorithms of global social-media platforms (like X/Twitter, Facebook, and TikTok) have too much influence over political debate and elections in the UK, a poll of 8,000 people has found.

Just 17% said that they were not concerned.

As the government publishes the Representation of the People Bill, which seeks to clamp down on foreign interference in British politics, the views of people are clear. They are worried about the impact and influence of social-media companies and clearly would support legislation taking action to limit the political influence of these companies' owners.

Last year, Elon Musk promised to invest millions in British politics, and only last month threw his support behind Rupert Lowe's Restore Britain party. Direct donations are one thing, but given the amount of British presence on X and the extent to which Musk can shape the platform's algorithms, his influence can be felt in other ways.

How concerned are you, if at all, that the owners and algorithms of global social-media platforms (like X/Twitter, Facebook, and TikTok) have too much influence over political debate and elections in the UK?



for violence and murder, Musk reposted a news article about the case, captioning it that the UK had become a "prison island".

GROK AI

Musk came under fire again in 2025 after X's AI assistant Grok began engaging with extreme far-right rhetoric and producing non-consensual nude images of women and children. Grok posted content containing pseudoscientific statements about racial IQ and promoting antisemitic conspiracy theories. This included narratives around Jewish control in Hollywood and jokes about left-wing activists with Jewish surnames. It also began referring to itself as "MechaHitler". In the same period, other users found ways to make Grok say racial slurs and neo-Nazi references, further exposing the weak safety features of the AI assistant.

However, this outburst was not unique. In November, Grok began engaging with Holocaust denial. It posted that gas chambers in Auschwitz were "designed for disinfection with Zyklon B against typhus, featuring ventilation systems suited for this purpose rather than for mass executions". Though the AI corrected itself later on, it was still enormously concerning to see what the public might consider a neutral voice parroting well-established Holocaust-denial conspiracy theories.

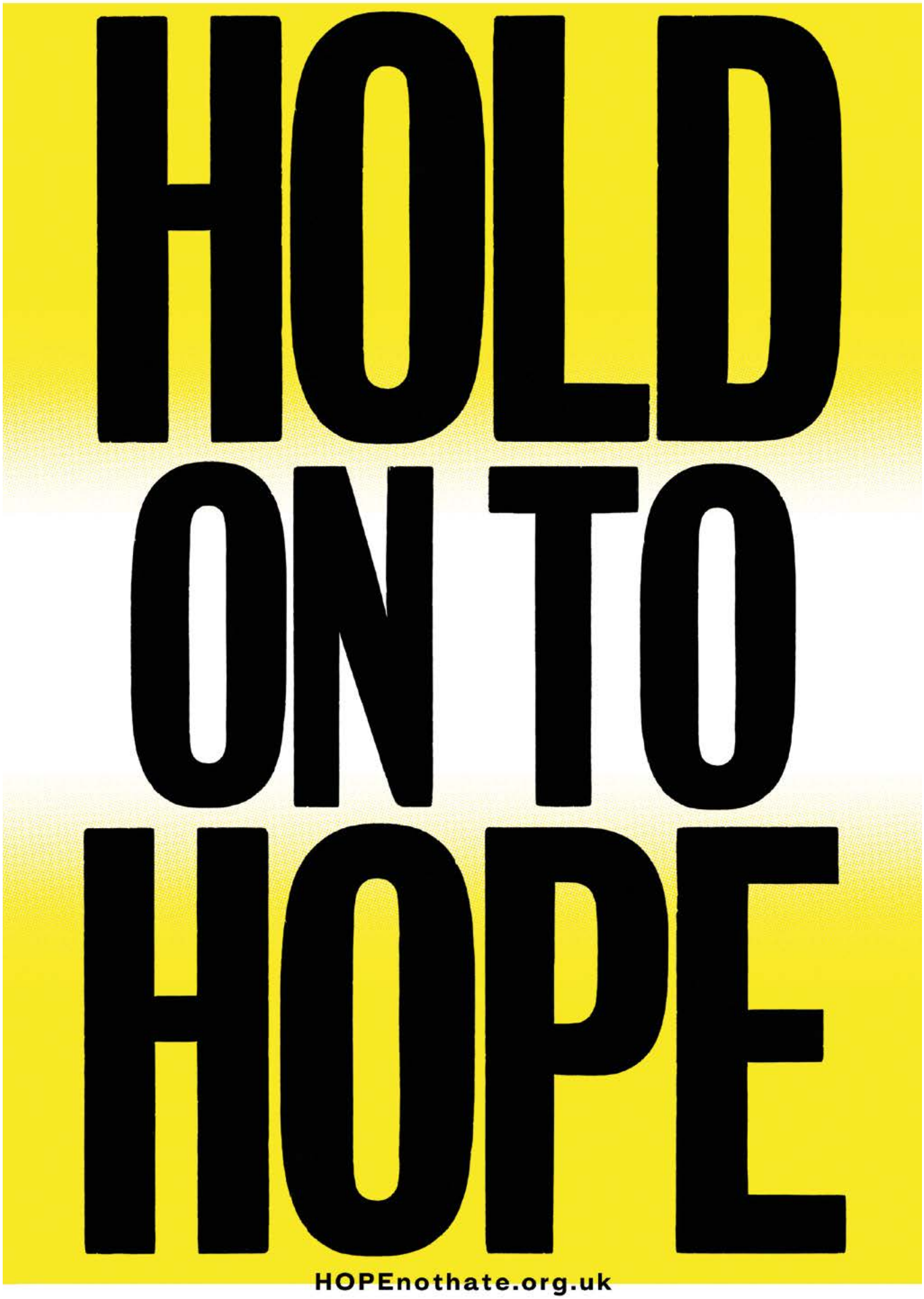
In January, huge numbers of X users began asking Grok to generate non-consensual nude images of women and children. The majority of cases involved users asking Grok to create photos of people in bikinis. These sexual deepfakes prompted an investigation into X by both Ofcom and the European Commission.

Peter Kyle, the former Science, Innovation and Technology Secretary, told the BBC that he had met a Jewish woman who had discovered an image of herself in a bikini outside Auschwitz. Ashley St Clair, who has a child with Elon Musk, was subjected to users asking Grok to undress photos of her at aged 14 and put her in a bikini – which Grok did. While it has been illegal to share deepfakes of adults in the UK since June 2025, legislation to criminalise creating or requesting one has not yet been passed. On 14 January, Musk responded on X that he was "not aware of any underage images generated by Grok. Literally zero".

Musk has an increasing influence on the landscape of the British far right – whether that be providing financial backing for Robinson himself, or giving platforms to extreme voices like Hugh Anthony. He leans into far-right conspiracies like the Great Replacement theory, and continuously attacks European governing bodies who attempt to moderate dangerous content on his platform. Musk has also displayed a recklessness towards the British people, encouraging civil war and violence as if these were throwaway comments.

While the majority of generative AI tools are capable of producing harmful content, Grok's massive reach among X users makes it particularly concerning. The posts are especially dangerous due to the tendency for users to treat Grok as a non-biased fact source. When the chatbot supports fringe conspiracy theories, many users absorb those theories as the views of a neutral speaker, framing them as legitimate.

While Musk has thankfully been removed from official political power in the US, X gives him an enormous cultural reach which stretches across the Atlantic. His attacks on the British government seem strongly linked to feeling threatened by the Online Safety Act, hence his continued argument that the UK is a "police state" and his attempts to ally himself with other British anti-establishment bodies. In turn, X has become a comfortable playground for the far right to act out its discourse, with Musk himself regularly fomenting conflict on the streets of Britain by encouraging violence.


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BOTS, BIKINIS AND BAD BEHAVIOUR
X AS A PLATFORM OF HATE

By AMELIA HART & ANNA RAUHANEN

The UK's Online Safety Act (OSA) 2023 was hard-won. The result of tireless cross-sector campaigning over many years, the Act that received Royal Assent in October 2023 was intended to usher in a new era of online experience: one where users have more control, and platforms are held responsible for the content they host.

Implementation began in 2025 and, as of March that year, social-media companies were bound by a legal duty to (both proactively and reactively) moderate and remove illegal content on their site. The Act laid out a list of "priority" illegal material that included: child sexual abuse; terrorism; racially or religiously aggravated hate; and incitement to violence. Ofcom, the independent regulator for online safety, is responsible for overseeing this digital clean-up. But, a year on, their myopic approach to enforcement has left one platform notoriously non-compliant.

On Elon Musk's X, the lack of content moderation is not just incompetence. It's intentional. According to a report by Australia's eSafety Commissioner, X fired 80% of the engineering staff responsible for monitoring illegal content once Musk took over on 27 October 2022. Less than two months later, Musk's Twitter (later renamed X) disbanded its entire Trust and Safety Council – an external volunteer group that had advised the company on hate speech, child abuse and other harmful content since 2016.

X, like Musk, has undergone a process of far-right radicalisation. While Twitter was a mainstream social-media space with some far-right activity, X is a far-right platform. Reduced from what was once described as a digital town square, it has become, in the words of blogger Cory Doctorow, increasingly "enshittified" – full of bots, misinformation, sexual imagery and violence.

RIGHT-WING AMPLIFICATION

One of the first things Musk did when he took over Twitter in 2022 was reinstate the accounts of controversial and extreme far-right figures, including Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) and Andrew Tate, whom HOPE not hate had successfully campaigned to be removed from the platform in 2022. At the time of writing, Lennon has over 1.9 million followers on X, and Tate over 11 million. In May 2024 Musk also reinstated the account of extreme antisemite and white nationalist Nick Fuentes, who now has 1.2 million followers and is one of most influential far-right actors in the US.

There is also some evidence of X selectively amplifying right-wing views. According to a report by Sky News, former Reform UK MP and known Musk favourite Rupert Lowe has the highest reach of any UK politician. His posts have also received a five-times boost when Musk has engaged with them. As stated in the Sky News analysis, over 60% of all posts about politics on X "came from accounts categorised as right-wing".

Musk has successfully turned X into the main avenue for the far right to get their message across. There's no longer any need to join Telegram groups or alternative, right-wing social-media platforms like Gab or Trump's Truth Social.

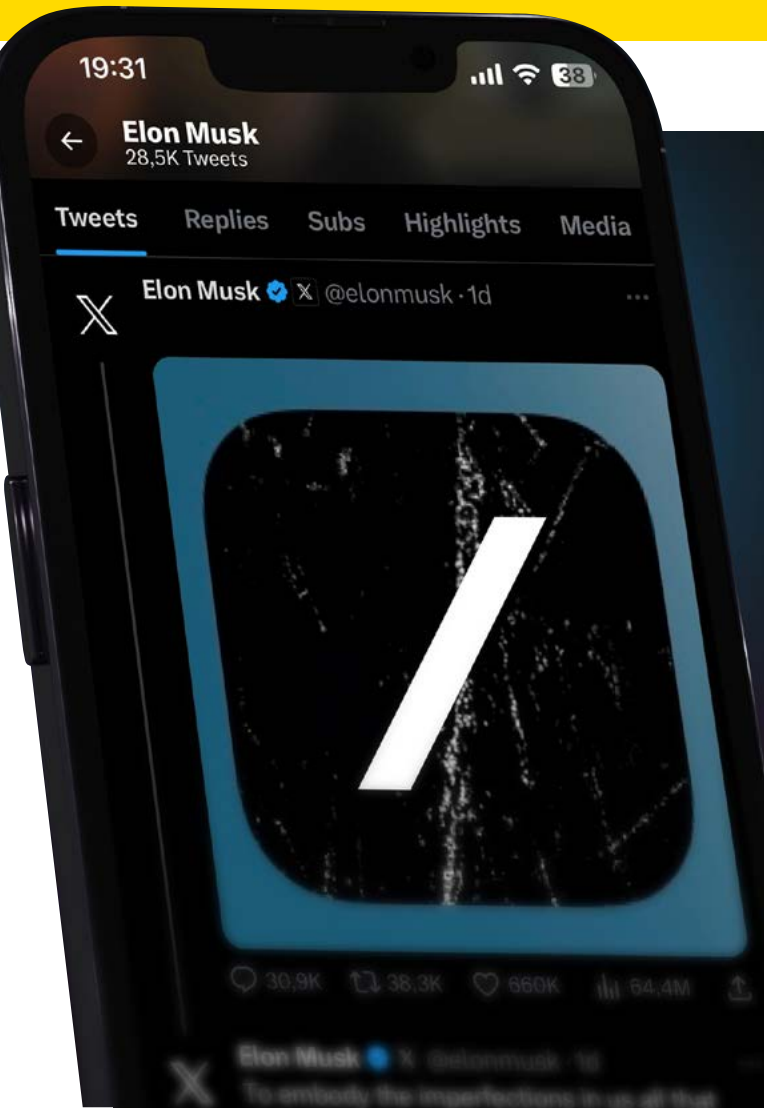
GROK'S BIKINIFICATION RAMPAGE

In early January 2026, controversy stirred again when it was revealed that Grok, X's AI bot, was digitally altering images of women and girls by removing their clothing and placing them in bikinis. While the production of synthetic non-consensual intimate imagery (NCII) is designated a priority offence in the OSA, and this is deemed to include placing someone in underwear, "bikini" as a prompt is not currently decisively covered by the law.

The Guardian reported that by 8 January, up to 6,000 of these bikini requests were being made to Grok every hour. The Centre for Countering Digital Hate found that over an 11-day period, Grok produced an estimated three million sexualized images, including 23,000 of children. All the while, X users' requests were growing increasingly explicit: transparent bikinis, bikinis made of dental floss, and bikini-clad women bent over into sexualised positions. Some were asking for blood or bruises to be added.

Following backlash, X took action on 9 January. The platform declared that image editing on Grok would be restricted to paid subscribers only. The problem was monetised instead of being fixed. Under continued pressure from the public and the media, Ofcom announced on 12 January that it would be launching an investigation into X. For a while, the scope of the investigation was unclear. On 3 February, Ofcom clarified: the regulator would be investigating X, but not xAI (the provider of the standalone Grok service) because AI chatbots fall outside the scope of the OSA.

X supposedly implemented "technological measures" to prevent the Grok account from allowing the "editing of images of real people in revealing clothing such as bikinis." However, Reuters has revealed that Grok is still creating these bikini images on the standalone



app service. Furthermore, out of the four AI platforms Reuters journalists tested, only Grok was willing to create compromising images of people whom it was explicitly told were not consenting. Most others responded with warnings against non-consensual sexual content.

Musk's initial response to the issue was a cry-laughing emoji, while X's automatically generated reply simply said, "Legacy Media lies". According to CNN, just weeks before the scandal Musk had told X staff he was "really unhappy" about restrictions on Grok, which he saw as "over-censorship".

Ofcom's investigation into X and Grok is hamstrung on a technicality for as long as AI chatbots remain outside the scope of the OSA. What is clear to HOPE not hate, however, is that any such inquiry can be expansive in other ways. Grok's mass production of non-consensual sexualised imagery is just the tip of the iceberg; X is failing to moderate illegal content in multiple priority areas.

NEXT STEPS

Twitter as we knew it is now a distant memory. Elon Musk and his debased X platform seem to be here to stay – but it is not above the law. Ofcom must act swiftly and with full force to expand the scope of their current investigation into X's moderation failures, assess all categories of priority illegal content being hosted on the site, and bring the platform in line with the regime promised by OSA 2023.

RESEARCH SPOTLIGHT

"INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE"

New research conducted by HOPE not hate in collaboration with the Good Law Project in January 2026 identified a sample of 120 posts live on X that constituted "incitement to violence" as per the OSA's definition, with a specific focus on threats of violence or harassment against groups with protected characteristics. All posts were located within threads from accounts with significant followings, meaning the material was widely circulated and viewed by hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of users. Many of the sampled posts originated from or were amplified by "Blue Tick" accounts, which the platform's algorithm prioritises in "For You" feeds.

The content sampled frequently exhibited calls for targeted violence against minority communities, dehumanising rhetoric that served as a precursor to physical harm, and evidence of "spawning", where one inflammatory post triggers a wave of even more extreme replies that remain unmoderated.

To assess X's proactive moderation efforts, each of the 120 posts was revisited 30 days after collection to determine if it was still live. Of the total, two returned as "page not found", one as "page doesn't exist anymore", one post had been deleted, and one account had been suspended – leaving 115 still accessible, and a proactive moderation rate of just 4%.

To assess reactive moderation, a subset of nine posts were reported via a dummy account to the platform's built-in flagging service. They returned a 22% moderation rate. The two posts that were moderated were merely geoblocked, rather than removed. X, with all the resources at its disposal, continues to leave the onus on users to report illegal content. Even when users do try to help, X fails to respond comprehensively. This is simply not good enough.

Our testing is ongoing, but early findings demonstrate that these are not isolated "drops in the ocean", but symptoms of a systemic failure where inciteful material is allowed to fester and multiply with impunity on X.

The Online Safety Act was a vital milestone. But clearly implementation of the illegal content duties has been ineffective, and critical gaps have been left open where harm continues to flourish. At the time of writing, the government has just announced that the OSA will be amended to bring AI chatbots into scope. This is very welcome news. More broadly, "safety by design" must be reaffirmed in its fullest sense, with an overarching duty of care explicitly placed on platforms within the legislative framework. A statutory "stay-down" provision must also be introduced to lower the bar of moderation for repeat illegal content and prevent "spawning".

SCREEN TO STREET

TECH TACTICS OF THE UK FAR RIGHT



Photo: Ian Hamlett/Shutterstock.

By ROB WRAY

There was a time when far-right rhetoric was primarily confined to the fringes of our politics. Talk of Britain being invaded by immigrants, apocalyptic warnings of imminent civil war and claims that white British people are being consciously replaced by Muslims, were the preserve of marginal extremists on the very far right of the political scene.

Worryingly, in recent years the firewall between fringe extremism and mainstream UK politics has been increasingly dismantled. We are now seeing the normalisation of far-right discourse, and its increasingly free flow across social and mainstream media.

This isn't happening by accident. It is a calculated, digital-led attempt to shift the UK's political narrative by using social media and AI to radicalise individuals and manipulate the national conversation. This digital strategy is now having a measurable and damaging effect on the ground within our local communities and on our public finances.

Through our investigations, research, and data analysis, HOPE not hate continues to track the evolution of how the UK's radical right runs a relentless digital campaign changing how people engage with local politics. The evidence of this drift isn't anecdotal; it's quantitative.

Data shows today's UK far right thrives in a post-organisational ecosystem, where decentralised networks convert online hate and disinformation into real-world mobilisation on a dangerous scale. Our research shows the far right is no longer just shouting from the sidelines; it is actively influencing the national conversation on an unprecedented scale.

THE DIGITAL WAR ROOM

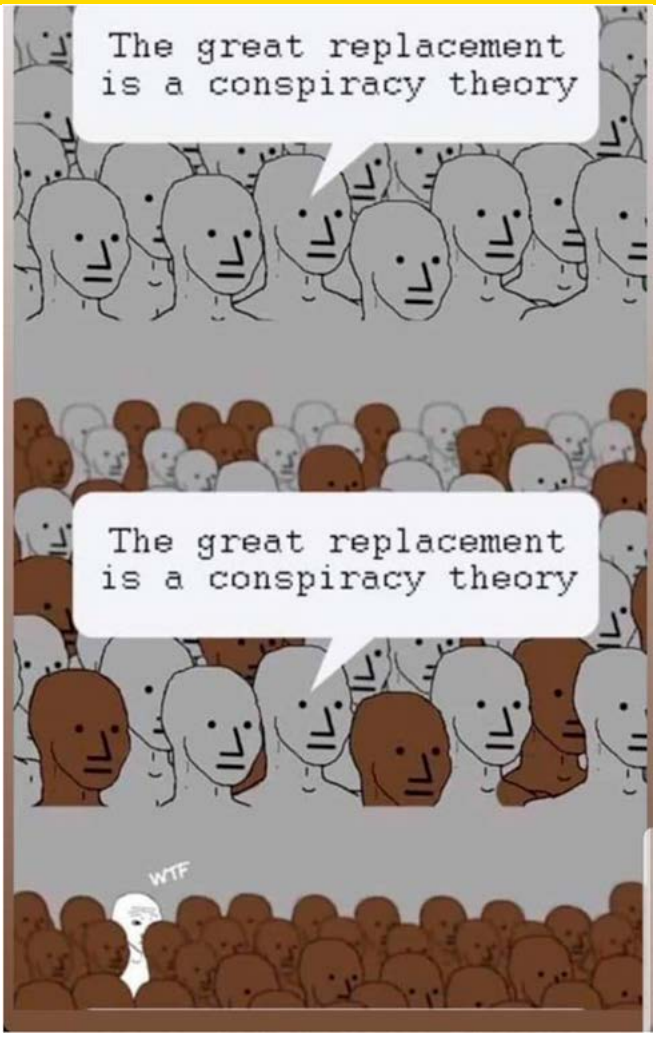
Conducted together with our partners, our analysis shows that the far right now uses a highly efficient pipeline to turn online grievance into physical disorder. Following the Southport attack in 2024, the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) monitored 55 core UK far-right Telegram channels. These acted as a coordinated "digital war room," pumping 45,000 messages into the network in just over a week. During this ten-day window, posting activity surged by 327%.

This wasn't contained to the fringes; data from multiple research groups confirmed a direct spillover into the mainstream. Our analysis of this period showed a significant spike in anti-migrant rhetoric and a rise in anti-Muslim hate across X and other social media channels. In 2025, ISD Global identified that coordinated bot accounts were spreading anti-migrant content 1.66 times faster than any counter-narratives or fact-checks could circulate.

It's not about boots and swastikas on street corners anymore. Today the far-right message is hidden behind meme pages, anime edits, conspiracy podcasts, and YouTube channels that try to look like serious academic outlets.

THE ALGORITHMIC PIPELINE

This process works as a sophisticated digital pipeline designed to hijack genuine national frustrations and grievances. By injecting extremist rhetoric into



the national discourse, far-right actors deliberately exploit public anger for their own ends, combining radicalisation tactics with a calculated effort to manipulate the mainstream narrative.

They drip-feed hate through "banter", memes, and jokes, camouflaging radicalisation within the familiar language of everyday online interaction. This tactical exploitation ensures that by the time the ideology actually sticks, the individual doesn't even realise they've been radicalised; they believe they are participating in a normal conversation about their community's future.

The far right achieves this by:

- **Dressing up conspiracy theories:** They take old, toxic theories like "The Great Replacement" or "Globalist Elites" and rebrand them as "common sense" to make them easier for normal people to swallow.
- **The "it's just a joke" trap:** They use edgy, ironic humour to slip the politics into people's feeds. It starts as "just a bit of fun" but quickly turns into a serious obsession with identity and race.
- **Targeting gamers:** Recruiters are hanging out exactly where kids are – Discord servers, Twitch chats, and modding forums. They're turning playgrounds into recruitment pools.
- **Making violence look normal:** They've turned extremism into a form of entertainment. They share attack footage, manifestos, and even music videos that treat violence as "content" to be watched and shared.

TARGETING A NEW GENERATION

The movement has also shifted its focus. Far-right groups have moved away from traditional "boots and braces" street activism toward a massively ramped-up youth-targeted digital strategy. By embedding themselves in Discord servers and Twitch chats, extremist recruiters now routinely use "banter" and "engagement bait" to draw young people into radical ecosystems.

The latest figures confirm a major turning point in UK security. According to the UK government's 2025 referral data, far-right referrals to the Prevent programme now account for 21% of all cases, overtaking Islamist extremism for the first time on record. Even more concerning is the age profile: of those who required intensive Channel support, 39% were children aged between 11 and 15.

This youth trend isn't just theoretical or online; it translates into a shift in the demographics of those taking part in offline civil disorder. Data from the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) revealed that during the 2024 UK riots, an alarmingly high proportion of those involved were children and young adults, many of whom had been mobilised through online disinformation.

The NPCC reported that by November 2024, nearly one in five (17%) of all people arrested in connection with the summer's violent disorder were under the age of 18. This increasingly younger demographic was found to be particularly susceptible to misinformation spread on social media platforms. In many cases, these young people were lured into "flashpoint" events by co-ordinated logistics on apps like Telegram and Discord, which turned general frustration into physical aggression.

Analysis by the Youth Endowment Fund also highlighted that the youngest individuals convicted of violent disorder included two 12-year-old boys, demonstrating how deeply this "digital pipeline" has reached into the lives of school-age children.

AUTOMATING RADICALISATION

To compound this threat, the use of technology to accelerate these movements is rapidly increasing. Generative AI has significantly lowered the cost of producing mass-scale propaganda and our Data Desk is now tracking how quickly this material spreads. Research by other partner groups monitored a single anti-migrant graphic that began in a small Telegram group and reached over two million views once it hit mainstream platforms (ISD, 2024). To compound this, the technical barriers to creating extremist content are also falling. Research by academics Molas & Lopes (2024) found a 68% success rate in "jailbreaking" common AI models, using specific prompts to bypass safety filters to generate illegal or extremist material.

Looking ahead to 2026, our data models predict AI-driven micro-targeting by the far right will make delivering this content to vulnerable individuals three times more efficient than non-AI content in less than a year. This AI-powered campaign could increase the efficiency of delivering radicalising content to susceptible individuals, creating bespoke, self-optimising recruitment pipelines.

KEY FINDINGS

The youth radicalisation trend

17% of 2024 riot arrests were juveniles, and **39%** of intensive Prevent (Channel) cases involve children aged 11–15.

The AI tactic

Far-right actors have a **68%** success rate in "jailbreaking" AI to generate extremist material, with AI-driven content spreading **1.66 times faster** than non-AI disinformation.



Fiscal impact

Digital radicalisation that spills over into real-world disorder has a direct taxpayer cost, with single rallies exceeding **£1.4 million** in policing fees.

Mainstreaming rhetoric

"Narrative laundering" has resulted in a **187%** increase in the use of sanitised terms like "demographic change" to mask far-right theories.

THE FISCAL AND SOCIAL COST OF DISINFORMATION

This "grievance" strategy of pushing disinformation creates a feedback loop between online content and offline activism, where digital narratives act as the primary motivator for physical unrest. By saturating social feeds with inflammatory claims, bad actors create narratives that fuel real-world mobilisation, and this is having a measurable effect on public perception.

Recent research showed that 67% of UK voters believe immigration is rising, despite net migration actually falling to 204,000 in 2025 based on long-term migration data from the ONS (2025). This shift in perception has a knock-on direct cost to the taxpayer. According to a Freedom of Information disclosure, a single far-right rally in London in 2024 cost the Metropolitan Police £1,482,870. Even small-scale protests outside asylum hotels divert roughly £120,000 from local policing budgets for each event.

THE FAR-RIGHT PLAYBOOK

The far right relies on "narrative laundering": the process of stripping racist language from conspiracy theories like the "Great Replacement" and rebranding them with softer terms like "demographic change". Use of this specific term in local online spaces increased by 187% between 2020 and 2025, according to longitudinal text analysis conducted by the IRR in 2024. In the same year, HOPE not hate found further 68% of accounts aligned with the extreme right were using mainstream symbols, such as the Union Flag or the cross emoji, to present their views as "patriotism" rather than extremism.

Perhaps more concerning is an emerging trend we have identified through our analysis based on mid-to-late-year data (2025) which reveals a marked increase in the rhetoric used within the Stephen Lennon ecosystem scored for both hostility and confrontational language. For example, confrontational rhetoric within Lennon's ecosystem of followers, defined by calls for "war", "resistance", and "civil unrest", surged to a peak of 11.3% of all output on the X platform alone, and by September that year we found a statistically significant rise in this type of narrative compared to the first part of 2025. (See The Tommy Robinson Network in Numbers).

This was not confined to an increase in volume, but a pivot toward a "regime" narrative, in which the UK government and mainstream media are framed as illegitimate "traitors". This narrative strategy serves to justify an aggressive posture as a defensive, evolving from grievance to increased calls for physical social disruption.



METHODOLOGY NOTE

This report is based on quantitative data from the HOPE not hate Data Desk, including longitudinal text analysis of social-media ecosystems (2020–2026). We utilised sentiment and network modelling to predict AI efficiency and cross-referenced primary police data (NPCC/Metropolitan Police) with independent research from the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) and the Youth Endowment Fund.

A NATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGE IN A DIGITAL AGE

Data analysis run by our teams and partner organisations demonstrates that the UK far right has transitioned from existing on the fringes of politics to becoming a sophisticated, tech-native insurgency. By hijacking genuine national frustrations and grievances, far-right bad actors have built a digital ecosystem that does more than just share information; it is actively reshaping the British political narrative. Through the online normalisation of once-fringe rhetoric, they have effectively moved the goalposts of acceptable public discourse, making extremist ideas appear as "common sense" to the average user.

The integration of artificial intelligence into the far-right playbook represents a fundamental shift in the movement's efficacy. AI is not merely a tool for content creation; it is a force multiplier that allows for:

- **Hyper-efficiency:** Content delivery that is three times more efficient than non-AI methods, creating self-optimising recruitment pipelines that target the most vulnerable individuals.
- **The erosion of truth:** Mass-scale disinformation that bypasses safety filters and creates a "perception gap" so wide that 67% of the public now hold views on migration that are statistically disconnected from reality.

Perhaps most concerning is the marked pivot toward confrontational politics. Our data reveals a significant surge in "regime" narratives, where the government and media are framed as illegitimate traitors. This shift from mere grievance to calls for "war" and "resistance" provides the moral justification for physical social disruption. The movement is becoming younger, more automated, and increasingly comfortable with direct confrontation.

Ultimately, the digital radicalisation of our youth and the subsequent drain on public finances, costing millions in policing and community repair, show that this is no longer just a social concern. The ability of the far right to mobilise "from screen to street" has made their digital strategy a matter of urgent national security. Reclaiming the narrative will require more than just fact-checking; it demands a robust enforcement of digital safety standards and a collective effort to ground our national conversation in objective reality rather than manufactured hate.

NORMALISING HATE

THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH MEDIA

By PAUL KERSHAW

One of the most concerning developments in the last year has been the increased prominence of the far right in the media. At the same time as far-right individuals and views have become normalised in British politics, they have gained enhanced acceptance among newspapers and broadcasters.

Not only have certain outlets been happy to promote racist and misogynistic commentators, but far-right activists have even been given opportunities as presenters and columnists. Simultaneously, some longstanding journalists and broadcasters have propagated hateful views and conspiracy theories, seemingly without professional detriment.

Clearly, many journalists, columnists and broadcasters continue to do vital work challenging and exposing hate. Equally, most of the media outlets explored below are not far right in and of themselves. Many of them continue to produce valuable journalism, but also deserve criticism for some of the individuals they have platformed without due scrutiny. Others however, most notably GB News, have displayed a worryingly consistent and systemic desire to promote racists and conspiracy theorists.

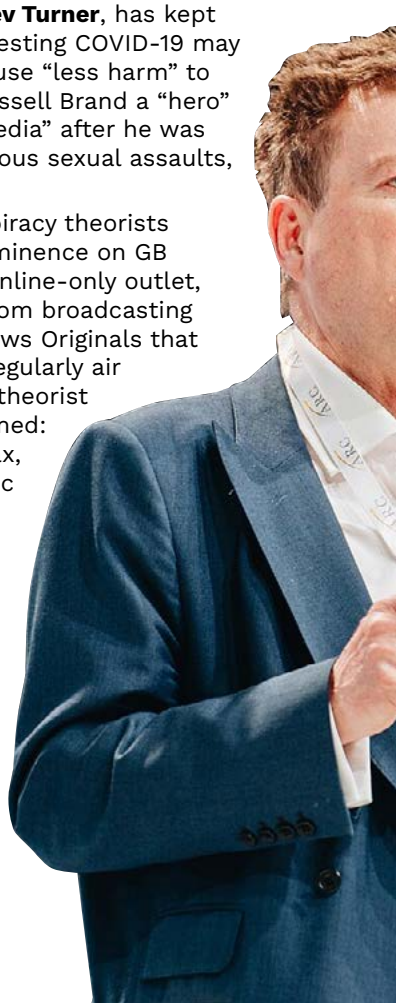


GB NEWS

GB News is partly owned by the hedge-fund manager Paul Marshall, who HOPE not hate exposed in 2024 for endorsing far-right tweets such as one declaring that "the native European population is losing patience with the fake refugee invaders". It is unsurprising, then, that the broadcaster he owns has been willing to platform commentators with extreme and outlandish views.

Matt Goodwin – a former academic turned far-right activist who argues that people from minority-ethnic backgrounds who are born and raised in Britain are not necessarily British – has his own weekly show, "Friday Night with Matt Goodwin". Meanwhile, the "comedian" **Josh Howie**, who was widely accused of homophobia in January 2025 after saying the "full inclusion of LGBTQ+ persons" would "include paedos", presents "Free Speech Nation" on the channel every Sunday.

Another GB News presenter, **Bev Turner**, has kept her job despite previously suggesting COVID-19 may have been bioengineered to cause "less harm" to Ashkenazi Jews, and calling Russell Brand a "hero" and blaming "establishment media" after he was alleged to have committed serious sexual assaults, which he denies.



Far-right influencers and conspiracy theorists have been given particular prominence on GB News Originals, the channel's online-only outlet, which largely avoids scrutiny from broadcasting regulator Ofcom. It is on GB News Originals that the broadcaster continues to regularly air monologues by the conspiracy theorist **Neil Oliver**. In 2025, Oliver claimed: that "the climate crisis is a hoax, just as COVID and the pandemic were hoaxes... governments are fronts for the psychopaths and assorted crime families actually running the joint"; that "net zero and Agenda 2030 have nothing to do with saving the planet and everything to do with reducing the human population and leaving what remains of it in a state of neo-feudalism"; and that "Russia didn't start the war in Ukraine", with Vladimir Putin

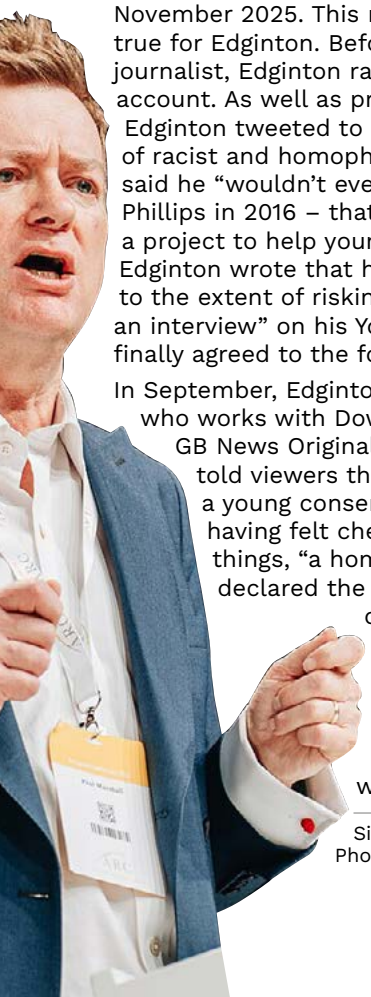
being "no better or worse than any of the rest" and Volodymyr Zelenskyy, "just a bad joke".

Also briefly on GB News Originals was 'Radio Britannia', a discussion show which began in October 2025 and is presented by commentators **Charlie Downes** and **Alice Grant**. While Grant has previously promoted conspiracy theories regarding climate change and COVID-19 on social media, Downes is a far-right influencer who works as the campaigns director for Restore Britain, a pressure group-turned-political party set up by the former Reform UK MP, Rupert Lowe. The month before Downes took up his gig with GB News, he wrote on X: "What is desirable is an ethnically homogenous Christian Britain. It really is as simple as that." Speaking on GB News in December, Downes proclaimed that we should "let the economy die before letting the demographics collapse".

Elsewhere on GB News Originals, the channel's US correspondent **Steven Edginton** has given soft-ball interviews to extreme figures. During 2025, Edginton gave the far-right YouTuber and HOPE not hate obsessive **Connor Tomlinson** – an advocate of 'remigration' who believes that 'English people are white' and home secretary Shabana Mahmood, who was born in Birmingham, is 'not ethnically, legally, or culturally English in any way' – a platform on four occasions. In the final interview, on 3 December, Tomlinson asserted that "our Parliament is turned into a battle ground for the ethnic grudges of the Indian subcontinent" and followed up with a social-media post the same day, which said: "We should ban those without native British ancestry from being MPs."

Just as Edginton has been keen to hear from Tomlinson, he has given four interviews to the far-right commentator **Carl Benjamin** (AKA Sargon of Akkad), the first on 9 July 2024 and the most recent on 26 November 2025. This must have been a dream come true for Edginton. Before he became a professional journalist, Edginton ran a YouTube channel and Twitter account. As well as promoting his content, in May 2017 Edginton tweeted to Benjamin – who used a variety of racist and homophobic slurs in a 2015 video and said he "wouldn't even rape" the Labour MP Jess Phillips in 2016 – that he "would love your help with a project to help young right wing ppl". In August 2017, Edginton wrote that he had "been begging [Benjamin] to the extent of risking a harassment suit to to [sic] an interview" on his YouTube channel, which Benjamin finally agreed to the following year.

In September, Edginton also spoke to **Harrison Pitt**, who works with Downes at Restore Britain, on GB News Originals. During the interview, Pitt told viewers that "the experience of being a young conservative-minded person is having felt cheated out of", among other things, "a homogeneous homeland". He also declared the necessity of "restoring Britain's demographics", and, when asked what his plan was, responded: "Broadly speaking, we're talking about remigration... to pursue a policy of net negative immigration, remigration, call it whatever you want."



Sir Paul Marshall.
Photo: ARC Forum / wikimedia.org

THE SPECTATOR

THE SPECTATOR

The Spectator magazine, owned by Paul Marshall and edited by former Tory cabinet minister Michael Gove, has also platformed controversial voices. Perhaps most remarkably, in September 2025 the magazine's deputy editor **Freddy Gray** published a cosy interview with Andrew and Tristan Tate, misogynistic influencers who are charged with human trafficking and rape. After noting that the Tate brothers "face a number of criminal charges", which they are confident "will melt away", and asking whether they are "really that bad", Gray explained: "Perhaps I am gullible, or toxically male, but I can't help believing them."

The magazine has continued to publish columns by **Nick Cohen**, whom seven women accused of unwanted sexual advances including groping (according to a *New York Times* article in 2023), and **Taki Theodoracopulos**, who was convicted of attempted rape by a Swiss court in 2023. In October 2025, Theodoracopulos wrote for the mag that "good women" are "known to forgive womanisers".

Elsewhere in *The Spectator*'s pages can be found columns by: **William Atkinson**, the mag's assistant content editor, who referred admiringly to the "Sage of Wolverhampton" (AKA Enoch Powell) in July 2025; **Laurie Wastell**, who has supported Matt Goodwin's views on British identity and defended those who believe that "the English are an ethnic group... [and] the more diverse our society becomes, the less happy it will be" in articles for the magazine; **Elisabeth Dampier**, who told readers last year that she is voting for the far-right party Alternative für Deutschland, as "only the AfD can save Germany"; and **Douglas Murray**, a *Spectator* associate editor who has voiced opinions comparable to the "Great Replacement" conspiracy theory and commented in April 2025 that "[Renaud] Camus, like [Enoch] Powell, was on to something".

Meanwhile, **Rod Liddle** continues as another of the magazine's associate editors, despite his long record of hateful views. In 2010, for instance, Liddle was revealed to have been behind a pseudonymous account on a Millwall supporters' website, which posted messages claiming black people are "thicker than whites" and referring to a black footballer as a "spearchucking African". On top of that, Liddle has said "the one thing stopping me from being a teacher was that I could not remotely conceive of not trying to shag the kids", has written in misogynistic terms about Labour politician Harriet Harman, and has pronounced that "it is very easy to prove that the educational underachievement of British people of Caribbean descent or African Americans is nothing to do with institutional or structural racism". Liddle also remains a columnist for *The Sun* and *Sunday Times*.

THE TELEGRAPH

Today's *Telegraph* is a far cry from the serious publication it once was. Aside from the frequency of its corrections, most notable has been the almost apocalyptic tone of some of the paper's columns, with headlines in 2025 including: "Britain has a 75 per cent chance of going full banana republic"; "Impotent, useless Britain is the weakest it has been for 500 years"; and "A sinister Left-wing cabal is turning Britain into a dystopia".

The paper's "star columnist" **Allison Pearson** kicked off 2025 by declaring that "we Brits envy the US having Donald Trump", before claiming that "things are so dire our dearest wish is that The Donald takes pity on us and adopts the dear old country as the 51st state of America". By April, she had started campaigning on behalf of Lucy Connolly, who was jailed after pleading guilty in September 2024 to inciting racial hatred, having posted on X during the summer riots, "set fire to all the f*cking hotels full of the b*stards for all I care". In September, Pearson wrote enthusiastically about "the huge turnout" at Tommy Robinson's "Unite the Kingdom" rally ("Every single person who marches in the rain to Unite the Kingdom... is making patriotism respectable again... we are taking our country back from those who hate it") and praised Nigel Farage's mass deportations policy as "urgently needed".

While Pearson is given particular prominence by *The Telegraph*, she is not the most extreme voice to be found in its comment pages. Over the course of 2025, the paper published numerous articles by the US-based ex-MP **Douglas Carswell**, who has become increasingly extreme since his days as the moderate face of UKIP and now advocates for the "mass deportation of Pakistanis from Britain". In an article on 22 March, for instance, Carswell set out his plan "to get Britain back on track", which included a multi-stage plan for "remigration". Carswell again used the pages of *The Telegraph* to advocate for "large scale remigration" on 13 June. Others writing for *The Telegraph* in 2025 include **Matt Goodwin** (see "GB News") and **Douglas Murray** (see "*The Spectator*").

Additionally, at Reform's conference in September, *The Telegraph*'s acting deputy comment editor **Poppy Coburn** spoke at a fringe event on "securing the borders". During the discussion, one of the party's members talked about sending asylum seekers elsewhere and asked: "Do you think that somewhere which has absolutely no pull factor whatsoever, such as an uninhabited island in the Falklands with basic accommodation on it, might stop people wanting to come here?" In response, Coburn said the Reform member was "completely correct", as "it's not really something we can put off", before explaining: "We have to get it done. We have to have a plan. And I agree it's probably going to involve something to do with an island that doesn't have very nice weather."

THE DAILY MAIL

During 2025, the *Daily Mail* took a chance on two young far-right figures, giving them columnist gigs. From February to July, the paper published four opinion pieces by **Charlie Downes** (see "GB News"), and has published columns by **Jack Anderton**, a political consultant for Reform UK, since September. The *Mail* decided to bring Anderton on board, despite reports by the *Standard* and *Guardian* that revealed his history of bizarre and dangerous views. In articles on his personal website, Anderton had suggested Britain would be better off not having fought the Nazis in World War Two, claimed that in a future "meritocracy" the UK could "regain" former colonies, and argued the UK should copy El Salvador president Nayib Bukele's policy of mass incarceration.

Unfortunately, it is unsurprising that the *Mail* has been willing to provide a platform for fresh-faced far-right activists. Longstanding *Mail* journalist **Sue Reid**, for instance, remains in post, even though *Private Eye* revealed in February 2025 that she had created an account on X where she shared her view that Tommy Robinson is "the Mandela of our time" and declared: "Farage is losing the trust of Reform supporters by slamming Tommy Robinson, a political prisoner who has told the truth. This is getting to a point where


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On St George's Day, I'm proud to be a young Englishman - no matter what the establishment trying to destroy our identity says: CHARLIE DOWNES

By CHARLIE DOWNES

Ever since I was a boy, I have had the privilege of being immersed in English culture. Whether they realised it or not, my parents gave me the most English childhood imaginable.

I grew up in rural Kent and went to a Church of England primary school founded centuries before I was born. Next to it stands a Saxon church more than a thousand years old. Weekends were spent exploring castles, gardens and stately homes; watching Shakespeare at a small local theatre; and holidaying in Cornwall and Sussex, where we enjoyed long walks through fields and ancient woods, picnics on the beach, roast dinners in pubs older than the United States, and tea and scones in quaint tearooms.

On the way home, we listened to The Beatles and Oasis. In the evening we watched Fawlty Towers and Alan Partridge, and before bed my father read me The Wind In The Willows and The Lord Of The Rings. And when it came to manners, my parents

defamation comes to mind."

Another long-term presence at the *Mail* is columnist **Richard Littlejohn**, who has a history of homophobia. Writing for the paper in 2025, Littlejohn voiced his support for US president Donald Trump, as well as vice president JD Vance, and spoke in defence of Reform MP Sarah Pochin – who was widely condemned after saying "it drives me mad when I see adverts full of black people, full of Asian people" – claiming "there was nothing particularly original or even controversial about her remarks" and that he was "not even sure her language was all that clumsy".

DAILY EXPRESS

THE EXPRESS

While *The Express* continues to be published in print form, under Reach plc, which bought the paper in 2018, it has become increasingly focused on its online output, where it repeatedly pushes its readers articles demonising migrants and asylum seekers.

There was outrage in October, when the *Express*' senior political correspondent **Christian Calgie** suggested that British Muslim politician Zarah Sultana should be deported. Having posted on X that he "cannot wait until my taxes no longer fund Zarah's salary", Calgie responded "Even better" to a reply which read: "Cannot wait until my taxes fund deporting Zarahs". Amid the controversy, Calgie wrote on X on 18 October: "I wish to apologise to Zarah Sultana MP for my inappropriate response to a message on X. It was wrong of me to do so and I am sorry. Taking a break from X to prioritise my mental health." By 21 October, he was back posting on social media and, by 22 October, he was back writing for *The Express*.

The *Express* was also the subject of some controversy in 2025 over a particularly poor editorial decision. In February, before he lost the Reform UK whip, MP Rupert Lowe was interviewed by the *Express* as part of a profile it was preparing to publish on him. At the beginning of the recording, Lowe made an antisemitic remark about the size of the camera being used: "In days gone by you'd call it a Jewish camera – but that would be politically incorrect – because it's so small." Instead of deciding to publish Lowe's comment, the *Express* bosses thought best to bury it. Once the clip of Lowe's remark had made its way to the *Guardian* by May, the *Express* then began busily deleting the footage it had put up from the interview, in the hope nobody would realise it was originally filmed by them.





TALK TV

Talk TV – an online-only channel owned by the Murdoch-controlled News UK – has, like GB News, been happily platforming far-right influencers. Over the course of the past year, those invited on the channel to proffer their views include **Charlie Downes** (see "GB News"), **Connor Tomlinson** (see "GB News"), and **Thomas Moffitt** (AKA Young Bob) who has appeared a number of times on Kevin O'Sullivan's Talk show. Among other things, Moffitt is an associate of Tommy Robinson and contributor to Urban Scoop, the independent media company Robinson controls. He is an advocate of "remigration", believing ethnicity to be an integral part of British identity, and claimed Reform's selection of British Muslim Laila Cunningham (whom he described as a "DEI hire for the sake of the Muslim bloc") demonstrated "the demographic replacement theory".

In November, the *Guardian* reported on the racist views of **Lucy White**, another Talk contributor who can also be seen on GB News, who had written on X: "Today the Deputy Speaker presiding over the Budget Statement in the UK House of Commons is Nus Ghani. [She] was born in Kashmir, Pakistan. There should not be a single person born in Pakistan in the UK House of Commons." While GB News ignored the *Guardian* when contacted, Talk did acknowledge that her post was "reprehensible" and explained: "We have no plans to invite Lucy White back on Talk in the foreseeable future." The broadcaster hasn't taken the same view of Downes, Tomlinson or Moffitt.

The same month, Talk had to sack one of its presenters, **Mike Graham**, after a post on his Facebook account read: "Tell me we're not fucked by multicultural bollocks. Why are we surrounded by non-white people?" Graham claimed that his account had been hacked into, but was let go after failing to cooperate with Talk's investigation into the matter.



THE SPECTATOR MAKES HUMBLING APOLOGY TO HOPE NOT HATE

The Spectator, a right-wing news magazine, was forced into a very public climbdown after falsely accusing a HOPE not hate journalist of committing a serious criminal offence. In November, they claimed that Harry Shukman had used a fake British passport while investigating far-right groups.

The allegation was false. It was first spread on X by Connor Tomlinson, a far-right activist who has called for a ban on "people without native British ancestry from being MPs". *The Spectator* approached us for comment, and we told them that the passport claim was wrong. They published it anyway. Tomlinson later said he was "consulted" by the magazine for their article.

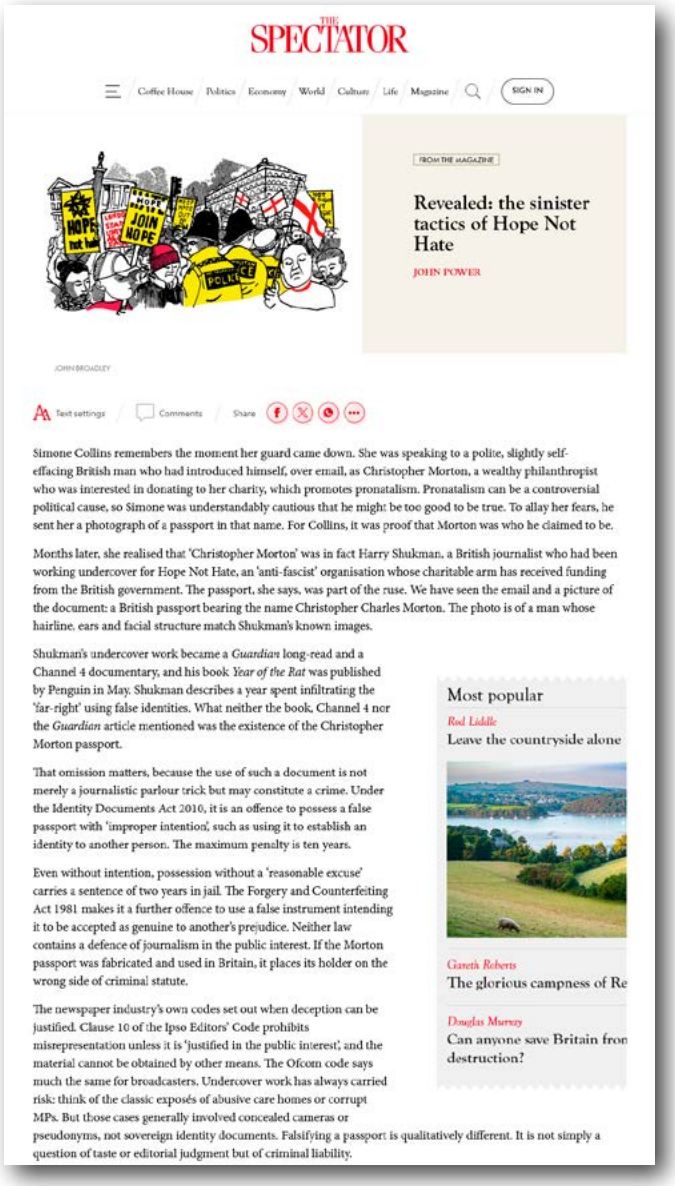
Unfortunately for them, *The Spectator* was forced to retract the story and apologise after HOPE not hate initiated legal proceedings. That is how accountability in journalism is meant to work. But instead of stopping there, they could not resist taking another swing.

The Spectator used their "apology" to deflect, claiming that many of Harry's investigation's targets "did not meet any realistic threshold for being considered far right".

Beyond the most obvious extremists featured in our undercover project – like the anti-Muslim group Britain First, founded by BNP activists – Harry and his colleague Patrik Hermansson also exposed a million-dollar race-science company with a history going back to the Third Reich, its tech entrepreneur funder, and a controversial biotech project which has been described as a form of eugenics. Another was the race-science advocate Andrew Sabisky, who had been quietly working to write policy papers in Westminster, including for the prime minister at the time.

Harry's work was so important exactly because of the nature of the networks and people we exposed. These were not just far-right street thugs; they were sophisticated and well-financed operators.

