

HATE
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THE FASCIST FRINGE

PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE AND ITS SPLINTER GROUPS



December 2023



HOPE not hate uses research, education and public engagement to challenge mistrust and racism, and helps to build communities that are inclusive, celebrate shared identities and are resilient to hate.

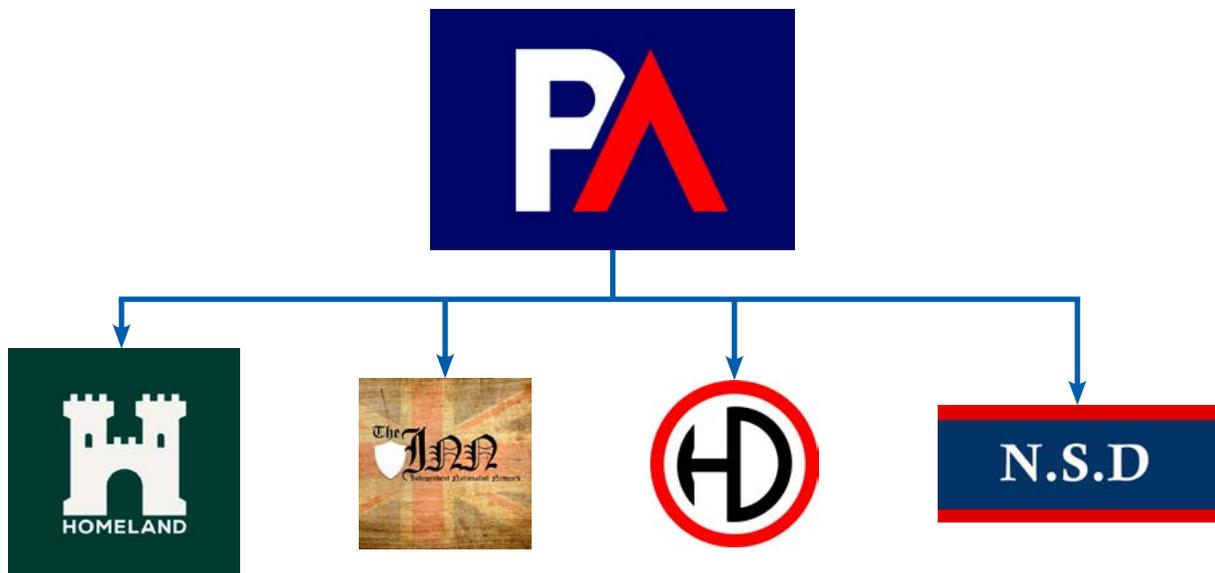
We monitor far-right extremism and produce in-depth analysis of the threat of the politics of hate in the UK and abroad.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Over the past year, Patriotic Alternative (PA) has splintered. While it remains the dominant fascist group in the UK, the splits have been damaging and the UK's fascist fringe is fragmented.
- By far the largest split occurred in April 2023, when many of PA's most effective organisers left to form the Homeland Party. The new group pursues a "community politics" and electoral approach, although faces steep challenges.
- Former PA activist Alek Yerbury also launched the rival National Support Detachment (NSD) in April, building a small but prolific fascist street movement. He is now also attempting to register a political party, marking a wider shift towards electoral politics on the fascist fringes.
- Cross-Channel migration remains the key issue for the British far right. PA, Homeland, the NSD and other far-right groups are attempting to exploit local anxiety around asylum accommodation sites in order to gain footholds in communities. These groups are increasingly bold and can act as a toxic and divisive presence in their target communities.
- The report offers a regional breakdown of PA, the Homeland Party and other splinters, naming numerous far-right activists for the first time.
- The report summarises PA's links to the now-banned nazi terror group National Action. It also covers seven individuals with current or former links to PA who are behind bars for race hate or terror-related offences.



PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE SPLINTERS: THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS

ON 7 OCTOBER 2023, leader Mark Collett took to the stage to address the national conference of Patriotic Alternative (PA), now in its fourth year.

The setting was not quite as upmarket as previous conferences. Instead of a luxury hotel, the 200 or so fascists gathered in a village hall in Leicestershire, hoping to avoid the cancellation of the booking and the non-cooperation of staff if the true nature of the event was exposed.

Nor was the tone of Collett's speech quite as jubilant. The subject of the leader's address was "why people drop out of this movement". Stressing that their cause is "not about quick victories", he went on to compare PA's mission to that of "the men who fought the Red Army on the Eastern front in the Second World War" (i.e. the Nazis). Amid the usual self-congratulation, Deputy Leader Laura Towler admitted that PA is "not a shiny new organisation any more", similarly imploring listeners to

understand "that this is a long struggle."

As their words suggest, it has been a bruising year for PA. The group has come under increasing scrutiny from the authorities, with five individuals linked to PA receiving prison sentences for hate crime or terror-related offences in the last year alone. Moreover, internal disagreements and a loss of confidence in the leadership has erupted into a series of damaging splits and soured relationships, with three splinter groups forming within a six-month span.

The most recent schism plunged PA into its most severe crisis since its formation, after Kenny Smith, the group's National Admin officer, led a troupe of disgruntled officers to form the new Homeland Party in April.

While PA remains the UK's largest fascist group, the splits have been both damaging and demoralising, and internal discontent continues to stew.



Laura Towler, Kenny Smith and Mark Collett at PA's national conference, October 2021.

THE FAULT LINES

PA launched in September 2019 with the aim of uniting isolated fascists into cohesive far-right communities. The group quickly gained recruits from across the splintered British far right, connecting ex-BNP stalwarts with alt-right social media personalities, veteran Holocaust deniers, politically inexperienced young fascists and several former members and associates of the now-proscribed Nazi terror group, National Action (NA).

Successfully establishing new regional and national activist networks, PA has embarked on various forms of traditional political organising, online activism and media-baiting stunts, alongside its internal “community building” activities. The group quickly became the most active far-right group in Britain, providing leadership for the beleaguered traditional fascist scene of a kind not seen since the collapse of the BNP in the early 2010s.

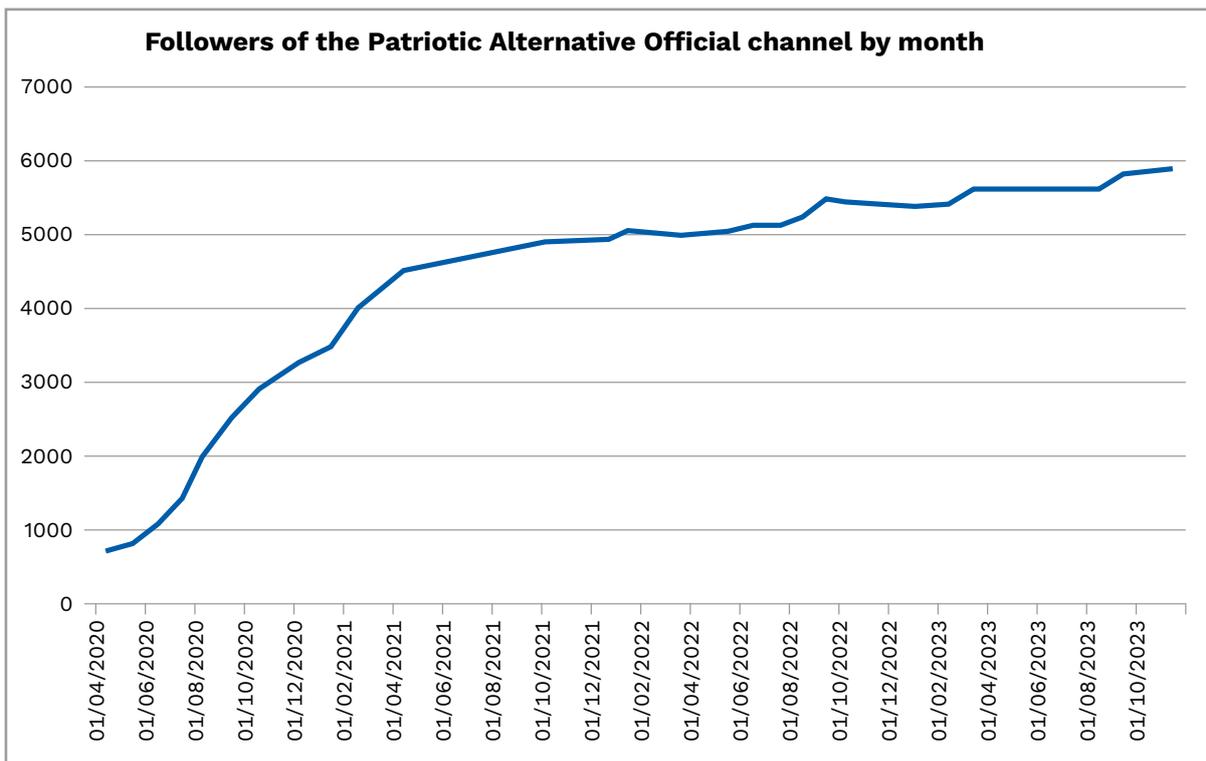
However, despite its high output and considerable media coverage, the group’s growth has largely plateaued. There are several apparent causes for this loss of momentum.

