

PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE

UNITING THE FASCIST RIGHT?



HATE
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Patriotic Alternative is a fascist, antisemitic white nationalist organisation launched in Britain in September 2019.
- Its founder is Mark Collett, formerly director of publicity for the British National Party and one of the UK's most notorious fascist figures.
- The group's private social media are awash with extreme racism, Holocaust denial and open veneration of fascism.
- While small and too extreme to ever garner mainstream success they have quickly become one of the most important fascist organisations currently active in the UK.
- They have attracted activists previously involved in more 'moderate' far right movements, such as previous supporters of Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson).
- In a short space of time they have managed to begin to unite elements of the notoriously splintered and fractured UK fascist scene, and even attracted a former activist of the neo-Nazi group National Action, which has since been proscribed under anti-terror legislation.
- They have managed to attract a number of far-right social media influencers from the post-organisational online far-right to become active in a more traditional organisation.
- Despite being very new they have already been hampered by infighting and division.

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WHAT IS PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE?

On 9 August 2020, International Indigenous People's Day, images were uploaded of activists displaying the phrase 'White Lives Matter' from across the UK and some from abroad. The campaign was organised by Patriotic Alternative (PA), a white nationalist group created in 2019 by Mark Collett, former Head of Publicity for the British National Party. Designed to bait opposition into covering the actions in outrage so to gain free publicity, PA hoped to get the phrase trending on social media and have their images picked-up by the mainstream media. Though achieving neither of these, the group managed to exaggerate their size and support to the wider fascist scene, boosting the morale and partially unifying this long splintered, ageing and ailing extreme faction of the British far right.

PA has plans beyond just social media campaigns, however. According to Deputy Director Laura Tyrie, PA has two aims: politics and community-building. On the podcast put out by far-right US publisher Counter-Currents Publishing, Tyrie noted that PA "Can't promise we can fix things from the political side but we can promise to build community" through efforts such as camping trips for like-minded supporters and conferences. Though interested also in forming a political party, at the time of writing they have been unable to register (Companies House shows PA was registered as a limited company on 21 July 2020, giving the organisation some formality, however). Active mainly in the South East, London, Yorkshire and South West, their numbers in each branch are small. Yet, the ability of a group to provide leadership particularly to the young, politically homeless far right at present is all the more important given the acute social tensions that have arisen during COVID-19, and the far-right backlash to the surge of support for the Black Lives Matter movement following the killing of George Floyd.

PA have mainly focused on building their online presence through their active blog, and offline through a variety of efforts. This included a campaign in the summer of 2019, as part of PA's launch, when Collett and Tyrie coordinated a survey and, alongside fellow activists, polled people on the street in several locations across the country on questions related to immigration. To date, they have also held two conferences that have brought together very extreme figures from across the British far right. Their first in September 2019 included speeches from the



likes of pseudoscientific 'race scientist' Edward Dutton and vlogger Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes), the latter known for being pro-slavery and for stating that when it comes to refugees crossing the Mediterranean we ought to "bomb them, we need to just torpedo them."

In March 2020 they held their second conference, again featuring speeches from the likes of Robertson. Notably, attendees included many previously associated with the (relatively speaking) more mainstream far-right activist Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson).

This included James Goddard, known for harassing an MP and racially abusing a police officer, and Chris Mitchell (AKA Patriotic Chris), who previously ran one of the largest Lennon supporters groups online. In this respect, and as is further evidenced by PA members in private online discussions, the organisation appears to be soaking up some disorganised elements of the British far right, including those disillusioned with the anti-Muslim focus of the likes of Lennon who want to move towards a racial nationalist agenda. On 19 September PA have an autumn conference that will be held in the Manchester area, which will again feature speakers from the racial nationalist far right.

PA forwards extreme policies, such as repatriation, and its members voice highly extreme views, including expressing Holocaust denial and supporting those who call for political violence. This should be unsurprising, given Collett's history in the BNP, a fascist party that likewise attempted to present a more mainstream face in the 2000s. Collett is a longstanding antisemite who has spoken sympathetically of Nazi Germany, described the Holocaust as the "alleged extermination of six million Jews", and has regularly collaborated with David Duke, a former leader in the Ku Klux Klan.

WHAT DO PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE BELIEVE?