We don't know if *The Spectator*'s multimillionaire



THE SPECTATOR

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JOHN BROADLEY

FROM THE MAGAZINE

Revealed: the sinister tactics of Hope Not Hate

JOHN POWER

Text settings | Comments | Share

Simone Collins remembers the moment her guard came down. She was speaking to a polite, slightly self-effacing British man who had introduced himself, over email, as Christopher Morton, a wealthy philanthropist who was interested in donating to her charity, which promotes pronatalism. Pronatalism can be a controversial political cause, so Simone was understandably cautious that he might be too good to be true. To allay her fears, he sent her a photograph of a passport in that name. For Collins, it was proof that Morton was who he claimed to be.

Months later, she realised that 'Christopher Morton' was in fact Harry Shukman, a British journalist who had been working undercover for Hope Not Hate, an 'anti-fascist' organisation whose charitable arm has received funding from the British government. The passport, she says, was part of the ruse. We have seen the email and a picture of the document: a British passport bearing the name Christopher Charles Morton. The photo is of a man whose hairline, ears and facial structure match Shukman's known images.

Shukman's undercover work became a *Guardian* long-read and a Channel 4 documentary, and his book *Year of the Rat* was published by Penguin in May. Shukman describes a year spent infiltrating the 'far-right' using false identities. What neither the book, Channel 4 nor the *Guardian* article mentioned was the existence of the Christopher Morton passport.

That omission matters, because the use of such a document is not merely a journalistic parlour trick but may constitute a crime. Under the Identity Documents Act 2010, it is an offence to possess a false passport with 'improper intention', such as using it to establish an identity to another person. The maximum penalty is ten years.

Even without intention, possession without a 'reasonable excuse' carries a sentence of two years in jail. The Forgery and Counterfeiting Act 1981 makes it a further offence to use a false instrument intending it to be accepted as genuine to another's prejudice. Neither law contains a defence of journalism in the public interest. If the Morton passport was fabricated and used in Britain, it places its holder on the wrong side of criminal statute.

The newspaper industry's own codes set out when deception can be justified. Clause 10 of the Ipso Editors' Code prohibits misrepresentation unless it is 'justified in the public interest', and the material cannot be obtained by other means. The Ofcom code says much the same for broadcasters. Undercover work has always carried risk: think of the classic exposés of abusive care homes or corrupt MPs. But those cases generally involved concealed cameras or pseudonyms, not sovereign identity documents. Falsifying a passport is qualitatively different. It is not simply a question of taste or editorial judgment but of criminal liability.

Most popular

Rod Liddle
Leave the countryside alone

Gareth Roberts
The glorious campness of Re

Douglas Murray
Can anyone save Britain fron destruction?

owner, Paul Marshall, had any involvement in *The Spectator* story before it was published, but he (and, by extension, his magazine) certainly have reasons for disliking us.

Back in February 2024, HOPE not hate exposed the hedge-fund manager Marshall, who was hoping to become one of Britain's most powerful media owners. Our investigation revealed that he had been secretly amplifying extreme anti-migrant and anti-Muslim content on X, hidden behind a private account. One of the tweets that Marshall "liked" said it was only "a matter of time before civil war starts in Europe. The native European population is losing patience with the fake refugee invaders".

Despite a bot attack five minutes after publication, the story, released in partnership with The News Agents, reached huge numbers and was covered widely by the media, including by *The Times*, *The Independent*, Novara Media, and *The National*. And it personally embarrassed a very powerful man.

Later that year Marshall purchased *The Spectator*, adding to his media empire which also includes the right-wing GB News and UnHerd website. Since our exposé of Marshall's secret social-media presence,





HOPE not hate has been named in multiple articles and blogs on the platforms he owns.

Like Paul Marshall, the groups that Harry exposed hide who they are. They sanitise their language and rely on respectability to avoid scrutiny. Undercover investigation is difficult, dangerous work and it takes a personal toll. And when a story is pursued all the way up to the top, retaliation often follows.

The Spectator's apology shows exactly why this work matters. Their smear failed. They had to delete their original article – despite not telling their readers that it has been scrubbed from their website.

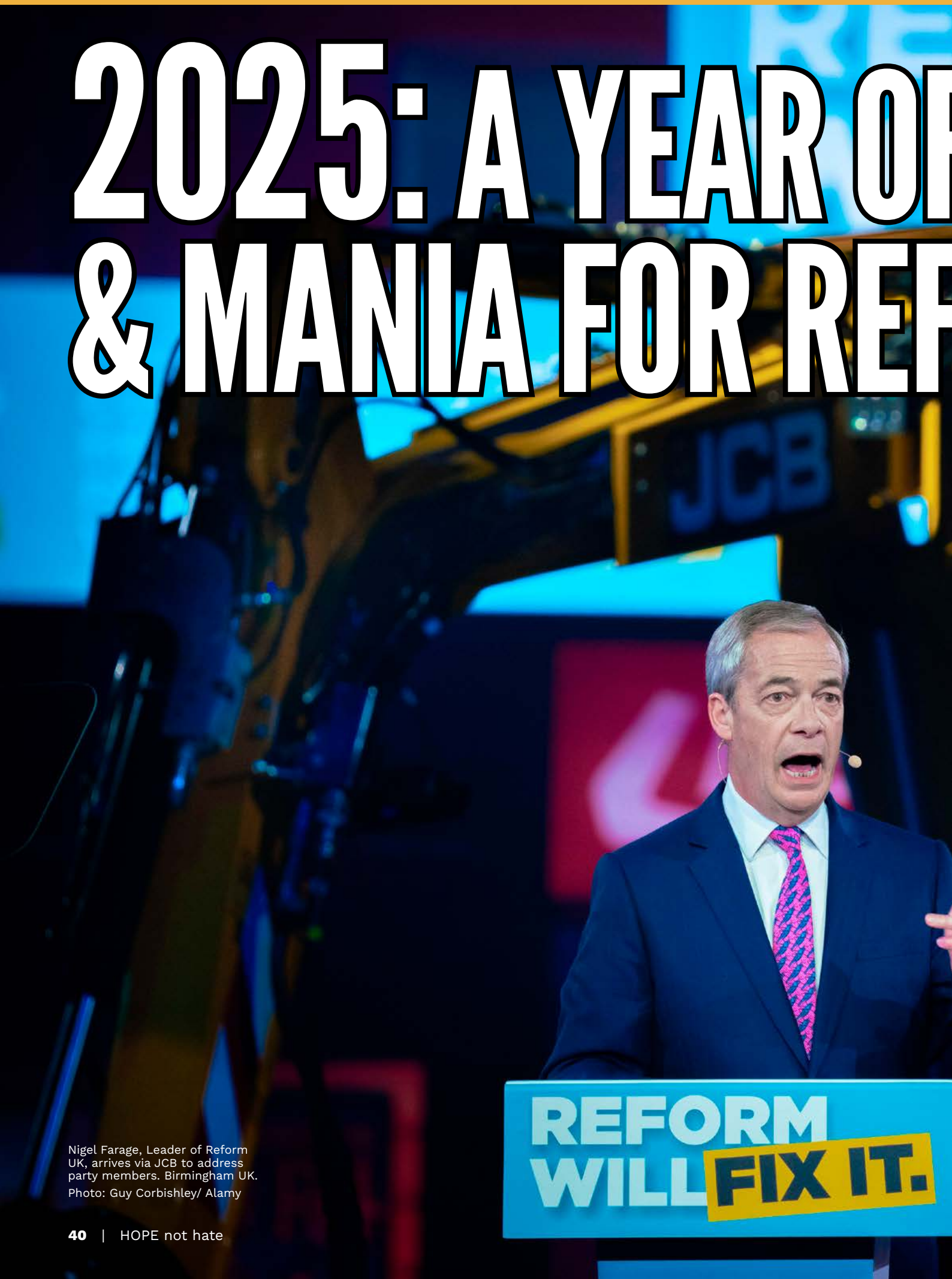
The Spectator seems more concerned with attacking those who pose a risk to Marshall's reputation than supporting real investigative journalism. Their "apology" is best understood not as sincere regret, but as retaliation from a powerful man who is used to getting his way.

It hasn't stopped. *The Spectator*'s latest shot across our bows came in February this year, when their associate editor, Lord Toby Young, complained in their magazine about our report on his appearance in the latest release of the Epstein files.

We wrote that, despite him claiming to have only "bumped into" Ghislaine Maxwell at parties, he had in fact been in email contact with her. Two of Young's emails appear in the Epstein files from 2001 and 2002. In one, he tells her about his appearance on *The Weakest Link*, joking that he "made a total tit" of himself. In another, Young simply writes: "From your lips to God's ears, as they say in your part of the world." Young says he never met Jeffrey Epstein. Nevertheless, we thought that the appearance of a peer in the Epstein files, in which he communicated with his enabler, was worth reporting.

HOPE not hate will not be deterred by attempts to scare or silence us. We will continue to investigate the far right in all its forms, from the street activists to the suits.

2025: A YEAR OF & MANIA FOR REF



Nigel Farage, Leader of Reform UK, arrives via JCB to address party members. Birmingham UK.
Photo: Guy Corbishley/ Alamy



F MONEY FORM UK

By HARRY SHUKMAN

Reform UK is the largest and best-funded radical-right party ever seen in Britain. It started the year with 150,000 members and now has at least 270,000. From a position of having almost no councillors, it now has close to 1,000 – with 450 local branches. Reform also has eight MPs, runs two mayoralties, runs ten councils and is the largest party without overall control in three others. For most of 2025, Reform was the most popular party. According to YouGov voting intention polls, it reached a peak of 29%. Reform is looking to capitalise on its momentum this year with high-profile defections from the Conservatives and conferences to announce policy. In the local elections this May, the party poses a major threat to Labour's support in England, Wales and Scotland.

TROUBLE AT THE TOP

These seemingly impressive figures belie a much more tumultuous reality. Having elected five MPs in 2024, Reform gained two MPs in 2025 (Sarah Pochin and Danny Kruger) but also lost two. In July, James McMurdock quit after a newspaper revealed he took out £70,000 in government COVID loans for his business that had negligible assets and no employees. He denied wrongdoing. In March, Rupert Lowe also left the party amid bitter allegations of making threats to Reform leaders, which he also denied. Lowe and former deputy chair Ben Habib (ousted in 2024), have both set up rival parties that siphon Reform support.

In June, Zia Yusuf quit as party chair after his colleague Sarah Pochin used a PMQs appearance to request a ban on the burqa. Yusuf, who is Muslim, called the question "dumb" and said: "I no longer believe working to get a Reform government elected is a good use of my time." He rejoined two days later, blaming exhaustion.

Farage has said that the racism scandals of Reform's 2024 election campaign – in which candidates praised Hitler, Putin, and Jimmy Savile – did his



James McMurdock and Rupert Lowe.
Photos: https://members.parliament.uk

party “enormous harm”. However, 2025 saw his party struggle with similarly unedifying gaffes. Perhaps the most astonishing were the accusations that as a student, Farage bullied Jewish and black classmates at Dulwich College. A total of 34 former schoolboys accused him of making gassing noises at a Jewish boy, and telling a black pupil to “go back to Africa”. Farage acknowledged using “aggressive banter” but said some of the accusations were “complete fantasy land”.

If Reform wants to convince the public that it does not have a racism problem, it will have to improve on last year’s record. In October, Pochin complained about diversity in TV adverts. “It drives me mad when I see adverts full of black people, full of Asian people,” she said, later admitting that her comments were “phrased poorly”. And Chris Parry, Reform’s candidate for the Hampshire and Solent mayoral race, said justice secretary David Lammy should “go home” to the Caribbean. He additionally questioned the “loyalty” of eight other politicians from ethnic-minority backgrounds. Parry said his comments were meant “ironically”. Neither he nor Pochin were sanctioned by the party, although Farage did say Parry had been “over the top”.

Extreme politicians are at every level of Reform. Ian Cooper, Reform’s leader of Staffordshire County Council, was expelled from the party in December after HOPE not hate revealed he told a black academic to “f[uck] off back to Nigeria”. We have also exposed Reform politicians like John Allen, a Northumberland county councillor, who threatened to murder Keir Starmer.

THE SHOP WINDOW

After their success in the May local elections, Reform’s leaders hoped their new politicians would provide a good advertisement for a national government. “The approach is can-do,” said Reform board member Gawain Towler. “We get elected, we do what we say.”

Unfortunately, this has not proven to be the case. Reform’s politicians have broken their campaign commitments. Their election leaflets made repeated pledges that council tax would either be frozen or cut. In May, Yusuf told the BBC that voters “don’t want their council tax going up”, among other things like reliably collecting rubbish and fixing potholes. “Reform will deliver on those things,” he said. Less than a year later, every single council administered by Reform has conceded that they will, in fact, have to increase council tax, many of which by the maximum allowed of 5%.

Reform’s local performance has been disappointing, especially for a party that has promised efficiency.

In Kent County Council, described as Reform’s “shop window”, the leader Linden Kemkaran was filmed telling councillors to “fucking suck it up” if they did not agree with her decisions. Six councillors were subsequently suspended, accused of leaking the video. In addition to volatility, Reform politicians have gained a reputation for absenteeism, the most egregious example of which is Shaun Knowles in Northumberland County Council, who has only gone to one meeting, and according to an FOI request has only ever sent two emails, despite receiving 948.



“DON’T BELIEVE A WORD THEY SAY”

More broadly, Reform also faces a hypocrisy problem. The party’s leaders can be scathing about their Tory rivals. “Don’t believe a word they say about anything,” Farage has said. They are “devoid of talent”, according to Yusuf, “loathed by the public”, guilty of “unspeakable treachery” and even “treason”.

Nevertheless, their party has welcomed 28 former Conservative MPs, including Andrea Jenkyns, Nadine Dorries, Lee Anderson, and in January 2026, Nadhim Zahawi. Zahawi’s defection highlighted an uncomfortable reality. Farage once described Zahawi, a former Chancellor, as only interested in “climbing that greasy pole”. Likewise, Zahawi once said he would be “frightened” to live in a country run by Farage. The party has also welcomed Robert Jenrick and Suella Braverman, to bring their count of MPs up to eight. As many as 80% of Reform voters are composed of former Tory supporters. They may start to question the wisdom of welcoming politicians from the very party they are protesting against.

WHO FUNDS REFORM?

For a party that promises to end “the corruption of our government and politics by an out-of-touch,



Richard Tice.
Photo: I7p0h8o0n9e0
/ wikimedia.org

London-centric elite", Reform last year struck up some awkward acquaintances. One startling example came from the leadership's repeated praise of a JCB machine called the Pothole Pro. Farage, Yusuf and the party's deputy leader Richard Tice all named this device in their 2025 media appearances. "I haven't seen anything more practical or better in solving the pothole problem," Farage said on his Facebook page. Reform council leaders like George Finch (Warwickshire) and Sean Matthews (Lincolnshire) also spoke of this particular JCB vehicle. In November, finance records revealed that, coincidentally, Lord Bamford, the billionaire owner of JCB, gave £200,000 to Reform.

Questions have also been raised about the party's connections to Christopher Harborne, the Thai-based multi-millionaire entrepreneur. Among Harborne's tech investments is a cryptocurrency called Tether. In September, Farage promoted Tether on LBC. The previous month, Harborne had given £9 million, the biggest donation ever given to a political party by a living person. "Does he want anything in return for his money? I promise you absolutely nothing," Farage insisted.

Until the Harborne donation, the majority of Reform's money came from oil and gas interests, highly polluting industries, and climate-science deniers. Among the latter was Holly Valance, the former singer and *Neighbours* actor, who has given a total of £100,000 to the party. She has dismissed global warming as "cow farts", and climate policies as "insanity". Valance is said to enjoy a close relationship with Nigel Farage as an advisor and friend, speaking at his 60th birthday party.

BIG IDEAS

As recently as 2022, Reform promised a climate policy of "Net Smart", developing wind, solar, biowaste, and tidal sources of energy. Since then, Reform's leaders have begun to question accepted science on climate change and now call net zero policies "net stupid". The party's latest manifesto reneged on its environmental pledges, claiming "renewables are not cheaper", and calling for fast-tracked new oil and gas licences in the North Sea.

Reform's new policies were alarming. Farage suggested sending prisoners overseas to El Salvador, a country accused of torturing prisoners and violating due process. Elsewhere the party was muddled. Reform rowed back on its plan to cut £90 billion in taxes, and was inconsistent in its immigration plan, specifically on whether or not it would deport children. At the start of 2026, Reform announced immunity for all prosecutions – not just historic, but future ones too – for British soldiers. This, coming from a party that promises to "restore law and order", is truly remarkable.

The party's manifesto furthermore pledges to "withdraw citizenship from immigrants" and deport them if they commit crimes. This would create a two-tier justice system whereby citizenship for Britons of foreign descent, even stretching back multiple generations, depends upon good behaviour. Reform also calls for a public inquiry into "excess deaths and vaccine harms", which might sit uncomfortably with Reform's new member Nadhim Zahawi, the former Tory vaccines minister.

Farage admitted his 2024 campaign was "dominated by at best loopy and at worst, extremely racist candidates". Vetting procedures in 2025 let through candidates who praised Hitler and called for "one big nuke bomb" to destroy Islam. Reform's leaders have once again promised improved vetting for the elections in May 2026.

Despite the inevitable distractions of selecting unsuitable candidates, Reform anticipates large gains in England, Wales and Scotland this spring, which it needs to prove its support has not reached a ceiling. The party hopes that heavy losses for Labour and the Conservatives will further its ambitions to be seen as the leaders of the next government. Reform is likely to benefit from the many voters who see Keir Starmer as ineffectual, especially on key issues like the cost of living, immigration and the NHS.

British politics now has to contend with a well-funded, radical-right party that is topping the polls, winning councils and gaining MPs. A government led by Reform, if its performance in 2025 were any judge, would be catastrophic for Britain. Those who stand to gain are the greedy and the conspiratorial. Everyone else stands to lose.

PESSIMISTIC, AN

NICK LOWLES examines the views of Reform UK party members



Behind the smiles and party-like atmosphere of most Reform UK rallies, party members are more pessimistic, angry and extreme than the British public generally, a poll commissioned by HOPE not hate has found. And whilst there is overwhelming support for leader Nigel Farage, the views of party members are so hardline on many political issues that it is not inconceivable to think that they could either push Reform UK further to the right or risk being quickly disillusioned if they feel the party is moderating its positions in the quest for power.

The poll of 629 party members, carried out for HOPE not hate by Survation between 29th January and 16th February, is the first poll of Reform UK members ever publicly released.

Over half of Reform members (51%) think their lives will be worse than those of their parents, with 31% thinking it will be better and 18% thinking it will be the same. By comparison, amongst the population overall, 44% of Britons think their lives will be worse than those of their parents, with 33% thinking it will be better and 23% thinking it will be the same.

Supporters of parties on the right of politics have long looked to strong leaders to run the country, and Reform UK members are no exception. Over half (54%) would prefer "having a strong and decisive leader who has the authority to override or ignore Parliament", while 46% choose "having a liberal democracy with regular elections and a multi-party system".

The attractiveness of authoritarians amongst Reform UK members is also reflected in their attitudes towards strongmen world leaders like Vladimir Putin and Donald Trump. Twice as many Reform UK members (13%) like Putin than amongst the British public generally, with a further 17% neither liking or disliking him.

Almost twice as many Reform UK members do not believe that Russia pose a threat to the UK and western Europe than the population as a whole, while 44% think Britain should strive to make peace with Russia, even if other European countries disagree. Almost half of Reform UK members (41%) say the West is to blame for Russia's invasion of the Ukraine.

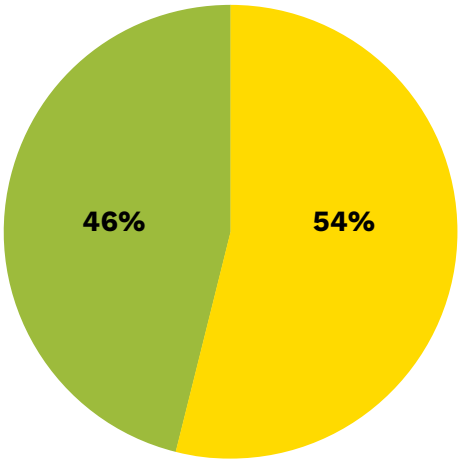
The views of party members towards Putin and Russia should really not be of great surprise. Nigel Farage himself has showered praise on Putin as a strongman, claimed EU and NATO actions were to blame for Russia's invasion of the Ukraine and he questioned the involvement of the Russian state in both the poisoning of the KGB defector Sergei Skripal and his daughter

IGRY & EXTREME



London, UK. Jan, 2026. Reform supporters. Photo: Mark Thomas / Alamy Live News

Q2. Which of the following forms of government is, according to you, better for the country?



Having a strong and decisive leader who has the authority to override or ignore parliament

Having a liberal democracy with regular elections and a multi-party system

BASE: All respondents. Unweighted Total: 629

Yulia in 2018 and of the chemical attack in the Syrian city of Douma in the same year.

Let us also not forget that former Reform UK party leader in Wales, Nathan Gill, was last year sentenced to ten years in prison after pleading guilty to eight counts of bribery, having accepted roughly £40,000 for promoting pro-Russian narratives between 2018 and 2019.

Reform UK members have, predictably, strong views on immigration, multiculturalism and Islam. Eighty-four per cent think immigration has been a bad thing for Britain, while just 16% think it's been a good thing.

By comparison, amongst the general public overall, 51% think immigration has been bad for the country, while 49% think it has good.

Almost half of Reform UK members (46%) do not like mixing with people of other ethnicities, religions and backgrounds in their local areas, with 54% saying they do. This contrasts with the 77% of Britons who like mixing with people of different backgrounds and the 23% who do not.

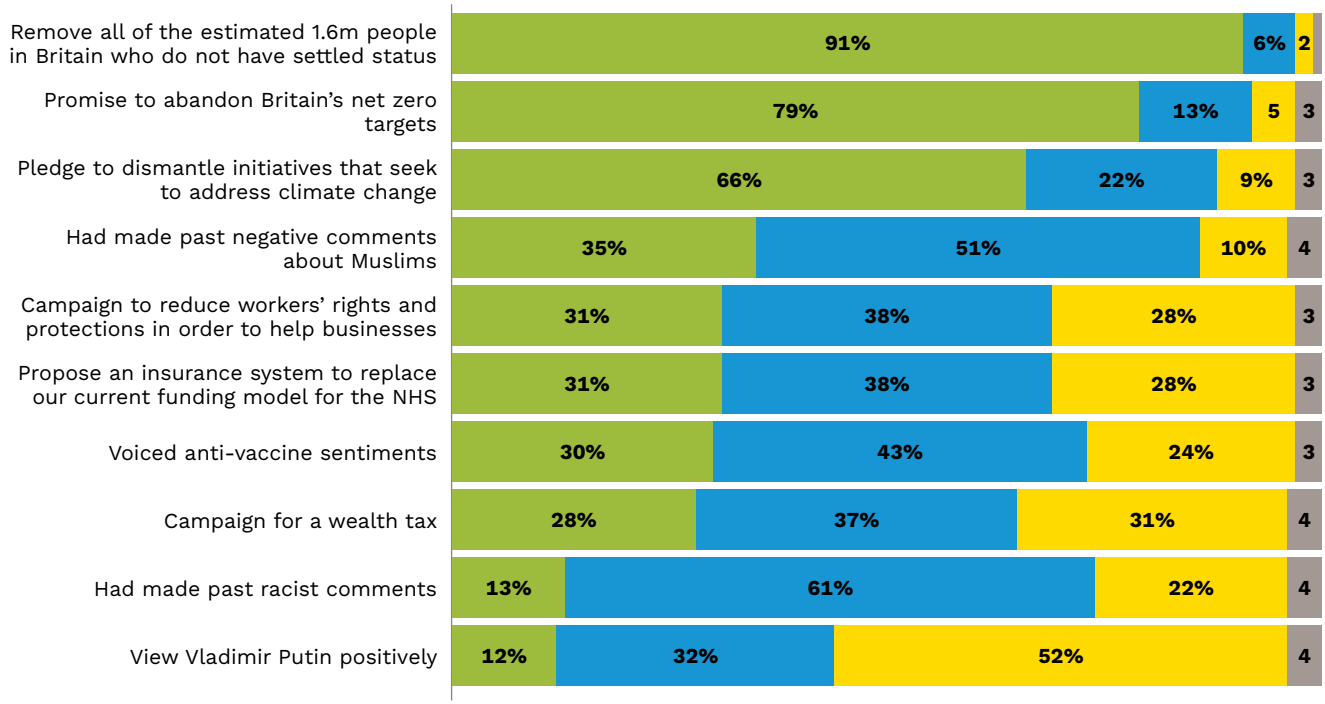
Reform UK's new immigration position of creating a British version of ICE to both deport those who have arrived in the UK illegally and those who have been given Indefinite Leave to Remain will go down very well with party members. Almost all (90%) believe that all those here illegally should be forcibly removed from the UK, with a further 5% saying they should be encouraged to leave, though not by force.

Almost as many (86%) believe that migrants in the UK legally should be forcibly deported if they commit a crime, with a further 9% saying they should be encouraged to leave.

One in five Reform members think those migrants who have been given Indefinite Leave to Remain should be forcibly removed from the UK, with a further 45% believing that they should be encouraged to leave.

Racial backgrounds play a major factor in determining Reform UK members' views on immigration. Almost half (49%) think non-white British citizens whose parents were born abroad should be forcibly removed or encouraged to leave. Only 4% think white British

Q4. Are you more or less likely, if at all, to vote for a candidate if they:



BASE: All respondents. Unweighted Total: 629

citizens whose parents were born abroad should be forcibly removed, while a further 24% think they should be encouraged to leave.

Over half (54%) think non-white British citizens born abroad should be forcibly removed or encouraged to leave, compared to 24% if they were white. One in five (22%) think non-white British citizens whose parents were born in the UK should be forcibly removed or encouraged to leave, compared to just 7% if they were white.

A window into what Reform UK members feel is important to them is set out in a question on whether they would be more or less likely to vote for a candidate if they thought or did a particular thing. Unsurprisingly, 91% said that they would be more likely to back a candidate who promised to remove the estimated 1.6m people currently in the UK without settled status. Just 2% said that they were less likely to back such a candidate.

Other issues which would make party members more likely to back a candidate were the "promise to abandon Britain's net zero targets" (79%) and a "pledge to dismantle initiatives that seek to address climate action" (66%). On the first proposition, just 5% said that they would less likely to vote against a candidate with these views, while for the second the figure was 9%.

This contrasts greatly with the general public. Just 26% in a recent HOPE not hate national representative poll said that they were more likely to back a candidate if they pledged "to abandon Britain's net zero targets", with 35% saying that they were less likely to vote for such a candidate. The difference in opinions between Reform UK members and the public was even starker on candidates who pledged "to dismantle initiatives that seek to address climate action", with almost twice as many saying they would be less likely to vote for such a candidate.

The negative attitudes to Muslims is clear in this poll. A third of Reform members said they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who "had made negative comments about Muslims", with just 10% saying that they would be less likely.

This contrasts with how they would react if a candidate "had made racist comments", with just 13% saying that this would make them more likely to vote for them and 22% saying they would be less likely.

There is deep unease about Muslims and Islam more amongst party members. Ninety-two per cent think Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilisation, with just 3% disagreeing, while 83% think that there are areas in the UK that are under the control of Sharia law and are "no-go" zones for non-Muslims.

Reform members are divided on whether a British Muslim can be as British as a non-Muslim, with 35% thinking they can and 35% thinking they cannot. There is, however, no uncertainty over how party members feel about a Muslim being appointed to a ministerial position, with 63% feeling uncomfortable and just 11% not.

CLIMATE

There are sharp differences between how Reform UK members view climate issues and how the public more generally do. Just a quarter of Reform UK voters, 24%, believe that climate change is caused by human activity, with 40% believing that it is not. Amongst the public at large, the figures are 66% and 10% respectively.

Just a fifth of party members agreed with the statement "climate change poses a threat to the future well-being of me and my family", with 46% disagreeing. Amongst the public, these figures were 61% and 13%.

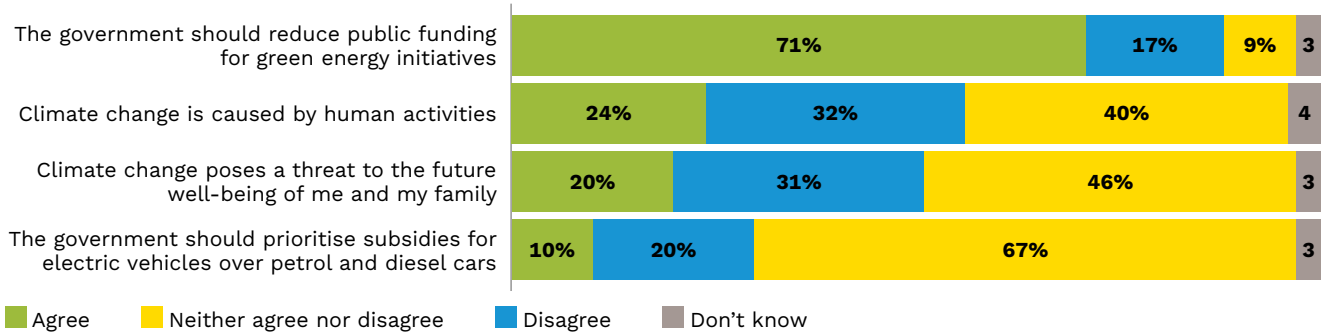
Depressingly, 71% of Reform UK members agreed that "the government should reduce the public funding for green energy initiatives", with just 9% disagreeing.

EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS

The recent announcement from Richard Tice, the party's newly appointed Business, Trade and Energy spokesman, to introduce a "great repeal act" that would abolish Labour legislation on workers' rights is likely to be very popular with party members. In our poll, 51% were in favour of repealing the Employment Rights Act in order to reduce the financial burden on businesses, though almost a third are keen for the Act to remain in place as it has improved workers' rights.

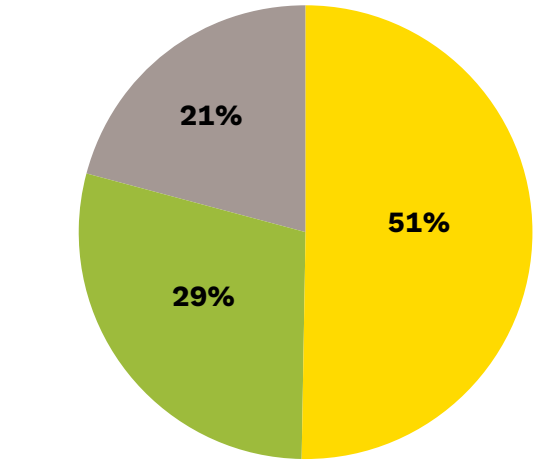
Interestingly, young Reform UK members were much more likely to want to keep the Employment Rights Act in place, while those over 65 were two and a half times as likely to want to repeal it. Similarly, those members in part-time employment, those who were

Q16. Now thinking about the environment, please say whether you agree, disagree, or neither agree nor disagree with the following statements:



BASE: All respondents. Unweighted Total: 629

Q7. On the one hand, some say the government's Employment Rights Act has improved workers' rights by improving sick pay, banning zero hours contracts, and ending fire and rehire practices. On the other, many employers have said these reforms increase costs and red tape, threatening their business's operations. If you had a say on the future of the Employment Rights Act, would you:



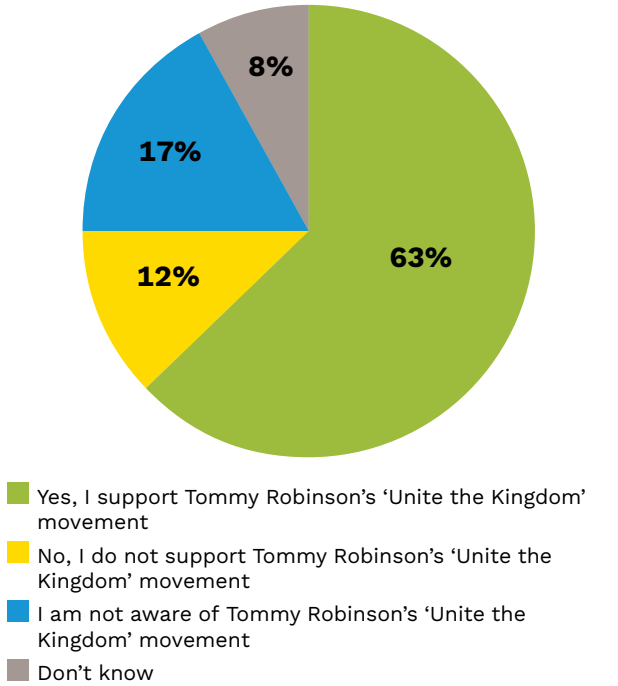
BASE: All respondents. Unweighted Total: 629

unemployed and those who lived in council housing were also more likely to want the Act to be retained.

CIVIL WAR

Stephen Lennon's (AKA Tommy Robinson) initial endorsement of Matt Goodwin in the recent Gorton and Denton by-election was deeply uncomfortable for the party. Goodwin and Farage refused to publicly distance themselves from the former EDL leader, despite having down so in the past, presumably because they realise that many of their own

Q17. Do you or do you not support Tommy Robinson's "Unite the Kingdom" movement?



BASE: All respondents. Unweighted Total: 629

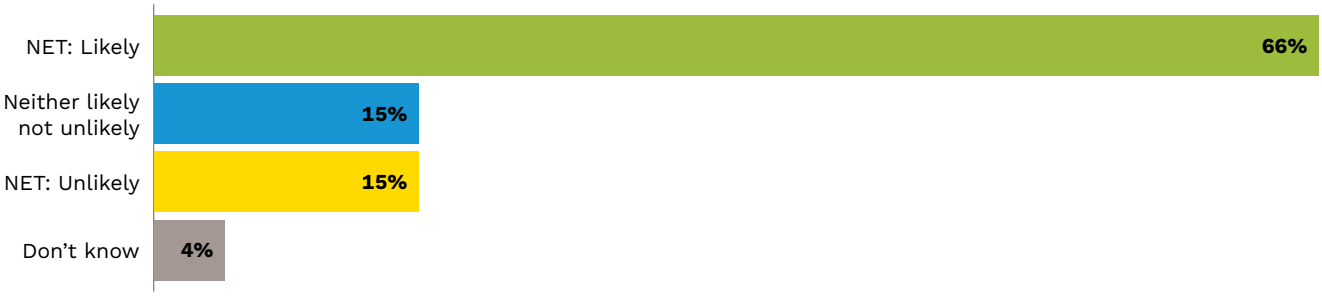
supporters also like Lennon.

This is evident in our polling too. The vast majority of members polled (61%) viewed Tommy Robinson favourably, with just 11% disliking him. What is interesting is that there is almost no difference between the attitudes of men and women, whereas amongst the general population support for Lennon is considerably higher amongst men.

The Reform member who likes Lennon is considerably older than their equivalent amongst the general public. In our poll, the highest support for Lennon was reported amongst 55–64-year-olds, whereas in our general polling it was amongst 25–34-year-olds.

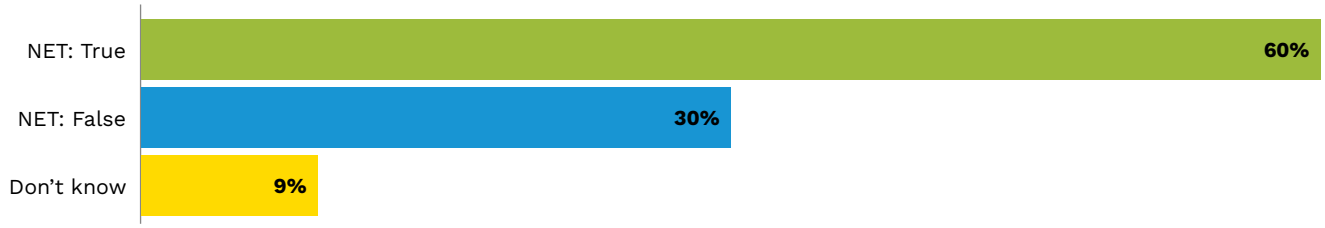
There was the same overwhelming support for Lennon's Unite the Kingdom movement, with 63% saying they supported it and just 12% saying they did

Q20. How likely or unlikely, if at all, is it that there will be a civil war (be it a serious conflict between communities or against the British state) in Britain in the next five years?



BASE: All respondents. Unweighted Total: 629

Q6. To what extent do you think that the following statement is true or false? "Vaccines have harmful effects which are not being disclosed to the public"



BASE: All respondents. Unweighted Total: 629

not. The remaining 25% either had not heard of it or did not give an opinion one way or the other.

Eight per cent said that they had actually gone on the Unite the Kingdom demonstration last September.

Reform UK members are also much more likely to have heard of, and believe in, civil war narratives than the general public. According to our poll, 62% have read, watched or listened to someone talking about the possibility of civil war breaking out, compared to 35% amongst the public at large.

More disturbingly, 66% of respondents thought a civil war in the UK, be it a serious conflict between communities or against the British state, was likely – twice the national average – with only 15% thinking it was unlikely.

There was a slight gender divide here, with 71% of women thinking a civil war is likely, compared to 61% of men. Middle-aged members were much more likely to think the same than younger members.

CONSPIRACIES

Possibly because of their inherent scepticism of authority and the media, Reform UK members are much more likely to question what they are told and are much more likely to believe in conspiracy theories.

Three out of five (60%) agreed with the statement that "vaccines have harmful effects which are not being disclosed to the public". More party members said that they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who had "voiced anti-vaccine sentiments" than those who said they would be put off by such views.

Amongst the public as a whole, just 14% said that they would be more likely to vote for a candidate who had "voiced anti-vaccine sentiments", while 52% said that they would be less likely.

Significant numbers of Reform UK members have very worrying views when it comes to conspiracies. One in five, 19%, believe that "Jewish people have an unhealthy control over the world's banking system", with just 40% disagreeing. Almost one in ten believe that the "official account of the Nazi Holocaust is a lie and the number of Jews killed by the Nazis during World War II has been exaggerated on purpose".

Three-quarters of party members believe that "globalist elites are encouraging immigration into Europe as part of a plot to weaken European identity", with just 4% disagreeing.

Four in five members that that "the threat of climate change is being exaggerated by governments and the media in order to control our lives". Just 7% disagree.

TROUBLE AHEAD?

On the surface, Reform UK members are fully supportive of the leadership and its publicly stated policies; if anything, the party should be considered the most unified of all the political parties. With a 97% approval rating, Nigel Farage is clearly loved by his members, and recent policy announcements on immigration, employment rights, Islam and equality are firmly in tune with the views of party members – which cannot be said of other political parties.

However, that is not to say that there might not be problems down the line, especially in the event of Reform winning power and having to actually deliver on its stated promises. Party members hold pretty strident views on many key political, cultural and social issues, and it probably will not take long for some to be disillusioned if a Reform UK government does not deliver, or does not deliver quickly enough.

There is also the question of rivals too. While Farage's position is clearly untouchable, there is widespread support amongst party members for many people who have been strongly critical of Reform UK and Farage personally. Two thirds of party members have a positive view of Rupert Lowe, who recently launched his rival Restore Britain party, and 61% like Stephen Lennon/Tommy Robinson.

There is also concern within the party about the influx of current and former Conservative MPs. A third of Reform members think that these former Conservatives "are putting their own political careers first and not because they truly support Reform UK", while 21% fear that there is a danger that Reform UK will morph into a new Conservative Party. There are twice as many members who do not want a political alliance with the Conservative Party at the next election as there are those who do.

It is quite conceivable that as we approach the next general election, and Reform UK have to reach out to voters with slightly more moderate views on immigration and Islam, and in the process get attacked by the likes of Lowe and Lennon, and have to contemplate a pact with the Conservative Party, some members will get restless. Until then, however, Reform UK does appear to be one happy, far-right ship.

REFORM'S BACKROOM TEAM

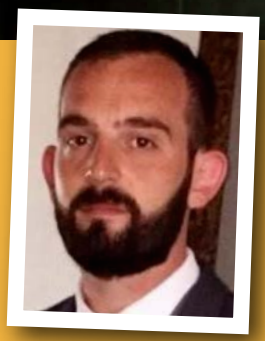
A former football hooligan, an Enoch Powell fan, and multiple conspiracy theorists. PAUL KERSHAW investigates

SINCE THE 2024 general election, Reform UK has been trying to present itself as a competent, mainstream political party. "We are going to professionalise the party," Nigel Farage promised after the election.

The "bad apples" would be gone, he said, explaining that "we will never have any of their type back in our organisation".

Reform wants to be seen as different from Farage's previous outfits. It is a sensible right-wing party and serious contender for government, with a talented team ready to help solve the country's problems, or so the party's narrative goes.

This image isn't just undermined by the odd rogue Reform activist, however, but also by those working for the party. Not only is Reform staffed by several conspiracy theorists, its backroom team includes a former football hooligan, a once-enthusiastic Tommy Robinson fan, and someone who planned a "physical resistance group" for "gorillas by night tactics". Far from just containing the odd "bad apple", Reform is rotten to the core.



ADAM BOUNDS
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Adam Bounds has been involved in Reform from the start, and since December 2024 he has served as its national director, responsible for the operation of the party's voluntary wing.

In messages sent to a public Telegram chat in August 2021, Bounds tried to recruit members to "a physical resistance group" he was building up, adding: "got to keep the powder dry until the time comes then we switch to gorillas by night tactics" – an apparent reference to guerilla warfare. His activity on Twitter (now X) also raised concerns. Not only did he share numerous posts by the ethnonationalist influencer Steve Laws, but he voiced conspiracy theories about the World Economic Forum and COVID vaccines.



MATT MACKINNON
DIRECTOR OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

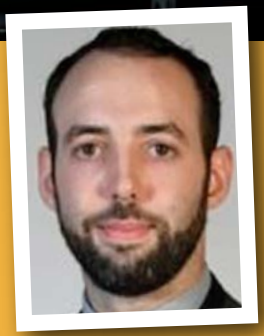
Matt MacKinnon was Zia Yusuf's chief of staff while the latter was Reform's chairman from July 2024 to June 2025. After Yusuf quit as Reform chairman (before re-joining the party two days later), MacKinnon became the party's director of external affairs, working closely with Farage.

MacKinnon was one of five Swansea City fans given a three-year banning order in 2012, following a civil hearing at Swansea Magistrates' Court. MacKinnon was banned from the football club's ground and from entering the city or town they were playing at on away days. The ban was lifted after two years.



CHARLTON EDWARDS
TREASURER

Reform treasurer Charlton Edwards – who is listed as a director of Reform UK Party Limited on Companies House – has called climate change "a Malicious, Dangerous Myth", and wrote on social media: "COVID has been an absolute con to cover the largest robbery in history assisted by MSM & social media hysteria."



JAKE FRASER
HEAD OF DISCIPLINE

Jake Fraser was appointed Reform's head of discipline, despite having compared the government's pandemic policies to the Holocaust. "We're on the precipice of a health Holocaust," Fraser wrote in 2021, adding: "The same methodology the Nazis used to rise to power, with minimal opposition by appealing to both sides of the political spectrum... is unfolding before our eyes."

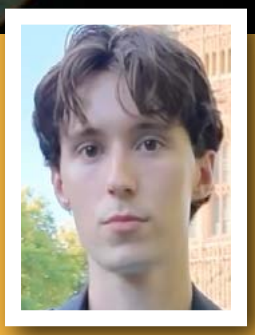


ED SUMNER
DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS

Reform's chief press officer, Ed Sumner, has had a habit of getting into the press himself. In particular, *Nation Cymru* has published a number of articles on leaked WhatsApp messages from Sumner.

These have revealed that in 2023, while he was working for Welsh Assembly member Laura Anne Jones (who was a Tory, but defected to Reform in 2025), Sumner encouraged a colleague to "maximise the miles as much as possible" when making expenses claims and said they could claim for journeys on days Jones was ill; in the early hours of New Year's Day 2024, he complained that a firework display was "all about immigration, diversity, and gays"; in January 2025, he called Welsh journalist Will Hayward a "c*nt".

Perhaps feeling Sumner needed some assistance, the party has since brought in Henry Deedes, a former *Daily Mail* parliamentary sketch writer who once branded Farage a "slightly sad character", as his deputy.



JACK ANDERTON
POLITICAL CONSULTANT

Jack Anderton is a political consultant for Reform, where he has helped the party's politicians, including Farage, with their social media. Reform has decided not to sever ties with Anderton, despite his history of dangerous views.

In an article in November 2022, Anderton fantasised about the future of the UK following a revolution. In this future, "Britain is entirely run by a group of powerful 25 revolutionaries in a single building in London", "historic outlets such as The Guardian, The Telegraph, and The Times are banned", and "the Palace of Westminster is turned into a museum". When the Standard asked Anderton about this in June 2024, he said it was "a fictitious piece of work" not "an opinion piece".

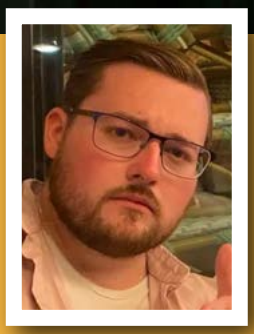
Anderton was the subject of controversy again in August 2025, when *the Guardian* revealed that he had suggested Britain would be better off it hadn't fought Nazi Germany in World War Two, said the UK could "regain" former colonies in a future world of "meritocracy", and claimed that "Russia is not our enemy".



LIA NICI
SPECIAL ADVISER

In December, Lia Nici was revealed to be one of the many former Tory MPs who had defected to Reform. In switching party allegiance, Nici also bagged herself a new job, as a special adviser to Luke Campbell, Reform Mayor of Hull and East Yorkshire.

During her tenure as Great Grimsby's MP from 2019 to 2024, Nici made a name for herself as one of Boris Johnson's most loyal and obsequious supporters. After the Partygate scandal broke in December 2021, Nici defended Johnson, saying he hadn't lost "moral authority", was "the best prime minister places like Great Grimsby have had in generations" and had her "wholehearted support". As reward for her service, in February 2022 Nici was made Johnson's parliamentary private secretary, a position she held until Johnson finally announced his resignation as prime minister in July the same year. While in September Farage ruled that Johnson would never be allowed to join Reform – having previously called him the "worst prime minister of modern times" – his party has been happy to welcome one of the former PM's close aides.



MICHAEL HADWEN
POLITICAL ADVISER

Michael Hadwen started working for Reform in November 2024, and by March 2025 he had become the party's director of campaigns and training. His period in this role was short-lived, however. By August, he had left Reform head office, and at the party's conference in September, he could be heard responding, "Well, yes, quite right," to a friend commenting: "Why Michael needs to come back on double salary."

Hadwen has since returned to the fold. In December, he became a political adviser to Linden Kemkaran, the beleaguered leader of Reform-run Kent County Council. Hadwen bagged himself this position, despite HOPE not hate's revelations that he had previously tweeted, "Enoch was right, he was just before the times," and written in the aftermath of the attempted assassination of Sergei and Yulia Skripal by Russian agents in Salisbury: "Russia is not my enemy. We should be working with them, and not throwing around threats like a spoilt child."



ETHAN THOBURN
PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS MANAGER

Ethan Thoburn – who plays a key part in the parliamentary party's whipping operation and manages its parliamentary business – has a history as an enthusiastic supporter of the anti-Muslim extremist Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson). In 2017, Thoburn shared posts by Lennon 91 times, called him a "really nice bloke", and claimed "he's not a bigot".



ADAM WORDSWORTH
NORTH WEST REGIONAL DIRECTOR

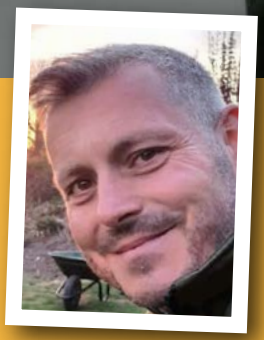
Adam Wordsworth was Reform's South East regional director, but didn't seem particularly happy in his role. At Reform's conference last September, an undercover HOPE not hate reporter overheard Wordsworth commenting: "I cover [Reform-run] Kent and that is the bane of my existence at the moment. It turns out they're all wankers and it turns out they all hate each other and it turns out all they do is fight with each other rather than reforming the council or attacking the opposition or making savings."

Wordsworth was subsequently removed from his position, with the job advertisement for his replacement requiring "excellent... verbal communication". Since then, Wordsworth has landed himself a new role, as the party's North West regional director – where hopefully he won't have to deal with so many "wankers" in Reform's ranks.



DAVE HOLLAND
EASTERN REGIONAL DIRECTOR

Prior to becoming Reform's eastern regional director, Dave Holland was the subject of controversy when he stood for the party in the 2024 general election. His official website suggested that tinned food and car emissions could cause gender dysphoria. It also claimed that "our government is itself being governed by", among other things, "non-elected organisations such as the WEF and WHO".



RICHARD BINGLEY
LONDON REGIONAL DIRECTOR

Richard Bingley is a relatively new face in Reform's backroom operation, having become London regional director in December. Like many in Reform, he is a former Tory who has been prone to scandal.

In March 2022, Bingley became the Conservative leader of Plymouth City Council and was quickly the subject of controversy. Soon after his appointment, a video resurfaced of him suggesting that people shouldn't worry "too much about climate change" and can adapt to "living in barren, sandy landscapes". Bingley found himself the subject of headlines again in November 2022, when the council found its leader had breached its code of conduct, after a leaked recording revealed he had launched a foul-mouthed tirade against fellow councillors. After just a year in post, Bingley resigned as council leader in March 2023, following widespread anger at his decision to order the midnight felling of 110 trees in Plymouth city centre.



PETE DURNELL
WEST MIDLANDS REGIONAL DIRECTOR

Reform's West Midlands regional director Pete Durnell has voiced conspiracy theories regarding the World Economic Forum and climate change on X.

As well as suggesting that a number of senior politicians were merely WEF "puppets", he wrote in 2022: "They are building in the ability to have complete control over when/where you can charge your car up, - and prevent you from doing it at certain times of day, or at all. #ClimateChange It's not about controlling the climate, it's about controlling YOU".

He has also indulged views comparable to the far-right "Great Replacement" conspiracy theory, prophesying in March 2018 that "the whole of Europe will be Islamic sooner or later".

THE DATA DESK

BEHAVIOURAL AND DATA PROFILING UNIT

HOPE not hate

In 2025, HOPE not hate stepped up its data analysis capabilities by launching our Behavioural & Data Profiling Unit. This in-house team focuses on one thing: tracking and mapping how the far right operates online, both here in the UK and abroad.

To start 2026, we are launching the Data Desk Report series. This project is designed to continue backing up our research with hard numbers, showing exactly how the far right's disinformation machine works.

FOLLOW THE EVIDENCE

Our goal is to look past the online noise and find the source of the data. By watching for small shifts in how influencers interact or how groups organise, we can identify tomorrow's far right risks today.

REFORM UK'S KEY FIGURES

NIGEL FARAGE (Leader and MP)

Photo: Gage Skidmore

Nigel Farage has had a long career in radical-right politics. He was first elected to the European parliament for UKIP in 1999 and served as an MEP until 2020, when the Brexit deal was approved. Having led UKIP from 2006 to 2009 and again from 2010 to 2016, from April 2019 (to March 2021) Farage led the Brexit Party, which was renamed Reform UK in January 2021. In the past, Farage's influence on Westminster politics has been from the outside, with his parties acting as pressure groups for Eurosceptic causes.

By early 2024, it seemed Farage would never achieve a seat in Parliament, for which he had unsuccessfully stood seven times. In February that year, he gave an interview to *The Times* in which he said: "Do I want to be an MP? Do I want to spend every Friday for the next five years in Clacton?" The reporter explained: "His expression suggests not." On 3 June 2024, however, Farage announced that he would be taking over from Richard Tice as Reform's leader and duly stood for Clacton in the July general election, where he won with 46.2% of the vote.