Firstly, PA’s increasingly brazen Nazism has alienated many on the British far right,

let alone wider society. Anti-fascists have worked tirelessly to expose the group’s true leanings and its links to National Action, and several PA members and associates are currently behind bars for hate crime or terror-related offences (outlined elsewhere in this report). Collett himself has a long history in fascist politics and carries much baggage.

Over the past eighteen months, PA has increasingly sought to broaden its support through anti-LGBTQ+ and anti-migrant campaigns. However, while these efforts have boosted PA’s profile, they do not appear to have significantly swelled its active membership. Some local campaigners have expressed frustration at PA’s opportunistic attempts to hijack campaigns against asylum accommodation sites. In the summer of 2022, PA’s endeavour to take ownership of the “Stop Drag Queen Story Hour” movement, which aims to cancel a series of children’s story reading sessions, saw it denounced by many other campaigners wary of association.

Moreover, PA’s own internal practices have impeded its growth. In the wake of a series of embarrassing anti-fascist infiltrations, the group’s National Admin Officer, Kenny Smith, introduced extreme vetting



The following of PA’s Official Telegram channel, its primary communication outlet, has remained in the 5,000-6,000 range for almost two years



Left: PA Yorkshire Regional Organiser Sam Melia and “Anglo Josh”, then PA’s West Midlands media officer, in 2022. Right: Anglo Josh. He has since left PA

procedures, demanding that applicants provide photo ID and agree to home visits by senior activists before full membership is granted. This controversial move has given rise to much anxiety around data security, and has proved off-putting to many potential recruits.

PA has also struggled to retain its activists, many of whom have lapsed into inactivity or defected to other vehicles. The group’s repeated failure to register as a political party, and the lack of a clear and meaningful metric for its success, has fostered a sense of aimlessness. A common charge is that PA is a glorified social club, with some tiring of its endless social events and the online streams to which Collett and Towler dedicate much time. Some have been forced out amid bitter disputes, often with Collett himself, and have formed a noisy anti-PA community online. The loss of key organisers periodically reduces PA’s regional activity until a replacement is found.

PA’s structure also renders it vulnerable to splinters. PA’s branches act with considerable autonomy, and the national rank-and-file gather only a few times a year. Moreover, while PA’s multi-pronged approach has helped it recruit from formerly disparate far-right tendencies, it has also fostered strategic disputes and a disjointed understanding of the group’s

purpose. This has led to significant gulfs between regions, a recipe for disaster.

EARLY SPLINTERS

So far, PA has spawned four distinct splinter groups, each of which are covered in depth elsewhere in this report. The first to form was the Independent Nationalist Network (INN), after a cluster of activists, mostly in the Midlands, broke away in July 2021. So far, this “leaderless collective” has achieved little of note.

“they will never reach beyond the echo chamber [...] Pathetic Alternative You finished Collett you just don’t realise it yet.”

Richard Lumby, 27 July 2022

Next, a handful of former Scottish activists launched the Highland Division in October 2022. Various members of this openly nazi groupuscule were quickly beset by criminal charges and investigations, and at present, the group is dormant.

“Mark’s an idiot and Kenny is a state informant”

Hadden Adam, 7 February 2023

More significant was the desertion of the Leeds-based activist Alek Yerbury this February. Allying himself with a circle of former English Defence League (EDL) activists in Yorkshire, Yerbury launched the National Support Detachment (NSD) in April and has headed numerous anti-migrant protests, hoping to build the foundations of a formal political movement.

“Mark Collett is a grifter [...] I have said this all along that the ultimate leadership is awful.”

Alek Yerbury, 17 October 2023

THE APRIL EXODUS

However, by far the most consequential rupture followed Smith’s resignation in April. This triggered the mass defection of dozens of PA’s appointed officers, including six Regional Organisers, its Scottish and West Midlands branches almost wholesale and chunks of the East Midlands and East England membership. The defectors held their first meeting as the “Homeland Party” on the 19th of that month.

Tension had long been brewing. Collett had grown frustrated at the excessively restrictive vetting procedures enforced by Smith, whereas Smith accused the PA leadership of prioritising online content creation over engaging in local politics and registering as a party. However, Collett and Smith’s recent alliance has always seemed precarious, the pair having been on opposite sides of the BNP’s own civil war in the late 2000s. In 2021, HOPE not hate identified PA’s Scottish group as a potential breakaway, possessing different political ambitions to the national leadership and a strong independent streak.

“PA’s run its course. Poor leadership, I’ve noticed it myself, I always thought Mark, Laura were not leaders, that Mark was more prioritised with streaming, playing video games and reviewing books than he was

ever organising anything with PA. I ultimately think that PA will fizzle out, because more and more people will get disenfranchised with the lack of direction.”

Scott Conner (AKA Scott Wilson), former PA Scotland activist, 19 April 2023

Hoping their new organisation would provide a fresh start with the Electoral Commission and “a fresh image”, the Homelander embarked on a tug-of-war with the PA leadership for the loyalties of the membership, for chunks of the organisation’s infrastructure and for the ownership of existing anti-migrant campaigns.

“we have a new start. A fresh image. There are a lot of dodgy photos from early PA.”

Jerome O’Reilly, 24 April 2023

Unsurprisingly, the PA leadership downplayed the split and attempted a flurry of activism while Homeland struggled to establish itself. However, the loss of many of its most effective officers has significantly reduced PA’s capacity.

“I don’t think a split is a good thing at all [...] it makes us less effective, I also think it makes us look absolutely stupid to our enemies. I don’t know if organisations like HOPE not hate have got hold of this yet, but this is not the image that we should be portraying”

Laura Towler, April 2023

The damage is unevenly spread. PA’s North East and North West branches have been largely unaffected by the split, the latter remaining the group’s most energetic nationally. Other branches that lost their ROs – as in the South West and Wales – have largely recovered and even thrived under alternative leadership. However, activity in the East of England, which was

once among PA's most active, has dropped significantly and six months on, the group still lacks functioning branches in the West Midlands and Scotland.

Region	Percentage
East of England	15
East Midlands	9
London	0
North East	3
North West	30
Scotland	3
South East	4
South West	13
Wales	12
West Midlands	1
Yorkshire	11

Estimated leaflet output by region since the formation of the Homeland Party, 20.04.23 – 31.10.23. Estimates reached by compiling PA's own figures.

FASCIST UNITY?

The PA leadership has subsequently joined calls for greater unity on the fascist fringes, repairing links to groups it had previously spurned. Among them are the INN and Highland Division, groups concentrated in the regions where PA is most desperate for members.

On 28 May, the PA leadership attended a "Nationalist Unity Meeting" in Leeds organised by Matthew Joseph Strutt of the INN, which also included figures from the British Democrats, the Highland Division, the anti-migrant Midlands Says No campaign, as well as Yerbury and his ally Katie Fanning, who is also a former PA associate. While this self-described "patchwork coalition" voiced its intent to collaborate, the meeting was fraught.

Rifts between Yerbury's faction and PA have deepened considerably since. In September, Yerbury and Fanning were barred from entering the annual fascist Heritage & Destiny conference in Preston, at which Collett and Towler were speaking. The pair blamed their ban on the PA leadership in a bout of online mudslinging that has further divided the Yorkshire far right.



