

8 STATE OF 2017 HATE

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special report
into extremism
in Britain and
Europe today**

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FAR RIGHT TERRORISM ON THE RISE



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Executive Summary

HEADLINES

- Britain is facing a changing and growing far right threat
- Far right terrorism and violent extremism is on the rise, a trend that is likely to continue
- Organisationally, the British far right is crumbling. Membership and active support for far right groups is at its lowest for twenty-five years
- Online far right hate, on the other hand, is growing. Three of the five far right activists with the biggest online reach in the world are British
- There is a new and younger generation of young far right activists emerging who are very tech savvy, look normal and do not have the traditional nazi baggage that has hampered the British far right in the past

FAR RIGHT TERRORISM

- Far right terrorism and violent extremism is on the rise, a trend that is likely to continue
- 28 far-right sympathisers were arrested and/or convicted of terrorist offences or violent offences during 2017
- Despite being banned in December 2016, National Action has continued to operate in secret, whilst three front groups were set up during 2017 to continue the group's work
- Pro-Ukrainian extremists are actively recruiting for the nazi Azov Battalion in the UK
- A third of referrals to Channel, one of the Government's counter-extremism operations, are now suspected far right extremists and this figure is expected to rise when new data is released this summer.

ORGANISATIONALLY

- The British National Party, Britain First and the English Defence League are mere shadows of their former selves
- Convictions have hit the more militant groups like the North West Infidels very hard
- The more hardline extremists are now gravitating to the National Front but this, too, is torn with splits and personal feuds
- There is a new and younger generation of young far right activists emerging, in groups like Generation Identity, who are very tech savvy, look normal and are not weighed down with the nazi baggage that has hampered the British right-wing extremism in the past. These groups could strengthen in 2018
- UKIP is politically finished, ripped apart by internal splits and lacking purpose since the EU referendum. The potential for a nationalist populist party, however, is still considerable, with HOPE not hate polling indicating that 14% of Britons think Nigel Farage is the political leader who best represents their views

ONLINE HATE

- Online far right hate is growing. Three of the five far right activists with the largest online reach in the world are British, all with over a million followers on social media
- There is a growing number of British vloggers who are increasingly important in the international Alternative Right scene
- There was a spike in online support for anti-Muslim activists following the 2017 terrorist attacks
- The authorities are failing to appreciate or deal with this growing far right online threat and anti-Muslim hatred in general

STATE OF THE NATION

- Britain is an increasingly polarised society with growing numbers of people (39%) having open and tolerant views to immigration and multiculturalism but a quarter of society bitterly opposed.
- Anti-Muslim hatred and Islamophobia are replacing immigration as the main drivers of support for the far right
- The 2017 terrorist attacks have greatly increased suspicion towards Muslims in Britain with 52% of people saying that Islam poses a threat to the West.

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Right-wing terror threat as high as ever

By Nick Lowles and Matthew Collins

“THE RIGHT-WING threat was not previously organised,” declared Mark Rowley, outgoing assistant commissioner at the Metropolitan Police and head of counter-terror policing in the UK, at the end of February.

“Every now and then there’s been an individual motivated by that rhetoric who has committed a terrorist act but we’ve not had an organised right-wing threat like we do now.”

Rowley revealed that four extreme rightwing-inspired plots were foiled last year, emphasising that the far right terror threat was “significant and concerning” and that the public should be “gravely concerned” by the existence of National Action, the white supremacist, nazi group banned, in 2016, by the Home Secretary under terror legislation.

With 28 far right supporters convicted or arrested for terrorism or similarly violent crimes over the last 12 months, Rowley is not wrong. As HOPE not hate can reveal in this 2018 *State of Hate* report, the threat from far right terrorism is growing, a trend that is likely to continue.

THE PARADOX

There is a paradox to the far right in Britain today. Organisationally, the movement is weaker than it has been for 25 years. Membership of far right groups is down to an estimated 600-700 people. Traditional far right parties like the British National Party (BNP) and the National Front (NF) are now almost extinct.

Meanwhile, the nazi Blood & Honour hate music scene increasingly looks like a badly attended 1980s nostalgia night. Even UKIP, which as recently as 2015 took 14% of the General Election vote, has virtually collapsed.

Yet, at the same time, the far right poses a bigger threat – in terms of violence and promotion of its vile views (particularly anti-Muslim views) – than it has in many years.

The threat is evolving. As traditional British far right groups collapse, far right-inspired terrorism is on the rise. Replacing old-fashioned racial nationalism is anti-Muslim hatred. Today’s key activists tend to be younger, operate online and have little of the obvious “nazi” baggage of their predecessors.

Our report offers the most comprehensive and accurate assessment of the state of Britain’s far right that publicly exists. We profile every far right organisation currently active in the UK, highlighting those that are on the rise and those in decline. We measure the growing threat of online hate and identify the figures to watch in 2018.

Central to the 2018 report are several investigations.

- We uncover a National Action leader who continues to agitate for white revolution through a new, and so far unbanned, group.
- We reveal how pro-Ukrainian extremists are recruiting for the nazi Azov Battalion here in the UK. And we reproduce a photograph of a National Action member in the group’s Ukrainian headquarters.
- We chart the mounting numbers and influence of Polish extremists in the UK, naming their leaders.
- And, we expose the leader of one of the newly emerging hooligan “anti-terrorist” groups (that sprang up in response to the recent terrorist attacks) as a convicted terrorist.

With the far right becoming increasingly transnational, we also profile the main far right organisations across 27 countries in Europe.

We conclude the report by revealing how the Hungarian-born financial magnate and philanthropist George Soros has become the far right’s Public Enemy Number One, mainly as part of thinly veiled anti-Jewish conspiracy theories.

AN EVOLVING THREAT

The growing threat of far right terrorism, plus an evolving and increasingly sophisticated online far right presence online, is helping to drive anti-Muslim propaganda and conspiracy theories worldwide.

In the past year, 22 people have been arrested for alleged membership of the outlawed-for-terrorism nazi National Action. Fifteen of these individuals now await trial with two being charged with a plot to kill a Labour MP and a policewoman.

The far right’s online threat was brought into stark relief in the days immediately after the Westminster terrorist attack in March 2017. The most mentioned person on Twitter in the UK during the 24 hours that followed was Paul Joseph Watson, the London-based editor of the US conspiracy website InfoWars, with a series of vehemently anti-Muslim tweets.

A video shot at the scene of the attack by Stephen Lennon, alias “Tommy Robinson” – the founder of the anti-Muslim street gang, the English Defence League (EDL) – was watched over three million times in just 72 hours.

These are not isolated events but reflect the evolving far right presence whose long-term trend is towards more confrontation, and even far right terrorism, with anti-Muslim hatred replacing immigration as the main driver of recruitment to the far right.

A younger generation of activists, using social media and video (often vlogging), to mobilise supporters is also emerging. Alarming, three of the world’s five most high-profile far right social media activists and online warriors are British.

NATIONAL ACTION

HOPE not hate cautiously welcomed the banning of National Action in December 2016 but warned that the ban was only as good as its enforcement.

We had seen the way that Islamist-

inspired hate preacher Anjem Choudary and his al-Muhajiroun network avoided similar government bans for many years by simply reinventing themselves under different names.

And so it proved to be. A core of National Action supporters simply ignored the ban and continued as before, moving their organisation underground and communicating clandestinely using a wide array of secure methods. Others decided to set up front organisations to continue the group's work but circumventing the law.

It was only in July 2017, when HOPE not hate notified the police of an alleged plot to kill a Labour MP, that the authorities finally woke up to the continuing threat and began arresting alleged members.

But the far right terrorist threat extends well beyond National Action. Last year, another seven far right enthusiasts were convicted, or are currently on trial, under terrorism legislation or for similar offences. They include Darren Osborne, who self-radicalised online in just three weeks, before driving a van into a crowd leaving a mosque in Finsbury Park, north London, last June, killing one man and injuring a dozen others.

Another is Ethan Stables, a self-admitted nazi sympathiser, convicted in February this year of preparing a terrorist attack on a pub hosting a gay pride night in Barrow-in-Furness.

While Assistant Commissioner Rowley is right in describing the sustained threat of far right terrorism as “new”, it is a phenomenon that has been building up for a while and should, frankly, have been picked up earlier by the authorities.

This rising threat is the consequence of the increasingly confrontational tone of far right rhetoric, combined with the almost universal extreme right belief that a civil war between Islam and the West is coming as well as the growing influence of hard-line European nazis living in the UK. This is coupled with the collapse of the British National Party (which helped close off the option of a parliamentary route for hard-line fascist activists).

Two weeks before Darren Osborne drove murderously into worshippers outside a mosque in Finsbury Park, EDL founder Stephen Lennon (*aka* Tommy Robinson), with 1.1m followers on social media, threatened that “militias will be set up”, citing Northern Ireland as an example, to “clean out this Islamic problem.”

Osborne was an avid follower of Lennon/Robinson online as he was of Britain First, described in his trial as a “far right, ultra nationalist group”, which made its name by invading mosques and intimidating worshippers.

2017 far right terror list

SEAN CREIGHTON National Front member Sean Creighton was sentenced to five years in February 2017 for “collecting information which could be useful to someone committing or preparing an act of terrorism”.

DARREN OSBORNE With a history of violence and drug abuse, Osborne was radicalised online after the Manchester terror attack in a journey that took a mere three weeks. He launched a murderous attack on Muslim worshippers in North London in June 2017, killing one and injuring dozens.

ETHAN STABLES A 20-year-old self-confessed nazi sympathiser hiding a secret about his own identity was convicted of preparing a terrorist attack against a Barrow-in-Furness pub hosting a gay pride night. Awaiting sentencing.

LIAM SEABROOK Nazi obsessive who threatened to bomb mosques after the Manchester Arena attack. Jailed for 8 years in February 2018.

MAREK ZAKROCKI A Polish national, Zakrocki was jailed for 33 weeks in January 2018 after admitting making threats to kill Muslims and driving his car at the owner of an Indian restaurant in retaliation for recent Islamist terrorist attacks.

One man is currently on trial in Scotland for plotting acts of terrorism and another is awaiting trial for possessing a document likely to be useful to a person committing terrorism.

A further 15 people are awaiting trial for membership of National Action, with two on specific charges relating to a plot to murder a Labour MP and a policewoman.



(left to right) Sean Creighton, Darren Osborne, Liam Seabrook and Marek Zakrocki

Rowley mentioned both Lennon/Robinson and Britain First (whose deputy leader, Jayda Fransen, was infamously retweeted by US President Donald Trump) as voices from the far right that stir up tensions.

Columnist and former “Apprentice” star Katie Hopkins, with almost 900,000 followers on social media, was sacked from her LBC show after scandalously calling for “a final solution” following the Manchester Arena bombing, merely the latest in a long line of incendiary, bigoted, tweets she has put out.

Britain First leader Paul Golding has been equally voluble. On release from prison at the beginning of 2017, he produced his most nasty video to date, threatening “journalists and politicians” who have committed “crimes against our nation”.

He said that his stint behind bars left him “even more angry, more determined

and more bitter at the scum and criminals ruining my country than ever before” and added that “every lie, every act of treachery will be revisited on you ten fold”.

Given all this violent rhetoric, we should not be surprised that some people are “inspired” to carry out acts of violence – whether as a follower of a particular group or floating between organisations or a sad loner like Darren Osborne.

At the same time, there is something more fundamental going on. For several years there has been a universal acceptance by far right extremists and anti-Muslim zealots that a war with Islam is looming. For many, this has been a “resigned acceptance” while for others it has been something to prepare for.

For a minority, this idea of a clash with Islam is something that is both welcomed as well as actively

>>

encouraged as (in their view) it is only through a civil war that Islam will be defeated and Muslims ultimately expelled from Europe.

Each Islamist terrorist incident confirms and underlines this view in the extremists' mindset. Political correctness and liberalism have "betrayed" the nation, the extremists think, through immigration and multiculturalism.

The state, and its agencies – so their theory goes – are too soft and unwilling to do what is necessary. The answer lies in the hands of the true believers, those who can see through the lies and indoctrination and see the threat of Islam for what it is.

This worldview is prevalent across the far right. And we agree with Rowley that it is clear that the far right as well as Islamist extremism share many attributes in common. In fact, both need each other and the idea that the "other" is out to destroy (their) society.

Whether it is the Islamophobes of UKIP or the violent nazis of Combat 18 and National Action, anti-Muslim activists like Stephen Lennon and For Britain leader Anne Marie Waters or former BNP leader Nick Griffin, almost everyone on the extreme right believes a conflict lies ahead and this is reflected in their rhetoric and social media ravings.

Waters, who tried and failed to become UKIP leader in 2017, repeatedly describes Islam as "evil" and predicts that unless action is taken, Britain will be under "Islamic control" within 50 years.

UKIP's interim leader Gerard Batten, meanwhile, has described Islam as a "death cult" while former Liberty GB leader Paul Weston has predicted civil war will engulf Europe by 2025 and has asked people which side they will be on when it happens.

The *Gates of the Vienna* website, one of the world's leading fervently anti-Muslim online forums, run by Briton Edward S. May, has gone further, publishing essays that say that not only is civil war inevitable but actually desirable as only through war, it appears, will Muslims be expelled from Europe. To assist its readers, some essays give details of how a civil war can be ignited, techniques to survive police interrogation and – for those who are really keen to take action – rudimentary bomb making designs.

With US far right alternative media outlet Breitbart, and even US President Donald Trump, to some extent, pumping out variations of these anti-Muslim fairy tales and Steve Bannon, Trump's ex-chief of staff and ex-Breitbart head, also propagating the view that the West is at war with Islam, far right violence and terrorism is likely to be with us for the foreseeable future.

A threat for 2018?



(left to right) George Llewelyn-John, Stephen Lennon, Lauren Southern, Brittany Pettibone, Lucy Brown, Caolan Robertson

Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) has officially left Rebel Media and appears to be joining forces with other former-Rebel employees Lauren Southern, George Llewelyn-John and Caolan Robertson. Worryingly, also present at a recent meeting was Brittany Pettibone, partner of Generation Identity's de facto leader Martin Sellner, possibly resulting in some of the far right's major social media personalities joining forces with Europe's expanding far-right youth movement.

LOOKING BACK AT 2017

2017 proved that Islamist extremism was a key factor in generating support for the far right. Three people who carried out, or attempted to carry out, far right inspired acts of terrorism last year did so in direct response to Islamist terrorist attacks.

Far right leaders all saw a spike in their online followings after each terrorist attack and the Football Lads Alliance (FLA), a football-hooligan street army that brought as many as 50,000 people onto the streets of London in October, was established as a direct response to Islamist extremist-inspired attacks.

Worse, these outrages increased negative attitudes towards Muslims in Britain. Just over half (52%) of those we polled in England for our 2017 Fear & HOPE report said Islam poses some sort of threat to the West while 42% said their distrust of Muslims had grown after the London Bridge and Westminster attacks.

With increasingly negative views towards British Muslims – and Islam more generally – there is a growing pool of possible recruits for the far right and, with some now having huge social media platforms, they now have ways to reach people that were unimaginable in the past.

Lennon gained over 200,000 followers on Facebook in the week he was banned from Twitter while Watson boasts that

during 2017 his videos were watched over 100 million times – a larger audience than most traditional media outlets.

Our report also scrutinises an emerging younger generation of far right activists, among which is the European movement Generation Identity, that has resprayed traditional racism as "cultural politics" and has both a British and Irish arm.

In the language of these movements, immigration is rephrased as "the great displacement" and segregation re-styled as "ethno pluralism". Support for these groups will rise in 2018 and we expect them to become increasingly active on campuses.

More fluid and looser online and offline networks are also replacing far right organisations, with supporters less-strongly affiliated to any one particular movement. Activists flit easily between groups, depending on issues and online profiles.

2017 was a significant year for the British far right. Organisationally weaker and politically more marginalised, it does, however, pose a significant threat to the social fabric.

A trend towards terrorism and its ever-increasing capacity to engage and incite large numbers of people online with its belligerent and violent rhetoric means we will have problems for some time to come. ■

The state of the nation

HOPE not hate's *Fear and HOPE* report has charted attitudes towards race, faith, immigration and belonging in England since 2011. Our fourth report looked at economic pessimism, the effects of the Brexit vote, the reaction to the terrorist attacks in Manchester and London and responses to the Grenfell Tower fire.

As with our previous *Fear and HOPE* surveys, we divide the nation into six identities "tribes":

Two very positive about immigration – *confident multiculturals* and *mainstream liberals*.

immigration is essential but that economic need should determine its future level.

The divisions in the way each segment sees immigration are stark – just 4% of the active enmity group believe immigration has been good for the country while 96% of the confident multicultural group agree with this statement.

Economic concerns about immigration are at the forefront of minds in the more hostile groups whereas confident multiculturals and mainstream liberals focus more on the positive effects of cultural diversity.

RACE, FAITH, BELONGING

Attitudes towards race, faith and belonging have become increasingly polarised.

Our two more 'liberal' tribes have grown in size (39%), becoming increasingly confident as Remain voters disassociate themselves from "Brexit Britain". They are champions of multiculturalism and diversity.

This liberal shift has resulted in a reduced middle space, leaving behind a persistent hostile section of

BREXIT

Brexit will dominate politics over the next few years and is set to trigger feelings of betrayal and resentment.

Only 6% of people are very confident that Theresa May will secure a good deal for Britain in negotiations with the EU and *Fear and HOPE 2017* reveals little prospect that a deal can be secured without angering and further alienating either side of this "identity divide".

The more hostile groups feel relief at the prospect of a hard Brexit while this angers those on the liberal side of the spectrum.



English nationalist groups, a pattern that fell to 52% in 2017.

Integration has also risen up the political agenda and our poll shows the issue has become a greater public concern. There are some clear concerns that multiculturalism is not working well in Britain, particularly among the hostile tribes.

91% of the active enmity group feel that new immigrants do not want to integrate and there is a consensus across the identity tribes that British values are in decline.

Political events of the last years have dramatically split

91%
SAY SOME IMMIGRATION IS ESSENTIAL

And two strongly opposed – *active enmity* and *latent hostiles*.

Of the two "middle ground" tribes, one – *culturally concerned* – is economically secure but culturally concerned about changes in society and the other – *immigrant ambivalents* – is driven by economic insecurity, but more ambivalent toward immigration.

As a whole, there is much to be positive about. A sense of cautious optimism has survived the Referendum. Sixty-one (61%) percent of people feel that things are better in their own lives now compared with 10 years ago.

England is also becoming an increasingly tolerant and more open society.

IMMIGRATION

55% believe that immigration has been good for the country, up from 40% in 2011, and 88% of Britons believe

52%
SAY ISLAM POSES SOME THREAT TO THE WEST

TERROR, SECURITY AND ISLAM

The vast majority of people (77%) stand firmly against the conflation of extremists' actions with an entire religion and 80% are encouraged by the way British people came together in unity following the attacks.

There has, however, clearly been a hardening of Islamophobic attitudes among those more sceptical about modern society.

42% of English people say their suspicion of Muslims has increased following the 2017 terror attacks.

Meanwhile, a quarter of the English believe that Islam is "a dangerous religion that incites violence". Among the active enmity 'tribe', seven out of 10 agree.

NATIONALISM, INTEGRATION

At the same time, sympathy for English nationalists has fallen. In 2011, 67% of the active enmity "tribe" stated that their sympathies lay with

77%
SAY IT IS WRONG TO BLAME AN ENTIRE RELIGION FOR THE ACTIONS OF AN EXTREMIST FEW

society (23%) whose views have not moderated since 2011.

Britain is looking at a tough period of economic downturn after it leaves the EU that could trigger increased fears and hostility towards immigrants and minorities.

42%
ARE INCREASINGLY SUSPICIOUS OF MUSLIMS FOLLOWING THE TERRORIST ATTACKS

the country. While in many ways we are more hopeful, fears have become more ingrained and tensions are high. Faith, integration and terrorism will all be important challenges for the coming years, while Brexit will determine the country's future. ■

A Post Organisational Far Right?

By Joe Mulhall



Throughout the post-war period, the British far right's ability to exert influence beyond the confines of the political fringe depended on its cohesiveness and size.

While it is unwise to measure the importance or danger of the far right purely in terms of electoral strength or number of feet on the street – it only takes one right-wing extremist to bomb a pub or murder an MP – its ability to influence mainstream political debate, especially on issues like immigration and integration has generally been tied to the relative importance and scale of political parties and street movements.

However, just as it has reshaped our social, economic and cultural lives, the internet and the explosion of social media in the past decade has also created momentous shifts in the political world.

This is especially true for the far right with social media and an array of emerging technologies and platforms offering new ways for it to engage in activism outside the confines of traditional, organisational structures.

While the currently fragmented UK far right scene is likely to “unite” again at some point, we should no longer measure the strength or likely influence of the movement solely by how cohesive it is. The link between unity and impact is no longer as clear as it once was.

UNITY AND INFLUENCE

Since 1945, there have been cycles of unity and division that correspond to periods of relative influence, decline and obscurity.

In 1948, fifty-one far right and fascist organisations merged at a meeting at Farringdon Hall, London, forming the Union Movement (UM) under the

leadership of the notorious pre-war British fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley. Though officially lasting into the 1990s the UM, which encountered fierce opposition, remained noteworthy for just a few years before fading back into obscurity.

1967 saw a second period of coalescence, with the formation of National Front (NF) following the merger of the League of Empire Loyalists with the then-British National Party and elements of both the Greater Britain Movement and the Racial Preservation Society. Though never achieving mainstream support, the NF became a household name during the 1970s and was a fixture on the political landscape, peaking in 1979 when it stood 303 candidates at the General Election, only to have the rug pulled from under it by Margaret Thatcher's infamous “swamped” comments and the intensity

of campaigning by the Anti-Nazi League. A period of splintering and decline in the 1980s followed as a result.

Next came the emergence of John Tyndall's British National Party (BNP) under Nick Griffin which, in the first decade of this century, dominated the far right of the political spectrum, leaving little space for all but the most extreme and violent alternatives. However, despite becoming the most electorally successful far right party in British history – racking up representation on the London Assembly in 2008 and nearly 1 million votes and two MEPs in 2009 – it, too, went into rapid decline following its failed attempt at a parliamentary breakthrough in 2010.

The past seven years have been typified by infighting and splintering, leaving an extremely divided far right scene composed of dozens of small and generally insignificant grouplets. Attempts to reunify the nationalist movement have been stultified and unsuccessful and unity looks as distant as ever since the BNP's decline.

Be they parties – such as the BNP, a pale shadow of its former self – or street movements from the Nazi extremes of the banned National Action to now marginal anti-Muslim street protest groups like the English Defence League (EDL), conventional organisations can no longer fill the streets or be considered an electoral challenge. Indeed, even the populist radical right, in the shape of UKIP, has lost its impetus.

It is hard to think of a time when the UK scene lacked any party or organisation of note. All of this is, of course, good news but it is certainly not the whole picture of the state of hate in the UK and beyond.

BEYOND ORGANISATIONS

In recent years, we have seen the rise of far right social media personalities who, despite not being part of traditional activist organisations or parties, now have the ability to reach unprecedented numbers of people.

A right-wing alternative media has emerged, stretching from the edges of the mainstream (such as former Trump advisor Steve Bannon's Breitbart News Network), to scores of YouTube vloggers, Twitter accounts and professional media outlets like Rebel Media and InfoWars. This framework allows activists to propagate their views without the need for traditional structures such as a party.

In November, appearing on an episode of InfoWars' *The Alex Jones Show*, former English Defence League (EDL) leader Stephen Lennon (*aka* Tommy Robinson) – who now works as

a contributor to the far right Canadian outlet Rebel Media – claimed that in a four week period his tweets reached 193 million people and his Facebook videos were viewed 49 million times. Similarly, Paul Joseph Watson of InfoWars has claimed over 1.1 million subscribers to his YouTube channel with each of his videos receiving hundreds of thousands of views and some well into the millions.

It has to be recognised that these players are reaching a global audience so much of their viewership will be outside the UK. The alt-right vlogger Colin Robertson (*aka* Millennial Woes), for example, claims that just 20% of his audience resides in the UK.

However, estimates of the UK web traffic to extreme far right sites (albeit an inexact science provided by websites such as SimilarWeb and Alexa) suggests that there are thousands of people actively engaged in far right politics, just semi-autonomously, outside formalised organisational structures and sitting behind computer screens and keyboards.

While there have been numerous attempts to organise explicitly "alt-right" gatherings in the UK, none have managed to attract more than a few dozen people. After the US, the UK provides the most traffic to almost every major alt-right website in the world. Counter-Currents.com, the website of American white nationalist Greg Johnson, received 206,887 unique visitors in November 2017 with 6.41% (13,000) of the traffic coming from the UK.

When it comes to one of the largest white supremacist websites in the world, Stormfront, Similarweb estimates visitor numbers at 1 million before the domain was terminated, with 11% of that coming from the UK.

That means there have been 110,000 visits from the UK to an explicitly Nazi website. "Stormfront Britain" is the site's second largest section after "Newslinks and Articles" with over 111,746 threads as of December 2017. This is before one even considers the Daily Stormer which is superseding Stormfront to become the most prominent Nazi bolthole on the web.

For most of the post-war period, "getting active" required finding a party, joining, canvassing, knocking on doors, dishing out leaflets and attending meetings.

Now, from the comfort and safety of their own homes, these keyboard warriors can engage in far right politics by watching YouTube videos, visiting far right websites, networking on forums, speaking on voice chat services like Discord and trying to convert "normies"

on mainstream social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook.

The fact that this can all be done anonymously hugely lowers the social cost of activism. There is now a veritable online army of far right activists acting completely anonymously without the danger and risk of being ostracised for doing so. It is why the dread of "doxing" (having one's identity revealed) is so acute for much of this "fearless" movement.

It is perhaps no surprise then that the most recent major far right movement to emerge, the alt-right, has taken the form it has.

While it contains traditional organisations such as Richard Spencer's National Policy Institute, generally speaking it remains a decentralised collective of anonymous people working in broadly the same direction and towards similar goals. This relatively new means of engaging in political activism also facilitates a more international outlook.

This many-headed hydra approach makes it harder to combat in a traditional sense as it cannot be decapitated like a political party or traditional far right organisation. If one prominent activist or leader falls from grace, it is no longer a fatal hammer blow. Others will simply emerge and the besmirched are discarded.

Perhaps most significant, though, is the diminished ability to cause dramatic social change outside the confines of traditional organisational structures. The BNP's short-lived ability to shift the centre ground of political debate to the right during the 2010 election or Farage and UKIP's effect during Brexit were much more direct and detectable than the much-exaggerated effect of the alt-right on the rise of Donald Trump.

The tangible existence of a party of voters to the far right of the centre scares the mainstream more than a collective of anonymous online activists.

However, Society does not necessarily have to change with seismic jolts but rather can be shaped slowly and in tiny increments as political agendas are radicalised. In fact, this is very nature of the approach employed by this new online far right army.

We would be foolish to be complacent despite facing what appears, in terms of the traditional far right, to be a fractured and splintered movement.

If we wait for a period of far right unity so that we can once again mobilise *en masse* against this enemy, we risk society being changed by thousands of people gnawing away at it and propagating the whole package of far right ideas in the meantime. ■

ONLINE HATE

The year in numbers

By Patrik Hermansson

DONALD TRUMP'S ENTRY into the White House has helped focus media attention on the Alternative Right and the broader international far right.

Seemingly emboldened by his victory, far right groups have organised rallies and campaigns across the US and Europe, events like the "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville and the "Defend Europe" mission in the Mediterranean being just two examples.

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

Comparing audience size does not allow us fully to measure impact but, based on data on followers of over a thousand accounts from a wide spectrum of the far right across three different social media platforms, it provides a high-level overview of the potential reach of these accounts' messages.

In the UK, the anti-Muslim far right was quick to exploit public fear after the Islamist terror attacks during the spring and



ALEX JONES

763,280 1,679,955 2,216,073



MILO YIANNPOULOS

0 2,379,458 725,668



STEFAN MOLYNEUX

282,458 49,000 713,211



LAUREN SOUTHERN

323,808 179,807 413,172

summer. A direct measure of the tactic's effectiveness can be seen in the sharp increase in followers on Twitter for anti-Muslim activists like Stephen Lennon (*aka* Tommy Robinson) who, after each attack, sharply increased his Twitter following, ending the year at more than double the number of followers he had in January 2017. This made him the fifth most important online hater in the world, along with the three other Britons on the list.

Not on the list, but one of the fastest climbers, is Britain First deputy leader Jayda Fransen. Britain First is best known for its extreme anti-Muslim stance expressed via confrontational actions like street protests and mosque invasions.

In November, Fransen was retweeted three times by US President Trump, gaining her international recognition and exponentially increasing her

audience on Twitter to over 16 times what she had at the beginning of the year. Fransen's and Lennon's rapid audience growth is an indication of the worsening attitudes towards Muslims in the UK that we highlighted in our 2017 Fear and Hope report.

The far right also met resistance in 2017. After Charlottesville, several internet companies slashed the number of far right users they serviced. This was primarily payment services such as card providers Paypal and Patreon and online advertisers, forcing far right activists to find other funding routes. For some of the most extreme sites, such as the nazi Stormfront and The Daily Stormer, this also led to suspension of their domain names and hosting.

Fransen and Britain First were among a relatively small group of accounts removed from Twitter,

Gab.ai: Twitter for the far right

After Twitter took a harsher stance on far right accounts on its platform, many, including Britain First, turned to Gab.ai, site with almost the same functionality as Twitter that "champions free speech and individual liberty".

The site was launched in August 2016 but was only opened to the public in May 2017. Since then it has gained more than 310,000 users, according to its founder.

putting an abrupt end to Fransen's rapid rise.

The accounts with the largest following are not the most extreme, however, and these accounts remain active on Twitter as well as Facebook and YouTube, arguably the more important platforms in terms of reach.

Our list is ranked by the total

ANN COULTER



1,836,414 690,492 0

PAUL JOSEPH WATSON



780,025 565,191 1,133,717

TOMMY ROBINSON



394,398 633,349 61,148

KATIE HOPKINS



832,610 36,391 0

MIKE CERNOVICH



390,447 381,252 64,722

GAVIN MCINNES



242,867 72,699 181,371

>>

Britain First: Blocked from Twitter, huge on Facebook

While Britain First was banned from Twitter in February 2017 and continues to draw next to no people to its demonstrations, it remains successful on Facebook. As of December 2017, it was the *second most liked Facebook page* in the politics and society category in the UK after the Royal Family.

In December 2017, Jayda Fransen's page was also the second fastest growing in the UK, after the Queen. She gained 37,582 likes in December alone.