Since becoming an MP, Farage's record has been a poor one. As well as missing numerous key votes, in his first year as an MP he spoke fewer times in the House of Commons than any other party leader. Farage has, however, been more diligent in his work outside Parliament. From July 2024 to the end of 2025, he earned more than £1.5 million for numerous "second jobs", including over £626,000 for presenting on GB News, £415,500 for acting as a brand ambassador to a gold bullion firm, and £180,000 for making video messages on Cameo.

Farage hasn't always transparently declared his financial interests as required by parliamentary rules. In January 2026, the Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards found Farage had breached the rules



17 times by not declaring financial interests within the 28-day time limit. Farage said he had been "extremely let down by a very senior member of staff", adding that he doesn't "do computers" as he isn't "computer literate".

Throughout his life, Farage has had a track record of racism and xenophobia. Building on the work of journalist Michael Crick, in November 2025 the *Guardian* published an investigation into Farage's racism and antisemitism while a student at Dulwich College private school, which included the testimony of more than 20 former schoolmates. One contemporary, Peter Ettedgui, recalled Farage saying "Hitler was right" and "Gas them", while another said he taught younger pupils "the infamous 'Gas 'em All' song, or at least led the singing of it". Despite the number of people who had accused him, Farage described the allegations as "complete made-up fantasies".

Farage has long admired Enoch Powell, infamous for his racist "Rivers of Blood" speech in 1968. In 2011, he called Powell "a singularly great man" and in 2008 commented: "I would never say that Powell was racist in any way at all. Had we listened to him, we would have much better race relations now than we have got."

Speaking on LBC in 2014, Farage suggested people in London would be concerned if Romanian men moved in next door, comments he later rowed back. In 2017, he expressed concerns about the so-called US "Jewish lobby" and described Jewish philanthropist George Soros, a regular target of conspiratorial antisemitism, as "the biggest danger to the entire western world". Muslims have also been a target of Farage. During a Sky News interview in May 2024, he claimed there is "a growing number of young people in this country who do not subscribe to British values, in fact loathe much of what we stand for", adding that he was talking about Muslims.

On top of all that, Farage has indulged conspiracy theorists over climate change and COVID vaccines. In 2009, he referred to the "very, very questionable concept of global warming caused by CO2 emissions", while in January 2026 he told Times Radio: "I believe in vaccinations when they're vaccinations. I don't think what happened with COVID were vaccinations."

RICHARD TICE (Deputy Leader and MP)

A multi-millionaire property tycoon, Richard Tice first rose to public prominence during the Brexit referendum. In 2015, he co-founded Leave.EU, the unofficial pro-Brexit campaign, which he co-chaired with Arron Banks. As well as relentlessly exploiting fears around immigration in the build-up to the referendum (as epitomised by the notorious "Breaking Point" poster), Leave.EU paid for adverts targeting supporters of extreme-right groups and failed to declare more than £77,000 in expenditure, resulting in a fine from the Electoral Commission.

After the 2016 referendum, Tice co-founded Leave Means Leave, a pressure group for a hard Brexit. In 2019, he became chairman of the Brexit Party (Reform UK's previous incarnation) and served as one of the party's MEPs from July 2019 to January 2020, when the Brexit deal was approved. Following Farage's resignation as leader of the recently renamed Reform UK in March 2021, Tice took over at the helm. He served as the party's leader until June 2024, when Farage decided to re-enter the political fray, and became Reform's deputy leader the following month, when he was elected as MP for Boston and Skegness with 38.4% of the vote.

Tice has been outspoken on COVID vaccines and green initiatives. In February 2024, he committed Reform to a public inquiry regarding "excess deaths" and "vaccine harms" (a position endorsed by Farage) and, in March the same year, he said: "We are not in [a] climate emergency; nor is there a climate crisis." It's rather awkward, then, that Tice's businesses have had a long track record of supporting sustainability and green initiatives.

Tice's business interests also came under scrutiny in 2019, when openDemocracy revealed that two offshore firms, based in Panama and the British Virgin Islands (both notorious tax-havens), controlled 42% of his family business, Sunley Family Limited. Tice said he didn't know who was behind these companies and that he is a UK taxpayer. In 2024, a joint investigation by the Good Law Project and the *Mirror* found Tice had previously transferred shares in a commercial property company into a family trust, based in another tax haven, Jersey (although it was later relocated to the UK).



Richard Tice
Photo: https://members.parliament.uk

LEE ANDERSON (Chief Whip and MP)

Lee Anderson's political career has been a tumultuous one. In 2015, he was elected as a Labour councillor in Ashfield, but, in February 2018, he was suspended by the Labour group on the council after receiving a community protection warning for placing boulders to deter members of the Traveller community from "setting up camp". The following month he defected to the Conservatives.

In the 2019 general election, Anderson was elected as Tory MP for Ashfield and became the subject of several controversies, including revelations he had made sexist comments. The final straw came in February 2024, when he had the Conservative whip suspended after refusing to apologise for voicing an anti-Muslim conspiracy theory on GB News, where he said: "I don't actually believe that the Islamists have got control of our country, but what I do believe is they've got control of Khan and they've got control of London, and they've got control of Starmer as well."

While this was too much for the Conservatives, Anderson was welcomed with open arms by Reform. In March 2024, he defected to the party, becoming its first MP and was re-elected in the July 2024 general election with 42.8% of the vote, subsequently being made the party's chief whip. In November the same year, Anderson had to apologise, after an investigation by parliament's bullying and harassment watchdog found he had told a security guard to "f*ck off, everyone opens the door to me," when asked to show his parliamentary pass.

Alongside his job as an MP, Anderson also earns £100,000 a year for presenting a GB News show every Friday, despite having previously spoken out against MPs having second jobs. "We are paid handsomely for the job we do and if you need an extra £100,000 a year on top then you should really be looking for another job," he wrote on Facebook in 2021.

SARAH POCHIN (MP)

Sarah Pochin became a Reform MP in May 2025, when she won the Runcorn and Helsby by-election for the party by just six votes. She's certainly made her mark since.

At PMQs on 4 June 2025, she asked Keir Starmer whether he will "ban the burqa" in "the interests of public safety", something which prompted a public row in the party (see subsequent section on Zia Yusuf). In October, she received widespread condemnation after saying on TalkTV: "It drives me mad when I see adverts full of black people, full of Asian people". Pochin, who subsequently said her comments were "phrased poorly", kept the party whip.

DANNY KRUGER (MP)

Danny Kruger became the first MP to defect from the Tories to Reform after the 2024 general election, joining Farage's party in September 2025. Kruger's defection, the month after Reform announced its extreme mass deportations policy, marked yet another step on his long journey to the right.

Kruger had been involved in Conservative party politics for over two decades and served as David Cameron's speechwriter from 2006 to 2008. During this period, he penned Cameron's infamous "hug a hoodie" speech, which was widely interpreted as a liberal shift in Tory politics, and, in 2013, he criticised the Cameron government for moving away from these aims, saying: "I'd like to know where David Cameron's compassionate Conservatism has gone. I would regret an election campaign that focused on skivers and sending immigrants home."

In 2019, Kruger served as Boris Johnson's political secretary, before being elected as the Conservative MP for Devizes in the general election that December. A sign of how Kruger's views had changed came when he spoke at the National Conservatism Conference in May 2023, where he criticised New Labour for "opening the floodgates on immigration" and claimed that marriage between men and women "is the only possible basis for a safe and successful society" – a position from which then-PM Rishi Sunak distanced himself. The following month, Kruger defended the use of the phrase "cultural Marxism", despite its association with antisemitic conspiracy theories.



(left to right) Lee Anderson, Sarah Pochin, Danny Kruger, Robert Jenrick, Andrew Rosindell

Photos: https://members.parliament.uk

ROBERT JENRICK (MP)

Robert Jenrick, the erstwhile shadow justice secretary whose failed bid to become Tory leader in 2024 was run by Kruger, became the second Tory MP to switch allegiance to Reform when he defected on 15 January. Jenrick, who was called "a fraud" by Farage in August 2025, had been in discussion with figures in Reform since September, around the time Kemi Badenoch's ratings started to improve, making his prospects of taking her position seem increasingly remote.

While his defection became a matter of great political drama (after he was sacked as shadow justice secretary and lost the Tory whip in the morning, when Badenoch was handed "irrefutable evidence" of his intentions), it underlined how happy Reform is to welcome ex-Tories no matter how bad their previous record.

Jenrick first became an MP in 2014, when he won the Newark by-election for the Conservatives, and went on to serve in a number of ministerial posts, including housing secretary from 2019 to 2021. He showed his true colours on 14 January 2020 when, against the recommendation of a planning inspector, he hastily approved a £1 billion luxury housing development in east London. The development was backed by Conservative donor Richard Desmond, with whom Jenrick had corresponded after sitting next to him at a party fundraising dinner – the timing of Jenrick's decision, the day before the introduction of new infrastructure charges, meant Desmond's company saved up to £50 million. Jenrick later accepted his decision was "unlawful".

In October 2022, Jenrick became immigration minister in Rishi Sunak's government, and it was from this period that his beliefs moved towards the extreme. In July 2023, for instance, he drew widespread condemnation after ordering murals – depicting characters like Mickey Mouse – be removed at an asylum centre for unaccompanied children in Kent, reportedly because he thought them too welcoming. In December that year, Jenrick resigned from the government, on the grounds that legislation to send asylum seekers to Rwanda did "not go far enough".

Following the 2024 general election and his failed bid to become Tory leader, he became shadow justice secretary. In September 2025, he called for a "decade of net emigration" and said the Conservatives ought to go even further than Reform's extreme mass deportations policy. The following month, the *Guardian* revealed Jenrick had made false and inflammatory comments at a local Conservative Association dinner in March, where he said: "I went to Handsworth in Birmingham the other day... I didn't see another white face and that's not the kind of country I want to live in."

After his defection, *The Sunday Times* obtained a leaked media plan drawn up by his office, in which Jenrick was described as "the new sheriff in town". Both Jenrick and Farage rivalling for the spotlight could be a catalyst for future tensions in the party.



ANDREW ROSINDELL (MP)

Just days after Jenrick's defection, another Tory MP and shadow minister, Andrew Rosindell, jumped ship to Reform. To rather less fanfare, Rosindell announced his decision in a social-media post on the evening of Sunday 18 January.

Despite having been Romford's MP since 2001, Rosindell has kept a relatively low profile and never held ministerial office, although has burst into the public consciousness on a few occasions. During the 2009 MPs' expenses scandal the *Telegraph* reported that he had claimed over £125,000 in expenses for a second home in London, while designating his childhood home, located 17 miles away and where his mother was living, as his principal address. Since then, he has been found in breach of parliamentary rules for failing to declare relevant interests when submitting questions to ministers, has expressed "huge admiration" for Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, has opposed gay marriage, and has been a member of a Facebook group for Tommy Robinson supporters.

From May 2022 to February 2024, Rosindell did not attend Parliament, after being arrested on suspicion of sexual offences and misconduct in public office. Rosindell denied any wrongdoing, was not charged, and the Met Police told Rosindell in February 2024 that he faced no further action.

SUELLA BRAVERMAN (MP)

The final Tory MP to defect to Reform in January was Suella Braverman, formerly home secretary under both Liz Truss and Rishi Sunak, who said she felt like she had "come home". Braverman's husband, Rael, had previously been a Reform member, but quit the party in July 2025. This came after Zia Yusuf had appeared to blame Suella Braverman and Robert Jenrick for the Conservative government having granted asylum to Afghans put at risk by a Ministry of Defence data leak. Braverman's husband rejoined the party when she defected.

Braverman was first elected to Parliament in 2015 and soon secured her position in the right of the Conservative party, becoming chair of the Eurosceptic European Research Group caucus in 2017. She first became a cabinet minister under Boris Johnson, when she was appointed attorney general in February 2020.

Over the course of her political career, Braverman has proffered a number of controversial views. In 2019, for instance, she said "we are engaged in a battle against cultural Marxism", a phrase associated with conspiratorial antisemitism; in 2022, she referred to an "invasion" of migrants; in 2023, she declared that "we will not be able to sustain an asylum system if in effect, simply being gay, or a woman, and fearful of discrimination in your country of origin is sufficient to qualify for protection"; and in 2025, she wrote for the *Telegraph* that English identity "must be rooted in ancestry, heritage, and, yes, ethnicity".

ZIA YUSUF (Home Affairs Spokesperson)

After the July 2024 general election, Zia Yusuf became Reform's chairman, a position in which he served until 5 June 2025 when he posted on X: "I no longer believe working to get a Reform government elected is a good use of my time, and hereby resign the office." This came after Yusuf said it was "dumb" for Reform MP Sarah Pochin to call for a burqa ban at PMQs that day.

Just two days later, Yusuf decided to return to Reform, telling *The Sunday Times* that his decision to quit was a "mistake", that on reflection if there was a parliamentary vote on banning the burqa he would "probably" vote in favour, and that he would now lead Reform's Elon Musk-inspired Department of Government Efficiency. Yusuf changed roles again in September, taking over from conspiracy-theorist Simon Marcus as the party's head of policy.

Initially, it did not seem Yusuf was entirely happy with Reform's decision to welcome Robert Jenrick, who had previously called for him to be booted out of the party, on 15 January. He did not attend the press conference, did not post anything on social media supporting Jenrick, and instead simply trumpeted that no more Tories will be able to join Reform after 7 May. On 18 January, however, he told Sky News that Jenrick's defection was an "important milestone".

Prior to entering politics, Yusuf worked at Goldman Sachs, before in 2014 co-founding Velocity Black, a concierge company, which was sold in 2023 for over £200 million. In June 2025, the BBC reported that, according to former employees, Yusuf was difficult to work with, sometimes showed a lack of regard for those around him, and lacked leadership skills during his time at Velocity Black. Some of Yusuf's largesse from his previous career has been pumped into Reform. In 2024, he donated over £200,000 to the party.

DAVID BULL (Chairman)

Following Yusuf's dramatic resignation as Reform's chairman in June 2025, television presenter David Bull – who called Farage an "idiot" in 2014 for "ill-judged, prejudiced and dangerous" comments that HIV-positive immigrants shouldn't be allowed to receive NHS treatment – was appointed to the role. At Reform's conference in September 2025, Bull introduced the controversial doctor Aseem Malhotra to the stage as someone who "worked with me to write Reform UK's health policy", before Malhotra indulged in pseudoscience, suggesting COVID vaccines may have caused cancer in the royal family.

Bull joined the Brexit Party (Reform's previous incarnation) in 2019 and briefly served as one of its MEPs. He subsequently served alongside Ben Habib



Suella Braverman (MP)
Photo: https://members.parliament.uk

Zia Yusuf
Photo: Z979 / wikimedia.org

as one of Reform's deputy leaders from March 2021, but departed from this role after the July 2024 general election, in which he failed to win a seat, coming third in the West Suffolk constituency.

Aside from his involvement in politics, Bull has had a long career as a television presenter, working on *Newsround*, *Watchdog*, and *Most Haunted Live*. Presenting the latter made him believe in ghosts, due to having "very odd experiences in the paranormal" while working on it.

MALCOLM OFFORD (leader in Scotland)

Having worked in private equity and donated almost £150,000 to the Conservatives, Malcolm Offord was conferred a peerage during Boris Johnson's premiership, becoming Baron Offord of Garvel in October 2021. Upon his appointment to the House of Lords, Offord was given a ministerial job in the Scotland Office and he additionally became a minister in the Department for Business and Trade in April 2023, under Rishi Sunak.

After the Tories were ousted in the 2024 general election, Offord became the party's shadow energy minister, but in December 2025 he defected to Reform and announced that he would resign from the House of Lords in order to stand for Farage's party in the Holyrood election. The following month, Reform named Offord as its Scottish leader.



David Bull
Photo: Jenny Smith

Malcolm Offord
Photo: https://members.parliament.uk



Photo: James English

LUKE CAMPBELL
(Hull and East Yorkshire mayor)

Luke Campbell is a former professional boxer who won gold in the bantamweight category at the 2012 London Olympics. After retiring from boxing in 2021, he was announced as Reform's candidate for Hull and East Yorkshire mayor in February 2025. Hoping to echo Donald Trump's success in the US, Campbell won the mayoral election in May, with 35.8% of the vote.

By August, there were reports that Campbell was "at war" with staff in the combined authority, with insiders claiming he had created a toxic environment. Campbell also faced criticism for failing to turn up for a lunch prepared for him by catering students with special educational needs in October. A witness told *The i Paper* that Campbell arrived on time but "yawned through the morning's meetings, said it wasn't for him and left before lunch". A spokesperson for Campbell claimed he was "pulled away by Combined Authority officers" over an "urgent matter".

According to *The i Paper*, a Combined Authority insider said Campbell has failed to attend a number of meetings since being elected mayor.



Photo: https://members.parliament.uk

ANDREA JENKYNS
(Greater Lincolnshire mayor)

Andrea Jenkyns was first elected as Conservative MP for Morley and Outwood in the 2015 general election. Having supported Brexit and been vice chair of the party's Eurosceptic European Research Group, she first achieved ministerial office during Boris Johnson's government, becoming a government whip in September 2021 and junior education minister in July 2022.

Jenkyns lost her seat in the 2024 general election and defected to Reform in November 2024, announcing that she would stand as the party's candidate to be mayor of Greater Lincolnshire in May 2025, an election she won with 42% of the vote. Upon her election, Jenkyns immediately provoked condemnation after saying that asylum seekers should be housed "in tents".

Like many in Reform's ranks, Jenkyns is a conspiracy theorist. In October 2024, she claimed (falsely) that the World Health Organisation "was trying to bring in globally this legislation which they could enforce lockdowns on countries" and said, in July 2025, she doesn't believe in climate change, adding that it is just a "money-making racket" for some industries. Jenkyns is also a Liz Truss fan, telling a podcast in 2024: "Liz Truss, as well, I think she had the right policies, especially for business, but she didn't have long enough to enact them unfortunately."

LINDEN KEMKARAN
(Kent Council leader)

After becoming the Reform leader of Kent County Council, Linden Kemkaran, formerly a journalist at the BBC and *Spectator*, told the *Daily Telegraph*'s podcast in June 2025 that Kent is "the shop window now for Reform, through which the electorate are looking to judge whether they think they can put their trust in a Reform government at the next election to take the reins of power for the entire country".

Such a confident pronouncement was perhaps not the wisest move. Since then, under Kemkaran's leadership, Reform's Kent team has been riven with internal division. This was already clear by September, when an undercover HOPE not hate reporter overheard Reform's South East organiser Adam Wordsworth saying the party's Kent councillors "are all wankers" who "hate" and "fight with each other".

On 18 October, the *Guardian* published a leaked video of an online meeting between Reform's Kent councillors, revealing bitter division and showing Kemkaran berating colleagues, telling them to "fucking suck it up" if they disagree with her decisions. In the aftermath of the leak, four councillors were immediately suspended, before being expelled from the party alongside others, and seven MPs called for Kemkaran to quit as she's "clearly not up to the job".

While Reform initially had 57 councillors in Kent after the May local elections, Kemkaran's careful stewardship saw that number dwindle to 48 by the end of 2025.



Photo: YouTube

ANDREW HUSBAND
(Durham Council leader)

When Andrew Husband became Reform's Durham County Council leader in May, a party spokesperson commented that he "is a business leader with a proven track record of growth in start-ups and building successful teams".

Shortly thereafter, *Private Eye* pointed out that Husband's track record in business doesn't actually look so good. The magazine reported that he had a string of short-lived directorships and owned a company called United Hygiene and Catering Equipment Ltd, which was in liquidation owing around £1 million to creditors, as well as another, UHC Leisure Ltd, owing around £472,000.

In January, *The Sunday Times* further highlighted Husband's background, explaining that he "is the owner of two companies which have been placed into administration owing £1.5 million, including more than £500,000 in tax, government-backed COVID loans, and staff pay." Husband has defended his business record, insisting "there is no suggestion I have done anything wrong".



Photo: X

SEAN MATTHEWS
(Lincolnshire Council leader)

In May 2025, when Reform took control of Lincolnshire County Council in the local elections, Sean Matthews became the council's leader. As well as being a retired police officer, Matthews is a conspiracy theorist.

On X, Matthews has claimed that Labour and the Conservatives "are controlled by WEF [World Economic Forum]", shared posts referring to global warming as a "scam", and promoted anti-Muslim conspiracy theories. One post shared by Matthews claimed David Cameron had a "sinister plot to hand UK leadership to Muslims", before declaring that the "Islamic takeover is real and happening... every party's in on it", while another suggested that Keir Starmer is "owned by Muslims".

Among the decisions made by Lincolnshire County Council during Matthews' time in charge has been to conduct a 12-month trial of JCB's Pothole Pro machine, starting in September, despite the council having previously conducted a pilot and "found better tools for our county's need". In November, JCB announced it has donated £200,000 to Reform.



Photo: Facebook

MICK BARTON
(Nottinghamshire Council leader)

Mick Barton, who became the new leader of Nottinghamshire County Council after Reform took control of it in the May local elections, has been involved in local politics in the county since 2003. He used to be a miner, before becoming a car sales executive and then setting up his own business in 2000. In October, the *Guardian* reported that a carpet-fitting business belonging to Barton's family had been threatened with compulsory strike off action from the company register due to late filing of accounts, which is technically a criminal offence.

Most notable about Barton's leadership of the council thus far has been his dismissive attitude towards the media. In August, he banned Reform's Nottinghamshire councillors from engaging with the *Nottinghamshire Post*, after it published a story about plans for the restructuring of local government. The local newspaper's editor warned that Barton's decision was a "massive attack on local democracy". The ban was finally lifted in October, after both widespread condemnation and the threat of legal action.



Photo: YouTube

RADICAL RIGHT: RADICAL RIGHT PROFILES

ADVANCE UK

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: BEN HABIB



Advance UK is a splinter group of Reform UK, formed in 2025 after Ben Habib – previously Reform's deputy leader and before that an MEP – acrimoniously parted ways with Nigel Farage. Habib, who has previously claimed that Britain should let some migrants drown in the Channel, applied for registration with the Electoral Commission in September 2025, having met his self-imposed membership requirement of 30,000 for party status.

Initially named the "Integrity Party", Advance positions itself as a more hardline alternative to Reform, and the party is largely made up of those who have either left the older party or been expelled. Farage has dismissed the group as "a vanity project for those who can't take discipline".

There is a similar dynamic in the support base of Rupert Lowe MP and his Restore Britain movement. Habib appears to have wanted Lowe to join and possibly lead Advance, and a merger has been much discussed since Restore launched as a political party in February 2026. However, at time of writing, the two remain separate.

The party has received endorsements from high-profile figures. In August, Elon Musk posted: "Advance UK will actually drive change. Farage is weak sauce who will do nothing." The details of any financial support are not publicly known.

Earlier that month, the serial criminal Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) – who has long been shunned by Farage – joined Advance, which in return sponsored Lennon's huge "Unite the Kingdom" rally in September. The association has caused the party difficulties, however, with its launch event in Newcastle in September cancelled by the venue "on health and safety grounds".

The party has a number of town/parish councillors, especially in Amber Valley, where councillors resigned from Reform en masse in January 2025, citing opposition to Farage's leadership style. The move was likely prompted by an internal disciplinary process involving the group's leader, Alex Stevenson. Reform claimed that the defecting councillors were a "rogue branch" and had not been approved by the party, but this is somewhat undermined by the fact that deputy leader Richard Tice publicly congratulated at least two of the councillors on their election. Earlier this year, six members of Heanor & Loscoe Town Council in Derbyshire joined Advance after quitting Reform.

Advance appears intent on bridging the gulf between Reform's electioneering and the street protest movement over which Lennon presides. Its electoral prospects appear dim, but the party may cost Reform in marginal seats.

GREAT BRITISH PAC

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

Great British PAC (GB PAC) is a pressure group in the mold of American political action committees. Launched in 2024 by Ben Habib, Reform UK's ex-deputy chair, it is effectively a right-wing campaign group.

GB PAC spends much of its time opposing the government's Chagos Islands deal with Mauritius. It has also supported Tommy Robinson events and a protest opposing puberty blockers for trans youth. Plans to launch an academy to teach future right-wing leaders, host a conference, and publish a list of legislation it wishes to overturn all appear to have stalled.

GB PAC's advisory board consists of Tory politicians like Lord Hannan, Baron Greenhalgh and Brendan Clarke-Smith, in addition to far-right activists like Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad).

A number of the group's team have expressed extreme views, not least its England director Edward Oakenfull, who once posted about the decline of the British "gene pool". He wrote on X: "By importing loads of sub Saharan Africans plus Muslims that inter breed the IQ is in severe decline." Similarly, GB PAC's Northamptonshire director Antony Antoniou shared a website containing Hitler's speeches and pointed his online followers towards a video asserting Hitler "never ordered the extermination of a single Jew".

RUPERT LOWE AND RESTORE BRITAIN

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: RUPERT LOWE

Restore Britain is a pressure group-turned-political party headed by Rupert Lowe MP that aims to "shift the discourse" on immigration dramatically to the right.

After being elected as a Reform UK MP in Great Yarmouth in 2024, Lowe – a former chairman of Southampton Football Club and ex-Brexit Party MEP – soon cemented himself as Britain's most extreme MP. In February 2025, he broke with the party line to praise the serial criminal and anti-Muslim extremist Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) and was recorded making an antisemitic remark in parliament.

In March 2025, Lowe had the Reform whip withdrawn over allegations of bullying, which he denied. This came days after he described Reform as "a protest party led by the Messiah" in an interview with the *Daily Mail*.

Since his split with Reform, Lowe has become increasingly radical, provoking excitement on the fascist fringe. His extremeness is reflected in the output of Restore Britain, which he originally launched as a pressure group on 30 June, the same day ex-Reform deputy leader Ben Habib set up the Advance UK party. At the time, Lowe called Restore Britain "a movement for those who believe that we need to fundamentally change the way Britain is governed", adding that "significantly more legal migrants must leave than enter" Britain.

Two young far-right activists, Charlie Downes and Harrison Pitt, serve as Restore's campaigns director and senior policy fellow. Both have media careers of their own and advocate for "remigration". In September 2025, Downes said that "what is desirable is an ethnically homogenous Christian Britain".

Ethnonationalists and other extremists duly flocked to the group. One ex-member of the fascist Homeland Party told HOPE not hate: "Everyone I spoke to in Homeland claimed to have signed up for Restore membership." The group has been praised by many of the UK's leading neo-Nazis, with Steve Laws dubbing it the "best option" for achieving his desired ethnic cleansing. The neo-Nazi Sam Wilkes (AKA Zoomer Historian) has described Lowe as "a true hero" who is "normalising our talking points in parliament". The leadership of Patriotic Alternative has also celebrated Lowe and Restore.

As a pressure group, Restore claimed to operate a form of "direct democracy" in which members can vote on policy, giving the extremists within the membership a route to drive it ever further to the right. Audience capture is another apparent factor in Lowe's increasingly racist and authoritarian output on X, where he has a 625,000-strong following.

Restore also established close links to Lotus Eaters Media, with Lowe, Pitt and Downes regularly appearing as guests. The outlet routinely pushes its viewers to sign up to Restore, describing it as "our battering ram".

On 19 August, Restore announced a swathe of policy positions, including proposals to "defund the BBC", have "net negative immigration", and use "deliberately austere" tent camps to house asylum seekers. On 9 October, the group also published a 105-page policy document titled *Mass Deportations: Legitimacy, Legality, and Logistics*. Written by Lowe and Pitt, the document proffered an extreme plan for the removal of asylum seekers. It called for "the mass deportation of every single illegal migrant" to be achieved by "a hostile environment aimed at fostering a culture of self-deportation, combined with somewhere between 150,000 and 200,000 forced removals per year". The document also proposed:

> "All asylum and humanitarian protections granted to individuals who entered Britain illegally within the last decade should be rescinded in full, and those individuals deported within a reasonable time period."

Worryingly, both a GB News correspondent, Steven Edginton, and an aide of Conservative MP Katie Lam, Sam Bidwell, were thanked for "trusty friendship or helpful conversations" in the acknowledgements of the extreme document. In October, Amar Johal – who has worked for Reform since November and is currently its Director of Policy & Research – praised the document as "a thorough and detailed analysis from the impressive" Harrison Pitt.

Restore also supported the wave of anti-migrant protests that swept the country last summer, sponsoring the "Pink Ladies" movement. Lowe was also an enthusiastic backer of the "Raise the Colours" movement.

On 13 February 2026, Lowe launched Restore Britain as a political party. He released a seven-minute video, in which he told his followers: "The first priority is to control who comes to our country and, more importantly, who stays in our country. Restore Britain will not just stop mass immigration; we will reverse it... For the foreseeable future, far more people must leave Britain than arrive." By 15 February, Lowe announced that Restore had gained 50,000 members.

Among the far-right figures and groups who have expressed support for this new party are Lotus Eaters, Michael Wright (AKA Morgoth), Neema Parvini (AKA Academic Agent), Sam Wilkes (AKA Zoomer Historian), Thomas Moffitt (AKA Young Bob), Katie Hopkins, Steve Laws, and Cal Barker (ex-Homeland member). Restore's support base straddles the divide between civic nationalists and ethnic nationalists on the far right, a coalition which could fracture in future.

As of mid-February 2026, whether an accommodation will be reached between Restore and Advance UK remains unclear. On 14 February, Advance leader Ben Habib offered to merge with Restore. By 16 February, however, he said he hadn't received a response, posting on social media: "The offer stands. The ball is in Restore's court. Until then it is business as usual."

Whether Restore will prove to be a significant electoral threat remains to be seen. In any case, the pressure group-turned-political party has been determined to shift political and media conversation on immigration even further to the right, by advocating positions more extreme than those currently adopted by Reform UK.

PROFILES: RADICAL RIGHT (CONTINUED)

NEW CULTURE FORUM

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET / DISCUSSION GROUP

The New Culture Forum (NCF) think tank has been in existence since 2006 and has become, in essence, an alternative media outlet for the radical right. The organisation, based at 55 Tufton Street, was founded and owned by Peter Whittle (deputy leader of UKIP from 2016 to 2017), who died in November 2025.

Every year, the NCF hosts the "Smith Lecture", where it invites a public figure to give a talk on a topic of their choosing; speakers in previous years have included Nigel Farage, Neil Oliver, and Rod Liddle. In 2025, the NCF instead hosted a panel discussion by its fellows titled "There'll Always be an England? England: 1066 - 2066?", discussing demographic change.

The NCF YouTube channel has published a regular discussion show, "Deprogrammed", hosted by Harrison Pitt, an NCF fellow who also works for Restore Britain, and Connor Tomlinson, a far-right Youtuber; both Pitt and Tomlinson advocate for "remigration".. Guests on "Deprogrammed" in 2025 included a host of far-right figures and conspiracy theorists, such as Dan Wootton, Lucy White, Charles Cornish-Dale (AKA Raw Egg Nationalist), Steven Edginton and Josh Ferme, as well as former Prime Minister Liz Truss. Pitt's colleague at Restore Britain, Charlie Downes, has also appeared as one of the show's hosts in Tomlinson's absence.



Harrison Pitt
Photo: YouTube

LOTUS EATERS MEDIA

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET

Lotus Eaters Media is a multimedia platform established by Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad). From an office in Swindon, the outlet produces a daily stream of inflammatory culture-war content to a large online audience.

With a level of production value unusual among the British far right, the Lotus Eaters website hosts an array of text, audio and video content behind a paywall. It also uses mainstream platforms, including YouTube, where it has received almost 400 million views across its two main channels.

Since its launch in 2020, Lotus Eaters has become increasingly extreme, pushing nakedly racist and authoritarian positions whilst attempting to skirt censorship on YouTube. The outlet has also platformed an array of extremist figures and groups, including well-known fascists, and has links to formal political organisations.

THE SWINDON GRIEVANCE FACTORY

Lotus Eaters officially launched in November 2020, Benjamin describing his new platform as a "safe space for people who are afraid of being persecuted" on mainstream platforms. The wider political aim was to found "a rightwing institution" that could foment "a new conservatism", midwifing the careers of new influencers and becoming a "network for coordinating" among the wider right.

Named in reference to Homer's Odyssey, the Lotus Eaters have intellectual pretensions, selling pricey online courses on ancient Greek virtue ethics.

However, these supposedly high-minded pursuits are undercut by the general tenor of the daily podcast. Unregulated by Ofcom, Lotus Eaters pushes relentless narratives of white victimhood and decline, uploaded under screaming clickbait titles. Hosts typically import some current controversy from X, often "nutpicking" posts from their political enemies for maximum outrage.

The show has darkened over time. Ethnonationalist positions are taken as read, and discussions can quickly devolve into base racism, with free market economic leanings mingling with calls for brutal state crackdowns against ideological and ethnic enemies.

Central to the group's outlook is the notion of the demographic "replacement" of white Brits and that "remigration" – a modern euphemism for repatriation – is a cure-all. Lotus Eaters has inherited these preoccupations from the fascist fringe, and subsequently done much to amplify them. For example, in 2022 the outlet coined the phrase "remigration is inevitable", which has since become a slogan of the international extreme right.

Lotus Eaters has platformed figures from across the British far right, including Stephen Lennon, David Kurten, Ben Habib, Charles Cornish-Dale, Peter McIlvenna, Richard Tice, Simon Webb, Laurence Fox, Voice of Wales, Tom Rowsell, Gavin Boby, Ed Dutton, Nick Tenconi, Andrew Bridgen, Morgoth, Callum Barker,

CARL BENJAMIN

Benjamin first gained online notoriety for his role in "Gamergate", a misogynistic harassment campaign against female video-game developers and journalists. Gaining a large YouTube following, Benjamin has courted controversy ever since, for example using racial slurs and making a series of rape "jokes" about the Labour MP Jess Phillips.

In 2018, Benjamin joined UKIP in an attempt to "take it over in a soft coup". He represented the party in the 2019 European elections, but his candidacy further damaged the party's reputation and did much to terminate the leadership of his ally Gerard Batten.

During this time, Benjamin became a fixture at far-right street protests organised by the serial criminal Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson). Despite his atheism, he was also involved in Hearts of Oak, a Christian nationalist outfit that launched in 2020. Benjamin is also a regular speaker at various far-right conferences, including the Traditional Britain Group and The Witan, as well as "Men's Rights" events.

Since launching Lotus Eaters, Benjamin appears to have been radicalised by his own platform, adopting an increasingly extreme worldview.



Steve Laws and more. It also hosted former Prime Minister Liz Truss in 2024.

Hosts also have links to formal far-right organisations. These include the Basketweavers, which was founded by Mark Houghton, a Lotus Eaters contributor. Lotus Eaters also has close links to Restore Britain, with the key figures behind Restore listed as regular guest contributors and Rupert Lowe MP himself appearing on the show several times.

Hosts Benjamin "Beau" Dade and Dan Tubb were listed as Reform UK candidates in 2024. Dade was sacked after HOPE not hate exposed that he had called for the deportation of anyone who has settled in the UK since 1997 (described as a "foreign plague") and for banning "openly seditious" organisations including HOPE not hate, the BBC, Channel 4, *The Guardian* and more. Tubb was subsequently also dropped.

Other hosts include Harry Robinson, who has called for the raising of a white racial consciousness in Britain and claimed that "democracy needs to be destroyed".

The group also sells the *Islander* magazine, which has featured a variety of extreme contributors.



TURNING POINT UK

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

LEADER: NICK TENCONI

Turning Point UK (TPUK) is the British offshoot of the influential American far-right group Turning Point USA.

TPUK launched in 2019 with some fanfare and much derision. The group was intended to emulate the success of its American parent group in mobilising young conservatives on college campuses, but failed to create any organic presence in universities here.

However, following the addition of COO Nick Tenconi (now UKIP leader) to the group, it began to reinvent itself as a street-protest organisation, and was a visible presence in the demonstrations against drag queen storytelling sessions in 2022 and 2023. A report by Red Flare in 2024 documented the connections between TPUK and football-hooligan groups like Pie and Mash Squad and the Democratic Football Lads Alliance. At a public demonstration in January 2025, Tenconi called for the detention and deportation of "all Islamists" and "all migrants who are here to colonise".

In September 2025, the leader of Turning Point USA, Charlie Kirk, was assassinated. Tenconi spoke at a London vigil held shortly after Kirk's death, where he announced that "war has now been declared".

With Tenconi turning his attention to UKIP, TPUK has somewhat stagnated, although a new cohort of younger activists has attempted to return the organisation to its roots, most notably Thomas Moffitt (AKA Young Bob), who campaigned on behalf of TPUK throughout the summer and autumn of 2025 at London university campuses. However, Moffitt was suspended from his position after HOPE not hate exposed his disparaging comments about TPUK and Tenconi in December.

PROFILES: RADICAL RIGHT (CONTINUED)



Laurence Fox
Photo: Wiki alf

LAURENCE FOX AND RECLAIM PARTY

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: LAURENCE FOX

Laurence Fox is a former actor and musician who, since 2020, has carved out a career as a radical-right provocateur and aspiring politician as leader of the Reclaim Party.

Fox's political ambitions have been dogged by administrative issues and derisory election results, and there are doubts about the viability of Reclaim going forward. The party is exclusively bankrolled by pro-Brexit businessman Jeremy Hosking, who has donated more than £4 million to date. In January 2024, Fox stated that the then-leaders of Reform UK and the SDP had approached Hosking to solicit his support and abandonment of Reclaim. Nonetheless, in the first nine months of 2025, Hosking donated £140,000 to the party.

The Reclaim Party Ltd, a private company controlled by Fox, was incorporated in November 2020 and remains active. However, in breach of company law, it has not filed accounts since July 2022. The company applied to be struck off on 9 May 2025, but this was discontinued on 15 May 2025, after Companies House received an objection. The company applied again to be struck off on 20 May 2025.

Fox also has a media career as a commentator, but was sacked from his GB News job in 2023 after a misogynistic rant against the journalist Ava Evans. Since then, he has taken to posting increasingly inflammatory messages on social media.

In March 2025, Fox was charged with a sexual offence, after he allegedly shared an intimate image of TV star Narinder Kaur on social media without her consent – something he denies.

On 13 September 2025, Fox marched and spoke at the "Unite the Kingdom" rally, organised by anti-Muslim extremist and serial criminal Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), where he ranted about "demographic suicide".

ENGLISH DEMOCRATS

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: ROBIN TILBROOK

Founded in 2002, the English Democrats is a far-right party that calls for the creation of an English parliament. Its chairman is Robin Tilbrook, a solicitor and perennial failure at the ballot box. Tilbrook frequently promotes the "Great Replacement" conspiracy theory and has denounced the Jewish financier George Soros for his apparently "evil record and baneful influence".

Following the collapse of the British National Party (BNP) in the early 2010s, the English Democrats attracted former members of the fascist party, and at one point Tilbrook estimated that a tenth of its membership originated from the BNP. To followers of the English Democrats, Tilbrook has frequently promoted a book written by Nick Griffin which claims that Jews control the media.

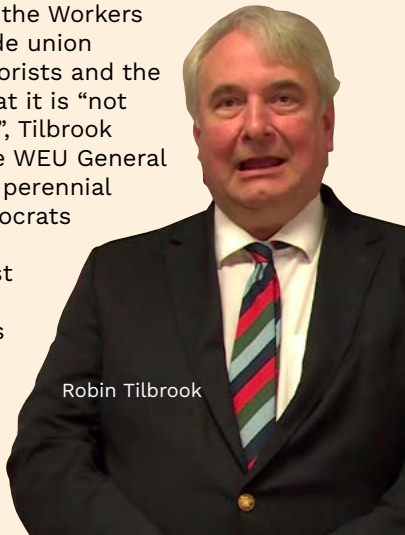
A friend of Mark Collett, the leader of the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative (PA), Tilbrook has also appeared on PA livestreams and advised audiences on how to avoid scrutiny from the Prevent counter-radicalisation programme.

In September 2023, the party announced an alliance with UKIP, registering the "Patriots Alliance" with the Electoral Commission. Two candidates stood under the name in the 2024 general election.

However, in June 2024, HOPE not hate revealed that the English Democrats had also struck a deal with PA. Collett, under pressure for his failure to register PA with the Electoral Commission as a political party, offered his members the chance to stand in the general election under the banner of the English Democrats. Four candidates took up this deal, and ultimately none of them polled higher than 1% of the vote. The so-called "migrant hunter" turned fascist activist Steve Laws also represented the party in Dover & Deal, receiving just 185 votes (0.4%).

Last year saw no sign of an uptick in the party's support. On 1 May 2025, Catherine Blaiklock – a founder of Reform UK's predecessor, the Brexit Party, who left after we revealed her far-right social-media activity – stood for the English Democrats in the Runcorn and Helsby byelection, receiving just 95 votes (0.3%). In the local elections held on the same day, the party had just one candidate, David Dickason in Lincolnshire (Boston Coastal ward) who came last with 48 votes.

In 2009, the party established the Workers of England Union (WEU), a trade union popular among conspiracy theorists and the far right. While WEU claims that it is "not affiliated to any political party", Tilbrook sits as WEU Chairman, and the WEU General Secretary is Stephen Morris, a perennial candidate for the English Democrats party in Greater Manchester. Niall McCrae, a far-right activist and conspiracy theorist, is a representative of WEU and has addressed the PA conference for the last two years.



Robin Tilbrook

UKIP

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY / STREET NETWORK

LEADER: NICK TENCONI

The UK Independence Party (UKIP) is a far-right party that played a leading role in pushing for the UK to leave the European Union. Founded in 1993 as a single-issue Eurosceptic campaign group, the party began to perform well in local and national elections under the leadership of Nigel Farage.

However, the party has since experienced a catastrophic fall in fortunes, with its vote share and income dwindling to the point of oblivion. It has faced relentless infighting and ten changes of leadership since the resignation of Nigel Farage in 2016.

Nicholas Tenconi, the head of Turning Point UK, is now UKIP's leader. In a podcast in January 2025, he admitted being sentenced for a fight outside a nightclub. A media report from his 2011 court case mentions Tenconi punched a victim in an apparent drunken argument over a cigarette, which led to the victim being kicked on the ground.

UKIP entered 24 candidates at the 2024 general election, just over half the 43 it put up in 2019. All but one lost their deposits. UKIP also performed badly in the local elections, putting forward just 16 candidates, including the conspiracy theorist Leo Robinson, who has told his followers to prepare for war with "death jab agents".

While UKIP remains a marginal electoral force, Tenconi has transformed the group into a prolific street movement focused on Christian nationalism, immigration and combatting "the left". Over 2025, UKIP hosted a "mass-deportations tour", which saw Tenconi rally across several different UK cities. The largest events attracted around 200 people, but Tenconi was often met with smaller groups of around 70. His speeches promised to "restore Christianity back into the heart of government", telling his followers that their movement was part of the "ninth crusade". Online, UKIP posted that "5-10 million must be deported as a minimum" – roughly one in seven of the UK population.

With his own rallies struggling to meet his desired attendance, Tenconi began to exploit local anti-migrant protests as captive audiences for his speeches. Tenconi attended local marches in at least 10 different towns, leading chants of "Tell the nation, deportation!" He promised on multiple occasions to not only deport immigrants, but also "communists" and "socialists", who would be sent to North Korea.

Tenconi and his team also took several trips to Calais in 2025, with the aim of preventing asylum seekers from making Channel crossings. They "hunted" asylum seekers in camps, chanting "you shall not pass" and shining torches in their faces. Their exposé-style footage showed Tenconi encouraging British men to volunteer to join their trips, and to actively create a hostile environment in the UK for asylum seekers by approaching them and questioning their residency.

Ultimately, UKIP remains a one-man-band with little electoral threat. However, the group's rhetoric is becoming increasingly extreme, and Tenconi shows a willingness to partake in hands-on activism. As a result, it remains a threat through street-level activity. Furthermore, as Christian nationalism finds popularity among the far right more broadly, Tenconi's ideas may gain traction.



Nick Tenconi, 25 October 2025
Photo: HOPE not hate

PROFILES: RADICAL RIGHT (CONTINUED)



Photo: Gage Skidmore

CALVIN ROBINSON

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Calvin Robinson is a far-right commentator and evangelical priest who developed a following largely through his weekly show on GB News, "Calvin's Common Sense Crusade", which often saw him wearing his priest's cassock on air. Robinson mixes his strict interpretation of Christian morality with an anti-immigrant and conspiratorial outlook that has become increasingly extreme over time.

In 2023, he was sacked by GB News after leaping to the defence of his friend Laurence Fox, following the latter's abusive on-air tirade against the journalist Ava Santina. He took his show to the Lotus Eaters, where he spoke to the Christian nationalist Joel Webbon – who has called Judaism a "parasitical" faith – to criticise Jews as opponents of Christianity. Robinson has posted on X about how he recognises "Talmudic Judaism as a problem".

Robinson was appointed lead spokesman for UKIP in August 2024, and left the UK shortly after for Michigan, where he became a priest at an Anglican Catholic church in Grand Rapids. His ministry did not last long. In January 2025, he mimicked Elon Musk's apparent Nazi salute at an anti-abortion event. Robinson, who defended his actions as a joke, was defrocked. He continues to speak at anti-abortion events in North America and co-hosts an occasional podcast with Laurence Fox.

On his podcast, Robinson has veered in an ever more antisemitic direction. In a December episode, he said: "There are too many perverted Jews running society. We see the porn industry run by Jews. We see Hollywood run by Jews. We see the music industry run by Jews... And it's all perverted. It's subverting our culture. It's an inversion of morality."

During the same programme, Robinson further claimed that "women need to know their place", that men "shouldn't be gay", and that "black people are committing most of the violent crimes and therefore something needs to be done about that".

ENGLISH CONSTITUTION PARTY

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: GRAHAM MOORE

The English Constitution Party is a tiny political party devoted to the cause of English nationalism, combined with a strong tendency towards conspiracy theories. Led by Graham Moore (AKA Daddy Dragon), a former member of the English Democrats and a QAnon promoter, the party makes no impact politically but retains a small support base.

The party suffered a small setback in August 2024 when Moore's X account was suspended, but he continues to produce regular video content on his Rumble channel. This includes semi-regular streams from the "Constitutional Seminars" that he puts on around the country.

The ECP did not field any candidates in the 2025 council elections, but leader Moore volunteered for a humiliating last-place finish in the Runcorn & Helsby by-election before compounding the embarrassment by launching a legal challenge to the results. The appeal was dismissed, though garnered a small amount of publicity for the otherwise moribund party.

HERITAGE PARTY

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: DAVID KURTEN

The Heritage Party is a minor political party launched in 2020 by the former UKIP official and ex-London Assembly member David Kurten.

The party emerged from the anti-vaccine and anti-lockdown protest movement of the COVID-19 pandemic, and retains a distinctly conspiratorial focus. Kurten has also dabbled in more overtly antisemitic politics, complaining in February 2024 that a "Jewess" will "rule over" Mexico, and siding with a Holocaust denier in an online debate. More extreme is the party's general secretary Madeleine Hunt, who, under the pseudonym "Mag Magz", commented under a Telegram post about Israel and stated that "anti-Christianity [and] anti white race" were "Talmudic principles".

Kurten's party contests elections, although candidates reliably poll poorly. Its slate of local election candidates has also declined in recent years, fielding 60 in 2023, 40 in 2024 and 23 in 2025. It put up 41 candidates in the 2024 general election, all of whom lost badly, averaging 0% of the national vote share.

Heritage does, however, have a handful of councillors at the parish level, the lowest tier of local government. In March 2025, the group also gained its first representation at the county level, when Kent Cllr Becki Bruneau left the Conservatives, citing a series of swivel-eyed conspiracy beliefs in her statement and claiming that Heritage would "stop the invasion of our shores".

JAMES DELINGPOLE

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

James Delingpole is a columnist for *The Spectator* and podcast host who increasingly strays into antisemitic territory.

On a November episode of his show, The Delingpod, he interviewed Nick Griffin, former head of the British National Party, and listened to his claim that "organised Jewry" is trying to foment civil war between Muslims and white Europeans. "That's so interesting," Delingpole said. "I expect there's something Talmudic about that." Delingpole went on to suggest that Nigel Farage belonged to a Jewish banking family. "He's a Rothschild, isn't he? He's controlled?"

On social media, Delingpole seems ever more comfortable dabbling in Holocaust revisionism. In a Telegram post from October 2024, he complained that the WWII memoirs he was reading might have been "slanted and tweaked to reinforce the official narrative on Hitler, the war, the Jews, etc". More recently, he endorsed the Holocaust denier David Irving. Writing on Telegram, Delingpole claimed Irving had been "unfairly maligned".

In his *Spectator* articles, he has told his readers to watch antisemitic conspiracy videos, including one featuring the American fantasist Kay Griggs, who claimed a secret organisation of Jewish murderers are "killing people who are good on purpose, and they get brownie points with their little cult".

Among the other fantasies Delingpole has shared last year on social media: the Princess of Wales is secretly dead, electric cars give you cancer, Brigitte Macron is a man, chemtrails are controlling our minds, cabinet ministers are torturing children to death in Satanic rituals, Charlie Kirk's assassination was a psy-op (as were 2024's Southport murders), and Israel staged the October 7th attacks.



Thomas Moffitt, 21 February 2026
Photo: HOPE not hate

THOMAS MOFFITT (YOUNG BOB)

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST

Thomas Moffitt (AKA Young Bob) is a young activist who first gained popularity filming controversial interviews on Speaker's Corner and campaigning for Disciples of Christ, a Christian activist group heavily influenced by UKIP leader Nick Tenconi. Since then, he has become arguably the best known of a batch of up-and-coming "auditors" who attend and shoot content at protests.

Despite his young age, Moffitt has been heavily involved with UKIP and Turning Point UK, as well as acting as a journalist for Vox Populi. Moffitt is also part of a growing Christian-nationalist trend within the far right, having also returned to more of the old-fashioned university "tabling" which made Turning Point famous.

In late 2025, Moffitt was suspended from his position in Turning Point UK, after HOPE not hate revealed disparaging comments he had made about the organisation and Tenconi, who is its COO. On X, he now refers to himself as a contributor to Urban Scoop, an alternative media outlet controlled by Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson).

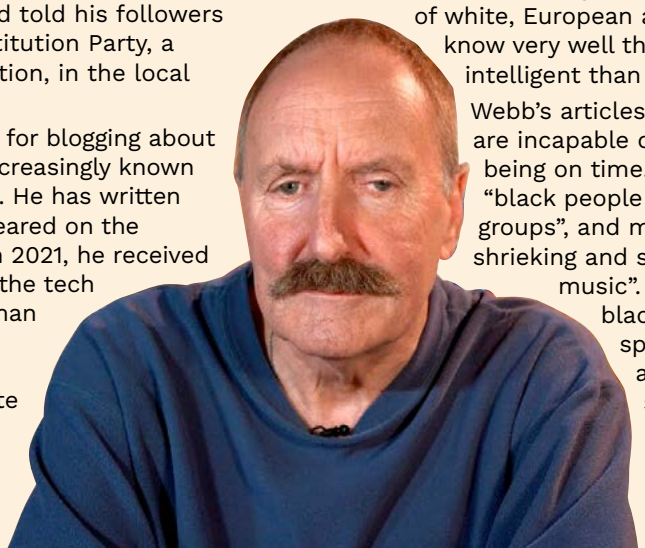
SIMON WEBB (HISTORY DEBUNKED)

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

History Debunked, run by Simon Webb, is a YouTube channel with 257,000 subscribers that publishes videos about the perceived decline of Britain and the so-called "blackwashing" of British history.

Webb addressed the Traditional Britain Group Christmas social in 2022, and told his followers to vote for the English Constitution Party, a conspiracy-theorist organisation, in the local elections that year.

Although he was best known for blogging about history, Webb has become increasingly known as an author on race science. He has written for Aporia Magazine and appeared on the podcast of Edward Dutton. In 2021, he received funding from Andrew Conru, the tech entrepreneur behind the Human Diversity Foundation (later renamed Polygenic Scores). Thanks to a grant, Webb wrote a book on race science called *The Equalitarian Dogma*.