Leeds, 28 June 2023. Back row L-R: Sam Melia (PA), Hadden Adam (Highland Division), Matthew Strutt (INN), Richard Lumby (INN), Jim Lewthwaite (British Democrats), Mark Collett (PA), Jeff Marsh (PA). Front row L-R: Lee Smith (INN), James Costello (PA), Donna Brookes (Midlands Says No), David Miles (PA), Laura Towler (PA)

Laura Towler and Sam Melia at an anti-migrant protest in Long Eaton, Derbyshire, 23 April 2023. Picture: HOPE not hate



ATTEMPTED RECOVERY

PA remains considerably larger and better known than any of its splinters. However, there is little doubt that the schisms have been damaging and demoralising, denting PA's output, undermining its leadership and providing alternatives to which future defectors can turn.

PA has yet to outline a convincing vision for its continued growth. Since the split, the leadership has attempted to firm up support amongst the fascist fringes through even more extreme messaging. The group has also permitted ROs more freedom in vetting and ignored the dual membership of some activists to other fascist outfits. Some of those attending PA activities are not formal PA members. While this approach may swell numbers at PA actions, there are implications for the group's security and may further dilute its sense of unified purpose.

PA has signalled that it may pursue legal action against the Electoral Commission in the hopes of achieving party status.

However, it is unclear whether Collett and Towler will follow through with this costly action, as the pair seem to have little genuine interest in registering and may simply be going through the motions to offset criticism.

The group will also continue to exploit anti-migrant sentiment as its key means of public outreach. Activists are undertaking increasingly bold action, including setting up stalls in city centres. However, PA often has to compete with other far-right groups – including the NSD and Homeland – for the same campaigns.

Nonetheless, these outreach efforts demand close attention. The UK's fascist milieu remains fragmented, but it is broadly pulling in the same direction. These fringe groups are intent on inserting their poison into communities, and believe anti-LGBTQ+ and especially anti-migrant sentiment provide an opening. It would be unwise to underestimate the harm this may cause, and anti-fascists and campaigners across the UK must meet the challenge head on.

KEY FIGURES

MARK COLLETT

Mark Collett is the founder and leader of Patriotic Alternative. A longstanding nazi and former leading figure in the British National Party (BNP), Collett has been a highly divisive figure on the British far right for over two decades.

Collett began his political career in Leeds in the early 2000s, gaining a reputation as a BNP hardliner and rising to head of the group's youth wing and eventually head of publicity. In 2002, he was the subject of two highly embarrassing documentaries in which he was filmed stating: "Hitler will live forever; and maybe I will", among much else. In 2004, yet another documentary led to Collett's arrest, alongside leader Nick Griffin, for inciting racial hatred; the pair were eventually cleared of the charges.

By the late 2000s, Collett had become deeply unpopular within the BNP and exited in 2010 after an extraordinary row with Griffin. After a short flirtation with the

English Democrats, Collett entered a hiatus from party politics.

Collett resurfaced in 2016, speaking at fascist conferences and engaging with activists of the now-banned nazi terror group National Action (outlined elsewhere in this report). Attaching himself to the emerging alt-right, Collett successfully built an online audience through streaming, collaborating regularly with former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke and establishing his own broadcast.

In the late 2010s, Collett organised a series of camps for far-right activists that convinced him of the viability of a new organisation. He took further inspiration from visiting far-right groups in Scandinavia in 2019, in particular the Scandza Forum in Copenhagen.

Launching PA in September that year, Collett remains a contentious but well-known fascist figure both in the UK and internationally.



Mark Collett (left) with his then-girlfriend, Jenna Smith

LAURA TOWLER

Laura Towler (AKA Laura Melia) is Deputy Leader of Patriotic Alternative.

Citing the interwar British fascist Oswald Mosley, the Finnish extremist Kai Murros and the American fascist Greg Johnson as influences, Towler first emerged in far-right circles as an editor of the white nationalist site Defend Europa in 2017.

Having built a sizable following on social media, Towler and Collett spearheaded the “We Were Never Asked” propaganda exercise in 2019, conducting street polling on questions related to immigration. Collett appointed her as his deputy after the first PA conference that September.

In 2020, Towler married Sam Melia, PA’s Regional Organiser for Yorkshire; the same year she launched her tea company, “Grandma Towler’s”, which is used to raise funds for PA.

Despite her extremism, Towler has attempted to “soften” PA’s image and to “appeal to families”.



Laura Towler poses with her poster of Oswald Mosley

SAM MELIA



Sam Melia at an anti-migrant event in Cannock, Staffordshire, 11 March 2023. Picture: HOPE not hate

Sam Melia is PA’s Regional Organiser for Yorkshire and the husband of Deputy Leader Laura Towler.

Melia has cycled through a series of far-right groups, first coming to attention in connection to the now-banned nazi terror group National Action, detailed elsewhere in this report.

Melia also claims to be an ex-UKIP member, defecting for its anti-Muslim offshoot For Britain after its formation in October 2017. He represented For Britain in the 2018 local elections in Leeds; that year he also attended events organised by the now-defunct far-right group Generation Identity UK. Both groups disavowed Melia after HOPE not hate exposed his past links to NA.

During this period, Melia was involved in a series of meetups organised via the Daily Stormer, a notorious nazi website. He also secretly established the Hundred Handers (HH), an anonymous fascist propaganda network that ceased to function after HOPE not hate exposed Melia as its organiser in 2020.

Melia remains a key PA activist nationally, despite being a regular source of bad press for the group. Recently, Melia came under heavy criticism from within the far right after it emerged that, while working for a previous employer, he had installed LGBTQ+ Pride-themed decorations and used pictures of this work on the website of his own sign-making company, “Saxon Signs”. This is despite his deep-seated homophobia and history of anti-LGBTQ+ campaigning.

NATIONAL SOCIALISING: PA'S INTERNATIONAL ALLIES

PA has proactively established links to extremist organisations overseas. Below is an overview of PA's two most significant international allies.

NORDIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Founded in 1997, the Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM) is a pan-Nordic, militant nazi organisation that aims to install a “national socialist” dictatorship in the Nordic region.

Despite splits and the group's proscription in Finland, NRM has been described as “an ongoing and serious public security threat” by experts at the Swedish anti-racist group Expo. NRM members and sympathisers have committed acts of violence against minorities and political opponents, as well as bomb plots and other terror-related offences.

The PA leadership has repeatedly praised and collaborated with the NRM. For example, in July 2019, Collett gushed: “I'm completely impressed by you guys and what you're doing, and I just hope one day we have something that radical and that well-organised here in the UK”. He launched PA just two months later.

Collett has made numerous appearances on the Nordic Frontier podcast, NRM's primary English-language broadcast, which is co-hosted by the Swedish nazi Andreas Holmvall (AKA Andreas Johansson). Holmvall has returned the favour, the two groups often using these streams to praise one another and exchange strategic advice.

For three years running, NRM has also participated in PA's annual Indigenous Peoples' Day campaign. In 2021, NRM activists even hoisted a White Lives Matter banner with the words “Patriotic Alternative” over Essingeleden motorway in Stockholm, to “honour” PA.

Most notably, in October 2022, PA welcomed Holmvall to speak at its national conference. In his own words, he delivered a speech “about National Socialism, about Hitler and about Jews” to a receptive audience. Holmvall's was the only speech from the event that PA did not make available online.



Mark Collett (left) and Andreas Holmvall



NJP Chair Mike Peinovich
(AKA Mike Enoch)

NATIONAL JUSTICE PARTY

The National Justice Party (NJP) is an American nazi group that launched in August 2020.

The NJP emerged from the most fascistic elements of the American alt-right, in particular The Right Stuff, a nazi website spearheaded by Mike Peinovich (AKA Mike Enoch). Peinovich, who co-hosts “The Daily Shoah” podcast, is now the Chair of the NJP. Some figures now involved in the NJP attended the abortive fascist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017. The event was marred by violence between the far right and counter-protestors, and culminated in the murder of an anti-fascist.