PA is a racist far-right organisation with antisemitism at its very core. They aim to combat the “replacement and displacement” of white Britons by people who “have no right to these lands”. In this regard PA follows the broader trend in recent years amongst many in the far right of rebranding white nationalist ideology as a defense of ‘indigenous’ Europeans against their ‘Great Replacement’ from non-Europeans. This idea was popularised by the identitarian movement and, in a similar fashion, the earlier ‘counter-jihad’ movement with its ‘Eurabia’ conspiracy theory. However, PA are ideologically aligned with and have emerged out of the traditional, fascist far right and so these conspiracy theories go further and hold that it is Jewish elites, particularly, who are orchestrating the ‘replacement’ of white Britons.

Though not yet a political party, PA’s response to this is to call for racist expulsion policies of various kinds. They call for the deportation of “those of migrant descent”, and would offer financially-incentivised repatriation for “those of immigrant descent who have obtained British passports”. They also call for a range of measures which encourage what is known as ‘self-deportation’, i.e. making living conditions of immigrants and the non-white community so bad that people are forced to emigrate. They also call for a “complete halt to all immigration unless under exceptional circumstances”, which include “people from other parts of the world [...] who have a shared ethnic and cultural background or who can prove British ancestry”.

Whilst not explicitly referring to Judaism or Jewish people other than calling for the ban of





Patriotic Alternative conference speakers March 2020

(Halal and) Kosher slaughter in their manifesto, it is replete with antisemitic tropes. In a nod to conspiratorial ideas of Jewish control, they state that: *“Never should a foreign power be allowed to unduly influence the way that the British state conducts its affairs. Equally, no minority should ever be allowed to wield disproportionate power over the British people or hold disproportionate influence over or within the government.”*

Similarly, evoking age-old ideas linking Jews to money, they warn of threats from “unscrupulous lenders or predatory providers of financial services” and state that the British people “must be free of the chains of usury”. Likewise, discussing the military, they state that Britain “should never be used as pawns for foreign powers”, and in a nod to both antisemitic and Islamophobic ideas of foreign influence, they call for a “complete halt to the construction or establishment of any places of worship that are funded by foreign sources”. They also target the LGBT+ community with traditional far-right tropes of members of these groups being a danger to young people, stating they would ban “the promotion or exposure” of “LGBT propaganda” to children.

PA attempts to present a more ‘respectable’ public face that belies the extremeness of its actual politics. PA have attempted to position their politics as merely reflecting what the public think, but are afraid to say. This was the case in their reporting of what members of the public supposedly told them in a survey they

carried out in 2019, and was the subject of Collett’s speech at PA’s inaugural conference. In his speech, Collett claimed that it was essential for PA’s success that members avoid getting caught saying things which could embarrass the organisation, using the youth group Generation Identity UK and Ireland (GI) as an example. Collett described how a HOPE not hate exposé of GI members shortly after their conference was exactly what PA ought to avoid, and to this end they had to appear respectable, ensuring that the kinds of people that had “always blighted our movement” would not do so by behaving in off-putting ways. As Collett told the audience, “we are here to start packaging what we do in a way that will make it saleable”.

PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE'S EXTREMISM

Despite Collett's awareness of how damaging public extremism can be to a fledgling movement, the group's social media groups are awash with extreme racism, Holocaust denial and open veneration of fascism.

VENERATION OF FASCISM

The leader of one regional group stated in a PA chat that "No doubt most here have watched [pro-Hitler documentary] "The Greatest Story Never Told".

Members of another chat have shared their love of fascist literature, with one stating for example that: "I'm reading David Irving's – Nuremberg The Last Battle when I'm at home and Oswald Mosley's – The Alternative"

Across PA's private discussion groups, images of Oswald Mosley, the British Union of Fascists and other traditional British far right and fascist figures and groups are commonly shared, referenced and recommended to learn from.

RACISM

Some of the most egregious racism expressed by PA members comes from a chat group including Collett and other PA activists, where PA events are advertised and new recruits are sometimes directed. Examples include:

"Corner shops where the ragheads wouldn't look you in the eye. fucking cunts, the lot of them."