His Substack, which has 5,700 subscribers, publishes articles about racial differences in intelligence. In one article, Webb wrote: "White people, by and large, know that black people tend not to be as articulate and bright as they are themselves, and simply adjust their conversation and behaviour towards them accordingly." Other recent headlines include "African-Americans and Caribbeans belong to a different species from those of white, European ancestry" and "All white people know very well that black people tend to be less intelligent than they are themselves".

Webb's articles also assert that black people are incapable of deferring gratification and being on time. In another post, he writes that "black people seem to prefer to operate in groups", and make excessive noise "either by shrieking and shouting or playing loud pop music". He has also suggested that black people belong to a different species and asserted that Muslims are "working from within to subvert" the nations of Europe.

PROFILES: RADICAL RIGHT (CONTINUED)



Photo: Anything Goes With James English

DAN WOOTTON

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

A former celebrity journalist at *The Sun*, Dan Wootton joined GB News in 2021 to host a discussion show. He was suspended and ultimately left his job after an incident on his programme in which Laurence Fox made sexually offensive comments about a female journalist.

His new online outlet is named "Dan Wootton Outspoken" and includes a YouTube channel with 292,000 subscribers, and a Substack with 38,000 subscribers. Wootton interviews familiar figures in the radical and wider far right, such as Laurence Fox, Nick Tenconi, and Calvin Robinson.

Wootton has emerged as one of the leading critics of Reform UK on the radical right, turning firmly against the party after the departure of Rupert Lowe in March 2025. This antipathy deepened in January 2026, with Wootton attacking Reform's choice of a Muslim candidate for London Mayor and its acceptance of the defection of former Chancellor Nadhim Zahawi.

Wootton is now constantly engaged in spats with other figures across the right, making him a key source of tensions and disagreements across the movement.

Throughout 2025, Wootton was engaged in legal action by a former colleague, who claims that Wootton used fake social media profiles to solicit sexual images from him. Wootton denies the accusations, and the case is ongoing.



THE GREAT BRITISH NATIONAL STRIKE

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION / STREET NETWORK

LEADER: RICHARD DONALDSON

The Great British National Strike (GBNS) is a street-activist group launched in May 2025 by Richard Donaldson, an ex-soldier from Chester.

GBNS organised events around a grab-bag of right-wing talking points: immigration, net zero and the Starmer government. It faced criticism over its approach, its flip-flop branding and its tendency to promise events and content that never materialised. Even so, it managed to host a relatively successful protest, and played a large role in the logistics of country-wide anti-migrant protests over the summer.

On 24 May, GBNS attempted a nation-wide strike, promising 77 events in towns and cities across the UK. However, while London saw the largest numbers, attracting several hundred, most only attracted between 50 and 100, with many others seeing just a handful of people or failing to materialise at all. Donaldson received criticism both before and after the event for styling it as a "strike", especially as he chose to hold it on a Saturday.

Attendees included some unsavoury far-right characters. UKIP leader Nick Tenconi attended the London event, alongside members of the neo-Nazi White Vanguard. Members of the National Rebirth Party were spotted in Coventry and Hull, and Mike Lynton, South West regional organiser for the Homeland Party, was present in Exeter. In Truro, a parish councillor for the British Democrats went on an antisemitic rant, arguing that Hitler's violence was due to "world Jewry declaring war on Germany" and the Holocaust was "massively overstated".

The group subsequently rebranded as the Great British National Protest, organising a protest in Dover on 19 July that attracted around 250 people. The event saw the debut of Thomas Moffitt (AKA Young Bob) and also the first performance from Jodie Scott (AKA Missus Kent). Scott went on to sing at anti-migrant protests across the country, until she was exposed for running a WhatsApp chat in which a user advocated for Islamic genocide, and others discussed buying guns.

Following Dover, Donaldson began to organise for "Phase 3": coordinated protests in London, Glasgow, Manchester, Belfast, Norwich, Cardiff and Edinburgh. While the event itself was eventually cancelled, it allowed Donaldson to formally expand his team with representatives in each region. Some of these, like Newcastle's Mason Laidler and Belfast's Steven Baker, went on to organise anti-migrant protests in their areas over the summer.

A FORCE FOR GOOD

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

LEADER: ALISTAIR MCCONNACHIE

A Force For Good (AFFG) is a Scottish self-described "pro-UK campaign group and think tank" headed by former UKIP organiser, Alistair McConnachie.

McConnachie was forced out of UKIP in 2001 for engaging in Holocaust denial. He was paid by the Orange Order for "social media services" ahead of the 2014 independence referendum, and also addressed the tiny but extreme TradSoc conference in 2019.

Under the AFFG banner, McConnachie produces a regular, but little-viewed, stream of video content. He is also founder of Independent Green Voice, a tiny political party that has fielded former British National Party activists Max Dunbar and John Robertson as candidates.

McConnachie and AFFG are active in street politics, holding counter-demonstrations against pro-independence marches and supporting anti-trans demonstrations. In 2023, when asked by a reporter at an anti-republican protest, McConnachie stood by his assertion that "gas chambers [were not] used to execute Jews", and that eyewitness accounts had been "revealed as false or exaggerated".

Throughout 2025, the group held small protests outside Holyrood and street stalls in Glasgow, with McConnachie even travelling to Dover for the Great British National Protest in July.

THE MALLARD

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET

The Mallard is a small right-wing blog set up in 2016. Describing itself as "conservative", the outlet is far to the right of even the current incarnation of the Conservative Party and gives voice to a niche brand of "High Tory" philosophy, popular among some right-wing university students and few others.

Despite the efforts to maintain a mainstream appearance, its output indicates that *The Mallard's* authors share much in common with more lowbrow outlets of the far right; for example, editor-in-chief Samuel Martin complains of "anti-whiteness" and endorses anti-migrant posts from the fascist activist Steve Laws on X.

An article written by the Lotus Eaters host Benjamin "Beau" Dade in 2022 fantasised about deporting "millions" of British citizens so the country could "rid itself of the foreign plague we have been diseased with". The article was deleted from the website shortly after publication.

In February 2025, HOPE not hate published a leaked chat of *The Mallard*'s editorial staff. Jake Scott, the website's co-founder and chairman, had used the antisemitic "echoes" meme, adding three brackets around a word to denote Jewish influence. He also joked with his colleagues at the outlet about adding swastikas into articles and said that a gay commentator should be "castrated".

KATIE HOPKINS

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Katie Hopkins is a provocative far-right former columnist and current social-media figure. First coming to attention as a particularly unpleasant contestant on BBC series *The Apprentice*, Hopkins launched a career as a talking head on discussion shows, frequently called upon to provide offensive commentary on issues around race, class, weight and many other topics.

Her career in mainstream media, including stints as a host on LBC and columnist for *The Sun* and *Daily Mail*, slowly ground to a halt after her increasingly extreme statements went beyond what her respective employers could tolerate. This included a notorious column for *The Sun* in 2015, in which she referred to migrants as "cockroaches" and "feral humans", and a tweet calling for a "final solution" following the Manchester bombing in 2017.

She has since attempted to launch a career as a far-right personality, hosting a show on Rebel Media and dabbling with the defunct anti-Muslim group For Britain. Despite widespread controversy and regular cancellations in previous years, Hopkins has launched another run of live shows for 2026, with dozens of sell-out events scheduled at venues starting in April. In May 2025, Hopkins was interviewed by police over



language used in her comedy shows, though the investigation was later dropped.

She has also continued her longstanding alliance with Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), giving an energetic speech at September's "Unite the Kingdom" rally.



PAUL JOSEPH WATSON

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Paul Joseph Watson is a British far-right conspiracy theorist and influencer with an enormous social-media following. Watson first came to prominence as a contributor to Alex Jones' Infowars, a major American far-right conspiracy media outlet.

Watson has cited Jones and British conspiracy influencer David Icke as being the two key influences in shaping his worldview in his late teens, leading him to start his own blog in 2001. He soon attracted the attention of Jones, and the pair would collaborate heavily for the next two decades on content for Infowars' extensive network of websites and video platforms.

While Watson's early content promoted a huge range of conspiracy beliefs, including 9/11 trutherism, chemtrails and the New World Order, over the past decade his output has increasingly aligned with the US and European far right, demonising Muslims and migrants and spreading false news about liberal and left-wing public figures. Watson, and InfoWars more broadly, have been prominent supporters of Donald Trump since his first run for presidency.

Hitting on a simple but effective format for his videos, Watson built his own large social-media following, in particular on YouTube (2.5m subscribers across two channels), and X (1.4m followers). He also runs a website called Modernity through which he posts his videos, and links to his wide range of social-media accounts and written articles. The website also has a members' area with paid access to exclusive content.

Watson has distanced himself from InfoWars in recent years. Documents released in the Sandy Hook defamation case against Jones – which resulted in Jones being ordered to pay $1bn to the parents of the victims – was embarrassing, highlighting the huge markups and profits of their supplements business, as well as Watson's private criticisms of Jones' conduct in relation to Sandy Hook.

In 2020, Watson did his best to exploit fears about the COVID-19 pandemic, and continually slammed the UK government's lockdown measures from his parents' home in Spain. During this period, he also suffered a number of bizarre public meltdowns, engaging in long, abusive Twitter rants against various public figures and former allies.

Watson has also dabbled in UK party politics. In 2018, he joined UKIP alongside several other far-right social media influencers who became close to then-leader Gerard Batten, a move he described as a "soft coup". However, this did little to pull UKIP out of its spiral into oblivion, and Watson soon jumped ship to support Reform UK, though his content tends not to focus on party politics.

While still an influential figure online, Watson has become increasingly isolated on the far right following a series of allegations and controversies. In 2022, *Byline Times* released a recording of Watson made at a party in which he says: "I really think you should press the button to wipe Jews off the face of the Earth." He also used a long list of racist and homophobic slurs, saying "I don't give a shit about Israel and Palestine. I care about white people. Not sand n****r Jew P**i f****t c**ns."

Women were a particular target of Watson's content towards the latter half of 2025, with countless videos criticising women and feminism with titles like "Women F*** Around And Find Out", "Modern Women Are Doomed" and "Women Are Destroying Themselves".

ANDREW BRIDGEN

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER/ CONTENT CREATOR



First elected in 2010, Andrew Bridgen was a Conservative MP known for the occasional scandal. Then, in January 2023, Bridgen had the Conservative whip suspended after comparing the vaccine rollout to the Holocaust, and was expelled from the party in April 2023.

Bridgen joined Laurence Fox's Reclaim Party in May 2023, but left in December, over "a difference in direction", and stood as an independent in the July 2024 general election. He lost his deposit in the election, receiving just 1,568 votes (3.2%).

Since losing his seat in Parliament, Bridgen's conspiracism has become even more extreme. As well as claiming that his poor election performance was the result of a sinister plot rather than his own unpopularity, Bridgen has spent his post-parliamentary life referring to world leaders as the puppets of shadowy "globalist" masters, who have, apparently, pushed "the Net Zero hoax for money and control over you" and sought war with Russia to "cover for the lies they have told you" and "gain control of their $75 trillion of natural resources". He has also continued to propagate conspiracy theories regarding the COVID-19 pandemic, declaring in January 2026, for instance, that "both the COVID 19 virus and the COVID 19 'vaccines' were bioweapons".

The former-MP-turned-conspiracy-theorist was due to speak at Tommy Robinson's September "Unite the Kingdom" rally, but was unable to do so as the event ran out of time.

VOXPOPULI

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET

VoxPopuli is a far-right news outlet broadly composed of young up-and-coming British activists. These include: Montgomery Toms, an anti-vaxxer who regularly makes a nuisance of himself by giving political speeches in packed tubes and train stations; James Harvey, the Norwich-based head of Students Against Tyranny; and Jonathan Wong, the organiser of "Abolish asylum day" and close associate of Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad).

VoxPopuli's YouTube channel produces regular content for its 25,000 followers. Its videos cover a grab-bag of far-right talking points, opposing immigration, feminism, LGBTQ+ rights, vaccines and "wokeness" more broadly. Vox Populi also frequently covers protests, including Stephen Lennon's "Unite the Kingdom" event in September as well as an assortment of anti-migrant protests over the summer.

HEARTS OF OAK

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET

Founded in February 2020 and headed by Peter McIlvenna, Hearts of Oak was originally presented as an alliance between far-right and libertarian activists, including Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad) and a number of former UKIP figures, including ex-leader Gerard Batten.

Hearts of Oak launched with a protest on Parliament Square, demanding the deportation of Muslim perpetrators of on-street grooming. Describing itself as a "populist, anti-establishment movement", the group announced that it would campaign on immigration, political correctness and protecting children from the "LGBTQ agenda".

Disrupted soon after its launch by the COVID-19 pandemic, its operations have moved online. McIlvenna has produced regular interviews for the group's YouTube channel, covering an array of topics but with a focus on anti-Muslim content, opposing COVID-19 lockdown restrictions, and anti-LGBTQ+ content.

Today, Hearts of Oak is little more than an outlet for McIlvenna to produce video podcasts interviewing other far-right activists and commentators such as Lennon, Calvin Robinson, the Austrian identitarian leader Martin Sellner, and David Kurten from the Heritage Party.

McIlvenna is also Chief of Staff to Lord Pearson and in 2025 became a fellow of the American Freedom Alliance.



PROFILES: RACE SCIENCE

POLYGENIC SCORES

(FORMERLY THE HUMAN DIVERSITY FOUNDATION)

CATEGORY: PRIVATE COMPANY

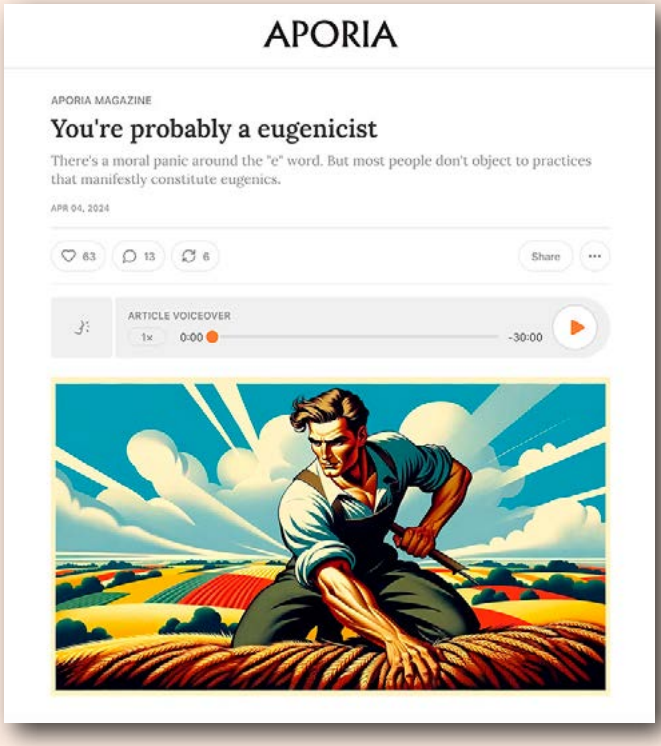
Polygenic Scores advances race science. It is the successor to the Pioneer Fund, an American eugenics organisation created in 1937 that developed ties to Nazi Germany and disseminated its propaganda. Registered in Wyoming for privacy reasons, Polygenic Scores is led by Emil Kirkegaard, a Danish race scientist. First called the Human Diversity Foundation, the name was changed in April 2025 following an infiltration project by HOPE not hate.

Kirkegaard – whose legal name is William Engman – is the manager of Polygenic Scores. When an undercover reporter met Kirkegaard and his colleague, the British private school teacher Matthew Frost, the company controlled a number of initiatives to promote race science. Chief among them were OpenPsych and *Mankind Quarterly*, both pseudo-academic journals, in addition to a team of underground researchers such as Davide Piffer, an Italian former academic who once referred to African immigrants as "gorillas" and had his paper cited in the manifesto of the 2022 Buffalo terrorist who killed 10 people.

Following our investigation, Polygenic Scores has downgraded its output. Andrew Conru, a wealthy



Emil Kirkegaard. Photo: YouTube



Silicon Valley entrepreneur who had given the company $1.3 million, announced in late 2024 that he would cut ties. The resulting publicity coincided with a decline in the quality of the organisation's highest-quality media asset, Aporia Magazine.

Aporia was previously able to book podcast appearances from mainstream writers and academics, among them Peter Hitchens, Nigel Biggar, and Noam Chomsky. This year, with the exception of Steven Pinker, the calibre of video interviewees and guest writers has dropped to obscure conspiracy theorists and anonymous accounts. Aporia's podcast is now co-hosted by magazine editor Noah Carl, a former Cambridge academic disparagingly described by Matthew Frost as "not charismatic enough" for the role. In 2025, Aporia also repeatedly published Lipton Matthews, a race-science author whose own output was criticised by Frost as so poor-quality that it was "a total waste of time". Its X following has remained largely static at around 10,000 followers.

Polygenic Scores was dealt a further blow in 2025 when one of its former leaders publicly broke with the organisation. For reasons that remain unclear, Erik Ahrens, a German white nationalist, uploaded YouTube videos that described the inner workings of his former friend and colleague, Emil Kirkegaard. In a December 2025 video, Ahrens accused Kirkegaard of tax avoidance and drunkenly discussing the hiring of a dark-web assassin to murder one of his critics. Kirkegaard, at time of writing, had not responded to these claims.

MATTHEW FROST

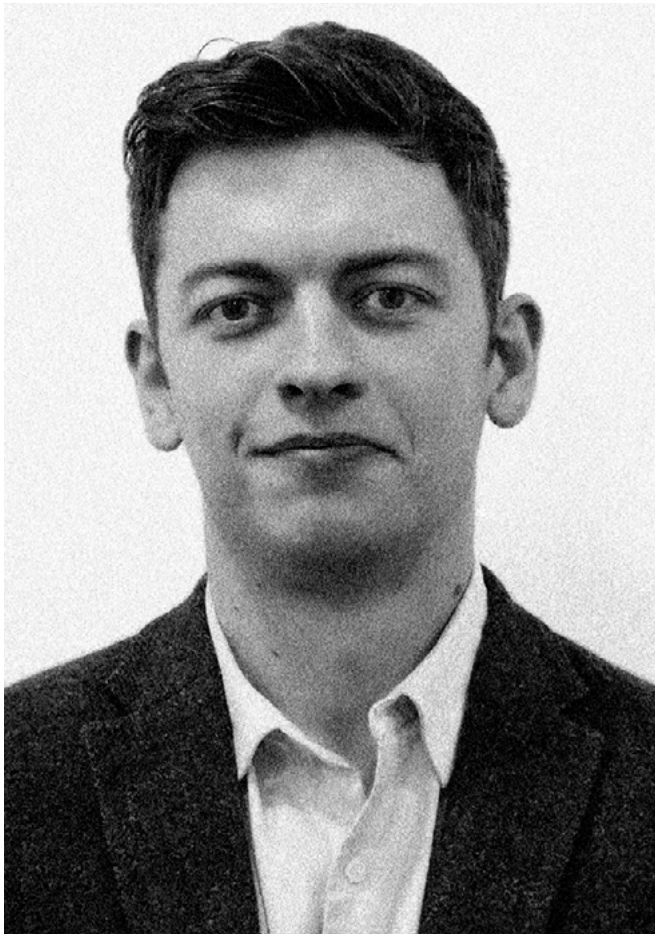
CATEGORY: INFLUENCER

Matthew Frost (AKA Matt Archer) used to teach religious studies at a private school in west London. He set up Ideas Sleep Furiously, a race-science blog, in 2021 and left his job to run it full time, selling it to Emil Kirkegaard and rebranding it as Aporia Magazine.

The website pledged it would "not cower beneath the god of political correctness". Central to Aporia is the concept that fixed racial groups exist, and that there is a discernible hierarchy between them based on genetic factors. Frost, in conversations with our undercover reporter, discussed his enthusiasm for the "remigration" of Africans from Europe.

With his Human Diversity Foundation colleague Erik Ahrens, the Alternative für Deutschland activist, Frost devised a membership-club scheme for devotees of race science to pay large sums of money to meet Edward Dutton and Neema Parvini. This project was called Neo Byzantium, and Frost and Ahrens have taken inspiration from the Nazi SS and the cult of Scientology to manage their members.

In 2024, Frost announced he was stepping back from day-to-day editorial duties at Aporia, although he still manages live events and remains the administrator of the group's Telegram channel. Following a HOPE not hate investigation published in late 2024, Neo Byzantium seems to have become inactive. Frost continues to interact with race-science activists on X, where he also posts about IQ and race.





EDWARD DUTTON

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER

Edward Dutton (AKA The Jolly Heretic) is a British YouTuber and proponent of pseudo-scientific "race science", which purports that intelligence and other characteristics are almost entirely biologically determined, and varies significantly between "races" of people. Dutton taught at University of Oulu in Finland but was removed after an investigation by the university found him guilty of plagiarising a student's dissertation.

Dutton has since taken to vlogging and independent eugenicist research and commentary. He has written for a number of fringe far-right journals, including the *Quarterly Review* and race science outlet OpenPsych. He sits on the advisory board of *Mankind Quarterly* and is a prominent individual in international race-science circles. He has spoken at several Traditional Britain Group events.

His often childish tone does not seem to have impeded his success on YouTube. The channel has 144,000 subscribers as of January 2026. On it, he publishes monologues that espouse racist views with a scientific veneer. He also interviews far-right figures such as Jared Taylor, Nick Fuentes and Laura Towler and more mainstream figures such as Lionel Shriver, Douglas Carswell and Amy Wax.

In May 2025, Dutton published a video documentary about Liverpool, in which, among other claims, he repeated myths about ticketless Scousers being responsible for the 1989 Hillsborough disaster.

TOMMY ROBINSON TRIES TO UNITE THE KINGDOM



By JOE MULHALL

2025 was another rollercoaster year for Britain's best-known far-right activist, starting in prison and peaking with the largest ever far-right protest in the UK.

Back in October 2024, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) was jailed for 18 months after breaching a 2021 injunction that barred him from repeating false claims about a Syrian schoolboy who had already won a libel case against him. Despite his claims of persecution, Lennon had only himself to blame. He libelled a young Syrian refugee and spent years avoiding accountability. He knew exactly what breaking the injunction would mean, which is why he lied about it. When his options ran out and justice caught up, he abandoned any pretense of caution and broke the injunction publicly, in front of thousands.

The High Court later reduced the sentence, leading to his early release in May 2025. It was clear that another lengthy spell in solitary confinement had taken its toll on Lennon, and a period of relative quiet followed the initial fanfare of his release.

However, Lennon is never one to avoid the limelight and it wasn't long before he announced his next venture. Last summer saw the start of a prolonged and volatile period of anti-migrant protests, primarily outside of accommodation housing people seeking asylum. It began in Epping, Essex on 7-8 July, when a woman and a teenage girl were sexually assaulted by an asylum seeker. HOPE not hate subsequently tracked 251 protests between then and the end of the year.

While Lennon offered his support to numerous anti-migrant events online, he was a conspicuous absence on the ground. Instead, he set about planning for his own Unite the Kingdom (UTK) rally, scheduled for September.

UNITE THE KINGDOM RALLY

The months leading up to the UTK rally were stressful for Lennon. On 28 July, footage emerged showing a man lying unconscious on the floor of St Pancras station in London, with Lennon walking behind him and shouting, "He's come at me, bruv." A British Transport Police statement said the man sustained "serious but non-life-threatening injuries".

In the early hours of the following day, Lennon flew to Tenerife, prompting a wave of headlines accusing him of fleeing the country after knocking the man unconscious. Upon his return, he was arrested on suspicion of grievous bodily harm and taken into custody for questioning, after which he was released on bail.

Lennon has since admitted that he feared the incident would lead to a lengthy prison sentence. Fortunately for him, the Crown Prosecution Service later concluded there was not enough evidence to bring charges. With that, he returned to promoting his London demonstration.

It was clear in the run-up that it was going to be a big event. While Lennon's ability to attract large numbers has ebbed and flowed over his 17 years of activism, crowds had been growing significantly over the previous half-decade. In July 2024, a Trafalgar Square demonstration attracted up to 30,000, dwarfing the largest-ever English Defence League (EDL) event, which saw just 5,000 people descend on Luton town centre in 2011.

UTK, however, would overshadow anything Lennon had achieved before. With an estimated 150,000 people attending, it was by some margin the largest far-right demonstration ever held in the UK.

Across a punishingly long Saturday afternoon, the vast crowd were subjected to an array of speeches by more than 20 far-right figures from the UK and abroad, including Elon Musk (who appeared by video link), the French far-right politician Éric Zemmour, Rebel News's Ezra Levant, and politicians and activists from Germany, Poland, Holland, Ireland, Spain, Belgium and New Zealand.

As the day progressed, scuffles broke out between Lennon supporters, counter-protestors, and the police lines separating them. Small groups intent on violence did manage to push through the police, forcing them to deploy dogs in response. "A number of officers have been assaulted," the Metropolitan Police later stated.

On the stage he erected on Whitehall, Lennon claimed that the protest was attended by three million people, a vastly inflated figure from the police estimate of 150,000. Nonetheless, they endured the rain, intermittently breaking into chants of "Oh Tommy Tommy" and "Send them back". Many of the speeches referenced Charlie Kirk, the Turning Point figurehead murdered earlier in the month, with some in the crowd holding up his picture.

Prime Minister Keir Starmer was targeted in chants and speeches, with American Republican candidate Valentina Gomez describing him as "the biggest paedophile protector in history".

One of the most anticipated speeches came from Reform UK's former deputy chairman, Ben Habib. Habib is the chairman of rival party Advance UK, which sponsored Lennon's event, and Advance's merchandise and banners were unavoidable. Lennon has since joined the party. Some of the more extreme speeches came from international guests. Introducing a section of the event that featured politicians from overseas, Lennon set the tone by telling the crowd that every single Western nation faces "an orchestrated, organised invasion and replacement of European citizens".

SUPPORT STAGNATES

Despite the huge rise in Stephen Yaxley-Lennon's profile over the past year, public support for the former EDL leader has not shifted. A poll, commissioned in January 2026, found that 6% of Britons strongly liked Lennon and a further 11% tended to like him.

This is identical to a poll we commissioned in late August, in the run-up to the Unite the Kingdom demonstration, and almost identical to the poll we commissioned in December 2024.

Men were considerably more likely to like Lennon than women, with 34% of men aged between 25 and 35 liking him.

HUGE SUPPORT FOR UNITE THE KINGDOM

Stephen Yaxley-Lennon's Unite the Kingdom demonstration last September was not just the largest far-right demonstration in British history, it also received support from a large minority of the British population.

A poll of over 8,000 people, conducted in January 2026, found that 26% of British people said that they either went on the demonstration or supported from afar.

While almost twice as many people said that they did not support the rally, the fact that a quarter of British people identify positively with Lennon's movement is deeply worrying.

An analysis of those who supported the rally gives a clear indication of their views. Over 80% backed the Raise the Colours flag protests and demonstrations outside hotels housing asylum seekers, while 71% said they think that some parts of Britain have become no-go areas for non-Muslims, and the same number believe that immigration has been bad for Britain. Two thirds think multiculturalism has failed and 60% are convinced that there will be a civil war between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Amongst young men aged 25 to 34, support for Lennon's Unite the Kingdom protests stands at a whopping 45%, while for men overall, support is generally running at 34%. In what could be quite awkward for Nigel Farage, 60% of those who voted Reform UK in the 2024 General Election also expressed their support for Lennon's demonstration.

French politician Éric Zemmour took the stage to echo Lennon's comments: "We are both subject to the same process of the Great Replacement of our European peoples by peoples coming from the south and of Muslim culture."

The Dutch commentator Eva Vlaardingerbroek delivered one of the day's most incendiary speeches, appearing in a T-shirt emblazoned with the words "Generation Remigration". Ada Lluch, a Spanish influencer, echoed Vlaardingerbroek by accusing the government of financing demographic replacement.

Both Steve Bannon and Jordan Peterson were billed to speak but did not attend. Elon Musk, however, made a surprise appearance, calling for the dissolution of Parliament and warning that violence was inevitable.

Islamophobia permeated the speeches on Whitehall. "This is a religious war," said Brian Tamaki, leader of New Zealand's Destiny Church, who called for banning other religions and religious symbols. After his speech, several flags were torn up on stage, including the Palestinian flag. Similarly, the Belgian politician Filip Dewinter said: "It has to be clear that Islam is our real enemy."

While Lennon complained about the media calling his demonstration "far right", the speeches from the stage and elements of the crowd proved this was justified. UTK became not just a spectacle organised by Lennon but an opportunity for far-right activists to foster a sense of collective solidarity. Perhaps the most disturbing encounter was at the front of the crowd on Whitehall, where a man filmed on camera called for



the assassination of Keir Starmer.

Seeing a crowd of this size cheering speeches that called for banning non-Christian religions, demanded the "remigration" of legal migrants, and claimed Britain is being "invaded" and "replaced" is unprecedented.

LENNON'S CHRISTIAN TURN

Lennon has always struggled to maintain momentum in the wake of his victories. His self-destructive streak, endless legal issues and battles with addiction have often stopped him from effectively building on his successes. On top of this, one lesson from the EDL days is that repetitive demonstrations yield diminishing returns. Supporters soon get bored of hearing the same speeches in the same places.

However, after the UTK rally, Lennon announced an event quite distinct from anything he had previously organised. Reflecting a recent development in his politics, he organised a Christmas carol service in London.

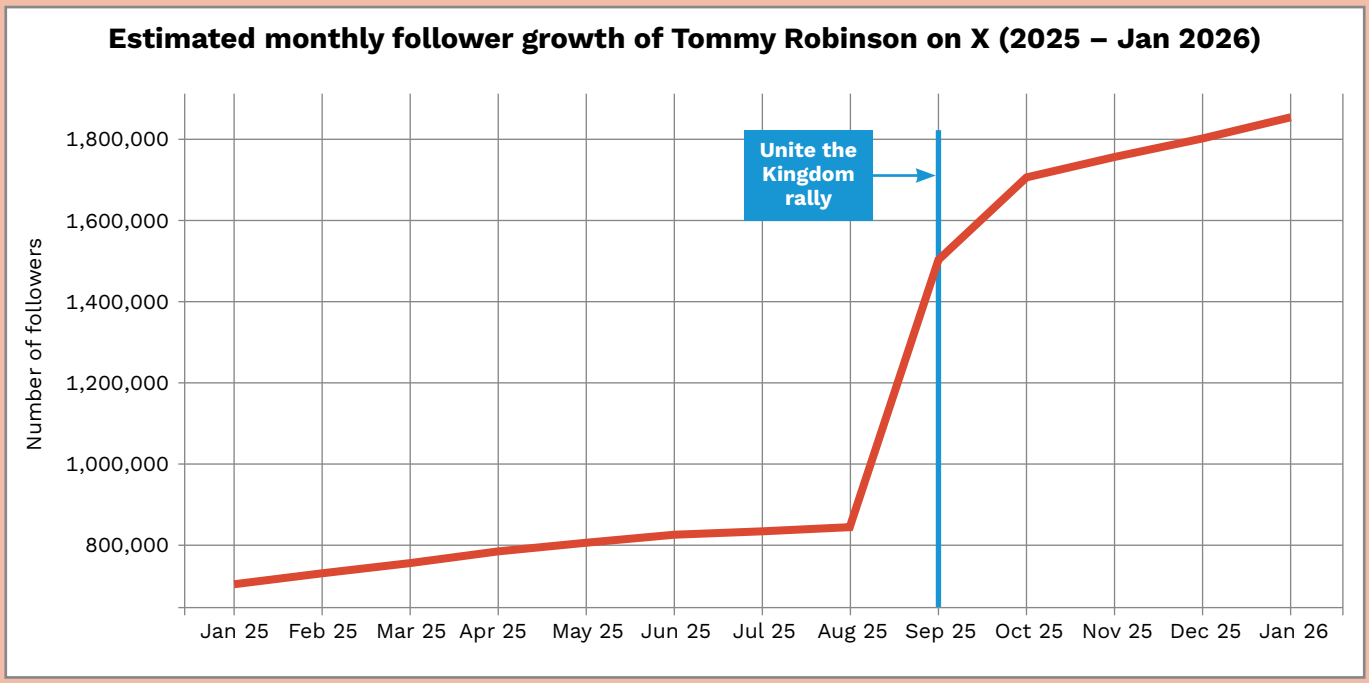
HOPE not hate first noted Lennon's Christian turn in the summer of 2024, when his events began to take on an overtly religious tone. Lennon began speaking more regularly about God and Jesus, with chants of "Christ is King" echoing from the stage, and bands from the Spirit Embassy London church in Tottenham often performing.

While the EDL drew on Christian and crusader imagery, using symbols such as Templar crosses, Lennon's own rhetoric had generally been less explicitly religious. In recent years, however, the broad far-right street movement has shifted from cultural Christianity toward open religiosity. Now, explicit references to God and Jesus are common, and the Lord's Prayer has been performed at both local anti-migrant protests and larger rallies, often by actual priests.

It was unsurprising then that Lennon finished the year with a rally-cum-carol service in central London. However, the event itself was long, out of tune, and attracted just a few thousand people, suggesting that not all of his supporters are following him down his new religious route.

MONEY, MONEY, MONEY

Despite the huge success of UTK, Lennon continues to be dogged by ongoing legal issues. In November



Month	Estimated Robinson followers
Jan 2025	700,000
Mar 2025	750,000
Jun 2025	820,000
Aug 2025	840,000
Sep 2025	1,500,000
Oct 2025	1,700,000
Dec 2025	1,800,000
Jan 2026	1,850,000



last year, he was finally found not guilty of a terrorism charge after refusing to give police access to his phone in July 2024.

Despite his regular pleas for financial help from his supporters, he admitted after the hearing that his legal fees were being covered by Elon Musk. "Elon Musk, I am forever grateful. If you didn't step in and fund my legal fight for this then I'd probably be in jail," he said outside the court.

Despite now being backed by the richest man in the world, he still sought out new ways to relieve his supporters of their money to fund his lavish life of expensive hotels, holidays and long foreign trips. Beyond the endless adverts for his merchandise, he has moved into the notoriously murky world of crypto currency and financial apps.

During UTK, the official livestream had watermarks advertising "Athena Bitcoin", "JUSTFOMO.COM", and "$UTK UTKCOIN.COM". More recently, he released a badly-received video advertising a trading app called Core Signals. "It's not a scam!" he promised his 1.8 million followers on X.

He has also posted a series of pro-UAE messages on X that have raised questions about whether he might be receiving money to post social-media content (see "Agents of Chaos" article, p. 20). He has also launched a Substack, charging his supporters for additional content.

A BIG 2026?

Last year confirmed Lennon's ability to turn controversy into momentum, and subsequently into cash. There remains no doubt that, after Nigel Farage, he is the best known far-right activist in the UK. His ability to attract such vast numbers onto the streets by exploiting widespread societal anger, frustration and financial hardship means that he remains an extremely dangerous figure.

With Reform topping the polls, Lennon is the main figurehead for those to the right of Farage's party. While overtly hostile to Reform, his movement exerts a gravitational pull on British politics, dragging it into ever more extreme territory.

He started 2026 by attending a locally organised anti-migrant demonstration and has already announced his first event for this spring. Whether he will be able to draw the same numbers as he did last September remains to be seen, but there is little doubt he will continue to be a figurehead for a significant section of Britain's far right.

THE TOMMY ROBINSON

Stephen Lennon's (AKA Tommy Robinson) enormous reach on social media is well known. With 1.9 million followers on X, he is reaching numbers of people that would have been impossible for previous generations of far-right activists. Yet, while worrying, his online activity does provide useful insights into his network and the way he influences and mobilises his supporters, writes the HNH Data Desk

OUR ANALYSIS over the past 12 months reveals that the Lennon online ecosystem has attempted to professionalise. What used to be a source of fragmented shouting has become a high-frequency and confrontational disinformation machine.

Using more than 13,000 posts and replies from social-media platform X over the last year, our Data Desk analysis shows how Lennon now operates less like an activist and more like a media mogul. We have also analysed 1,750 key interactions within his ecosystem, to show how he has built an online "digital spectacle" using disinformation, AI and high-profile international backing to inflate his brand. This helps him and his supporters blur the lines between genuine grassroots grievance and the performative victimhood that brings him maximum algorithmic reach.

Data shows that while Lennon's online presence is massive, much of his influence is actually the result of a small, insular group of online supporters. As such, much of his growing online reach is driven by an influential network of key figures rather than being a sign of growing public support. Lennon acts like a "weathermaker", stirring up a lot of noise and making his current followers more extreme, but he isn't really winning over new people. Even though he seems more visible than ever, he's mostly just ranting into the same echo chamber.

Key Findings:

1. SMALL, AND MORE CENTRALISED THAN YOU'D THINK

"Just a core 20 accounts are responsible for more than a third of all Lennon's network activity."

Our analysis indicates that Lennon's online operation is far smaller and more centralised than it first appears. Rather than a broad-based grassroots movement, Lennon's online network actually functions as a broadcast system in which a tightly connected inner circle drives visibility and reach.

Just 20 accounts, excluding Lennon himself, are responsible for 36.8% of all retweet activity within the pro-Lennon echo chamber. This concentrated amplification acts as a force multiplier, creating the illusion of widespread, organic public support while masking the movement's underlying dependence on a small, coordinated elite. While individual accounts can be replaced if removed, the overall structure remains fragile, leaving the movement far less resilient than it appears to the average X user.

2. HIS USE OF GROK

"Grok triples his engagement."

Lennon uses Grok as a form of digital notary, exploiting the AI tool's perceived objectivity to manufacture trust. Posts featuring screenshots or outputs attributed to Grok generate an average of 5,311 engagements, compared with a baseline of 1,599 engagements for posts that do not reference Grok, representing a more-than-threefold increase in interaction and a conservative uplift of at least 215%.

This "trust-multiplier" effect appears to allow Lennon and his network to short-circuit scepticism, with followers treating Grok's outputs as neutral verification rather than as generated content. Lennon and his supporters use Grok to "cool down" aggressive content. By repackaging deeply negative posts, sentiment scores shift from a volatile -0.82 to a near-neutral -0.08 so they can bypass Online Safety Act regulations while keeping their core message intact, significantly amplifying their reach and credibility within the pro-Lennon ecosystem.

3. WHAT HE SAYS AND WHAT HE ACTUALLY DOES

"Only 0.61% of his followers talk about meaningful policy."

Despite the loud presence of Lennon's movement online, there is a massive gap between the internet "noise" he creates and his real-world results. While rallies and posts might look impressive, the actual "potency" of the group is surprisingly low at just 0.61%. This means that for every 100,000 likes or shares, only about 610 people are actually talking about specific policies or taking meaningful action. For the most part, the movement acts as a performance for people who already agree with his message, rather than a platform for political change.

Our data analysis confirms that while the movement is great at grabbing attention, it struggles to turn

NETWORK IN NUMBERS



that energy into progress. It enjoys high visibility and momentum on social media, but it lacks "organic potency" – the ability to convert digital noise into a serious political force. It functions more like a spectacle or a piece of social-media "theatre" than a traditional political movement, prioritising being seen over any actual policy.

4. HIS INTERNATIONAL COVER

"9% of all global views and interactions in the Lennon network come directly from international accounts."

Lennon's influence isn't just confined to a British audience; he relies heavily on a massive support network from overseas. To take one example – a Canadian outlet, Rebel News, led by Ezra Levant, acts as a professional bridge to North American donors and audiences. Levant is the most frequent first point of interaction in Lennon's ecosystem, essentially acting as a "transatlantic pipeline". By framing Lennon as a persecuted hero rather than a solo agitator, this partnership ensures that even when the UK media ignores him, his message reaches a wealthy and motivated global audience.



Ezra Levant
Photo: YouTube

The numbers show just how vital this international connection is for his brand's survival. Roughly 9% of all global views and interactions in this network come directly from Levant's platforms alone. This means nearly one in every ten digital "touches" sustaining Lennon's profile is shored up by his international sponsors. This setup provides him with a level of professional production and financial backing that makes it much harder to deplatform him or limit his reach within the UK.

One of the most significant and worrying examples of this international interference and sponsorship comes from the way Elon Musk supercharges the language he uses to support Lennon's messaging and stoke division from afar. Our sentiment analysis of Musk's X posts over the last six months shows that when Musk is talking about the UK, he is five times more likely to use high-conflict language than when he is discussing any other subject, e.g. "Civil War in the UK is inevitable."

5. HIS DIVIDED ECHO-CHAMBER

"60% of his echo-chamber is against him or is neutral."

The online conversation surrounding Lennon is almost entirely split into two warring camps, with virtually no middle ground. For every post that supports him, there is another attacking him, creating a digital space defined by "shouty" tribes rather than any real debate. The data shows a near-identical volume of posts on both sides, roughly 40% in favour and 35% against, leaving only a tiny fraction (25%) of people who aren't firmly entrenched in one of the two extremes.

This creates a Lennon echo chamber where neutral or constructive discussion has effectively vanished. Lennon acts as a wedge, forcing the public into two distinct, opposing groups that refuse to talk to one another. Lennon's digital landscape has become a permanent standoff where both sides simply amplify their own views, further deepening the social divide.

6. SPECTACLE OVER SUBSTANCE

"Less than 10% of his posts actually call for any specific policy change."

Despite his profile, Lennon operates more like a media mogul than a political leader. Our analysis of more than 1,000 of his posts shows that less than 10% actually call for any specific policy change or tangible political action. Instead, the focus is almost entirely on the "spectacle" of his own life. He spends far more time, about a quarter of all his output, portraying himself as a martyr, turning his court dates and rallies into dramatic events designed to build his personal brand.

Ultimately, the product he is selling is his own struggle rather than a political solution. The drama is the end-point, not a means to an end. By prioritising personal storytelling over actual mobilisation, he keeps his audience engaged with a constant stream of "high-stakes" conflict, ensuring he remains the central character in a narrative of "us versus them" without ever having to deliver concrete political results.



7. RIOTING TO KEEP OUR STREETS SAFE – INCREASE IN CONFRONTATIONAL RHETORIC

"11% surge in confrontational language like 'civil unrest' and 'war'."

Analysis of over 9,000 posts and replies from 2025 shows a worrying shift in the way Lennon and his supporters talk online. They have always been aggressive in tone, but at the start of 2025, most posts and replies were aimed at bias or unfairness. However, by the autumn, the tone had darkened significantly. References to "war," "resistance," and "civil unrest" surged from almost nothing to comprising more than 11% of all content. This spike in aggressive language was partly fuelled by international figures like Elon Musk, who helped inject his reckless "civil war" rhetoric into the British conversation.

This isn't just a case of Lennon and supporters getting louder; it's a shift in their core message. The UK far right has started using a "regime" narrative, where the UK government and mainstream media are no longer seen as just biased, but as illegitimate "traitors." By framing the state as an enemy, they are creating a justification for more aggressive behaviour. This pivot is dangerous because it moves the conversation away from verbal insults and towards a mindset that sees physical social disruption as a defensive necessity.

8. 2024 VS. 2025: FROM PROTEST TO PROFESSIONAL

"Almost a third of Lennon's posts are about himself."

Between 2024 and 2025, Lennon's digital profile underwent a massive transformation, moving from a reactive protest movement to a hate-charged media operation. In 2024, his supporters were mostly reacting to external news, such as the policing of the summer riots.

By 2025, however, the focus shifted inward to Lennon himself. His court cases and documentaries now account for nearly 30% of the discussion. The movement has essentially stopped being about "the news" and has become entirely about "Tommy" as a personal brand.

While the sheer scale of the operation has exploded, with posts jumping by 370% and retweets hitting over 15 million, this growth isn't actually "organic." Instead of a broad wave of public support, the numbers are being propped up by a small, professionalised inner circle of high-profile influencers. Interestingly, the average engagement per Lennon post actually dropped. In 2024, each post got an average of 2,163 retweets; in 2025, this fell to 1,695, suggesting that while he and his supporters are more visible than ever, he is less successful at getting ordinary people to join the conversation. Lennon has built a powerful, closed-loop online ecosystem that keeps him centre stage, but it is increasingly disconnected from the day-to-day concerns of the general public.

The 28.8% figure represents a deliberate flooding of the zone with personal propaganda rather than a response to public demand. If the movement were still about broad public issues, you would expect engagement to scale with the volume of posts. Instead, the average engagement type indicates that Lennon's "inner circle" is pumping out massive amounts of content about him that fails to resonate with the wider public.

HOW WE CALCULATED THESE FINDINGS

OUR DATA DESK used a sample drawn from Lennon's X platform (@TRobinsonNewEra) including links and signposts to other platforms using content analysis. This allows for a comparison between Lennon's personal output and the wider network's reaction and engagement levels.

The primary data set comprised **13,500** total digital items. This is broken down into two specific categories where different proportions of the sample were applied to different statistical tests.

1. **The "core" content (the source):**
   Sample size: 1,200 original posts authored directly by Lennon (or his administrative team) over the analysis period (Jan 2025–Dec 2025).
2. **The "network" content (the reach):**
   Sample size: 12,300 additional interactions, including retweets, mentions, replies, and quoted posts from the wider ecosystem.

The analysis combined keyword tracking and temporal mapping to measure the frequency and sentiment of different narrative themes and engagement across a 12-month dataset.

TEAM TOMMY

Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) has surrounded himself with a tight team of friends and political colleagues, who, between them, run most of his business and political operations. Some have been with him since school days, whilst others are far more recent recruits to help him expand his growing media operation.

We have split Team Tommy into three distinct groups. First, the Team Tommy core – his most loyal lieutenants, many of whom have been with him for 10 years or more. Next is the Urban Scoop team – made up of those who help deliver his media operation. Finally, there is the broader Tommy eco-system – individuals and groups that align themselves to Lennon, but are politically active in their own right and are active in other organisations.

TEAM TOMMY

ADAM GEARY Having been with Lennon since the start of the EDL, Geary runs the back end of the political and fundraising operation. Nicknamed "Nem", Geary directs operations in the background and is largely unknown to the wider Tommy supporter base.

ANDRE SAMSON An old school friend of Lennon's, Samson has been involved in several of his business dealings. While having no public role in his political activities, Samson has long been involved in Team Tommy WhatsApp groups and was a paid employee when Lennon worked for Rebel Media.

CRAIG FOWLER Better known by the name Jack Dawkins, Fowler runs Lennon's social-media output. Newcastle-based, Fowler has strong racist and antisemitic views and is a big supporter of Russian President Vladimir Putin.


Andre Samson


Craig Fowler



Tommy Robinson Prison Exclusive | Solitary Confinement & LIES Exposed - The Dozen with Liam Tuffs | Podcast on Spotify

LIAM GILLETT Host of The Dozen podcast, Liam Gillett (better known as Liam Tuffs) is one of Lennon's closest allies and has been by his side for much of the last year. As well as being a vocal supporter online and regular speaker at Lennon's demonstrations, he has been a central figure in helping Lennon to stay off drugs.

RICHARD INGRAM A former soldier, Ingram now organises the protests for Lennon and coordinates the team's research and surveillance. Ingram was a member of the UKIP national executive, before switching allegiance to Advance UK.


Richard Inman


Guramit Singh

GURAMIT SINGH Nottingham-based Guramit Singh has been with Lennon since the early EDL days. A convicted armed robber, Singh and has recently launched "Predator Hunter", which tracks down and exposes alleged child abusers. Holds regular socials for Lennon's inner circle in Nottingham.

LISA REYNOLDS US-based Lisa Reynolds has been a key part of Team Tommy since the Free Tommy demos in 2018, when she helped oversee funding for his events from the Middle East Forum. Reynolds helped organise the screening of his film *Silenced* in Florida, and personally lobbied Elon Musk to allow Lennon back on X.

TONI COLLINS Toni Collins, better known as Ginger Toni, plays a key admin role behind the scenes at Urban Scoop and acts as chief steward on Lennon's demonstrations. Along with Lennon's former PA, Hel Gower, Ginger Toni has aggressively gone after his opponents within the far right.

AVI YEMIMI Avi Yemini is an Australian-Israeli far-right commentator who currently works for Rebel Media. He had previously worked for Lennon's TR News, but lost his job when funding dried up. He reported on the Unite the Kingdom demo and joined Lennon during his recent trip to Israel.

URBAN SCOOP



Wendell Daniel. Photo: Facebook

WENDELL DANIEL Youtuber Wendell Daniel, a former Labour councillor and now known online as "Brother Wendell", has been following Lennon's demonstrations for several years but only recently became key part of the Urban Scoop team. Wendell created the "Two Coconuts" podcast with Danny Roscoe, but more recently he has taken over much of the filming work for Urban Scoop and now works closely with Young Bob.

DON KEITH Host of "The Real Beef", US-based Don Keith has been a strong supporter and cheerleader of Lennon's, reporting from and regularly attending events in the US. A year ago he announced a regular US-based podcast on Urban Scoop but that does not appear to have materialised.

VOICE OF WALES Voice of Wales (VoW) is a far-right media outlet run by Dan Morgan and Stan Robinson, which creates a range of content including articles, videos, livestreams and social-media output. VoW are regulars at Lennon's demonstrations and produce content for Urban Scoop.

VICKY RICHTER A self-described "distinguished German SpecOps PsyOps Veteran" turned independent journalist, Vicky Richter joined the Urban Scoop team in the summer of 2024 after producing a film about Lennon's last weeks of freedom. Regularly reporting from the US, Richter interviews leading MAGA Republicans for Urban Scoop.

THOMAS MOFFITT Thomas Moffitt, better known as Young Bob, is a newcomer to the Urban Scoop stable, regularly reporting from Speakers Corner and other events with Wendell Daniel. However, he was secretly recorded by HOPE not hate describing Lennon's supporters as "brain dead". Lennon defended Moffitt and laughed off the comment.

THE ECO-SYSTEM

PETER KEELEY Peter Keeley undertakes surveillance for Lennon and other Urban Scoop projects. A former British soldier, he was recruited by MI5 and spent 15 years in the heart of the IRA. In his book *Unsung Hero*, Keeley, writing under the name Kevin Fulton, boasts of being responsible for several deaths, including making bombs that would kill and maim.


Peter Keeley

PAUL THORPE Paul Thorpe is a former luxury watch expert turned Stephen Lennon-supporting Youtuber. He is also the founder of Unite UK, a "patriotic movement that aims to unite 'everyone' who shares our love for traditional British values and British culture." Thorpe has interviewed Lennon and has attended and spoken at several of his demonstrations.



Mahyar Tousi

MAHYAR TOUSI An Iranian-born Youtuber and founder of Tousi TV. His YouTube channel, which has 1.41 million subscribers, posts regular videos on a range of far-right topics. In recent years he has become a close ally of Stephen Lennon, attending and speaking at his demonstrations.

RIKKI DOOLAN Formerly a homeless busker, "hooked on a rock 'n' roll lifestyle of drugs and alcohol", Doolan is now a pastor at Spirit Embassy church in London. As well as being a member of both Advance UK and Restore Britain, he has become an ardent supporter of Lennon, performing his brand of Christian rock music at his demonstrations in 2024. In 2023 he was exposed by Al Jazeera for being part of a money-laundering scheme involving Zimbabwean gold.

SAMMY WOODHOUSE Former abuse victim turned author, Sammy Woodhouse was an Urban Scoop contributor but stepped back in 2025 for personal and political reasons. While she has since become closely involved with Rupert Lowe's "rape gang inquiry", Woodhouse still spoke at the Unite the Kingdom demonstration.

FROM TELEGRAM POSTS TO TERROR PLOTS: TRENDS IN FAR-RIGHT TERRORISM

By DAVID LAWRENCE

FAR-RIGHT IDEOLOGIES can lead to violence, a fact sadly borne out by the skyrocketing numbers of far-right terror convictions in recent years. Altogether, neo-Nazis continue to face justice for promoting, planning, organising and committing acts of terrorism at a rate far higher than in the 2010s.

Last year, 16 individuals were jailed for far-right terrorism offences, with a further three convicted and awaiting sentencing (a 21% decrease from 2024). As usual, all offenders were men, and many very young; almost half (47%) were aged 25 or younger at sentencing, and over a fifth (21%) were teenagers. This chilling statistic is broadly consistent with 2024.