BRITAIN FIRST: 1,948,000

LABOUR: 1,014,000

CONSERVATIVES: 652,000

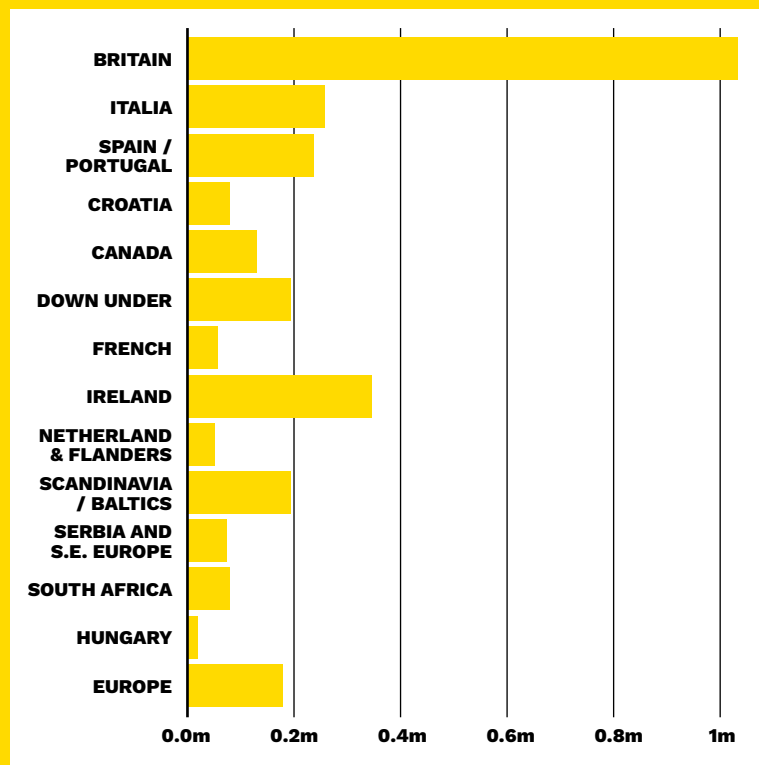
UKIP: 588,000

LIB DEMS: 186,000

Stormfront Britain

Stormfront had its domain seized after in August 2017, in the wake of the "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, USA. However, it remains active and accessible, is the second largest section after "Newslinks & Articles" with 111,746 threads as of December 2017 and is the by far largest regional section of the forum.

Similar Web estimated Stormfront's visitor numbers at about 1 million per month before their domain was terminated. 11% or 110,000 visitors are estimated to come from the UK.



number of followers over the three networks. There is no doubt overlap in the followers between the different networks but the sum represents a reasonable measure of reach because of the network structure of these platforms.

A post does not simply reach the followers of the original user but also the followers of those followers. Since users often have different networks on different platforms, this overlap still contributes to the reach of the accounts and should therefore be taken into consideration.

Notwithstanding that, repetition itself increases reach and the likelihood that a message gets shared. The list excludes people who hold political office as

In December 2017, Jayda Fransen's Facebook page was the second fastest growing in the UK after the Queen's.



we aim to shine a light on the informal influence afforded to private individuals afforded by social media platforms.

Notably, the full list included a wide range of accounts, including established nazis as well as mainstream personalities like Katie Hopkins. But, in the top ten, we find a relatively homogenous group of alt-light and anti-Muslim activists. It excludes any of the most extreme, racially-motivated far right, the largest of whom reach only a fraction compared with the top ten.

The further down the list we go, the more extreme accounts we find. The accounts at the top are clearly hate accounts because of their rhetoric about minorities and women but their distance from

clear antisemitism and outright discussion of race has paid off in terms of number of followers. The millions of followers indicate that their rhetoric is more publicly palatable.

In our report on the International Alternative Right we called the alt-light "less extreme, more dangerous" because of its potential to normalise far right ideas and to act as a gateway to more extreme ideas.

The list presents that idea in more clarity. Some of these people profess deeply hateful ideas but often in a way that cannot clearly be labelled hate speech, giving them access to platforms and audiences that traditional far right activists never had. It is symbiotic relationship whereby the existence of a racially motivated far right helps individuals like Katie Hopkins to establish themselves as the centre ground. ■

Exploiting deadly terror attacks to spread hate

By Patrik Hermansson

THE UK SUFFERED a series of terrorist attacks in 2017. One of these was the Manchester Arena attack that claimed 22 lives, the deadliest onslaught in the UK since the 7/7 London bombings.

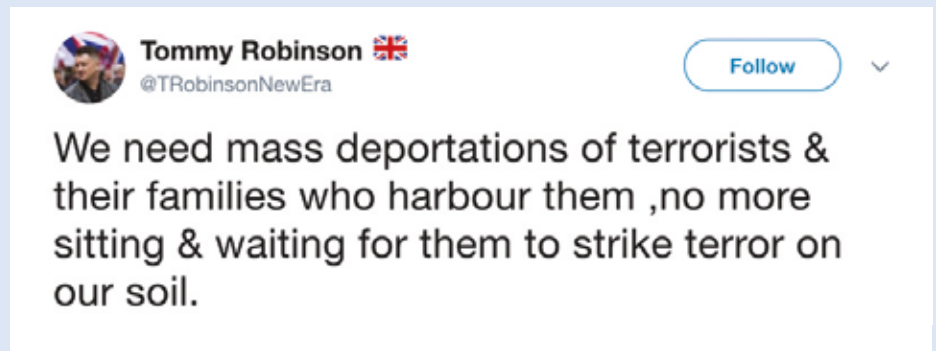
These attacks justifiably caused public anger but, worryingly, the British and international far right exploited them for its own benefit.

As part of HOPE not hate's Islamophobia report, we conducted an investigation into the responses to these attacks on social media. We looked at social media accounts of prominent anti-Muslim and far right activists in the UK as well as abroad and observed that most of them grew significantly during the whole year.

This is possibly a reflection of increasingly polarised debate in the wake of the US presidential election and Brexit, both campaigns having relied heavily on anti-Muslim and xenophobic rhetoric.

More notably, these raised profiles did not grow at a steady pace throughout the year but in short bursts to gain new followers and increased resonance in the hours and days after the terror attacks. They were also consistently among the most mentioned and shared social media users on these topics.

Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson), the former EDL leader and the most prominent anti-Muslim activist in the UK, almost tripled his number of followers during the year. Part of the reason for his increased exposure can be attributed to his move to Canadian far right alternative media outlet Rebel Media and his distancing himself from earlier street activism which inevitably increased his respectability and exposure. But the career shift itself does not explain how he added



as many as 40,042 followers just in the week after the Manchester attack.

The same pattern can be seen among other anti-Muslim accounts on Twitter. Terror attacks were followed by outbursts of anti-Muslim sentiment on Twitter and the activity of far right accounts spiked along with their number of followers. The effect is easily observable in the graph below.

A graphic example of how activists like Lennon have perfected the tactic of exploiting people's fear in the wake of attacks is the tweet below, one of his most retweeted posts of the year, published just hours after the Manchester Arena attack.

The influence of the big far right

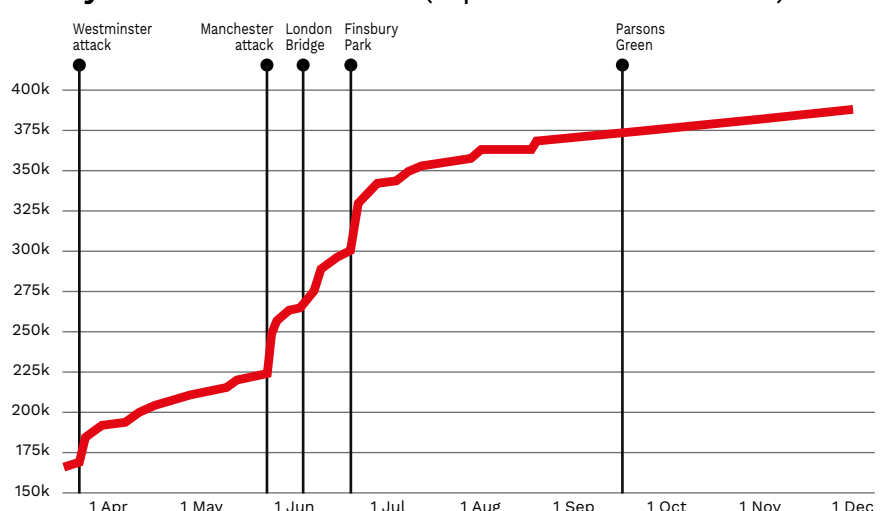
accounts on Twitter is easily seen in the case of the London Bridge attack.

Out of the top 100 most shared tweets about the attack, 32 showed clearly negative sentiments about Muslims.

Notable among these were tweets shared by the largest anti-Muslim accounts such as those run by Paul Joseph Watson of the Infowars conspiracy site, alt-right commentator Brittany Pettibone, Raheem Kassam of Breitbart London, Rebel Media and the Voice of Europe.

The effect of this impact is not to be taken lightly. With each increase in Twitter followers comes a larger reach for every single tweet and therefore a potential influence on public debate. ■

Tommy Robinson twitter followers (1 April 2017 - 1 December 2017)



Radical Right Populism in the UK

By David Lawrence

AS 2016 – the year of Brexit and Trump – drew to a close, some looked gloomily towards approaching elections in Europe in 2017, fearing a tide of victories for the populist radical right.

Despite polls indicating the contrary, alarmist news media articles were published predicting victories for the far right in France, Holland and Germany. By the end of the year, however, some in the media had done a *volte face*, declaring right-wing populism all but dead. The truth is more complex.

While not the seismic sea-change predicted, 2017 witnessed significant interventions by far-right parties in several countries. Marine Le Pen of the Front National failed to win the French presidency but achieved second place with the support of a third of voters. The Islamophobic politician, Geert Wilders of the Party for Freedom (PVV), achieved second place in the Dutch General Election with 13% of the vote and, in the Czech Republic, the far right Freedom and Direct Democracy – Tomio Okamura (SPD) sucked up 10.6% of the vote.

The Austrian chancellor Sebastian Kurz's conservative Austrian People's Party, meanwhile, has formed a coalition with the anti-immigrant, far right Freedom Party (FPÖ) and, in Germany, Angela Merkel, seen by many as the embodiment of European centrist politics, has held onto her post, the Islamophobic Alternative für Deutschland coming in third with 94 seats.

While many have entertained hope that the right-wing surge may have peaked, the collective sigh of relief breathed by Europe's centrists says much about how far the terrain of politics has shifted in recent years.

After decades in the electoral wilderness, the far right is patchily, but fairly successfully, converting

widespread hostility to “liberalism” and racial/religious unease into votes and is challenging the consensus in elections in Europe. 2018 will see ballots in Finland, Italy, Hungary and Sweden, where populist radical right parties could make strong showings.

THE UK

While radical right groups on the continent have seen disturbing growth, the UK has missed the bus somewhat with 2017 proving a bruising year for such parties in the wake of Brexit.

Since achieving its founding goal in the June 2016 European Union Referendum, UKIP has suffered 18 months of catastrophe, lurching from crisis to crisis and leader to leader and losing money, members and morale along the way. At time of writing, the party stands on the verge of oblivion.

The abdication of party leader and talisman Nigel Farage soon after the referendum has left a void at the centre of the party which has, since then, been mired in bitter factional fighting and collectively incapable of demonstrating any good reason for its continued existence.

The post-Brexit situation has arguably seen a normalisation of some of UKIP's politics and an absorption of its policies by Theresa May's Tory party, stealing the wind from UKIP's sails.

As 2017 approached, Farage's heir-apparent Paul Nuttall staked his leadership on overtaking Labour as the “patriotic voice of the working people”. However, his hopes of reinventing the party evaporated early in the year when he failed in the February parliamentary by-election in Stoke-on-Trent Central.

The constituency, a Labour seat that recorded a 70% Leave vote in the Referendum – despite Labour's policy

to back Remain – appeared the perfect opportunity for UKIP. Despite this, Nuttall was able to achieve just 24.7% of the vote, coming second.

Facing local elections in May and a surprise snap election in June, Nuttall resorted to an array of anti-Islam policies, bringing in an “integration agenda” including a *burka* ban and mandatory annual female genital mutilation checks.

Such crudity repelled both party moderates and, apparently, the British public. UKIP was wiped out in the local elections, losing all but one council seat. In the General Election, the party plummeted to less than 2%, a shocking collapse from 13% in 2015, prompting Nuttall to stand down and disappear from social media.

BOLTON'S UKIP

The subsequent UKIP leadership election that came to a head on 29 September was the most bitterly fought in the party's turbulent history, dominated by rows over the candidacy of Islamophobic activist Anne Marie Waters, who finished second with 21.3% of the vote to Henry Bolton's 29.9%.

Bolton, a former Lib Dem and virtual unknown, was able to present himself as a respectable and dully uncontroversial moderate in the campaign. Bolton addressed fears about Waters directly, warning grimly that UKIP could become a “UK Nazi party” if it elected the wrong candidate. The majority of the party's MEPs threatened to walk if she won.

However Bolton's reputation has been trashed after it was revealed that he had left his wife for a party member less than half his age, who was subsequently revealed to have made appalling racist comments. Despite UKIP's National



Nigel Farage with eccentric Tory backbencher Jacob Rees-Mogg. Photo Twitter

Executive Committee adopting a vote of no confidence against Bolton, he refused to step down and was duly removed at an Extraordinary General Meeting in mid-February. The Islamophobe Gerard Batten currently sits as interim leader until the penniless party can hold yet another leadership election.

This fiasco has prompted a multitude of members to quit the party, including all 17 councillors in Thurrock, once considered UKIP's most successful branch, who have left the party to start their own local group.

FOR BRITAIN

Waters has attempted to capitalise on the energy of leadership campaign by launching her own anti-Islam outfit "For Britain". Waters' campaign aide Jack Buckby, formerly of the Islamophobic Liberty GB and the British National Party (BNP), has been a key in the group's formation.

Waters, an associate of former English Defence League (EDL) leader Stephen Lennon (*aka* Tommy Robinson), has inspired anti-Islam elements within UKIP by portraying herself as a kind of martyr in the leadership campaign. Unsurprisingly, her party's platform is focused on Islam and immigration with policies that include an "end to police prioritisation of so-called 'hate crime'".

Waters' habit of making extreme statements and her history of engagement with the far right means her ability to attract mainstream support is severely curtailed. It is worth remembering that Liberty GB, of which Buckby was a central figure, received a massive 418 votes nationwide in the 2015 General Election. For Britain seems destined to serve as little more than a vehicle for the most extreme and disgruntled UKIP exiles and ex-BNP members.

While the would-be party is focussing on setting up branches across the country,

it has suffered a series of setbacks. For Britain's launch on 15 October was largely ignored by the media and technical issues delayed the launch of the group's new website and membership signup by more than two weeks. Embarrassingly, a November ITV documentary on the UK far right titled *Undercover: Inside Britain's New Far Right* heavily featured both Buckby and Waters. Facebook also pulled the group's page, allegedly for using "hate speech", and several meetings early in 2018 have been cancelled due to venues pulling the booking.

The May 2018 local elections will prove the first real test of the group, which is expected to pour its limited resources into a handful of carefully chosen areas and wind up local tensions. At the time of writing, though, For Britain is still struggling to register as a political party with the Electoral Commission and Waters has stated that her candidates may have to stand as independents.

THREATS AHEAD

Ongoing failure for radical populist right and far right groups in the UK in 2017 is no cause for complacency. As our *Fear and HOPE 2017* report demonstrated, an increasing number of people are less tolerant of immigration and multiculturalism, in part due to a belief that Brexit will solve the “problem”. However, our studies also show that 23% of society remains bitterly opposed to immigration and multiculturalism and that the views of this segment are hardening.

As anxieties mount around the Brexit negotiations, there is fertile breeding ground for anti-immigrant populists to exploit. UKIP's former largest donor, the multimillionaire insurance tycoon Arron Banks, is poised to capitalise on UKIP's collapse.

NEWKIP?

Shortly after the EU Referendum, Banks started talking about launching a new political venture. He is now on the verge of launching, encouraging Leave.EU supporters in January 2018 to abandon UKIP and join the Conservative Party in order to push for a hard Brexit.

Banks stated that this venture will mimic the model of the Italian Five Star Movement, starting as a campaign but “if the traditional parties do not deliver the Brexit that the people expected” it could “morph into something that creates electoral pressure”.

Leave.EU became notorious for pushing gutter propaganda to exploit

fears around immigration. This approach was accompanied by sophisticated data-based campaigning, which we can expect to be a major focus of Banks' campaign.

The eccentric Tory backbencher Jacob Rees-Mogg has developed a following among dyspeptic sections of the Tory grassroots who are chasing the fanciful goal of hoisting him to the leadership of the party in a similar manner to Labour's Jeremy Corbyn. Leave.EU have adopted Rees-Mogg as a sort of mascot in recent months, and Banks' new group is likely to push for a prominent cabinet position for him.

Rees-Mogg is almost a cartoon depiction of the “establishment”, an Eton educated, pseudo-aristocratic millionaire running around in a top hat. However, like other would-be populist leaders, he has a knack of deflecting criticism by his sheer outlandishness and is unwaveringly supportive of a hard Brexit. He also holds reactionary views on immigration, welfare benefits, same-sex marriage and abortion.

The most well-known radical right populist in the UK remains ex-UKIP chief Nigel Farage. Farage has signalled a reluctance to re-enter the political stage, complaining of being “53, separated and skint” in an interview in the *Daily Mail* and stating that “there's no money in politics” (despite the fact he lives in a £4m townhouse in Chelsea and has declined to relinquish his sizeable EU pension).

Farage has been under the influence

of Trump's former strategist Steve Bannon, understood to have been involved in early plans for Banks' new venture. Farage appeared in Alabama to support Republican Senate candidate Roy Moore – who has been accused of sexually assaulting underage girls – at Bannon's request in September (Farage introduced Bannon at the event as “the greatest political thinker in the western hemisphere”)

The *Guardian* has reported that Bannon met with Farage in London late in November. In a meeting reportedly brokered by Breitbart London editor Raheem Kassam, Bannon also met with Rees-Mogg. Bannon has however had a spectacular fall from grace after an acrimonious falling out with Trump, and has been pushed from his spot at the head of Breitbart, so it is unclear whether he will be a continuing influence on new movements in the UK.

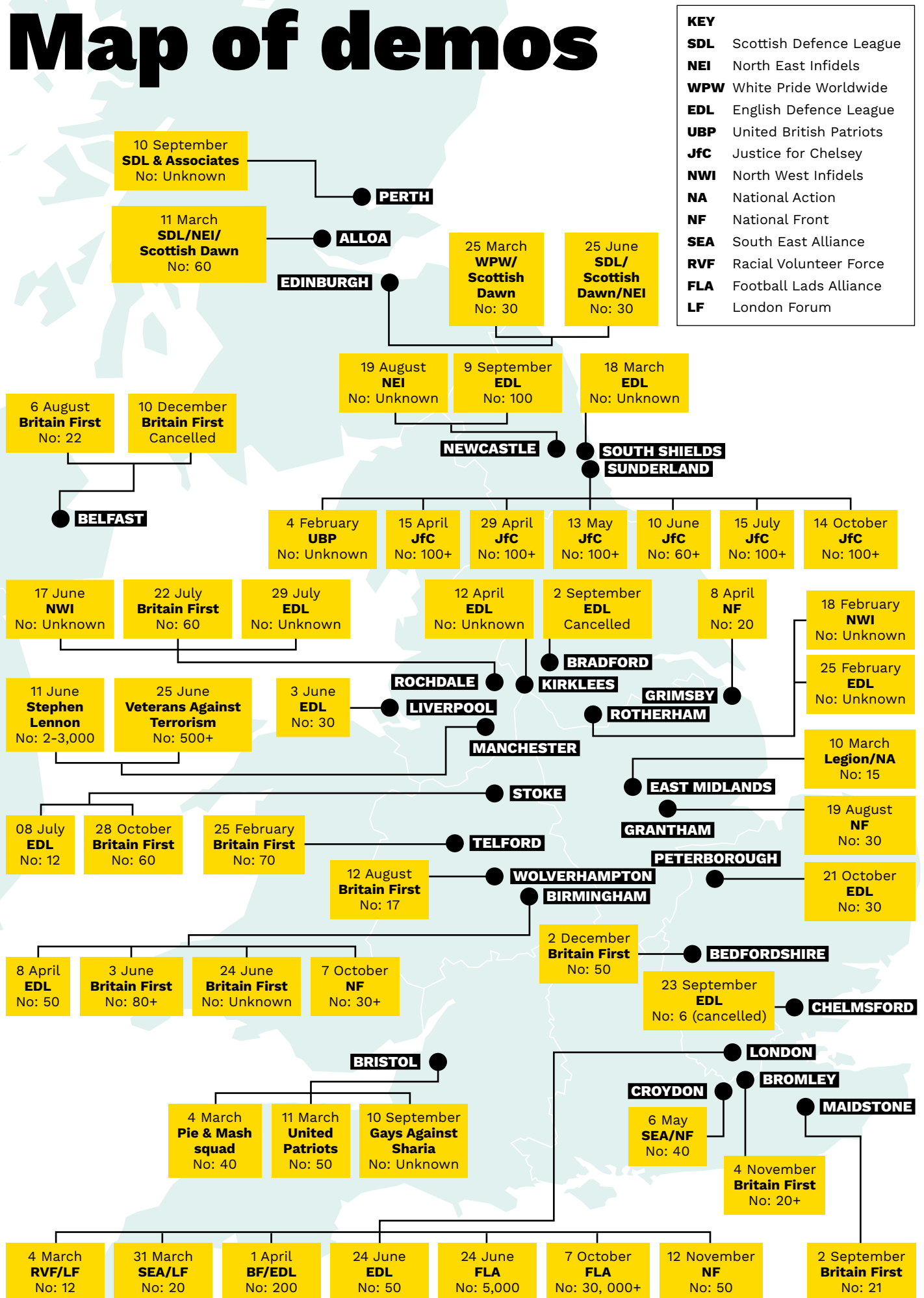
Leave.EU, for its part, has provided hysterical coverage of the Brexit negotiations. For example, Tory MPs voting against enshrining a Brexit date in law were labelled “traitors to their country” and Farage told Sky News that “if we finish up without proper control of our borders [...] there may be one more great big European battle to be fought.”

Little is certain going into 2018 but Farage's enduring popularity among the former UKIP base and Banks' money mean they could be well-placed to revitalise radical right populism in the UK. ■



Nigel Farage with President Elect Donald Trump, Arron Banks (second left) and Raheem Kassam (right). Photo: Twitter/Leave EU

Map of demos



Investigation: Recr



By Matthew Collins

THE WAR IN UKRAINE gets scant coverage in the British mainstream media. In fact, it gets very few inches anywhere in the English-speaking world's mainstream press, radio and TV.

There are militias with varying degrees of loyalty to two nations fighting each other in Ukraine, the iconography of flags, statues and monuments being destroyed and redeployed.

History – past and future – is at stake with cultural, historical and conflicting ideologies throwing people together and against each other. Ukraine is hosting the bloodiest conflict in Europe since the Balkans war. Despite ceasefires, the deadly targeting of towns and cities with military-backed rocket and mortar attacks is still daily.

There is also strong evidence of a dark and sinister presence of nazism in the Kiev government and in the black-clad “international battalions” that carry out

ethnic cleansing of Russians in Eastern Ukraine.

In Britain, the situation in Ukraine began dividing opinion from late 2013. For the old leadership of the British far right, Russia was already the “great white hope” against European Union expansionism... and all the “cultural enrichment” and borderless free movement that came with it. The preeminent view of a far right in political retreat was that the West was lost. For others, the growing presence and evidence of nazism at the heart of the Ukrainian cause made Russia the enemy, not the hero.

Enter Francesco Saverio Fontana – first showing up in the UK British in March 2015. The Italian nazi had left the Ukraine weeks before on a mission to recruit foreign fighters for the Azov Battalion, a pro-Ukrainian – and now official – militia made up of nazis from

across Russia, Europe, the US and South America.

Fontana left Ukraine under a cloud followed by rumours of ill-discipline, fitness concerns and also the attentions of the Russian security services.

He was sent to make contact with the nascent “paramilitary” National Action (NA) and, it appears, the over-hyped Combat 18 (C18) terrorist group in the UK. It is understood that this desire came after conversations with a very small number of naïve British “observers” and adventurers in the Ukraine who convinced Fontana (much to his surprise) that both NA and C18 were heavily drilled paramilitary groups.

Contact was made through the British wing of the Misanthropic Division (MD), Azov's front around the world for recruiting and propaganda. Unimpressed by what he saw in National Action, Fontana removed former British National

Recruiting for Ukraine



(left to right) Lithuanian NA man Aivaras Darulis fled Britain to hide with Portuguese MD members

Mark Jones of National Action visits Azov HQ in 2017

NOP's UK leader Arek Rzepinski (left) with nazi chef David Czerwonko, who was thrown out of Britain

MD in Dover, Jan 2016. Fontana and Gray lead a team that included sex offender Christopher Goetze who made guns at home

Party (BNP) official Chris Livingstone from his post in MD and replaced him with NA's mixed martial arts instructor, Jimmy Hey, in the north, and former C18 jailbird, Rob "the postie" Gray, in the south.

Although Gray is attached to the moribund "Sargent" faction of C18, he is a key link with the Polish nazi scene in the UK and heavily involved with the NOP (National Rebirth of Poland) that adds muscle to both NA and the National Front (NF).

Fontana found and reinforced an already strong hatred of Russia and the old Soviet Union among the Poles. Hey and Gray agreed to cultivate NOP supporters resident in the UK to play a role in recruiting Britons and expatriate Poles to venture to the Ukraine by crossing the Polish border and making their way to Azov's battalion HQ to see for themselves how well organised and influential it had become in everyday Ukraine society.

In 2015, visiting Ukraine to take part in a foreign war with a mounting death toll held little excitement for NA's members. Gray and Hey, however, convinced Fontana that a split was imminent in National Action that would see a militant take-over of a group that as, of then, had not fulfilled its terrorist potential.

In January 2016, the Misanthropic Division made a showing at the Dover racist riots, among its ranks NA's Wayne Bell (currently jailed) and Christopher Goetze the sex offender (likewise now incarcerated).

In Dover, Gray introduced Fontana to Will Browning, the mainland Europe-based leader of the rival C18 gang, who was also looking to explore cooperation with NA.

The banning of National Action in December 2016 stepped up MD's operation in the UK. As well as taking control of NA, militant members of NA were also heavily leaning to the Misanthropic Division as Fontana, Gray and the NOP had predicted they would. It is believed Fontana has not re-entered the UK since but has been in the Republic of Ireland.

Since police operations began against NA members in late 2017, we are aware that at least two NA members, including one on police bail pending further investigation, have travelled to the Ukraine via Poland. The other, we believe, is an Anglo-Polish individual from Manchester who appears to have evaded arrest when six members of the group were rounded up as part of an investigation into a plot to murder a British MP.

Although the NA member on police bail has returned to the UK, the individual from Manchester has not and is believed to have crossed the border to the Ukraine with the help of nazi chef and Gray's former bodyguard, David Czerwonko. Czerwonko is the thug who attacked comedian Eddie Izzard late in 2016 before being deported to Poland.

Also, under Fontana, MD began recruiting in the Republic of Ireland under the guise of another group, the Greenline Front. The man leading the group there was an American operating on an Irish passport who left the country late last year.

Behind the foray into Ireland is MD's belief in operating a "rat line" that runs in reverse to the line through Poland, which they hope will allow people whose visas are due to expire to escape the attention of Russian authorities looking for Azov volunteers.

So-called "rat lines" have been used in Europe since after the WWII to ferry fugitives, mainly fascists, to safety. Although Italy is considered at the moment to be the "drop off" point for such people, routes in and out of Italy have become clogged with foreign fighters going to fight against or for the Kurds, Isis and the Turkish government.

This idea of using Ireland stems from the American sent by MD to Ireland's belief – and Gray's ignorance – that Ireland, particularly post-Brexit, would somehow give sanctuary to people as it was accused of doing with former members of the Provisional IRA.

Whether it would mean exiting Britain to Ireland or exiting Ireland to Britain is unclear. However, this absurd notion of travelling by sea between Britain and Ireland undetected was recently highlighted when, for the benefit of foreign funders, Britain First's leadership entered Britain by sea from Ireland bizarrely wearing wigs and hats to convince people they were travelling on a route that hid people from the gaze and grasp of "Orwellian" authorities. ■

Terrorist leads anti-terror group

By Nick Lowles and Matthew Collins

HOPE not hate can exclusively reveal that one of the leaders of the Anti-Terror Alliance (ATA) is himself a convicted terrorist and the British Commander of the illegal terrorist organisation, the Ulster Defence Association.

Frank Portinari, now 60, is one of the Facebook administrators of the ATA, a football hooligan-dominated street gang that emerged as a splinter group late last year from the Football Lads Alliance (FLA).

Like the FLA, the ATA claims to be opposed to terrorism yet Portinari's five-year conviction for gun-running to the Loyalist paramilitary group and his on-going leadership role appears to be no hindrance to his self-proclaimed anti-terrorist profile.

In fact, his emergence as an ATA leader rounds off a very successful year for the UDA's mainland leader whose stock rose considerably last year with the publication of his autobiography *Left Right Loyalist* about his long-term leadership of the terror group in the UK.

That, and the continuity of the group at a time when most nationalist groups were floundering, has meant UDA support has soared across Britain with an influx of former National Front, British National Party and Combat 18 activists from the 1990's.

Portinari, himself a former Tottenham hooligan has, throughout his tenure as "Commander" of the UDA, maintained links and networks with a plethora of football firms and ageing far-right hooligans who have withdrawn from frontline activity.

The UDA's heyday in terms of murderous activity was the late 1980s and 1990's and it was Portinari and a few others in and around London and from those aforementioned groups that



helped fund and inspire those murders.

Portinari was jailed for five years in 1994 (reduced to three and half years on appeal) after police caught him with seven guns, including revolvers and semi-automatic pistols and about 240 rounds of ammunition.

This was at the height of a sectarian murder campaign by the UDA (using the *nom de plume* Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) to murder as many Catholics living in Northern Ireland as possible and force the Irish Republican Army (IRA) into submission.

In court, Portinari admitted intent to supply guns and ammunition to enable persons unknown to endanger life.

Later that year, another far-right activist and associate of Portinari's – Terry Blackham of the National Front – received four and a half years for attempting to smuggle a machine gun to the same terrorist organisation.

Since the Good Friday Agreement was signed in 1998, Portinari's supposed role as leader of the group in Britain has been to support the peace agreement and

agitate in support of the union between Britain and Northern Ireland and against a united Ireland.

While Portinari celebrated thirty years as Commander of the UDA in Britain in February accompanied by a march and social evening in his honour, up to a dozen of his contemporaries in Ireland have been replaced or murdered by the organisation during feuding often linked to drugs and territorial disputes.

To avoid a similar fate, Portinari has remained loyal to the "mainstream" faction that dominates much of Belfast, allegedly raising £2,000 per month for various UDA front groups in Northern Ireland.

Last year Portinari threw his weight behind the FLA, the supposed anti-extremism and anti-terrorist group led by football hooligans from across London.

Portinari pitched in with his own group of Tottenham Hotspur hooligans and his papal blessing as the head of a loyalist terror group in Britain. His UDA group has, some estimate,

The Football Lads Alliance



active 300 members and reportedly over 2,000 subscribers in England, Scotland and Wales.

Late last year the FLA (rather predictably) fractured and Portinari became one of the lead figures in the "Anti-Terror Alliance" which split from the FLA.

Led by Chelsea hooligans, it also has the support of a spattering of hooligans from Millwall and West Ham among others. Portinari used his position to avenge a series of personal "slights" against members of the UDA by removing long term nazi troublemaker Eddie Stampton from the ATA. Stampton had long antagonised Portinari for associating with alleged Jewish football hooligans at Spurs and the UDA's pro-Israeli stance.

Under the guise of the UDA's political wing, the Ulster Political Research Group (UPRG), Portinari has also been campaigning for the victims of the 1974 Birmingham pub bombings by the IRA. A judicial review of the cases was granted in July of last year.

While it is unclear whether Portinari has been officially co-opted onto the campaign – "Justice 4 the 21" – it should not go unnoticed nor that Portinari's support is undoubtedly unhealthy.