"Heard someone making the point the other day that we have to spend so much money to get these shitty black-filled schools up to the average of white schools in the UK where that money could be used to help smart kids actually excel instead of investing so many resources just for some low-IQ minorities to go to university and get a degree in being a runaway father"

Discussing the Forever Family Force demonstrators on Afrikan Emancipation Day PA activists said:

"Absolute parasites the lowest of low [...] It's like

an African takeover what an effing cheek [...] Are they wearing stab vests to be ironic or for 'friendly fire' ? [...] Herd of sub humans [...] I kind of wish the blacks would go to white suburbs and just completely fuck the place up [...] Not even sure if that would make them stir though [...] I agree with your last point, that's what scares me. I dread to think what would be sufficiently terrible to finally make the indigenous people of our islands rise up, defend themselves and take our country back."

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

A member of one PA chat said they need a "normie friendly" (normie is internet slang for someone who follows mainstream opinion) documentary "about the Holocaust which covers most of the hoaxes".

Another said, "Public Service Announcement: A factoid is a claim that is widely accepted as fact through repetition but isn't necessarily (and often isn't) true, such as the Holocaust."

Other examples include members saying "All that needs to be said about the Holocaust is that its perhaps the single most overhyped event in history [...] The West has been blinded since 1945 by the Holocaust story but this is wearing off."

In one chat where members were engaging in denial, a member stated "We're finding out that more and more Holocaust survivors... Survived. Almost like as if the Holocaust never happened".



A video from Mark Collett's vlog

PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE: WELCOMING EXTREMISTS

Amongst those involved with Patriotic Alternative (PA) is a former activist of the neo-Nazi group National Action (NA), which has since been proscribed under anti-terror legislation.

Sam Melia, circled in the picture below marching with NA in November 2016 before the organisation's ban in December of that year, was revealed in June 2018 by HOPE not hate to have been a former NA activist. As such, PA should have been well aware of his Nazi past.

In August 2020, an exposé by HOPE not hate also revealed Melia to be the man behind the Hundred Handers (HH) network. HH, which emerged in May 2018, has been garnering increasing levels of media attention for its stickering campaign, which has seen an anonymous network of far-right activists plastering lamp posts, walls and even primary schools with racist and divisive stickers in the UK and around the globe.

More recently, Melia has also become involved in PA's activities. His leading role in HH, creating and sharing the templates for others to sticker, has meant he was well placed to help organise

the printing of banners for PA's day of action on 9 August. Melia organised the printing of nine banners after an anonymous benefactor offered to pay for them, distributing them to activists around the country. Melia's offer to help was further advertised in a private social media chat in which he is a member, alongside Collett and other PA activists, where PA events are advertised, and where new PA recruits are sometimes directed.

In a further indication of just how long and how involved Melia has been in PA's activities, on a livestream from 24 October 2019 with vloggers Jason Kohne (AKA No White Guilt) and 'The Great Order', he appeared speaking from the same location as PA's Deputy Director, Laura Tyrie (AKA Laura Towler). Tyrie tells the vloggers that she's "sat with the guy who runs the Hundred Handers", before Melia goes on to talk about the anonymous network and later expresses his support for PA and encourages people to get involved. Melia has also implied that he might have joined PA for their 'White Lives Matter' banner drop at Mam Tor, Derbyshire.



PROFILES

MARK COLLETT

Mark Collett is leader of PA and the former Chairman of the Young British National Party (BNP) and Head of Publicity for the BNP. Originally from Rothley, Leicestershire and now based in Leeds, Collett said of his hometown in 2002 that “it was worse than Leeds. Blacks everywhere, sari shops, jewellers, Indian restaurants. I hated that.”

In the same year he featured in an episode of a documentary series made by Russell Brand for UK Play whilst Collett was a student at the University of Leeds. In the show he called gay men “AIDS monkeys”, “bum bandits” and “faggots”, said that immigrants coming into the UK were making it a “cesspit”, and said of Ian Stewart, singer in neo-nazi band Skrewdriver, that “sadly he’s dead now”.

In 2002 Collett also featured in another documentary, this time from Channel 4 entitled *Young, Nazi and Proud*, in which he declared his support for Hitler and Stalin amongst numerous other extreme statements, including stating that “Aids was a “friendly disease” because “blacks and drug users and gays have it”. The public embarrassment of the documentary led to the BNP removing Collett’s membership though he was later reinstated.