In addition, referrals to Prevent – the government's anti-terror programme – hit a record high in the year ending March 2025. A total of 8,778 were made, 21% of which related to extreme right-wing ideologies, more than double those relating to Islamist radicalisation (10%). Over a third (35%) of extreme-right referrals concerned individuals aged between 11 and 15.

In only two cases did offenders actually carry out an attack, both of which were fortunately non-fatal. One was the attempted murder of an asylum seeker in a Worcester hotel, by Callum Parslow; the other was the attempted murder of an officer during an attack on Talbot Green Police Station, by Alexander Dighton. Both perpetrators are serving life sentences for their crimes (for the Leeds crossbow attack, see sidebar).

However, several individuals were convicted of planning or attempting attacks, most notably the "Einsatz 14" terror cell that plotted to bomb mosques and synagogues. The trio of neo-Nazis, led by self-appointed "Führer" Brogan Stewart, stockpiled more than 200 weapons, including crossbows and parts of a 3D-printed firearm. In another disturbing case, a 17-year-old was arrested outside the Inverclyde Muslim Centre with an airgun and aerosol cans: he had planned to set the building ablaze and trap worshippers inside.

Stockpiling of weapons remains a recurring feature. Former Nottinghamshire police officer Alexander Campbell amassed over 110 weapons, and a 15-year old in Shropshire videoed himself with an array of potentially lethal weapons, which were marked with the names of notorious bombers and shooters. In addition, the Bedfordshire neo-Nazi Harry Whittaker manufactured explosives in a chemical laboratory in his shed. Despite writing messages about attacking a mosque in Luton, and the police finding explosive devices labelled "throw at swarm of Jews", Whittaker was convicted of explosives rather than terror offences, and so is not included in statistics here.

Terrorists of all stripes continue to address the UK's lack of firearms by either attempting to construct their own – especially with 3D printers – or procuring alternatives. While the production of functional weapons remains challenging, manuals for building firearms and explosives are continuously improving and easy to access. Crossbows are an immediate concern, being both easily accessible and potentially lethal. Numerous neo-Nazis have been found with crossbows in their possession, with recent high-profile attacks including Owen Lawrence's attempted massacre in Leeds last April (see sidebar).

The remaining cases are terror-related offences, such as possessing or distributing terrorist manuals, encouraging attacks and promoting banned organisations. These charges have spiked dramatically since the banning of National Action (NA) in December 2016 and the subsequent proscription of three NA "alias" organisations and five other groups. This mechanism for prosecuting the extreme right has been coupled with more proactive policing in this area, and helps explain the overall rise in convictions in recent years.

Such offences are overwhelmingly committed online, often in messaging apps such as Discord and Telegram, on which extreme-right material is readily accessible, and anonymity easily secured. It is notable that the Einsatz 14 cell had never met in person, communicating solely online. This partially accounts for the youth of many offenders; for example, Felix Winter, who was aged just 15-16 when he planned a school shooting, had been radicalised after spending more than 1,000 hours on a neo-Nazi Discord chat.

Telegram's lax moderation policy has made it the platform of choice for neo-Nazi terrorists since the 2010s, a fact authorities attempted to address in 2024 by banning "Terrorgram". However, Terrorgram is not an organisation in any formal sense, but a loose network of violent accelerationist neo-Nazi channels, groups and accounts, raising questions over how "membership" can be defined. No convictions for membership of Terrorgram have yet been publicly reported in the UK.

The post-NA wave of proscriptions helps explain why almost all offenders brought to justice last year were "self-initiated". These individuals acted independently without direct support from a formal terrorist organisation, and such people can be challenging to identify and intercept, as their motivations are often highly individual and their actions unpredictable.

Nonetheless, several were influenced by or affiliated to extreme-right organisations. Robert Talland, jailed for two counts of disseminating terrorist material, ran the Blood & Honour (B&H) music network, a mainstay

of the neo-Nazi scene since the 1980s. He also managed the band Embers of an Empire, of which his son Stephen and daughter Rosie were members; both were also jailed for race hate offences. The convictions follow the freezing of B&H assets last January on the grounds that the group was suspected of "promoting and encouraging terrorism", as well as recruiting for and funding terrorism. The use of this kind of sanction to counter far-right terrorism is unprecedented.

In addition, HOPE not hate revealed in June that Brogan Stewart, the ringleader of the Einsatz 14 group, had expressed his intent to join the neo-Nazi British Movement and also attended a meeting of fascist organiser Alek Yerbury in Wakefield, just four days before his arrest.

The Order of Nine Angles (O9A) – a neo-Nazi Satanist network – continues to cast a dark shadow over corners of the extreme right, both at home and abroad. Declan Candiani, jailed for possessing terror documents, was fascinated with O9A, claiming he made a "pact with the devil". Even more troubling was the case of teenager Cameron Finnigan, guilty of possessing a terrorist document, who was immersed in the 764 cult, an online child-exploitation circle linked to O9A. The O9A occult network has had an outsized influence on neo-Nazi terrorism, hence its designation as a terror group in New Zealand last year; the UK government has yet to take the same step.

O9A has also helped foster a sickening current of sexual sadism on the extreme fringes. Finnigan was also convicted of possessing indecent images of children and of encouraging a woman to commit suicide for an online audience. The overlap between far-right terror and child sex offenders is both considerable and longstanding; Martyn Gilleard was imprisoned for a nail-bomb plot and for possessing 39,000 indecent images of children back in 2008. He was released in 2023, before receiving a further seven years and nine months last October for a gunpowder manual found at his home. In addition, Callum Parslow has a history of stalking and harassing women online, sending his victims – one of whom was 17 years old – messages involving sexually-motivated murder, torture, rape, extreme racism and more.

The extreme right – including O9A and Terrorgram – operates transnationally, and UK terrorists continue to draw inspiration from overseas attacks. Chief among them remains the 2019 Christchurch killer, who livestreamed his murder of 51 worshippers at two New Zealand mosques after publishing his manifesto online.

In addition, at least three young neo-Nazis convicted last year venerated American school shooters. This disturbing, violent nihilism is not constrained by political belief; Prevent referrals for "Fascination with extreme violence or mass casualty attacks (where no other ideology)" rose by 240% last year. Increasingly, young individuals are drawing from a diverse array of extremes in order to justify thoughts and acts of violence.

TRENDS AND TRAJECTORIES

The large number of far-right terrorists brought to justice in recent years reflects the high threat environment. The public debate around immigration and Muslims has toxified dramatically, in tandem with the erosion of trust in institutions and democracy. This is in the context of economic crises, rising social isolation (especially among the young) and a pervasive pessimism.

We have repeatedly warned of the dangers posed by the "post organisational" far right. Political extremism has evolved away from formal organisations into a more diffuse online milieu, widening the scope of threat and making it harder to track. Vast quantities of extremist material are accessible online, particularly in closed chat groups. There, adrift from mainstream values, ever-greater polarisation can occur. New technologies, such as AI, provide further opportunities for extremists to radicalise and recruit others into acts of terrorism.

Given all this, it is sadly unsurprising that some British men are pulled into a mire of neo-Nazism, criminality and violence. As tensions around the refugee crisis continue to mount, the authorities must adapt to meet this ever-changing threat.

THE LEEDS CROSSBOW ATTACK

On 26 April, Owen Lawrence (38) shot two women in Headingley, Leeds with a crossbow, one of whom sustained life-threatening injuries. Lawrence died two days later after shooting himself in the head with an airgun.

An inquest is ongoing, meaning the attack is yet to be officially designated a terror incident and is therefore not included in the general analysis here. However, Lawrence posted a detailed description of his intentions shortly before launching what he called "The Otley Run Massacre", listing "terrorism, revenge and misogynyic [sic] rage" among the motivations.

Our analysis of his Facebook posts suggests an obsessive hatred of women. He also claimed he had "explored Far Right ideas", cited the manifesto of the Christchurch killer, and had previously praised other extreme-right terrorists, including Anders Breivik. Lawrence's neighbours described him as "very far right".



Owen Lawrence

ROGUES' GALLERY

A total of 19 individuals influenced by far-right ideology were convicted and/or sentenced for terror-related offences in 2025, writes DAVID LAWRENCE.



CAMERON FINNIGAN

In January, Cameron Finnigan (19) of Horsham, West Sussex, pled guilty to possessing a terrorist document, an act capable of encouraging or assisting suicide, possession of indecent images of a child and two counts of criminal damage.

Finnigan, who was involved in the 764 group, possessed a "kill guide" and had also encouraged a woman to commit suicide for live-streaming to his online associates.

He denied a charge of causing unnecessary suffering to an animal, after he appeared to have tried to strangle a cat on video; the charge was ordered to lie on file. A court had previously heard that he had discussed attacking a homeless person who was living in a tent.



TOBIAS GLEED

In April, Tobias Gleed (20) of Honiton, Devon, received five and a half years behind bars for four counts of possessing and four counts of disseminating terrorist publications.

Gleed was arrested in September 2022, and police found extreme right-wing terrorist material on his devices. A court heard that Gleed "obsessively" researched shooting incidents, held antisemitic views and discussed committing a racist murder. He admitted being racist from the age of 15, and that he had neo-Nazi views.

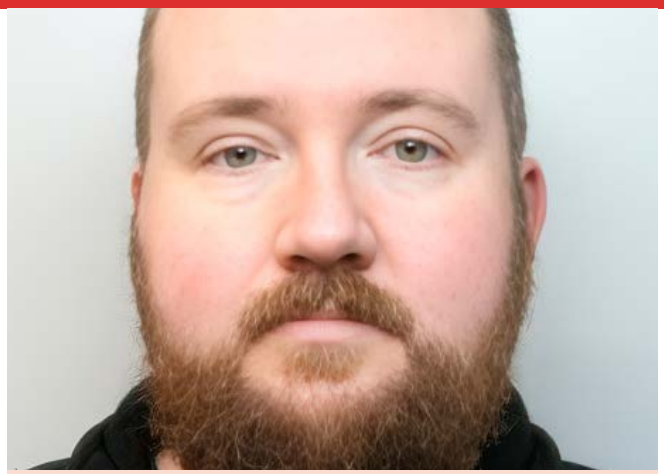
CALLUM PARSLOW

In January, Callum Parslow (32) of Worcester was sentenced to life with a minimum of 22 years and eight months for attempted murder after stabbing an Eritrean man in the chest and hand at a hotel. Parslow claimed he had intended to stab "one of the Channel migrants".

The neo-Nazi, who has a tattoo of Hitler's signature, spent weeks planning his attack, including writing a manifesto that targeted "the Jews, the Marxists and the globalists". At his home, police found weapons alongside a Nazi flag and copies of *Mein Kampf*.

He was also a prolific online stalker who had received 30 months in 2018 for targeting 10 women, including teenagers. He sent his victims messages involving sexually-motivated murder, torture, rape and other material. He was arrested again in 2024 for sending sexual and racist messages to another woman.





ANDREW CAMPBELL

In May, Andrew Campbell (42), a former police officer from Toton, Nottinghamshire, was jailed for almost six years for possession of three illegal guns and silencer.

He had amassed more than 110 weapons and firearms, including 11 air rifles and CO2-powered guns, knives, knuckledusters, extendable batons and modified pistols. They also found "disturbing" Nazi memorabilia and literature, as well as threatening messages about Muslims. Campbell denied sending grossly offensive messages about kidnapping, starving and mutilating a woman he knew.

Campbell (formerly known as Graeme Thornhill) was dismissed from Nottinghamshire Police force in 2017 after using weapons on a father who was driving erratically when taking his son to hospital. Campbell denied it was a racially-motivated attack.

VITOR DIAS

In April, Vitor Dias (21) of Willesden, London received three years behind bars.

Police found masses of extreme-right terrorist material on his devices, including guides on manufacturing explosives, firearms and ammunition. Dias, a neo-Nazi who grew up in Brazil, shared his extreme views on WhatsApp with people he described as "schoolboy friends".

He was also convicted in 2023 for making and possessing indecent images of children.



ALEXANDER DIGHTON

In June, Alexander Dighton (28) from Pontyclun, Rhondda Cynon Taf received life with a minimum of 22 years behind bars for attempted murder of a police officer, alongside nine other offences.

Dighton attacked Talbot Green Police Station, setting police vehicles ablaze before assaulting two officers and stabbing a third in the leg.

He claimed that he had "targeted the police as a keystone of government power", that he was opposed to the "left wing homogeny of British politics" and expressed sympathy for "right wing parties" such as the BNP. According to the judge, he had been referred to Prevent for "racist and anti-Muslim views" and his "online activity shows increasing fixation on issues like diversity, paedophilia, immigration, anti-Islamic sentiment and dissatisfaction with the British government".





CLAUDIU CRISTEA

In June, Claudiu Cristea (47) of Leicester received five and a half years for possession of a terrorist document.

He was arrested as part of an investigation into the Einsatz 14 chat group. Police found a copy of *The Anarchist's Cookbook* at his home.

Cristea maintained that his interest in the far right was "purely academic", but he was found to have "shared racist and anti-Semitic views in that chat group with individuals who went on to plan an extreme right wing terrorist attack."

ROBERT TALLAND

In June, Robert Talland (56), of Waltham Abbey, Essex was jailed for four years for two charges of disseminating terrorist material, as well as multiple racial hatred offences. His son Stephen (36) and daughter Rosie (34) were also convicted of race hate offences.

Robert Talland ran the Blood & Honour network, and the family were found to have created, performed and distributed neo-Nazi music.



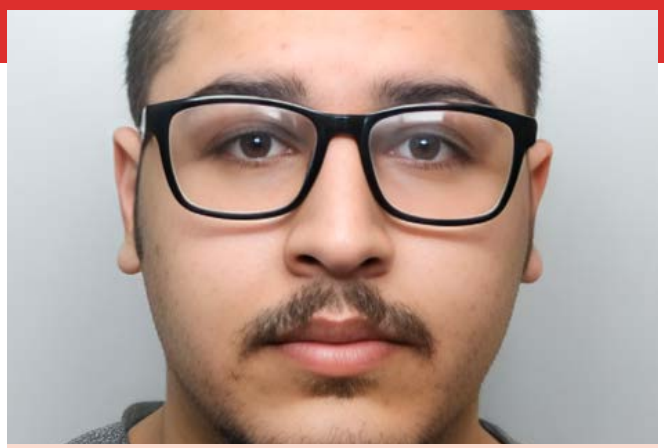
FELIX WINTER

In July, Felix Winter (18) from Edinburgh was jailed for six years for planning a school shooting.

The young neo-Nazi idolised the Columbine killers and repeatedly spoke of his "visceral, violent and graphically detailed plan" to carry out a similar attack on a local school.

A court heard that Winter, who is transgender, had been "radicalised" after spending more than 1,000 hours on a pro-Nazi group on Discord. Police found files on homemade firearms and poisons in his possession. He also spoke of making a 3D printed gun.





ONDREJ SIDELKA

In August, Ondrej Sidelka (21) of Bradford was jailed for two years for eight counts of possessing terrorist material.

Police found a large quantity of racist, homophobic, antisemitic and neo-Nazi material along with manuals on manufacturing firearms, explosives and poisons. Sidelka had amassed material that glorified racist violence, including footage of the 2019 Christchurch attack.

Sidelka also possessed material from the banned groups Atomwaffen Division, Feuerkrieg Division and Terrorgram. He was 18 at the time of the offences.

UNNAMED

In August, a 17-year-old was sentenced to 10 years in custody for preparing an act of terrorism and possessing terrorist documents.

The youth had befriended the imam of Inverclyde Muslim Centre and mapped the interior of the building on his phone. He was subsequently caught outside the building with an airgun and aerosol cans, having planned to set it ablaze and trap worshippers inside.

He had been radicalised into neo-Nazism at age 13, listing his inspirations as Hitler, Mussolini and Anders Brevik and sharing his views on Telegram. He had originally wanted to plant bombs at his school.

Police found a copy of *Mein Kampf* at his home, alongside airsoft weapons, masks, knives and manuals and ingredients for making explosives.

UNNAMED

In August, a 15-year-old from Market Drayton, Shropshire, was detained for 18 months after he amassed a hoard of weapons and spoke about "shooting up" his school.

The self-described Nazi was found with six air weapons, a samurai sword, three crossbows, six knives and a stun gun. He also had a tactical vest with far-right patches on it and had attempted to make "cricket bombs".

The violence-obsessed teen claimed that 20 April – Hitler's birthday – would be his "death day", listing three schools he planned to attack.



MARTYN GILLEARD

In October, Martyn Gilleard (49) of Leeds was jailed for seven years and nine months for possessing terrorist material.

Police found a recipe for gunpowder at the neo-Nazi's home. Gilleard had previous convictions for hatching a nail bomb plot and amassing weapons with the intent of starting a race war. He had also possessed 39,000 indecent images of children. He was jailed for those offences in 2008 and released in 2023.



CHRISTOPHER RINGROSE, MARCO PITZETTU AND BROGAN STEWART

In October, Christopher Ringrose (35), Marco Pitzettu (26) and Brogan Stewart (25) were sentenced to 10, eight and 11 years respectively for planning bomb attacks on mosques and synagogues and for stockpiling more than 200 weapons.

The neo-Nazi cell – which called itself Einsatz 14, a reference to SS death squads – communicated online. Police found machetes, swords, crossbows and an illegal stun gun in their possession. Ringrose had also 3D-printed most of the components for a semi-automatic gun. They planned to target an Islamic centre in Leeds, and discussed abducting and torturing an imam.

HOPE not hate later revealed that Stewart, the ringleader, had links to the British Movement, a longstanding neo-Nazi group.

ROBERT ADAMSKI

In October, Robert Adamski (29) of Walthamstow, London, was convicted of several terrorism and firearms offences after he was caught attempting to construct a 3D-printed sub-machine gun and a pistol. He has received a 15-year sentence.

Extreme right-wing material, including an SS flag and pictures of Hitler, were found at his home. He had also shared terrorist documents to a Telegram group he administered.





DECLAN CANDIANI

In November, Declan Candiani (26) of Streatham, London was jailed for 23 months for two counts of possessing terrorist material.

Police found extreme-right documents, including terrorist manifestos, described as "the most horrific" and "extremely dangerous material". Candiani told police he downloaded the material due to his interest in Order of Nine Angles, the neo-Nazi Satanist group, and that he had "literally [made] a pact with the devil".

Candiani, who had tattooed himself with Nazi symbols, also applied to join the Active Club Network, but claimed he got "cold feet".

NICHOLAS GILPIN

In October, Nicholas Gilpin (22) of Farnham Common, Buckinghamshire was convicted of possessing terrorist documents, encouraging terrorism and inciting racial hatred. He is currently awaiting sentencing.

According to police, Gilpin had shared "racist, antisemitic and white supremacy" views and "actively encouraged others to commit acts of terrorism". He had used Telegram to distribute instructions on killing people with close-combat weapons and on manufacturing explosives, chemical weapons and firearms.



A YEAR OF ANTI-MIGRANT PROTESTS

By ALEX MACKINNON

JUST SHY OF 100 people are gathered outside a run-down hotel in a sleepy English town. Most hold Union flags, some display Britain First or UKIP memorabilia, and others wear hoodies emblazoned with their local "patriots" logo. They chant "stop the boats" and "save our kids". At least one man squares up to a policeman, accusing them of "two-tier policing", and there are around five people sporting wearable cameras. The footage will be posted online later with an inflammatory title. In the crowd, there are local women and children – but also an ex-EDL bodyguard, and a handful of Homeland Party or Patriotic Alternative members. They know this local anger is fertile ground for recruitment. When a resident quietly leaves the hotel, the crowd surges forward: "Where are you from?", "Did you come here on a boat?".

The summer of 2025 saw a wave of anti-migrant protests spread across the United Kingdom. In total, HOPE not hate tracked at least 251 events across 77 locations between June and December, with London, Epping, Norwich, Altrincham and the south coast being hotspots. Protesters mobilised around the use of hotels as accommodation for asylum seekers; subsequently, these hotels became the landscape for a summer of political discourse.

While some protesters were hardened far-right activists with histories of violence, others were local people with no formal connection to the broader movement, and many were somewhere in between. Some events featured women and children holding placards, others escalated into masked men hurling fireworks at police and attempting to break into hotels to attack residents.



Britain First's "March for Remigration" in Manchester, 2 August 2025
Photo: HOPE not hate

However, attendees all gathered under the banner of "Stop the Boats", invoking arguments around women and children's safety and economic disparity to promote an anti-migrant position.

EPPING AND BEYOND

This phase of protests began in Epping, Essex across 7-8 July, after a woman and a teenage girl were sexually assaulted by an asylum seeker. Local far-right actors, including prominent ex-BNP activists, targeted Epping's Bell Hotel. The location has been used to house asylum seekers since 2020, but the assault reignited these pre-existing tensions.

On Sunday 13 July, a local protest ended with two hotel security guards being physically assaulted, in what was later determined to be a racially aggravated attack. On Thursday 17 July, local anger descended into clashes, as protesters hurled fireworks and eggs at the police. Others ripped wing mirrors off police vans and attempted to break through the van doors, as onlookers shouted "smash it". Protests in Epping continued throughout the summer, into the autumn and eventually the new year of 2026.

As Epping residents voiced understandable anger at the assault of local women, far-right actors took the opportunity to exploit such concern to spread their ideology. Callum Barker, then a member of the fascist Homeland Party who has been photographed posing with the Unabomber manifesto, became a leading activist in the area. The neo-Nazi group White Vanguard distributed leaflets, taking advantage of local concerns for their own ends.

As is typical, many attendees were not active members of far-right groups, but were taken in by the promise of safety and justice through mass deportations; locals made vulnerable by the trauma of sexual violence in the community became fertile ground for radicalisation.

From this local case, a broader movement snowballed as other communities, encouraged by far-right influencers, formed protests outside so-called "migrant hotels". Protests emerged in London around the Thistle Hotel at the Barbican and the Britannia Hotel in Canary Wharf, which saw masked men attack police. Protests were held outside the Park Hotel in Diss, where activist James Harvey was charged with a racially aggravated public order offence after referring to residents as "foreign filth". Nearby, ex-EDL member Glen Saffer led protests outside Norwich's Brook Hotel. The Cresta Court Hotel in Altrincham was another flashpoint, as well as on the south coast where people in Portsmouth, Southampton and Bournemouth all founded their own respective anti-migrant groups. Other locations included Cheshunt, Falkirk, Braintree, Wakefield and Dublin.

RACISM AND VIOLENCE

Despite calls for peaceful protests across the UK, many locations saw aggressive levels of racism and violence. At a protest in Altrincham on the 27 July, Ryan Ferguson declared that "National Action is reforming", chanting: "National Action and proud! National Action and proud!" National Action is a proscribed neo-Nazi terrorist organisation, and Ferguson was arrested under the Terrorism Act a few days later. At several other events, former National Front member Mike Gott was spotted clad in a British Movement flag; BM is one of the longest-running neo-Nazi groups in Britain.

On Halloween, fireworks were aimed at a hotel housing asylum seekers; one protester encouraged others to "get one through the window", while others chanted "jump" when residents came to their windows. During an event in Portsmouth, one protester performed a Nazi salute – though the hosts, the Portsmouth Patriots, did immediately condemn the individual and ban him from future events.

Protests in Scotland saw particularly racist rhetoric; in Falkirk on 7 September, a protester held a sign reading "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children". This is also known as the "14 words", a notorious white-supremacist slogan. Also in Falkirk, a protester held a banner reading "Kill 'em all, let God sort 'em out", and protest speeches included quotes like "Keep Scotland white".

Violence also took hold of parts of Northern Ireland. When two teenage boys were charged with the sexual assault of a 13-year-old girl in Ballymena, a peaceful vigil descended into chaos. After reports that the perpetrators required Romanian translators, rioters threw petrol bombs, fireworks and bricks at the houses of people they believed to be migrants. In a single evening, they set four houses alight. Some local households resorted to placing signs in their windows indicating the nationality of the residents (e.g. "British Household" or "Filipino Lives Here") in an attempt to prevent attacks.

After the sexual assault of a 10-year-old girl in Dublin in October, additional riots broke out. Over two evenings of violence, protesters armed themselves with garden forks and tools, throwing fireworks at the police. Some arrived on horseback and attempted to charge police lines, others dislodged tarmac to use as projectiles at police. Eyewitnesses described children as young as seven throwing bricks.

FLAGS, FRANCE AND VIGILANTES

While the racism and violence of some protests hit the headlines, the anti-migrant movement was becoming a multi-faceted front. The summer saw mass flagging operations, a rise in vigilante groups and a flurry of French beach visits that extended into the winter. Activists did not restrict themselves to simple protesting, and those willing to mobilise more broadly soon took to more direct action.

Operation Raise the Colours is a nationwide flagging campaign originally started by ex-EDL member Andrew Currien, better known as Andy Saxon. It encouraged individuals to fly the St George's Cross and Union flags, both within their homes and in public spaces such as off lampposts and bridges; some went the extra mile and began painting roundabouts and zebra crossings with the St George's cross.

As some insisted that the movement was about creating unity and pride in the flag, others saw it as an opportunity to "mark their territory" in areas with higher non-white populations. A cat-and-mouse game began, between activists hanging flags and others



taking them down; when the two parties collided, tensions were high and often resulted in aggressive confrontations.

While certainly not all those hanging flags could be considered "far right", the movement attracted extremist interest. Britain First funded flags across the Midlands, attending outings in Manchester and surrounding areas to hang them. The Nottingham flagging group was headed by Guramit Singh, a close associate of Stephen Lennon. In many areas, football hooligans gathered supporters to distribute flags in their areas and in Salford, a flagging campaign was led by Lee Twamley, a convicted human trafficker.

In the small Kent town of Faversham, a flagging group led by activist Harry Hilden attracted attention after several altercations with residents. One member of the group was filmed threatening to headbutt a man who attempted to remove a flag from outside his home. Hilden organised "watch duties" to prevent flags from being removed – a trend which caught on amongst other groups who were willing to challenge anyone trying to take down flags.

In some areas, flagging campaigns descended into racist abuse. A Chinese takeaway in York was covered in racist graffiti and St George's flags; an NHS worker in Halifax was racially abused; a man hanging a flag on a building in Basildon shouted Islamophobic abuse at a passing woman and her child; and a local mosque was spray-painted with St George's crosses.

VIGILANTE ACTION

In parallel to these individual acts of intimidation and abuse, some resorted to more organised and confrontational forms of action. Where community-safety narratives combined with a growing mistrust of police and "two-tier justice", vigilantism became a popular form of far-right activism. Vigilante groups have been a longstanding part of the far-right, with Britain First partaking in "Christian Patrols" in areas with high populations of Muslims as far back as 2014.

This year, various "patrol teams" sprung up across the country. Some took formal, uniformed approaches while others proved more dangerous and confrontational; some remained focused on local community action, while others set their sights on French beaches to "stop the boats" themselves.

In Northern Ireland, the East Belfast Nightwatch First Division harassed black and brown men in the area; their social media showed them threatening and verbally abusing people. Their small team boasted a history of convictions for animal abuse, attempted murder, possession of an offensive deadly weapon and lying in court. Bournemouth's Safeguard force was not as extreme as the Belfast team, but its leader Gary Bartlett hosted a racist Facebook page and welcomed an ex-EDL member into the group.

Other groups engaged in vigilante activism across the English Channel. UKIP partnered with members of Patriots of Britain to host trips to Calais. They marched through migrant camps with large banners, shouting at asylum seekers and charity workers while holding enormous poles featuring the Union flag and the St George's cross.

LOOKING FORWARD

After a year of protests which seem likely to roll into the spring of this year, anti-migrant rhetoric has become an increasingly noisy issue. Genuine local concern for community safety, and upset following sexual assault cases laid fertile ground for far-right narratives to take hold amongst more mainstream audiences. Violence from aggressive protesters and racist narratives spread by seasoned far-right activists invoked fear in local communities. The protesters scapegoated immigrants and asylum seekers as the sole reason for real financial struggles, encouraging racist hate as the solution to hardship. Few of the far-right activists leading anti-migrant protests and spouting bigotry offered genuine solutions for everyday people – instead, they encouraged division, mistrust and violence.

NARRATIVES: THE PINK LADIES, CHILD SAFETY AND FINANCIAL HARDSHIP

PINK LADIES AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Throughout the summer, several overarching themes emerged across the protests. The first, and arguably most dominant, was sexual violence. The perception that immigrants pose a sexual threat to British women has been a longstanding motivator for far-right activism; after the Epping sexual assault case and several others that occurred across the country in close succession, violence against women again became the predominant issue. Considering the authentic cases that did occur, it was unsurprising that communities were reaching for answers to prevent further violence against women.

However, genuine concern for women's safety snowballed into using the horrendous actions of a few to justify the hate of many. Immigrants, particularly Muslim men, were depicted as wholly responsible for women feeling unsafe on the streets. Protesters painted a fantasy picture of an England before immigration where women never feared being raped, enforcing a narrative casting all asylum seekers as a sexual threat and deportations as the solution to violence against women. This is despite the fact that only 9% of female rape victims were attacked by strangers. Furthermore, two in five of those arrested in the 2024 summer riots had previously been reported for domestic violence, which calls into question the authenticity of the far-right's alleged concern for women.

2025 saw the founding of several female-led anti-migrant groups, opposing mass immigration on the grounds of protecting local women and children. The Pink Ladies, partnered with the Women's Safety Initiative, started as an unofficial movement encouraging women to wear pink at protests outside the Britannia Hotel in Canary Wharf. On 2 August, women gathered outside the hotel, sporting pink and doing the conga. The concept was soon mirrored in Epping, Norwich, Aldershot and elsewhere, while Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) started selling pink "Unite the Kingdom" t-shirts.



What began as an informal trend has swiftly developed into an official campaign. Leading figures include Restore Britain's Orla Minihane and Advance UK's Sarah White, as well as several activists across the country running local branches. Since their formal establishment, the Pink Ladies have hosted protests in Whitechapel, Westminster and Chelmsford, and attended many other protests as supporters, including Lennon's Unite the Kingdom rally in September.

Owing to the sexual assaults in Epping which triggered this summer's protests, as well as subsequent assaults in Manchester and Nuneaton, the uptick in concern around women's safety was justified. However, while there are certainly members of the Pink Ladies with authentic fears about safety, they mirror a long-running far-right tendency to exploit genuine fears of sexual violence to justify pre-existing racism.

The Pink Ladies have collaborated with far-right activists like ex-Homeland Party member Callum Barker and UKIP leader Nick Tenconi. Furthermore, during a Pink Ladies protest in Chelmsford, Mike Graham gave a speech in which he said:

"I don't care about these, y'know BBC types who go 'well surely you're not saying they're all rapists'. Actually, I am saying they're fucking all rapists. Because it's the only language they understand."

Graham's speech is indicative of the way in which a platform purporting to support women's safety has been exploited to share racist rhetoric. The same protest was attended by ex-Reform MP James McMurdock, who was previously jailed for repeatedly kicking his girlfriend outside a nightclub in 2006. He was welcomed by Pink Ladies member Maria Bowtell (who is also a leading figure in Restore Britain), who posed for photos with the convicted abuser.

In framing mass deportations or remigration as fix-all solutions to women's safety issues, the Pink Ladies meet authentic concerns about sexual violence with racist rhetoric.

CHILD SAFETY

Similarly, mass deportations were justified as an essential child-safety measure. The Pink Ladies also homed in on this narrative, invoking women in their roles as mothers to stand against immigration. Protesters across the country accused security outside of migrant hotels of being "paedo protectors" and chanted "save our kids" as they marched. Several activists gathered outside primary schools in Dundee, Glasgow and Aberdeen to protest the use of buildings adjacent to the schools for giving language lessons to

non-English speakers. Some parents reported keeping their children home on the day of the protest out of fear that it might escalate into violence.

Rhetoric surrounding children proved to be a strong mobilising force for more mainstream individuals – particularly women who might not have previously been drawn towards far-right messaging. It resonated not only due to the perceived immediate threat of asylum seekers, but the longer-term responsibility of leaving a "better world" for one's children. By invoking images of a future dystopia awaiting if immigration is allowed to continue, far-right actors instil a sense of urgency and duty: those who fail to act now are seen as complicit in ruining their child's future.

ECONOMIC HARDSHIP

Economic hardship continued to be a longstanding feature of anti-migrant protests, with far-right figures using migrants as scapegoats for local people's genuine financial difficulties. Similar to child safety, this rhetoric served to broaden anti-migrant sentiment into a more mainstream conscience, tapping into areas suffering the most during the cost-of-living crisis.

By constructing an "us vs them" dynamic, whereby natives and immigrants must fight for scarce resources, far-right propaganda produces feelings of jealousy and mistrust. Misinformation around asylum seekers getting new iPhones, iPads, clothes and generous weekly allowances understandably resonates and provokes hostility among Brits experiencing financial difficulty.

In a similar vein, anti-migrant messaging often appealed to homelessness in the UK. Campaigners pointed out the enormous amount of homelessness across the country, and questioned the lack of government action to provide resources for them, in comparison to asylum seekers.

Usually, their point about British homelessness is an accurate one. However, their choice to demonise asylum seekers as greedy and lazy, living off the "tax-payers' expense", points fingers in the wrong direction.



Ryan Bridge (left) and Elliott Stanley of Raise the Colours, in Stirchley. Photo: B30voice / wikimedia.org

RAISE THE COLOURS

The most well-covered cross-channel vigilantism came from Raise the Colours, a Birmingham-based flagging team turned anti-migrant movement. The group is led by Ryan Bridge and Elliot Stanley. While Stanley is far less public-facing, Bridge is an ex-football hooligan who described himself as "fascinated" by the violent side of football; he has been on bail for football violence and previously received a three-year match ban. Over the summer of 2025, the two began hanging flags all over Birmingham and its surrounding areas, bickering with locals who voiced concerns.

Over time, the group adopted a more generalised anti-migrant stance. Bridge began to work with long-term Tommy Robinson ally Daniel Thomas (AKA Danny Tommo), who in 2016 spent two years in prison for an attempted kidnapping. Thomas was sentenced as part of a group who had attempted to remove a man from his home at knifepoint over a drug dispute.

The two began making trips to Calais, and later Paris as part of "Operation Stop the Boats", which eventually became known as "Operation Overlord". While numbers vary between group members, at least eight trips were made under the Raise the Colours banner in November and December 2025. The team took pride in destroying dinghies, "hunting" migrants (chasing asylum seekers across beaches), and entering camps to harass residents and charity workers. Joining Tommo and Bridge, amongst others, was an 18-year-old ethnonationalist known as "Angloid". Angloid is openly racist and regularly espouses the Great Replacement theory on X; he also consistently promotes the "remigration" of all non-white Brits.

The pair launched a second phase of the movement, which involved recruiting new members across the country to form larger beach patrols in France. They claimed to have had over 20,000 applicants, and planned to mobilise men in Calais in late January 2026. However, after attracting the attention of the French authorities, 10 members of the team received territorial bans. In the days following, Danny Tommo and Ryan Bridge split; while they originally claimed that Tommo left RTC on positive terms, allegations from both parties of financial mismanagement and strategic differences came to light. As Bridge steadied the movement and regrouped following the French ban, Tommo was keen to take immediate action to defy the French ruling.

While Bridge kept the "Raise the Colours" label, Tommo went out alone under the banner of "Operation Overlord" to organise an underwhelming trip to France on the 24th of January, accompanied by a small Dover protest. What had been promised would be a landmark event of thousands of patriots, actually resulted in a group of 12 men on the beach holding flags, and a poorly organised Dover event. While Tommo promises to try again with a new strategy, his self-confessed hot-headedness and reactionary nature seems to make forming concrete plans nearly impossible, with his followers expected to jump to attention at a moment's notice.

PROFILES: ANTI-MIGRANT/ANTI-MUSLIM

BRITAIN FIRST

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADERS: PAUL GOLDING and ASHLEA SIMON

Launched in 2011 by Jim Dowson and led by Paul Golding, Britain First is one of the best known far-right groups in the UK. Originally made up of ex-British National Party (BNP) members and with a strong anti-Muslim stance, the group has regularly shifted focus in the hopes of finding influence.

Initially, Britain First adopted elements of radical Protestantism alongside paramilitary trappings, including pseudo-military titles, uniforms and armoured vehicles. The group gained notoriety for attempting to intimidate Muslim communities, engaging in so-called "mosque invasions" and "Christian patrols", descending on areas with large Muslim populations, and storming into Muslim places of worship.

Footage of these actions helped swell Britain First's social-media presence; at its peak, the group's Facebook page had over 1.9 million likes. The Britain First X account boasts over 145k followers, while party leaders Paul Golding and Ashlea Simon have over 463k followers between them.

Since 2019, Britain First has focused heavily on cross-Channel migration, with Golding and his activists regularly storming into hotels housing asylum seekers and confronting staff and residents with cameras, or else staging protests outside.

Britain First's tactics have proven highly influential on the wider British far right, popularising the trend of so-called "migrant hunting". A new generation of "auditors" have taken on this approach, making video content harassing asylum seekers, breaking into hotels and filming protests.

Britain First has long paired its street activities with electioneering, a strategy Golding has dubbed "the ballot and the boot". Having lost party status in 2017, it finally re-registered in 2021, despite heavy pushback and legal challenges.

Simon and Golding have attempted to formalise Britain First into a more respectable electoral body, complete



Paul Golding and Ashlea Simon at Britain First's "March for Remigration" in Birmingham, 17 May 2025
Photo: HOPE not hate

with regional branches, conferences and voting campaigns. However, the group reliably performs miserably at the ballot box, and despite pledging to stand 30-40 candidates in the May 2025 local elections, the party actually fielded zero.

Instead, Britain First has returned to an old tactic: street rallies. Golding was initially hesitant to organise such events, telling our undercover reporter they are a "PR nightmare", adding: "It's just a shitshow. People turn up pissed." Despite his concerns about public displays of drunken aggression or worse, a poor turn-out, Golding has nevertheless resumed holding public marches in lieu of its more typical invite-only protests.

Britain First hosted rallies in Lichfield, Tamworth and Solihull in 2024, before expanding to a "March for Remigration" series in 2025. The first was in Nuneaton in March, before visiting Birmingham in May. Both rallies attracted extreme figures, including hardline neo-Nazis from White Vanguard as well as Ryan Ferguson, previously banned from football games for racially abusing a player, who was photographed alongside co-leader Ashlea Simon wearing a t-shirt emblazoned with "88" (signifying "Heil Hitler").

In August, Britain First held its largest rally of the year in Manchester. Among the 700 attendees were members of Patriotic Alternative, White Vanguard and British Movement. Marching alongside Golding and Simon was Lee Twamley, who was convicted in 2016 as part of a Salford gang that tried to smuggle Vietnamese migrants into the UK to pay off a drug debt. Speakers included the vile misogynist Joey Mannarino.

Britain First also engaged with a series of local anti-migrant protests. While Golding turned up to Faversham rallies, Simon became a repeat attendee at Altrincham protests outside the Cresta Court Hotel, and was among a crowd who shot fireworks at the hotel on Halloween.

Britain First also became heavily involved in "Operation Raise the Colours", a loose movement in which people hung Union and St George's flags around towns and cities. Britain First's regional activists put up flags in Banbury, Wolverhampton, Exeter, and all across Greater Manchester. They also donated hundreds of flags to local groups, encouraging followers to paint roundabouts with the St. George's cross. Simon has shown particular support for a Salford-based flagging group, reposting videos writing "This is OUR Britain" – evidence of how flag-raising became a way to mark territory in areas with high ethnic-minority populations.

MISSUS KENT

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST



Jodie Scott (AKA Missus Kent) is an anti-migrant activist and musician.

She first performed her anti-government raps to crowds at the Great British National Strike's event in Dover, and quickly became a frequent face (and sound) at anti-migrant protests across the UK. This included a performance at Tommy Robinson's Unite the Kingdom rally in September 2025.

Scott became particularly involved in campaigns in Faversham, Kent, where she collaborated with Harry Hilden of the National Emergency Faversham Division. The team hosted protests and partook in a widespread flagging campaign, which caused conflict with local residents who objected to their presence in the area.

In November, Scott came under heavy criticism following a leak of a WhatsApp chat she ran named "Missuskents Patriotic Community". The chat included messages encouraging people to arm themselves, with Scott subsequently telling KentOnline: "You don't think that we should be arming ourselves when we've got people being slaughtered on the streets because of our government?"

JAMES HARVEY

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST

Founder of Students Against Tyranny, James Harvey has dedicated much time to fighting "wokeness" on university campuses. However, he is also a familiar face across the broader anti-migrant movement, a regular at Stephen Lennon's demonstrations and extremely active online. Harvey is also closely associated with Voice of Wales.

In 2025, Harvey became a leading figure at anti-migrant protests in Norwich. In July, he was arrested and charged with a racially aggravated public order offence. This was after referring to asylum seekers at the Park Hotel in Diss as "foreign filth".

Despite his bail conditions preventing him from being fully involved, Harvey remained active online and attended marches by both Britain First and UKIP throughout the year.



James Harvey with Tommy Robinson. Photo: X

PROFILES: ANTI-MIGRANT/ ANTI-MUSLIM (CONTINUED)



GLEN SAFFER

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST

Once an active English Defence League member and bodyguard to Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), veteran far-right activist Glen Saffer re-emerged in 2025 as a leading anti-migrant protest organiser in Norwich.

During one of his early protest speeches, he argued that undocumented migrants should be kept in an army barracks with "barbed wire all the way around it" and "given weetabix for the rest of their life".

In one incident, he encouraged others to chase down a local young man after taking exception to an interview he was giving to a journalist. Three men were subsequently charged with common assault.

REBEL NEWS

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET

Rebel News is a far-right Canadian outlet best known in the UK for its on-off relationship with anti-Muslim activist Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson).

Formerly known as Rebel Media – having previously employed Lennon, Katie Hopkins and other far-right Brits as hosts – Rebel News re-launched its UK operation in 2022.

The group's founder Ezra Levant regularly travels to the UK to cover Lennon's trials, using the visits to raise funds. In June 2024, Lennon travelled to Canada for a speaking tour for Rebel News but was arrested on suspicion of an immigration offence.

Levant has remained loyal to Lennon, despite a clip emerging from Lennon's time at the organisation in which he used an explicitly antisemitic trope to mock Levant. Last year also saw former Urban Scoop correspondent, Sammy Woodhouse, join the outlet.

In 2025, Rebel News continued acting as a mouthpiece for Lennon, as Levant flew to the UK to report on his court cases on several occasions. Levant has also been the driving force behind fundraisers for Lennon's ever-growing court fees.

The financial exploitation of Lennon's followers is not contained to legal fees; in the week running up to the Unite the Kingdom rally in September, Rebel News hosted a school-trip-style residential stay. Fifty of Rebel News' most "devoted" followers paid up to £4,099 for a week complete with museums, a "tourbus" (coach) and allocated leisure time. This included a double-occupancy room from Wednesday evening until Monday morning and dinner with Lennon himself. Even the lowest price band, which included the day activities and dinners without accommodation, was an eye-watering £999.



ALAN LEGGETT (ACTIVE PATRIOT)

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR



Alan Leggett (AKA Active Patriot), from Grimsby in Lincolnshire, was one of the first prominent "migrant hunter" activists in the UK, a trend which has continued over the course of 2025.

Previously an associate of Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), Leggett made a similar attempt to transform himself into a so-called "citizen journalist". In that spirit, in 2022 he began targeting migrant accommodation. He made at least 38 trips, where he harassed residents and staff members, with an additional 27 visits over the course of 2023.

Throughout 2024, Leggett continued to be active, engaging in hotel visits, attending the anti-migrant camp at RAF Scampton and visiting camps of asylum seekers in northern France. Later in the year, his home was raided by police, and by November, he was being investigated under the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act 2000 (RIPA), requiring him to provide police with the passcodes to his devices. Towards the end of November, Leggett indicated via X that he was considering ending his migrant-hunting career, instead focusing on starting an online fundraiser for a mobile food van for the homeless.

In 2025, Leggett followed the growing trend of "migrant hunters" rebranding themselves as "auditors"; while Leggett's day-trips in France seem to be over, he has established an auditing YouTube account "AP Audits". Like others, he films protests and "audits" accommodation housing asylum seekers, which still often involves harassing residents and staff, but also runs a series named "Abandoned Britain" looking into homelessness in the UK.

ANNE MARIE WATERS

CATEGORY: INDEPENDENT ACTIVIST

Anne Marie Waters remains one of the UK's best known anti-Muslim activists, although she has faded from prominence in recent years.

A former Labour councillor, in 2013 Waters shifted dramatically to the right and became heavily involved in the international so-called "counter-jihad" scene alongside Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson).

Waters is perhaps best known for her run for the UKIP leadership in 2017. Despite being lambasted for her extremism by Nigel Farage, she still finished second with 21% of the vote.

Waters subsequently launched her own political party, For Britain, in October 2017. As former BNP activists flooded into For Britain, Waters' language became increasingly conspiratorial and fixated on race.

After folding For Britain in July 2022 – against the wishes of many of its members – Waters rejoined UKIP in April 2023, and announced her intention to run for its leadership, temporarily latching onto the anti-migrant campaign at RAF Scampton in a bid for support, before subsequently dropping out. She has since launched a Substack.

Over 2025, Waters became increasingly isolated from her former allies, in part due to her dislike of the movement's turn towards Christian nationalism. This includes her former party, UKIP; Waters described



leader Nick Tenconi as a "power hungry asshole" this January. She is also deeply critical of Donald Trump, describing him as "everything I always opposed". This again puts her at odds with Lennon and other major British anti-Muslim activists, who generally have a sickeningly obsequious attitude to the US President.

PROFILES: ANTI-MIGRANT/ANTI-MUSLIM (CONTINUED)

PATRIOTS OF BRITAIN

CATEGORY: STREET NETWORK

Patriots of Britain (PoB) was established September 2022 during the lead-up to a small anti-migrant demonstration in London. The group originally pushed anti-migrant content to its target audience of football supporters, but now serves as a general propaganda machine for the far right.

At present, PoB holds little influence on the UK far right, although has begun to collaborate with more influential figures like UKIP's Nick Tenconi. PoB's Telegram admin is Chris Bateman, who has previously cycled through the British National Party and For Britain, and is now a parish councillor for the British Democrats in Basildon.

Throughout 2025, the group carried on using its online platform to spread anti-migrant rhetoric, fanning the flames of conflict. One member, Sarah Jones, became a key organiser of anti-migrant protests in Norwich.

However, the group did have a period of wider mobilisation, when several members flanked Nick Tenconi during his visits to Calais. Leaning into the trend of "migrant hunting", the team marched through camps in Calais, aiming to "expose" asylum seekers and the NGOs who were helping them. They used sirens and torches, with Tenconi shouting at migrants that they were "not welcome in Britain" and telling NGO staff members to "shut up". PoB also provided Tenconi with security during his Glasgow protest.

PoB continues to be a marginal force in its own right, but promotes dangerous anti-migrant sentiment through its collaborations with Tenconi.

VOICE OF WALES

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET

Voice of Wales (VoW) is a far-right media outlet run by Dan Morgan and Stan Robinson. The group produces a range of content including articles, videos and livestreams, but throughout 2025 focused on "citizen journalist" style social-media output. VoW was present at Lennon's film screening in Telford in January 2024, as well as his London demonstrations in June and October of the same year.

Throughout 2025, VoW maintained its anti-migrant efforts, focusing heavily on "two-tier policing" narratives following the riots of 2024. The group also maintained its admiration for Lennon, reporting on his court case in June 2025, where he had been charged with harassing journalists. The team also attended the Unite the Kingdom rally in September, interviewing speakers and attendees.



GAVIN BOBY

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR



Gavin Boby, a planning lawyer and self-proclaimed "mosque buster", founded the Law and Freedom Foundation to prevent planning applications for mosques.

At time of writing, Boby's website claims that he has won 69 out of the 112 mosque cases he has taken on. His involvement usually amounts to advising local people on tactics to oppose planning permission or change of use of a building into a place of worship.

Boby also runs a small YouTube channel where he updates supporters on the progress of his campaigns, as well as discussing a range of issues including cross-Channel migration, grooming gangs and demographic changes within the UK.

Throughout 2024, Boby became a vocal advocate of "remigration", a far-right euphemism for repatriation of migrants. Additionally, he has expressed support for the fascist Homeland Party and Steve Laws, the extreme fascist influencer who now heads the pressure group Remigration Now.

In 2025, Boby maintained a social-media presence, discussing his "mosque busting" cases and promoting anti-migrant content. He also appeared on a number of extremist online shows, including Lotus Eaters, Unity News Network and American Renaissance, on which he was interviewed by the infamous white nationalist Jared Taylor. He also weighed in on debates about ethnonationalism in early 2026, going so far as to describe Steve Laws' plan for ethnic cleansing as "moderate".

AMANDA SMITH (YORKSHIRE ROSE)

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST

Amanda Smith (AKA Yorkshire Rose) is a "migrant hunter" from Castleford in West Yorkshire who has been among the most prolific asylum-accommodation harassers in the country. Over the course of 2022 and 2023, Smith made roughly 200 visits to sites of temporary asylum accommodation, predominantly across the Midlands, Yorkshire, North East and North West.

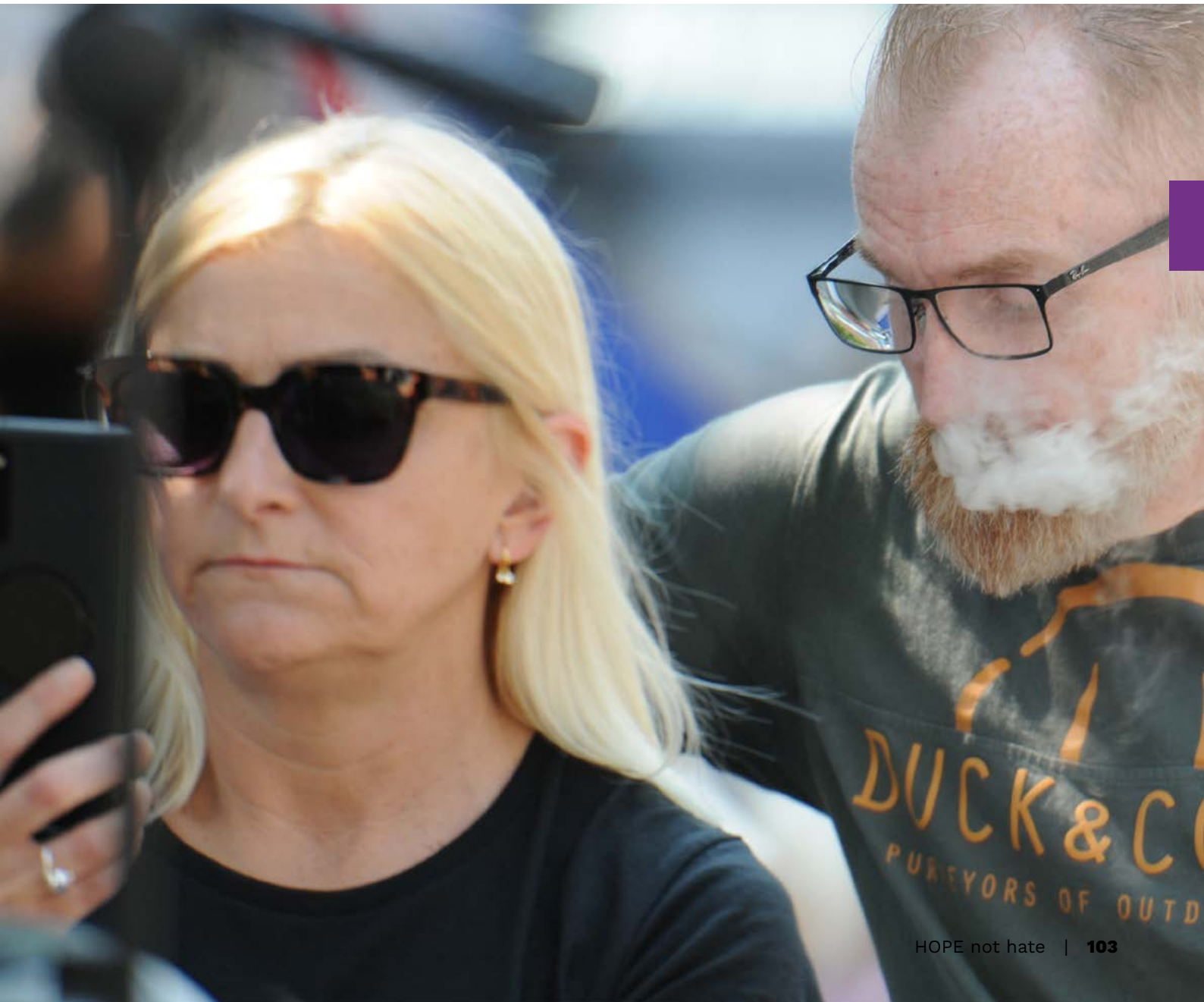
Smith is no stranger to the legal system. In January 2021, she and Alan Leggett were arrested for causing alarm and distress, and were supposedly hit with bail conditions banning them from North Yorkshire. Smith has previously harassed staff at COVID-19 test centres, claiming the virus was fake.