He has himself already admitted in court his intention to contribute to the carnage that both the UDA and the IRA were engaged in for over thirty years and also marched in London, on at least one occasion last year, under the banner of the banned loyalist Ulster Freedom Fighters.

Portinari's growing influence in a somewhat depleted scene is not based on his or the UDA's adherence to peace but more on the very real engagement in and support of terrorism he has conducted for the past thirty years as the leader of a banned terrorist group operating openly in Britain.

Despite this, none of Portinari's past and current activities and links appear to trigger any alarm from his fellow anti-terror campaigners. In fact, quite the opposite. ■

Formed in June 2017, in the wake of the London Bridge terrorist attack, the Football Lads Alliance (FLA) has emerged as a significant street movement.

Its initial march, on 24 June, saw approximately 7,000 London football "lads" – a euphemism for current and ex-football hooligans – and its national march in October attracted as many as 50,000 people.

In 2018, it is planning demonstrations in Birmingham and Manchester. The group was set up by Spurs hooligan John Meighan who actually established it as a private company though now a committee runs it.

Some immediately defined the FLA as a far right group, viewing it as just a new English Defence League. But this was both inaccurate and simplistic.

It was not just a new EDL. Meighan made a genuine attempt to ensure that it was not a racist group and tried to focus on Islamist extremists, rather than Islam in general.

Overtures from EDL founder Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) were rebuffed by him and the initial FLA leaders and a small event was held in Finsbury Park to mark the attack there.

However, whatever Meighan's personal aims, it is a position that has become increasingly frayed and potentially untenable. Many of those attending the demonstrations and supporting FLA online were more vocal in their dislike of Muslims and Islam and many cheered Lennon's attendance on the October demonstration.

The FLA has been beset by internal fighting which risks totally undermining the whole project. Some want a slice of the tens of thousands of pounds that have flowed into Meighan's bank account, others want a greater say in the group's direction and others still want a stronger anti-Islam line.

The group is being challenged on its forthcoming Birmingham march in March by an application by the rival "True Democratic Lads Alliance" who wish to march at the same time elsewhere in the city.

In an attempt to retain control, Meighan has moved to the right, engaging in conversation with Lennon whom he once shunned and even posing with a copy of the former EDL man's book.

Another fundamental problem for the FLA is a complete lack of direction and no clear objectives.

While the FLA cannot yet be designated as a far right group, it certainly has the potential to move in that direction and it is, if anything, beginning that journey.

National Action

IN LAST YEAR'S State of Hate Report, we wrote that it was "too soon to know if NA (National Action) will get around its ban by reforming under a new name" and that our main concern was that "individuals within it, might take an even more confrontational and violent path."

The group's response to its proscription in December 2016 was more immediate and sophisticated than we imagined. The inner core of the organisation remained in contact and plans were put into place to continue to operate.

This only ended when the intelligence gathering of HOPE not hate successfully undermined and exposed the group's plans.

Sixteen people are now awaiting trial for membership of an illegal terrorist organisation and some face charges relating to a plot to murder a Labour MP.

HOPE not hate had been clear for several months leading up to

NA's ban that the organisation had undergone a split...and that, lurking somewhere in a myriad of dark and sinister places within our society and skulking in the internet, the remnants of NA, down to as few as forty-fifty individuals, were acting in a manner aimed at bringing further death and destruction to Britain's streets.

Sub judice rules prevent us from making a thorough report into the year NA had, though this will emerge in the forthcoming court cases. It is fair to say, however, that the core NA network tried to circumvent the ban by going underground and altering its structure.

Early in 2017, HOPE not hate exclusively revealed that NA was planning to launch a fluid "network" of regional organisations to cause a series of distractions and keep recruiting. We followed this up by exposing the now proscribed Scottish Dawn as one of those front groups.

Scottish Dawn, the brainchild

of Ben Raymond, appeared on the streets in Scotland alongside the National Front in March. This coincided with the appearance of a new website. Further to that, NS131 and the System Resistance Network would also be exposed as serving the same purpose.

In early August, we next revealed that NA's inner core of National Action was operating out of a gym – where they would meet weekly and plot – on an industrial estate in Warrington.

Weeks later, the first of three multiple arrests of people allegedly involved in NA took place. The first saw two serving soldiers arrested and they will stand trial in March.

A couple of weeks later a further eleven were arrested, of whom six will stand trial in June.

Over the New Year, another six people, including a 38-year-old Portuguese woman, were arrested, and they now face a trial in July.



Chris McCartney, licensed taxi driver aka McCarthy and "Big Chris"



Radziu Rekke from Wythenshawe in Manchester

Changing names

Ignoring police interest and circumventing Government bans, Alex Davies agitates for a violent nationalist revolutionary movement and even calls for MPs to be targeted.

DESPITE BEING QUESTIONED by police in August over his alleged links to the banned terrorist group National Action (NA), Alex Davies remains at the centre of attempts to create a violent nationalist revolutionary movement in Britain.

Undeterred by his arrest, Davies is, if anything, becoming more active and confrontational. And he has recently publicly called for MPs to be targeted.

It was Swansea-based Davies who established NS131 – the “131” stolen from “Anti Capitalist Collective”, the far right German group that seems to have influenced Davies and his followers in much of NA’s outlook – as a way of continuing NA in another guise.

Unsurprisingly, the Government saw through this ruse and in September extended the National Action ban to cover NS131 and another front group, Scottish Dawn.

Despite the ban, Davies continues to circulate NS131 propaganda but he has also set up yet another far right outfit, the System Resistance Network (SRN).

The group’s website, which Davies controls, uses old National Action imagery and sets out its similarly confrontational approach. “The National Socialist never capitulates,” it reads. “He will never negotiate away his freedom. He will never compromise his ideals. We are revolutionary National Socialists united by struggle: the struggle against the System. “We are building a family of loyal and dedicated men and women who will not sit back while the storm clouds build. Our imperative is the destruction of the System. A system that imports non-Whites *en masse* to rape our children and colonise our country while criminalising any pushback from the public.”

Last September, the SRN targeted a gay rights Pride event in September,

papering the parade route with posters reading “Hitler Was Right” and “Stop the Faggots”.

The fliers were downloaded from the group’s website – which includes images of Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn with Stars of David on their foreheads – while inviting people to “join your local Nazis”.

The website accuses “degenerate” same-sex couples of abusing children, describes homosexuality as the “eternal social menace”, and calls for gay people to be “purged from society for the greater good”.

But Davies is not merely a propagandist, but also an activist. Earlier this year, Davies and his friends have plastered lampposts and walls across south Wales with antisemitic and Holocaust Denial material.

In a series of podcasts on “Aryan Radio”, Davies has offered advice on how to evade detection and the do’s and don’ts of answering police questions while running a secret cell apparently modelled on Leaderless Resistance, the strategy of US white supremacist terrorists in the 1990s.

More worryingly, he is also actively encouraging his supporters to target their opponents, especially female MPs, a favourite enemy of National Action.

Tracy Brabin, the current MP for Batley & Spen, the former constituency of murdered Labour MP Jo Cox, has been the focus of his particular attention, adding more generally: “why don’t we see nationalist groups targeting these MPs for direct action?”

With such incendiary and violent rhetoric, it must only be a matter of time before the ban on NA is extended to the System Resistance Network and serious action is taken to deal with Davies himself.

Being investigated for involvement in National Action has done nothing to curb his nazi activism. In fact, it has only encouraged him to become more, brazen, open and direct. The authorities must act now before his rhetoric inspires someone to carry out a violent, possibly murderous, attack. ■

Nazis

Francesco Saverio Fontana



NORTHERN PATRIOTIC FRONT

IDEOLOGY	STRASSERITE/FASCIST
LEADERSHIP	NONE STATED
MEMBERSHIP	10
ONLINE	FACEBOOK & WEBSITE
AREAS ACTIVE	SUNDERLAND & NEWCASTLE

SUMMARY OF 2017

Despite the best efforts of the likes of self-appointed patron Kevin Scott, it looks as if the NPF fell in a crowded field. Those associated with the NPF were active in a number of demonstrations and activities in the North East but it suffered somewhat from an activist exodus to those organising street confrontations in Sunderland and not the wholesale embrace of the *faux* intellectualism Scott hoped they would embrace instead.

Their website was last updated in November with an article so insipid even Scott, who blogs regularly, would be embarrassed with.

GREENLINE FRONT (GLF)

IDEOLOGY	PRO-NAZI/ANTI-CAPITALIST ENVIRONMENTALIST.
MEMBERSHIP	UP TO 10 (UK)
LEADERSHIP	FRANCESCO SAVERIO FONTANA, STEVE FOSTER
PUBLICATIONS	NONE
ONLINE	PART OF THE WIDER MISANTHROPIC DIVISION NETWORK. HAS A UK BLOGSPOT.
AREAS ACTIVE	CUMBRIA

SUMMARY OF 2017

Difficult to assess. GLF is, after all, supposed to be a front for the Misanthropic Division and Azov Battalion in Ukraine. Given that those two groups are also linked to the banned National Action (NA) in the UK, it is little wonder the group's activities have dwindled. From organising community clean-up operations that rarely materialised, the group has moved towards a militant animal liberationist position. Further evidence, perhaps, that this is where at least two former senior NA members are hiding out.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Could this be where National Action ends up next?



MISANTHROPIC DIVISION (MD)

IDEOLOGY	NIHILIST/NAZI
MEMBERSHIP	20-30
LEADERSHIP	FRANCESCO SAVERIO FONTANA, ROB GRAY, STEVE FOSTER, CHRIS LIVINGSTONE, JIMMY HEY
PUBLICATIONS	NONE IN ENGLISH
ONLINE	VK, FACEBOOK
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON, WARRINGTON, HUDDERSFIELD, GREAT HARWOOD

SUMMARY OF 2017

The banning of National Action played havoc with MDs operations in the UK. Already deemed “poor” by the parent body, it has only managed to recruit 2-3 foreign fighters from the UK for Ukraine, and it appears none came via the ranks of the established far right.

Pressure on the group intensified with heavy sentences handed out in other countries to MD supporters for funding and recruiting for terrorism in 2017.

Russia took an expectedly hard line with groups recruiting pro-nazi militias operating in the Ukraine under the Azov Battalion. The group appears to have found more success in Ireland and ideas are afloat of a possible “rat-line” opening to move people in and around Europe to evade the attentions of the Russian security services who are stepping up their operations against supporters and funders of the Azov battalion.

Gym owner and MMA fighter Jimmy Hey, whose function in the early days was training National Action personnel, is regularly visited at his gym in Great Harwood by counter-terror police over his links to the MD. In London, former C18 man Rob “The Postie” Gray is the eyes and ears of Francesco Fontana whose visits to the UK have decreased in the past twelve months, particularly since NA’s operations in the military were exposed by police raids and the organisation was outlawed.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The war in Ukraine continues with very rare, if any, publicity on the news in the UK. We are aware, however, of National Action members requesting to travel to the Ukraine and of some that already have via links in Poland.



BRITISH IMPERATIVE

IDEOLOGY	WHITE NATIONALIST
LEADER	TOM CORMACK
ONLINE	FACEBOOK 854 LIKES FACEBOOK GROUP 25 MEMBERS INSTAGRAM 236 FOLLOWERS

SUMMARY OF 2017

British Imperative (BI) is a tiny hard-line racist group, formed by Tom Cormack in the autumn of 2017. The group currently consists of little more than a website and a Facebook page with offline activities limited to its lone activist putting up stickers in town centres.

Prospects for 2018

While it is early days for the group, BI is likely to continue to be a pitiful irrelevance even on the outermost fringes of UK politics.



NEW BRITISH UNION (NBU)

IDEOLOGY	FASCIST/MOSLEYITE
LEADERSHIP	GARY RAIKES
MEMBERSHIP	30-40
ONLINE	FACEBOOK 406 LIKES (NBU WALES AND WEST); 580 LIKES (NBU EAST ANGLIA); 580 LIKES (NBU EAST OF ENGLAND); 492 LIKES (NBU SCOTLAND). TWITTER 472 FOLLOWERS

SUMMARY OF 2017

The NBU, which seeks to emulate Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists, has continued to be widely derided by the rest of the UK far right throughout 2017.

The group’s North West officer Clive Jones represented the NBU at the Yorkshire Forum in April after Raikes dropped out at short notice. Jones was embarrassed in the Q&A section after he was unable to answer basic questions about his party.

In October, Raikes attended the Football Lads Alliance and Veterans Against Terrorism march in London to “sound out peoples [sic] general feelings towards fascism” although, to his bemusement, he found that many on the march “violently disagreed” with his hateful and outdated politics.

The group has continued to hold the occasional meeting, produce its monthly newsletter *Blackshirt* and update its website. In December, the group announced that it had moved into a new HQ.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The group will continue to be meaningless.

Nazis (continued)

BLOOD&HONOUR

IDEOLOGY	NATIONAL SOCIALIST
LEADERSHIP	ROBERT TALLAND (AKA GINGER ROB), SIMON DUTTON, BENNY BULLMAN, DAVE BRADDON, STEVE TALLON
SUPPORTERS	400-500
ONLINE	WEBSITE
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON, KENT, EAST MIDLANDS, SCOTLAND

SUMMARY OF 2017

2017 was a disastrous year for Blood&Honour, the organisation now in its weakest state since being formed in 1987. A combination of an aging supporter base, with most people going to gigs being in their 40s and 50s, a declining number of bands willing to operate under the B&H label and police action to prevent foreign nazis and bands from entering the country to attend gigs has seen audiences dwindle and the number of gigs fall.

The annual Ian Stuart Donaldson memorial gig, the most prestigious event of the year, attracted only 150-200 people this year, way down on previous years and only a fraction of the 1,000 people who attended the 2013 event marking the 20th anniversary of Stuart's death.

Two foreign bands that never made it to the UK last year were Canadian band *Légitime Violence* and the Swedish band Code 291. Both were initially billed to perform at the ISD gig but after their plans were revealed by HOPE not hate they decided to withdraw rather than risk being arrested at a British airport and banned.

As a consequence of the growing police action to prevent foreign-based nazis from entering the UK, British Blood&Honour supporters are now beginning to travel abroad in greater numbers in the hope of attending bigger gigs.

The B&H scene has also been damaged by the complete collapse of Welsh Blood& Honour following the police investigation into Redneck 28 which eventually saw band members denounce the far right.

Compounding this was the fallout from the Powell family feud. For so long the cornerstone of far right activity in Swansea, the three Powell brothers publicly fell out over money, girlfriends and politics.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Unless the police change policy, it is likely that the gigs will continue to dwindle

THE GIGS THAT TOOK PLACE IN 2017 WERE

- 11 February – Nottingham (70 attended)
- 22 April – Northamptonshire (100)
- 13 May – Newcastle (50)
- 8 July – London (100)
- 22/23 September – Cambridgeshire (200)
- 11 November – South London (100)
- 9 December – Yorkshire (120)

**CURRENT BLOOD AND HONOUR BANDS ARE**

- Blackout (Wales)
- Brutal Attack (London)
- Section 88 (Farnborough)
- Legion of St George (Home counties and Crawley)
- Jolly Roger (Midlands)
- Prime Suspects (Bristol)
- Whitelaw (Heanor)
- March or Die (Yorkshire)
- Squadron (London)
- Embers of Yesterday (London)
- Curfew (Northampton)
- Nemesis (Scotland)

COMBAT 18

IDEOLOGY	NATIONAL SOCIALIST
LEADERSHIP	WILL BROWNING
MEMBERSHIP	20-30
ONLINE	WEBSITE
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON, ESSEX

SUMMARY OF 2017

After a mini-revival that saw Will Browning back on the streets of England in 2016, links being formed with National Action (NA) and the adoption of a Combat 18 identity by North West Infidels (NWI) leaders, C18 went back to sleep in 2017.

The imprisonment of Oldham-based Kevin Gough and key NWI leaders for violence at a National Front demonstration in Dover and the banning and later arrest of NA leaders drove C18 back to the margins of the British far right scene.

An old network of C18 extremists continues to exist and the group still meet at gigs at the Bridge House in Canning Town or one of the Oi! Gigs put on by John "Slaz" Henderson in Kent and Luton, but there has been no overt political activity.

The one change has been the return to Britain of Darren Wilkinson, a long-time Chelsea hooligan and bodybuilder, who has moved to Brighton after many years living in Norway.

Other key people in the C18 network are Al Mounsey, Nick Field, Karen Henderson and Jason Wilcox. Browning divides his time between south London, Jersey and the continent.

Kevin Watmough continues to run their website.

There is an English-based Polish C18 unit.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Combat 18 is unlikely to become any more active beyond the occasional gig and social meet up.

BRITISH MOVEMENT

IDEOLOGY	NATIONAL SOCIALIST
LEADERSHIP	STEVE FROST
MEMBERSHIP	40-50
ONLINE	WEBSITE
AREAS ACTIVE	YORKSHIRE, LONDON, KENT, EAST MIDLANDS, SCOTLAND

SUMMARY OF 2017

2017 was a quieter year for British Movement (BM), with the group less publicly active than it has been in recent years. It retains core support in the East Midlands and South London/Kent, but it has contracted in South Wales, partly due to the collapse of the Blood&Honour network there.

The declining presence of Blood and Honour more generally has had an adverse impact on the BM's profile and ability to reach a wider audience. It had failed to benefit from the collapse of a plethora of hard line nazi groups over the past couple of years with most of these activists switching allegiance to the National Front.

The year began with the BM claiming Facebook had closed down some of its local/regional pages after receiving complaints from the public. There was no repeat of the Sunwheel festival, a two-day event that attracted 60 people in recent year but there was a two-day trip to North Yorkshire in early July – aptly named the "BM's Blood & Soil/Strength Through Joy programme" – and a meeting and social in late July.

The only bright points for British Movement are *A New Awakening*, publication of South East London British Movement, which it claims comes out on a bi-monthly basis, and the launch of Young Wolf, a new youth wing.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The British Movement is unlikely to make any significant advances during 2018.

(left to right)
Steve Frost,
Will Browning,
Kevin Watmough
and Darren
Wilkinson



Radical right-wing po

BRITAIN FIRST

IDEOLOGY	ANTI-ISLAM, ANTI-IMMIGRATION, NATIONALIST
MEMBERSHIP	APPROX. 1,000 (THOUGH LEVELS OF MEMBERSHIP VARY)
LEADERSHIP	PAUL GOLDING (LEADER), JAYDA FRANSEN (DEPUTY LEADER)
PUBLICATION	BRITAIN FIRST
ONLINE	FACEBOOK & TWITTER
AREAS ACTIVE	ACROSS THE WHOLE OF THE UK.

SUMMARY OF 2017

An extraordinary year of criminality, legal cases, stupidity, revenge pornography, alleged sexual assaults, antisemitism, convictions for assault and a drunken fortnight-long party on the run across Europe was topped off by Presidential blessing when Donald Trump took it upon himself to re-tweet three of Jayda Fransen's generic and racist tweets.

In last year's report, we said that Britain First had appeared to grow tired of itself. 2017 appeared to be an all-out attempt to destroy itself by any means necessary.

The year began when Golding, just released from a six-week prison sentence, issued a stark and chilling warning in a YouTube rant: "All the politicians, all the journalists who have spent their careers undermining our nation, you *WILL* succumb to this movement eventually" he yelled. He promised a "day of reckoning" for mainly Labour Party politicians, HOPE not hate and Muslims for what he perceived to be their "crimes against our nation."

Golding warned there would be "day of justice" and finished with "I can promise you, from the very depths of my being, you will all meet your miserable ends at the hands of the Britain First movement. Every last one of you."

It signalled also a big significant change in tactics and strategy for Britain First. As UKIP argued with itself and the revitalised and televised Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) showed no sign of releasing his grip on the "market", Britain First had also set out its stall. Golding dragged the party further into the extremes and almost completely back to a position closer to the former BNP.

2017 saw Britain First form a close relationship with UK-based Polish extremists, with Jew-hating priest Jacek Międlar banned from entering the country twice with the intent of speaking at Britain First rallies. Other Poles, already domiciled in the UK have addressed Britain First rallies.

Golding and Fransen also tried to make connections with militias in Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania, while their domestic operations remained, on the whole, sparsely attended and, in most cases, shambolic.

Despite previous arrests, warnings and convictions for the wearing of uniforms, the party went back on its earlier promise in 2016 to stop dressing up as soldiers.

In April, it was mooted that Golding and Fransen were to bury the hatchet with EDL founder Stephen Lennon when the three of them appeared together sipping vodkas before Britain First's march and rally with the EDL through London in April.

Things disastrously unravelled when it was made clear that Lennon had absolutely no interest at all in Golding but his backers at *Rebel Media* were more interested in Fransen's apparent charms, once again placing strains on the enormous volatility of the Golding-Fransen relationship.

In July, members of Britain First's security team brawled with one another over how to deal with an allegation of sexual assault during the party's stop-over in Rochdale.

Fransen appeared on the scene with a member of the security team, quite obviously *in flagrante delicto*, sparking another brawl involving leading Britain First personnel.

Fransen had her website, mobile phone, Twitter account and even her "company car" confiscated by Golding. In August, she spoke at a Britain First rally in Belfast, taking the opportunity to confront Golding over their mounting personal and political debts.

Humiliating and personal details of both Golding's and Fransen's personal lives made their way onto social media. The party suffered the same humiliation as many of its contemporaries in recent years by being deregistered by the Electoral Commission for failing to renew its registration.



Political parties

Adam Walker and
Clive Jefferson

As it currently stands, the pair both potentially face jail this year for breaching bail, assault, contempt of court and hate speech.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018?

For 2018, expect even more extremism from Britain First. The party is on a hiding to nothing, running on a cocktail of violent jealousies, nepotism and despotism. It will, without doubt, push every limit available to it testing every law and every ounce of patience.

In addition to its growing legal problems, which are likely to see both Golding and Fransen imprisoned, the explosive personal and political relationship between Golding and Fransen is likely to overshadow the party's activities.



BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY (BNP)

IDEOLOGY	RACIAL NATIONALIST
MEMBERSHIP	UNDER 300
LEADERSHIP	ADAM WALKER (CHAIRMAN), CLIVE JEFFERSON (DEPUTY CHAIRMAN)
PUBLICATION	IDENTITY
ONLINE	WEBSITE, FACEBOOK & TWITTER
AREAS ACTIVE	SOUTH LONDON, ESSEX, LEEDS, LINCOLNSHIRE.

SUMMARY OF 2017

The party still operates and persists but continues to shrink behind the woeful leadership of Adam Walker and Clive Jefferson. It managed just ten candidates in the General Election, averaging just 0.9%.

Walker made a brief foray onto the BBC's *Politics Show* and a measure of how little interest there is in the party these days is in how little publicity was given to the absolute car-crash of an interview he gave. Even the party, desperate for publicity, did not publicise it.

One piece of publicity the party did achieve in 2017 was courtesy of Paul Sturdy, the party's candidate in its former stronghold of Dagenham. Sturdy claimed during the elections that Jews were using Islam to rule the world.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

There are rumblings of discontent among elements of the second-tier leadership with London-based activist David Furness rumoured to be about to launch a leadership bid, backed by former London organiser Steve Squires. Whatever happens, the party cannot be salvaged from the death-grip of Walker and Jefferson. Politically, it is increasingly irrelevant.

Radical right-wing political parties (continued)

FOR BRITAIN

IDEOLOGY	ANTI-MUSLIM
MEMBERSHIP	EST. 500-700
LEADER	ANNE MARIE WATERS
ONLINE	FACEBOOK 4,314 LIKES, FACEBOOK (OFFICIAL MEMBERS GROUP) 394 MEMBERS TWITTER 15,500 SUBSCRIBERS, YOUTUBE 4,200 SUBSCRIBERS MINDS 19 SUBSCRIBERS, GAB 97 FOLLOWERS
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON, SANDWELL, ROTHERHAM, DURHAM, HARTLEPOOL

SUMMARY OF 2017

The anti-Muslim movement For Britain was launched by “counter-jihad” activist Anne Marie Waters in October 2017 in an attempt to harness the energy of her controversial UKIP leadership campaign in which she came second to Henry Bolton with 21% of the vote. Waters’ campaign aide and current Rebel Media researcher Jack Buckby has been a key influence on the group’s formation.

Unsurprisingly, her new group’s platform is centrally focused on Islam and immigration, and has attracted various anti-Muslim activists. Paul Weston folded his anti-Muslim Liberty GB in November to join the group and For Britain also has the backing of Rebel Media’s Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson).

Prominent supporters of Waters, including former National Executive Committee (NEC) member Anish Patel and Rope Parish Councillor Brian Silvester, have left UKIP to join For Britain.

The group has already suffered setbacks. Technical issues delayed the launch of its new website for over two weeks and Facebook also unpublished the group’s page allegedly for using “hate speech”. Embarrassingly, a November ITV documentary on the UK far right, titled *Undercover Inside Britain’s New Far Right*, featured Buckby and Waters prominently.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Local elections in May will be the first real test for the group which is expected to pour its limited resources into a handful of wards and seek to exacerbate local tensions. For Britain is currently focussed on establishing local branches and convincing sitting UKIP councillors to defect and is expected to launch a new national manifesto early in the year.

UKIP leader Nigel Farage’s criticism of Waters in the press has undercut some of her potential support although the crisis recently afflicting her former party will undoubtedly be to For Britain’s benefit. Nonetheless, the extreme nature of Waters’ beliefs and her history of engagement with the far right means the party is likely destined for the political fringes.

NATIONAL FRONT (NF)

IDEOLOGY	NATIONAL SOCIALIST
MEMBERSHIP	1-150
LEADERSHIP	KEV BRYAN (CHAIR), TONY MARTIN (DEPUTY CHAIR), RICHARD EDMONDS, KEVIN LAYZELL, JULIE LAKE, CHRIS JACKSON
PUBLICATIONS	THE FLAME, BRITAIN FIRST, THE SENTINEL, BULLDOG (ALL APPEAR TO HAVE CEASED PUBLICATION)
ONLINE	A SERIES OF WEBSITES AND FACEBOOK ACCOUNTS AT WAR WITH EACH OTHER.
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON, CROYDON, HULL, PETERBOROUGH, SWANSEA, GRANTHAM, BRISTOL

SUMMARY OF 2017

The party failed to celebrate its 50th anniversary on time due to a split. As predicted, Chairman Dave McDonald was unceremoniously dumped right at the end of 2016 at a meeting to which he was not even invited.

The demise of the far right as a street fighting force in 2017 (prison sentences and banning orders the biggest culprits) further hit the NF’s ability to organise the sort of violence it prefers to engage in. Some peripheral NF members and supporters stood as independents during the general election.

In April, and in desperation, the party signed a mutual cooperation agreement with the Polish fascist group Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland – NOP). This involved the NOP’s leader travelling to Essex and being handed a tatty old NF flag by Kevin Layzell who has also acted as the Poles’ link man with National Action.

The signing of the agreement was not without rancour within the party and it was not long before serial and seasoned splitter Eddy Morrison departed the party for, approximately, the fiftieth time.

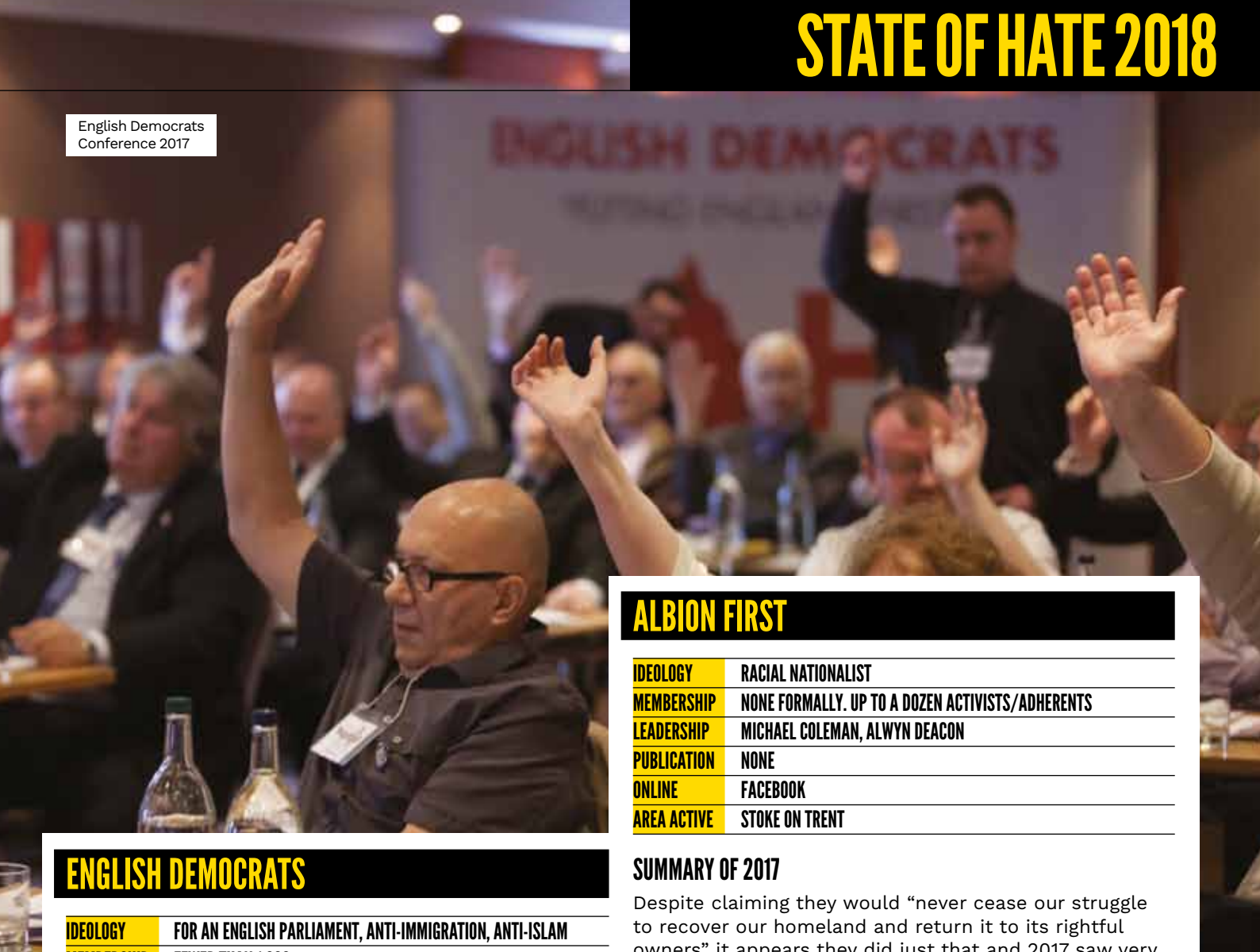
The party’s annual Remembrance Sunday parade in November was a glaring and embarrassing example of the its problems. Leader Kev Bryan, a formidable incompetent, led fewer than eighty fascists on a silent crawl through the nation’s capital, having forgotten to organise the party’s two-strong drum corps.

On a number of occasions, the march had to slow down to allow veteran nazi Richard Edmonds to keep up with the decimated leadership group.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The party is now bracing itself for a hostile take-over by a joint London Forum and National Action initiative, blindly led by Bristol’s Julie Lake. Such an eventuality would surely better organise the National Front’s ludicrously lofty ambitions of surviving for another nasty fifty years.