A 2004 BBC documentary, *The Secret Agent*, saw Collett again on record making extreme statements, including calling asylum seekers “cockroaches”, and saying that Asian men “don’t go out mugging Asian grandmas, they don’t go stabbing each other, they don’t go trying to solicit sex off little Pritesh or little Sanjita, they go straight to the whites ‘cos they are trying to destroy us and they are the racists.” Collett and then-BNP leader Nick Griffin were subsequently prosecuted for alleged race hate offences documented in the investigation but later cleared of the charge. In 2010 Collett was arrested and questioned by police following statements made to them by Griffin and others in the BNP alleging Collett was threatening to kill Griffin, however the BNP later decided to take no further action.

Since that period and up until launching PA, Collett had fallen to the wayside of the organised British far right, focusing instead on building a persona online, including regularly collaborating with former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke, and



through establishing his own YouTube channel ‘This Week on the Alt-Right’ which he hosted from 2017-2019.

Collett also published a book in 2017, in which he describes the Holocaust as the “alleged extermination of six million Jews” and declares that “when it comes to the notion of white guilt, nothing is pushed more strongly”. Collett also writes:

“National Socialism is an ideology of discipline and order that seeks to establish a perfect homogenous society that is centred on national unity. As such National Socialism scorns social divisions and selfish individualism. National Socialism is an ideology that strives for excellence and pushes individuals within society to better themselves – not just for the sake of individual greatness but instead to improve society as a whole. Discipline, order and excellence made National Socialism one of the few true threats to the enemies of the West [...]”

During this period he has gained the occasional mainstream attention, including in January 2018 when Fox News host Laura Ingraham retweeted

Collett and in June of the same year when Republic Congressman Steve King, notorious for his far-right flirtations, likewise retweeted Collett. More recently, in July 2020 American YouTube channel PragerU quote-tweeted Collett, and this PragerU tweet was itself by President Trump's son, Donald Trump Jr.

FURTHER QUOTES FROM COLLETT:

- *Referred to a white woman as a “braindead white slag” for finding a “particularlly repugnant black [man]” attractive.*
- *“I’d love to meet [violent former Ulster Defence Association member] Johnny Adair”*
- *“I think there’s gonna be a lot of bloodshed [...] when it all hits there will be militant gangs of lads join... formed around people like me [...] I will become a leader that people will cluster around in those areas and people will, you know, fight, fight alongside me”*
- *“Hitler will live on forever and maybe I will”*
- *“Black men are, what is it, something like 60% times more likely to have AIDS than a white man. Their genes, by nature, are more sort of promiscuous”*
- *“National Socialism was the best solution for the German people in the 1930s.”*
- *“I honestly can’t understand how a man who’s seen the inner city hell of Britain today can’t look back on that era [Hitler’s Germany] with a certain nostalgia and think yeah, those people marching through the streets and all those happy people out in the streets, you know, saluting and everything, was a bad thing.”*
- *“Honestly now, would you prefer your kid growing up in Oldham and Burnley or 1930s Germany? [...] It would be better for your child to grow up there.”*
- *“I’m going to level with you. I’d never say this on camera, yeah, and you can say this to whoever you want, ‘cos it’s true. The Jews have been thrown out of every country, including England. There’s not a single European country the Jews have not been thrown out of. And let’s face it, David, when it happens so many times it’s not just persecution. There’s no smoke without fire.”*
- *Referring to his ex-girlfriend, he stated: “I like to break people. When you’ve broken them and sucked that last bit of life out of them. That’s it. When people say that I am evil, yeah I am. [...] Never kill people, yeah. Push them to the point of despair where they do it themselves, because that’s when you’ve really won”*

LAURA TYRIE (AKA LAURA TOWLER)

Laura Tyrie, from Yorkshire, is Deputy Director of PA. A former army cadet and politics graduate, since 2017 she was an editor of the white nationalist/alt-right news website, Defend Evropa, where she claims she began her activism, though her attention has increasingly been on PA activities.

Alongside PA she has been growing her self-titled YouTube channel, which has over 54,500 subscribers and 2,800,000 views. She has also featured on other far-right vlogs, including that of white nationalist Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes), and alongside alt-right figure Richard Spencer and pseudoscientific ‘race scientist’ Edward Dutton.

Despite having been involved in far-right activism for a relatively short period, she has expressed some extreme positions. In an interview to Defend Evropa in January 2020, she said that though she had “mixed feelings” about Britain’s empire, she was “very proud that my tiny island was able to wield such power” and that “We civilised a lot of people”. When asked about “the Anglo power structure and Jews” she said “I admit that we have issues” and that “the same could be said for most European nations.” Of the Second World War she told the interviewer that “I’m not a fan of Churchill and I think our involvement in the war was unnecessary.” Asked who her idol was, she replied “Sir [Oswald] Mosley!”