Smith has posted content of the fascist group, Patriotic Alternative, as well as reposting messages full of racism and Islamophobia. She has also referred to Channel-crossings as an "invasion".

In 2024, Smith suffered legal trouble again. In March, she claimed that her arrest at RAF Scampton in 2023 for aggravated trespass had been upgraded to an investigation under Section 18 of the Public Order Act. On 7 August, Smith was arrested again for inciting racial hatred online and held in custody for 36 hours, whereupon she was released without charge but with a series of bail conditions. In early October, Smith was notified that the police were taking no further action. She subsequently announced that she would be suing West Yorkshire Police for "unlawful arrest", revealing that she was also pursuing a similar case against Lincolnshire Police.

In 2025, Smith remained extremely active, attending, promoting and filming anti-migrant protests across the country. She was a regular at events organised by The Great British National Protest and also promoted Pink Ladies protests. Unsurprisingly, she also attended Stephen Lennon's Unite the Kingdom rally in London in September.

Her online following remains significant, with her X account boasting over 70,000 followers, her YouTube account 42,000 subscribers and her Facebook page 8,400 followers.



PROFILES: LOCAL ANTI-MIGRANT GROUPS

A SERIES of protests in Epping, Essex, where a woman and girl were sexually assaulted by an asylum seeker, sparked a national wave of anti-migrant protests in summer 2025. Numerous grassroots protest groups – of varying capability and extremeness – have since emerged.

Some are made up of local people with no known connection to the organised far right, while others are led by seasoned activists, including ex-EDL and Homeland Party members. Many have platformed well-known far-right activists, who took advantage of captive audiences of concerned locals to further an anti-migrant agenda.

Moreover, while some engage only in legal forms of activism, others have adopted vigilante tactics.

ABERDEEN AGAINST ILLEGAL MIGRATION

Aberdeen Against Illegal Migration (AAIM) hosted anti-migrant protests throughout the year, including rallies outside a primary school (during school hours) in Aberdeen, protesting the use of a building on the same site to give English lessons to asylum seekers.

The group has platformed far-right extremists like Homeland Party activist John Carr, who promoted the Great Replacement theory in his speeches, and fellow Homeland activist Josh Fernie. Core members of the group include Steven Rennie, John Hall and Geoffrey Farquharson, as well as Gavin Turpie, a member of the fascist British Democrats, who was spotted at one demonstration sporting the gear of the neo-Nazi band Skrewdriver.





EAST BELFAST NIGHTWATCH FIRST DIVISION

The East Belfast Nightwatch First Division is a Northern Irish anti-migrant vigilante group.

Its social-media accounts show leading member Neil Pinkerton harassing men of colour. Many of its members have violent criminal records; Pinkerton himself has a history of animal abuse, including fox baiting. Members Mark Payne and Mark Sinclair have been convicted of attempted murder and bank robbery respectively. Sinclair also racially abused a Chinese passenger on a ferry trip to England to attend Tommy Robinson's 2025 Unite the Kingdom rally.

Pinkerton and Sinclair are associates of Glen Kane, a convicted sectarian murderer who served nine years for being part of a gang who beat a Catholic man to death in 1992. Kane was recently charged with intent to stir up racial hatred, after a selection of far-right material and religious pamphlets were found at his home.

BOURNEMOUTH PATRIOTS

In Bournemouth, protests were small but frequent. The Bournemouth Patriots is mainly led by Darren Webb, a longstanding conspiracist and far-right activist with a history of running anti-migrant Facebook groups.

The group has hosted UKIP leader Nick Tenconi, who said in a speech that "every lefty is a socialist or a communist at heart" and that communism is "a spiritual weapon of the devil designed to enslave souls, destroy the church, and erase God from the hearts of men".





EPPING SAYS NO

Epping Says NO is an informal organisation which campaigns against the use of the Bell Hotel in Epping, Essex to house asylum seekers.

The group was formed during protests which sprouted in Epping after an asylum seeker sexually assaulted a local girl and young woman. These protests were the initial trigger point for a long summer of anti-migrant activity. Subsequently, the group's Facebook page has acted as a forum for local debate and a place to organise protests in the area.

Key members include Orla Minihane, Sarah White and ex-Homeland Party member Callum Barker. Other figures associated with the campaign include Julian Leppert and Eddy Butler, both longstanding far-right activists, most notably with the BNP.



John Gilling at a protest in Hull, 18 March 2023 Photo: HOPE not hate

HULL PATRIOTIC PROTESTORS

Founded in 2023 by former English Defence League (EDL) activist John Gilling (AKA John Francis), Hull Patriotic Protesters (HPP) is a small street movement with a primary focus on immigration, refugees and asylum seekers.

Whilst Gilling has voiced his opposition to "racist or neo nazi bullshit", the attendees of the group's small demonstrations have included various fascists, including other ex-EDL activists such as Scott Pitts; at a protest outside Hull's Royal Hotel in June 2024, Pitts described migrants as "vermin".

On 3 August, HPP was also the organiser of a protest following the Southport attack that spiralled into one of the worst riots in the country. Gilling subsequently claimed that his protest had been "hijacked".

HPP has continued to hold a series of small protests throughout 2025 on a grab-bag of issues, from immigration to "far left fascism" and "two tier justice".

NATIONAL EMERGENCY FAVERSHAM DIVISION

National Emergency Faversham Division is a Kent-based anti-migrant group. Run mainly by Harry Hilden, it organised protests in the area as well as a mass flagging campaign. Footage online showed several cases of conflict between the team and residents attempting to remove flags, resulting in the establishment of a "watch group".

Hilden was arrested and charged with assault and abusive behaviour at the end of November 2025 after a confrontation over flags; another man was charged with possession of a bladed article in connection to the incident.



PROFILES: LOCAL ANTI-MIGRANT GROUPS (CONTINUED)



PORTSMOUTH PATRIOTS

The Portsmouth Patriots hosted protests outside the Royal Beach Hotel, as well as running a flagging operation across Portsmouth. Key members include Barry Burr, who attended at least one English Defence League rally in 2013.

The group hosted UKIP leader Nick Tenconi as an event speaker. In his speeches, Tenconi referred to asylum seekers as "savages" and promoted mass deportations. The group also came under heavy criticism after a man performed a Nazi salute during one of their protests, prompting a public apology from the group.



SOUTHAMPTON PATRIOTS

The Southampton Patriots launched protests outside the Highfield House Hotel. The group hosted UKIP leader Nick Tenconi and pastor Chris Wickland, who gave a Christian nationalist speech arguing that "British identity has come from 700 years of Christianity".

At other events, protesters chanted "Say it loud, say it clear, illegals are raping here" and held signs reading "Only traitors help invaders". In early October, one protester was spotted wearing a highly offensive costume emulating traditional Orthodox Jewish clothing.

The group also hosted the largest protest seen across the south coast this year, with an event on 26 October attracting roughly 600 people.

AUDITORS

"Auditing" is a growing trend amongst the far right. Drawing on the "migrant hunting" style of activism, auditors typically enter hotels housing asylum seekers to harass the staff and residents while presenting themselves as "citizen journalists" who are "exposing" the asylum system.

Throughout 2025, auditing expanded into a lucrative industry of YouTubers creating monetised content not only at hotels, but at protests and on the street. Provocative and antagonistic, auditors often target counter-protesters and members of the public, seeking to transform racist harassment into viral content.

CHARLES VEITCH

Charles Veitch is a Manchester-based auditor and conspiracy theorist. Veitch films protests across the country as well as everyday interactions with the general public, spreading anti-migrant hate and antagonising those he meets to maximise views.

Veitch's confidence appears to derive from the presence of his bodyguard, Fred Willis, who has kicked, slapped and punched members of the public who have retaliated – even just verbally – to Veitch's jibes.





MKR AUDITS

Kelsea Rouge (AKA MKR Audits) is part of a collection of Mancunian auditors who began mass-producing content during the anti-migrant protests of 2025. Others in the pack include EnglishNed, Ben Mills (The Ginger Patriot) and the YouTube account "My Brakes Don't Work".

On Halloween, Rouge filmed a protest at the Cresta Court Hotel in Altrincham. The footage showed protesters launching fireworks at the hotel, which houses asylum seekers, with one attendee shouting "get one through the window". In the same evening, Rouge filmed fellow protesters chanting "jump" at a resident who came to a hotel window.

MIGRANT HOTEL MANAGER

Migrant Hotel Manager, real name Adam, is an auditor who previously worked in a hotel housing asylum seekers. He produced videos in which he posed as a resident and entered hotels to "expose" the conditions inside – particularly the food. His videos paint asylum seekers as living a life of luxury off the British taxpayers' money.

Adam also posted footage taken from CCTV cameras during his time working at a hotel. Clips featured fights between residents, which Adam crudely captioned "Syria Vs Egypt round 1 fight night!" and similar. In August, Adam was arrested for burglary in relation to the food he had consumed in hotels while filming.





HARRY JACKSON

Harry Jackson is a member of the National Rebirth Party, a fascist microparty led by Alek Yerbury.

He and his ally Ryan Ferguson have worked together to break into hotels housing asylum seekers, harassing residents and hotel employees on camera. Footage shows them walking down hotel corridors, testing which doors are unlocked; when successful, they burst into resident's bedrooms and harass those inside.

On his YouTube channel, he also films various protests and far-right events, where he repeatedly tells non-white members of the public that they're "going home".

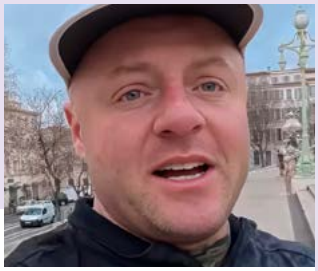
AY AUDITS

Anthony Barnes (AKA AY Audits) has amassed over 135,000 subscribers to his YouTube channel.

Despite being active in the far right since around 2018, Barnes gained traction over the summer of 2025 reporting on anti-migrant protests in Epping. Since then, he has filmed himself confronting staff at hotels housing asylum seekers all over the country, often refusing to leave premises until forced out by security.

Recently, his actions earned him a ban from entering the entire county of Surrey.





DJE MEDIA

DJE Media is the alias of Harrow-based auditor Curtis Arnold, who produces protest vlogs and street-style interviews where he harasses members of the public.

Arnold is a convicted sex offender, having pled guilty in 2019 to 12 counts of fraud and one count each of voyeurism, causing a person to engage in sexual activity and making indecent images of a victim aged under 18. He had covertly taken pictures of women in a gym, one of whom was 17, while posing as a modelling agent. He later shared the photos online without content to promote his fitness brand.

In 2024, he was detained and forced to delete his social-media accounts after he posted covert footage of policemen removing the body of a missing woman from a river. However, Arnold was able to maintain his presence online through his new alias "DJE Media", through which he amassed over 240,000 subscribers to his YouTube channel.

RYAN FERGUSON

Ryan Ferguson is a fascist activist who, alongside Harry Jackson, has filmed far-right protests and shot content in which he breaks into asylum seeker's hotel bedrooms. Ferguson has previously been convicted of racially abusing a football player, and was spotted wearing a t-shirt covered with Nazi references, including "88" (short for "Heil Hitler"), at a Britain First rally in May.

He became a regular attendee at Manchester-based anti-migrant protests over the summer, but was arrested at a protest in Altrincham for chanting "National Action is reforming" and "National Action and Proud!", a reference to the proscribed neo-Nazi terrorist organisation.



PROFILES: ANTI-LGBTQ+

FAIR COP

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

LEADER: HARRY MILLER

Fair Cop was established to protect police officers who face disciplinary issues for expressing anti-trans, misogynistic and other anti-LGBTQ+ views. It was started in 2019 by former police officer Harry Miller, after he was investigated for posting anti-trans content on social media.

The organisation has strong links to the far right and the broader "gender critical" milieu. In 2020, it promoted the #SayYesToHate Twitter campaign, which took aim at the supposedly too-broad definitions in hate crime legislation.

In 2023, Fair Cop intervened on behalf of James Goddard, previously an organiser in Patriotic Alternative, after he posted anti-LGBTQ+ rants online and was investigated by the police. Miller was arrested in 2022 after posting a picture of the Progress Pride flag fashioned into a swastika. This resulted in widespread far-right support online.

Miller has appeared alongside several far-right activists on social media and offline. In 2020, he spoke at the Hearts of Oak annual conference and he was interviewed by Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad) on the Lotus Eaters in 2023. In December 2024, Miller said he is "knackered" and that 2025 "will probably be my last doing this". He remained active in 2025, appearing on TalkTV and GB News, but less so than in previous years.

FAMILY EDUCATION TRUST

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

Family Education Trust (FET) is a campaign group opposing the rights of LGBTQ+ people, especially those of transgender people. The group opposes LGBTQ+ education in schools and argues in favour of discriminating against same-sex couples in terms of adoption and access to care. FET supports legislation requiring teachers to "out" trans children to their parents and wants discrimination on the basis of gender identity not to be a hate crime.

The group's leadership has praised Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. In 2022, the group promoted the anti-Drag Queen Story Hour campaign. The far-right priest Calvin Robinson spoke at a FET event in 2024, while speakers at the group's 2025 annual conference included the academic James Orr and far-right activist Connor Tomlinson.



Richard Lucas. Photo: YouTube

SCOTTISH FAMILY PARTY

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: RICHARD LUCAS

The Scottish Family Party (SFP) was launched in 2017 by former UKIP candidate Richard Lucas.

The party opposes same-sex marriage and many forms of gender-equality legislation. It is also strongly anti-abortion, and in recent years has posted an increasing amount of anti-trans and anti-LGBTQ+ content on social media.

The SFP received some press attention in 2023 after prominent member Niall Fraser claimed he would "brick up" the entrance of a sexual health facility in Glasgow and was filmed abusing then-First Minister Humza Yousaf.

The SFP stood 16 candidates in the 2024 general election, all of whom were unsuccessful and lost their deposits. In June 2025, the party came eighth in the Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse by-election for the Scottish Parliament, with just 219 votes (0.8%).

The group also has links to the fascist Homeland Party, a group that splintered from Patriotic Alternative. Lucas was interviewed by Simon Crane, who was then PA's Scottish organiser and was previously active in the SFP. Crane is now a leading figure in Homeland. Fraser would go on to appear on an official Homeland broadcast.

The party was the subject of controversy again in March and April 2025, when it organised anti-abortion protests outside Scottish clinics.



Kellie-Jay Keen-Minshull (right) alongside Patriotic Alternative member David Miles at an event in March 2024

KELLIE-JAY KEEN-MINSHULL

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST

Kellie-Jay Keen-Minshull (AKA Posie Parker) is a British anti-trans activist best known for her t-shirts and stickers bearing the words "woman / women / noun / adult human female". Keen-Minshull is a leading voice in the anti-trans movement in the UK and overseas.

She has found support from the far right, which also targets trans people. Keen-Minshull has posted anti-Muslim tweets and expressed support for Tommy Robinson. She has appeared on the livestreams of conspiracy theorist Richie Allen's channel twice and been interviewed by Laurence Fox, and also frequently appears on GB News and TalkTV. Far-right activists have also supported her at her rallies.

Keen-Minshull registered the Party of Women as a gender-critical political party in February 2024. The Party of Women has one local councillor, Vanessa Bell, who sits on Maldon District Council. Mandy Clare – who sits on Cheshire West and Chester Council – defected to the party from Labour in March 2024, but left in July 2024 before joining Reform UK in March 2025.

In August 2024, Keen-Minshull appeared to express support for the National Front because it historically campaigned against a paedophile group. Several months later, she reposted – and then deleted – an altered version of the Fourteen Words white-supremacist slogan.

PROFILES: FAR-RIGHT HEATHENS



Photo: Olga Makukha/ Shutterstock.

"Heathenry" is a new religious movement inspired by the pre-Christian customs and beliefs of Germanic peoples, in particular Norse Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon England, in the Iron Age and early medieval periods.

Attitudes to race are a key dividing line in Heathenry today. Many follow a "universalist" system, believing their religion to be open to all those who wish to practise it, with some groups (often termed "hearths" or "kindreds") taking an explicitly anti-racist stance. However, others follow a "folkish" or racially exclusive version, believing Heathenry to be the sole preserve of white people, particularly those of northwestern European descent. This latter form is often termed "Odinism" or "Wotanism".

While many folkish groups claim to be non-political, some promote a far-right worldview and have considerable areas of overlap with the organised far right in both ideology and personnel. Odinism is a long-running current within fascist and white-supremacist movements, and believers sometimes clash with the Christian far right.

TOM ROWSELL (AKA SURVIVE THE JIVE)

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Tom Rowsell (AKA Survive the Jive) is the far right's go-to expert on "Indo-European" history and paganism, producing a regular stream of video, podcast and social-media content that is often interspersed with racist tropes and far-right talking points.

Rowsell has a sizable online following, with 280,000 subscribers across his two YouTube accounts, more than 62,000 on X and 15,000 on Telegram. He funds his activities through Patreon, SubscribeStar and ad revenue from YouTube.

A former freelance journalist, Rowsell has been active in far-right circles in the UK since the early 2010s. Overseas, Rowsell has also attended a range of international conferences across Europe and the US. In December 2023, Rowsell attended a gathering of the private members club Neo Byzantium, an offshoot of the Human Diversity Foundation, a race science company exposed by HOPE not hate.

In addition to hosting a show on the "folkish Heathen podcast network" Hearthfire Radio, Rowsell runs his own podcast, on which he has hosted a range of far-right figures. He has also appeared on a multitude of far-right and white-nationalist shows.

Rowsell officiates the Hearth of Devon, a group that was, until 2023, affiliated to the Odinist Fellowship. He also organised the Pagan Futures conference in June 2022, which featured Dan Capp and Boaz Vilallonga and brought a crowd of over 100 to London.



ODINIC RITE

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

The Odinic Rite (OR) is a "folkish" Heathen organisation founded in the UK in 1973 by John Gibbs-Bailey and John Yeowell. Yeowell, a former member of Oswald Mosley's blackshirts, became the group's first director. He was replaced by Jeffrey Holley (AKA Heimgest) in 1989, causing schisms within the group. Holley now resides in British Columbia, Canada.

The OR today is small. However, the group – which claims to be "the world's longest running, continually active Odinist movement" – has been influential on folkish Heathenry both in the UK and overseas. OR offshoots have emerged in Australia, Germany and the US, and former members have gone on to found both the Odinist Fellowship and Woden's Folk.

Individuals to have passed through the OR include members of Patriotic Alternative (PA), the British National Party (BNP), the British Movement and Blood & Honour. One prominent current figure in the UK is Phil Reddall (AKA Redwald), an ex-BNP councillor and organiser for North Shropshire. Reddall, who has links to PA, is also a writer for the Arktos Media website.

ODINIST FELLOWSHIP

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

The Odinist Fellowship (OF) is a registered charity that follows a "folkish" version of Heathenism.

The OF, which emerged from the Odinic Rite in the 1990s, is headed by Ralph Michael Harrison, a longstanding far-right activist and original editor of the defunct *Right Now!* magazine.

In 2014, the group bought a 16th-century chapel in Newark-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire, for £42,000 and converted it into its temple. The group is now raising funds in the hopes of opening a second centre.

The group claims to be apolitical, and Harrison has rejected accusations of racism. Nonetheless, OF describes its faith as "ethnospecific", continuing: "were we to receive a request to administer the Odinist Pledge of Faith to, say, a Japanese or a Nigerian, we would encourage that person to embrace his indigenous form of heathenism".

Unsurprisingly, the group has attracted a number of far-right activists. These include members of the neo-Nazi Patriotic Alternative (PA) and its splinter groups, the Homeland Party and National Rebirth Party, as well as the longstanding and extreme British Movement and land-buying scheme The Woodlander Initiative. Former affiliates include the well-known YouTuber Tom Rowsell (AKA Survive the Jive).

Harrison has remained active in the far right, attending a series of demonstrations headed by the fascist organiser Alek Yerbury in Lincolnshire in 2023 – one of which was advertised to OF members on the official Telegram group. He also travelled to Birmingham for Britain First's "March for Remigration" in March 2025.



WODEN'S FOLK

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

Woden's Folk (WF) is a fringe group founded in 1998 by Geoffrey Dunn (AKA Wulf Ingessunu), a former National Front activist who was also previously involved in the Odinic Rite and linked to the American Wotansvolk organisation.

WF has a prominent Anglo-Saxon focus while incorporating elements of Nazism, prophesying the coming of a messianic "Folk Fuhrer", a version of Woden who will save the "English folk". The group has militaristic aspects and promotes "guerilla survivalism" ahead of a future conflict.

The tiny but extreme group received press attention in 2019 for holding torchlit ceremonies at National Trust and English Heritage sites, including Avebury in Wiltshire and Wayland's Smithy in Oxfordshire.

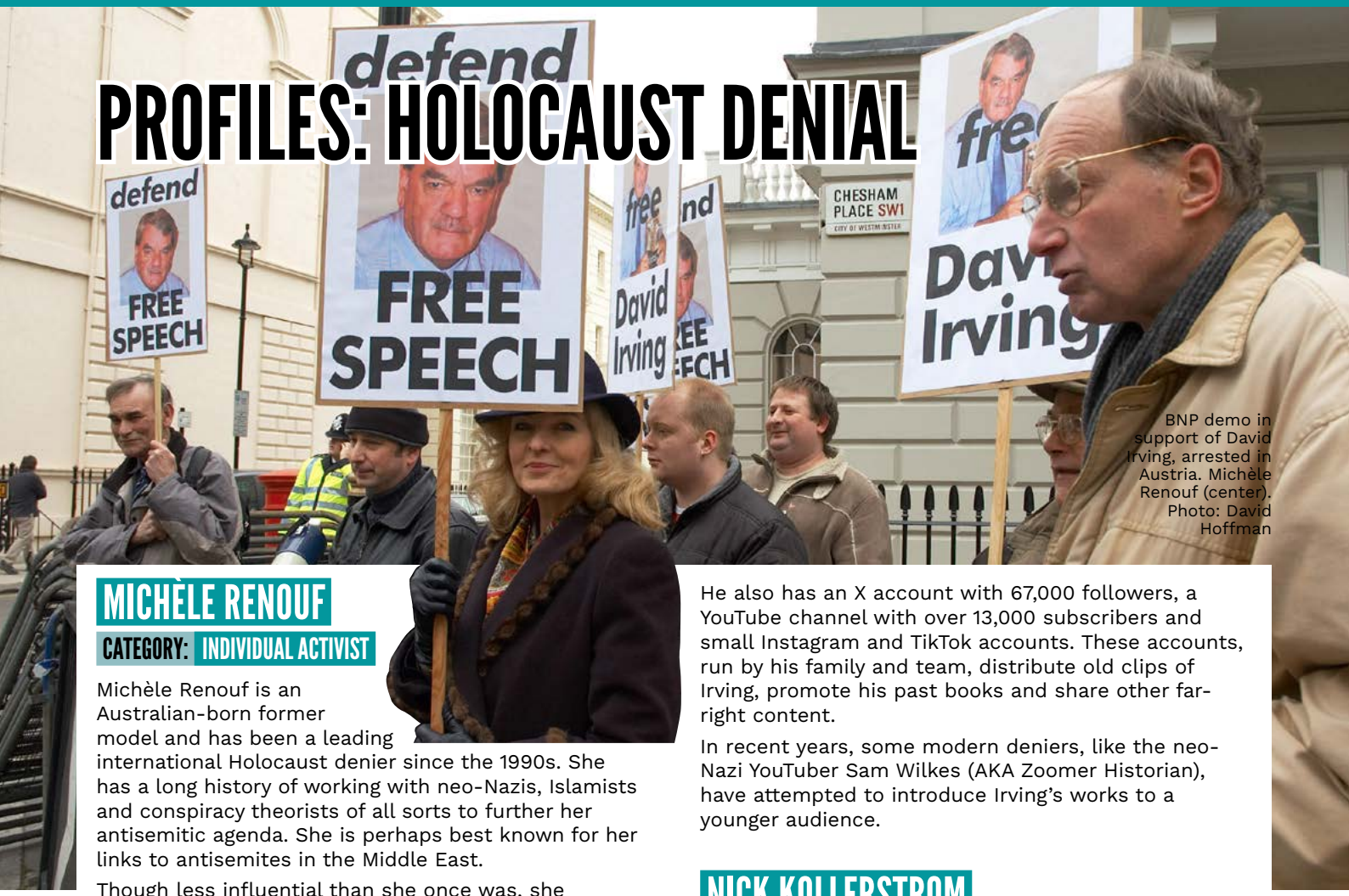
Activists to have passed through WF include former members of the National Front, the British National Party, the British Movement, Combat 18 and also National Action, a neo-Nazi group now banned under anti-terror legislation. It also includes current and former members of Patriotic Alternative.

Dunn's books are published by Black Front Press, the publisher owned by long-standing far-right activist Troy Southgate.



Ralph Harrison of the Odinist Fellowship at a Britain First march in Nuneaton, 1 March 2025. Photo: HOPE not hate

PROFILES: HOLOCAUST DENIAL



BNP demo in support of David Irving, arrested in Austria. Michèle Renouf (center). Photo: David Hoffman

MICHÈLE RENOUF

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST

Michèle Renouf is an Australian-born former model and has been a leading international Holocaust denier since the 1990s. She has a long history of working with neo-Nazis, Islamists and conspiracy theorists of all sorts to further her antisemitic agenda. She is perhaps best known for her links to antisemites in the Middle East.

Though less influential than she once was, she continues to be active and has been seen on pro-Palestine and anti-trans demonstrations, and at events held by the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative. In 2024, she attended a far-right conference in Sweden titled "European Unity – A Future to Fight For" which was addressed by speakers from the Nordic Resistance Movement. In 2025, she spoke at an online memorial for the German denier Ursula Haverbeck.

DAVID IRVING

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST

David Irving is a key British Holocaust denier, once considered one of the most successful and respectable of the "revisionists". Irving made his reputation as a historian after gaining access to the hitherto unaccessed personal papers of former leading Nazis, some of whom he interviewed.

However, he has become increasingly irrelevant over time. While he remains an internationally recognised name in the Holocaust-denial world, Irving is now an elderly man and rarely appears in public. In February 2024, rumours circulated online that he had died, although these were later confirmed to be false. He is, however, currently facing serious health challenges and the few pictures that have emerged in the past year show him to be very frail.

Old clips of his talks are still widely accessible, and his estate maintains the Focal Point Publications and Irving Books websites, where a dwindling audience of fans can still buy his books.

He also has an X account with 67,000 followers, a YouTube channel with over 13,000 subscribers and small Instagram and TikTok accounts. These accounts, run by his family and team, distribute old clips of Irving, promote his past books and share other far-right content.

In recent years, some modern deniers, like the neo-Nazi YouTuber Sam Wilkes (AKA Zoomer Historian), have attempted to introduce Irving's works to a younger audience.

NICK KOLLERSTROM

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST

Nick Kollerstrom, a former honorary research fellow at University College London, was sacked in 2008 after he engaged in Holocaust denial. In an article entitled "The Auschwitz 'Gas Chamber' Illusion", Kollerstrom claimed that although there were gas chambers at Auschwitz these "were operated for purposes of hygiene and disinfection, in order to save lives and not take them."

In 2014, he released the book *Breaking the Spell: The Holocaust, Myth & Reality*, published by Germar Rudolf's Holocaust-denial publishing house, Castle Hill Publishers. In addition to Holocaust denial, Kollerstrom has published books pushing conspiracy theories about the 7/7 London bombings, the supposed death of Paul McCartney, 9/11, and Ukraine.

Kollerstrom went on to be a key figure in the London-based conspiracy-theory discussion group Keep Talking, which has itself hosted a variety of Holocaust deniers and antisemites. Notably, in 2023, he went on Iranian TV and said it is time to put the "nightmare hallucination narrative" of the Holocaust "to bed", describing it as "this holo-hoax tale".

Though his conspiratorial works continue to be circulated amongst the Holocaust-denial and conspiracy-theory scene, Kollerstrom himself is barely active. In 2025 he contributed an article titled "Ancient Units of Measure That Shouldn't Exist" to a website called Ancient Origins, appeared on the Sheep Farm Podcast, and little else.

ALISON CHABLOZ

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST



Alison Chabloz is a musician, blogger and Holocaust denier from Glossop in Derbyshire who runs her own website.

She is one of the UK's most notorious Holocaust deniers and has been convicted three times for breaking a range of laws. In 2018, she was convicted for sending an offensive, indecent or menacing message and for a song in which she called Auschwitz a "theme park for fools."

Chabloz was sentenced again in April 2022 for "grossly offensive" antisemitism in a video posted online in April 2020. She was handed a prison sentence of 22 weeks, 11 of which were to be served at HMP Bronzefield and the rest on licence.

After an uneventful 2024 in which she deleted her website's articles, she appeared in December at a Keep Talking event to sing a song, written with Piers Corbyn, about climate change being fake.

2025 was a quiet year for Chabloz, with few public appearances and only one short post on her website. She does post regularly on X, but has failed to build an audience, accruing just over 200 followers.

JOHN HAMER

CATEGORY: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVIST

John Hamer describes himself as a "full-time geopolitical researcher", but is actually a well-known conspiracy theorist who has denied the Holocaust.

His books include the antisemitic screeds *The Falsification of History*, *Behind the Curtain*, *The Falsification of Science* and *JFK – A Very British Coup,* which claims the British Crown was involved in the assassination of the US President.

Hamer writes a monthly column for the conspiracy-theory newspaper *The Light*, including one piece in which he praised Colonel Gaddafi, comparing his rule favourably to our "very tightly Zionist-controlled, indirect form of democracy" and the "puppet-criminals who run the country only for the benefit of the bankster-elite".

On X, Hamer has posted about "the Holofraud" being "key to the Zionist agenda for world domination," and lamented the demonisation of "the ideal of white nationalism". Hamer also does regular talks around the country on a range of conspiratorial topics.

CASTLE HILL PUBLISHERS

CATEGORY: PUBLISHER

Castle Hill Publishers (CHP) is a publisher of Holocaust-denial literature, set up in 1998 by the convicted German Holocaust denier, Germar Rudolf. In 2014, it merged with the American Holocaust-denial organisation, CODOH (Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust).

In 2022, CHP was sold to CODOH after shipping books from the UK to Europe became "financially and legally untenable" due to Brexit. It publishes the Holocaust Handbook series, which includes more than 50 books by some of the most high-profile deniers in the world.

That year, founder Germar Rudolf stepped back from both CODOH and Castle Hill. A cryptic message on its website suggests that Rudolf's decision was motivated by "them" – AKA Jews – attacking him, but makes no mention of whether his 2020 conviction for exposing his genitals in a children's playground, while holding a bottle of baby oil, had anything to do with his decision to step back from running the Holocaust-denial enterprise.

Castle Hill subsequently moved to the US and, in late 2023, collapsed. Many of its books are now sold by ARMREG Ltd, London. However, CODOH continues to operate.

ACADEMIC RESEARCH MEDIA REVIEW EDUCATION GROUP LTD (ARMREG)

CATEGORY: PUBLISHER



This Holocaust-denial publisher was founded in mid-2023, with the aim of "building a platform that allows dissenting Holocaust scholars willing to speak out to reach a wider audience without fear of retribution."

ARMREG now sells many books previously published by Castle Hill before it went under in late 2023. The company is based in London, with its sole director being Jeffrey Paul Tribe. Unsurprisingly, the group has links to the UK's fascist fringe, for example holding a stall at the national conference of neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative last year and running adverts in *Heritage & Destiny* magazine.

ARMREG collaborates closely with the American denial organisation CODOH (Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust), with their shared merchandise including a mug reading "The Holocaust is Fake".

2026 will see the first ARMREG Holocaust Academy Summit, a live-streamed virtual conference with planned presentations by well-known deniers including Germar Rudolf, Vincent Reynouard, Carlo Mattogno and Peter Rushton.

HISTORICAL REVIEW PRESS

CATEGORY: PUBLISHER

At one point, Historical Review Press (HRP) was the leading publisher of Holocaust-denial literature in Britain. Run by Anthony Hancock, it published notorious books such as the reissue of *Did Six Million Really Die?* and the newspaper *Holocaust News*.

Despite the death of founder Hancock in 2012, the HRP still exists. However, today it is little more than a website that sells a variety of fascist, far-right and Holocaust-denial literature, much of it produced by other publishers. Though it says it is open to new submissions, it has not published an original book for some time.

PROFILES: CONSPIRACY THEORISTS



David Icke
Photo: Stefano Maffei

DAVID ICKE

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

David Icke is arguably the UK's most famous conspiracy theorist and antisemite.

Icke emerged into the public eye as a sports presenter in the 1980s and briefly as a Green Party representative. After experiencing an "awakening" in 1990, he became notorious for his extreme conspiratorial beliefs, in particular those concerning the existence of evil extraterrestrials and "hybrid human-reptile" bloodlines he believes to be controlling world events. However, the "reptilian theory" is just one element of the hugely convoluted narrative Icke has developed over his long career, which incorporates vaccinations, mind control, Satanic ritual abuse, 9/11 trutherism and a barrage of paranormal and New Age beliefs.

Ickism borrows heavily from pre-existing New World Order (NWO) narratives, many of them drawn from American far-right militia movements. Whilst he denies charges of antisemitism, he regularly blames nonsensical subcategories of Jewishness – such as "Rothschild Zionist/Khazarian Mafia/Sabbatean-Frankists" – for long-standing antisemitic tropes.

For example, he has attempted to rehabilitate the Protocols of the Elders of Zion – a notorious forgery that outlines a Jewish plot for world domination – by claiming that it accurately documents the plans of a "Sabbatean-Frankist Death Cult" rather than all Jews. He has also long demonised George Soros, the Rothschild family and other Jewish individuals and organisations as supernaturally evil puppeteers.

Icke's prolific output and gift for self-promotion has enabled him to spread his blend of NWO narratives, antisemitism and the paranormal to a worldwide audience. Since 2020, he has effectively exploited the COVID-19 pandemic to gain a new prominence, denying the existence of the virus in videos viewed millions of times, and becoming a figurehead for the conspiracy theory-driven protest movement in the UK and overseas. This has included headlining a series of large anti-lockdown and anti-vaccine demonstrations in London.

Icke's online reach has been hindered by bans from several mainstream social-media platforms, although he had his X/Twitter account reinstated in early 2023 (at time of writing he has 789,000 followers on the platform).

The ageing conspiracist is increasingly delegating duties to his sons Jaymie and Gareth, who are themselves prominent in the UK's conspiracy-theory scene and run the subscription streaming service "Ickonic".

Icke remains prolific, however, producing large quantities of media content and averaging a book a year, and has a four-city speaking tour booked for the start of 2026 to publicise his latest book, *The Road Map*.

PIERS CORBYN

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Piers Corbyn, the older brother of former Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, is among the UK's most active conspiracy theorists and campaigners.

A former Labour councillor and organiser, Corbyn originally made a name in the conspiracist milieu as a climate change denier, gaining press coverage for rubbing shoulders with the Holocaust-denier Nick Kollerstrom at events.

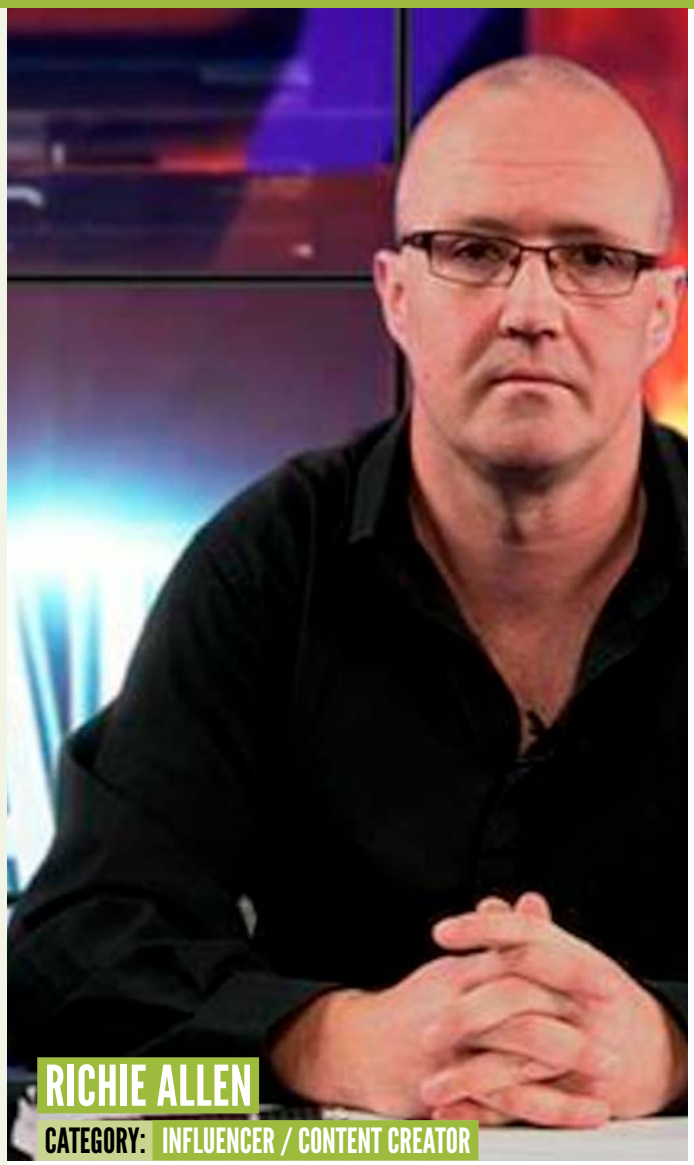
However, he gained national notoriety as a figurehead of the UK's anti-vaccine protest movement shortly after COVID-19 lockdowns began in 2020. Corbyn organised and headed a multitude of anti-lockdown and anti-vaccine demonstrations at which he was often arrested, generating extensive press coverage. He was also arrested in 2021 for distributing leaflets likening vaccination efforts to Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Corbyn stood in the London mayoral election in 2021 for his own political party, Let London Live (LLL), but received less than 1% of the vote. He has gone on to contest other local and parliamentary elections, although both he and other LLL candidates have reliably returned paltry results. The party was de-registered in 2023. He did, however, stand as an independent in Bermondsey and Old Southwark in the 2024 general election, receiving 1.1%.

In October 2021, a week after the murder of Sir David Amess MP, Corbyn led a small group of protesters who erected a gallows in Parliament Square. In December, Corbyn was again arrested after he told a demonstration that they needed to "get a bit more physical" with those who supported restrictions and "take down lying MPs". He added that they needed to: "hammer to death those scum who have decided to go ahead with introducing new fascism [...] We've got to get a list of them [...] and if your MP is one of them, go to their offices and, well, I would recommend burning them down [...]."

Corbyn has broadened his focus from COVID-19 onto other issues, reflecting a wider shift in the conspiracy-oriented protest movement. Corbyn spent much of 2025 attempting to shoehorn his pet issues into various movements, attending diverse events including anti-migrant demos in Epping and a protest against the new Chinese Embassy in order to rail against Digital IDs and bolster his own profile.





RICHIE ALLEN

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Richie Allen is the Manchester-based protégé of conspiracy theorist David Icke, and runs a regular audio show.

The Richie Allen Show emerged from Icke's short-lived broadcast, The People's Voice, and was for a time hosted on Icke's website. It has become a staple platform for conspiracy theorists, including some antisemites and Holocaust deniers. While Allen claims his guests are on to "debate", they are often given an easy ride and praised despite their extreme positions: for example, November 2025 guest Dean Henderson was allowed to vent about "Talmudic fake Jews, the ashke-Nazis" without challenge.

Repeat guests include some of the UK's most infamous Holocaust deniers, such as Nick Kollerstrom (whom Allen has described as an "old friend"), and Alison Chabloz (whom Allen described as a "remarkable woman, extraordinary woman"). Other repeat guests include Mark Collett, leader of the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative, as well as the Islamist hate preacher Anjem Choudary. He has also hosted various mainstream politicians, including the current Conservative MP Desmond Swayne and the former Tory minister Ann Widdecombe.

Allen is now banned on many mainstream social media platforms, although regained his Twitter (now X) account in November 2022. At time of writing, he has a sizable following of 74,200 on the platform.

PROFILES: CONSPIRACY THEORISTS

THE LIGHT

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET

The Light is a monthly conspiracy-theory magazine that focuses primarily on COVID-19 and climate change denial, and has also promoted antisemitism and far-right politics. It has also co-organised music festivals and other offline events.

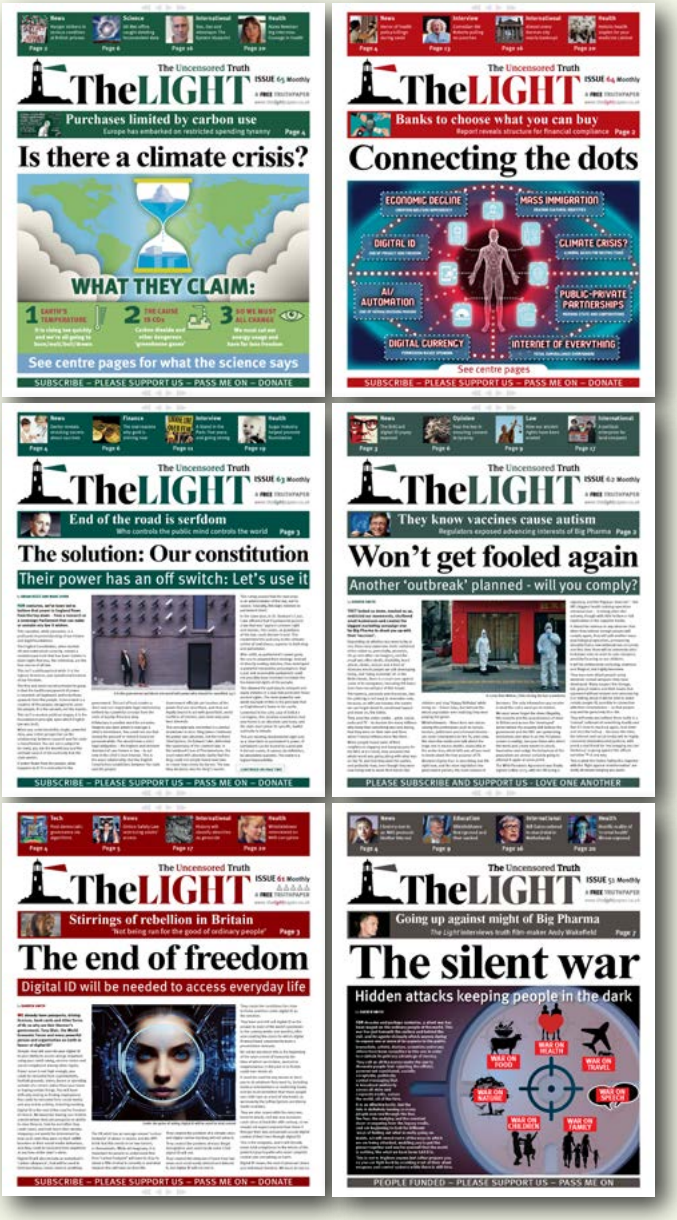
The Light emerged in September 2020 in tandem with the UK's burgeoning anti-vaccine protest movement. Edited by the flat-earther Darren Nesbit, it is designed to mimic a traditional newspaper and has grown into a significant voice in the conspiracy-theorist alternative media. Every month, thousands of copies are handed out on street stalls or left alongside mainstream publications in newsagents to be taken free of charge.

In January 2022, Nesbit claimed the magazine had a huge 250,000 print run – bigger than some national newspapers – to be distributed by volunteers organised on Facebook and Telegram. The fortunes of the outlet have dipped since, with Nesbit blaming the loss of "hundreds of subscribers" on the cost-of-living crisis. Interest in *The Light* has also likely waned as public anxiety about the pandemic has lessened.

Nonetheless, *The Light* continues to find a wide reach across the UK and has broadened its focus from pandemic theories to a wider "anti-woke" outlook, taking aim at an "insane woke collectivist ideology" and incorporating strong anti-trans prejudice into its output.

Notably, the outlet has also platformed and promoted some of the UK's best-known far-right figures and antisemites, introducing them to new audiences. This includes the Holocaust denier John Hamer, who began writing for *The Light* in 2021 and publishes his historical ramblings via a monthly column. In a May 2024 issue he claimed that the Rothschild family was behind both world wars and that "Judea declared war on Germany in the early 1930s", a common narrative among neo-Nazis.

Other contributors include anti-Muslim figures such as Anne Marie Waters, Katie Hopkins, David Kurten and the longstanding far-right activist Robin Tilbrook. Among *The Light*'s most regular writers is Niall McCrae, a disgraced former academic with links to Patriotic Alternative, the neo-Nazi group.



The tone of *The Light* is highly alarmist and occasionally violent. For example, an article in the June 2022 issue stated that "under the 1947 Nuremberg Code, MPs, doctors and nurses can be hanged if found guilty of medical experimentation", and an August 2025 Telegram post declared "The system is evil, and the most evil system there has ever been. Forget the Nazis, the Soviets, Rome, Babylon – what we are facing today is worse than a combination of the worst aspects of all of those together".

The Uncensored Truth
TheLIGHT



Alex Thomson. Photo: YouTube

UK COLUMN

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET

UK Column is a conspiracy theory-oriented online media outlet.

Founded in 2006 by Brian Gerrish and aiming to "highlight the rise of a dangerous political dictatorship", UK Column was originally a small newsletter but has grown into a website that produces a regular stream of articles, video content and occasional offline meetings.

The site received a considerable boost during the COVID-19 pandemic, and remains a significant voice in the UK conspiracy-theorist alternative media. It retains a presence on most major social-media platforms.

UK Column also has areas of overlap with the far right. In 2022, UK Column said the Drag Queen Story Hour events, then a target of far-right protest, were part of a deliberate plot to "brainwash" children. Far-right ideologies promoted by the outlet include the "Cultural Marxism" theory, and even the "Kalergi Plan", a variant of the white-genocide conspiracy theory that alleging that a sinister plot is underway to wipe out white Europeans.

The outlet has links to the Heritage Party, with Gerrish and UK Column presenter Charles Malet addressing the group's conference in 2024, the former delivering a speech on "Fighting the New World Order".

Commissioning editor Alex Thomson has also made several appearances on Patriotic Weekly Review, the online show of Patriotic Alternative (PA) leader Mark Collett, as well as various other fascist and white-nationalist shows. Gerrish and Thomson have also made repeated guest appearances on the show of British white nationalist Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes).

The outlet has promoted a steady stream of antisemitic content throughout 2025, including two discussions with the founder of the antisemitic Christogenea website, which promotes the idea that modern Jewish populations are usurpers who have stolen the identity of the ancient Hebrews.

HOPE SUSSEX COMMUNITY

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

Hope Sussex Community is an "autonomous community centre" established in 2022 near Netherfield in East Sussex.

The project emerged from the conspiracy theory-driven anti-vaccine protest movement, and was spearheaded by Matt and Sadie Single, former British National Party (BNP) officials. In Matt Single's words, the aim of the project is to build "a community of wide-awake people that have removed their children from an insidious State education system". He has elsewhere described Hope Sussex as "an army" at war with the British state.

Hope Sussex encourages parents to remove children from mainstream schools in favour of learning an alternative, conspiratorial curriculum. The group has published images of children engaging in crossbow and combat training and posing with "homemade nunchucks", and of Matt Single's "science" lessons involving explosives and his homemade flamethrower. One video shows children shooting BB guns at a TV screen labelled "BBC".

The Times reported in 2023 that "as many as 20 children of primary school age" attend the school, and that "obstructive" staff members blocked Ofsted from inspecting the site. The paper also reported in 2025 that Matt Single planned to take pupils on a road trip to Moscow, driving through France, Belgium, Germany and Belarus in his campervan.

While Hope Sussex presents a "family friendly" New Age image, organising alternative music festivals and craft events, it has also hosted a number of far-right figures and radical conspiracy theorists. An early contributor to the project was Alpha Team Assemble, the militant anti-vaccine group, until a falling-out occurred between the two groups.

In 2025, the group hosted a series of "Real Men Rise" events for men and boys over 10, including boxing, archery, axe throwing and "air rifle/pistol discipline", claiming that "masculinity" [was being] attacked as "toxic" by malevolent powers in government" and other "degenerate forces".

The site has also hosted events featuring David Icke, the UK's best-known conspiracy theorist, as well as the far-right social-media personality Katie Hopkins and Kate Shemirani, a leading British anti-vaxxer notorious for her extreme statements. In December 2024, Hope Sussex also hosted the Holocaust denier John Hamer, who gave a talk attempting to discredit the theories of evolution, the Big Bang and "globe earth". In September 2025, Andrew Bridgen, the disgraced former MP, spoke at the site.



Matt Single. Photo: Facebook

WHO BELONGS?

HOW ETHNIC NATIONALISM IS RESHAPING THE BRITISH FAR RIGHT



by JOE MULHALL

Within the far right, debates about who does or does not belong to the nation have always been fundamental. Claims that British or English people are "under attack" rely first on defining who counts as part of the national "in-group" and, just as importantly, who does not.

The dividing line ordinarily falls between the radical and extreme elements of the far right. The radical right accepts the fundamentals of democracy but rejects certain values of liberal democracy, such as minority rights and pluralism, and primarily takes a cultural or civic approach to defining Britishness. Meanwhile, the extreme right, which includes neo-Nazis and fascists, fundamentally rejects democracy, popular sovereignty and majority rule, and defines the nation in racial terms.

This debate is now often described as civic nationalism (civnats) vs ethnonationalism (ethnats). Ethnats believe that the nation is rooted in blood and ancestry. In short, while thorny questions remain over exactly what qualifies as "white" or "British", being born here is certainly not enough to qualify.

Civic nationalism, however, is arguably a more fluid and ambiguous concept. Most civic nationalists argue to varying degrees that people become part of the nation by living in the country, contributing to it, and investing in its institutions. The term is often used interchangeably with, or as a substitute for, "cultural nationalism," which is actually narrower and more exclusionary, placing greater emphasis on a shared, inherited culture of language, traditions and history. Both approaches nevertheless agree that people can, in principle, become British regardless of race.

This is not to say civic nationalism cannot also be racist. Scratch the surface and it quickly becomes clear that so-called civnats often smuggle racial thinking into their worldview, with a person of colour's claims to Englishness or Britishness treated as conditional and revocable.

Over the past two decades, civic and cultural nationalism have been the largest and most successful strands of the British far right. The largest movements would claim to be non-racist and only opposed to radical Islam. While parts of the scene began targeting Muslims specifically during the 1990s, this focus intensified after 9/11, when Islam and Muslims increasingly became their primary or even sole target. Groups such as the English Defence League adopted a narrower, non-biologically racist platform, which became dominant for roughly the next 15 years. Moreover, the successes of the racial-nationalist British National Party in the 2000s were dwarfed by those of UKIP in the 2010s.