Collett has heaped praise upon the highly antisemitic group, stating: “I watch what they’re doing and it fills my heart with joy”. Peinovich has in turn told Collett

that “our two groups draw inspiration from each other”. Leading NJP figures are regular fixtures on Collett’s show, including Peinovich, founding council member Joseph Jordan (AKA Eric Striker), NJP Secretary Warren Balogh and his wife, Emily Youcis, as well as NJP Chief of Staff Tony Hovater.

The links between the two groups tightened in 2023, with Collett travelling across the Atlantic at the beginning of the year and a NJP representative returning the favour with a trip to Yorkshire in May. This year, the NJP was also by far the largest international contributor to PA’s annual Indigenous Peoples’ Day propaganda campaign.

Most notably, in October, both Balogh and Hovater were speakers at PA’s national conference, with Balogh afforded an “honorary membership” of the group.

PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE AND NATIONAL ACTION: A SHORT OVERVIEW

Patriotic Alternative (PA) has provided a home and fresh networking opportunities for potentially dangerous extremists. This includes several former members and associates of National Action (NA), a militant nazi outfit proscribed by the Home Office as a terrorist group in 2016.

PA has publicly disavowed NA, and explicitly condemns violence and terrorism. However, the underlying ideologies of the two groups have much in common, and PA has proved willing to accommodate and even to promote former NA activists to official positions within the organisation.

HOPE not hate has repeatedly exposed the connections between the two organisations. Below is a summary of the links between Patriotic Alternative and National Action.



Collett (black shirt) sits next to Davies (blue shirt) at a fascist meeting, prior to NA's ban

NATIONAL ACTION

National Action was a radical nazi organisation founded by Benjamin Raymond and Alex Davies in 2013. From the outset, the group promoted an unfiltered, Hitler-worshipping nazism and a violent hatred of Jews, becoming increasingly militant and obsessed with the idea of an imminent race war.

NA published photographs of activists – including co-founder Davies – performing fascist salutes in Buchenwald concentration camp, and received significant attention after a supporter attempted to murder a Sikh man with a machete in 2015. After increasingly worrying signs – including studying ISIS videos at training camps and celebrating the assassination of Jo Cox MP – NA was proscribed under anti-terror legislation in December 2016.

A number of NA activists continued to organise in contravention of the ban, however. One prominent ex-member, Jack Renshaw, hatched a plot to murder an MP in 2017 – a plan that was foiled due to information received by HOPE not hate.

Numerous former NA activists are behind bars due to their activity in the group.



Alex Davies at Buchenwald concentration camp, April 2016

ALEX DAVIES



On 7 June 2022, Alex Davies, the Swansea-based co-founder and former co-leader of NA, received an eight-and-a-half year sentence for his role in perpetuating the group's existence after its proscription.

The following month, we revealed that Davies had been active with PA for over two years. In July 2020, Davies explained his support for the group:

“I don't like everything about PA but I accept that nothing is perfect and that I'm not in charge. I lend my support because it's the best vehicle for promoting ideas I support and ultimately saving our people – simple as.”

Davies attended PA actions in 2021 and

2022 in Wales, including unfurling anti-migrant banners outside a Swansea hotel and a similar stunt outside Caerphilly Castle. In October 2021, Davies took part in banner drops outside council offices, accompanied by Jeff Marsh, the branch's key figure.

In 2022, Jerome O'Reilly, then still with PA Wales, attended Davies' trial and subsequently penned an article for the PA website under a pseudonym. While condemning NA as “an unsavoury organisation” that was “rightly proscribed”, O'Reilly described Davies as “a gentleman and a scholar”. O'Reilly is now the Treasurer of the Homeland Party.

MARK COLLETT

Davies' links to PA may be less surprising in light of his personal link to Collett. During its heyday, NA was a prominent force in the fascist political space and Collett was among those who found common ground with the group.

Collett collaborated with NA activists during the 2016 Brexit campaign, running a Vote Leave-branded stall in Leeds alongside Jack Coulson, a NA member since convicted for making a pipe bomb and other terror-related offences. Also present was Wayne Bell (AKA Wayne Jarvie), a violent antisemite and a leading NA figure.

Robbie Mullen, a former NA insider, has since gone on record to state that he met Collett whilst leafleting with the group in West Yorkshire in 2016, and that Collett had also helped to arrange a venue for an NA meeting in Leeds prior to the group's ban.



L-R: Jack Coulson, Mark Collett, Jenna Smith and Wayne Bell

SAM MELIA



Sam Melia (circled) marching with NA in Darlington, County Durham, November 2016. Photo: HOPE not hate

Sam Melia is among PA's most influential figures, being the Regional Organiser of its flagship Yorkshire branch and the husband of Deputy Leader Laura Towler.

HOPE not hate exposed Melia's links to NA in 2018 when he stood as a candidate for the anti-Muslim party For Britain, publishing a photo of him marching alongside senior NA members in Darlington in November 2016, a month prior to the group's ban.

PA has claimed that Melia has "never had any involvement with National Action". However, in a March 2017 post to the nazi Daily Stormer forums, Melia wrote that he had:

"[...] joined a local NA branch and attended one rally before they were declared illegal and disbanded (great timing, thanks cucked gov). Since



Manchester, July 2017. L-R: Lucas Beckett, Oliver Ashton, Christopher Lythgoe, unknown, Melia, unknown, Radoslaw Rekke and Mark Jones

then I've not been able to make contact with anyone from the group [...]"

We also released a photograph of Melia alongside several prominent NA members in Manchester in July 2017. This included Christopher Lythgoe, who is currently serving eight years for continuing to lead the terrorist group post ban, and Mark Jones, described by counterterror police as a "lynchpin in the national structure" of NA, and who received a five and a half year sentence for his role in the group.

JAKE BEWICK

In July 2021, the Yorkshire PA branch overseen by Melia also appointed Sheffield-based nazi Jake Bewick as its "Fitness Club Officer".

We had exposed Bewick as a former NA activist in 2018, when he was involved in the now-defunct Generation Identity UK. Bewick has claimed that "Hitler Speaks About the Jews. The truth the world would be so much if he world [sic] of won" and posted NA stickers bearing pictures of the notorious Auschwitz war criminal Josef Mengele, emblazoned with the slogan: "SAVE ANIMALS. TEST ON SUBHUMANS".



Bewick (circled) marching with NA in Darlington, County Durham, November 2016. Picture: HOPE not hate



Kris Kearney (left) alongside National Action's North West branch, including leader Christopher Lythgoe (third from left). December 2016.



The first episode of the official PA Talk podcast was co-hosted by Simon Crane and Kris Kearney, and featured Kenny Smith as guest. 31 August 2021

KRISTOFER KEARNEY

Another former NA member is Kristofer Kearney (AKA Charlie Big Potatoes), who had a brief stint as PA's national "Fitness Officer" in 2021. That year he also became co-host of the official PA Talk podcast alongside Simon Crane, then Regional Organiser of PA Scotland and now a leading figure in the Homeland Party.

Prior to its ban, Kearney was active in NA's North West branch, home of Lythgoe and the would-be assassin Jack Renshaw. Kearney claimed he left NA "one minute before" the group's proscription and that he was "hounded out of the UK by the security services".

As he built an online following from his home in Alicante, Spain in 2019, it was clear

Kearney's extremism remained undimmed, promoting terrorist content and violence. In August 2021 – whilst an appointed PA official – he stated: "I want a cult. I want fanatics, people who are willing to die for this cause. That's the level of commitment I want and expect."

In June 2023, Kearney received a four years and eight months sentence for sharing terror-related material. PA continued to support Kearney after his arrest, Collett describing him as "a guy I hold in high esteem".

JAMES COSTELLO (AKA JAMES MAC)

James Costello (AKA James Mac) from Kirkby, Merseyside has emerged as one of PA's most active and best-known figures, leading numerous actions in the North West and compèring PA's national conference in October 2023.

Costello is a "Reverend" in the Creativity Movement, an extreme white supremacist cult that calls for "Racial Holy War", and is a former associate of NA. In June 2014, Costello attended a "flash" demo in Liverpool, posing with a NA banner.