The interviewer also asked Tyrie her thoughts on Kai Murros, a Finnish far-right activist who has called for violent far-right attacks in the UK. Tyrie said “Kai Murros is incredible”.



UNITING THE RIGHT? ANALYSING PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE'S NATIONAL DAY OF ACTION



On 9 August Patriotic Alternative (PA) held a day of action across the UK to coincide with International Indigenous People's Day (IPD). The event involved repeating, at a national scale, a strategy the group employed on 4 July when they displayed a 'White Lives Matter' banner on the top of Mam Tor, a hill in Derbyshire (a far-right slogan which was created in 2015 as a response to the Black Lives Matter movement).

The image of the banner atop Mam Tor was intended to stir up controversy and in so doing bait the media and concerned members of the public into giving the marginal group free publicity. Though press coverage was only local, the event attracted attention on social media and was successful in bringing in new supporters to PA.

Due to this success they decided to hold the much larger event on IPD. As they described on their site prior to the day:

"On July 4th [...] [we] displayed a 10-metre-long banner that simply read 'WHITE LIVES MATTER'. [...] Since that event, the pictures have gone viral and many liberals have had screaming tantrums and public meltdowns. On August 9th we thought we would repeat the exercise on a much larger scale and use the publicity to get #WhiteLivesMatter trending on social networks."

Despite their intentions, the second time around PA did not get the hashtag trending and, beyond some regional press, the only national pick-up was from *The Daily Star*, which reported on the seizure of a PA banner by a group of London antifascists.

"AT THIS STAGE IT IS IMPORTANT NOT TO EXAGGERATE THE THREAT THEY POSE."

At this stage it is important not to exaggerate the threat they pose. As an organisation they have consciously sought to inflate their size and amount of support, and their IPD day of action actually attracted less attention than their previous stunt at Mam Tor. All this raises the question of whether PA has already hit a ceiling in terms of attracting interest.

However, despite not having the national impact they had hoped for, detailed analysis of their IPD day of action does provide useful insights into the scale and possible threat posed by PA. The event drew in support and involvement from an array of activists and organisations from across Britain's traditional fascist scene, raising the possibility that PA could be beginning to unite a currently splintered area of the UK far right.

An additional concern is PA's seeming ability to attract a younger cohort into the UK's notoriously ageing fascist community.

PA are smaller and less influential than they themselves claim, and their longevity is uncertain, but they are certainly one of the fastest rising threats in the UK far right.

THE TURNOUT AND THE REACH

On 9 August PA organised their supporters and encouraged others to display the White Lives Matter slogan on banners, stickers and posters across the country. The result was images of roughly 80 locations displaying the slogan, alongside related phrases, from just over 100 activists. The most active areas were London and the South East of England, with strong representation also in the North West and Wales. There were also a handful of pictures submitted from abroad, including by the fascist groups Nordic Resistance Movement in Denmark and Action Zealandia in New Zealand.

A clear pattern is that those involved attempted to inflate the spread of geographical support for the campaign and the size of PA more generally. For example, in the North West five of the images shared appeared to use the same banner in different places across the region, while three used the same flag at different football grounds. In Scotland, eight out of ten pictures appear to be taken by the same group of between 5-6 people using the same banner, though no Scottish branch of PA is currently recognised. Furthermore, whereas this contingent travelled more extensively to create the illusion of wider support, the London PA branch by contrast displayed a banner five times in various locations but all in or near Greenwich, carried out by the same 6-7 people. Outside of groups, many other images came from individuals, including in the South East where fourteen appeared to have come from different people. In many cases these were very low-effort; one person simply shared a picture of a t-shirt drying with the slogan written on it.

However, whatever the realities on the ground, the actions were successful in gaining a wider reach amongst the far right online and giving an impression of wider turnout. Analysis of their social media activity from the day in contrast to that of their Mam Tor action suggests that, whilst the initial event saw a sharper increase in followers and a greater number of shares, the IPD actions were posted by many more accounts this time, which will have made the spread amongst the far right broader, and reached new audiences. PA's most shared tweet from the IPD



action has received just over 830 retweets at the time of writing, down from their Mam Tor tweet which received 2,239, but this is still high and just one amongst many other PA-affiliated accounts which were less active, or indeed non-existent in some cases, at the time of the Mam Tor action.