Over the past five years, however, this trend has begun to reverse, with a re-racialisation of much of the far-right scene. Although explicitly racial-nationalist organisations remain small and marginal, elements of their ideology have grown more popular across the wider far right and, more alarmingly, have started to seep into the mainstream right.

A key catalyst for this shift was the murder of George Floyd in Minneapolis and the emergence of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in the UK as well as the USA in 2020. Extreme-right groups such as Patriotic Alternative responded predictably with "White Lives Matter" stunts and a coordinated day of action timed to International Indigenous Peoples' Day. At the same time, figures who had previously avoided overt racial politics began to drop the pretence. This included the anti-Muslim group Britain First and, most notably, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), who used the BLM protests that summer to promote a far more openly racialised narrative.

THE CURRENT DEBATE

The civnat vs ethnat debate has raged with renewed intensity over the past year, becoming a topic of much discussion on the ever-growing roster of far-right podcasts.

A key figurehead of the ethnat position is Steve




Steve Laws

Laws, the notorious far-right "influencer" from Kent. Speaking on The Daily Heretic podcast, he laid out his position simply:

> "Ethnonationlism is nationalism. [...] Realistically, civic nationalists are liberals that do not like Islam. [...] A lot of civic nationalists think anyone can be British. They think you come over, you're born here, you're British. [...] Basically, to simplify it, the civic nationalist approach is about 'values' whereas ours is about ethnicity and people and our blood and our people."

The clearest illustration of this debate, however, came when Laws was a guest on the podcast of Stephen Lennon's close associate, Liam Tuffs.

The exchange repeatedly returned to the question of whether black Britons can ever truly belong. Tuffs attempted to test Laws' position by pointing to personal relationships and well-known public figures, citing his black friends and famous members of the black British community such as Frank Bruno and Ian Wright. Laws' response was typically blunt: "They've all got to go. It's not about how nice they are."

Tuffs later revisited the same line of questioning in revealing terms, asking: "If Halle Berry was sat opposite you saying, 'Steve, let me give you a blowjob, no one will find out,' would you refuse that blowjob?" Laws replied: "Yeah, she's brown."

Despite presenting himself as being more moderate, Tuffs' own comments reveal a hierarchy of belonging that rests on cultural and ethnic distinctions. Speaking about his black friends, he explains that he sees them as:

> "African British, not British British. [...] I'm not saying they are British British. In my mind I think they are African British. If they held their culture and their views in front of ours, and they lived here, then I'd say you're not for the country."

For Tuffs, this distinction is tied to a rejection of multiculturalism and the assertion of cultural

WHO IS REALLY BRITISH?

Almost one in ten Britons (9%) think that you have "to be born in Britain, to British parents, and be white to be considered British", polling from HOPE not hate reveals.

Once again there is a gender divide, with 11% of men believing that being British requires you to be born here, to British parents, and be white, while just 7% of women agree.

A further 23% think a "person has to be born in Britain, to British parents, to be considered British".

In Wales, 14% believe being British requires you to be born here, to British parents and be white, while a further 28% think you have to be born in the UK to British parents.

Amongst those who voted to leave the EU in the 2016 referendum, 47% agree with both statements, as do 54% of those who say they would vote for Reform UK if a General Election was held today.

While 60% of Britons think that a person can be British simply by having British citizenship or even if their parents were born abroad, the fact that almost a third of people see quite a narrow and racialised view of identity is of deep concern and helps explain why ethnonationlism is gaining ground amongst the far right.

dominance. As he puts it: "Not that I think multiculturalism works, because there has to be a top-tier culture which is the British culture."

Even when civnats claim to reject biological racism or to allow for conditional inclusion, those conditions are frequently framed in ways that render "non-white" belonging as provisional at best. What emerges is less a disagreement over values than a shared assumption that Britishness is something that must be defended, policed, and ultimately restricted.

REMIGRATION

The spread of explicitly racial nationalism is dangerous, in part, because of the proposed solutions that follow from such a worldview. Accompanying the rise of ethnonationalism is the belief in the need for so-called "remigration".

The term, which was popularised by the ethnonationalist Identitarian movement in the 2010s, is a repackaging of older ideas of ethnic cleansing and forced repatriation in softer, more bureaucratic language. Despite its fascist origins, remigration has become an international far-right rallying point after its adoption by the ascendant Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) in 2024, as well as President Donald Trump that year.

In the UK, various groups and individuals have scrambled to take ownership of the term, including the fascist Homeland Party and, most notably, Steve Laws, who last year founded his own pressure group, Remigration Now. The term remains open to interpretation, however. While Laws adopts the most uncompromising position – forcibly removing all those with traces of "non-white" heritage – others, such as Lennon, often use it in reference to asylum seekers or Muslims.

However, while remigration's proponents often claim it refers only to the voluntary return of migrants, in practice it is rooted in the belief that non-white or non-European populations can never truly belong, regardless of citizenship, length of residence, or cultural integration. By avoiding openly violent language and presenting remigration as a policy solution, the far right seeks to normalise an agenda that would strip millions of people of their rights, while making an extreme and exclusionary worldview appear pragmatic and respectable.

This is tied to the so-called "Great Replacement" theory, an idea created by the French writer Renaud Camus in 2011, which rebrands the old far-right fear of white Europeans being "replaced" by immigrants.

If Englishness or Britishness are defined in racial terms, then immigration and demographic change pose a fundamental threat to the continued existence of the "nation". As such, a rapid halt to immigration and/or a removal of existing "non-white" communities is required to save the nation.

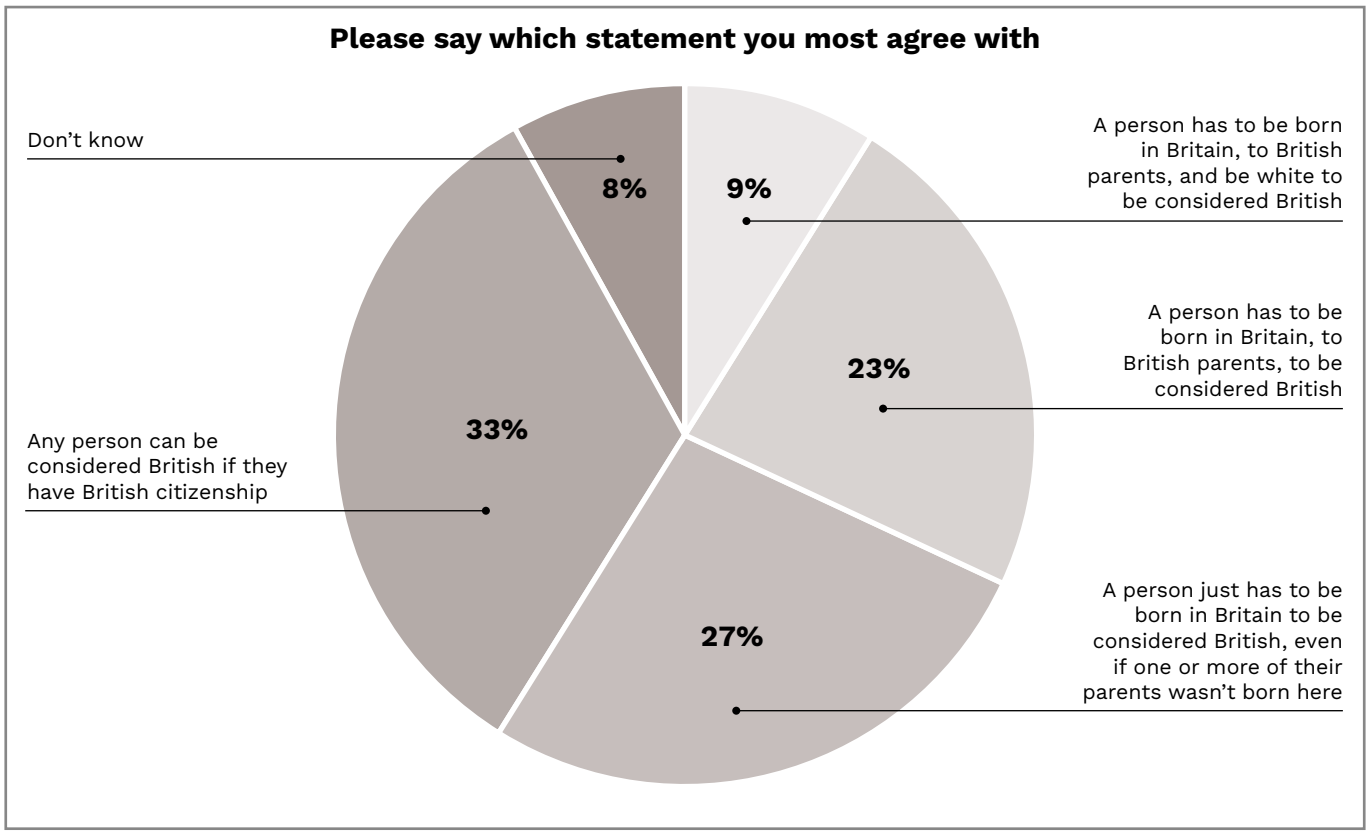
Increasingly, such ideas have polluted the wider, non-racial, far right, with debates centering around who should be stopped from entering, and which of various communities should be removed, and how.

ENTERING THE MAINSTREAM

Most troubling is the way ethnic conceptions of national identity have moved beyond the traditional far right and have increasingly begun to pollute the mainstream right of British politics. Ideas that were once confined to extremist circles are now being articulated by figures with access to major platforms and audiences, often framed as reasonable concerns about culture, cohesion or demographics.

One of the key figures on the radical right responsible for popularising these ideas is the former academic turned Reform UK candidate Matthew Goodwin. In a 2024 Substack article warning of Britain's "demographic CRISIS", Goodwin argued that "the share of the country's population that identifies as 'white British' is forecast to become a minority group around the year 2070," adding that "those who oppose these great inflows and do not embrace the rapid ethnic change they cause wonder why it is that politicians seem unable to stop them." The framing presents demographic change as an obvious problem, without explaining why a rise in people identifying as "black British" or "Asian British" should be cause for alarm. This racialised outlook was further exposed during an appearance on GB News, where Goodwin falsely claimed that "more than 50% of social housing in London is now occupied by people who are not British. This is not acceptable," despite the true figure being closer to 14%.

The debate reached a much wider audience following an appearance by the former editor of *The Spectator*, Fraser Nelson, on the popular right-wing podcast Triggernometry. In an exchange with comedian-turned-podcaster Konstantin Kisin, Nelson raised the question of whether former Prime Minister Rishi Sunak should be considered English. Kisin responded bluntly: "I'm



not English, I will never be English, I don't think Rishi Sunak is English. We're both British but we're not English." Nelson pushed back, insisting, "I would say Rishi Sunak is as English as Tizer and Y-fronts. He is absolutely English. He was born and bred here and I wouldn't say the colour of his skin makes him any less English." Kisin replied, "He's a brown Hindu. How is he English?" Nelson responded, "Because he was born and bred here," before Kisin pressed further: "So by being born here you are English?" Nelson answered, "Yeah. [...] It depends if you think English has an ethnic undertone," to which Kisin concluded, "Of course it does."

The exchange laid bare the latest battleground in the struggle between civic and ethnic conceptions of nationhood. Increasingly, even in mainstream political and media circles, it has become common to argue that while Britishness is a flexible identity that can be joined through participation, shared values, and citizenship, Englishness is something more restrictive, requiring an ethnic component.

This position was subsequently echoed by former Conservative home secretary Suella Braverman, now a member of Reform UK. Braverman stated: "I'm a proud British Asian. And of course, I'm not English. [...] too many people are nervous about asserting English identity for what it is: ethnic, racial and based on ancestry." Braverman's statement is a stark illustration of the dangerous creep of ethnonationalism beyond the confines of the extreme right and into the language of senior political figures.

Thankfully, such ideas remain highly marginal among the general public. Polling conducted by More in Common last year found that nearly three quarters (74%) of people in England believe that someone can be English regardless of their skin colour or ethnic background. In addition, only 17% said these factors are important to English identity, while 9% were unsure. While ethnic nationalism may be gaining ground in political debate, it remains far removed from how most people in England understand who belongs.

STOPPING THE ROT

What this debate ultimately exposes is not a meaningful disagreement within the far right about inclusion, but a spectrum of exclusion that runs from the conditional to the absolute. Civic and cultural nationalism may reject the openly biological racism of ethnonationalism, but in practice they often reproduce its core logic: that belonging is something to be tested, monitored, and withdrawn. Whether framed in terms of values, culture, or ancestry, the effect is the same: communities racialised as "other" are treated as provisional guests rather than equal members of the nation.

However, the greater danger lies not in the persistence of fringe ethnonationalist groups, but in the gradual mainstreaming of their concepts. As ethnic definitions of Englishness and Britishness are repeated by media figures and senior politicians, they lend legitimacy to a dangerous worldview.

Thankfully, most people in Britain continue to hold an inclusive understanding of national identity, rooted in shared life rather than shared blood. Challenging the spread of ethnic nationalism, then, is not about inventing new values, but about defending those already held by the majority and recognising that the language used to describe the nation is never neutral, but shapes who is seen as belonging, and who is marked for exclusion.



Steve Laws addresses a Patriotic Alternative protest in Warwick, 7 February 2026
Photo: HOPE not hate

REALIGNMENT ON THE FASCIST FRINGE
ELECTIONS, METAPOLITICS AND MILITANCY

By DAVID LAWRENCE

On a grey Saturday in February 2026, an unwelcome collection of neo-Nazis, fascists and ethnonationalists gathered outside the county council offices in Warwick for Patriotic Alternative's (PA) first public event of this year.

The protest, organised under the slogan "Deport All Illegal Migrants", aimed to exploit tensions around local asylum accommodation sites, but also to cement PA's place as the central extreme-right group in Britain. Desperate for numbers, PA drafted in figures from across the fascist fringes: Remigration Now, British Movement, National Front, British Democrats, the Active Clubs, White Vanguard, Aryan Front and even a few ex-Homeland Party members, in a show of supposed "unity".

For all this, only roughly 100 fascists materialised. These extremists were hemmed in and drowned out by a far larger counter-protest, with just a single line of police separating the two sides.

Tensions flared, giving onlookers a glimpse of the ugly, unvarnished reality of British fascism. Figures in the crowd jostled with police and threw straight-armed salutes, as Aryan Front's masked militants tore up an anti-fascist flag and chanted "Day of the rope" in a bid to provoke violence.

Unfortunately for PA, the impression was not one of strength, but of fragmentation and self-marginalising extremism. Indeed, over 2025, Britain's extreme right continued to squabble and split, and key figures remain bitterly divided on strategic issues. While some would-be mass movements aim to recruit widely, others turn inwards, prioritising ideological purity and militancy.

However, whether they are pursuing power at the polls, online or in the streets, the extreme right is broadly united in both worldview and mission. And, in some ways, remains as dangerous as ever.

PARTY POLITICS

The extreme right in the UK has remained both fringe and fragmented since the collapse of the British National Party (BNP) 16 years ago. This is especially the case after PA, which had dominated the sphere since 2019, suffered mass defections to the new Homeland Party and National Rebirth Party (NRP) in 2023.

As 2025 began, Homeland was poised to claim the mantle of the UK's premier fascist organisation. Positioning itself as a "sensible" ethnonationalist

option at the polls, the group's sleek aesthetics and popular propagandists acted as a magnet to young fascists online, with membership ballooning to 1,400 by April.

Inevitably, the bubble soon burst. Between April and July, disillusionment over direction and the leadership of Kenny Smith exploded into a series of public rifts. A membership hemorrhage followed, and whole branches collapsed. Ex-members have scattered in numerous directions, and many of Homeland's best-known figures – including the popular fascist influencer Steve Laws – now form a loud chorus of critics online.

The split reignited longstanding strategic disputes. Some ex-Homelanders continue to pursue electoral politics, breathing life into the British Democrats, a moribund BNP offshoot with similar political vision to Homeland. In December, Kai Stephens, a notorious young fascist who facilitated splits in both PA and Homeland, was appointed Norfolk branch organiser. Dozens of sign-ups followed (including at least one significant Homeland donor), swelling the party membership to roughly 700. Whether the younger activists can blow the cobwebs off the organisation, or will prove a disruptive presence yet again, remains to be seen.

A handful have migrated to the NRP, a party that welcomes fascist offcasts. The NRP has become a source of derision among the right, due to its off-putting aesthetics and the obvious delusions of leader Alek Yerbury, who believes he can sweep to national power in 10-15 years. At present, membership stands at roughly 120, with the group's eccentric activists achieving little other than bemusing the public while manning stalls in city centres.

Last year, returns at the ballot were dismal indeed, as Reform UK monopolised the populist anti-immigrant vote. In the 2025 local elections, Homeland's five council candidates were overshadowed by Reform so entirely that none of them surpassed 3% of the vote. The British Democrats routinely receive similarly bleak vote shares, and the NRP is yet to field a single candidate in any kind of election. The sole fascist to win a council election last year – ex-BNP activist Pete Molloy in Durham – did so as an independent, rather than for a national party.

These groups were thrown even deeper into the shade following the launch of Restore Britain as a national political party in February 2026. The announcement provoked great excitement across the fascist fringe, with many activists believing they can shape the new party, an extreme Reform splinter that already has representation in Parliament. Restore is likely to dominate the space to the right of Reform for the foreseeable future.

Nonetheless, the infiltration of parish and town councils, the lowest tier of local government, demands close attention. Fascists operating under the radar can enter these posts virtually unopposed; Homeland presently occupies nine such positions, and the British Democrats a further five. While this is a modest figure and the positions offer limited direct influence, the extreme right is playing a long-term game, attempting to build local support as the foundation for future success.

METAPOLITICS

Much of the extreme right has a broader goal, one less quantifiable than electoral success: shifting culture itself.

Despite dabbling in party politics and attempting party registration, PA leader Mark Collett has dismissed elections as "a waste of time, money and resources". PA's central goal remains "community building", aiming to foster a thriving extreme-right counterculture.

In the wake of Homeland's disintegration, PA has reasserted itself as the UK's main neo-Nazi institution by consolidating links across the wider extreme right, both at home and abroad. Collett's posture as a unifier is ironic, given his role in countless rifts since he joined the BNP 25 years ago. In particular, his enmity with Smith and Yerbury runs deep. Nonetheless, last year PA supported and collaborated with numerous projects, including the land-buying scheme The Woodlander Initiative, the neo-Nazi punk scene, the magazine *Heritage & Destiny*, the fascist fitness Active Clubs and more.

PA has also established close links to Steve Laws' new group, Remigration Now, following its launch last September. Laws, a former candidate for Homeland and others, has similarly abandoned the party model and heads a pressure group that campaigns for the "total remigration" of everyone with non-white heritage. Despite hundreds of sign-ups, only a fraction have yet engaged in "activism" (mostly stickering and online sloganeering). In 2026, the group plans to solidify its propaganda operation both on and offline, in order to normalise its brutal anti-migrant positions.

In doing so, Laws is engaging in "metapolitics", a strategy whereby activists attempt to effect political change by shaping cultural narratives. This approach was adopted by the white-nationalist "alt-right" in the 2010s, which used meme culture and media-baiting stunts to insert extremist ideology into mainstream debate.

Having spent years amplifying the notion of demographic "replacement", fascists across the globe are now united around the aim of normalising "remigration", a euphemism for ethnic cleansing.



L-R: Hugh Anthony, Steve Laws, Mark Collett and Laura Towler in Warwick, 7 February 2026. Photo: HOPE not hate



Active Club members from England and Scotland, February 2026

While Homeland had attempted to take ownership of the term in the UK, campaigning to "make 2025 the year that talk of remigration goes mainstream", Laws has made it his *raison d'être*, relentlessly pushing the most racist possible interpretation of the policy to his 140,000 followers on X.

Worryingly, the extreme right is finding unprecedented openings into the mainstream. This is in part due to the rapid degeneration of Elon Musk's X, which has gifted extremists their most impactful propaganda tool. For example, last year the online right effectively weaponised the murders of Iryna Zarutska and Charlie Kirk in the US to advance narratives of racial and political conflict. It is on X that calls for remigration have truly gathered pace, as an Institute of Strategic Dialogue report found:

> "In 2023, posts on X discussing remigration which mentioned the UK received a little more than one million views, before surging to almost 55 million views in 2024. In 2025 to date, these posts have received a staggering 420 million views."

Arguably no Brit did more to galvanise the far right on the platform last year than Rupert Lowe MP. Broadcasting increasingly extreme anti-migrant messaging to his 520,000-strong X following, Lowe also launched Restore Britain in June, initially as a pressure group. Ethnonationalists quickly flocked to the group, which allowed the membership to vote on policy and thereby push it into more radical territory. One ex-Homelander told HOPE not hate last summer: "Everyone I spoke to in Homeland claimed to have signed up for Restore membership."

Extremists certainly believe they are influencing the MP, especially as key figures in Lowe's team are open advocates for remigration. For instance, the neo-Nazi influencer and former Homeland activist Sam Wilkes (AKA Zoomer Historian) wrote in November that "Rupert Lowe is normalising our talking points in parliament, progress is being made". Laws told the PA conference last October:

> "Once you become a party, you cannot become radical [...] You cannot move people to our positions. The only reason we have people like Rupert Lowe echoing our talking points is because we've been unapologetic in our position. We've created a pathway for these people to move in. This is why we need our radicals. We need people to drag the window as far as possible so the politicians can move into another, safer position."

Laws' own profile has grown exponentially in recent months, due to a number of appearances on more moderate right-wing podcasts, where he was given free rein to push his hard line. He was also quote-tweeted by Elon Musk.

Musk has also thrown his weight behind Lowe, after he announced the transformation of Restore Britain into a political party in February 2026. Promising to "reverse" mass immigration and to deport "millions", the party immediately gained support across the fascist fringes, including the enthusiastic endorsement of Laws:

> "It's not enough to just join Restore. You need to get out and campaign. Leafleting, door to door canvassing, help out with local and national elections and everything in between. Take the online momentum to the streets. Restore has given us the vehicle. It's on all of us to secure the victory."

At present, Restore appears unlikely to pose a major electoral threat, and Lowe is little-known outside the far right. Nonetheless, it may still be able to shape the terrain, desensitising the wider right to the idea of deportations by the million, and poisoning our politics over time.

Undeniably, concepts and rhetoric that were once confined to the fringes have crept into the mainstream. The most startling example globally is, of course, the fascistic behaviour of the Trump administration, which has referenced remigration to describe its mass-deportation programme. While the UK is yet to enter that particular abyss, Reform and the Conservative Party have swung dramatically to the right in recent years, testament to the increasing salience of far-right concepts and rhetoric.

MILITANCY

Increasingly, the most disillusioned elements of the far right are abandoning attempts to appeal to the general public, and militant fascists became both more organised and more visible last year.

The most enduring is the British Movement (BM), which abandoned the electoral process 40 years ago, instead aiming to foment "revolution from below" and amassing an extensive track record of racist violence. A number of younger members have joined the aging skinheads, including a circle of former PA activists that led an uptick in activism in the early months of last year. However, this momentum was derailed in May when nine BM members in the North West were arrested in dawn raids in which police seized their weaponry, Nazi memorabilia and hard drives.

While the BM sits within a lineage of British fascism that stretches back a century, newer outfits tend to draw inspiration from overseas. The Active Clubs (ACs), a network of fascist martial arts clubs, was founded in the US in 2020 and combines hand-to-hand combat training with extremist ideology in order to foster a militant fascist elite. The network established its first official branch in the UK in 2023 and rapidly spread across the country. ACs have a non-partisan approach



Aryan Front members after burning the Bible, Torah and Quran, January 2026

and have recruited across the British fascist scene, including individuals with histories of violence. The ACs have in turn influenced the activism and aesthetics of the wider extreme right, and combat training is now commonplace in PA, Homeland, BM and more.

While the ACs mostly operate out of view, the neo-Nazi White Vanguard (WV), which launched last March, grabs headlines at every opportunity. WV is modelled on the National Socialist Network, an Australian group whose militaristic marches, intimidation tactics and violence have inspired neo-Nazis across the globe. In this vein, WV's 20-30 core activists drilled martial arts, hijacked public protests and intimidated local politicians while clad in black uniforms and balaclavas. As the year progressed, the group increasingly recalled National Action, a group proscribed by the Home Office a decade ago.

As HOPE not hate reported, WV was torn apart in December when roughly ten of the group's most extreme activists defected to form Aryan Front (AF). The new group is aligned to the Creativity Movement, a militant white-supremacist cult that has been linked to a number of racist murders, terror plots and a spree killing in the US. So far, AF has filmed its few members burning holy books and sparring in the woods, clad in the skull masks synonymous with modern militant neo-Nazism, and produced propaganda including footage of National Action. While tiny, the group represents a significant escalation from WV and a violent threat. Interestingly, even AF has thrown its support behind Lowe, tweeting: "If you have the slightest bit of Racial Loyalty you will vote Restore".

At its darkest, militancy tips over into accelerationism, nihilistic violence and terrorism. Extreme-right terror convictions have spiked dramatically since the banning of National Action, and 19 individuals were convicted and/or sentenced for such offences in 2025 (detailed elsewhere in this report). These include attempted murders on an asylum seeker and a police officer in separate attacks. It also includes the Einsatz 14 terror cell, which stockpiled more than 200 weapons and planned attacks on synagogues and mosques. As HOPE not hate revealed, the group's ringleader, Brogan Stewart, had links to the BM and had attended one of Yerbury's meetings.

MARGINAL BUT DANGEROUS

On the whole, the extreme right remains both organisationally weak and marginal. The post-war anti-fascist consensus may be eroding, but thankfully, overt displays of fascism still repel the overwhelming majority of the public. However, as we have long pointed out, the threats posed by a movement cannot be measured in size alone.

Ideological racists may be losing face at elections, but they are gaining ground in the wider discourse. Committed extremists can exert an outsized influence, whether by inflaming local tensions, or by inserting their talking points into public debates. Others sink into militant networks that pave the way for ever more extreme ideas to take root. Both directly and indirectly, this can and does lead to violence.



White Vanguard activists at a Britain First march in Birmingham, 17 May 2025. Photo: HOPE not hate

PROFILES: NAZIS, FASCISTS AND ETHNONATIONALISTS



Mark Collett addresses a Patriotic Alternative protest in Warwick, 7 February 2026
Photo: HOPE not hate

PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

LEADERS: MARK COLLETT AND LAURA TOWLER

Patriotic Alternative (PA) is a neo-Nazi group launched in September 2019 by Mark Collett, a former leading member of the British National Party (BNP). PA quickly became the most active far-right group in Britain and established new activist networks across the country.

PA has since lost momentum. A series of splits – not least to the Homeland Party in 2023 – and the imprisonment of key activists has damaged both capacity and morale.

PA tried to rebrand as a "white civil rights" organisation, but more recently has abandoned attempts to appeal to the public. Instead, it is trying to consolidate its place as the primary institution of the UK extreme right, with extensive links both domestically and internationally.

IDEOLOGY AND STRATEGY

Aiming to unite isolated fascists into offline communities, PA quickly gained recruits from across the splintered British far right, linking them into new regional and national networks. PA's primary aim remains "community building", and to this end, branches regularly meet for activities such as litter-picking, hikes and camping trips.

PA engages in various forms of traditional political organising, online activism and media-baiting stunts to spread its core message. At the heart of PA's ideology is the "white genocide" myth, the notion that Jews are subversively orchestrating a demographic shift in order to destroy "indigenous" Brits. However, the group often downplays its most extreme elements, particularly its antisemitism, when dealing with the public, claiming to simply be "raising awareness" about "demographic change".

PA is unable to contest elections due to its repeated failure to register as a political party. Instead, it supports candidates from other fascist vehicles or resorts to dirty tactics to influence elections. In 2024, Collett dismissed elections as "a waste of time, money and resources", instead advocating for fascist entryism into Reform UK in order to "steer that party from within".

Despite this, in November 2024, PA activists successfully registered the Identity Party while hiding their allegiance to PA. Collett later claimed that this was a ploy to reveal that the Electoral Commission had unfairly scuppered PA's own applications. However, HOPE not hate analysis of the documents showed that PA had in fact introduced errors with each application, despite the EC's efforts to help them.

PA also draws from the playbook of the alt-right – the loose, tech-savvy white-nationalist movement to which Collett previously attached himself – and is orbited by various fascist social-media personalities. Banned from most mainstream online platforms, PA depends on poorly moderated alternatives, most notably Odysee and Telegram.

PA aims to capitalise on hot-button issues to foment a sense of white grievance, most notably against temporary asylum accommodation sites, including

organising protests against these sites. In 2024, PA hoped to amplify notions of "anti-white" discrimination in the wake of the legal crackdowns that followed the summer riots, calling for the end of "two-tier policing".

FAULT LINES AND SPLITS

Despite its high output and considerable media coverage, the group's growth has stagnated. This is partly due to the fact that PA's neo-Nazism is radioactive to many on the far right, let alone the wider public. As HOPE not hate has repeatedly revealed, PA has accommodated and promoted former members of the proscribed terror group National Action, a fact that has gained it much negative attention.

The jailing of key activists under race hate or terror-related charges has also been damaging, the most notable being Sam Melia, the de facto third-in-command of the group. These cases, coupled with the group's links to NA, have spread fears that PA could be proscribed, making it too toxic to touch for many.

PA's structure renders it vulnerable to splits. Branches act with considerable autonomy, and the national rank-and-file gather only a few times a year, fostering significant gulfs between regions.

The group has endured a series of fractures, including one led by Leeds-based activist Alek Yerbury, who registered his own political party, the National Rebirth Party (NRP), in February 2024. However, the most consequential rupture occurred in April 2023 when national admin officer Kenny Smith led a group of disgruntled officers to form the new Homeland Party. Smith took with him most of PA's regional organisers and its Scottish and West Midlands branches almost wholesale.

A further blow came in January 2025, when a significant chunk of PA's North West branch jumped ship to the openly neo-Nazi British Movement.

These schisms have been demoralising, denting PA's output, undermining its leadership and providing alternatives to which future defectors can turn.

PA POST-SPLIT

Collett, a former spin doctor for the BNP, has attempted to turn PA's manifold legal issues to his advantage. Following the riots of 2024, Collett and Towler rebranded PA as a "white civil rights" group,



(l-r) Steve Blake, Mark Collett, Laura Towler and Sam Melia

fundraising for the families of "political prisoners", i.e. those incarcerated for participating in the widespread disorder and rioting that summer.

Following Homeland's collapse in 2025, PA has re-established itself as Britain's central extreme-right group. It has sought to firm up support among the fascist fringes, making minimal effort to obscure its neo-Nazism and consolidating links to groups throughout the UK and beyond. Over the last year, these have included White Vanguard, the Active Clubs, Remigration Now, The Woodlander Initiative and more. The return of its incarcerated activists may also provide some much-needed energy.

While PA continues to make overtures to the public through organising protests outside asylum hotels, its potential for growth is limited by its blatant extremism. As such, our concerns about PA relate less to its potential for growth but rather to its future direction.

We have repeatedly exposed a dangerous and potentially violent degree of extremism within PA. Since the collapse of the BNP 15 years ago, a militant style of politics has spread into the UK's fascist fringes, the most notable proponent of which was National Action, a group that casts a long and troubling shadow over PA. The possibility remains that a more overtly violent splinter, or individual acts of violence, may stem from the group.



PROFILES: NAZIS, FASCISTS AND ETHNONATIONALISTS

HOMELAND PARTY

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: KENNY SMITH

The Homeland Party is a fascist political party that splintered from Patriotic Alternative (PA), the UK's largest neo-Nazi group, in April 2023.

The group formed after Kenny Smith, a former British National Party (BNP) organiser, led chunks of the PA membership – including almost the entirety of the Scottish and West Midlands branches – to defect en masse. The split was strategic rather than ideological, stemming from a loss of faith in PA's leadership and a desire to contest local elections.

Homeland has since experienced a remarkable rise and fall. Gaining momentum in 2024, the group ballooned to 1,400 members, eclipsing PA as the UK's largest fascist organisation. However, a series of spats and splits in 2025 saw the membership plummet and soiled Homeland's reputation among the wider far right. The group is unlikely to fully recover.

IDEOLOGY AND STRATEGY

Homeland is desperate to shake off PA's toxic reputation and project an image of "sensible nationalism", adopting inoffensive branding and euphemistic language. The party forwards the "ladder strategy" – the notion that local influence must precede national power – and aims to exploit feelings of grievance in majority-white neighbourhoods against minority communities and the major parties. It hopes to gain "control of the levers of power" locally, encouraging activists to infiltrate parish and community councils, the lowest tiers of government, as well as other local institutions.

Homeland attempts to present itself as both an ideologically coherent and more "sensible" outfit than PA, but also a hard-line alternative to Reform UK. However, it retains a highly ideological cadre of activists who are just as antisemitic, misogynistic and conspiratorial as PA. At the core of Homeland is the "white genocide" myth, but this is only alluded to in its public output.

RISE...

After spending 2023 with fewer than 100 members, Homeland benefited from its registration as a political party in January 2024, a pursuit at which PA had failed numerous times. Now with a veneer of legitimacy, Homeland recruited a coterie of fascist social-media influencers, including Sam Wilkes (AKA Zoomer Historian), a neo-Nazi YouTuber. These figures greatly boosted the group's presence on X, where Homeland's following rocketed from 1,000 to 30,000 in a little over a year.

Most significantly, Steve Laws, a popular fascist influencer, was recruited following Homeland's national conference in October that year. Laws, who was subsequently appointed South East regional organiser, was instrumental in driving recruitment over the next six months. During this period, Homeland also swallowed Identity England, a tiny and ineffectual





successor of the far-right youth group Generation Identity (GI) UK, gaining an active presence in London.

Laws, Wilkes and other activists led aggressive recruitment drives on X, and the group peaked at roughly 1,400 members around April 2025, of whom Smith estimated 70% were younger than 30. The group also boasted 14 councillors at the parish/community level.

Homeland also gained an outsized recognition among far-right groups overseas, and the leadership enjoyed outings to Berlin, Ghent, Milan, Oslo, Paris and Vienna in 2025 with groups including Alternative für Deutschland (AfD).

...AND FALL

HOPE not hate has long highlighted inconsistencies and tensions within the party. Homeland's euphemistic language, and Smith's habit of telling potential recruits what they want to hear, has led to wildly conflicting understandings of the group's purpose. Moreover, Homeland's new recruits were politically inexperienced and clearly unsuited to the mundane realities of local politics.

The May 2025 elections proved humiliating for the party, when the group's five council candidates were overshadowed by Reform UK so entirely that none of them surpassed 3%. Their combined tally of 291 votes was significantly below that achieved by its sole election candidate the previous year, despite the party enjoying far greater resources, membership and exposure.

Internal tensions exploded in April 2025, when Laws and Wilkes quit the party in homophobic outrage following the fleeting appointment of an organiser with an LGBTQ+ background. The party's so-called "moderates" resigned shortly after, notably Pete North, who became widely reviled within the party for criticising its endemic antisemitism.

Another rift opened in July after a group of party officials, led by former treasurer Jerome O'Reilly and Norfolk organiser Kai Stephens, demanded Smith's resignation in a public letter. The letter, signed by dozens of members and officials, labelled Smith "volatile, paranoid, and ideologically inconsistent" and listed organisational inefficiencies, strategic errors and ideological compromise – especially the perceived softening of its homophobia and antisemitism.

Most of the group's media team quit en masse, among them founding member Callum Barker. Barker



Kenny Smith

complained of a lack of support during the anti-migrant protests in Epping, Essex, with Smith jetting off to Europe once again as local tensions peaked.

The party responded with personal attacks on the ringleaders, which alienated yet more members.

PROSPECTS

The split is not fatal, and most of Homeland's National Council remain loyal to Smith. However, activity has dropped dramatically both on and offline. X is now dominated by a large and noisy community of critics.

Laws and Wilkes, unshackled by any concern for "optics", have launched their own pressure group "Remigration Now", offering a home to defectors. Others have trickled to PA, the National Rebirth Party and particularly the British Democrats, which offers a similar political vision to Homeland. This includes some of Homeland's largest donors.

There appears to be little political space for Homeland. It has none of the necessary brand-recognition with the public to trouble Reform UK at any level, while its "sensible nationalism" is deemed insufficiently radical by its former base.

The risk posed by Homeland continues to be at a local level. Committed fascists are attempting to infiltrate local institutions, and this demands the close attention of anti-fascists and campaigners. However, nationally Homeland remains a peripheral political force.

PROFILES: NAZIS, FASCISTS AND ETHNONATIONALISTS

NATIONAL REBIRTH PARTY

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: ALEK YERBURY

The National Rebirth Party (NRP) is a fascist microparty led by Alek Yerbury, an oddball would-be dictator now based in Manchester.

The NRP, which gained party status in February 2024, is predicated on dubious strategy and is staffed by figures extreme even by the standards of the far right. While it lacks electoral prospects, there is reason to be concerned about extremists within the group.

ALEK YERBURY AND THE NATIONAL SUPPORT DETACHMENT

Yerbury is a former activist of the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative (PA), becoming a regular public speaker and receiving negative press for his resemblance to Adolf Hitler.

He split with PA in February 2023 after a spat with the leadership and allied himself with a circle of former English Defence League (EDL) activists in Yorkshire. He subsequently launched the National Support Detachment (NSD) that April in the hopes of establishing a faux-military force that would confront left-wing activists. This phase culminated in the calamitous protest camp outside RAF Scampton, a site earmarked to house asylum seekers, in the winter of 2023-24. The camp was defined by squalor, squabbles, arrests and accusations of stolen funds and substance abuse, alienating any local sympathy the campaign may once have had.

THE NRP

Abandoning street protests, Yerbury successfully registered the NRP in February 2024 and now heads a political party both delusional and extreme. The NRP forgoes local elections, aiming instead to win Parliamentary seats in urban areas in the belief that this strategy could deliver national power in 10-15 years.

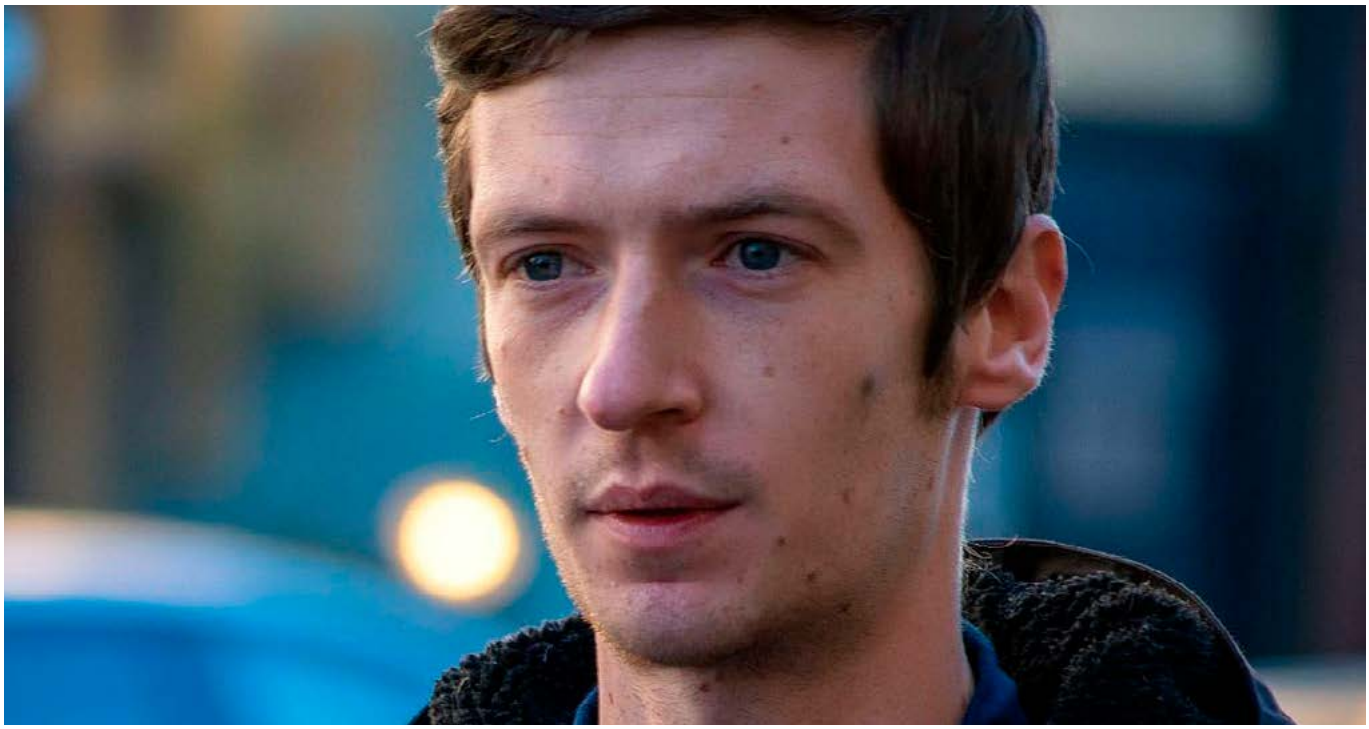
The NRP operates an open-door policy to fascist fantasists, and has recruited activists with pasts in PA, the EDL, Britain First, the BNP, the National Front, the British Movement, White Vanguard, the Homeland Party and more. It has established small branches in Birmingham, Hull, Leeds, London, Nottingham, Cornwall, Portsmouth and Manchester, which engage in meetings and street stalls through which they distribute the party magazine.

However, the party has failed to meet Yerbury's grandiose aims. In October 2025, Yerbury claimed that his party had roughly 100 members. Numerous branches have been announced but either achieved little or failed to materialise. The NRP's first national conference in September 2025 was attended by fewer than 40 people, and the party is yet to contest an election. Despite his criticisms of online activism, Yerbury is best known for his unsolicited, negative interjections on X, a fact that has done much to alienate him among the wider right.

The NRP's outmoded branding, eccentric leadership, dubious strategy and its obvious extremism will ensure it is confined to the outside political fringes. However, Yerbury and his followers are pushing a dangerous kind of politics. Both Yerbury and other party figures have previously endorsed violence.

At present, the NRP is engaging with the political process. However, it has potential to act as a crucible for violent extremism, especially if disillusionment sets in following its inevitable failures at the polls.

Alek Yerbury



STEVE LAWS AND REMIGRATION NOW

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Steve Laws is a notorious fascist influencer from Folkestone, Kent. He has cycled through numerous far-right organisations in his six years on the scene, including For Britain, UKIP, the English Democrats, Reform UK and the fascist Homeland Party, and has close links to the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative (PA). He now presides over his own pressure group, Remigration Now, and has also signed up to Restore Britain, a fact that has gained the new party much negative attention.

Laws helped to popularise "migrant hunting", a form of activism that involves filming and/or harassing refugees, asylum seekers and migrants. He began filming arrivals on the Dover coast in 2019, quickly gaining over 10,000 subscribers on YouTube.

He has since shifted to opposing all forms of immigration via a broad range of tactics, including leading anti-migrant protests in Dover and Westminster alongside well-known fascists in 2023. He also stood for UKIP in the 2022 Southend West Parliamentary by-election (following the murder of David Amess MP), and then for the English Democrats in Dover & Deal at the 2024 general election, receiving lamentable results in both contests.

Laws is now best known for his X/Twitter presence, boasting over 138,000 followers at time of writing. His output has become increasingly extreme, relentlessly pushing for the deportation of every non-white person from the UK, which in his definition includes the Jewish community.

In 2024, he latched onto the concept of "remigration" – a euphemism for ethnic cleansing – and became its loudest British advocate. Laws also gleefully egged on the riots that summer, posting (and then deleting) his support of racist harassment and violence. He was, however, sacked from his job booking cruises, with HOPE not hate's articles used as evidence.

He has nurtured close links to overtly fascist organisations, including speaking at PA conferences in 2022 and 2025. In October 2024, he joined the Homeland Party after addressing its conference, becoming its South East regional organiser. He was instrumental in driving recruitment to the fascist party, which gained more than 1,000 members over the next six months.

Laws stood for Homeland in Folkestone East in the May 2025 local elections but received a measly 50 votes. He also represented Homeland overseas, speaking at the Reconquista conference in Lisbon in November 2024, and accompanied the leadership to receive training from the AfD in Berlin in March 2025 and the Institut Iliade conference in Paris the following month.

Laws' uncompromising position soon brought him into conflict with Homeland's so-called "sensible nationalists", however, and in April 2025 he and fellow hardliner Sam Wilkes (AKA Zoomer Historian) quit Homeland in homophobic outrage, following the fleeting appointment of an organiser with an LGBTQ+ background. The split soon degenerated into public mudslinging.

Laws launched his own pressure group, Remigration Now, in September to push for "total remigration" of everyone with non-white heritage. So far, it has achieved little beyond stickering and online sloganeering, although it plans to make its presence felt at street protests. The aim of the group is to drag the mainstream into ever more extreme immigration policy.

Towards the end of 2025, Laws reached a new degree of visibility. After being quote-tweeted by Elon Musk earlier in the year, his profile was further boosted by a series of media appearances on more moderate right-wing podcasts. Dubbed "Britain's biggest racist", Laws used these opportunities to praise Hitler, deny the Holocaust and much else.



ACTIVE CLUB NETWORK

CATEGORY: NETWORK

The Active Club (AC) network is a transnational grouping of fascist martial arts clubs that has established multiple branches in the UK. The ACs have roots in the Rise Above Movement (RAM), a US far-right street-fighting group founded by Robert Rundo in 2017.

ACs combine physical exercise with extremist ideology in order to foster a militant fascist elite. Members – who use fake names – meet in parks and gyms to prepare for violence, drilling martial arts under white-supremacist flags. Stylised images of their activities are then posted on social media while preserving the anonymity of AC members.

The UK's first official AC, Active Club Scotland, formally launched in May 2023. HOPE not hate exposed its leader, Scott Cowan, as a former Scottish Defence League activist and revealed the pasts of other members in Patriotic Alternative, Blood & Honour and the now-banned nazi terror group National Action. AC Scotland has since rebranded as Caledonia Club, following internal rifts.

Active Club England launched in February 2024 and regional chapters have since emerged for Yorkshire, North West, London, the Midlands, South West, Anglia and Wessex. A linked youth group, Albion Youth Club, also launched in October 2025.

Chapters often coordinate activities across regions, nationally, and occasionally overseas. In September 2025, members from across England met to trade punches in an interbranch competition, clad in matching Will2Rise gear emblazoned with the fasces symbol.

UK chapters have forged links with the US white-supremacist group Patriot Front, and members also met with overseas ACs in Stockholm for the Holmgång 2024 fight competition.

ACs have recruited across the fascist fringe, and in turn influenced the activism and aesthetic of the extreme right. This includes groupuscules like Vanguard Britannica and White Vanguard, and larger organisations like Patriotic Alternative (PA) and the British Movement. In 2025, AC members acted as security at PA events under the direction of Matthew Darrington, PA's East Midlands organiser – who, as HOPE not hate revealed, is also the key figure behind AC Midlands, which trains out of a gym in Newark-on-Trent.

The dangers posed by these secretive, militant brotherhoods should not be underestimated. Unsurprisingly, ACs have attracted violent individuals; for example, AC London member Jay Barlow has convictions for racially aggravated harassment, and for GBH following a knife attack in a supermarket.

We have also previously revealed that Andrew McIntyre, a key instigator of the racist riots in Merseyside last summer, was a member of AC North West. The neo-Nazi is currently serving a seven-and-a-half-year sentence for inciting violent disorder and possession of a knife.

We have also previously uncovered individuals involved in AC Scotland as having served jail time for making bomb and death threats against left-wing activists. Additionally, in 2025 police found a gun at the home of the neo-Nazi drug dealer Joseph Beaver, a member of AC Scotland.

BRITISH DEMOCRATS

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: JIM LEWTHWAITE

The British Democrats is a fascist political party that split from the British National Party (BNP) in 2013. The split was led by Jim Lewthwaite (pictured below), a former BNP councillor in Bradford, and Andrew Brons, formerly one of the BNP's two MEPs and before that a leader of the National Front.

As the BNP collapsed, the British Democrats offered a home for defectors and exiles. However, support quickly drained away and the group has spent much of the last decade gathering dust.

The British Democrats received an injection of new members in 2022, many whom were former members of the anti-Muslim party For Britain, which had folded that year, including Cllr Julian Leppert in Epping Forest and other former BNP figures in London, Essex and Kent. However, the uptick in activity has, as yet, failed to make a meaningful difference at the polls.

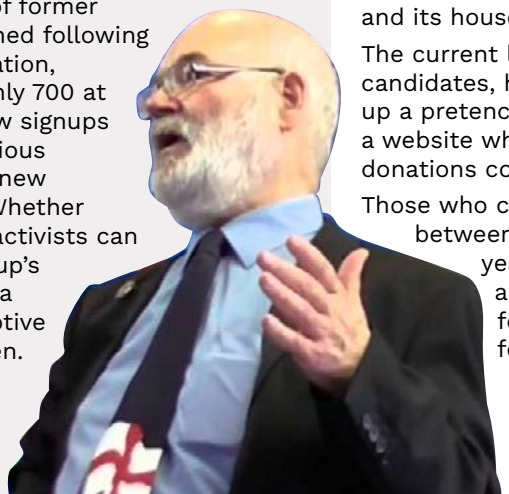
The British Democrats have a handful of councillors at the parish level, the lowest tier of local government. These include: former BNP activists Chris Bateman in Basildon, Essex; Lawrence Rustem in Detling, Kent; John Robinson in Barnham and Eastergate, West Sussex; and former UKIP councillor Ken Perrin in Chatteris, Cambridgeshire. In April 2025, Peter Lawrence was elected parish councillor in Mylor, Cornwall; the following month, Lawrence was filmed at a protest in Truro blaming "World Jewry" for WWII and denying elements of the Holocaust.

Lewthwaite and other party figures remain active in the UK's traditional fascist milieu, including Heritage & Destiny and the Traditional Britain Group, and nurture links to the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative (PA), with PA activists campaigning for its candidates in election periods.

The party has also attracted figures with violent pasts. These include David Clarke, an ex-BNP candidate convicted of assaulting four anti-fascists in 2010, and Chris Livingstone, a neo-Nazi linked to the now-banned terrorist group National Action.

The party has attempted to capitalise on wider anti-migrant sentiment. In particular, Leppert and other party members were at the forefront of protests in Epping, Essex in the summer of 2025. Members have also been involved in anti-migrant protests in Kent, Wakefield, Aberdeen and elsewhere.

In recent months, a number of former Homeland Party members joined following the implosion of that organisation, swelling membership to roughly 700 at the beginning of this year. New signups include Kai Stephens, a notorious young fascist and the party's new branch organiser in Norfolk. Whether the youthful energy of these activists can meaningfully improve the group's outmoded branding and media operation, or will prove disruptive once again, remains to be seen.





Adam Walker

BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: ADAM WALKER

Formed in 1982, the British National Party (BNP) is still the most successful extreme-right political party in British history, once boasting dozens of councillors, two MEPs and fielding hundreds of parliamentary candidates. The party has collapsed, however, and continues to exist purely for the financial benefit of leader Adam Walker and treasurer Clive Jefferson.

Since former leader Nick Griffin lost his seat in the European Parliament in 2014, the proverbial nail has been in the BNP's coffin. However, the party remains cash-rich, principally funded by death-bed bequests, as Griffin largely spent his final years as leader getting elderly people to pledge their fortunes to the party.

There are still sporadic attempts by former members and staffers to wrestle the party out of the hands of Walker and Jefferson – the two criminals that now own the BNP – but the time to rescue both the party and its household name has long passed.

The current leadership no longer even bothers to field candidates, having little discernible interest in keeping up a pretence the party is functioning – except for a website where the obligatory attempts to solicit donations continue.