Notably, Costello also delivered the opening speech at the NA-organised "White Man March" in Newcastle, March 2015. The event was attended by

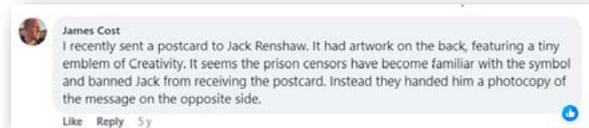


Costello (with microphone) addresses NA's "White Man March" in Newcastle, 21 March 2015. Michael Woodbridge stands behind him. Picture: HOPE not hate

extremists from several nazi groups and culminated in the burning of the Israeli flag and a number of arrests. Detained alongside several NA activists was the veteran fascist Michael Woodbridge (all charges were dropped). Woodbridge has since become a PA Wales activist.

In March 2017, Costello and well-known former NA member Garron Helm were caught on camera at a "survival camp" in Derbyshire in a joint ITV and HOPE not hate exposé. Also present at the camp was Mark Collett.

In December 2017, Costello also claimed that he had sent Jack Renshaw a postcard bearing a Creativity emblem while he was awaiting trial.



A post from James Costello's Facebook account

On 15 November 2023, Costello was sentenced to five years imprisonment for 19 counts of stirring up racial hatred. His offences relate to the promotion of Creativity Movement material in 2021. Following his conviction, PA has described him as "valued member of our community" and set up a fundraiser to support him.

JAMES ALLCHURCH (AKA SVEN LONGSHANKS)

Another former NA associate is James Allchurch (AKA Sven Longshanks) of the nazi website Radio Albion (previously Radio Aryan), which hosts audio and video for Collett's various shows. The PA member has also helped organise the group's national conferences.

Prior to its ban, Allchurch was an online cheerleader for NA, hosting discussions with NA co-founders Davies and Raymond on his site.

In May 2023, Allchurch received a two and a half years sentence for 10 counts of stirring up racial hatred through the site. The PA leadership has subsequently portrayed Allchurch as a martyr, encouraging supporters to write to him in prison.



Alex Davies (left) alongside James Allchurch, Swansea White Pride, 5 April 2014. Picture: HOPE not hate

BEHIND BARS

Seven individuals with current or former links to PA are serving prison time for hate crime or terror-related offences. Five have been sentenced in the last year alone.



ASHLEY PODSIAD-SHARP

In August 2023, Ashley Podsiad-Sharp, a prison officer from Barnsley, received a sentence of eight years behind bars for possessing a terrorist manual. The document contained detailed guidance on committing murder during a race war and evading detection by law enforcement. Weapons were also found at his home.

Sharp was an original co-host of The Absolute State of Britain, a now-defunct fascist podcast that launched in April 2019. While Sharp dropped out after several months, the podcast went on to develop close links to PA after the organisation's formation in September 2019.

He was also an early admin of Patriotic Weekly Review (PWR), the official Telegram chat group for Mark Collett's online show of

the same name. In May 2019, Sharp posted a PDF of SIEGE, a notorious pro-terror nazi polemic, to the PWR chat and wrote "Read Siege". He again recommended SIEGE in July 2021 via The Judgement Zone, an openly nazi fitness chat group that he also administered under the pseudonym "Sarge". The Judgement Zone counted numerous PA members among its active membership.

Sharp was involved in PA until at least July 2021, attending the group's annual national camp that month.

He went on to found White Stag Athletic Club (WSAC), a secretive fascist "fitness" group that publicly surfaced in October 2021. That month, he stated:

"PA is for politics, and that's a good thing. I disagree entirely that it is a good thing for all things to be under one umbrella. Personally I have little interest in a movement that is politically focused and open to all. I want a movement that is elitist and brotherhood focused."

The judge at Sharp's trial described WSAC as "a cauldron of self-absorbed neo-Nazism masquerading as a low grade all-male sports club. This sought to camouflage your real purpose to incite violence against those you hated with a vengeance [...] sooner or later that violence would have eventuated". The judge continued: "I have no doubt whatsoever you harboured terrorist intentions and your motivation was terrorism."

Sam Melia, PA's Yorkshire Regional Organiser, attended Sharp's trial and has continued to support him after his conviction.

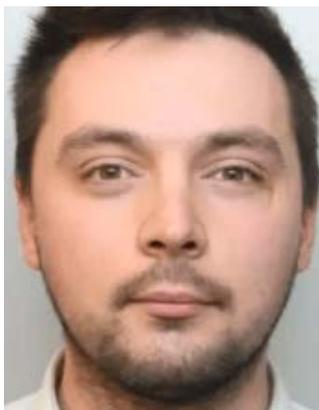


DEAN MORRICE

In June 2021, Morrice received 18 years for 10 terror-related offences, including stockpiling explosive materials. Pipes and ball bearings were also found

at his Somerset home in August 2020.

Morrice was active in a number of PA-linked chat groups on Telegram, including one in which South West activists organised activities for PA's annual day of action in August 2020, the message history of which was erased after news of Morrice's arrest broke. Morrice also discussed attending PA meetups in the summer of 2020.



ELLIOT BROWN

In January 2023, Elliot Brown, based in Bath, was jailed for three years and three months for two terror-related offences. These included recording and then posting

a video that contained instructions for making explosives to a far-right Telegram group in March 2020. This chat group also included Morrice, who Brown claimed he had met "a handful of times" offline.

HOPE not hate can reveal that Brown, who used the pseudonym "Albion James", wrote in July 2020 that he was "attending PA events", offering other activists a lift to the PA camp that month. He and another activist also abseiled a gorge in Somerset with a "White Lives Matter" banner as part of PA's annual "Indigenous Peoples Day" campaign in August 2020, a picture of which remains on the PA website.



ALEX DAVIES

The co-founder and former co-leader of National Action, Davies was sentenced to eight and a half years in June 2022 for continued membership of NA

after it was banned. As detailed elsewhere in this report, Davies attended a number of PA Wales activities in 2021 and 2022.



JAMES ALLCHURCH

In May 2023, Allchurch was sentenced to two years and six months for race hatred offences. As detailed elsewhere in this report, he

was also an active PA member.



KRISTOFER KEARNEY

Kearney was sentenced to four years and eight months behind bars in June 2023 for sharing terror-related materials.

As detailed elsewhere in this report, he was also PA's former "Fitness Officer" and co-hosted one of PA's official shows.



JAMES COSTELLO

In November 2023, Costello was sentenced to five years behind bars for race hate offences committed in 2021. Costello had been a key public activist

in PA's flagship North West branch since early 2022.

ANTI-MIGRANT CAMPAIGNING

Over the past eighteen months, PA has attempted to broaden its support through exploiting anti-migrant sentiment. Mimicking other far-right groups, PA has targeted hotels and other sites where there are plans to house asylum seekers.

In doing so, the group hopes to gain a foothold in communities and to steer local concern towards a wider far-right worldview, through which cross-Channel migration is interpreted as the deliberate “replacement” of the white British population.

This playbook has been adapted by PA’s offshoots, in particular the Homeland Party and the National Support Detachment (NSD), who similarly masquerade as representatives of the “local resistance” and seek to blur the lines between their own activities and campaigns led by residents. Homeland and the NSD in particular hope to harness these campaigns into formal political action.

Tactics include:

- disseminating targeted leaflets in surrounding areas

- infiltrating local community Facebook groups, or establishing Facebook groups made to appear as local community spaces, to promote their own propaganda and actions
- infiltrating residents’ meetings
- attending protests organised by locals, or organising their own protests
- supporting or organising permanent protest camps
- claiming credit if plans are eventually scrapped

Results have been mixed. Some local campaigners have rejected the advances of far-right outsiders outright. Others have initially welcomed the support but have grown wary of association, or else been alienated by outside organisations claiming credit for their efforts. Other campaigns have simply fizzled out.

However, some local campaigners have proved willing to tolerate hardcore fascists, and PA and its splinter groups continue to pose a threat to communities across the UK.

PA activists in Erskine, Renfrewshire, 5 February 2023. PA’s Scottish branch has since defected en masse to the Homeland Party. Picture: HOPE not hate



ANTI-MIGRANT CAMPAIGNS IN 2023

Below is a map of anti-migrant campaigns that PA and its splinter groups have attempted to exploit.