Likewise, where their followers grew by 1,012 on Twitter in the two days following Mam Tor (an increase of 19.3%), between 9-11 August - the days including and following the IPD campaign - the account gained 610 new followers (an increase of 8.1%); not as high but still significant. Interestingly, with the initial action, the group's official Telegram channel saw a gain of 345 followers or an increase of 23.7%, whereas the IPD action saw a negligible change. Given Telegram is where much of PA's organising and interactions between members occurs, this suggests the group is yet to translate the wider far-right support garnered by the IPD actions into new recruits.

Neither leaders Laura Tyrie (AKA Laura Towler) or Mark Collett have recouped growth on another major platform from the event, YouTube, despite being vloggers. Both have practically stagnant growth (with Collett even losing followers in July) on the platform. In part, this reflects the fact that, as members of the fascist far right during a period of heightened social media deplatforming, they are increasingly turning to alternative, more fringe platforms and so are less able to reach a wider audience in this way.

A NEW FASCIST FORCE?

The picture that emerges is that PA have succeeded in attracting attention from the wider fascist scene in Britain, online and off, and from this, they have managed to mobilise or at least influence some to engage in activism on the ground or take up a campaign they have promoted. Yet whilst they have succeeded in growing within this scene, given the fascist far right scene's extremes and its generally splintered state, they have to contend with the possibility that they may have reached a ceiling for attracting wider interest, or in maintaining what they have unified together in the long term. One test for this will be whether PA can translate the wider involvement seen during the IPD actions into new recruits. If they cannot, then there is the possibility that the successes of IPD were a matter of people being more interested in the campaign than in PA. A compounding difficulty for PA is that the group faces internal organisational problems. This was evident with the IPD actions, when private PA messenger groups running up to and including the day revealed that there was confusion at times over who was coordinating certain actions and whether they were connected to PA, and what hashtags people were supposed to use when sharing the images.

More fundamentally, PA faces a peculiar situation as a traditional organisation in a 'post-organisational', online age for the far right. In one respect, with Collett's background in the British National Party (BNP), PA has emerged as a traditional far-right organisation with a named leader and regional branches; indeed, they aspire to being registered as a party, though to no success at the time of writing. However, importantly the group has emerged from the online far-right scene which has also influenced its nature. In recent years Collett has reinvented himself as a vlogger and far-right social media influencer. Meanwhile Tyrie is a vlogger and onetime editor of alt-right site, Defend Evropa, without a history of activism in traditional organisations.

PA has also attracted its core support from a community of newer far-right vloggers such as 'Jakes and Latte' and the 'Nat Connect' online networking initiative set up by him, fringe chat groups like Telegram's Patriotic TP Talk, and online activist groups such as 'Groyppers UK' (named after a tactic - 'groypping' - developed by US alt-right activists in which they ambush events, comment sections and radio call-ins, to spread propaganda).

PA's seeming ability to unite elements of the

disparate and decentralised online fascist scene with traditional far-right activists into a more orthodox fascist organisation makes the group one to watch, but also presents them with challenges. Can they encourage this online mass of keyboard warriors with less experience in traditional organisations to get involved on the ground? Can they ensure unity *within* the online community? Infighting has already beset the organisation, for example over its interactions with vloggers Ralph Masilamani (AKA Right Reaction), Nick Cotton (AKA Unwashed), Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes) and others. Likewise, is long term cooperation between these activists and those from street movements, and elsewhere in the traditional fascist scene possible? For example, a great number of IPD actions across Wales and the North West of England were carried out by people associated with the Pie & Mash Squad, a group that emerged from the football hooligan scene which clearly supported the campaign but is not formally part of PA. At the time of writing this relationship has not been addressed.

“PA’S SEEMING ABILITY TO UNITE ELEMENTS OF THE DISPARATE AND DECENTRALISED ONLINE FASCIST SCENE WITH TRADITIONAL FAR-RIGHT ACTIVISTS INTO A MORE ORTHODOX FASCIST ORGANISATION MAKES THE GROUP ONE TO WATCH.”