(left) Anne Marie Waters. (right) NF Chair, Kev Bryan



ALBION FIRST

IDEOLOGY	RACIAL NATIONALIST
MEMBERSHIP	NONE FORMALLY. UP TO A DOZEN ACTIVISTS/ADHERENTS
LEADERSHIP	MICHAEL COLEMAN, ALWYN DEACON
PUBLICATION	NONE
ONLINE	FACEBOOK
AREA ACTIVE	STOKE ON TRENT

SUMMARY OF 2017

Despite claiming they would “never cease our struggle to recover our homeland and return it to its rightful owners” it appears they did just that and 2017 saw very little activity.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018?

Little prospect of the group doing anything.

BRITISH DEMOCRATS (FORMERLY BRITISH DEMOCRATIC PARTY)

IDEOLOGY	STRASSERITE/NATIONAL SOCIALIST
MEMBERSHIP	20
LEADERSHIP	ANDREW BRONS, JIM LEWTHWAITE (pictured below)
PUBLICATIONS	LINKED TO HERITAGE & DESTINY
ONLINE	NEW WEBSITE AND FACEBOOK PAGE RARELY UPDATED
ACTIVE AREAS	NONE

SUMMARY OF 2017

Andrew Brons once bragged how pleased he was that the party continued to fight elections. In 2017, the party opted out of fighting the General Election and Brons focused more on building his personal fan club.

Brons was very upset with how many former members of National Action turned up at the National Front's 50th anniversary party in Birmingham at which he spoke. He has been counselling all and everyone against them.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018?

None



ENGLISH DEMOCRATS

IDEOLOGY	FOR AN ENGLISH PARLIAMENT, ANTI-IMMIGRATION, ANTI-ISLAM
MEMBERSHIP	FEWER THAN 1,000
LEADERSHIP	ROBIN TILBROOK
PUBLICATION	ENGLISH VOICE
ONLINE	WEBSITE, FACEBOOK, TWITTER
AREAS ACTIVE	KENT, LONDON, ESSEX, CAMBRIDGESHIRE, BARNSLEY

SUMMARY OF 2017

2017 was not a great year for the party and one wonders whether it has even exhausted its own inexplicable optimism. The party managed only six candidates at the General Election, a realistic reduction from the 32 candidates it stood in 2015, and more than 100 candidates fewer than at the 2010 General Election. Much of the party's website has not been updated since 2015. The party boasts 3,000 members but a more realistic view is less than a third of that.

The party has yet to recover from the massive growth of UKIP but seems to have little chance of recruiting on the back of its implosion and demise. A number of former high profile ex-BNP members the party recruited in 2010 and 2011 have also abandoned ship.

Its website claims ED members are “convicted politicians” so it came as no surprise that the party's most notorious member, Kent regional leader Steve Uncles, was jailed last year for fabricating candidates in the 2013 local elections.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

As long as Tilbrook has money to spend, the English Democrats will stumble on.

Street-based groups

CASUALS UNITED/5W/PIE & MASH SQUAD/ SOUTH COAST RESISTANCE

IDEOLOGY	ANTI-IMMIGRATION, ANTI-COMMUNIST FOOTBALL HOOLIGANS
MEMBERSHIP	20-30
LEADERSHIP	JOE TURNER <i>aka</i> JOE MARSH, <i>aka</i> JEFF MARSH
PUBLICATIONS	NONE
ONLINE	WORDPRESS, FACEBOOK, TWITTER (PROLIFIC)
ACTIVE AREAS	LONDON, SOUTH COAST, PORTSMOUTH, BOLTON

SUMMARY OF 2017

Turner lost much of his appetite for fighting alongside British nazis and fascists, having almost had his fingers burnt by the ongoing police investigations and imprisonment of people he thought he could trust in National Action and the North West Infidels.

Despite claims it had disbanded, his group is still active though Turner and his pals seem far happier trying to squirm their way into the Football Lads Alliance. His obsession still remains targeting the left and in particular left-wing football fans.

The group's last big outing was an attack on an Anarchist squat in January 2017 and a minor showing at a National Action activity the month after.

PROSPECTS FOR 2017

Ever the opportunist(s) and increasingly disorganised, expect them to turn up somewhere trying to intimidate someone.



SOUTH EAST ALLIANCE (SEA)

IDEOLOGY	COUNTER-JIHAD, ANTI-IMMIGRATION, FASCIST
ON LINE	ABSENT WITHOUT LEAVE
MEMBERSHIP	UNKNOWN
LEADERSHIP	PAUL PRODROMOU
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON, ESSEX, KENT.

SUMMARY OF 2017

A difficult year for 'Rent a riot' Paul Prodromou. His toxic SEA gang began the year as bed-fellows with a number of smaller groups including the London Forum but it appears the SEA and Prodromou fell victim to a persistent whispering campaign about Prodromou's long-time avoidance of a jail sentence.

In July, Liverpool magistrates gave Prodromou a two-year conditional discharge for his part in the Liverpool riot of 2016 despite his breaking a previous conditional discharge. Seasoned observers would conclude that Prodromou has been the beneficiary of more than one lucky coincidence.

As with the North West Infidels without Shane Calvert, nothing in the SEA moves without Prodromou and so with a number of other activists also mysteriously moving to other parts of the country, the once prolific gang fell totally silent for the rest of 2017.

In November, it was rumoured that Prodromou would be joining the National Front at their Remembrance Sunday Parade to lay a wreath on behalf of the SEA. Neither wreath nor Prodromou materialised.

Among other issues fascists have taken up with the SEA was seemingly barrack room legal advice Prodromou gave others late in 2016 pertaining to their own legal troubles. Since July, the SEA has maintained a complete radio silence – in public at least – so it is hard to gauge how badly the group has disintegrated.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

It is rumoured that the National Front is desperate for Prodromou to return and take a position within the party.



ENGLISH DEFENCE LEAGUE (EDL)

IDEOLOGY	ANTI-ISLAM, ANTI-IMMIGRATION, NATIONALIST
MEMBERSHIP	150
LEADERSHIP	IAN CROSSLAND (SPOKESMAN) LEADER (TO BE CONFIRMED)
PUBLICATION	NONE
ONLINE	SPORADIC USE OF FACEBOOK AND TWITTER. IT NOW HAS LESS FACEBOOK FOLLOWERS THAN ITS PARODY ACCOUNTS.
AREAS ACTIVE	NEWCASTLE, SUNDERLAND, THANET, LONDON, ESSEX, PETERBOROUGH, LIVERPOOL

SUMMARY OF 2017

The humiliations of the previous year continued for the English Defence League. 2017 saw the group at its lowest ebb and there seems little evidence that it can go anywhere but even lower.

In April, Ian Crossland was humiliated when a young Muslim woman stared him down in Birmingham as he and his tiny group of followers bawled racist abuse.

The fall out and the humiliation that the group suffered has had a long-lasting effect on the group's morale and organising abilities like in September when the EDL had to cancel a march in Essex after only six people turned up.

Less publicity was given to the group being chased out of Liverpool in May, when police refused thirty supporters a pre-planned march for their own safety.

The group did manage 50 people on a London march in the aftermath of the Manchester and London terror attacks but it was an dismal sight as the marchers hid behind police lines unable to move forward through a bigger counter-protest.

The group's malaise stems from the unwillingness of their formerly "notional" leader, Newcastle's Alan Spence, to travel to organise demonstrations other than in his

home city mainly through fear it will be overrun by gangs of nazis from Sunderland in his absence.

Spence is thought to still wield considerable power and respect among the Newcastle and Sunderland far right because of his notorious reputation.

Spence's preoccupation with shoring up his position in Newcastle at the expense of the national organisation became evident when both the Sunderland Defence League and North East Infidel gangs gained ground during the Sunderland far right's "Justice for Chelsey" campaign.

In September, Spence sent over 100 EDL supporters onto the streets of Newcastle to protest about a child grooming case in the city. He also opened up a campaign of threats against Britain First which he does not want in the city. In December, he warned Britain First's Andrew Edge that he would take a knife to him or any other Britain First activists who turned up there.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The year began with Spence removed from his post as the leader of Newcastle EDL by disaffected local members. At the time of writing, we have not been able to gauge accurately the impact on the national body.

The EDL is no longer interested in recruitment. It shares small pockets of support in areas where other autonomous groups operate through a series of drinking networks and gangs but if the group could not rejuvenate on the back of four significant terror attacks in the UK in 2017, it is fair to say it is moribund. But it will, like the similarly decimated National Front, remain an active splinter group for ever.

SUNDERLAND DEFENCE LEAGUE

IDEOLOGY	COUNTER-JIHAD, ANTI-IMMIGRATION
ON LINE	SPORADIC PERSONAL ACCOUNTS ON FACEBOOK
MEMBERSHIP	5-10
LEADERSHIP	BILLY CHARLTON, CATH HAYLEY, KIERON WRIGHT
AREAS ACTIVE	SUNDERLAND, BISHOP AUCKLAND, NEWCASTLE

SUMMARY OF 2017

Fewer stars have burned so bright and then fizzled out so spectacularly as that of Billy Charlton. Having taken charge of the "Justice for Chelsey" campaign, heavy drinking and petty jealousy did for Charlton. The bitterness and hatred gradually emanating from where there was once so much respect was so intense, that even Chelsey Wright wanted nothing to do with him by the end of the campaign.

Charlton ran the initial "Justice for Chelsey" campaign, a noisy and violent outlet for anti-immigration sentiment in Sunderland. However, after childish outbursts and ongoing acrimony with the rival North East Infidels, it appears Charlton's accounts were called into question and, slowly but surely, the national far right turned on him particularly over monies collected for a series of causes including far right prisoners.

By the end of 2017, there was little sight of Charlton anywhere. He now faces belated charges for hate speech.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Normal people would move house. Charlton is more likely to just not leave the house.



Counter-Jihad

KNIGHTS TEMPLAR INTERNATIONAL (TKI)

IDEOLOGY	CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALIST/ANTI-MUSLIM
MEMBERSHIP	UNDER 100 (UK)
LEADERSHIP	JIM DOWSON WITH NICK GRIFFIN
PUBLICATIONS	THE TEMPLAR
ONLINE	DOWSON CONTROLS A NUMBER OF FACEBOOK PAGES AND "NEWS" WEBSITES WITH AN EXTENSIVE REACH ACROSS SOCIAL MEDIA.
AREAS ACTIVE	AUSTRIA, BULGARIA, BELGIUM, GERMANY HUNGARY, ITALY, NORTHERN IRELAND, POLAND, RUSSIA, SERBIA, SYRIA, CROATIA.

SUMMARY OF 2017

Not a great year for Dowson as he and former BNP leader Griffin were expelled from Hungary in May.

This was an enormous headache for the pair as Dowson's internet hot-house is based in Budapest and Griffin was about to purchase commercial and domestic property there.

The decision to throw them out was taken by the department concerned with counter-terrorism. This was no doubt due to both Dowson and Griffin (despite claiming they would not) interfering in the Hungarian democratic process, in particular with minor disruptions and ructions in the fascist opposition party Jobbik and an attack by Hungarian paramilitaries on community buildings in the capital, Budapest.

During the year, Dowson opened an office in nearby Serbia at a time when questions were raised in the Hungarian Parliament about the negative and destabilising influence of "Russian agents" operating in Hungary and on its borders.



Nick Griffin

In November, a rather wild article, backed by an independent member of the Serbian parliament, claimed Dowson was involved with supplying materials to Serbian militias. Dowson responded with what were taken as veiled threats against the MP. Though it is impossible to substantiate the veracity of the claims about Dowson's alleged activities in Serbia, sources in Hungary suggest they are wide of the mark as was a further allegation that he actually armed Serbian paramilitaries.

Towards the end of the year Dowson and Griffin unleashed a bitter, almost hysterical, attack on the "Alt Right". It reminded us that Griffin, in particular, who penned much of the document, knows where there are many, many bodies buried. A week before the document's publication, Griffin and Dowson hosted a dinner in London where they made a financial offer to the Identitarians to switch to their way of thinking.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

With Griffin's APF (Alliance for Peace and Freedom) stipend rumoured to end this year, there will be a desperate search to find enough funding to keep Griffin afloat and clinging to the back of Dowson's coat. Griffin is also desperate to escape the expected financial claims of former BNP employees who have exhausted almost every avenue available to them by pursuing a cut in his European Parliament pension.

Finding influence in foreign fields appears still to be the number one aim of avoiding the poor house. The pair's primary concern is being readmitted to Hungary to continue their activities there. The courts in Budapest will make a decision soon as to whether to readmit the two to continue their business ventures. Ever the ones for intrigue, much of their effort will no doubt be targeted at their commercial and political competition.





Alan Ayling

LAW AND FREEDOM FOUNDATION

IDEOLOGY	ANTI-MUSLIM (COUNTER-JIHAD)
LEADERSHIP	RUN BY GAVIN "MOSQUE BUSTER" BOBY

SUMMARY OF 2017

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

The Law and Freedom Foundation has more recently focused its efforts on the problem of child sex grooming where Bobby views "sexually active Muslim men" as being behind "An epidemic of child sex-slavery in Britain".

After several years of inactivity, the organisation's website published an article by Bobby, in July 2017, claiming that in 47 legal fights to stop mosques he has won 33 times. In August 2017, Bobby gave an extended interview to the counter-jihadist YouTube channel Vlad Tepes.

In October 2017, he controversially addressed a meeting in North London advising the audience on how to oppose the planning application to convert a former Hippodrome cinema into a mosque in Golders Green, an area with a large Jewish community. The move to invite Bobby was widely condemned by both Jewish and non-Jewish local people alike.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

After several years of being less visible, 2017 saw Bobby return to the public eye. In 2018, he will continue to use his legal skills to oppose mosque building in the UK and will likely continue to be a well-known figure in the anti-Muslim "counter-jihad" scene.



Gavin "Mosque Buster" Bobby

THE 4 FREEDOMS LIBRARY

IDEOLOGY	ANTI-MUSLIM (COUNTER-JIHAD)
LEADERSHIP	RUN BY ALAN AYLING AND "KINANA NADIR"

SUMMARY OF 2017

This is an online counter-jihad discussion forum run by Alan Ayling and "Kinana Nadir" to share and circulate articles and views about Islam and the "fundamental defects in the constructed model of Western secular democratic government." It is the public face of the Ayling/"Kinana" network. Both remained active participants on the forum in 2017.

The forum underwent no developments of note in 2017.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

It will continue to be a meeting place for anti-Muslim activists to share information but it is unlikely to undergo any changes of real note in 2018.

SHARIA WATCH UK

IDEOLOGY	COUNTER-JIHAD
LEADERSHIP	ANNE MARIE WATERS

SUMMARY OF 2017

2017 was another quiet year for Sharia Watch UK which has largely fallen by the wayside due to Anne Marie Waters' preoccupation with her controversial UKIP leadership campaign and the launch of her For Britain movement.

The website provides little original content but continues to publish summaries of news items from other sources, usually of incidents involving people identified as Muslims committing crimes and acts of violence.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

After two years of declining activity and Waters' new role as the leader of the For Britain party, it is likely that the activity of Sharia Watch UK will further decline during 2018 and it will remain a marginal anti-Muslim platform.

Identitarians

GENERATION IDENTITY UK AND IRELAND

IDEOLOGY	IDENTITARIAN
MEMBERSHIP	FEWER THAN 30
LEADERSHIP	UK & IRELAND CO-LEADERS: JORDAN DIAMOND (<i>aka</i> JAMES WINDSOR), SEBASTIAN SECCOMBE (<i>aka</i> SEB JAMES), IRELAND LEADER: DAMHNAIT MCKENNA
ONLINE	FACEBOOK: 7,162 FOLLOWERS TWITTER: 1,337 FOLLOWERS INSTAGRAM: 800 FOLLOWERS
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON, MANCHESTER, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, BELFAST, DUBLIN AND LIVERPOOL

SUMMARY OF 2017

Generation Identity (GI) UK and Ireland is a branch of the pan-European, anti-Muslim and anti-migrant Identitarian movement, Generation Identity, which began in France in 2012.

Despite interaction by the British far right with GI activists in 2013, 2017 was the year that branches were officially established.

In July 2017, a Facebook page for GI UK and Ireland was launched and later that month Jordan Diamond, co-leader of the branch alongside Sebastian Seccombe, travelled to London to meet Austrian and Norwegian activists to discuss the development of GI in the UK.

The same month, the first meeting of the Scottish branch in Glasgow was shut down by anti-fascist activists. Initial offline activity across the Scottish, Irish and English branches has been confined to putting up stickers and posing for pictures with the movement's black and yellow lambda flag. Austrian GI co-leader

Martin Sellner made it to Britain in October to address a conference organised by the far right Traditional Britain Group (TBG) alongside anti-Muslim activist Anne Marie Waters of the For Britain party. That evening, Sellner met former leader of the British National Party (BNP), Nick Griffin, to discuss funding.

Two days later, to no fanfare and very little press interest, GI activists dropped a banner reading "Defend London: Stop Islamisation". This marked the official launch of GI in the UK and Ireland.

On 9 November, ITV aired a documentary including undercover footage by investigators who had infiltrated GI UK and Ireland. This infiltration was a matter of embarrassment for Sellner and anticipation of the exposé (which used consultation from HOPE not hate regarding these groups) resulted in efforts by the branch's co-leaders to distance themselves from GI.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Despite these embarrassing early setbacks, GI in the UK and Ireland have remained active, apparently operating more or less autonomously. Diamond continues involvement in the movement, taking part in stickering the outside walls of Manchester's Didsbury mosque in January 2018 though Seccombe has stayed out of the limelight.

There have been meetings in London and Manchester early in 2018 and low-profile stickering has been carried out in London, Belfast, Dublin, Glasgow, Manchester and Edinburgh throughout the New Year and into January 2018 as well as leafleting and a banner drop in Dublin and leafleting in London in January 2018.





IDENTITY BRITANNIA

IDEOLOGY	IDENTITARIAN
LEADERSHIP	FRANCIS COLLINS
ONLINE	FACEBOOK: 1,048 FOLLOWERS TWITTER: 1,323 FOLLOWERS YOUTUBE: 101 SUBSCRIBERS
AREAS ACTIVE	ONLINE AND, SUPPOSEDLY, IN MANCHESTER AND EDINBURGH

SUMMARY OF 2017

Identity Britannia (IB) is a marginal British Identitarian group that emerged in 2017.

Its website, registered on 30 October 2017, was launched in the UK with an interview by Defend Evropa with IB founder Francis Collins on 8 November. Collins is the sole public face linked to the group, having originally accompanied the site's page, "Is Britain Racist", with a video in which he argues that "only anti-white racism is allowed in 2017". IB was also incorporated as a limited company on 6 December 2017 by Collins and a "Dan Webster".

Graffiti advertising the site accompanied by the phrase "DIVERSITY IS STRENGTH?" appeared in Manchester on 4 December and in Edinburgh on 12 December, using a stencil posted on their site on 6 December.

IB also appears to be focusing primarily on its online presence with the IB-linked "Masterbrew" YouTube channel, Facebook page and Twitter account posting videos and images with identitarian and explicitly fascist messages.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The group looks set to remain on the fringes, with its online presence attaining fewer than 5,000 unique monthly visitors between October and December 2017.

DEFEND EVROPA

IDEOLOGY	ALT-RIGHT/WHITE NATIONALIST
LEADERSHIP	JASON BERGKAMP
ONLINE	FACEBOOK: 1,788 FOLLOWERS TWITTER: 27,700 FOLLOWERS INSTAGRAM: 936 FOLLOWERS

SUMMARY OF 2017

Defend Europa (DE) is a small, volunteer-run alt-right/white nationalist news and opinion site, active since April 2017. The group has had a successful year in steadily increasing its profile online.

The site's content largely focuses on popular talking points within the alt-right, including migrants, Islam and "population replacement". According to an interview on Red Ice TV with two of the site's authors, Laura and William, DE grew out of various individuals talking on the internet from across Europe before turning into a Twitter account and eventually a site.

The duo claims that in addition to the site's European audience, it attracts visitors from the US, South Africa and Australia. Its writers' locations include the UK, Netherlands, Italy, Croatia and the US. The manager of DE, Jason Bergkamp, under variations on the pseudonym "kek_sec", was retweeted by Donald Trump multiple times as was a Defend Evropa writer who uses the name "Neil Turner" during 2016.

The group interviewed leading alt-right figure Richard Spencer in October 2017.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

DE's growth in 2017 demonstrates the ability of the current transnational far right to gain traction online quickly, reaching 32,972 unique visitors between October to December 2017 from, primarily, the US and UK.

DE has hinted it could move into offline activism in the future although, at present, it appears likely that it will continue as a news and opinion site and continue to attract readers, given the speed of its growth in 2017.

Alt-Right

COLIN ROBERTSON (*aka* MILLENNIAL WOES)

IDEOLOGY	ALT-RIGHT/WHITE NATIONALIST
ONLINE	YOUTUBE: 45,249 SUBSCRIBERS, FACEBOOK: 2,421 LIKES TWITTER: 19,800 FOLLOWERS, MINDS: 1,113 SUBSCRIBERS BITCHUTE: 1,258 SUBSCRIBERS, GAB: 2,268 FOLLOWERS ASK.FM: 4,854 LIKES

SUMMARY OF 2017

2017 started disastrously for alt-right/white nationalist vlogger Colin Robertson (*aka* “Millennial Woes”), after his identity was exposed by the Scottish blog AThousandFlowers.net. The story was picked up by the mainstream press, causing him to flee the UK to Germany. Robertson did, however, hold multiple speaking engagements throughout 2017, speaking at the Identitarian Ideas IX conference in Stockholm in February, quoting the infamous nazi “14 words” motto.

He returned to the UK in May to speak at the London Forum and attend the Jonathan Bowden memorial dinner organised by Stead Steadman of the London Forum.

He also addressed the Scandza Forum in Oslo in July and, in October, spoke at both the inaugural Comhra Dublin conference in Ireland and the 2017 Erkenbrand conference in Rotterdam.

Throughout the year, Robertson continued to upload his dreary monologues to YouTube, reaffirming his position as the alt-right’s most important British commentator.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Robertson will likely maintain his focus on producing videos throughout 2018, having created two additional YouTube channels, one of which will be for livestreams, and another for more personal videos as he is “getting bored talking about politics” and is “especially bored talking about race”.

In 2018, we may also finally see Robertson complete his new website – possibly an online resource dubbed “The Debatix” – through which alt-rightists can hone their anti-liberal arguments.

He also looks set to continue live speaking engagements, having announced in December 2017 that he will be speaking in Estonia in February.



TARA MCCARTHY

IDEOLOGY	ALT-RIGHT
PUBLICATIONS	IRREPLACEABLE: HOW AND WHY WE MUST SAVE THE WEST (FORTHCOMING IN 2018)
ONLINE	TWITTER: 26,000 YOUTUBE: 52,230

SUMMARY OF 2017

UK-born and US-resident alt-right vlogger Tara McCarthy increased her profile within the alt-right’s social media community in 2017, moving from just over 37,000 to almost 52,000 subscribers by 2018 and featuring more high-profile figures including Richard Spencer and Greg Johnson on her YouTube channel.

In September, McCarthy ended her “Virtue of the West” vlog, co-hosted with alt-right blogger Brittany Pettibone, to focus on her own interview show “Reality Calls”. She also began presenting “This Week On The Alt-Right”, a group discussion regularly featuring former British National Party (BNP) youth chairman – and later head of party publicity – Mark Collett, as well as alt-right US vloggers Bre Faucheux and Steven Franssen.

In December 2017, McCarthy became embroiled in infighting within the alt-right online after key female alt-right social media personalities promoting traditional gender roles were fiercely criticised for being unmarried and childless.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Despite December’s infighting with others in the alt-right, McCarthy is likely to retain her audience in the coming year, especially as she produces collaborative content with others in the movement.

Given that she has expressed her wish to maintain this as the extent of her political activism, however, she may remain in the background if more efforts are made to organise alt-right street movements and, among alt-right vloggers, increased citizen journalism.

As a commentator, she is also set to publish a book, *Irreplaceable: How And Why We Must Save The West*, in 2018 through alt-right figure Vox Day’s Castalia House publishers.



DAILY STORMER BOOK CLUBS

IDEOLOGY	NAZI
LEADER	ANDREW ANGLIN
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON, MANCHESTER, LEEDS, SOUTH WALES, SWINDON

SUMMARY OF 2017

Andrew Anglin, founder of the notorious nazi website The Daily Stormer, has encouraged regional offline meetings across the US and Europe, euphemistically termed “book clubs”. Anglin has stated that his plan is to “build an invisible empire”.

Regional threads have been set up on the Daily Stormer forums to encourage meetings in the UK although, so far, only a handful have translated into offline encounters that have had small turnouts. In Yorkshire, meetings have been planned to coincide with Forum Network events and martial arts training sessions have been held in Swindon.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

These groups will remain small and are unlikely to develop into much more than a place for lonely internet nazis and trolls to meet in real life. However, given the hard-line nazism of the Daily Stormer, it warrants observation.



Andrew Anglin, founder of the notorious nazi website The Daily Stormer



Former BNP activist Matt Tait

ALT-RIGHT SOCIALS

SUMMARY OF 2017

While the “alt-right” socials organised by former BNP activist Matt Tait ground to a halt early in 2017, London-based organiser Chris Ram continued to run his own, separate monthly meetings throughout the year, advertised on the Facebook group “Alt Right/Right Wing London Discussion meetup group”. Attendance for the gatherings has been small but has included figures active in the Forum Network.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Small gatherings of alt-right activists will continue throughout 2018 although it is unlikely any of these will grow significantly in size or importance.

LD50

CURATOR	LUCIA DIEGO
ONLINE	FACEBOOK: 1,228 LIKES

SUMMARY OF 2017

The Dalston, London-based, art gallery – which established links to the London Forum in 2016 – received adverse press attention in February 2017 when news of its August 2016 Neoreaction conference, addressed by Peter Brimelow of alt-right website VDare and Brett Stevens of alt-right website Amerika.org, hit the press. The group also came under fire for its November 2016 exhibition which heavily employed alt-right imagery. Protests were held outside the gallery in early 2017.

The organisation held another exhibition entitled “Corporeality” in May but attendance was low.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Diego has already launched a new exhibition titled “Political orientation is aesthetic orientation: true or false?”, running from 23 January to 7 February.

Now the controversy around it has died down somewhat, the gallery is likely to slip back into obscurity in the eyes of the art world and the general public.

Alt-light

PAUL JOSEPH WATSON

IDEOLOGY	ALT-LIGHT
PUBLICATIONS	ORDER OUT OF CHAOS: ELITE SPONSORED TERRORISM & THE NEW WORLD ORDER (ALEX JONES PRODUCTIONS, 2003)
ONLINE TWITTER:	796,000 FOLLOWERS, YOUTUBE: 1,150,457 SUBSCRIBERS
	FACEBOOK: 599,219 LIKES, INSTAGRAM: 86,300 FOLLOWERS

SUMMARY OF 2017

Alt-light vlogger Paul Joseph Watson continued to expand his huge online following in 2017, attracting 100 million views over the year on YouTube alone. Watson continued presenting shows on Alex Jones' US conspiratorial *InfoWars* channel and having his content shared with Jones' *Prison Planet* website.

Content produced by Watson in 2017 included his 6th most viewed video, a response to the October 2017 Las Vegas mass shooting titled "Las Vegas Massacre: What They're NOT Telling You" which suggested that many responses to the attack were part of an anti-white agenda.

Watson, who is also very active on Twitter, was the most mentioned account in the UK on the day of the Westminster terror attack on 22 March 2017 and the 48 hours following after he made tweets including "Hashtags WON'T stop Islamic terrorism. Accepting that Islam is NOT a 'religion of peace' will".

The Battersea-based conspiracist provided a rare interview to former UKIP donor Arron Banks' *Westmonster* blog in September.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Watson appears set to continue producing videos and presenting on *InfoWars* in 2018 though, like many alt-light and alt-right vloggers, he has suggested he may leave YouTube following the company's decisions to demonetise, hide or ban his videos.

Early in January 2018, Watson also tweeted "Infowars UK? Infowars Europe?" though there is no further indication that the channel plans to extend its reach to the UK or Europe.



MILO YIANNPOULOS

IDEOLOGY	ALT-LIGHT
PUBLICATIONS	 DANGEROUS (SELF-PUBLISHED, 2017), DESPICABLE (SELF-PUBLISHED, FORTHCOMING 2018)
ONLINE	 FACEBOOK: 2,387,021 LIKES YOUTUBE: 736,000 SUBSCRIBERS

SUMMARY OF 2017

UK-born but US-based media “personality” Milo Yiannopoulos suffered his greatest setbacks to date in 2017.

The year began with protests following a speech at the University of Washington, Seattle, in January and the cancellation of a much-hyped speech at University of California, Berkeley, in February.

In the same month, his reputation took a serious blow after footage of him appearing to endorse sexual relationships between “younger boys and older men” resurfaced online. He was forced to resign from his position at Breitbart News Network, was uninvited from the influential Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) and was dropped by the publisher Simon & Schuster which had originally paid an advance of \$250,000 for his first book *Dangerous*. In May 2017, Milo attempted a comeback, launching his own organisation, MILO, Inc., with the help of \$12 million in funding and announced he would self-publish his book *Dangerous* via his new publishing company Dangerous Books.

In the same month, he co-organised a protest with Pamela Geller demanding that Muslim political activist Linda Sarsour be disinvited from speaking at the City University of New York.

On 17 July 2017, the David Horowitz Freedom Center hosted a launch party for Yiannopoulos’ book. On 24 September 2017, Yiannopoulos held a failed “Free Speech Week” event at UC Berkeley, University of California where Pamela Geller spoke. Her book *Fatwa: Hunted in America* book was announced the day previously as set to be published by Dangerous Books.

The event ended in embarrassment with a tiny turnout and almost all the speeches cancelled due to safety concerns. On 18 November 2017, Yiannopoulos addressed the David Horowitz Restoration Weekend.

In October, Yiannopoulos’ profile took another hit after *Buzzfeed* published damning emails from his employment at Breitbart which revealed, among other things, that he had sought advice on an article from key figures in the alt-right, including Andrew Auernheimer (aka weev), administrator of the nazi Daily Stormer website. This caused his billionaire backer Robert Mercer to pull his funding.

In November 2017, Yiannopoulos engaged in his “Troll Academy” tour of Australia, with talks in Sydney, Adelaide, Perth, Melbourne and Gold Coast as well as a speech at Canberra’s Parliament House, following an invitation from Liberal Democratic senator, David Leyonhjelm.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Given the damage to his reputation in 2017, Yiannopoulos looks set to focus his efforts on maintaining his existing audience through his YouTube channel, “The Milo Show”. He is also set to publish a new book, *Despicable*, on 1 May 2018, which, he claims, will expose how “it became more dangerous in Hollywood to be a Republican than a child molester”.

Nonetheless, he will likely struggle to significantly increase his audience on which he is more dependent to finance his activities than ever before. This also suggests he will need to look further than his traditional US and UK audiences, as evidenced by his recent Australian excursion.

While he has yet to announce a new speaking tour, a now-postponed May 2018 conference in Hungary – funded by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s government – announced it would be featuring Yiannopoulos as a speaker.



Alt-light (continued)

STEPHEN YAXLEY-LENNON (TOMMY ROBINSON)

IDEOLOGY ANTI-MUSLIM

PUBLICATIONS TOMMY ROBINSON: ENEMY OF THE STATE (THE PRESS NEWS LTD, 2015). MOHAMMED'S KORAN: WHY MUSLIMS KILL FOR ISLAM (PUBLISHED BY PETER MCLOUGHLIN, 2017)

ONLINE FACEBOOK: 686,267 LIKES, TWITTER: 394,000 FOLLOWERS
YOUTUBE: 61,884 SUBSCRIBERS

AREAS ACTIVE ONLINE/OCCASIONAL RALLIES

SUMMARY OF 2017

2017 was the year English Defence League (EDL) founder Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) re-entered the main stage.