THE HOMELAND PARTY



The Homeland Party is an ethnonationalist organisation that splintered from Patriotic Alternative (PA) in April 2023. The group formed after Kenny Smith, PA's National Administration Officer, led many of PA's appointed officers to defect en masse, including the large majority of PA's Scottish and West Midlands branches and chunks of the East Midlands and East of England membership.

The split was strategic rather than ideological, borne out of a loss of faith in PA's leadership and a desire to pursue "community politics" and local elections. Homeland has made an unpromising start, however, and faces steep challenges.

IDEOLOGY AND STRATEGY

Homeland seeks to revive existing traditions of British fascist strategy. Smith, a longstanding fascist activist, has cited the "ladder strategy" outlined by Steve Brady of the National Front as a particular inspiration. Writing in 1987, Brady contended that establishing power at the local level through sustained campaigning was a necessary precursor to national power.

A version of this strategy paved the way for the electoral successes of the British National Party (BNP) in the 2000s. Smith, himself a former BNP organiser, particularly seeks to emulate its flagship Burnley branch. The BNP became the official opposition in Burnley council by selecting candidates embedded in local communities, who sought to channel the everyday concerns of residents into anger against the local Asian community and the Labour council.

Homeland believes national elections to be "a waste of time, money and effort" without having already gained "control of the levers of power" at a local level. Smith has encouraged activists to join parish

and community councils, the lowest tier of local government, in order to build political experience and local profiles, as well as to infiltrate trade unions, local parent's councils, NHS trusts and even allotment societies to the same end. The group eventually hopes to leverage its control of local authorities to "resist and obstruct" national policies that it deems objectionable.

Similar to the BNP, Homeland intends to exploit feelings of grievance in majority white neighbourhoods, for example by linking housing shortages, crime and conservation issues to immigration. In the words of its Nominating Officer Anthony Burrows, "people don't want a highly polarised, ideological politics; they want something that appeals to their deep instincts".

The group therefore seeks distance from PA's toxic reputation, hoping to establish what Treasurer Jerome O'Reilly has described as "a squeaky clean media image from the start". Adopting inoffensive (and unoriginal) branding, the group largely foregoes the media-baiting stunts employed by PA, instead aiming for direct communication with the public at "the local nexus", another notion borrowed from Brady.

Of course, Homeland is just as rife with extreme bigotry as PA. Some members have pasts in hardline nazi outfits, or have privately admitted that "normies" [normal people] recoil upon encountering their racist views. At the core of Homeland is the "White Genocide" myth, the belief that Jews are orchestrating a demographic shift in a deliberate attempt to weaken and replace "indigenous" Brits. However, the group downplays such beliefs in public, referring euphemistically to "internationalist elites" and the "international finance" supposedly behind "mass migration" and "forced dissolution into a global mass".

Homeland also seeks tighter controls on the online output of its members, hoping to avoid the leaks and scandals that have consistently blighted PA. The group has also criticised PA's overreliance on online content production and the overuse of the messaging app Telegram, which is favoured by the far right but is little used by the British public.

Instead, the group has sought to infiltrate local Facebook groups, or create new groups made to appear as local community spaces, to promote its propaganda. Like PA, Homeland has attempted to use these groups to engage in campaigns against asylum accommodation sites, hoping to gain a foothold in communities.

PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

Homeland possesses a small core of dedicated activists who are determined to learn from PA's mistakes, and a more deliberate approach and clarity of purpose that their former organisation lacks. In September, the group claimed to have selected 22 "local leads", and in October announced that it had seven members sitting on community and parish councils, with more on the way.

However, Homeland faces considerable challenges. Far-right splinters rarely match or exceed the success of their parent group, and while West Midlands organiser



Homeland activist Callum Barker (AKA Half Pint)

INFILTRATING COUNCILS

Homeland has several councillors at the community and parish level, the lowest tier of local government. These include:

- **Anthony Burrows:** Blackwell Parish Council, Derbyshire
- **Connor Marlow:** Fulford Parish Council, Staffordshire
- **Fraser Patterson:** Flitwick Town Council, Bedfordshire
- **David Gardner:** Forfar Community Council, Angus
- **Simon Crane:** East Calder and District Community Council, West Lothian

Connor Marlow pronounced that PA had "died" when Homeland formed, so far it has roundly failed to sweep the older organisation aside.

Only a minority of the PA membership defected to Homeland, and some initial defectors appear to have quickly returned to PA. While Homeland has activists in at least nine regions, they are often scattered and isolated. Even in regions where PA's key organisers jumped ship - such as the South West and Wales - so far, the group has been virtually invisible.

Crucially, at time of writing Homeland has failed to register as a political party, undermining its *raison d'être*. While registration is likely a matter of time, a protracted process will further dissipate the group's momentum.

Online engagement with Homeland is also very low. Collett and Towler had both built sizable online audiences prior to founding PA and brought eyes and members to their organisation. Homeland has no comparable figure, and in October cancelled its sole regular stream, "HomeTalk", after averaging a paltry 280 views on YouTube. Six months after its launch, Homeland's official Telegram channel has just a fifth of the following that PA did at the same point in its development.

This may be unsurprising, given that Homeland places less value on online content creation and establishing a national profile than PA. However, consolidating support among existing far-right activists

will surely be key to the group's success, another area in which Homeland has struggled to make progress.

At the group's inaugural AGM - which was held on Zoom - Burrows assured the rank-and-file that registration is "a certainty" and will bring "a growth in membership". However, Homeland's extreme vetting procedure, which requires photo ID and home visits, will undoubtedly alienate some prospective activists, especially as there are other far-right vehicles that do not employ these off-putting practices.

Moreover, its initial forays into "community politics" through anti-migrant campaigning have faltered. An early example is Cannock, Staffordshire, where Marlow began courting local campaigners under the PA banner, culminating in a well-attended protest this March. However, their actions soon alienated local campaigners, and at a scheduled protest in April - Homeland's debut demonstration - the forlorn fascist contingent were informed that they were not welcome. Homeland has since abandoned the campaign.

Worse still, PA held its first protest in Erskine, Renfrewshire in February, hoping to harness anger around a local asylum accommodation site. A small group of activists continued to gather outside the

hotel weekly, with Scottish organiser Simon Crane exchanging PA banners for those of Homeland and hoping to win over locals by sheer persistence. However, facing dogged opposition by counter-protestors and competition from what remains of PA Scotland, Homeland appears to have ceded the campaign, with little to show for seven months of effort.

Now having presided over two major splits in the far right, it is unclear how successful Smith will prove in holding the new grouping together long-term. Homeland is predicated on the belief that white Brits face an impending extinction, and many of its younger activists have been radicalised in an antagonistic online culture that delights in violating liberal conventions and social taboos. The group may therefore struggle to contain its more radical elements through the prolonged and mundane minutiae of local politics.

Homeland is a new organisation with a long-term vision, and the political landscape is unpredictable. Committed fascists are attempting to infiltrate local institutions, and this demands the close attention of anti-fascists and campaigners. However, Homeland is a long distance from establishing an electoral base, and at present remains a peripheral political force.



Simon Crane, former PA Regional Organiser for Scotland and now a leading Homeland Party activist. Picture taken in Erskine, Renfrewshire, August 2023.

KEY FIGURES

KENNY SMITH



Kenny Smith is a longstanding fascist activist and Chair of the Homeland Party.

Hailing from the Isle of Lewis, Smith joined the Glasgow BNP in 1991, rising to Scottish Secretary and eventually National Admin Officer.

His time in the BNP came to an abrupt end in 2007, after tensions between Smith and his allies and a young faction that included Mark Collett exploded into an internal war. Smith was sacked for “gross misconduct”, the party accusing him of an attempted coup.

After more than a decade in obscurity, Smith resurfaced in PA and played a key role in structuring the new organisation. One highly controversial addition was PA’s stringent vetting procedures, a dispute over which factored into his defection to the new Homeland Party in April 2023.

Smith is married to Claire Ellis, PA’s former South West Regional Organiser and now a Homeland member, and the pair announced a move from the Isle of Skye to England in August 2023. Emphasising internal trade, Ellis and Smith both run tiny businesses that are promoted within far-right circles. Smith launched his publishing arm, Claymore Books, in March 2022, reproducing several fascist texts.