What does unite this milieu appears to be a frustration with the rudderless state of the UK fascist scene and a common disillusionment with, and rejection of, what they frequently decry as the 'civ nat' (civic nationalist) far-right leadership in Britain, from figures such as Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) or Nigel Farage. While these figures have at times attracted fascist support, both have stopped short of, or outright rejected, racial nationalist ideas and antisemitism. Similarly however, for the younger cohort of racial nationalists within this milieu, many have also been uninterested in getting involved with traditional, older fascist organisations in the UK. So too have they been largely uninterested in the remaining elements of the British 'counter-jihad' movement, such as Britain First and Anne Marie Waters' For Britain party, as well as the more recent 'Identitarian' group, Generation Identity UK - a now dissolved branch of the Europe-wide far-right street movement that maintained a focus on Islam and immigrants. Fundamentally

lacking was an explicitly racial nationalist, antisemitic organisation that was also well-versed in engaging with the young, online far right. In filling this gap, PA has also seen, and saw on the day of action, members of traditional fascist groups come out in support, including the aforementioned Pie & Mash Squad as well as a few BNP activists in Woolwich and Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park.

Interestingly, numerous people previously active in more moderate far-right organisations have become active in PA, suggesting a shift towards more openly racial politics within the broader far right. This includes multiple members of Generation Identity and its support group for older activists, prominent former Lennon supporters Chris Mitchell and James Goddard, and James Linton, who claims to have been heavily involved with For Britain. For some in the traditional fascist far right, this change was on the horizon. Speaking at a meeting of the East London BNP in February of this year, Pat McGuinness, who later took part in the IPD actions, told those in attendance “about significant developments that are taking place online, with many of the well-meaning counter-jihad activists now endorsing genuine nationalist campaigns and ideas” spread by the “popular YouTube live streams on the nationalist scene”. The BNP reports that McGuinness “encouraged everyone to get involved and take part by leaving comments on the live chat”.

WHERE NEXT FOR PA?

Due to their nature, the threat PA poses will always be limited. As an openly racial nationalist, antisemitic group, they are extraordinarily unlikely to achieve mainstream breakthrough, something borne out by their failure to attract such attention during and following the IPD actions. Yet, whilst exaggerated, the actions were not insignificant within the fascist scene. They managed to bring new activists onto the ground and drew in support from the wider far right. Beyond this event, they have achieved relatively fast growth, managed to unify some groups and provided leadership to a younger cohort of activists. What is harder to judge is what longevity they have in the space they have filled in the British far right.

The unity they provide is fragile. Infighting continues within the online fascist scene that PA is still largely reliant on, and which it cannot afford to cut off. At the same time, PA will increasingly have to negotiate its relationship with the older, traditional fascist far right who



will not simply tow PA's line. Though Collett admitted recently activists in PA include “former BNP members and people we've known for a long time”, his own past with the party is troubled.

Moreover, PA has a long way to go in terms of basic internal organisation. They have their most active branches in London, the South East and Yorkshire, and they also claim to have groups in formation elsewhere. Yet, PA has struggled to provide clarity to many of those inquiring about becoming involved locally. As noted above, private chats have revealed that many aspects of the IPD actions were disorganised. Such issues will hamper their ability to grow and, indeed, goes some way towards explaining their negligible growth on Telegram following IPD despite successful social media activity elsewhere.

Despite grossly exaggerating their size and influence, PA could be the group that unites the fractured, ageing fascist UK far right, injecting it with young activists. Moreover, these could present a real threat given their extreme views and frustrations with the options available from the wider far right, and will be eager to act and in many cases, do so on the ground for the first time and not just behind a computer screen. This also points to the deeper organisational challenge raised above - being a somewhat formal grouping in a 'post-organisational' online age - that may be PA's biggest hurdle. How much PA can organise from between these two very different activist communities and ensure the unity they offer is not once again splintered, is yet to be seen.