Lennon has featured as a guest on the YouTube channel of Rebel Media, for almost two years but made his first video for them in February 2017. He has since become a full-time contributor to Rebel as part of his deliberate shift to social media activism over street activism (despite being snapped with leaders of the anti-Muslim street movement Britain First and continuing to speak at occasional rallies).

Lennon took control of the "Gays Against Sharia" demonstration organised by Tommy Cook (aka Tommy English) in Manchester on 11 June 2017, rebranding it as "UK Against Hate". Here he appeared alongside his cousin and former EDL deputy leader Kevin Carroll and anti-Muslim activists Jack Buckby and Anne Marie-Waters. The same month, he received adverse press

attention after being filmed in a vicious fight at Ascot racecourse.

On 10 October, he spoke via Skype to Columbia University's College Republican club on "The Fall of Europe: Mass Immigration" and in November he hosted Lutz Bachmann, founder of the German anti-Muslim Pegida movement, in the UK and then travelled to Dresden to attend a Pegida anniversary demonstration. In the same month, he also attended an Independence Day demonstration in Poland on which signs were seen that read "Pray for Islamic Holocaust".

On 3 November, Lennon presented his new book *Mohammed's Koran: Why Muslims Kill for Islam*, co-written with Peter McLoughlin, in Manchester before a claimed crowd of 1,000 people. McLoughlin previously wrote *Easy Meat: Inside Britain's Grooming Gang Scandal* in 2014. Robinson and McLoughlin's book purports to show that "the connection between Islam and Islamic terrorism is unbreakable".

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Lennon had a successful year on the whole in 2017, reaffirming his position as one of the most visible far right activists in the UK.

He now looks set to continue prioritising online strategy over street protests, telling Breitbart London's James Delingpole in April 2017 that he doesn't "actually see that as that productive".

The shift to a mainly online strategy is evident in Robinson's prioritisation of work with Rebel Media.





REBEL MEDIA UK

IDEOLOGY	ALT-LIGHT
LEADERSHIP	EZRA LEVANT
ONLINE	YOUTUBE: 869,318 SUBSCRIBERS FACEBOOK: 146,758 LIKES, TWITTER: 127,000 FOLLOWERS

SUMMARY OF 2017

2017 was a bruising year for Canadian alt-light media outlet Rebel Media which lost a host of contributors and was confronted with financial scandal. Despite this, the outfit expanded considerably into the UK.

Founder and former leader of the English Defence League (EDL) Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) has appeared as a guest on its YouTube channel for almost two years but it was in February that he made his first video for the organisation.

Following this, Rebel Media founder Ezra Levant visited London to launch Rebel Media UK with Yaxley-Lennon contributing alongside the then-unknown “reporter” Caolan Robertson and former glamour model Holly Henderson. While no content would surface from Henderson (who told *Vice* in August she was never paid), Robertson and Yaxley-Lennon produced many videos for Rebel Media, including an Islamophobic report from the scene of the Westminster terror attack in March that would be one of the most viewed YouTube videos in the UK about the attack in the days following.

Robertson left Rebel Media in late July (amid numerous departures by its best-known Canadian commentators) and posted a video in August alleging that he and cameraman George Llewelyn-John had been fired “suddenly, without cause”, because “we knew too much” about Rebel Media’s alleged handling of its donors’ money and its business motives.

In response, Levant alleged that Robertson and Llewelyn-John had been “blackmailing” him. Levant claimed “they had no evidence [...] They don’t have any facts” for these allegations. Llewelyn-John has denied Levant’s claims.

Robinson continued to create videos for Rebel Media alongside occasional contributions from UK reporter Lucy Brown and started a crowdfund for a UK studio in September. Former British National Party (BNP) and Liberty GB activist Jack Buckby has also been hired as a “researcher” for the group.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Despite Rebel’s multiple scandals, the outlet looks set to continue a presence in the UK. Its UK site remains active, its UK studio will soon be in regular use and the highly significant hiring of notorious former *Mail Online* columnist Katie Hopkins, who enjoys a large public profile, reaffirms that they do not look set to be pushed further into the margins anytime soon.

Holocaust Deniers

IAN MILLARD

Ian Millard is a former barrister, expelled from the Bar in October 2016 after having posted a series of antisemitic tweets glorifying Hitler's Nazi Party and calling the then-Justice Secretary Michael Gove a "pro-Zionist, pro-Jew expenses cheat".

SUMMARY OF 2017

During 2017, Millard continued to be vocal online, especially on his website and blog where he calls for a complete replacement of the Parliament by a "social nationalist" government.

In February, he also spoke at the London Forum on "The Zionist assault on freedom of expression in England".

ALISON CHABLOZ

Chabloz is a musician, blogger and Holocaust denier from Glossop in Derbyshire who gained attention in 2015 when she performed at Edinburgh Fringe Festival, being photographed performing a nazi quenelle gesture in front of Edinburgh Castle.

SUMMARY OF 2017

In 2016, a prosecution with charges related to three "grossly offensive" songs performed at the London Forum in September was brought against her. One of those is "(((Survivors)))" in which she mocks Anne Frank and Holocaust survivor Irene Zysblat.

The proceedings continued into 2017 without reaching a verdict and she has been portrayed as a martyr by the UK extreme right and, as Canadian antisemite Brian Ruhe put it, a "Free Speech heroine". Throughout the year she regularly appeared on the websites and social media of the international Holocaust denial scene. She is very chummy with veteran French Auschwitz liar, Robert Faurisson.

Chabloz also travelled to Canada, performing at an event in Calgary hosted by the nazi Blood & Honour. In February, she performed again at the London Forum, of which she is a regular attendee, and spoke at the Forum-linked Extremists Club.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Chabloz' activities in 2018 will hinge on the outcome of her trial, which began in January 2018, with Chabloz attracting press attention for singing along as "grossly offensive" songs were played.

Whatever the outcome, she will continue to be regarded as a most important figure in the UK Holocaust denier scene.

NICHOLAS KOLLERSTROM

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

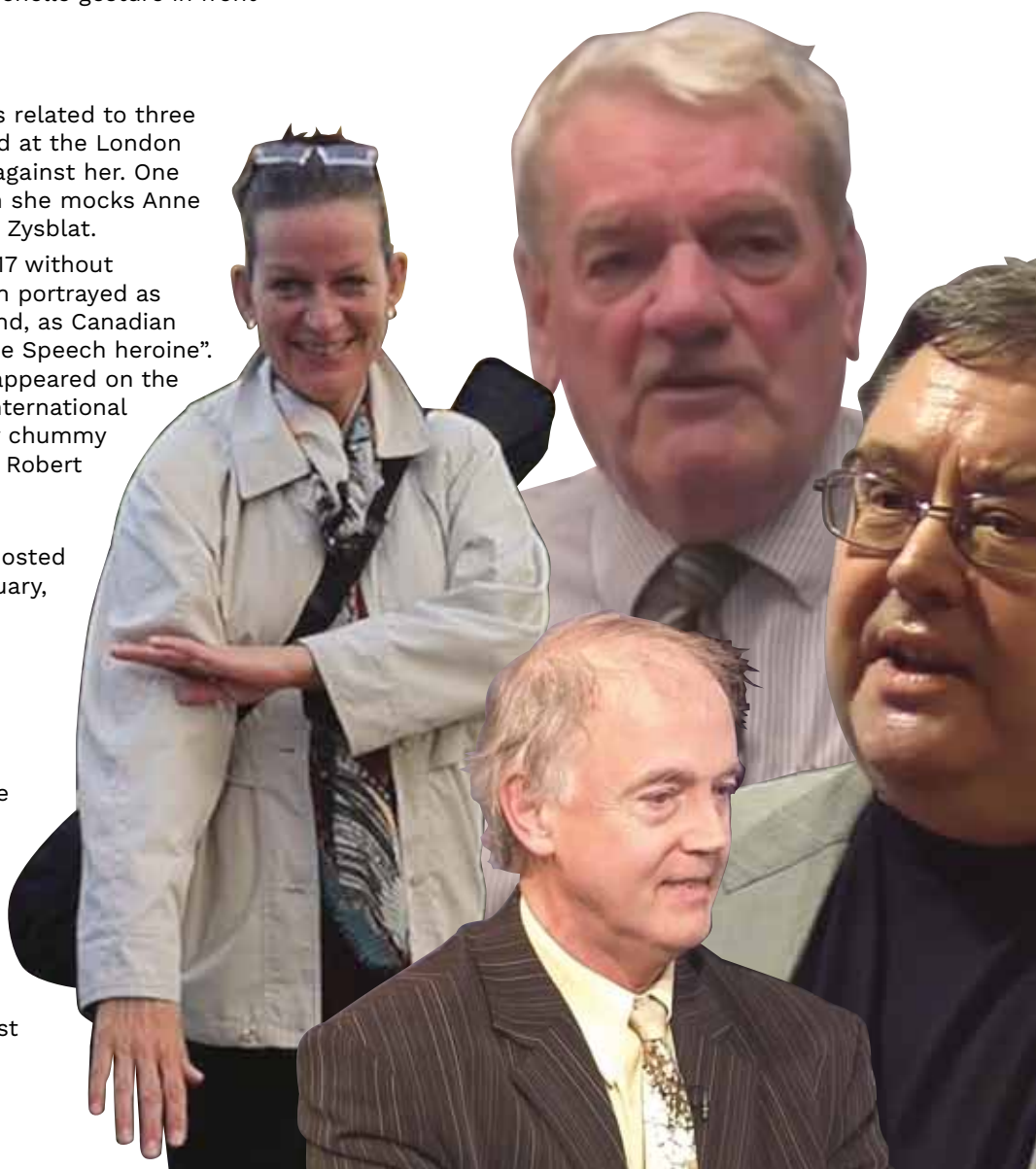
SUMMARY OF 2017

Kollerstrom continued to attend events organised by the London Forum and continued his organising role at the conspiracy group Keep Talking though his planned speaking engagement at the group was cancelled due to protests in May.

Kollerstrom also appeared on a number of marginal media outlets, the most significant being the Richie Allen Show in May.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Kollerstrom will remain active on the fringes of far right politics and conspiracy thinking in the UK.



VINCENT REYNOUARD

Vincent Reynouard is a French “historian” resident in the UK due to convictions for Holocaust denial in France and to avoid another prison sentence of 18 months. Reynouard has authored several books and was previously “Secretary General” of the long-disbanded Nazi French and European Nationalist Party.

SUMMARY OF 2017

In his exile, Reynouard works as a French teacher in London but also publishes antisemitic videos and texts online. He spoke at the London Forum in February 2017 alongside David Irving and Chabloz.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Reynouard will continue to be a marginal figure in the circles around Alison Chabloz.

FOCAL POINT PUBLISHING / DAVID IRVING

ONLINE

FACEBOOK OFFICIAL FAN PAGE: 7,993 LIKES

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

SUMMARY OF 2017

Irving was on the road again in 2017, attempting to capitalise on publicity garnered in the wake of the Hollywood film *Denial*, a dramatisation of the 1996 Deborah Lipstadt libel trial, released in autumn 2016.

Irving spoke at the London Forum in February, drawing press attention by comparing Auschwitz with Disneyland. He completed a speaking tour of the US titled *My fifty years defending Real History against its enemies*.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Irving has several speaking engagements planned for 2018. Tickets are on sale for his “Real History tour” of WW2 sites in Poland, including Auschwitz and sites of Operation Reinhard.

2018 may finally see the publication of the three works that he has been claiming are near completion since 2016.

MICHÈLE RENOUF

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

SUMMARY OF 2017

Renouf now lives part-time in the late German Nazi Manfred Roeder’s former house in Schwarzenborn, Germany. In March, she organised a conference there with known far right activists attending. She also spoke at an antisemitic conference, titled “Forgotten British Heroes”, in August.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

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



(left to right) Alison Chabloz, Nicholas Kollerstrom, David Irving, Ian Millard, Vincent Reynouard and Michèle Renouf

Discussion Groups

THE FORUM NETWORK

IDEOLOGY	RACIAL NATIONALIST
ONLINE	YOUTUBE: (LONDON FORUM) 6,800 SUBSCRIBERS

The Forum Network is a collection of far right discussion groups, including the London Forum and regional branches in the South West, Yorkshire, Scotland and Wales.

The Forum Network has had speakers from across the British and international far right and has links with almost every active far right organisation in the UK and many across Europe and North America. Branches operate with a high level of independence.

It has inspired copycat groups in the USA such as the New York Forum and Northwest Forum, founded in 2016 by Greg Johnson of Counter-Currents Publishing, and the Atlanta Forum, founded in January 2017.

THE LONDON FORUM

LEADERSHIP	JEREMY BEDFORD-TURNER (aka JEZ TURNER), STEAD STEADMAN, LARRY NUNN (aka MAX MUSSON) AND MICK BROOKS
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REVIEW OF 2017

2017 was a bruising year for the London Forum. The group held large events early in the year, including an event on 4 February addressed by antisemite Ian Millard and the then-editor of alt-right publisher Arktos Media, Jason Reza Jorjani although it was cut short due to anti-fascist protests. On 18 February, the group held a successful event at which infamous Holocaust deniers David Irving, Alison Chabloz and Vincent Reynouard spoke. Both events were attended by roughly 100 people.

The group's highpoint was the Jonathan Bowden Memorial Dinner in May, attended by alt-right and nazi figures from Europe and North America. The forum the following day heard speeches from leading American alt-right figure Greg Johnson of Counter-Currents Publishing, Scottish alt-right commentator Colin Robertson (aka Millennial Woes), European New Right and nazi theorist Tomislav Sunić and George Whale, then of Liberty GB and now of Britain First.

The reputation of the outfit, which was already struggling to lock in speakers for its next event, was dealt a major blow when HOPE not hate launched an exposé of the international alt-right following a year-long infiltration by researcher Patrik Hermansson.

London Forum organiser Stead Steadman provided Hope not hate the entry point and Hermansson soon became so embedded that he was even present at meetings to vet potential attendees. Steadman also opened doors for Hermansson to some of the most influential alt-right figures in the world. This shambles has been the cause of acute embarrassment to its leadership.

In October, the group was dealt a further blow when Bedford-Turner was charged with "inciting racial hatred" in connection with speech he gave at an "anti-Shomrim" demonstration in Whitehall in 2015. Turner's trial will be held in April 2018.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The group's prospects hinge on the outcome of Turner's court date in April. Steadman is still networking in far right circles but his reputation is much tainted and he will likely struggle to book big-name speakers. Any events organised will likely be on a smaller scale.

THE SOUTH WEST FORUM

LEADERSHIP	JULIE LAKE
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REVIEW OF 2017

The South West Forum, headed by the National Front's Julie Lake, had a shaky year in 2017.

In January, the group was forced to abandon an event midway through due to disruption. After placing an increased emphasis on security and moving events outside Bristol, the SW Forum held a successful event in May at which Peter Cowles, Peter Rushton, Larry Nunn (aka Max Musson) and Kev Bryan spoke.

The SW Forum's year ended in disappointment with the cancellation of another event in November, due to Lake's alleged personal issues.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

With the troubles afflicting the London Forum, in 2018 the SW Forum has the opportunity to become a major meeting point for the UK far right, provided it can avoid disruptions and Lake can keep her act together.

THE YORKSHIRE FORUM

LEADERSHIP	LIAM KERNAGHAN
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REVIEW OF 2017

The group, organised by Liam Kernaghan of the British Democratic Party, held just a single meeting in 2017. The April gathering featured speeches from Steve Frost, Graham Hardy, Clive Jones of the New British Union and Alex Davies, former co-leader of the now-outlawed nazi organisation National Action.

The climbdown from 2016, in which it held six meetings, is partly due to an increased focus on security following the January disruption of the South West Forum at which Kernaghan was present.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The group's energy has dissipated and it remains to be seen whether it will be able to function in 2018.

THE EXTREMISTS CLUB/THE FREE SPEECH CLUB

LEADER	DAVID PARRY
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON

The Extremists Club, recently renamed “The Free Speech Club”, is a small monthly discussion group based in London, founded by Jez Turner of the London Forum and David Parry of the Libertarian Party UK.

The group bills itself as a discussion group for “extremist” ideas of all kinds. However, many attending and addressing the events are active in far-right circles, including central figures in the London Forum.

REVIEW OF 2017

The group continued to hold regular meetings throughout 2017, with an average attendance of about 20.

Among a variety of speakers (including many on non-political topics), Canadian white supremacist Paul Fromm, Holocaust denier Alison Chabloz and nazi anti-feminist zealot Claire Khaw addressed meetings in 2017.

In 2017, events customarily held a reading from Melissa Cordwell who was involved in drumming up support for the Racial Volunteer Force (RVF) after the sacking of RVF leader Mark Atkinson from his position as a cleaner at Royal Holloway University in 2016.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The group has attempted a rebrand of sorts with the change of its name in early 2018, and moving venue from Soho to St Marylebone.

Parry has struggled to find new speakers, however, and it seems unlikely that the group will grow significantly in 2018.

TRADITIONAL BRITAIN GROUP

IDEOLOGY	TRADITIONALIST/FAR RIGHT
LEADER	GREGORY LAUDER-FROST. ORGANISERS: RICHARD CURRY, MERLIN HANBURY-TRACY (7TH BARON SUDELEY) HOLDS THE CEREMONIAL POSITION OF PRESIDENT
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON
ONLINE	FACEBOOK: 40,766 LIKES, TWITTER: 4,385 FOLLOWERS

The Traditional Britain Group (TBG) is a London-based discussion group that hosts far right gatherings, dinners and conferences. The group’s “High Tory” pretensions enable it to present a more moderate and “respectable” image than the Forum network.

REVIEW OF 2017

Despite the departure of vice-president John Kersey in 2017, the year saw the TBG affirm its position as one of the most important offline networking points for the far right in the UK. It held four events, attended by former BNP members, other nazis and European identitarians alongside UKIP and Tory party members. The TBG continues to draw a younger audience than the London Forum.

Events in 2017 included a dinner in May addressed by Johannes Hübner, Foreign Affairs spokesman for the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), and a June meeting addressed by Bruno Gollnisch, an MEP for the French Front National.

The TBG’s annual conference in October included speeches from Anne Marie Waters of For Britain as well as the Austrian Identitarian co-leader Martin Sellner who announced the launch of the UK and Ireland branch of Generation Identity. The sell-out event was attended by 134 people, a significant increase from 2016.

The event was infiltrated and was featured in the ITV documentary *Undercover: Inside Britain’s New Far Right* in November. Lauder-Frost was also exposed engaging in gutter racism by HOPE not hate.

The year ended with a Christmas social on 16 December.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

In light of the London Forum’s ailing fortunes, the TBG will likely continue to grow and consolidate its place as the most important meeting point for the intellectual end of the far right in the UK in 2018. The group also continues to manage a website and to use social media effectively.



(left to right)
Jeremy Bedford-Turner, Julie Lake, Larry Nunn and Gregory Lauder-Frost

Discussion Groups (continued)

THE PATRIOTIC FORUM/THE SWINTON CIRCLE

LEADERSHIP JULIE LAKE

REVIEW OF 2017

In 2017, Alan Harvey's Swinton Circle rebranded itself as "The Patriotic Forum" following a formal merger with New Britain, a tiny obscure racist group founded in 1974 by the late Dennis Delderfield.

Despite this, Harvey's group has continued much as before, holding a number of small, sporadic meetings, with speakers including Eurosceptic activist Gary Cartwright, and several day trips for its few members, for example travelling to Canterbury to celebrate Gibraltar Day.

The pro-white South African Springbok Club, also run by Harvey, threw a "Raising of the Flag" ceremony in Norfolk in October to mark the anniversary of the founding of Rhodesia. Harvey continues to write the lengthy monthly "Springbok Cyber Newsletter" and the Forum maintains a website.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

While the group is set to launch its new publication *The Imperial Patriot* early in 2018, it will continue to have little influence.

LONDON SWINTON CIRCLE

LEADER ALLAN ROBERTSON

ONLINE FACEBOOK GROUP: 152 MEMBERS

The London Swinton Circle is a group that splintered from Alan Harvey's Swinton Circle in 2008. Alongside Robertson, key members include Daniel Wilkinson and Gareth Gillingham.

REVIEW OF 2017

As we predicted last year, the group continued its downward plunge, doing nothing more than holding the odd meeting in a small room in The Counting House pub near Bank tube station in London. The group took a blow with the death of long-standing member Christopher Luke in the Autumn. It maintains a website.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Continuing irrelevance.

Conspiracy



Main picture: David Icke.
Photo: Tyler Merbler

(inset)
(left) Richie Allen
and Ian Fantom

Theory



DAVID ICKE

IDEOLOGY	CONSPIRACY THEORY
ONLINE	YOUTUBE: 389,381 SUBSCRIBERS TWITTER: 186,566 FOLLOWERS FACEBOOK: 782,850 LIKES

SUMMARY OF 2017

In September, Icke received renewed press attention after Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's son posted an antisemitic image on social media depicting a humanoid reptile (which figures prominently in Icke's theories). Icke's website has continued to host the Richie Allen Show which featured a variety of Holocaust deniers throughout 2017.

In November, Icke released his new self-published book *Everything You Need To Know, But Have Never Been Told*. The book, which features Icke's usual ramblings, was promoted by a series of sell-out dinners, talks and book signings across the UK, and in Ireland, Netherlands, Slovenia, Iceland, Croatia, Serbia, Canada, France and Slovakia. Icke suffered a setback when Manchester United cancelled his planned event at Old Trafford in mid-November.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Icke will maintain his website and tour regularly, with nine events booked in major UK cities in April and May. He will then head to Oslo, Stockholm, Helsinki, Copenhagen and Budapest in October and the USA in November-December.

RICHIE ALLEN

IDEOLOGY	CONSPIRACY THEORY
ONLINE	YOUTUBE: 74,391 SUBSCRIBERS FACEBOOK: 19,381 LIKES TWITTER: 23,493 FOLLOWERS

SUMMARY OF 2017

David Icke's protégé Richie Allen hosted a menagerie of antisemites, Holocaust deniers, conspiracy theorists as well as more mainstream figures throughout 2017. While Allen claims his guests are on to "debate", they are often given an easy ride if they hold conspiratorial beliefs.

Antisemitic guests hosted by Allen in 2017 include Alison Chabloz, Gilad Atzmon, Nick Kollerstrom (described as a "friend of the show") and Kevin Myers (described as an "acclaimed journalist"). Allen also hosted "Pizzagate" conspiracy theorist Liz Crokin, former British National Party (BNP) activist Mark Collett and BNP press officer David Furness. Other guests to appear on his show in 2017 include Anne Marie Waters of For Britain, former MP George Galloway and former Conservative MP Anne Widdecombe.

Throughout 2017 Allen's videos continued to be hosted on Icke's website.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Allen looks set to continue providing a platform to Holocaust deniers, already hosting Chabloz again in January and introducing her in the most laudatory terms imaginable.

Allen launched his new website on 23 January.

KEEP TALKING

IDEOLOGY	CONSPIRACY THEORY
LEADER	IAN FANTOM
AREAS ACTIVE	LONDON

Keep Talking is a conspiracy theory group holding monthly meetings in London. Alongside Fantom, prominent Holocaust denier Nick Kollerstrom has also taken on some organising duties in the group.

REVIEW OF 2017

In 2017, the group held meetings on topics such as conspiracies around the murder of Labour MP Jo Cox and 9/11 with speakers including Danish conspiracy theorist Ole Dammegård and antisemitic jazz musician Gilad Atzmon.

The group suffered a setback when a meeting due to feature a talk from Kollerstrom was shut down by protestors in May. Another meeting in August was called off after the venue cancelled its booking.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Keep Talking will continue to hold small meetings for moth-eaten conspiracists and Holocaust deniers in 2018.

Magazines/Publisher



Daniel Friberg

ARKTOS MEDIA

IDEOLOGY	IDENTITARIAN
LEADERSHIP	DANIEL FRIBERG
ONLINE	TWITTER: 3,404, FACEBOOK: 43,028 LIKES INSTAGRAM: 797 FOLLOWERS, YOUTUBE: 767 SUBSCRIBERS

SUMMARY OF 2017

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

In January 2017, Arktos collaborated with Richard Spencer's National Policy Institute (NPI) and Red Ice Creations to form Alt Right Corporation, touted as a new centre for the international alt-right.

Arktos became embroiled in scandal following internal splits between Friberg and then-editor John Morgan in late 2016. In the ensuing fallout, Mick Brooks of the London Forum, who was formerly closely linked to Arktos, was forced out of the company. Morgan has since joined Counter-Currents as book editor and the rivalry between Arktos/AltRight Corporation and Counter-Currents remains a major split within the alt-right.

Previous editor Jason Reza Jorjani, who spoke at the London Forum in February, also left the company and AltRight Corporation in August 2017. His departure came in the wake of the Charlottesville protests and HOPE not hate's exposé of his alleged connections with the Trump administration.

Despite the conflicts, broadly 2017 was a successful year for Arktos. It released 26 new titles, more than any previous year, and reportedly increased sales by 70%.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Despite the splits, Arktos appears to be going from strength to strength and will likely continue to grow in 2018.

A.K. CHESTERTON TRUST/CANDOUR MAGAZINE

EDITOR COLIN TODD

SUMMARY OF 2017

Candour magazine, Britain's longest-running fascist publication, limped through 2017 despite being mired in ongoing financial difficulties. The last edition of the year, a skimpy 6-page effort published in September, had, as its front page, a plea for donations.

The Trust has continued to run its website, which promotes the legacy of A.K. Chesterton, founder of the long-defunct League of Empire Loyalists and a former early leader of the National Front. The website is of negligible importance on the nationalist scene.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

With no sign of let up for its financial difficulties, the outfit will struggle in 2018, managing little more than to continue publishing *Candour* for a diminishing readership.

CASTLE HILL PUBLISHERS

LEADERSHIP GERMAR RUDOLF

SUMMARY OF 2017

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

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

Castle Hill published 23 new titles or new editions in 2017, including Richard Tedlow's *Hitler's Revolution* and several titles in Rudolf's *Holocaust Handbooks* series.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

It is unlikely anything significant will change for Castle Hill Publishers. New books in the *Holocaust Handbooks* series are scheduled to come out.

(left to right) Germar Rudolf and Colin Todd

S

HISTORICAL REVIEW PRESS

FOUNDER ANTHONY HANCOCK (DECEASED)

SUMMARY OF 2017

Despite the death of founder Anthony Hancock in 2012, the HRP continues to struggle on. However, once a powerhouse of the international Holocaust denial scene, it is now in deep decline.

Little changed in 2017, with no new titles published. HRP's website continues to sell a variety of fascist, far right and Holocaust denial literature, much of it produced by others.

Historical Review Press continued to update its blog regularly but at a declining rate throughout 2017, often just republishing articles by other news outlets.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

It is highly unlikely that there will be any change of note in 2018.

MJOLNIR

EDITOR DAVE YORKSHIRE

SUMMARY OF 2017

2017 was a slow year for the "White Eurocentric arts magazine" *Mjolnir*, with Yorkshire failing to produce a single edition since September 2016. Yorkshire announced in February that he was taking "a sabbatical" from engagement with the Forum Network following his disillusionment with some people in the scene.

Mjolnir has, however, continued to be flogged at events and the group around it has maintained an active blog, posting reviews and opinions on news events and culture.

Late in the year, Yorkshire started a podcast entitled "Mjolnir at the Movies" with Neil Westwood, offering racist analyses of popular film franchises. At the time of writing, three episodes have surfaced, with one including alt-right blogger Andy Nowicki. However, listenership is dismally small. At the time of writing, the combined YouTube views of this series reached roughly 200 views.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Devoid of charisma, Yorkshire is unlikely to have much success establishing a following for his podcasts. However, it will be interesting to see whether his links to the Dutch alt-right organisation Erkenbrand develop into anything beyond the odd shared podcast.

BLACK HOUSE PUBLISHING

DIRECTOR JANET ELAINE SLATTER

SUMMARY OF 2017

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

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

The publisher had only three new titles in 2017.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

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

LEAGUE OF ST GEORGE

LEADERSHIP KEITH THOMPSON

SUMMARY OF 2017

The tiny, but longstanding, nazi League of St George did little more in 2017 than continue publication of its shabby quarterly racist magazine *League Sentinel* whose circulation remains minute. Its website is relatively inactive.

Steven Books, the publishing site linked to League of St George, continues to be a significant producer and distributor of racist, nationalist, Holocaust denial and fascist books and pamphlets in the UK.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The group will continue to produce *League Sentinel* for its dwindling readership.

HERITAGE AND DESTINY

EDITOR MARK COTTERILL

SUMMARY OF 2017

Heritage&Destiny (H&D) continues to be Britain's leading non-party racial nationalist publication, producing six editions last year, featuring news articles, updates on the racist scene in the UK and book reviews, written by prominent far right figures like Peter Rushton and Andrew Brons.

H&D continues to run a website selling nationalist paraphernalia although it is only sporadically updated.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

The magazine will continue to publish although it is unlikely its small readership will increase.

Investigation: Polish extremists active in the UK

A feature of the British far right scene over recent years has been the rising numbers of Polish extremists active in it. From the political party National Rebirth of Poland (NOP) to right-wing Polish hooligans fighting on our streets, there are few British far right groups that do not have any links to their Polish extremists. By Matthew Collins and Nick Lowles. Here is a brief summary:

NARODOWE ODRODZENIE POLSKI / NATIONAL REBIRTH OF POLAND (NOP)

National Rebirth of Poland (NOP) has been the highest profile of the Polish far right groups operating in the UK in recent years largely because it has linked up so publicly with UK far right groups like National Action (NA) and the National Front (NF).

Its UK group is led by south London-based Arek Rzepinski and is active in London, Glasgow, Exeter, Norwich, Essex, Liverpool and Manchester.

NOP paid the price for its association with the outlawed NA as a number of its members and activists were refused readmission/told not to return to the UK after travelling home to Poland with NA members.

NOP has long entertained British far rightists in drunken shooting practice at a number of legal shooting ranges it uses in Poland. The banning of NA also put the spotlight on the group's activities both here and at home where it is viewed, apparently, as a minor irritant.

The NOP's London group suffered some disruption when it was compromised by an alleged member of the Polish security services who had ingratiated himself in its inner circles.

The group signed a "mutual cooperation" pact with the NF which it understands to mean that it is some kind of legal entity in the UK.

This misunderstanding is, in the main, down to the ignorance of Kevin Layzell, the NF official who organised the pact.

NOP has also found itself squeezed by the growth of other far right Polish organisations that have launched activity in the UK. NOP is often scorned and frowned upon by Polish fascists because of its overt nazism.

The group did, however, continue "outreach" work with homeless Poles in British cities, something it hopes will at some stage raise and improve its reputation at home.

It was not all charitable works for the group, however, which is struggling for control and prominence on the thriving Polish "White Power" scene that appears to have embedded itself with the British Blood & Honour network.

The introduction of Polish-origin splits about power and cash-hungry ambition as well as a militant group of Polish anti-fascists hunting down Polish fascists in London is not a welcome addition to Blood&Honour's UK organisers.

The NOP has been working with the Misanthropic Division to offer safe passage through Poland to the Ukraine and to Ireland for those wanting to return in the other direction.

STOWARZYSZENIE PATRIOTYCZNE “OGNIWO” (PATRIOTIC ASSOCIATION “LINK”)

The Patriotic Association “Link”, a far right cultural group, is led by London-based Mariusz Zawadzki and brings together Polish football hooligans and far right supporters. Its public face is on Facebook, though this is entirely focused Polish history.