Homeland is a reflection of Smith’s political ambitions. Despite having described himself as a “back office guy” better suited to management, the group has yet to select a public leader and he remains Homeland’s central figure.

ANTHONY BURROWS

Anthony Burrows, from the Alfreton area of Derbyshire, is Homeland’s national Nominating Officer.

Describing himself as a “somewhat subversive” former member of UKIP and then the Brexit Party, Burrows joined PA in September 2020, stating that he did not “believe anything positive will be born out of liberal democracy.” He eventually rose to the position of Regional Organiser for the East Midlands.

Attempting to maintain a low profile, he ran a “practical nationalism” channel on Telegram that offered advice to fellow far right activists on matters such as buying precious metals and buying organic food. He also penned articles advising others on privacy and security, before being outed by the anti-fascist group Red Flare in August 2021. He subsequently lost his shotgun licence.

Burrows left PA for Homeland in April 2023, chairing the first meeting of the group and becoming a key national figure. He has also gained a seat on Blackwell parish council in Bolsover district, Derbyshire.





JEROME O'REILLY

Jerome O'Reilly is the Treasurer of the Homeland Party.

Hailing from Cardiff, O'Reilly used the public pseudonym "Jacob" during his time at PA, and became the group's Welsh Regional Organiser in 2022.

That year, O'Reilly attended the trial of Alex Davies, co-founder and former co-leader of National Action, who received an eight-and-a-half year sentence for his role in perpetuating NA's existence after its proscription. Despite condemning NA as "an unsavoury organisation" that was "rightly proscribed", O'Reilly also praised Davies as "a gentleman and a scholar" with an "intelligent mind" in an article for the PA website.

In March 2023, O'Reilly headed a tiny anti-migrant protest in Llantwit Major, Vale of Glamorgan, which was dwarfed by counter-protestors.

O'Reilly left for the Homeland Party in April 2023, believing that Homeland would offer "a fresh image" and "professional standards". This is despite his own history of using extreme racial slurs, including the n-word, on the messaging app Telegram.

HOMELAND AND GENERATION IDENTITY UK



Kenny McCourt, Mike Lynton and Tom King

Generation Identity UK (GI UK) was a short-lived far-right youth group launched in October 2017 as a branch of the pan-European GI network. GI UK subscribed to the ideology of "identitarianism", which promotes a form of racial segregation.

The group folded in January 2020, having been cut off by the international GI network after a series of infiltrations, exposés and debacles. However, many former members remain active in the UK far right, including in Patriotic Alternative and now the Homeland Party.

In August 2019, HOPE not hate revealed that two members of GI UK - Kenny McCourt and Mike Lynton - were also employees of the Royal Navy. However, the pair remained in the Navy without being disciplined.

In July 2022, we again exposed McCourt, this time as an active member of an even more extreme organisation - PA Scotland - whilst still a Navy employee, finally resulting in his sacking. McCourt followed the rest of the Scottish branch to Homeland in April 2023.

We can reveal that Mike Lynton is also now a Homeland activist and has written for the group's website under the pseudonym "Mike Kernow". Lynton is a former member of both GI UK and UKIP, and also has links to the Odinst Fellowship, a group that follows a racially exclusive version of Norse paganism.

Another former GI UK activist to move through PA and into Homeland is Tom King, a core activist in the West Midlands. Kevin Carrick, who attended GI UK's disastrous conference in Sevenoaks, Kent in 2018, is also active in Homeland's East Midlands branch.

HOMELAND AND THE SCOTTISH NATIONALIST SOCIETY

Three individuals linked to Homeland's flagship Scottish branch were previously involved with the Scottish Nationalist Society (SNS), a tiny but extreme nazi group.

The SNS, which initially formed under the name "Scottish National Socialists", officially launched in November 2017. Using the Celtic triskele symbol on a red background - designed to echo the Nazi flag - as its banner, the group targeted universities with stickers and organised martial arts training for its members. SNS activists also attended street demos alongside other extremist groups, such as the Scottish Defence League (SDL), a more overtly fascist sister organisation to the English Defence League (EDL).

The SNS disappeared in 2019, some of its activists eventually joining PA after the organisation's launch later that year.

Among them was core SNS member Jordon Murphy, whose involvement in PA Scotland stretches at least as far back as March 2021. He attended the branch's inaugural conference that October, as well as an anti-migrant demonstration in Erskine in February 2023.

Murphy used the slogan "Juden Free Scotland!" on his Telegram profile and wrote "nothing is hated more than the eternal juden". He also posted pictures of Hitler, claimed that he "even named my dog after Erwin Rommel", and said of the now-First Minister of Scotland, Humza Yousaf: "Paki cunt should fuck off out of Scotland." He has since thrown his weight behind Homeland.

In March 2019, Murphy was photographed alongside James Munro at a SDL demo in Edinburgh. Clad in the skull masks popular among the extreme far right, the pair threw fascist salutes while holding SNS flags aloft.

Munro, hailing from Dundee, joined PA in April 2021, adopting the pseudonym "Son of Burgundy". He took part in numerous activities with the group, including several demonstrations in Erskine this



James Munro, Jordon Murphy and Robert Bisset at a Scottish Defence League protest in Edinburgh, 23 March 2019. Shutterstock.com

year. He also co-hosted PA's Young Scots and Dissident Cast shows, producing dozens of hours of audio content containing Holocaust jokes, noxious racial stereotypes and much else.

Munro is now an active member of Homeland and was a regular co-host of the group's official public broadcast, "HomeTalk", before its discontinuation in October.

Robert Bisset, from Edinburgh, was also photographed marching with Munro and Murphy while holding an SNS flag in March 2019. Bisset's involvement in PA stretches at least as far back as December 2021, and went on to become a regular campaigner at the Erskine demonstrations, under the PA and then Homeland banner.

Homeland dismissed SNS as a "cranky little group" that "disbanded many years ago", after Munro's past was exposed by *The Ferret* and HOPE not hate in October. Munro has since publicly disavowed the SNS.

ALEK YERBURY AND THE NATIONAL SUPPORT DETACHMENT



Leeds, 10 June 2023. Alek Yerbury (in suit) marches alongside an assortment of fascists. To his right is Tony McDonnell, a Leeds hooligan convicted of manslaughter after killing a postman in 1995. Picture: HOPE not hate

The National Support Detachment (NSD) is a street-oriented organisation headed by former Patriotic Alternative member Alek Yerbury. Having established himself as the figurehead of a small but prolific band of fascists in Northern England, Yerbury hopes to harness the wider anti-migrant groundswell into a formal political movement.

ALEK YERBURY

Yerbury was privately educated in Adelaide, Australia before serving in the British Army. He joined PA Yorkshire in the autumn of

2021 and became a regular public speaker, resulting in a slew of negative press for his resemblance to Adolf Hitler.

Yerbury is motivated by an intense hatred of politicians and left-wing activists, and believes migration to be “a symptom” of a Marxist conspiracy. HOPE not hate has previously exposed his appalling statements about the murder of Jo Cox, a Yorkshire MP assassinated by a nazi in 2016. We also found others in which he advocated the use of firearms on migrants, the internment of his political enemies in forced labour camps and much else.

The oddball activist split with PA in February 2023 after a spat with the PA leadership over the organisation of an anti-migrant march in Skegness, Lincolnshire. He has instead allied himself with a circle of former English Defence League (EDL) activists in Yorkshire, many of whom loathe PA leader Mark Collett.

THE NSD

He subsequently launched the NSD in April, a fringe outfit that aims to act as a “support to nationalism in Britain, through organised efforts to overcome the tactics of deplatforming, intimidation and suppression practiced by the hard left”. Yerbury has sought to incorporate faux-military trappings into the NSD, in the apparent hope of establishing a far-right cadre primed for confrontation with left-wing activists.

Recruiting Scott Pitts as the NSD’s “Officer Commanding” in Lincolnshire, the pair work closely with Yorkshire Patriots, an EDL splinter led by David Smaller (AKA David Sunderland), to the point where the line between the two groups is often unclear. Other activists include the Seacroft-based Paul Leeming, who has a lengthy criminal record, and Simon Scott, who was involved in the EDL in the early 2010s before gravitating towards the openly nazi North West Infidels and National Front.