Those who cut their teeth in the BNP have flitted between various minor parties and groups for years, but the largest contingent have found a home in the British Democrats, led by the former BNP councillor Jim Lewthwaite and former MEP Andrew Brons.

PROFILES: NAZIS, FASCISTS AND ETHNONATIONALISTS



Few other parties across the political spectrum have split, factionalised and even stood against itself in elections as much as the National Front, founded in 1967.

Once a party with 17,500 members, today's incarnation is a mere shadow of its former self. With each passing year the NF becomes more tired and irrelevant, but we have long accepted that there will likely always be some individual, somewhere, trying to keep the flame of perpetual failures alive.

The NF's current leader Tony Martin has put extraordinary time and effort into building some kind of cult of leadership around himself. But other than diminishing numbers around a pub table in Croydon, Martin's leadership has had – if such a thing were possible – a further detrimental effect on the party.

Previous conversations around merging other far-right groups into the NF proceeded on the basis that, by reputation at least, the NF would have some kind of party apparatus. They broke down when it became apparent that other than an old name, the NF has no such apparatus to speak of, little or no membership and seemingly no future.

The NF's leadership has, from its very early days, been mired by ambitious incompetents. The current leader has never ceased to surprise us just with how ineffectual his leadership is.

With no apparent party business to keep him occupied, Martin now trawls events across London organised by other people, making vain attempts to cajole political activists into debate despite being incapable of engaging in a coherent political discussion himself.

Previously active branches and individuals in Yorkshire and Lancashire have walked away or folded, and currently we're not even sure the NF has a membership to speak of. The annual Remembrance Day parade persists, but despite an increase in far-right activity in general, the NF's leader can only attract 20 or so participants to insult the British and Commonwealth war dead.

Timothy Knowles was the NF's sole candidate in the May 2025 local elections, standing for the Codnor, Aldercar, Langley Mill and Loscoe ward in Derbyshire. He came last with 18 votes.

BRITISH MOVEMENT



CATEGORY: ORGANISATION
LEADER: STEPHEN FROST

The British Movement (BM) is perhaps the most overtly neo-Nazi organisation in the UK, and among the longest standing. The group aims to foment "revolution from below" and has cultivated an extensive record of race hate and violence since its foundation in 1968.

The brainchild of Colin Jordan, the BM initially viewed itself as an elite ideological and physical force, an alternative to the democratic adventures of the National Front. While it succeeded in recruiting violent thugs, it was wound down in 1983 due to the efforts of senior member Ray Hill, who was also an anti-fascist working for *Searchlight*.

It was promptly revived as the British National Socialist Movement by the Yorkshire-based activist Stephen Frost, who continues to head the small and extremely antisemitic organisation to this day.

Historic antagonisms between the BM and other far-right groups have dissipated with time. For example, Frost and leading BM figure Mark Bullman (AKA Benny Bullman) of the neo-Nazi band Whitelaw often speak at the annual *Heritage and Destiny* conference. The group also effectively runs what is left of the Blood & Honour music network.

The BM has tried to raise its profile by producing crude racist stickers, online magazines and podcasts and using the messaging platform Telegram. In doing so, it has attracted a small number of younger activists to accompany the aging skinheads.

Among these is Brogan Stewart, who, as HOPE not hate revealed last year, sent off for a BM membership pack and pinned the group's propaganda to his bedroom wall. Stewart has since received 11 years behind bars as the ringleader of a trio of neo-Nazis who plotted terror attacks on mosques and synagogues and stockpiled over 200 weapons.

BM's North West branch has been rejuvenated by an influx of former Patriotic Alternative (PA) members, who have since been exposed by HOPE not hate. BM activists also opened a gym for training martial arts in Manchester in late 2023, mimicking the Active Club network. The gym was opened by John O'Brien, a former soldier convicted of involvement in the Dover riots in 2016.

In April 2025, HOPE not hate contributed to a series of *Manchester Evening News* articles that exposed activists who threw a birthday party for Hitler in an Oldham pub, complete with swastika cake. Soon after, nine BM members in the North West were arrested in dawn raids that saw weaponry, Nazi memorabilia and hard drives seized.

The BM also has an active London branch under Tim Ryan, and has been a visible presence at anti-migrant demonstrations in the South East, thanks largely to activist Mike Gott. The group is also active in Yorkshire, the East Midlands and Scotland.

NEW BRITISH UNION

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

LEADER: GARY RAIKES

The New British Union (NBU) is an attempted revival of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF), headed by Gary Raikes, a former British National Party and Britain First official.

Launched in 2013, the organisation adopted blackshirt uniforms and the "flash and circle" symbol of the BUF, attracting a small collection of extremists and oddballs.

The NBU, which has failed to meet its initial goal of becoming an electoral force, has regularly changed strategy, voicing its intention to register as a political party while also arguing that fascism cannot win at the ballot box.


Gary Raikes

By the summer of 2025, the group appears to be largely defunct. While a handful of members still chat amongst themselves and leader Raikes posts occasional memes to social media, the group has no discernible offline activity and makes little effort to advertise or campaign online.

GOYIM DEFENSE LEAGUE

CATEGORY: ONLINE NETWORK

The Goyim Defense League (GDL) is a loose, transnational and obsessively antisemitic neo-Nazi network.

Founded in the US by Jon Minadeo (AKA Handsome Truth), the GDL's assorted content creators, online trolls and affiliated activists harass Jewish people, vandalise property, distribute propaganda and perform publicity stunts. GDL is also behind the video platform, GoyimTV, which hosts extreme anti-Jewish content. Minadeo claims the GDL's aim is to "wake everyone up to the Jews", and his group has indeed had a role in radicalising individuals into extreme antisemitism across the Anglosphere.

GDL has a small number of affiliated individuals in the UK, and printed GDL material has appeared in Dudley, Brighton, Aberdeen, Swansea, Manchester, Bolton and elsewhere.

In December 2021, the Manchester-based content creator Richard Hesketh, who posted his videos to GoyimTV, received four years in prison for seven counts of inciting racial hatred. He had previously appeared in a video with Minadeo.

In October 2024, Robert Taylor, based near Bolton, was convicted of numerous terror and race hate-related offences, including distributing GDL propaganda by hand and verbally abusing several Jewish people in unprovoked antisemitic attacks.

Another Brit linked to the GDL is the neo-Nazi Ryan Weston, who has hosted his online show "Weston Paradigm" on the GoyimTV platform.

Minadeo is also a repeat guest on the online show of Patriotic Alternative leader Mark Collett.

HERITAGE AND DESTINY

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET / ORGANISATION

Heritage and Destiny (H&D), a bi-monthly magazine, is the most important print publication produced by the traditional British fascist scene.

Founded in 1999 and edited by former British National Party (BNP) organisers Mark Cotterill and Peter Rushton, the publication retains a readership among the old guard of the British far right. It has, however, made efforts to expand its readership in recent years, including establishing a presence on social media.

In July 2025, Cotterill claimed the readership had increased significantly over the previous year to almost 900 subscribers, including 100 in North America.

The paper features contributions from across the fascist fringe, including the leaders of Patriotic Alternative (PA), the Homeland Party and National Rebirth Party, as well as the British Democrats, the British Movement and more.

H&D also hosts conferences in Preston, Lancashire, in remembrance of far-right activist John Tyndall. The events received wider attention after Isabel Peralta, a notorious Spanish fascist and *H&D*'s "European correspondent", entered the country to address the 2022 and 2023 conferences, although she has since been barred by the home secretary.

The most recent event, in September 2025, was attended by roughly 70 people and featured speeches by figures from PA, the British Democrats, the British Movement and the National Housing Party UK. Ken Schmidt, *H&D*'s US correspondent, was barred from entering the country.


Heritage and Destiny

When the Aussies rose up: The story of the Australian Nationalists Movement

Remi Tremblay interviews Jack van Tongeren

Heritage and Destiny

Europe's destiny is to unite:

Peter Rushton and Isabel Peralta restart the debate

PROFILES: NAZIS, FASCISTS AND ETHNONATIONALISTS

VANGUARD BRITANNICA

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

Vanguard Britannica (VB) is a small fascist group that primarily engages in stickering, graffiti and physical training.

Emerging in August 2022, VB's first activity took place in Leicestershire, and it has since established small branches across the country, including in the Midlands, the North and the South East.

During 2023, VB became better organised and more ambitious, undertaking multiple banner drops over motorways in England with antisemitic and anti-immigrant messaging. VB also adopted elements from the Active Club Network, including physical exercise and martial arts training among its regular activities.

In June 2024, VB's public output abruptly ceased and its website went down. However, in January 2025 VB held a "training summit" and promised a "resurgence of our movement and the expansion of its activities" in the new year.



Vanguard Britannica stickers

VB retains close links to the Active Clubs and, notably, has established links to Patriot Front, a far larger fascist group in the US. In April 2024, VB members met with Patriot Front's Ian Michael Elliot in London, and in September 2025, a VB "delegation" traveled to the Patriot Front's national conference in Texas, which featured leading figures from across the American white-supremacist scene. ITV subsequently outed VB's representative as Matthew Gravill, who had previously worked as a visitor guide at Buckingham Palace. Gravill is also a key propagandist for Active Club England.

In July last year, VB also boasted of attending a "European Youth Weekend" hosted by the German neo-Nazi group Der III. Weg.

WHITE LIVES MATTER ENGLAND

CATEGORY: NETWORK

White Lives Matter England (WLME) is an offshoot of the US propaganda campaign.

WLME has engaged in sporadic stickering in England since 2022 and uses tactics similar to the defunct Hundred Handers, encouraging activists to print out stickers from a centralised archive and place them in public spaces. Photos are then posted on WLME social media channels.

The group does not have a clear leadership structure, but a small number of activists who manage its channels and chat groups and others who simply promote the group's content. Because the name of the group is a common far-right slogan and its messages are often fairly generic, the stickers have been used by a range of groups and activists not directly affiliated to WLME, including various youth-oriented groups. In this way, the group's main achievement is lowering the bar for offline activism.



A smattering of low-level stickering has continued in recent years. There is, however, little other activity in the UK, aside from maintaining social-media channels.

ARYAN FRONT

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

LEADER: "HAIL"

Aryan Front is a tiny but extreme neo-Nazi cell that splintered from White Vanguard (WV) in December 2025.

Consisting of five to ten of WV's most hardline former activists, Aryan Front is aligned to the Creativity Movement, a white-supremacist cult founded in the US that pushes for a "Racial Holy War" against Jews and non-white peoples. The cult has been linked to a number of racist murders and terror plots, and a spree killing in the US.

The main force behind Aryan Front is an extremist known as "Hail", previously of WV's Northern branch. The violence-obsessed activist has used dozens of social-media accounts to make threats about the "Day of the Rope" to various journalists and politicians.

Another key figure is Alex Hill, formerly a high-ranking member of WV. Hill was a member of Britain First's security team as recently as last May. The Gillingham-based roofer also appears on a male escort website.

Aryan Front has established a small presence on social media through which it pushes Creativity propaganda, and it has opened recruitment to "lads who are willing to fight for whiteness", promising "victory or death".

Online, the group has targeted public figures it considers to be "perpetrating white replacement", posting poorly rendered AI images of politicians, journalists, judges and more moderate far-right figures.

While Aryan Front is extremely fringe, it represents a significant escalation from WV and a violent threat.

WHITE VANGUARD

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

LEADER: KAI CUNNINGHAM

White Vanguard (WV) is a small but openly neo-Nazi group that launched in March 2025. Throughout the year, the group's 20-30 core activists engaged in increasingly extreme and confrontational tactics, garnering considerable publicity. However, a major split in December has left the group half the size, forced a change of leadership and left its future uncertain.

WV emerged out of Youth Alliance (YA), a Christian nationalist outfit that launched in 2024 and folded within the year. YA, which initially had an anti-Muslim focus, sought to attach itself to the Tommy Robinson-led protest movement before radicalising into extreme antisemitism. The group dissolved following the riots that swept the country in the summer of 2024, which it had openly endorsed. What remained of YA briefly renamed itself "National Socialist Youth" before regrouping under the WV banner.

Co-leaders Kai Cunningham and Harrison Leworthy – from Dagenham, London and Havant, Hampshire respectively – modelled their new organisation on the Australian National Socialist Network (NSN). Venerating NSN leader Thomas Sewell as a Hitler-like figure, WV borrowed the group's uniform of black Helly Hansen jackets (the logo of which – "HH" – is seen as a reference to Hitler). Contact between the two organisations has since been established.

The group also mimics aspects of the Active Club Network, requiring members to physically train three times a week in an effort to cultivate a disciplined, elite activist cadre.

WV gained its first taste of publicity at a Britain First march in Birmingham last May, with footage circulating of Cunningham bellowing into a megaphone about national socialism. With Cunningham, a former Reform UK member, as the public face, WV established a small but active presence in London, the South and North of England and Wales.

WV continued to hold media-baiting stunts, such as injecting neo-Nazi messages into demonstrations organised by other groups, including those outside of asylum accommodation sites, and confronting better-known figures on camera. It also organised banner drops on the steps of the Senedd in Cardiff and outside the MI5 headquarters in London, as well as at the Australian Embassy in support of their hero Thomas Sewell.

WV's small membership includes both newcomers and figures with histories of far-right activism. Alex Hill, a roofer and male escort from Gillingham, Kent, was previously active in Britain First's security arm. London-based Jay Barlow (AKA Glenn) – who has convictions for possession of a knife, racially aggravated harassment and GBH – is also a member of Active Clubs. The group also collaborated with Patriotic Alternative on a number of actions.

We predicted in June that the group was unlikely to last long. Militant elements were driving it in an ever-more radical direction, and it increasingly came to resemble National Action, a neo-Nazi group that was banned under anti-terror laws in 2016. For example, in August, the group burned books by LGBTQ+ and Jewish authors while throwing Hitler salutes, and the following month it began intimidating local politicians.



Kai Cunningham (left) and Harrison Leworthy (right) at Britain First's "march for remigration" in Birmingham, 17 May 2025
Photo: HOPE not hate

In September, the group posted the details of a Peterborough councillor alongside the threat: "Traitors will suffer true consequences under real nationalist leadership." Thirteen masked activists subsequently marched through the town shouting "White man! Fight back!" before assembling outside the councillor's home, as Leworthy delivered an inflammatory monologue promising "total war" to the camera.

However, as HOPE not hate reported this January, internal tensions had long been simmering. Many members were frustrated at Leworthy, whose egotism, immaturity and argumentative personality had burned numerous bridges and was partly responsible for WV's high activist turnover.

These tensions came to a head in November following Cunningham's arrest on return from Northern Ireland. Suspicions that he had cooperated with the authorities caused panic among the membership, and WV announced that "Kai has officially stepped down from his position and left the movement for personal reasons".

In reality, Cunningham remains at the helm of the organisation. However, a mass walkout followed, with the group's most radical elements forming a new organisation, Aryan Front. WV claimed in a further statement that its website is "no longer under our administration". Leworthy was subsequently forced to step down from leadership.

Dewsbury-based Jordan Widdop (AKA Widz), WV's northern organiser, stepped into national leadership alongside Cunningham. However, HOPE not hate's reporting of the inside story of WV has resulted in further fallouts. At time of writing, the group's planned relaunch has yet to manifest, and it is unclear how long its few remaining activists will remain before jumping ship to other vehicles.

PROFILES: NAZIS, FASCISTS AND ETHNONATIONALISTS

THE WOODLANDER INITIATIVE

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

LEADER: SIMON BIRKETT

The Woodlander Initiative (TWI) is a land-buying scheme spearheaded by Simon Birkett (AKA Woodlander), a Wiltshire-based tattoo artist and long-standing far-right activist.

The project has, so far, raised more than £179,000 and has the long-term aim of owning land in every county in the UK. In November 2024, HOPE not hate revealed the locations of two plots purchased by TWI near the village of Llanafan Fawr, Builth Wells in Wales, on which they have built a campsite. In 2025, the group bought a further plot near Rye, East Sussex.

Birkett, a former member of the National Front, the British National Party and the Conservative Party, has been involved in Patriotic Alternative (PA) since early 2020. From his "off-grid" cabin near Warminster, Wiltshire, Birkett has built an online following among the far right via his YouTube and Telegram channels and guest appearances on various fascist streams.

In June 2023, Birkett launched the TWI, a land-buying scheme aimed at far-right activists and conspiracy theorists. Purchasing land is a long-standing aspiration for many on the far right, who desire a space in which they can host events with fewer risks or, more ambitiously, to withdraw into "whites only" enclaves. TWI has links to larger and more successful projects overseas, including Return to the Land in the US and the Free Sweden movement.

Birkett described TWI as "a possible avenue to power", stating that an organisation with land assets will quickly become "a multi-million pound organisation". Birkett remains the sole individual listed as a "person with significant control" for The Woodlander Initiative Ltd on Companies House.



PA activist David Miles (left) and Birkett at a TWI meetup in 2024.

The other listed director is Joe Knight (AKA Wessex Nomad), a content creator from Weston-super-Mare, Somerset. Knight has himself purchased a small plot near Llanafan Fawr, on which he and Birkett plan to build cabins for an "off-grid refuge". Regional TWI groups elsewhere in the country are also looking to purchase plots.

In 2024, the group's links to PA grew even tighter, as Birkett addressed the group's annual conference in October and advocated the building of a "parallel society" comparable to Orania, a whites-only town in South Africa. PA leader Mark Collett continues to champion TWI, and PA activists have repeatedly camped at the TWI's land in Llanafan Fawr.

The project suffered difficulties early in 2025 due to Birkett's ill health, as well as myriad structural issues. TWI subsequently underwent a restructuring, establishing a trust that effectively "owns" the land and a tier system in which donors have to pay a minimum of £125 in order to actually visit the land they have contributed to. The group also received national media coverage in August, after the press reported on our exposé from the year before.

NEEMA PARVINI (ACADEMIC AGENT)

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Neema Parvini (AKA Academic Agent) is a YouTuber and academic with a large international following. He has held positions at Richmond American University and the University of Surrey, specialising in Shakespeare, before being let go due to his far-right views.

Parvini's views are extreme and he has espoused racist pseudo-science. For example, he has tweeted that "blacks are closer to homo erectus" and that black and white people are "different species".

Parvini has monetised his commentary on current far-right topics and sells premium subscriptions with additional content. While his degrees and academic work were all in the area of literature, he sells online courses to his followers on economics, politics, mathematics and physics, as well as writing.

He has spoken at a range of far-right conferences. These included the Traditional Britain Group in 2022 and 2023, Nomos in London alongside Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes), and Scyldings alongside Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad) and Curtis Yarvin. Despite his extreme connections, Parvini was also interviewed by then-Conservative MP Jacob Rees-Mogg on GB News in March 2024 to discuss social cohesion and plug his latest book.

In 2024, an undercover investigation by HOPE not hate revealed Parvini was in talks with Matthew Frost and Erik Ahrens of the Human Diversity Foundation (now Polygenic Scores) about setting up a far-right think tank to launder extreme ideas. Later that year, Parvini's website underwent a design rebrand, listing him as the "director" of "The Academic Agency". Parvini teaches a seminar at the University of Buckingham.

TRADITIONAL BRITAIN GROUP

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

LEADER: GREGORY LAUDER-FROST

Founded by Gregory Lauder-Frost in 2001, the Traditional Britain Group (TBG) is a London-based organisation that hosts far-right gatherings, dinners and conferences.

Lauder-Frost is a former leading member of the Conservative Monday Club, a pressure group banned by the Tory Party for its racism, and was also vice president of the anti-communist Western Goals Institute. He is also involved with Arktos Media, the far-right publishing house.

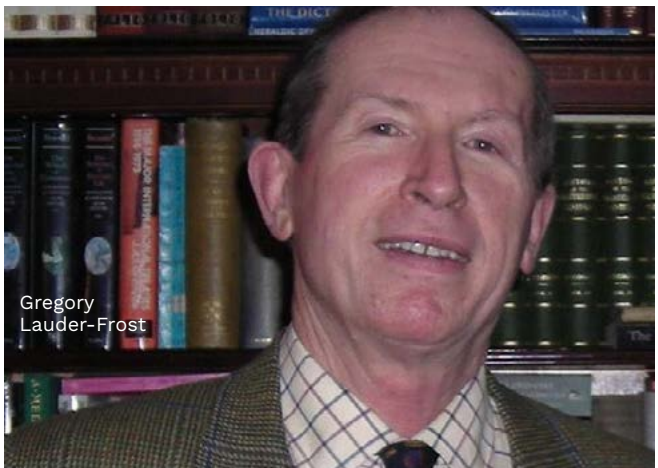
The TBG, which typically hosts a formal dinner, a conference and a Christmas social each year on top of occasional evening events, has become a key meeting point for the British far right and an important stopover for international far-right figures. The TBG has endeavoured to maintain an elitist, "High Tory" image, meaning it has been attended by Conservative Party figures alongside open fascists. Repatriation has long been central to the group's beliefs.

Past speakers have included the American "alt-right" figurehead Richard Spencer and Markus Willinger of Generation Identity, as well as Gerard Batten before he became UKIP leader. The group received press attention in 2013 after the then-Tory MP Jacob Rees-Mogg addressed the TBG's annual dinner (he later apologised for his appearance). European far-right politicians include MEPs from the anti-Muslim German party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) and the former Estonian finance minister Martin Helme.

In 2022, the TBG suffered the death of its president, Lord Sudeley, although as his position was largely ceremonial, the loss has not impeded the functioning of the group. It remains a significant British far-right presence on social media, posting regularly across Facebook, X and Telegram.

HOPE not hate's undercover reporter attended the TBG's 2023 Christmas event and conference, which was marred by sound system difficulties and poor turnout. Lauder-Frost advised our infiltrator during post-event drinks: "As long as you go through life knowing that women are completely pathetic, you'll be really successful."

The 2025 conference was addressed by the race scientist Ed Dutton, the far-right political campaigner Robin Tilbrook, and the AfD activist Stefan Korte, who spoke about the concept of remigration being "an absolute necessity".



Gregory Lauder-Frost

BASKETWEAVERS



CATEGORY: NETWORK

The Basketweavers is one of the largest far-right networks currently active in the UK. There are 1,300 vetted members in the UK and an additional 1,100 in the US, Europe, Australia and beyond. Before the network was exposed by HOPE not hate in 2025, its existence had gone unreported.

The Basketweavers prioritise offline events rather than communicating online in channels that are vulnerable to anti-fascist infiltration. The network organises meet-ups for the British far right that have been attended by current and former members of Patriotic Alternative, the Homeland Party, Generation Identity UK, the Traditional Britain Group and more.

The Basketweavers hope to create connections from which new far-right projects emerge. One such project is the creation of a separate whites-only community within Britain where they can live entirely outside mainstream society.

The network has local chapters in cities and regions, of which London is the busiest. In the capital, a calendar is circulated at the start of every month, advertising events that members can attend in pubs, nightclubs, galleries, other cities, and members' homes.

Basketweavers belongs to an umbrella organisation called the Beowulf Foundation run by Henry Greidanus (AKA Eso), Eamon McDermott (AKA jackmaninov), Martin Judge (AKA Maven Politic), and Joshua Betts.

SCYLDINGS

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

Scyldings is a far-right conference company. It is part of the Beowulf Foundation, and advances the organisation's aim of building an intellectual elite.

Founded in 2021, it runs expensive pseudo-academic events in the UK (named "The Witan"), as well as in the US, Germany and Australia. Past speakers include Curtis Yarvin, Michael Wright (AKA Morgoth), Edward Dutton, Charles Cornish-Dale (AKA Raw Egg Nationalist) and Carl Benjamin.

In November 2023, Scyldings offered their conference-organising apparatus to the Human Diversity Foundation, a race-science group led at the time by Matthew Frost. It held a ticketed event featuring speeches by Erik Ahrens, the German white nationalist, and Edward Dutton at the Little Ship Club in central London. Kenny Smith, founder of the fascist Homeland Party, and his then-national media officer Alec Cave, both attended Scyldings in August 2024. They were interviewed by the Lotus Eaters host Dan Tubb.

It is run by the influencer Martin Judge (AKA Maven Politic), who is assisted by Thomas Brice, Andrew Duncan, and friends from the Basketweavers network. In April 2026, Scyldings will host a conference in Germany called "Karlstage", for which single tickets cost €650.

PROFILES: NAZIS, FASCISTS AND ETHNONATIONALISTS



HUGH ANTHONY

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Hugh Anthony is a young ethnonationalist who gained a following in 2025. Heading his own tiny pressure group, Prioritise Britain, Anthony attended a variety of far-right protests throughout the year and hosted his own online show.

He aggressively pushes "remigration", which he argues is the only solution to the demographic "replacement" of white Brits. He has also argued for the removal of democracy in the UK due to its tendency to "put the brakes on dominance". Anthony is openly racist, arguing against interracial marriage and claiming that he would send a black right-wing activist "back to ongo-bongo land". He is also viciously antisemitic, and recently, stated that remigration should also be extended to "all Jews living in Britain".

He received attention last October after posting footage of an argument with his parents, which featured his mother tearfully calling the police on him and his father calling him a "parasite". The video culminated in Anthony being thrown out of their house, giving him the opportunity to launch an online fundraiser.

The first Prioritise Britain protest, held January 2026 in Manchester, attracted only around 40 attendees. However, he received a boost that month after his X account, which has almost 47,000 followers at time of writing, was quote-tweeted by Elon Musk.

NATIONAL HOUSING PARTY UK

CATEGORY: POLITICAL PARTY

LEADER: JOHN LAWRENCE

The National Housing Party UK (NHPUK) is a minor far-right political party. NHPUK launched in 2021 under the Oldham-based former Britain First activist John Lawrence and Pat McGinnis, a London-based former British National Party (BNP) activist. NHPUK's two key policies are "a complete halt to permanent settlement immigration and to leave the 1951 UN Refugee Convention".

Registering as a party in March 2022, NHPUK has since spent much of its time humiliating itself in local elections. This includes McGinnis achieving a single vote in the Camden Council by-election (Hampstead Town ward) in July 2022.

In 2025, the group continued to languish in insignificance, producing a single candidate in local elections, ex-Britain First activist Lloyd Morgan, in Warwickshire. He obtained a measly 33 votes.

NHPUK's online presence also remains small, with YouTube videos rarely surpassing 100 views each and X posts getting little attention amongst the broader far right. The group seems to have slipped out of view of the online far-right community, rarely if ever acknowledged by larger figures and parties. One exception came in September 2025, when activist Paul Rimmer addressed the *Heritage & Destiny* conference on the NHPUK's behalf, despite the fact that the party has been repeatedly derided in the pages of *H&D*'s magazine.



John Lawrence

CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST PARTY

CATEGORY: ORGANISATION

LEADER: JAYDA FRANSEN AND JIM DOWSON

The Christian Nationalist Party (CNP), formerly known as the British Freedom Party, is a small far-right organisation led by Jayda Fransen and Jim Dowson, both of whom were previously leading figures in the anti-Muslim group Britain First, and the ex-British National Party (BNP) leader Nick Griffin.

The BFP formed in 2018, but rebranded as the Christian Nationalist Party in 2025. The group has an overtly religious dimension, owing to Dowson and Fransen's radical evangelical Protestantism, and uses the crusader imagery popular in the anti-Muslim "counter-jihad" movement. It is also antisemitic, in part due to the influence of Griffin, a notorious Holocaust denier.

While the CNP is not a registered party, the group has received press attention due to Fransen's unsuccessful runs as an independent in various elections, including in Southend West in 2022, following the death of David Amess MP. The group has since largely abandoned these publicity stunts, however.

The group is politically isolated, in part due to a lengthy history of conflict with other far-right activists and a widespread reputation for grifting. Its leadership has spent much time attacking Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), Paul Golding, Mark Collett and others.

Even after last year's rebranding efforts, the group mostly exists as a marginal media outfit, with Fransen, Griffin and Dowson releasing broadcasts to small online audiences. Dowson and Griffin spent time on Dowson's religious projects throughout 2024, which have included the building of a chapel from which Dowson broadcasts religious sermons.

During 2025, the party essentially became an X-based meme account, reposting far-right and Christian nationalist content. The group rarely, if ever, mobilises on the ground – instead choosing to focus its efforts on spreading AI-generated crusader aesthetics or anti-Muslim and anti-LGBTQ+ hate online.



MICHAEL WRIGHT (MORGOTH)

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Michael Wright (AKA Morgoth) is a popular fascist social-media influencer from Tyneside, now living in Northern Ireland.

He first gained a following among the extreme right via his blog "Morgoth's Review", which launched in 2014 and gave commentary on cultural and political issues. The comments section of the blog routinely received hundreds of posts, functioning as a far-right discussion board.

He has since broadened his platforms, establishing a presence on Twitter in 2015, with his current X account at 68,000 followers; a YouTube channel in 2018, amassing 71,000 subscribers; a Telegram channel in 2020, with over 13,500 subscribers; and a Substack in 2022.

While Wright's video content tends towards euphemistic language, his writing, especially for his now-defunct blog, leaves no doubt about his extreme racial hatred and authoritarian instincts. For example, in 2015 he wrote that he would be unmoved to watch migrants drown at sea. In an article dated December 2015, Wright defended Nazi Germany and quoted a passage from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* about Jews threatening racial purity.

In March the same year, he also spoke positively of Jack Renshaw, then a prominent figure in National Action (NA), a neo-Nazi terror group that would be banned under anti-terror legislation the following year. Wright has also shared NA propaganda celebrating the murder of Stephane Charbonnier, the editor of the French magazine *Charlie Hebdo*, by Islamists in 2015.

In June 2015, Wright deleted a blog titled 'What If The Jews Turned Blue" after its central premise was referred to in the manifesto of Dylann Roof, who murdered nine congregants at a church in Charleston, South Carolina. Wright acknowledged that Roof's manifesto reference was "remarkably similar" to his blog, and said "knowing you influenced a mass murderer doesn't sit well!"

Wright has toned down his more extreme language in recent years, and as a result has found a broader reach among the far right. For example, he has appeared as a guest on the Lotus Eaters show and has written for that group's magazine. However, he remains immersed in the extreme right, maintaining links to the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative (PA) since its early days.

Throughout his career in the far right, Wright has taken great pains to keep his identity secret. However, in May 2025, HOPE not hate revealed Wright's identity for the first time, following the infiltration of Scyldings conference he had attended in 2023.

CANDOUR / THE AK CHESTERTON TRUST

CATEGORY: MAGAZINE

Edited by Colin Todd, *Candour* magazine is Britain's longest-running fascist publication. However, it has long been in decline and is now an irrelevance on the modern far-right scene.

The Trust was launched in 1996 to promote the work of veteran fascist A.K. Chesterton, and continued the publication of his magazine after his death.

Candour is now published less frequently and circulates among a dwindling circle of fascist readers. The website still runs a blog which is updated sporadically, and it occasionally holds a stall at fringe fascist meetings, such as the *Heritage & Destiny* conference. It has also begun selling Holocaust-denial books.

STEVEN BOOKS / LEAGUE OF ST GEORGE

CATEGORY: PUBLISHER

League Enterprises / Steven Books is the commercial arm of the long-standing League of St George, which was founded in 1974 by former members of Oswald Mosley's Union Movement.

The League of St George sporadically releases a magazine, *League Sentinel*, while Steven Books continues to publish extremely low-quality reprints of obscure fascist pamphlets, as well as selling far-right books by other publishers.

ARKTOS MEDIA

CATEGORY: PUBLISHER

Launched in 2009 by Daniel Friberg and John Morgan, Arktos Media is one of the most important purveyors of European New Right and alt-right literature in the world. Arktos Media Ltd is still registered in the UK, though its operation is based in other countries.

Friberg remains chairman and Tor Westman is the managing director. Other key figures include Christoffer Dulny as marketing director and Jafe Arnold as editor. Directors of the company include the well-known British extremist Gregory Lauder-Frost, head of the Traditional Britain Group.

Arktos has published nearly 300 books, ranging from new texts to translations and reissues. Among its catalogue of authors are influential fascist and far-right thinkers, including Alexander Dugin, Alain de Benoist and Guillaume Faye. Arktos has also reissued texts by influential philosophers in the far right, including Julius Evola and Oswald Spengler.

Arktos also runs a journal with a regularly updated blog, a range of social-media accounts and a semi-regular podcast, often hosting high-profile far-right figures from around the world.

PROFILES: NAZIS, FASCISTS AND ETHNONATIONALISTS

BLACKHOUSE PUBLISHING / SANCTUARY PRESS

CATEGORY: PUBLISHER

In 2011, Janet Slatter launched Black House Publishing, named after the British Union of Fascists HQ, the "Black House". It has reissued versions of fascist, Nazi, Third Position and right-wing literature from authors including Oswald Mosley, Oswald Spengler, and New Zealand author Kerry Bolton.

However, in March 2019 Slatter launched Sanctuary Press alongside Black House, and moved much of the explicitly fascist publications, including all Oswald Mosley's books, to that imprint. While it no longer has its own website, its books are available through Amazon and via some independent book shops.

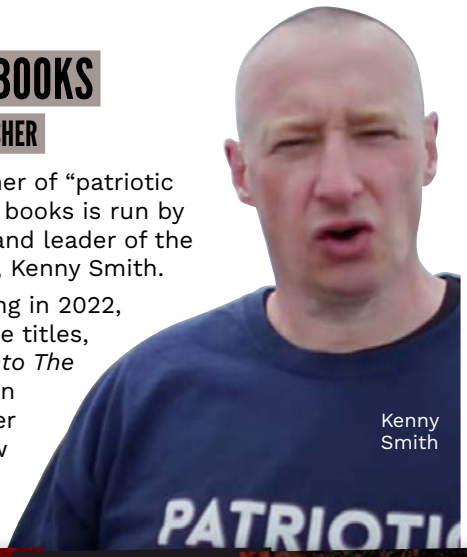
The Black House website also has a blog with articles by a range of writers, including Kerry Bolton.

CLAYMORE BOOKS

CATEGORY: PUBLISHER

This tiny publisher of "patriotic and nationalist" books is run by veteran fascist and leader of the Homeland Party, Kenny Smith.

Despite launching in 2022, it only sells three titles, most recently *Into The Furnace* by Julian Leppert, a former BNP activist now with the British Democrats.





COLIN ROBERTSON (MILLENNIAL WOES)

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes) is a far-right content creator from Linlithgow, West Lothian who became one of the most prominent figures in the British alt-right in the mid-2010s via his now-suspended YouTube channel.

Known for his gloomy monologues on political and cultural issues, Robertson fled the UK in 2017 after his identity was exposed by anti-fascists. During this period, he became a regular speaker at fascist events on the continent and in the UK. He has since returned to live in London.

In 2019, Robertson aligned himself with the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative, but was soon ostracised by the organisation after a bitter fallout.

Since then, his influence has diminished significantly, although his annual "Millenniyule" series of live-streamed interviews on Odysee still draws an audience and some prominent names. Notable guests in 2025 included the Traditional Britain Group, US white nationalist veterans Jared Taylor and Greg Johnson and former UKIP MEP Godfrey Bloom.

His Twitter account, which was suspended in late 2018, was reinstated in February 2023 and at time of writing has almost 51,000 followers. He also maintains a Substack account and a presence on Telegram.





SAM WILKES (ZOOMER HISTORIAN)

CATEGORY: INFLUENCER / CONTENT CREATOR

Sam Wilkes (AKA Zoomer Historian) is a historical revisionist and former YouTuber best known for promoting a Nazi-apologist version of WWII history to his 270,000 subscribers on the platform. However, his monetised YouTube account was suspended for hate speech in November 2025.

Wilkes' YouTube channel was originally devoted to gaming videos, through which he amassed a sizable 40,000 subscribers by 2019. After a period of dormancy, however, he renamed the account "Zoomer Historian" in March 2023 and began producing Hitler apologist videos with titles like "How Winston Churchill Started WW2" and "World War 2 Was Not Worth Fighting".

2025 posed significant challenges for Wilkes; in March, HOPE not hate exposed his identity as the owner of the channel, while his deplatforming by Patreon in February and YouTube in November caused a considerable disruption to his income.

Wilkes was also an enthusiastic and prominent activist of the Homeland Party, but in April 2025 an acrimonious and long-running dispute over the direction of the party saw Wilkes, fellow influencer Steve Laws and many others quit and become severe critics of the party.

Since leaving Homeland, his rhetoric has only become more extreme and openly pro-Nazi. He is closely aligned with Laws' new project Remigration Now and its central tenet of "total remigration", or the ethnic cleansing of all non-whites from the UK.

UNITY NEWS NETWORK

CATEGORY: MEDIA OUTLET

Unity News Network (UNN) is a conspiracy-theory website headed by David Clews, a former Conservative and Labour councillor in Renfrewshire, Scotland.

Founded in 2018 by Clews and Carl Pearson, who was then UKIP's Scottish youth leader, UNN built an audience by supporting the protest movement to free the anti-Muslim extremist Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) during his spell behind bars that year. The outlet's following grew significantly after it began spreading conspiratorial content relating to the COVID-19 pandemic. At the time of writing, it has over 103,000 followers on Facebook, 100,000 on X and 21,000 on Telegram.

While Pearson is no longer involved in the project, under Clews UNN has adopted an increasingly extreme outlook. For example, the outlet has promoted the white genocide conspiracy theory and described the West as being in the grip of "cultural Marxist degeneracy".

Clews has also established increasingly tight links to the UK's extreme right. It is therefore unsurprising to find that the UNN chat on Telegram has been swamped with extreme antisemitism, other forms of racism, support for Hitler and far-right content more broadly, which the admins attempt to conceal by regularly wiping the entire chat history.

In the wake of his comments during the widespread disorder in the summer of 2024, Clews told his followers that HOPE not hate and *Searchlight* were coordinating press "hit pieces" and building a criminal case against him. Fearing his arrest, he fled the country, begging for donations from abroad before returning home to address the Traditional Britain Group (TBG) conference in October.

In the summer of 2025, Clews encouraged UNN supporters to infiltrate Reform UK and "seek candidacy to become MPs, mayors, councillors, police commissioners, MSPs, researchers, party staffers", despite having condemned the party for its "slavish support of Zionism" the year before. It is unclear whether any supporters took him up on the proposal.



A NEW GENERATION OF HATRED

By MATTHEW COLLINS

2025 was another year of race riots in the north and the Republic of Ireland.

The targeting of foreign nationals during June in Ballymena – "an attempted pogrom" less than an hour northwest of Belfast – drew most of the world's attention and condemnation.

The world watched a dozen or so masked youths emerge laughing and determined from agitated crowds numbering in the hundreds, who were then cheered on to firebomb and ransack homes that had been identified as housing foreigners in the town. This continued, and spread, for three days and nights.

The rioters were predominately from the PUL (Protestant Unionist and Loyalist) community, and their victims ranged from Nigerian to Filipino – terrified people who, in the midst of the flames and carnage, felt obliged to display signs of loyalty to the crown [in the guise of flags] or their occupations in the health service to save their homes and their lives.

Some locals would later tell *The Guardian* how it was "unfortunate" that health workers had been targeted. It was Roma (gypsy) families they wanted "put out" of the community.

Indeed, there were significant figures from the community who stood guard outside the homes of "acceptable" foreigners, but nobody spoke up for those who were overwhelmingly the intended targets.

The riots and arsons were sparked by allegations that two young men, Roma, had sexually assaulted a young local woman. There had been, according to locals, ongoing issues with young Roma males and their behaviour towards local women. Ballymena has one of the highest incidences of reported violence against women.

After the rioting, the MP for North Antrim Jim Allister – leader of the Reform UK-aligned Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV) – reported there had been "an exodus of largely Roma and some other eastern Europeans".

In *The Guardian* again in January of this year, another local reported that hundreds of Roma who had been living in and around the town were now gone. "And the town is better for it."

Ballymena's population is 95% white and (a declining) 59% Protestant. As well as an increasing population of Irish Catholics, 740 of Northern Ireland's 1,500-strong Roma population lived in the town and nearby areas, according to the 2021 census.

Regarded as the "buckle of the bible belt," the renegade South East Antrim Brigade of the outlawed Ulster Defence Association (UDA) is omnipresent in Ballymena. Months after the rioting, not only does the UDA control much of the local drug trade, its younger members and supporters mount sporadic masked patrols along the rows of terraced houses rented out to foreigners. Many of the houses burnt and damaged during the riots remain in distress.

CROSS-COMMUNITY FRUSTRATION

While it has long been attested that Loyalism and Loyalists are nothing more than birds with sectarian feathering, in the five years since the anticipated mass uprising against the Irish sea border failed to properly materialise, on the issues of race and immigration Ireland has seen disparate groups from different traditions and jurisdictions increasingly willing to collaborate with each other.

Last summer, gangs of "vigilantes" ran campaigns against fast-food delivery drivers in the east of the

2025 DISORDER IN NORTHERN IRELAND: TIMELINE

8th JUNE Rumours spread that two Romanian-speaking men have assaulted a local woman.

9th JUNE During a vigil in the town centre, hundreds move towards Clonavon Terrace – where the assault took place.

Although the majority at the vigil are peaceful, there is a great deal of anger, with people claiming that the problem with young Roma men is persistent.

Masked men break away from the vigil and begin rioting – clashing with police officers. Fifteen police officers are injured, and one rioter is hit by a baton round.

An estimated 2,500 gather at the scene of the unrest.

Four homes are damaged by fire whilst other properties suffer minor damage. The Chairman of the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) would later describe the riot as an attempted "pogrom".

10th JUNE Three hundred people reconvene for a second night of rioting.

PSNI fire water cannons at the rioters.

Houses and cars are torched.

PSNI block roads into the town to prevent other potential rioters from arriving.

Seventeen police officers are injured.

Union, English and Northern Ireland flags begin to be displayed on homes where ethnic minorities live.

Sympathetic riots break out in Belfast, Coleraine, Lisburn and Carrickfergus. This has previously been a tactic used to overstretch the police and/or military.



All photos: Pacemaker Press

city. It was vigilantism that saw delivery riders and drivers not just hurt but also robbed. The east of the city continued to see paramilitary-adjacent gangs throughout the year, acting again under the presumption that immigrants posed a threat to local women.

Although these high-profile incidents were in areas widely considered to be Unionist or Loyalist, there has been evidence of creeping far-right vigilantism and antagonism in nationalist and Republican areas – something that yesteryear would have been unthinkable.

The increase in credence given to some conspiracy theories, and a relaxing of the tight ideological grip Republican paramilitaries once held in those communities, has allowed similar if not equal amounts of frustration to coalesce cross-community. Not over the "Irish Question" per se, but more on the issue of immigration and a perception that the north of Ireland is being "flooded" with immigrants to water down homogenous communities.

11th JUNE Police Scotland agree to send 80 police officers to Northern Ireland under the "mutual aid" policy.

Nine police officers are injured in Ballymena.

Around 100 people attack and set fire to a sports centre in Larne, where it is rumoured Roma families from Ballymena have been moved to.

Smaller riots and similar peaceful protests continue in Carrickfergus and Larne.

12th JUNE Housing Association in Portadown advises some residents to leave their homes in anticipation of a planned protest. Some 400 people attend the protest and clash with the police late into the evening. Petrol bombs are thrown into police lines.

Twenty-two police officers are injured.

13th JUNE Violence continues in Portadown.

Reports of a concentrated campaign of racist graffiti in Bangor with "racist intent".

Reports of minor incidents in Newry and Derry/Londonderry.

14th JUNE Much quieter, but there are still reports of sporadic incidents with racist intent.

16th JUNE Serious disorder in Derry/Londonderry. It was later reported that this violence was not racially motivated, but was described by the local Assembly Member as "wholly sectarian".



Loyalist communities have always held some suspicion that immigration to the north was to water down their community in favour of the more internationalist-minded Catholic, Nationalist and Republican (CNR) community.

Much of the current distress is driven by palpable change and a misunderstanding of exactly where the island of Ireland is heading post-peace. Northern Ireland is increasingly diverse – though in the 2021 census, it was still over 96% white.

The misconception that Northern Ireland is still part of the European Union (it is not – it is only aligned to the EU's single market) is cited by many who hold racist and conspiratorial views, along with the open border with the Republic of Ireland, as the reason that immigrants are "magically" appearing.

TARGETING SINN FÉIN

In the Republic of Ireland, an increasingly volatile far right has backed up its campaigns of rioting and arson with a campaign of escalating intimidation and harassment against the largest party on the island, Sinn Féin, when its members are canvassing and campaigning.

In 2024, Irish far-right activists travelled from the Republic to join Loyalist paramilitaries on a joint anti-immigrant protest in Belfast. In a bizarre return of this compliment, a Scottish Loyalist linked to Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) bank robberies, and self-declared agent for British state security services, travelled to the Irish Republic to join in anti-immigration protests there.

Dubbed the "Poundshop Tommy Robinson", Mark Sinclair was one of a number of Loyalist anomalies at the regular protests in Dublin. He later retracted the claim he had been an MI5 agent, and was sentenced to 18 years at the end of 2025 for robbing banks.

Although it is unlikely anybody would or could ever replicate such tactics against Sinn Féin in the north's capital of Belfast, an armed group in Newry – close to the border with the Republic – posted a video in October, in similar vein to Republican dissident groups, displaying firearms and an Irish tricolour flag. In the video, masked and armed members made threats against Sinn Féin and other local councillors. The "New Republican Movement" were also believed to be behind the bombing of Sinn Féin's regional office in the town.

In November, during a joint cross-border operation between the Garda Síochána and Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI), six people were arrested in a counter-terror operation. The men, in their 30s and 40s, are suspected of being members of a "violent fringe far-right organisation intent on attacking people from a minority group," Gardaí believed.

A vehicle in which the men were travelling was stopped and searched. The Irish police found pipe ends and sealant, a bulletproof vest, cable ties, hatchets, knives and a tricolour flag.

Over the border in County Down, Northern Ireland, the PSNI found four explosive devices at a property in the village of Annalong. They also seized various items including laptops, and confirmed the searches were carried out under the Terrorism Act.



"BRITS OUT, IMMIGRANTS IN"

Those targeting Sinn Féin comprise a milieu of anti-peace agreement Republicans and ethno-nationalists [fascists] who use the garb of dissident Republicanism to spread racial hatred.

A spate of graffiti attacks and vandalism carried out by Irish fascists on Republican memorials in Belfast was linked to a particularly obnoxious gang going by the name "Republicans Against Antifa" (RAA), which is affiliated to Clann Eireann – a uniformed neo-Nazi gang from the Irish Republic which also operates under the cover of darkness in North and West Belfast.

Interestingly, the British Democrats (a splinter from the old British National Party) has also marked its territory (filling the void left by Britain First's retreat from the province) in the predominantly protestant areas of North and West Belfast too.

In response, a previously unknown Republican dissident group, the "Socialist Republican Front", late last year carried out surveillance on the activists before publicly naming and shaming them. This was followed up by threats from other established Republican dissidents that far-right activists purporting or pretending to be Republicans would not be safe in prison.

An increasingly cynical mantra of "Brits out, immigrants in" about the policies of Sinn Féin has germinated cross-border and cross-community amongst fascists and anti-immigration campaigners. Even the government in the Republic has erred towards pushing difficult conversations on immigration onto Sinn Féin's plate.

Back in the North, where Sinn Fein holds the post of First Minister, Unionists have used immigration as ammunition in an increasingly bitter culture war over the use of the Irish language on public and civic buildings.

Unionists have tried to portray almost every ill or ailment as being related to swiftly changed demographics – the PUL community is shrinking by default, which is portrayed as a design of Sinn Féin.

During one heated debate at Stormont in May about the "unsustainable pressure" on public services in the province created by immigrants, the Democratic Unionist Party's Jonathan Buckley told the chamber: "To the nationalist or republican who feels they are not being listened to by the parties you voted for... I hear you. Sinn Féin's policy of Brits out and everyone else in is fooling no-one."



All photos:
Pacemaker Press

IT COULD HAPPEN HERE – BUT IT'S NOT INEVITABLE

By GEORGIE LAMING

When it came to choosing the title of this year's State of Hate report, we were stumped. How do we adequately express a far-right landscape that is bigger, angrier, more extreme, better funded and altogether more confident than ever before?

We landed on "*It Could Happen Here*". Inspired by the phrase "It Can't Happen Here", often used in the US and across Europe in the 1930s to deride the possibility of fascism and totalitarianism coming to their shores. The phrase was popularised by Sinclair Lewis' dystopian novel of the same name, which imagines what the rise of American fascism could look like.

The title can feel at worst hyperbolic, but we are in a moment that is not defined purely by how the far right operates, but by how public opinion moves alongside it.

Pessimism is bedding in. Our polling finds that 23% of Brits think there will be civil war within the next five years.

There is a job for us all at this moment, whether you are sitting and reading this report as a HOPE not hate supporter, a community leader, or even as a Cabinet minister.

CAMPAIGNING

It's safe to say that Reform UK represents the biggest far-right electoral threat in our country's history. But as our groundbreaking report "Fed Up and Rolling the Dice" shows, Reform UK are bringing together a fragile coalition of voters. These people are united by one thing – frustration with how our country works. Whilst immigration is a key motivator, there are other factors at play here and there is a road back from Reform UK.

As we look ahead to the May 2026 elections, the scale of the threat is enormous. Reform UK could end up in control of 28 councils, whilst also battling it out for first or second place in Senedd and Scottish Parliament elections. In regions like the North East, Yorkshire and the West Midlands, we could see Reform controlling multiple levels of local government, and certainly controlling most county councils.

But, as the result in Gorton and Denton shows, when communities organise, talk to one another, and refuse to be divided, the far right can be stopped.

Right now, we are mobilising volunteers across the country to fight back. Our Vote HOPE 2026 campaign is a local organising effort to stop Reform UK from winning power in the May 2026 elections. It focuses on simple, community-based actions that increase turnout and challenge Reform's message where it matters most. We are training small teams of local people to get out together delivering messages of hope and community. Get involved at: **www.hopenothate.org.uk/vote-hope/**

DEFENDING DEMOCRACY

From rumoured Reform UK donations to virtual appearances at Tommy Robinson rallies, tech billionaire Elon Musk continues to pull his transatlantic strings on UK politics.

The Representation of the People Bill is an unmissable opportunity to clean up our politics. It's a chance to protect our democracy against the threat of foreign interference and far-right disruption, and put up guardrails to hold back the creeping tide of authoritarianism.

Trust and confidence in our system of government is at a 50-year low, and only half of the voting-age population cast a vote at the last general election. This hasn't happened out of nowhere. When bad actors halfway across the world can sow seeds of fear and division that affect our political outcomes, people lose confidence. When it feels like billionaires can buy themselves a say in British politics, public trust is undermined.

Together with civil society partners we are **campaigning to ensure the bill takes a robust stand against foreign interference, political intimidation, disinformation, and disproportionate donations.** The Representation of the People Bill must send a clear message to the UK electorate: we will not hand our politics over to hate.

REPAIRING AND CELEBRATING COMMUNITY COHESION

Watching the news or looking at your social-media feed, it's easy to believe that the UK is more divided than ever. The voices of those who seek to spread hate, harm our communities and separate us are loud.

But the reality is that millions of people across the UK show up for each other, their neighbours and their communities every single day. From litter-picking in parks to donating to food banks, from coaching our kids' football teams to working together for safer streets – acts of hope and kindness happen all the time.

These stories are too often left untold. So, in May 2026, HOPE not hate is working with community and faith groups, plus charities big and small, to celebrate and inspire A Million Acts of Hope across Britain.

You can join us at **www.millionactsofhope.org**

DON'T SIT IN DESPAIR, JOIN US

The groups and individuals covered in this report are extreme and are growing in confidence.

Often, the work of countering these people can feel overwhelming. That's what they are relying on. They feed off our pessimism, they spread hate, and they tell a story that only radical, violent change will fix things.

We can't give up. HOPE not hate was founded on the principle that hope itself is an action, not just a blind belief.

Whatever part of the country you live in, whatever contribution big or small you can make, it's time to stand up and be counted. Whilst it could happen here, it's not inevitable.





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