It is associated with Patriae Fidelis, another patriotic group, and the Store4Fans shop in London. Its members are frequently pictured with the Polish Ambassador as well as with the current Polish President.

One of its most prominent supporters is Hayes-based nazi Lukasz Pietraszek who, in November 2017, was jailed for 20 months for his role in the violence that followed a National Action demonstration in Liverpool in 2016.



Mariusz Zawadzki

Pietraszek was named in court as being one of the organisers of a 40-strong Polish mob that attacked police. His mobile phone revealed that he provided the hooded “Polish Hooligan” tops the thugs wore and exchanges with others boasting about good numbers coming from Preston, Crewe and Leeds.

Members of the group attended the Polish Independence March last November. The following day they posted a picture on Facebook of masked men standing behind a banner which read: “Europe will be either white or uninhabited”.

The picture has been since deleted. Clearly conscious that the authorities might be taking a closer look at them, the Facebook administrators have removed over 1,000 photos in recent weeks.

BRITAIN FIRST

A Polish connection was last year’s fascist “must have” item because, when it comes to money and muscle – as National Action and, later, the National Front found out – Polish fascists domiciled in the UK provide access to both.

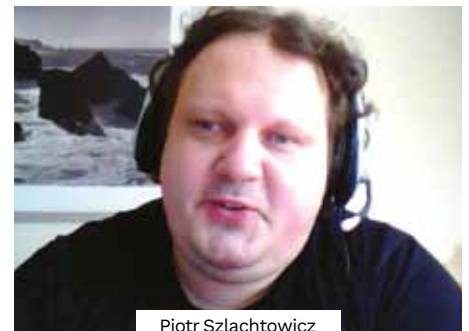
Access to Poles in the UK opens the gateway to Poland itself and not just as an interesting bolthole. Eurosceptic, and increasingly nationalist, Poland opens the door to large numbers of angry young men and women who flock to far right rallies there.

There are no people more vain and cash-hungry on the British far right than Paul Golding and Jayda Fransen of Britain First. The sheer scale of interest that surrounds their tiny, non-political, political party with dubious morals and an enormous reach into social media does not go unnoticed in Poland.

On two occasions in 2017, the pair tried to introduce Jew-hating former priest Jacek Międlar to their very small gatherings. On both occasions, Telford in February and Birmingham in June, Międlar was denied entry.

Międlar’s denial of entry to the was probably no bad thing for Britain First; the descent into antisemitism may well have been a step too far for some of its remaining followers. This has however not stopped some far right Poles in Britain aligning themselves with Britain First.

Piotr Szlachetowicz of ‘Independent Poland’ runs an internet radio show called “Nowy Polski”. Szlachetowicz appears to be obsessed with Fransen in particular and desperate to get her along to as many Polish cultural events as possible, both here and in Poland.



Piotr Szlachetowicz

COMBAT 18/BLOOD AND HONOUR

There is a group of 25-30 Polish nazis aligned to Combat 18 and Blood&Honour living in the London area.

Among the leading figures are Lucas Cox and Szymon Partyka. Most appear to be in their 30s and 40s and many are also football hooligans.

A large number of Polish nazis attended the C18-organised gig in Dagenham in 2016.

The European Far Right in 2017 ... stop, start

By Cas Mudde

Although mainly discussed under the broad, and often imprecise, term “populism,” 2017 was a peak year for the European far right – as well as the far right in the United States – with the so-called “alt-right” making headlines in Charlottesville and Donald Trump becoming president and pandering heavily to his far right base – though more in terms of rhetoric than policies so far.

But the electoral and political developments of the European far right were far from homogeneous and led to both positive and negative surprises.

Unfortunately, the media remains incapable of dealing with the nuances of reality, declaring the far right (or “populism” in 2017 terms) almighty at the beginning of the year, yet dead by the middle of the year.

In fact, they were neither. The far right continued its slow but steady climb, disappointing only when compared with the highs of the 2016 opinion polls that were inflated because of the predominance of the so-called “refugee crisis” and the xenophobic media and political climate surrounding it and which settled down after the EU-Turkey refugees deal in March 2016.

THE RISE AND FALL OF MARINE LE PEN

The main political event of 2017 was the French presidential election, broadly seen as a fight between National Front (FN) leader Marine Le Pen and the French political establishment.

Le Pen had been leading the opinion polls for almost two years and the FN had come first in the 2014 European elections, prompting many uninformed commentators to consider her the prime candidate for the presidency.

The French presidential election was

also the only European election of 2017 in which Le Pen could be seen as the continuation of the “populist surge” of Brexit and Trump.

What many commentators missed, however, is that France has a two-round majoritarian system in which not so much the most popular person wins but the least unpopular one.

And polls had consistently shown that while a plurality of French voters supported Le Pen, roughly one-third, almost everyone else said they would never vote for her. In fact, irrespective of her opponent in the second round, Le Pen would lose against all realistic options. And this is exactly what happened.

The tumultuous election campaign was initially focused on an expected runoff between Le Pen and Francois Fillon, the candidate of the conservative party, The Republicans, who got entangled in a corruption scandal.

As Fillon's campaign crumbled, a new star rose: Emmanuel Macron, the former Minister of Economics and Finance in the centre-left Hollande government, who reinvented himself as a political outsider and unashamedly defended the values, if not the elites, of the status quo: European integration, multiculturalism, and neoliberal economics.

Quite surprisingly, Macron came first in the first round, pushing Le Pen to second, with respectively 24.0 and 21.3 percent of the vote. By winning the first round, Macron also stole Le Pen's media limelight and political thunder. Macron was now the fresh face on the French political scene, the “political outsider” who had taken the whole political establishment by surprise.

For many French journalists and voters alike, Le Pen was increasingly old news. After all, for the past four decades, the FN under the leadership of a Le Pen had

been part of French politics.

No longer able to set the agenda, Le Pen struggled in the two-week campaign between the two rounds, and particularly during the one televised debate with Macron. In the end, Macron handsomely defeated her in the second round, by a margin of two to one.

At first sight, the second round result of Marine Le Pen looks pretty good. Her 33.9 percent is by far the highest score the party ever achieved. It is almost twice the 17.8 percent her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, achieved in the second round of the 2002 presidential elections.

Unlike her father, Marine Le Pen was able to increase her score significantly from the first to the second round, indicating that there is a growing group of French who might not be Le Pen supporters, but who don't reject her either. In that sense, her “de-demonisation” strategy seems to have paid some dividends.

However, behind the numbers is a less positive story for Marine Le Pen. She remained well behind the scores of the polls of 2016 and even underperformed with respect to the polls of early 2017.

In fact, her score in the second round was slightly under the 35 percent that she had polled in 2016 for the first round. And as her prominence waned, so did her electorate. In the parliamentary elections, the next month, the FN scored just 13.2 percent, 0.4 percent less than in 2012!

Polls showed that only a minority of those who had voted for Marine Le Pen in the presidential elections voted for the FN in the parliamentary elections.

This undoubtedly reflects the controversial and weak Le Pen and FN campaigns as well as the fact that the parliamentary election campaign was completely dominated by Macron and his new “Onward” (LREM) party. But it

The much-hyped Identitarians, whose small media-targeted actions generated much more public attention than they deserved, failed in the one major action they organised, the Defend Europe boat, not least because of the excellent Hope Not Hate campaign against it.



also illustrates relatively weak support among parts of her electorate.

As soon as the elections finished, prominent party members openly criticised Le Pen and her campaign. This time it was not the usual suspects – Jean-Marie Le Pen and his cronies – but people from within her own inner circle.

While several prominent members rejected her increasingly “left-wing” economic programme – including Robert Menard, the FN-supported mayor of Béziers – Florian Philippot, FN vice-president and one of Marine Le Pen’s closest advisors, slammed her softening position on the EU. After increasingly downplaying Frexit during the campaign, Le Pen indicated that she no longer supported a French exit from the EU.

There was also dissatisfaction with her rumoured visions of radical party reform including a name change. Tellingly, Le Pen had campaigned simply as “Marine” in the presidential elections, without reference to her last name or use of the logo or name of her party.

After a relatively short standoff, Philippot quit the FN and founded The Patriots. Commentators were quick to point out a historical parallel with the party split in 1998-9 when Bruno Mégret, then number two to Jean-Marie

Le Pen, left the FN and founded, what later became, the National Republican Movement (MNR).

However, whereas Mégret took almost two-thirds of the FN’s cadres with him, Philippot was followed by only a handful of prominent FN members. Moreover, while the cadres followed Mégret, the voters stayed loyal to Jean-Marie Le Pen. There is little reason to assume this will be different now. That said, Marine Le Pen’s reputation, which had soared since 2012, has taken a big hit, with ramifications within both French and European politics.

OTHER ELECTIONS

There were four other elections in which populist radical right parties played an important role. In the Netherlands, Geert Wilders’ Party for Freedom (PVV) suffered a similar fate to Marine Le Pen and the FN. The PVV came nowhere close to first place, staying well behind its 2016 poll scores and even somewhat behind its early 2017 polls. But the 13.1 percent was 3.0 percent higher than in 2012 and only 2.3 lower than its record score of 2010.

On top of that, a new radical right party, the Forum for Democracy (FvD) of the flamboyant pseudo-intellectual

Thierry Baudet, entered the Dutch parliament with 1.8% of the vote and two seats.

Wilders was able to set the political agenda and push both the Christian democratic CDA and the conservative VVD far to the right. Their leaders, Sybrand Buma and Mark Rutte, campaigned on an openly nationalistic and xenophobic agenda, claiming to defend “Christian” and “Dutch” institutions and values, like Christmas and Easter eggs (seriously!) against an alleged attack by Muslims and their “native” left-wing fellow travellers.

Despite mostly copying the PVV in the campaign, albeit in a “lite” version, CDA and VVD excluded the party as a coalition partner, seemingly more on personal than ideological grounds. Hence, the coalition process was long and troublesome, but did lead to the marginalisation of Wilders and the PVV.

The political void was filled by the FvD, enthusiastically helped by a Dutch media that had tired of Wilders and was desperate for a new “bad boy” of Dutch politics.

At the end of 2017, Baudet was even elected “Politician of the Year” by a public poll of a Dutch news programme, reflecting the massive and remarkably

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forgiving media attention he had received all year and the, not unrelated, rise of his party in the polls. At the beginning of 2018, FvD is polling as high, if not slightly higher, than the PVV and vying for second place.

With Wilders and Le Pen underperforming and Macron being hailed as the new voice of Europe's future, the German elections were expected to put the "rise of populism" to a definitive end.

Before the summer, the Alternative for Germany (AfD) had been slipping in the polls but a few weeks before the September elections they rebounded, helped by the dominance of immigration as most important issue among voters.

In the end, the AfD received 12.6 percent of the vote, by far the highest score for a far right party in post-war German history and even the second highest score for a third party in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Although the AfD got its voters from across the political spectrum, a plurality came from non-voters, while the East German party The Left lost most voters in proportional terms.

This notwithstanding, the dominant post-ballot claim became that the AfD's win was a rejection of Angela Merkel's pro-refugee policies, a view strengthened by the problematic coalition process that is still ongoing, and has slowly but steadily unleashed a struggle for Merkel's succession.

Both in Merkel's Christian Democratic Union and in its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union, the main contenders come from the right, determined to win back AfD voters with a more nativist and authoritarian agenda.

The Austrian elections the next month had elements of all three previous ones

- the implosion of the centrist Grand Coalition, mostly over the so-called refugee crisis
- the rise of the populist radical right, leading the polls throughout 2016
- the rise of an "insider-outsider" in the shape of Sebastian Kurz, the conservative *Wunderkind* (Miracle Child), who had become Minister of Foreign Affairs at the tender age of 27.

Kurz took over the conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) a few months before the elections, redefined it as a movement around him, pulled it significantly to the right, and indicated that he would like to govern with the populist radical right Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ).

Kurz won the elections with a resounding 31.5 percent, while the FPÖ was narrowly defeated for second place by the centre-left Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ).

Like the FN and PVV, the FPÖ stayed well below its 2016 poll scores, and even more recent predictions, let alone the almost 50 percent that its candidate, Norbert Hofer, had achieved in the



Sebastian Kurz, 31-year-old political shooting star and much-hyped new leader of the ÖVP.
Photo Dragan Tatic

second round of the 2016 presidential elections.

Its score of 26.0 percent was even slightly lower than its record score of 26.9 percent in 1999. But unlike the



In 2017 groups, like Britain First and the Nordic Resistance Movement (pictured), were facing more pressure from the state.

FN and PVV, the FPÖ did not face marginalisation after the elections. As was broadly expected, Kurz invited them to join his coalition government, with the FPÖ taking several key posts (notably defence, the interior, and foreign affairs).

Finally, the radical right achieved a good score in the Czech parliamentary elections. While most international attention went to Andrej Babiš, the alleged right-wing populist billionaire-turned-politician, who overwhelmingly won the elections, Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD) came fourth with a respectable 10.6 percent of the vote (only 0.5 percent behind the second-biggest party).

The SPD is the latest project of Tomio Okamura, the Czech-Japanese entrepreneur who had earlier led Dawn of Direct Democracy (Ústvit) into the Czech parliament.

Although relations between the two are friendly, Babiš decided to form a minority government rather than form a coalition with Okamura, aware that his own international reputation is already problematic enough.

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION: FROM KOBLENZ TO PRAGUE

In terms of international party collaboration, 2017 started with a boisterous and well-publicised “counter-summit” by the populist radical right in the Germany city of Koblenz.

Hosted by Frauke Petry, then still leader of the AfD, the meeting was mainly attended by core members of the Movement for a Europe of Nations and Freedom (MENL), that is, the FN, the FPÖ, Northern League (LN), PVV and Flemish Interest (VB).

Still euphoric over Donald Trump's election win, Geert Wilders declared, with his usual modesty, “Yesterday a new America, today Koblenz and tomorrow a new Europe.”

But the announced “Patriotic Spring” didn't arrive and, as individual parties dealt increasingly with domestic issues, international collaboration returned to its previous torpid state.

As Trump showed no interest in Europe's far right leaders, with perhaps the notable exception of ex-UKIP leader Nigel Farage, and increasingly governed as a traditional Republican, Europe's far right leaders started to distance themselves from him too.

Rather than embraced as an ideological ally, he was commended for defeating the establishment, and upsetting “the left.” And despite massive media attention, there was little collaboration with Putin or his United Russia party – with whom the FPÖ had signed an official cooperation agreement

in December 2016.

In fact, we had to wait until the end of the year, in December, for the MENL to organize another big event, this time in Prague, organised by Okamura. It was largely the same crowd, but media attention was modest this time round, and the statements lacked the bombast and conviction of January.

A great illustration of the fact that even the populist radical right itself has bought into the narrative that they have lost momentum, despite the fact that they scored, on average, better than ever before.

THE EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY FAR RIGHT

The loss of momentum was even more striking with regard to the extra-parliamentary far right that had briefly been given a new life by the so-called refugee crisis.

Throughout Europe, West and East, far right groups and parties had played leading roles in organising anti-refugee protests, reaching far beyond their usual crowds. But as soon as the so-called refugee crisis lost prominence in the media, after the EU-Turkey deal, the protests subsided and only hardcore far right supporters continued to come out.

The two biggest far right street movements of the past years, the English Defence League (EDL) and Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West (Pegida) pretty much disappeared from the public eye, whereas other groups, like Britain First and the Nordic Resistance Movement, were facing more pressure from the state.

Even the much-hyped Identitarians, whose small media-targeted actions generated much more public attention than they deserved, failed in the one major action they organised, the Defend Europe boat not in the least because of the excellent Hope Not Hate campaign against it.

One of the few exceptions to this was the massive rally in Warsaw on Poland's Independence Day which received huge media attention and led to fierce political debates. There is no doubt that the rally was a gain for the far right groups that organised it – such as the National-Radical Camp, the National Movement (RN) and the All Polish Youth (MW) – but most of the roughly 60,000 protesters were there *despite*, rather than because of, these organisations.

The main victory was in the public embrace of the protesters and, implicitly, the far right, by large sections of the governing Law and Justice party (PiS) and the official state media.

But while the extra-parliamentary far right lost much of its momentum, far right and racist violence remained

at very high levels in various countries. Attacks on (planned) asylum centres, and at times on (suspected) refugees, were virtually a daily occurrence in Germany and remain regular and widespread in other countries, like the Netherlands and Sweden. While numbers have gone down, sometimes significantly, from the heights of 2015 and 2016, Germany saw still more than 1,700 criminal acts against asylum seekers or their centres.

OUTLOOK FOR 2018

2018 will see a slew of European elections again but only three are of particular importance with regard to the far right: the parliamentary elections in Italy, Hungary and Sweden.

As it looks now, both Lega Nord and Sweden Democrats will continue the trend of 2017, scoring good results but falling well behind the 2016 polls.

Moreover, in Italy the main attention will be focused on the Five Star Movement (M5S), an eclectic populist party that has become increasingly focused on the immigration issue.

In Hungary, the elections will mainly be a competition between Viktor Orbán's Fidesz and Gabor Vona's Jobbik which have exchanged ideological positions, at least in terms of campaigns.

Today Fidesz campaigns as a populist radical right party, targeting the EU, George Soros and refugees, while Jobbik tries to present itself as a conservative party, defending Hungary even more against Orbán's alleged corruption than against outside threats. Obviously, it is highly doubtful that the party truly changed.

Orbán will almost certainly win the elections but might have a smaller majority. Vona will be judged on his electoral success as some hardliners have already started to desert Jobbik, founding new far right parties – as radical as the old Jobbik – but so far with only local or regional impact.

Whatever the outcome of the elections, it is unlikely that 2018 will bring a major shift in the power and role of the far right in Europe.

Rather, it will be mainly a prelude to 2019, the year of the next European elections, and the formation of possibly the first post-Brexit European Parliament.

With two of the three right-wing political groups dominated by British parties – the Tories' European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) and UKIP's Europe for Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD) – a major reshuffle of the European Parliament's right-wing parties is only a matter of time. The question is whether the MENL will be able to profit this time around. ■

CROSSING BORDERS IN 2017

The modern far right is international and interconnected, especially the tech savvy Alternative Right. Ideas, tactics, people and resources cross borders with an ease not possible for previous generations.

The anti-refugee Defend Europe project was a case in point, with far-right activists from France, Germany, Austria and Italy coming together through a single project, funded by people from all across the globe.

The international Alternative Right thinks globally and in 2017 we saw leading activists travelling across Europe and North America to attend and speak at each other's events, rallies and conferences.

While not an exhaustive list, here is a selection to show just how international this movement was in 2017.



Paul Ray Ramsey aka
Ram Z Paul (USA)



Vlad Kovalchuk
(Ukraine)



Jason Jorjani
(USA)



Greg Johnson
(USA)



Ole Dammegård
(Denmark/Sweden)



Paul Fromm
(Canada)



Shahin Nejad
(Iran)



Kevin MacDonald
(USA)



Colin Robertson aka
Millennial Woes (UK)



Ruuben Kaalep
(Estonia)



Tomislav Sunić
(Croatia)



Martin Lichtmesz
(Austria)

February 2017

ETNOFUTURE

Tallinn, Estonia

International Attendees:
Paul Ray Ramsey (USA)
Vlad Kovalchuk (Ukraine)

February 2017

LONDON FORUM

London, UK

International Attendees:
Jason Jorjani (USA)
Ole Dammegård
(Denmark/Sweden)
Paul Fromm (Canada)
Shahin Nejad (Iran)

July 2017

SCANDZA FORUM

Oslo, Norway

International Attendees:
Jonas De Geer (Sweden)
Greg Johnson (USA)
Colin Robertson aka
Millennial Woes (Britain)
Mike Enoch (USA)
Lauritz Von Guildhausen

STATE OF HATE 2018

February 2017

IDENTITARIAN IDEAS IX

Stockholm, Sweden

International Attendees:

Colin Robertson aka
Millennial Woes (UK)
Matt Forney (USA)
Jason Jorjani (USA)
Paul Ray Ramsey (USA)
Ruuben Kaalep (Estonia)

May 2017

JONATHAN BOWDEN DINNER

International Attendees:
Tomislav Sunić (Croatia)
Greg Johnson (USA)

May 2017

SCANDZA FORUM

International Attendees:
Greg Johnson (USA)
Kevin MacDonald (USA)
Dr. Andrew Joyce (Britain)
Guillaume Durocher
(France)

July 2017

AMERICAN RENAISSANCE

International Attendees:
Martin Lichtmesz (Austria)
Helmuth Nyborg
(Denmark)

August 2017

UNITE THE RIGHT

Charlottesville, USA

International Attendees:
Daniel Friberg (Sweden)
Tor Westman (Sweden)

October 2017

ERKENBRAND

Rotterdam, Netherlands

International Attendees:
Colin Robertson aka
Millennial Woes (Britain)
Greg Johnson (USA)
Guillaume Durocher
(France)

October 2017

COMHRA

Dublin, Ireland

International Attendees:
Colin Robertson aka
Millennial Woes (Britain)
Greg Johnson (USA)

October 2017

TRADITIONAL BRITAIN GROUP

International Attendees:
Martin Sellner (Austria)
Bjorn Christian Rodal
(Norway)

Europe's Young Right: Generation Identity

Simon Murdoch investigates

In October 2012, activists from the French far right movement, Generation Identity (GI), emerged yelling “Reconquista France!” from the roof of a mosque in Poitiers in protest at what they perceived as Europe’s “Islamisation”.

Among these hopeful activists – whose movement was then just a month old – were four who would, nonetheless, be convicted in December 2017 for their role in the movement’s same founding action.

Despite delivering a symbolic blow, the convictions did not quite put GI on the back foot, coming at the close of a year in which they appeared to grow from strength to strength and become Europe’s most dynamic far right youth movement by building new branches, attracting new supporters online and off and grabbing headlines around the world with their “Defend Europe” campaign.

WHAT IS GENERATION IDENTITY?

GI is a pan-European far right youth movement that originated in France in September 2012 with the launch of *Génération Identitaire*, the youth wing of the far right *Bloc Identitaire* (now rebranded as “*Les Identitaires*,” an association rather than a party).

In addition to France, affiliated branches of GI, the most prominent of which are based in Germany and Austria, have spread like a rash across Europe.

A number of national Identitarian groups have also adopted the same iconography, ideology and tactics as GI though they are not officially affiliated.

GI is vehemently anti-migrant and anti-Muslim and seeks to prevent

“Islamification” of Europe by migrants and refugees in what it considers to be a “Great Replacement” of “indigenous” Europeans.

The growth of interest in the North American Alternative Right in 2017 has led many to draw parallels between this movement and GI.

While differing in certain respects, both have roots in the political ideology of Identitarianism developed by European New Right thinkers in reaction to the New Left.

As an article at *altright.com* explains, the ideology “is a metapolitical framework within which Identitarians work to influence political and socio-economic activity in an effort to protect and preserve racial, ethnic, and cultural identity”.

2017: KEY EVENTS

While over-hyped by some elements of the media, 2017 was GI’s most high-profile to date with a number of landmark events for the movement.

In February, Austrian GI co-leader Martin Sellner launched funding for the “Patriot Peer” activist networking app, purportedly raising €16,800 Euros/£15,000 by 1 April.

Though having been frequently delayed since, the app is due to launch in 2018 following completion of a working version in September 2017.

Worrying evidence of GI’s mainstream presence emerged in June, too, following a hack of a WhatsApp group of the German far right party *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) that revealed members’ support for GI, including Saxony-Anhalt state party chairman André Poggenburg.

However, Defend Europe has served as a catalyst for the expansion of the Italian GI branch in particular, given Sicily was a focal point of the campaign’s activities. In both the run up to the ship’s departure for the Libyan coast and following the end of the campaign, Italian GI leader Lorenzo Fiato and other central Italian GI activists travelled the country to establish new regional branches.

DEFEND EUROPE

Though branches of GI continued their antics throughout 2017, including banner drops, stage invasions and adorning statues with *burqas* to protest at Europe’s “Islamisation”, their key action was an organisation-wide effort called “Defend Europe”. This involved GI activists from across Europe disrupting the work of NGOs working to save the lives of migrants and refugees crossing the Mediterranean.

Building on this, GI raised over \$200,000, mainly from American crowdfunded donations, to charter a ship from Djibouti in East Africa. After weeks of delays and detentions, first in Egypt and then in Turkish Cyprus, the ship finally began its campaign in the Mediterranean.

However, instead of their carefully choreographed launch in front of the press, Defend Europe activists were forced to sneak out of their base on Gagliani Street in Catania, Sicily, and secretly fly to Cyprus to join the ship.

Once started, the campaign was dogged by constant setbacks and embarrassments and, eventually, they called it a day in mid-August.

GI claimed “[the campaign] was a success. Undisputedly. Totally”, yet the

STATE OF HATE 2018





reality is that, since launching the project in May, the Defend Europe team spent tens of thousands of Euros, raised from across the international far right but had very little to show for it in tangible outcomes and were forced to settle for dubious claims of having influenced the wider political situation in the Mediterranean.

However, irrespective of the campaign failing all of its stated goals, the Defend Europe campaign served as a springboard for GI more generally, providing further press coverage of their wider movement, off the back of which they mobilised new support.

Importantly the campaign demonstrated the capability of this segment of the contemporary international far right to work cooperatively; receiving initial wider attention via North American vloggers Brittany Pettibone and Lauren Southern, crowdfunding coming in from across the world on US alt-light troll Charles C. Johnson's WeSearchr site and with media support from such as Frauke Petry (then with the AfD), Nigel Farage, Katie

Hopkins, Breitbart News, David Duke (the nazi former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan), the alt-right figures Richard Spencer and Jared Taylor and leading nazi website The Daily Stormer.

EXPANSION

Prior to Defend Europe, GI had nine active, officially affiliated, branches of varying size in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Flanders/Belgium, Hungary, Slovenia, Switzerland and Czechia.

In addition to these, a number of national identitarian groups which had also copied GI, though were not officially affiliated, included Poland, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Macedonia.

Following the seaborne campaign, Sellner claimed he would be travelling across Europe to meet those looking to set up new branches in Malta and Scandinavia, though no evidence of these meetings has surfaced. The former branch has yet to materialise and the latter has not materialised beyond a few stickers appearing in Oslo and continued actions by an unaffiliated Danish Identitarian organisation.

However, Defend Europe has served as a catalyst for the expansion of the Italian GI branch, in particular, given Sicily was a focal point of the campaign's activities. In both the run up to the ship's departure for the Libyan coast and following the end of the campaign, Italian GI leader Lorenzo Fiato and other central Italian GI activists travelled the country to establish new regional branches.

UK LAUNCH

In July 2017, at the height of GI's Defend Europe campaign, a Facebook page for GI Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland (GB and ROI) was launched. In late July, Jordan Diamond, GI GB and ROI co-leader, travelled to London to meet Austrian and Norwegian activists to discuss the development of GI in the UK. Also in July, the first meeting of the Scottish branch in Glasgow was shut down by anti-fascist activists.

Initial offline activity across the Scottish, Irish and English branches was confined to putting up stickers and posing for pictures with the movement's black and yellow lambda flag.



Generation Identity's Jordan Diamond with Anne Marie Waters.

Sellner finally made it to Britain in October and, while in London, he addressed a conference organised by the ultra-right Traditional Britain Group (TBG) alongside anti-Muslim activist Anne Marie Waters. After the TBG event, attended by Diamond and other GI GB and ROI activists, Sellner left to meet racial nationalist and former leader of the British National Party (BNP), Nick Griffin for dinner where the issue of funding was discussed.

The following day, GI activists reconvened at a large flat in Beaufort Gardens, Norbury, to receive guidance from Sellner and to plan their coming stunt (a banner drop) and launch. Jonathan Rudolph, from the Identitäre Bewegung in Swabia, Germany, was also in attendance (and would return to London in late December).

After the day's training, they went and practised dropping their GI banner off a road bridge in preparation for their stunt on Westminster Bridge the following day.

Early the next morning, to no fanfare and meagre press interest, they dropped their banner reading "Defend London: Stop Islamisation". This marked the official launch of GI GB and ROI.

On 9 November, ITV aired the documentary "Undercover: Inside Britain's New Far Right" which included undercover investigators who had infiltrated GI GB and ROI. Anticipation of the exposé (which used consultation about these groups from HOPE not hate) resulted in efforts to distance themselves from GI.

However, at the time of writing Jordan

Diamond continues to interact with European GI members online and expresses support for the movement, and GI ROI carried out its first action – a banner drop – in Dublin on 24 November.

Embarrassingly, the exposé caught Sellner using the racial epithet "Paki" to describe Muslims and discussing the "JQ" (Jewish Question) raising further doubt (as if any were needed) regarding his claims to not be racist.

PROSPECTS FOR 2018

Despite the setbacks, GI clearly intends to use its increased profile to push for further expansion in the coming year.

In particular, it aims to expand further into Eastern Europe through an official Balkan section of GI, known as "GI Balkan" (GIB).

While still in formation (its website was registered in September 2017), it is accepting applications for membership from: Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania, Albania, Bosnia, Slovenia and Montenegro.

Currently with only an online presence (though Identitarian activism has existed in some of these countries prior to this) it intends to launch its social media and website in full by the end of 2017.

The GIB site also provides insight into the organisation's international structure of the movement as it states that, at the time of writing, GI has 11 official chapters in "France, Austria, Germany, Italy, Flanders, Slovenia, Hungary, Switzerland, Czechia, Scotland and now Ireland".

The omission of GI England despite the inclusion of Scotland and Ireland suggests it will not be a focus for the movement following the blows dealt to GI GB and ROI by the ITV/HOPE not hate exposé. The GIB site also provides one of the few (and few recent) statements of GI's estimated membership, claiming *circa* 10,000 members...probably a gross exaggeration.

The second likely development for GI in 2018 is its increased reliance on various non-mainstream technological platforms to recruit, raise funds, organise and act. This reflects a trend in the wider far right's use of alternative crowdfunding sites like Hatreon, cryptocurrencies like Bitcoin, video platforms like BitChute and alternative social networks like Gab as mainstream platforms face increased pressure to remove far right accounts, groups and content.

GI has also been proactive in creating its own platform for recruiting and organising through the smartphone application "Patriot Peer".

Billed as a "tool to activate the silent majority" of "patriots", the app is a location-based social network which encourages users to visit cultural landmarks, meet other activists by attending events and meetings and engage in activism.

In doing so, users earn points and move up a leader board of users on a local, national and worldwide scale.

Patriot Peer is emblematic of another broad trend in the far right: an increasing move away from traditional organisational structures. As Sellner has explained, the app will allow people to "become active without even getting in contact with a group or subscribing to a party".

A final development concerns the relationship between GI and the US Alternative Right. While formal partnerships seem unlikely to emerge, what 2017 suggests is that, aside from sharing ideological roots, both will continue to learn also from the other's tactics. Indeed, Sellner explicitly stated this when visiting Alternative Right activists in the US in September 2017.

Speaking with North American vlogger collaborators Brittany Pettibone and Lauren Southern, he agreed in a video on his YouTube channel that the issues are the same for the US and Europe (and Australia and New Zealand) and so the exchange between Europe and America was "really about tactics". As Pettibone described it, "We've mastered the online activism and you've mastered the in-real-life activism".

GI has been an explicit inspiration for the US alt-right youth group Identity Evropa and, just 9 days prior, to the video, Sellner likewise told viewers online that computer geeks working on Patriot Peer had decided to continue working together for GI after the creation of the app.