NOT ALL UNITY: INFIGHTING ALREADY

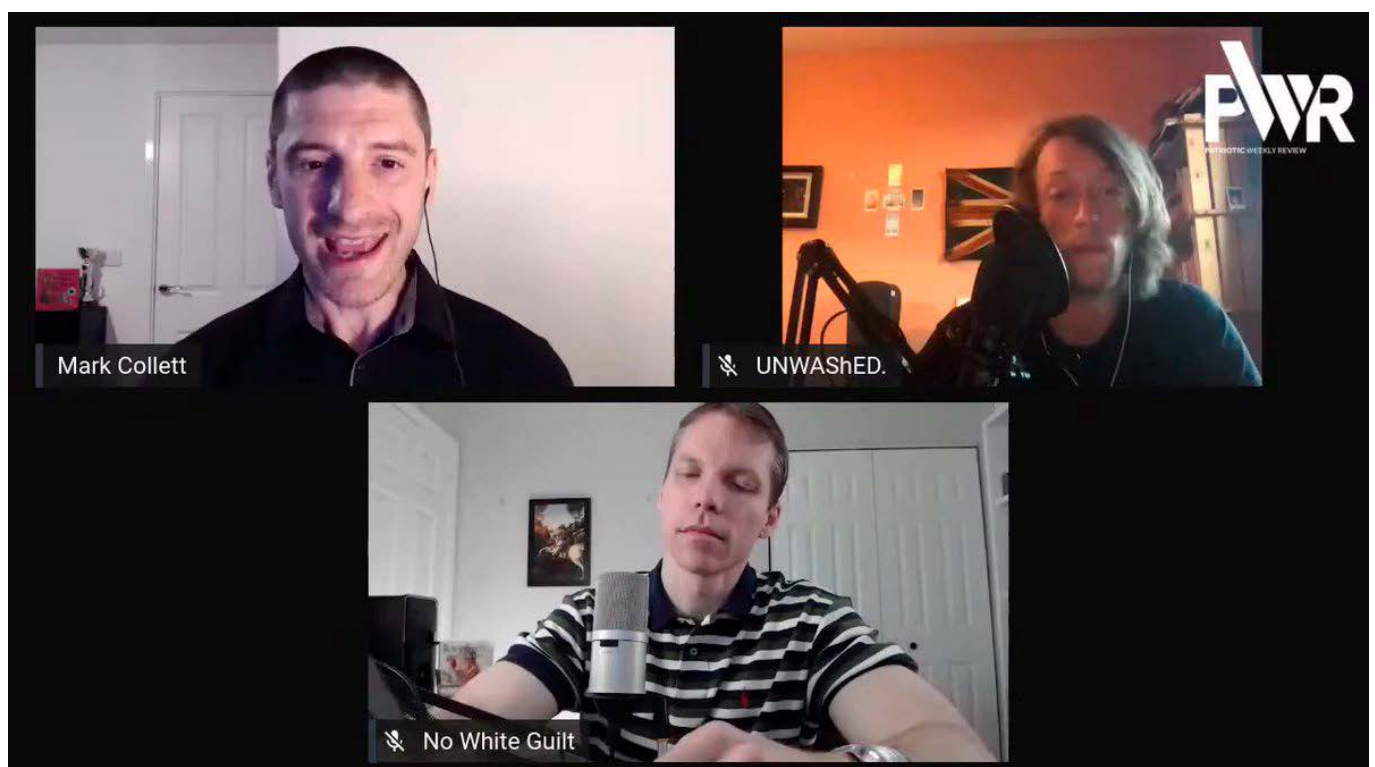
Despite Patriotic Alternative's (PA) success in uniting elements of the currently split fascist scene in the UK, and managing to organise a number of individuals from the online post-organisational world into a more formalised group, they have already seen infighting and fallouts.

Far-right vlogger Nick Cotton (AKA Unwashed) is the latest disillusioned PA supporter to break ranks. In a livestream from 9 August he accused PA and especially Mark Collett for their inability to handle dissent. Describing "a huge learning curve" after attending his first PA conference, he said he had come to view the group as cult-like. Cotton said he started distancing himself from the group a few months ago alongside friend Lucy Brown. After criticising the group Cotton has been attacked extensively. He was accused of grooming PA activist Barkley Walsh who is 16 years old. Although in the aforementioned livestream, Cotton said that his critique against PA for having let the underage activists to appear on its propaganda streams was one of the reasons behind the conflict.

Brown has also been accused of being untrustworthy and her claims of sexual harassment in the movement have been ridiculed by Collett after she distanced herself from PA.

Vlogger Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes), who has spoken at PA's conferences, has since been disavowed by Collett. Robertson also attacked Cotton and alleged that he was a HOPE not hate spy.

Cotton, Brown and Robertson are not the only dissenters that have been attacked harshly from PA and its supporters. Even humoristic criticism has caused outrage. PA supporter Dionne Møller (AKA Secret Sources) threatened to publish personal information of the person behind a parody account named "Marko Colletti's Spaghetti" this summer.





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