As both GI and the Alternative Right are increasingly driven away from mainstream platforms online, both are laying the foundations for organising routes that will likely encourage cooperation. Screenshots from Patriot Peer – which will soon be rolled out worldwide – advertise the biggest US conservative activist conference, CPAC, as an event for users to attend.

Likewise, Richard Spencer's recently announced "Operation Homeland" (OH), "a new organization dedicated to building a professional identitarian activist movement", mimics the structure of GI by relying on a "core of part- and full-time activists who provide leadership to the movement as a whole". Indeed, OH aims to "foster collaboration among identitarians in America and around the world". ■

The nativist-authoritarian axis: Europe's rancid underbelly

Protest against corruption - Romania, Bucharest
22 January 2017.
Photo: Mihai Petre



By Bernard Rorke

JANUARY 2018 opened with a new declaration of war against civil society from Hungary's Viktor Orbán while, in Romania, tens of thousands of protestors braved sub-zero temperatures to take to the streets for democracy and against government corruption.

Meanwhile, Slovakia announced new repressive police measures and increased powers specifically targeting Romani communities while the virulently Eurosceptic and xenophobic Czech state president Milos Zeman, who recently referred to Roma as "unadaptables", has just won the second round of voting in the presidential elections by a couple of percentage points.

In Poland, too, the trend continued, the anti-democratic actions of Jaroslaw Kaczynski and his ruling PiS party finally prompting the European Commission to launch, in December, an unprecedented Article 7 procedure in an attempt by the Commission to counter a "clear risk of a serious breach" of EU values.

The Commission already has three infringement procedures on the go against Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia for racial segregation in schools and is racking others up against Hungary for its attacks on the media, civil society and the Central European University.

To top it all, for the first six months of 2018, Bulgaria will hold the EU presidency. While most media used

the "most corrupt country in Europe" click-bait to cover this story, only a few commentators expressed concern that the coalition partners of the government that now presides over the European Union are unabashed fascists, including a deputy prime minister who was convicted of hate speech in October for referring to Roma as "brazen, feral, human-like creatures."

In welcoming the incoming Bulgarian presidency, Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker strained the limits of credibility when he declared that "the great nation of Bulgaria" has behaved like a founding member since the very first day it joined the European Union.

Others, including tens of thousands of its own citizens, view Bulgaria somewhat differently...as a classic example of everything that is wrong with democracy: corruption, dysfunctional institutions and public apathy, with toxic racism right in the mix.

The buoyant optimism that accompanied the fifth wave of EU enlargement to the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe has long evaporated.

A combination of political instability and endemic corruption, exacerbated by the unrestrained capitalist gift of immiseration and widening inequalities, has led to an erosion of trust in democratic institutions.

This ambivalence and discontent



soon manifested itself in movements variously described as “populist”. The common features of this profoundly anti-liberal but avowedly “democratic” surge, according to Ivan Krastev, include “authentic anger, unrestrained hatred of the elites, cultural conservatism, Euroscepticism, declared nationalism and undeclared xenophobia.”

A decade later, the xenophobia is well and truly “declared”, with much of the so-called “authentic anger” directed towards Roma, migrants and other minorities and this resentment has been harnessed by political parties in government and opposition, whose “bent” is better described as nativist authoritarian rather than populist.

Amid all the anti-democratic backsliding, it is important, first, to highlight the profound differences between the countries and the varying capacities of their citizens to resist authoritarian rule and, second, to insist that, as the example of Austria all too clearly demonstrates, this “great variety of morbid symptoms” is not confined to the post-communist condition.

As the presence of the far right Freedom Party (FPÖ) in Austria’s governing coalition attests, ugly things also occur even in more established liberal democracies.

Back in 1996, the historian Tony Judt cautioned against the notion that the rise of the FPÖ under Jörg Haider represented “an echo of the ghosts of Europe past” to insist that they stood for something more far more ominous. “They are,” he said, the ghosts of Europe’s yet to come.”

The ghosts are with us now, and it is Hungary and Poland, (and perhaps Hungary more than Poland) which now pose the gravest threat to democracy.

Though politics is venal and racism abounds in the other two of the so-called Visegrad Four countries, the situation is not as grave as in Hungary and Poland. In the Czech Republic one simple reason is that the parties that govern one day frequently find themselves in opposition the next.

As recent events illustrate, pundits would do well not to exaggerate the threats posed by every right wing nativist or extremist upstart or loudmouth. The fears that Andrej Babiš, the “blunt-talking billionaire”, whose populist party triumphed in the October 2017 general elections, might push the Czech Republic in an illiberal direction quickly came undone.

Within a month of his appointment, his minority government had lost a vote of confidence, and Babiš had tendered his resignation, heralding yet another period of political crisis and uncertainty.

Slovakia’s Prime Minister Robert Fico has recently taken to describing his country as “a pro-European island in this region”, and insisting that Slovakia must be “part of the very core of European affairs.”

This marked a complete *volte-face* for Fico who began his third term in office in 2016 by stating that “Islam has no place in Slovakia”, refusing mandatory quotas, and declaring that he would never accede to policies which “would lead to formation of a united Muslim community in Slovakia.”

Along with Orbán, he took legal action against the Commission. After the European Court of Justice (ECJ) struck down this challenge, Fico soon let it be known Slovakia would comply. He effectively parted ways with his Visegrad buddies for he had no intention to be left stranded on the periphery of the Union.

This nominally left-wing premier whose party lost its overall majority in the last election is a cynical pragmatist whose crude nativism doesn’t stretch to grand ambitions to construct an illiberal “managed” democracy.

Fico is not interested in state capture but he is content to govern a state where the police can act with impunity, where everyday racism and segregation, corruption and graft, go largely unchallenged.

As long as antigypsyism remains the “last acceptable form of racism” among European political elite and no resolute action is taken to terminate Slovakia’s “undeclared apartheid” beyond a solitary infringement proceeding, Fico can continue slithering, largely unimpeded, to the very core of the European Union.

In contrast to the fragile minority governments and wobbly coalitions typical of the region, Orbán’s supermajority in the Hungarian parliament, since 2010, has granted *him* latitude galore in his quest to fashion an authoritarian, ethnically homogenous, Christian-national state.

A fractured opposition has been powerless to contain what human rights advocate Miklos Harazsti has called the “degradation of the freshly attained liberal constitutionalism toward illiberal or outright authoritarian governance.”

Furthermore, as unprecedented numbers of Hungarian citizens subsist in severe poverty, a clique of friend-and-family oligarchs has been given a free hand to plunder at will.

In January 2018, the European Union’s Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF) recommended legal proceedings against a company co-owned by Orbán’s son-in-law, over “serious irregularities” and suggested €40 million of illegally obtained funds should be returned to the European Union.

Describing the EU’s refugee policy as a danger to the foundations of Europe’s own civilisation and Orbán’s closing of Hungary’s borders to stem the “mass migration from the south” as an act of courage, the Hungarian regime has repeatedly saturated the country with publicly funded anti-Muslim and anti-refugee propaganda in TV and poster campaigns that amount to institutional incitement to racial hatred.

Orbán has openly championed ethnic homogeneity, described “assimilation, the adoption of other languages and mixed marriages” as mortal dangers facing the Hungarian nation and publicly vowed: “There will be no lawless districts in Hungarian cities. There will be no riots, no refugee camps set on fire and no gangs will hunt for our wives and daughters.”

This goes beyond common or garden varieties of nativism. It is no dog whistle prejudice. It is the blatant megaphone “in yer face” brand of racism.

Small wonder Orbán’s Fidesz party has long since outflanked the fascist Jobbik party and left it scrabbling for some ostensible *raison d’être*.

The latest antisemitic “Stop Soros” campaign announced this January is emblematic of so much that has gone before, complete with lies and conspiracies replete with covert foreign subversives.

Orbán declared: “We do not want Hungary to be an immigrant country. We want to make sure that those who organise and finance migration cannot thrive in Hungary, and we want to keep those who organise and finance migration – despite our calls for them not to do so – far away from Hungarian territory.”

His spokesman claimed that – based on the results of the last two national consultations – the proposed legislation would reflect the people’s will against George Soros, who had allegedly “launched an open assault against Hungary”.

In a worrying development in mid-January, Bernadett Szél, leader of the Politics Can Be Different party (LMP), was expelled from Parliament’s National Security Committee because LMP was accused of being “clearly affiliated with the Soros Network.”

And just four months before the 2018 elections, the State Audit Commission has just imposed hefty fines on all the opposition parties because they all had accepted “illegal funding in kind” in a move that one jurist described as a move towards “the final elimination of the constitutional foundations of our country.”

The 2018 Human Rights Watch Report described Central Europe as “especially



(left to right) Czech state president Milos Zeman, Hungary's Viktor Orbán and Jarosław Kaczyński leader of Poland's ruling PiS party

fertile ground for populists, as certain leaders use fear of migration elsewhere in Europe to undermine checks and balances on their power at home,” referring specifically to Hungary and Poland.

Since 2015, Jarosław Kaczyński, leader of the ruling PiS party, has aped the Budapest nativist authoritarian model, set about weakening checks and balances, taking over state broadcast media, railing against multiculturalism and stoking fear of Muslim refugees, saying in 2015 that migrants brought “dangerous diseases” including “all sorts of parasites and protozoa.”

In 2017, the Warsaw government, just like its Budapest counterpart, refused to accept any EU quota of refugees and has increasingly come to view Brussels as the source of “limitations, problems and moral relativism.” Kaczyński calls his reforms *dobra zmiana*, a “good change.”

One Polish opposition activist explained the appeal of the PiS to the writer Irma Allen: “Now there is a government that speaks plainly, supports people financially through social programmes, and feeds deep inner phobias while promising to protect us. The worst thing is how state media has become a tool for party political propaganda. Hearing their slogans repeated in daily conversations is frightening.”

Similar to Hungary, this illiberal political project to refashion state and society along Christian lines has divided family and friends. Public debate has become too crude and abusive for reasoned debate, and those who oppose PiS are labelled the “worst sort” or “Soviet murderers”.

In this climate, Poland’s expanding fascist scene has also become more brazen as was made shockingly plain during last November’s Independence Day demonstration, with over 60,000 demonstrators marching through Warsaw, many of them hurling red smoke bombs, all the while howling for a “White Europe” and a “Pure Poland, white Poland!”

There are crucial differences between Poland and Hungary, however, and, as the 2016 Polish women’s “Black Protest” against an abortion ban showed, the authoritarians can be challenged, and forced into policy U-turns. The PiS government does not enjoy a Fidesz-style supermajority and a defeat at the polls is far from inconceivable.

Polish civic and political opposition has the capacity to resist “Orbánisation”. Unlike Fidesz, PiS does not enjoy the protection of the People’s Party (EPP) in the European Parliament.

As a consequence, the European Commission felt emboldened to pick a fight with Poland, has called time on thirteen judicial reform laws, giving the government three months to change its policies, or face drastic consequences.

The Commission is also currently drawing up proposals to ensure that member states that will be beneficiaries of EU funding in the 2020 budget must have a “functioning and independent judiciary.”

Poland is the largest recipient of EU cohesion funds with an allocation of about €0bn for 2014-2020 and it is likely that some face-saving compromise will be reached by springtime.

Poland’s axis partner Hungary might prove to be an unreliable ally. While

Orbán pledged its support to “resist the forces of metropolitan liberalism in Brussels, Berlin and Paris”, he personally stopped short of confirming his intention to veto European Council negotiations.

Unlike his Polish counterparts, while Orbán is happy to incite fear and hatred throughout the land, he does not actually believe any of his nativist nonsense which is no more than a rhetorical means to an authoritarian end.

Indeed, online media has just reported that Fidesz applied for and received €98 million from the EU Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund to be used between 2014 and 2020 to “help align the Hungarian population to a perspective that embraces cultural diversity, and for providing refugees with housing and other support.”

Given the hideous “Stop Soros” campaign and all that preceded it, the hypocrisy is staggering. Enjoying the cash injections, the continued protection of the EPP and adept at strategic last-minute *pro forma* compliance to forestall any EU sanctions (for Hungary receives 3% of GDP annually from the budget, the highest of any member state), Orbán will reach some compromise over refugee quotas.

It seems likely that the EU will once again duck and dive to avoid confronting, let alone, censoring its errant authoritarians.

Inaction undermines the EU’s credibility and the failure to respond to the illiberal challenge posed by the Polish-Hungarian axis will further embolden democracy’s enemies and will likely spawn even more unsavoury imitators. ■

SWEDEN, NORWAY, ICELAND, FINLAND



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

ICELAND BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	ICELANDIC NATIONAL FRONT
Political description	Anti-Islam, Anti-Immigration party, standing for direct democracy and opting out from Iceland's agreement with Schengen zone.
Leader	Gundmundur Torleifsson
Membership size	Minimal
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election	Did not contest October 2017 election. Polled 0.16% in 2016 election.
Main areas of activity	Maintains an office in Hafnarfjörður city and an updated website, publishing anti-Islam material from Gatestone Institute
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	Had to withdraw its candidates in general election for lack of support. Had to face the rise of People's Party, a populist, anti-corruption party (6.9%) led by Inga Sæland, known for making derogatory statements about asylum seekers but who later repudiated her previous stance.
Prospects for 2018	None that are visible



SWEDEN BY ANDERS DALSBRO

Main organisation	SWEDEN DEMOCRATS
Political description	Anti-immigrant with a strong anti-Muslim and anti-EU stance
Leader	Jimmie Åkesson
Membership size	24,412 (at the end of 2016)
Parliamentary representation	49 seats in the 349-seat National (4 have resigned from the SD and are now independent); 2 seats in EU Parliament
Vote in last national election	2014: 801,178 votes, 12.86% resulting in 49 seats in parliament
Main areas of activity	Opposing asylum seekers and spreading negative attitudes about Muslims and Islam.
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	SD continue to have large support among voters, on average, between 17 and 20% during 2017. However, 2017 saw a clear decline towards the end of the year. This reflects both less media exposure and also voters returning to the main centre-right party, Moderaterna.
Prospects for 2018	SD is expected to move forward in the 2018 election at both national and local levels. However, they have slim chance of repeating for the third time their doubling (or more) of the vote with each election, as seen in 2010 and 2014.



NORWAY

FINLAND

SWEDEN

(left to right)
Jimmie Åkesson,
Siv Jensen and
Jussi Halla-Aho

NORWAY BY TOR BACH

Main organisation	FREMSKRITTSPARTIET (PROGRESS PARTY)
Political description	Right-wing populist
Leader	Siv Jensen
Membership size	15,200 (2017)
Parliamentary representation	27 members out of 169 MPs
Vote in last national election	15.2% of the vote in 2017 Parliamentary elections.
Main areas of activity	The Progress Party is part of a coalition government with the Conservatives, holding important ministries such as immigration, justice, finance, communications, family and children, fishery, agriculture and oil and energy. Most focus has been on the Party's hard-line rhetoric on immigration, asylum and integration
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	Despite heavy criticism, the party only lost 1.1% of the vote from the 2013 general elections
Prospects for 2018	The government does not have a parliamentary majority behind it in parliament, and governs only as long the Christian Democratic Party (KrF) allows

FINLAND BY ANNA-SOFIA QUENSEL

Main organisation	FINNS PARTY (SANNFINLÄNDARNA)
Political description	Populist, anti-EU, anti-immigration
Leader	Jussi Halla-Aho
Membership size	Not known
Parliamentary representation	38 seats in 200-seat parliament
Vote in last national election	524,045 votes – 17. % (General election 2015)
Main areas of activity	<p>Promotes both nationalism and the welfare state. Increasingly anti-Muslim. Several party elected officials have been convicted for incitement to hatred of minorities, especially Muslims</p> <p>The party also opposes the country's bilingual (Finnish/Swedish) status well as Sami (Lapland ethnic minority) rights.</p>
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	<p>2017 was a disaster. At the party congress in June 2017, Halla-Aho was elected new chairman of the party. Halla-Aho had been fined by the Supreme Court in 2012 for hate speech on his blog linking Islam to paedophilia and Somalis to theft</p> <p>PM Juha Sipilä, citing differences in core values, declared Halla-Aho's election could result in breaking up the coalition government whose collapse up was only averted when the Finns Party split in two a few days later</p> <p>Twenty MPs, including the former party leader Timo Soini and all other current Finns Party ministers, formed a new group called New Alternative, which remained in the coalition government, and kept their minister posts. The remaining MPs from Finns Party became part of the opposition</p>
Prospects for 2018	<p>As the Finns Party split in two, not only in parliament but in country as a whole, it is hard to predict the future.</p> <p>New Alternative changed its name to Blue Future and registered as a party in November 2017. Sampo Terho was elected as chairman</p>

PORTUGAL, SPAIN, FRANCE, ITALY



PORTUGAL BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	PARTIDO NACIONAL RENOVADOR (PNR)
Political description	Founded 2000 as an anti-immigration, pro-life, nationalist and "third way" party rejecting Marxism and capitalism
Leader(s)	José Pinto Coelho since 2005
Membership	Several hundred
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election	Legislative 2015: 0.50%
Policies	Calls for repatriation of illegal immigrants but also those who are "marginals", "not integrated" or who live on welfare
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	A bad year as always. Contested only 13 cities in the municipal elections of October 2017 with highest score in Lisbon (0.3%) and only 4,744 votes nationwide (0.09%)
Prospects for 2018	None. The rise of the Conservative CDS-PP in the municipal elections does not give any hope for PNR

SPAIN BY SANDRA CORTÈS

Main organisation	DEMOCRACIA NACIONAL (DN)
Political description	Nazi, Spanish nationalist, racist, anti-immigrant, Islamophobic, anti-antifa/Left
Leader	Manuel Canduela, Pedro Chaparro, Juan de Haro
Membership size	500
Parliamentary representation	None but 1 local councillor in Cuenca de Campos (Valladolid) with 16.67% of votes.
Vote in last national election	0.01% – 1,685 votes in 2015%)
Main areas of activity	Spanish nationalism against Catalan separatism, anti-immigration, anti-refugees, Islamophobia and anti-Left
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	DN has been present in all Spanish nationalist demonstrations against the Catalan independence process in different Catalan and Spanish cities, allied with the fascists of La Falange. It has led protests against a mosque and against Islamism in Barcelona. It is now the most active far right -wing party nationwide
Prospects for 2018	Its leaders, Pedro Chaparro and Juan de Haro, are involved in several trials for hate speech and are presented as martyrs for Spanish nationalism. They will continue their campaign against Catalan independence





FRANCE BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	FRONT NATIONAL(FN) Founded 1972 to campaign against immigration and the "establishment", with deep roots in the fascist extreme-right
Political description	Anti-immigrant, for an "Europe of Nations", for direct democracy, anti-establishment
Leader(s)	Marine Le Pen (b.1968), since January 2011
Membership	51,487 (FN figure)
Parliamentary representation	7 seats in 557-seat National Lower House; 2 seats in 348-seat Senate. 358 Regional Councillors. 17 MEPs
Vote in last national election	Presidential 2017: 21.3% (first round); 33.9% (second round). Legislative 2017: 13.2% (first round)
Policies	Anti-immigration, anti-Islam, protectionism; shifted on EU after Presidential election from Leave stand to "will decide later on Remain or Leave"
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	Marine Le Pen achieved FN's biggest score ever but heavily lost presidency to Emmanuel Macron (won with 66%). Two negative events took place: FN rising star Marion Maréchal-Le Pen temporarily quit politics and number two man Florian Philippot split and launched Les Patriotes
Prospects for 2018	Next National Convention (held every 3 years) to take place in Lille, 10-11 March. Marine Le Pen stands unopposed for the chair but has to face discontent over campaign failures in 2nd round of Presidential election

(left to right)
Manuel Canduella,
José Pinto Coelho,
Matteo Salvini
and Marine Le Pen



ITALY BY LUCA ORFEO

Main organisation	LEGA NORD (LN) Lega Nord was founded 1991 as a federation of several regional parties of northern and central Italy, most of which arose in the 1980s
Political description)	Xenophobic, regional separatist, populist
Leader(s)	Matteo Salvini re-elected in 2017 as secretary, 82.7% of vote (total turn-out: 8.024 votes) Key officials: Roberto Maroni (President of Lombardia Region) and Luca Zaia (President of Veneto Region)
Membership size	122,000 (2013)
Parliamentary representation	2, MPs in 630-seat Lower Chamber 18 members in 315-seat Senate 5 seats in 751-seat European Parliament
Vote in last national election	National elections 2013 Lower Chamber 1,390,156 votes – 4.08% Senate 1,328,555 votes – 4.33% European elections 2014 1.688,197 votes 6,15% 5 MEPs
Main areas of activity	Electioneering and leafleting, street stalls, very high media presence (both mainstream and social media) concentrating on xenophobic, anti-immigrant, anti-Islam and anti-mainstream issues
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	Like 2016, 2017 was not a particularly successful year. Salvini's strategy was essentially aimed at stealing Silvio Berlusconi's leadership of the right-wing coalition that is likely to win Italian general elections in 2018 To do that, Lega Nord pursued a change in its political agenda, in its core message and its main enemy: from the struggle for independence for the North against the "thief South" to a more unifying (for Italians) war on migrants, citizenship, open borders policies and European Union The strategy only partially succeeded Across Europe, populist parties allied with the LN showed their relative strength but also their incapability of reaching governmental office (e.g. FN in France, AfD in Germany), undermining Salvini's claim to leadership of the right-wing coalition. Secondly, over 20 years of LN (and Salvini's) "anti-South" propaganda is not easily forgotten. Despite all attempts, including leaving "Nord" out of the new electoral symbol (which will read plainly "Lega"), Salvini's party is not likely to win great support in the South in 2018 general elections Thirdly, even the biggest political victory in 2017, the successful (advisory) referendums in Veneto and Lombardia to ask for more autonomy from the central State, was rapidly overshadowed by events in Cataluña. During the hottest moments of the independence struggle in Spain, all LN leaders rushed to express support for the autonomy-thirsty Catalan citizens but also to underline that Lega Nord's quest aims at more autonomy, and not at independence, declaring de facto the death of LN's original mission (the independence of the North).
Prospects for 2017	2018 will be decisive for Salvini's ambitions and, in general, for the LN's future. If it proves unable to win the leadership of the right-wing coalition and to present itself as a "mainstream populist" party with governmental claims, LN's political space will be shrunk by the more radical populist Movimento 5 Stelle and more radical fascist parties on the right (CasaPound and Forza Nuova) A coalition with Berlusconi's refounded Forza Italia will likely be LN's only chance to be part of a future government but also to strengthen Salvini's internal competitors (especially Maroni) and their "softer" political line

ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA, POLAND



ESTONIA BY ALEKSEI SEMJONOV

Main organisation	EESTI KONSERVATIIVNE RAHVAERAKOND (EKRE) Conservative People's Party of Estonia, founded in 2012.
Political description	Right-wing populist, national conservative, Euro-sceptic
Leader	Mart Helme
Membership size	8,276 (2017)
Parliamentary representation	7 seats (of 101)
Vote in last national election	46,772 – 8.1% (2015)
Main areas of activity	Calling for abolition of the voting rights of non-citizens at the local elections, demanding tougher linguistic legislation; refusing to accept refugees; sharply criticising the current policy of European integration; homophobic repeal of the Law on Cohabitation
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	<p>Last year, the party's leaders softened their rhetoric and played the role of a common parliamentary party. Party members avoid expressions that, in previous years, caused scandals, such as calling refugees "flocking to Europe dirt"; or naming local non-Estonians "parasitic <i>tiblad</i>" - a derogatory moniker for Russians; or expressing "doubts" about the Holocaust and "finding in the face of fascism an ideology that consists of quite a lot of positive – and necessary for the preservation of the national state – nuances"</p> <p>The shift towards respectability probably resulted in the growth of membership (from 8,100 in 2016 to the current 8,276). For the first time in its short history, the party entered Tallinn City Council having received 13,437 votes and 6 seats (of 79)</p> <p>EKRE has some high positions on some Parliamentary commissions and is gradually becoming the main national conservative force in Estonia replacing the Fatherland/Res Publica Union</p> <p>However, the essence of its ideology remains unchanged in 2017. EKRE MP Jaak Madison participated in the annual rally of Nazi SS veterans and made an anti-Russian speech there</p> <p>An EKRE local leader discovered incipient "homosexual propaganda" in Teddy Bears he found in kindergartens! And EKRE's youth wing, "The Blue Awakening", held a torchlight procession with xenophobic slogans</p>
Prospects for 2018	<p>One can assume that the EKRE will obtain moral and political endorsement from the European right and from Euro-sceptic forces</p> <p>At the same time, it will continue to build support from former followers of the "old" national conservative organisations.</p>

LATVIA BY ALEKSANDR KUZMIN

Main organisation	NATIONAL ALLIANCE (NA) "All for Latvia!" – "For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK" (in Latvian: Nacionālā apvienība "Visu Latvijai!" – "Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK"). Founded as a common electoral list in 2010, by two parties with a longer history. Transformed into a single party by their merger in 2013
Political description	National conservative to far right. Soft Euroscepticism with sympathies towards Polish and Hungarian government positions. Organises an annual march in Riga on 16 March commemorating Latvian Waffen SS Legion veterans
Leader	Raivis Dzintars, MP
Membership size	866 (as at 2017)
Parliamentary representation	16 seats in the 100-seat Latvian Parliament. The party is also a part of the coalition government with three portfolios and MP, Ināra Mūrniece, is Speaker of the Parliament. 1 seat in the 751-seat European Parliament (Roberts Zile, ECR group)
Vote in last national election	2014 parliamentary election. 151,567 votes – 16.61%
Main areas of activity	Anti-linguistic (mainly Russian) minorities, anti-immigrant
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	<p>Generally, it was. Its coalition partners have agreed to support NA's idea of switching minority high schools to education in Latvian only. Besides, NA has succeeded in tightening rules on residence permits and in blocking a proposal by state president Raimonds Vējonis to liberalise Citizenship Law provisions for stateless children born in Latvia. Finally, NA proposals to introduce stricter fines for violating language-use legislation have been supported by Parliament in their first reading</p> <p>In the capital, Riga, however, NA has remained in opposition after local elections held in June. A party proposal to ban niqabs was initially supported by its coalition partners but has now stalled</p>
Prospects for 2018	<p>NA will be present in the new parliament to be elected in October. Most recent surveys give it third place. It will be able to use the forthcoming Baltic Pride events and, as the force heading the Ministry of Culture, also the year-long celebration of the 100th anniversary of Latvia, for its campaign</p> <p>Its main competitor will be an earlier split from NA, the New Conservative Party (Jaunā konservatīvā partija)</p> <p>The latter was able to attract many NA voters in Riga in 2017 but has lost ground in later opinion polls. NA is very likely to remain in the ruling coalition, due to a cordon sanitaire against parties supported by Russian-speaking minority voters</p>



(left to right) Sakalas Gorodeckis, Raivis Dzintars, and Mart Helme
(below) Pawel Kukiz

LITHUANIA BY EUROPEAN FOUNDATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Main organisation	LITHUANIAN NATIONALIST AND REPUBLICAN UNION (<i>Lietuvių tautininkų ir respublikonų sąjunga</i>)
Political description	National conservatism, Lithuanian nationalism, Social conservatism, Euroscepticism
Leader	Sakalas Gorodeckis
Membership size	3,376
Parliamentary representation	Seimas: none Municipal councils: Minimal
Vote in last national election	None
Main areas of activity	Right-wing party, emphasises nationality and statehood Promotes nationalism and welfare of the state, protection of the state from foreign influence, opposes same sex marriage
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	The Lithuanian Nationalist Union united with the rightist Republican Party The annual nationalist Independence Day march this year gathered fewer people than in previous years
Prospects for 2018	No significant changes expected

POLAND BY RAFAL PANKOWSKI, NEVER AGAIN ASSOCIATION

Main organisation	KUKIZ'15
Political description	Right-wing populist
Leader	Pawel Kukiz, born 1963, a former rock singer with the band Piersi ("The Breasts"). The political group is named after its leader and year of formation: 2015
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	In autumn 2015, it started with 42 MPs (out of 460), but it has been steadily losing MPs due to personal and political conflicts. By January 2017, it had 30 MPs.
Vote in last national election	In October 2015, it won 8.81% of the national vote (1,339,094 votes)
Main areas of activity	Since its creation, the Kukiz movement has evolved from a hotchpotch populist grouping and moved in a radical right-wing direction. Its position is strongly anti-Muslim and anti-refugee. It has also increasingly voiced hostility to the presence of Ukrainian migrants in Poland. Some of its MPs, such as brewer Marek Jakubiak, were happy to take part in the infamous nationalist march through Warsaw city centre on 11 November 2017 (Poland's Independence Day), organized by extremist groups such as the fascist National-Radical Camp (Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny, ONR)
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	It did not manage to force a Hungarian-style referendum on closing Poland's borders to refugees despite collecting many thousands of signatures calling for it. However, the right-wing government of the Law and Justice party (Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc, PiS) continues to refuse to admit refugees to Poland even when faced with EU sanctions. The Kukiz movement remains popular, especially with young people, but it has lost activists in both its liberal and nationalist wings, e.g. respectively Piotr Liroy-Marzec (a well-known rap star now sitting as an independent MP) and Adam Andruszkiewicz (a young MP who is a former chairman of the extreme-right All-Polish Youth, Młodzież Wszechpolska, MW, recently defected to a pro-government faction)
Prospects for 2018	The movement will have difficulty in fielding strong candidates in the 2018 local government elections which is likely to affect its performance. It is likely it will continue to be ridden with internal conflicts and suffer more defections to the ruling PiS, which shares many of its hard-line nationalist views

POLAND

ESTONIA

LATVIA

LITHUANIA



ROMANIA, HUNGARY, BULGARIA, SLOVAKIA



HUNGARY BY ISTVÁN TÓTH

Main organisation	JOBBIK (Movement for a Better Hungary), founded in October 2003.
Political description	Anti-immigrant, neo-Arrow Cross, fascistic, antisemitic, anti-Roma, ultra-nationalist. In leader Gábor Vona's recent rhetoric, though, Jobbik is "a modern conservative party" distancing itself from the far right to defeat the ruling right-wing coalition
Leader(s)	Gábor Vona was re-elected as the Chairman of Jobbik in May 2016 with 80.5% of a secret ballot vote. Vona is chairman of the party's National Caucus. Its spokesperson is Ádám Mirkócki
Membership	18,000 approx.
Parliamentary representation	In 6 April 2014 parliamentary elections, Jobbik got: 20.22%, 1,020,476 votes (becoming third strongest party in Hungary) with 24 seats in the unicameral national parliament. In the 2014 Euro-elections, Jobbik received 340,287 votes (14.67%) and won 3 seats. MEPs were: Krisztina Morvai, Zoltán Balczó and Béla Kovács
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigrant and xenophobic (like the ruling FIDESZ), anti-Roma, antisemitic but recently changed to being pro-European Union. It has close ties with fascist and paramilitary groups (like the Guards' Alliance, the Outlaws' Army and the Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement). It is a pro-Russian, pro-Turkish, pro-Iranian party
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	2017 was a poor year for Jobbik. Its MEP Béla Kovács was accused of spying for Russia against the European Union. Krisztina Morvai – in serious disagreement with Vona – left Jobbik in early December. Between July 2015 and October 2017, the party's position weakened from 11% in July among all voters to 10% in October 2017. A purge within the party and adopting a moderate tone has not proved to be successful. Now it could be banned from the coming national elections after being fined over €2 million for financial irregularities
Prospects for 2018?	Vona wants to profit from the weakness of the democratic opposition and the Hungarian Left's constant inability to join forces. Jobbik could become the second largest political force in Hungary. It is supported by rich and influential entrepreneurs including former FIDESZ treasurer, Lajos Simicska. Jobbik's staking out a more centrist position has created space for new extremist initiatives on the far right: the movement called Force and Determination using openly racist language to oppose liberalism and immigration and the Order and Justice movement/party (RIA). The fascist Outlaw's Army (Betyársereg) and the fascist youth organisation Identitás marched under a single anti-EU banner at Vecsés in July 2017

ROMANIA BY DR ELISABETH POP

Main organisation	PARTIDUL MISCAREA POPULARA (Populist Movement Party – PMP)
Political description	Anti-immigrant, populist, counter-Jihadist. Founded in 2013 around Traian Basescu, one of the most controversial former presidents of Romania, now a Senator for Bucharest
Leader(s)	Traian Basescu
Membership	Undisclosed
Parliamentary representation	Romanian Parliament: Senate – 8 out of 136 seats, Chamber of Deputies – 16 out of 328 seats European Parliament – 1 out of 32 Romanian MEPs
Vote in last national election	December 2016 parliamentary elections: the PMP finished fifth 5.35%, 376,891 votes
Main areas of activity	Nationalist, anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, anti-European Union
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	After a decreased presence in Parliament following the 2016 parliamentary elections, 2017 was a quiet year for the PMP at the national level. At local level, PMP mayors and councillors continued to push their ethno-nationalist agenda in rivalry mainly with the Social Democrats, the biggest party in national and local politics. After initially supporting the #Resist protests against the Government that have taken place in Bucharest and across Romania, Basescu has labelled them "morally bankrupt" because some of the NGOs organising them have since associated themselves with centre right political figures
Prospects for 2018?	Romania does not have a prominent radical right or far right party either in government or supporting the party in power as Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland do. This is partly because nativist rhetoric and policies underpin the agenda of both the centre left (in power) and the centre right (in opposition). After PRU (United Romanian Party) and AN (Our Alliance Romania) failed to pass the 5% electoral threshold to enter parliament, PMP remains the mainstream political voice of Romanian nationalism and xenophobia. 2018 marks 100 years since the birth of the modern Romanian state following reunification with Transylvania. The much-awaited national celebration will give rise to nationalist sentiments. It remains to be seen which political party will benefit from it, but following the outpouring of grief in the aftermath of the death of former Romanian King Michael I and with Romanian democracy and identity in crisis, a nationalist, anti-immigration, anti-Muslim party is well placed to make political gains



BULGARIA BY DR ELISABETH POP

Main organisation	UNITED PATRIOTS (UP) – a coalition of three far right parties: the National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria (NFSB), the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (VMRO) and Attack (ATAKA)
Political description	Far right, ultra-nationalist, anti-Muslim
Leader(s)	Valeri Simeonov, Krasimir Karakachanov and Volen Siderov
Membership	Unknown – no reliable sources
Parliamentary representation	27 seats out of 240 in Bulgarian parliament: 2 Deputy PMs and 2 Ministers in Bulgarian government. 1 seat (MEP representing VMRO) out of 751 in European Parliament
Vote in last national election	2017 parliamentary elections: The United Patriots coalition finished 3rd with 9.07 %, 318,513 votes
Main areas of activity	Nationalism, antisemitism, anti-Roma, anti-Turkish, anti-Islam, anti-refugees, anti-EU
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	<p>In November 2016, Bulgaria elected a new president. As he was unable to form a stable government, new elections were called again in the spring of 2017</p> <p>The re-elected Prime Minister of Bulgaria, Boyko Borisov, then invited the UP to become his junior partner in government. The UP ended up holding key cabinet posts, including defence and the economy</p> <p>Both Simeonov and Karakachanov are also Deputy Prime Ministers</p> <p>That is despite Simeonov being convicted of hate speech after branding the country's Roma minority "arrogant, ferocious apes [sub-humans]"</p> <p>Karakachanov, the UP candidate for president in the 2016 elections, has complained that Europe is being "flooded" with migrants "who don't want to conform to history and Christian traditions" and has talked about the need to "repel migrants by force" if necessary</p> <p>While Attack's Siderov did not get a cabinet position, he has made a media and political career out of inciting hate</p>
Prospects for 2018?	<p>The United Patriots is built around three big egos who know they need to stay together because they would not have managed to come into power on their own. However, these same big egos are shallow and unprincipled, and the movement highly disorganised, ready to change positions as and when it suits them</p> <p>With protests against refugees, vigilante groups patrolling the border and human rights activists and journalists being harassed and assaulted, it would be unwise to consider the far right in Bulgaria a laughing matter or to underestimate the support ethno-nationalism has in the wider population</p> <p>What is surprising and worrying is the silence coming from Brussels following the decision of a so-called pro-EU Bulgarian Prime Minister to bring far right forces into government, especially as, in January 2018, Sofia takes its turn running the presidency of the Council of Europe</p> <p>Ministers nominated by the far right UP will chair two meetings of the Council of the EU during Bulgaria's presidency, dealing with the European single market and environmental policy. They will also lead debates on sensitive topics, ranging from an overhaul of asylum policies to the EU's spending priorities from 2021</p>

SLOVAKIA BY ALENA KREMPASKA

Main organisation	KOTLEBA – Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko /Kotleba – People's party Our Slovakia
Political description	Nazi
Leader	Marian Kotleba
Membership size	Hard to estimate, last numbers provided to the State Commission in the annual report for 2016 stated 796 members, number likely risen since
Parliamentary representation	14MPs
Vote in last national election	209,779 votes – 8.04%
Main areas of activity	Local community activism, anti-refugee, spreading anti-human rights rhetoric, building small groups "for defence"
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	There were regional elections in 2017, for the heads and members of the regional committees for 8 regions. Kotleba LSNS scored badly. Kotleba lost his post as a regional governor in Banská Bystrica region, and has only 2 members of regional parliament there, including himself. In general polls, nevertheless, the party is on the rise
Prospects for 2018	No elections take place in 2018, though, in Slovakia's slowly deteriorating political culture, the nazis' prospects, as a "protest party", are likely to rise. The test ground will be the 2019 European elections, where least one nazi MEP looks likely, and in 2020, when general elections take place. The fascists' prospects show somewhere between 13-15%, and possibly more

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, CZECHIA, SWITZERLAND



(left to right)
Tomio Okamura,
Alexander
Gauland and
Heinz-Christian
Strache

AUSTRIA BY MARTIN JORDAN

Main organisation	Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)
Political description	Right-wing populist to far-right
Leaders	Heinz-Christian Strache (chairman) Johann Gudenus (vice-chairman) Herbert Kickl (secretary general I) Harald Vilimsky (secretary general II) Walter Rosenkranz (leader of the parliamentary group)
Membership size	60,000 (FPÖ figures)
Parliamentary representation	51 seats in 183-seat National Council (Lower House) 12 seats in 61-seat Federal Council (upper House) 4 seats in 751-seat European parliament
Vote in last national election	October 2017 national election 1,316,442 votes (25.97 %)
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigration, anti-Islam, anti-EU and promoting pan-German nationalism
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	2017 was an immensely successful year for the FPÖ. It won its second-best-ever result in a national election and entered into a coalition government with the right-wing conservative People's Party (ÖVP). Strache is now Vice-Chancellor of Austria and the FPÖ holds the Ministries of the Interior, National Defence, Transport, Innovation and Technology, Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs and Labour, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection
Prospects for 2018	In 2018, there will be four federal state elections in Austria. If both, the FPÖ and ÖVP, do well in these elections, they should be able to run their government without much infighting. If one does much better than the other, one can expect attempts to re-negotiate the coalition

GERMANY BY MICHAEL KLEIN

Main Organisation	Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)/Alternative for Germany Founded 2013 to campaign against the European Union, the Euro, for more national sovereignty and more restrictive immigration and asylum policy. Strong focus on anti-immigrant and racist positions
Political description	Anti-immigrant, racial nationalist, far right
Leader(s)	Alexander Gauland, Jörg Meuthen, Björn Höcke
Membership	28,000
Parliamentary representation	1 seat in 751-seat European Parliament after defection of a further one to a splinter group; 92 out of 709 seats in the national parliament; 157 elected representatives in fourteen state parliaments
Vote in last national election	September 2017 national elections: 5,878,115 votes, 12.6%
Main areas of activity	Anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, anti-feminist; anti-left
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	It campaigned successfully for the national parliament, nearly tripling its votes. It has now access to huge amounts of resources (financial, staff, information). Several other far right groups did not run in the elections or even ceased to exist due to the AfD's success which was not even limited by openly antisemitic and racist statements by leading figures. Also, the party survived another split with former party leader Frauke Petry and some of her followers exiting the party.
Prospects for 2018?	Good. The party will campaign in coming state elections in Bavaria and Hesse in autumn, professionalise its party apparatus and try to set the political agenda on issues like security, immigration and asylum.



AUSTRIA: Freedom Party of Austria



GERMANY: Alternative für Deutschland



CZECHIA: Dawn – National Coalition



SWITZERLAND: Schweizerische Volkspartei

SWITZERLAND JEAN-YVES CAMUS

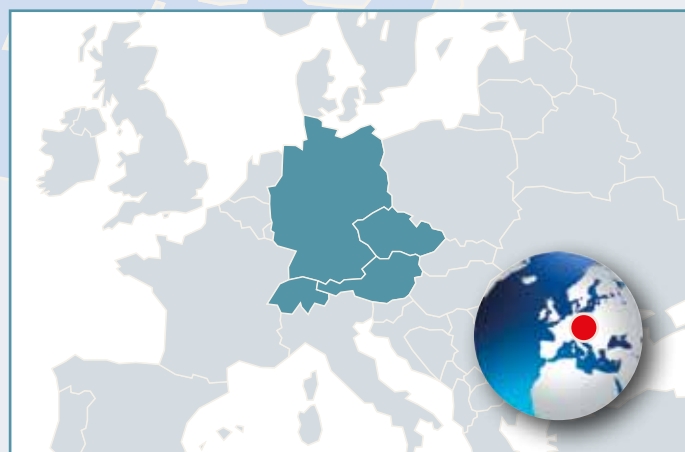
Main organisation	SCHWEIZERISCHE VOLKSPARTEI (SVP)/ UNION DÉMOCRATIQUE DU CENTRE (UDC)
Political description	Far right populist party founded 1971, with agrarian roots going back to 1917. Stands for direct democracy, Swiss neutrality and opposes mass immigration, refugees and Islam
Leader(s)	Albert Rösti (Chairman)
Membership size	90,000 (party sources)
Parliamentary representation	64 out of 200 MPS. 2 Cabinet members. the SVP has only 16.9% female representation in the national parliament (Nationalrat) which is the lowest of all parties represented there
Vote in last national election	740,954 votes (29.4%) in 2015 election. First party in the country
Main areas of activity	Pushing for referendum on core issues of neutrality, the small State, no immigration and "traditional values". Regularly promotes so-called <i>Volksinitiativen</i> (popular petitions and referenda)
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	Remained the first party in Switzerland, but the Government continued to circumvent its initiatives against closer EU-Swiss relations and free circulation of immigrants
Prospects for 2018	Will prepare for the Autumn 2019 general election with a proposal for a referendum on the free circulation of EU citizens

Albert Rösti



CZECHIA BY MIREK PROKEŠ

Main organisation	Svoboda a přímá demokracie – Tomio Okamura (SPD – Freedom and Direct Democracy)
Political description	nationalist-populist, anti-Islam, anti-European Union
Leader(s)	Tomio Okamura (Japanese-Korean-Czech background)
Membership size	Claims 11,126 members but only 263 have member's rights
Parliamentary representation	22 seats in the 200-seat Czech Parliament (3rd biggest faction)
Vote in last national election	October 2017 elections: 10.64% (4th place) 538,574 votes
Main areas of activity	"Patriotism", Czexit, anti-immigration, a ban on Islam, direct democracy, social justice
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation	It gained voters from former constituencies and sympathisers of both leftist (even the Communist Party) and rightist parties
Prospects for 2018	The party has a growing potential, especially in the event of possible repeated parliamentary elections in 2018 There is an often publicly expressed mutual acknowledgment and support between SPD (CZ) and the Front National in France



DENMARK, BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS, IRISH REPUBLIC



BELGIUM:
Vlaams Belang



DENMARK:
Dansk Folkeparti



NETHERLANDS:
Freedom Party



IRELAND:
National Party



BELGIUM BY WIM HAELSTERMAN

Main organisation	VLAAMS BELANG
Political description	Far right, anti-immigrant populist, Islamophobic
Leader	Thomas Van Grieken
Membership size	17.500 (2016)
Parliamentary representation	All elections 2014 (next elections 2019): Federal parliament: 3.67% nationwide, 3 MPs (out of 150) – 247,000 votes Flemish parliament: 5.92%, 6 MPs (out of 124) – 248,000 votes Brussels Parliament: 5.6% of the vote of the Dutch-speaking community in Brussels – 1 MP (out of 89) – 3,000 votes
Vote in last national election	2014: 247,000 votes, 3.67% - 3 MPs (out of 150)
Main areas of activity	Anti-Muslim, anti-immigration, independence for Flanders, anti-European Union
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	2017 will be easily forgotten by the VB's leadership as nothing memorable happened. The Vlaams Belang keeps on struggling to survive after the dramatic outcome of the elections held in 2014 Four years on, the party, led by Van Grieken, has failed to develop a strategy to re-invent itself. It lacks appeal and (new) personalities and no one outside its ranks seems to care anymore. Old-school campaigns against immigrants in aggressive early 1990s-style flopped in the most pathetic way. Even the celebration of the VB's 30 th anniversary passed by unnoticed Recent polls indicate the party would garner around 7% of the vote (in Flanders). The party has failed to benefit from the refugee crisis and growing discontent with the federal government of which the rival separatist New Flemish alliance (N-VA) is the main political force. The so-called anti-establishment vote that made the party once very big now has to be shared with other political forces like the Marxist PVDA/PTB
Prospects for 2018	Much depends on results in the local elections in October this year. Will the party be able to keep a significant number of seats in the councils of the bigger (Flemish) cities? The future does not look very bright at all. More than one poll has already indicated that even in its Antwerp stronghold the party will get less than 10% of all votes. The VB's prospects do not look very good



(left to right)
Thomas Van Grieken,
Kristian Thulesen Dahl,
Justin Barrett and
Geert Wilders



DENMARK BY ANNE JESSEN

Main organisation	DANISH PEOPLE'S PARTY
Political description	Anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant, wants Denmark out of international human rights conventions
Leader	Kristian Thulesen Dahl
Membership size	14,000
Parliamentary representation	37 seats
Vote in last national election	Last election was the 18 June 2015. 21.1 % (741,592 voters)
Main areas of activity	At the last election, the DPP became the biggest party on the conservative wing of parliament. Despite that, the party chose to stand outside the liberal minority government knowing that it will have maximum influence outside. It has put great pressure on immigrant and refugee legislation. Besides its main anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant activities, it tries to keep up the illusion (by getting closer to the Social Democrats) that it is working for a welfare state
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	It has exercised great influence on government policy. In the November 2017 local elections, however, it lost votes. In 2017, it also lost 2,000 members. One reason is that a new national conservative party (Nye Borgerlige) has taken over the extreme anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant rhetoric. Some members of the DPP have chosen to back this party
Prospects for 2018	Its main activity in 2018 will be focused on foreigners, refugees and Muslims and it will try harder to fight to remove international conventions of human rights.

**NETHERLANDS BY CAS MUDDÉ**

Main organisations	PARTY FOR FREEDOM (PVV) and FORUM FOR DEMOCRACY (FvD)
Political description	Radical right
Leader	Geert Wilders (PVV) and Thierry Baudet (FvD)
Membership size	1 (PVV) and 20,000 (claimed by FvD)
Parliamentary representation	20 seats (PVV) and 2 seats (FvD)
Vote in last national election	13.1% (PVV) and 1.8% (FvD)
Main areas of activity	PVV is essentially a Dutch parliamentary party, although Wilders gives anti-Islam lectures around the world. He has announced demonstrations for 2018 but in the past few people took part FvD is a pseudo-intellectual party that holds rallies around the country where Baudet speaks to mostly higher-educated, young men. It dismisses parliamentary work and is not yet interested in street politics. Growing very rapidly
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	2017 was disappointing for the PVV and Wilders who had too high expectations for election and were excluded from coalition talks. International collaboration also did not bring much and, domestically, he is being overshadowed by the FvD 2017 was a fantastic year for the FvD. The only one nly three small parties that emerged from the Dutch EU-Ukraine referendum to win parliamentary seats. It has since exploded in the polls (ca. 15%) and membership (approx. 20,000) and Baudet was elected "Politician of the Year"
Prospects for 2018	2018 will be big test for Wilders who has announced anti-government demonstrations and is facing both the popular conservative VVD and the booming new radical right FvD in local elections It looks like he will be eclipsed in the local elections by the FvD and his demonstrations will fail. He will probably compensate by being more active and visible internationally, particularly in the US and Europe (for 2019's European elections) The FvD will continue to do what it does: attack all established parties, mainly ignore the PVV and Wilders and profit from the media's obsession with Baudet Local elections could create problems, however, as the party is swamped by new people and cannot vet everyone. Hence, we can expect scandals, which could, finally, make the Dutch media more critical towards Baudet

IRISH REPUBLIC BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	NATIONAL PARTY (Founded November 2016)
Political description	Stands for a united Ireland out of the Eurozone but not out of the European Union. Pro-life, staunchly Catholic and anti-immigration
Leader(s)	Justin Barrett
Membership	50 delegates attended November 2017 convention
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election	As of 2017, unregistered party. Did not contest 2016 election
Policies	Mostly a Catholic fundamentalist party
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	The party achieved no breakthrough.
Prospects for 2018	Fielding candidates in general election not a priority. Identity Ireland, launched 2015, is now a competing movement



CROATIA, GREECE, SERBIA, SLOVENIA, CYPRUS



GREECE BY PANAYOTE DIMITRAS

Main organisation	Golden Dawn/Χρυσή Αυγή
Political description	Ultra-nationalist, anti-immigration, nazi parliamentary party
Leader	Nikos Michaloliakos
Membership size	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	16 MPs out of 300 (2 MPs left GD in 2017)
Vote in last national election	379,581 votes –7%
Main areas of activity	Systematically xenophobic, antisemitic, homophobic, anti-minority and anti-EU Occasional involvement in violence against those it opposes. Like-minded extreme right groups carried out many more violent attacks against minorities and left-wingers
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	2017 was a mixed year for Golden Dawn. According to all opinion polls published, GD polled probably a slightly higher share of the vote than in 2015. In Parliament, two MPs left the party which is now the fourth party The major trial of GD leaders and activists dragged on with marginal media coverage. There were several other trials of GD members including party leaders, who were convicted for inciting, or actual use of, violence. The party increased its public activities, including protests against refugees on some islands and some violent attacks
Prospects for 2018	The major trial is expected to last through 2018, while several other trials are scheduled to be held Yet, as there continues to be no effective <i>cordon sanitaire</i> by the other parties, GD will maintain a strength probably slightly higher than in the last elections.



SERBIA:
The Dveri Movement



GREECE:
Golden Dawn



CROATIA: Hrvatska
Cista stranka prava



CYPRUS:
Ethniko Laiko Metopo



SLOVENIA: Slovenska Nacionalna Stranka



CROATIA BY MARTIN BARIĆ

Main organisation	HSP dr. Ante Starčević – HSP AS (Croatian Party of Rights Dr. Ante Starčević) – political party
Political description	Nationalist, anti-LGBT
Leader	Hrvoje Niče, president
Membership size	2015 estimate: 30,000 nationally
Parliamentary representation	3 (November 2015 - September 2016) None (September 2016 - onward)
Vote in last national election	Parliamentary elections in September, 2016: 0.48% – 11,024 votes nationally
Main areas of activity	Anti-national minorities (anti-Serb in particular), national exclusivism, opposing the rights of LGBT persons
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	2017 was not good year for the party since it was left out of the coalition formed around the biggest party in the country - the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ – Hrvatska demokratska zajednica) The party is not very visible but remains active at local municipality level where it has some representation on local councils
Prospects for 2018	Although in their public guise, the party's leaders present and consider themselves as the main factor on the right, they are in a phase of regression. It is possible that the new stars on the political right spectrum might be the Independents for Croatia (Nezavisni za Hrvatsku).

SLOVENIA

CROATIA

SERBIA

GREECE

CYPRUS

(left) Boško
Obradović
(right) Hrvoje
Niče

Nikos
Michaloliakos**SERBIA BY DAŠKO MILINOVIĆ**

Main organisation	The Dveri Movement, political party renamed and reregistered in 2015 from the previous movement Serbian Assembly Dveri – a think-tank and pressure group
Political description	Clerical fascist (merging Serbian Orthodoxy and corporatist state ideology)
Leader	Boško Obradović
Membership size	5,000 members (Dveri's figure)
Parliamentary representation	7 seats in the 250-seat national parliament
Vote in last national election	April 2016 Parliamentary elections in coalition with the also right-wing Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) 184,375 votes – 5%
Main areas of activity	Anti-EU, pro-Russia, homophobic and anti-modern, anti-immigration, antisemitic and anti-Muslim
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation	Dveri positions itself as a true right-wing opposition to PM Aleksandar Vučić's autocratic rule. In 2017, it held a number of street protests without much effect. It has, though, managed to win broader support, riding on the incompetence and disarray of the democratic opposition
Prospects for 2018	2018 will see a growth and, more alarmingly, further normalisation of Dveri as it is negotiating a coalition with liberal-democrat elements for the forthcoming Belgrade city elections

SLOVENIA BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS

Main organisation	Slovenian National Party/Slovenska Nacionalna Stranka (SNS)
Political description	Founded 1991 as an anti-immigration, anti-Croat, nationalist party standing against joining NATO and EU. Strongly anti-Church. Stands for partisan fight against the Axis during WWII
Leader(s)	Zmago Jelincic Plemeniti
Membership	Unknown
Parliamentary representation	None
Vote in last national election (please also state year, number of votes and %)	Parliamentary 2014: 2.2% (first round). European election 2014: 4%
Policies	May 2017 convention adopted platform opposing "the elites, corrupt politicians, LGBT rights, "feminists" and "marginals". Wants to control welfare and limit State intervention
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	SNS hosted the annual conference of the fascist Alliance of European National Movements (AENM) on 3 August 2017, with Jelincic as Treasurer
Prospects for 2018	A declining party, unrepresented in Parliament since 2011. Opinion polls ahead of 2018 general election give SNS around 2.5%. Jelincic failed to run in the October 2017 Presidential election

CYPRUS BY DOROS POLYKARPOU

Main organisation	ELAM – Ethniko Laiko Metopo / National Popular Front
Political description	ELAM is an ultranationalist, nazi party founded 2008. It initially operated as a "kernel" of the nazi Golden Dawn party (Greece). After the Cypriot authorities rejected its registration as a political party under the name Golden Dawn, it was renamed and registered as ELAM. ELAM maintains very close ties with Golden Dawn
Leader	Christos Christou, a former Golden Dawn member
Membership size	No reliable data available
Parliamentary representation	ELAM entered parliament in May 2016, taking 2 out of the 56 seats. Christou, its leader, was elected as an MP for Nicosia and Linos Papagiannis for Famagusta
Vote in last national election	In parliamentary elections in 2011, ELAM got 1.1% (4,354 votes). In the 2016 parliamentary elections, it got 3.71% (13,041 votes), increasing its percentage by 2.6%.
Main areas of activity	At this stage, ELAM focuses efforts on gaining political support by: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strengthening nationalism, Greek-Christian ideals and the idea that Cyprus is Greek and Christian 2. Fostering racism and hate speech, especially against Turks, Turkish Cypriots, Muslims and migrants and refugees 3. Mobilising Greek-Cypriots against bi-communal talks and opposing the solution of the Cyprus problem on a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation basis 4. Actions and policies presenting itself as the only anti-systemic option
Was 2017 a good year for the organisation?	In 2017, ELAM used its entry into Parliament to establish itself in the media and society as another "democratic party" Criminal procedures against Golden Dawn as an unlawful organisation and the new opportunities/realities resulting from the election success in Cyprus led to a successful transformation of its image and tactics ELAM has silently distanced itself from the street violence and open racist policies and positions on migration and asylum, focussing on the Cyprus problem and its opposition to a federal solution It also portrays itself as a nationalist and not a racist formation, aiming at the protection of the Greek and Christian identities of the country/ society The major success of this strategy was the key role ELAM plays in the commemorations of the nationalist guerrilla organisation EOKA Within this framework, it managed to secure a parliamentary majority for the commemoration of the 1951 referendum for unification with Greece This legislative proposal was passed in a very critical phase of the bi-communal negotiations for the solution of the Cyprus issue, aiming at hindering them and led to their temporary suspension
Prospects for 2018	In the 2013 presidential elections, the ELAM's candidate got 0.9%. For the 2018 presidential elections, ELAM is expected, according to the polls, to get between 5% and 6%. This may enable ELAM to play a key role in the second round The current President of the Republic of Cyprus, Nicos Anastasiades has turned, in this pre-election period, to more nationalistic and populist positions that will probably favour ELAM

Public en

David Lawrence reports on how anti-Soros smears have moved into the political mainstream



Enemy No1

On 9 February, former UKIP leader Nigel Farage retweeted a post by far-right conspiracy theorist Paul Joseph Watson aimed at the Hungarian-American billionaire philanthropist George Soros.

This came amid an anti-Soros media furore after newspapers publicised the fact that Soros' Open Society Foundation (OSF) had donated £400,000 to the Best for Britain campaign group, which is fighting to keep the UK in the EU. The then embattled – and now sacked – UKIP leader, Henry Bolton, then still UKIP leader, dutifully pitched in, labelling Soros an “international financier & meddler”.

This is not the first time that Farage has had a go at Soros. In November 2017, he questioned Soros' and the OSF's alleged influence in the European Parliament, stating exaggeratedly that it “could be the biggest level of international political collusion in history”.

While Farage has strongly denied that his comments were antisemitic (Soros is of Jewish heritage), Soros has become Public Enemy Number One for nationalists on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is now common on the right to allege that Soros' hidden hand is pushing globalisation and liberal values by influencing prominent politicians and financing protest movements. At their worst, such sentiments regurgitate the old antisemitic conspiracies of Jewish global control.

ORIGINS

Anti-Soros conspiracy theories from the left but mainly the right have proliferated since Soros' ascendancy to the top of the hedge fund industry in the early 1990s.

They were exacerbated by the formation of the OSF in 1993 through which Soros has openly donated huge amounts of money to causes promoting democracy and defending minorities.

Feeling against him hardened on the right because of his opposition to US

President George W. Bush and his vocal criticism of the war in Iraq in the mid-2000s. Ten years ago, the now-disgraced Fox News presenter Bill O'Reilly described Soros as “off-the-charts dangerous” and as “an extremist who wants open borders, a one-world foreign policy, legalized drugs, euthanasia, and on and on”.

ALTERNATIVE RIGHT

However, online anti-Soros conspiracy theories have taken on a life of their own, pushed by the “alternative right”, the loose, far right, anti-globalist grouping energised by the presidential campaign of Donald Trump (of whom Soros is a vocal critic).

Within the broad alternative right lie the openly racist “alt-right” and the “moderate” “alt-light”. A prominent alt-light figure pushing anti-Soros conspiracy is Paul Joseph Watson. Watson has called Soros “a genuinely malevolent person who knows full well he is destroying Western civilisation. He has largely succeeded”.

Watson has written that Trump's National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster is a “Soros mole who has penetrated the White House.” He has also called Soros a “financier of domestic terrorism”, advising Trump to “Arrest him, confiscate his wealth”. He has also claimed that it is “inevitable” that “one of his leftist jihad army” will commit a terror attack. These are among his comments from 2017 alone.

Watson's boss at InfoWars, Alex Jones, whom the Southern Poverty Law Centre (SPLC) considers “the most prolific conspiracy theorist in contemporary America”, claimed Soros is “the head of the Jewish mafia”. Elsewhere, he has alleged that “Soros is behind the Muslim takeover of the West”.

The alt-light “news” outlet Breitbart News Network (of which Farage is a former columnist) has a fixation with Soros, publishing reams of hostile and conspiratorial articles about him and the

groups he funds.

Breitbart authors regularly insinuate that Soros himself is directly responsible for and, perhaps, even actively orchestrating the actions of the many hundreds of organisations worldwide that the OSF funds. “Soros-funded” or “Soros-backed” have become the prefixes of choice in their hatchet job, muckraking articles.

At the most extreme end are the nazis of the Daily Stormer for whom Soros sits atop a vast Jewish conspiracy that looks to enslave or commit genocide against whites by encouraging mass migration.

The Stormer went into overdrive when Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's son posted an image featuring Soros portrayed as the alt-right's favourite antisemitic “Happy Merchant”, the image recalling smears popularised in the notorious forgery “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”. The Stormer even dedicated its website banner to Netanyahu's son.

A MOVEMENT

Given the widespread proliferation of conspiracy theories around Soros, it is not surprising that the news service Politico has reported that anti-Soros feeling has risen in European nations, including Romania, Poland, Serbia, Bulgaria and Slovakia, emboldened by “perceived sympathy” for these feelings within the Trump administration.

In December 2016, for example, the Trump campaign was accused of using antisemitic messages after rolling out a campaign-closing ad featuring an image of Soros as the narration read “those who control the levers of power in Washington”.

In Soros' native Hungary, such sentiment has been whipped up by a bitter campaign led by nationalist conservative Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, himself previously a beneficiary of a Soros scholarship to study at Oxford. In his annual State of the Nation speech, Orbán predicted that 2017 “would

>>



be about squeezing out the forces symbolised” by Soros.

Earlier, Hungary’s Parliament passed an amendment to a higher-education bill designed to force closure of the Central European University (CEU), a Budapest-based institution established in 1991 by Soros.

In July, billboards went up around Budapest bearing the words “Don’t let Soros have the last laugh”, some of which have been defaced with graffiti that reads “stinking Jew” and, in October, government minister Andras Aradszki told the country’s parliament that it was a “Christian duty” to struggle against the “Satanic Soros Plan”.

On 19 March, a conference was organised by the Identitarian Student Union and the ludicrous Knights Templar International in Budapest,

titled “Stop Operation Soros”, addressed by fascist former British National Party leader Nick Griffin and attended by leading alt-right activist Daniel Friberg among others. In May, “Stop Operation Soros” graffiti appeared outside a community centre, in Budapest, that had received funding from Soros.

It is no surprise that Soros and the OSF have won the enmity of the right. He has openly supported progressive causes such as LGBT rights, support for refugees and the defence of human rights and many of the organisations and individuals that OSF funds seek to build more open and tolerant societies based on progressive and democratic values.

Farage’s tweet came in the wake of an argument about an article in *The Telegraph*, co-written by Theresa May’s former chief advisor Nick Timothy, which

bore the headline “George Soros, the man who ‘broke the Bank of England’, backing secret plot to thwart Brexit”.

Far from the alleged “secret plot”, the anti-Brexit group Best for Britain is totally open about its politics as is Soros. It is possible to detect the stench of antisemitism in the *Telegraph*’s choice of words.

Conspiracies about so-called Jewish world control have always been adapted to encompass new “puppet masters” and Soros is now the central figure in this latest bout of antisemitic drivel.

Such ugly prejudice coming from any quarters is always worrying but the fact that this anti-Soros conspiracy theory has broken out of the confines of the political fringe and begun to gain mainstream traction is a real cause for concern. ■

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