Scott Pitts

Another ally is Katie Fanning (AKA Bubba Paris), a Manchester-based ex-UKIP official and former associate of PA. The extremist is well known among UK white nationalists for her online output and her lawsuit against a university for supposed discrimination against white students.

While Yerbury and Fanning have frequently collaborated with other far-right groups, rifts between the pair and PA have deepened considerably in recent months, further dividing the Yorkshire far right.



Yerbury (centre) at an anti-migrant protest in Dover, Kent, 4 March 2023. Picture: HOPE not hate



L-R: Sarah Scott, Tony Brown and Simon Scott en route to an anti-migrant demo Scarborough, Yorkshire, organised by the Yorkshire Patriots / NSD. 15 July 2023

ANTI-MIGRANT ORGANISING: FROM PROTESTS TO ELECTIONS

Yerbury has proved an energetic organiser, and the NSD/Yorkshire Patriots grouping has arranged or supported numerous protests this year, seeking to steer anti-migrant anger towards a wider, conspiratorial far-right worldview.

The largest was a 10 June demo that brought roughly 100 fascists and hooligans to the streets of Leeds. This included members of PA and its splinters, alongside longer-standing nazi groups including the National Front, the British National Socialist Movement, Blood & Honour (B&H), Combat 18 and the “Infidels” network.

However, other protests have seen turnouts smaller than 50, largely composed of the same travelling far-right activists who are reliably outnumbered by counter-protestors. Turnouts have been disappointing even in Skegness and Lincoln, where Yerbury and his allies have made a long-term effort to co-opt local campaigns.

The group has duly shifted, aiming to transform “the protest movement into a genuine political movement”. Yerbury has claimed to be in the process of registering a party based on “the principle of racial, social and cultural unification, and the principles of a militarised society”. He has criticised the “ladder strategy” championed

by the Homeland Party, rejecting the view that council seats must be won before contesting parliamentary elections and believing that a new vehicle may “achieve power” in 10-15 years.

Yerbury has proactively established links to existing anti-migrant campaigns across the UK and has created a series of locally focused Facebook groups, hoping to hold regular public meetings and to cultivate candidates.

Recently, he and his allies have sought to emulate the successful campaign against a planned asylum accommodation site in Llanelli, Carmarthenshire. Yerbury and Pitts have helped organise an ongoing protest camp at RAF Scampton, a former airbase earmarked to house asylum seekers in Lincolnshire. However, the camp has been marred by squabbles, arrests and reports of drug and alcohol abuse, with Yerbury stating that he has been “absolutely disgusted by the sheer amount of whinging” from other activists. The pair have struggled to establish control of the campaign, especially after police banned Pitts from the site.

Yerbury has overestimated his electoral potential, and his extremism and eccentricities have already alienated some potential allies. However, his violent hatred of his political enemies is feeding into a dangerous form of politics that should be taken seriously.

OTHER OFFSHOOTS:

INDEPENDENT NATIONALIST NETWORK

The Independent Nationalist Network (INN) is a tiny fascist group that splintered from PA in July 2021.

Claiming to be a “leaderless collective”, the group is in practice headed by the former PA members Richard Lumby, a Birmingham-based ex-BNP organiser, and Matthew Joseph Strutt (AKA Anglo Joe) from Droitwich, Worcestershire. Another well-known but controversial figure is the Norfolk-based Chris Mitchell, formerly PA’s East of England Regional Organiser.

Early on, the INN sought to establish links with the UK’s conspiracy theory-driven protest scene, in particular Alpha Team Assemble, a militant anti-vaccine group. It has also supported several anti-migrant protests in the Midlands.

However, the INN’s main activity has revolved around the “Stop Drag Queen Story Hour” campaign, producing a defamatory leaflet and attending protests in an effort to cancel the children’s book-reading sessions. In April 2023, Mitchell was convicted for hate crime offences for maliciously targeting a drag performer the previous year.

Having spent much energy squabbling with PA, Strutt has recently led calls for “unity” on the fascist fringes, organising a meeting in May in Leeds that brought the PA leadership together with figures from the British Democrats, the Highland Division, the anti-migrant Midlands Says No campaign and Alek Yerbury and his allies.

The INN has continued to collaborate with PA and Yerbury, but is only sporadically active and remains confined to the outside fringe of far-right politics.



INN members including Richard Lumby (third from right) and Matthew Strutt (right) at an anti-migrant demo in Walsall, 8 May 2023.



Hadden Adam at a far-right protest in Leeds, Yorkshire, 10 June 2023. Picture: HOPE not hate



Tony Girling stickering with the Highland Division in Stirling, November 2022

THE HIGHLAND DIVISION

The Highland Division (HD) is a “leaderless”, openly nazi groupuscule that splintered from the Scottish branch of Patriotic Alternative in October 2022, following a dispute with Kenny Smith.

While some core members cannot be named for legal reasons, activists have included Tony Girling, a former PA organiser based in Alva, Clackmannanshire, and Hadden Adam, a former PA activist from Elgin, Moray. In May 2022, *The Ferret* released images of Adam posing with weapons, nazi memorabilia and performing nazi salutes.

The group originally launched under the name “White Wolves Social Club” but changed its name to avoid association with the White Wolves, a group that claimed responsibility for the 1999 London nail bombings.

HD undertook a number of small actions in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Stirling, but soon suffered the attention of law enforcement.

Hoping to avoid further legal issues, the group shifted towards anti-migrant street demonstrations. After an angry confrontation with Smith at a PA protest in Erskine in February, HD members supported protests headed by Alek Yerbury in Skegness in April and Leeds in June. Yerbury returned the favour by travelling

to a HD-organised protest in Elgin in June. However, the handful of activists that materialised were hopelessly outnumbered by hundreds of counter-protestors, one of whom punched Yerbury in the face.

While remaining hostile to Smith and Homeland, Adam and other HD activists have repaired the relationship with PA, attending the group’s national camp in July. HD figures were also present at the May “Unity” meeting organised by the INN, as well as a New British Union meeting in Penrith the same weekend, an event attended by an undercover reporter from the *Daily Mail*.

Under the weight of legal issues, at present HD is dormant.



Highland Division activists

REGIONAL BREAKDOWNS

EAST MIDLANDS



PA established a solid group of East Midlands activists in 2020, with Anthony Burrows (profiled elsewhere in this report) eventually assuming the Regional Organiser role.

PA has attempted to co-opt anti-migrant campaigns in the region, including in Long Eaton and in Skegness, where a crowd of hundreds gathered to hear speeches from the PA leadership in February 2023. However, PA effectively ceded the campaign after Alek Yerbury, who co-organised the march alongside his ally Scott Pitts, broke away and formed the rival National Support Detachment (NSD), which has continued to organise anti-migrant actions in Skegness and Lincoln.

In April 2023, Burrows led a contingent of PA branch activists to defect to the Homeland Party, dividing the region. With Burrows now Homeland's national Nominating Officer, longstanding activist Daniel Gale has been promoted to the group's organiser in the region. Other Homeland activists include Tom Beighton, a writer for the Homeland website; Carl Wilkinson, who co-hosts one of Homeland's little-viewed shows; and Kevin Carrick, a former associate of Generation Identity UK.

Homeland continues to court a locally led campaign against the housing of asylum seekers in a hotel in Kegworth, Leicestershire. It has also targeted Buxton, Derbyshire, with a locally specific anti-migrant leaflet, and Burrows has taken a seat on Blackwell parish council in Bolsover district.

PA "relaunched" its diminished East Midlands branch in May under Matthew Darrington, a former EDL activist and longstanding PA member from Newark-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire. Other active

members include Adam and Charlotte Lambert from Nottingham, a pair who had left PA for the rival Independent Nationalist Network but have since re-joined PA. The branch is also home to Paul Gilbert (AKA The PatriArt), a prominent online activist and long-time ally of Collett from Gamston, Nottinghamshire.



A young Matthew Darrington at an EDL demo in Dewsbury, Yorkshire, 30 June 2012.
Picture: HOPE not hate



Daniel Gale (left) at an anti-migrant demo in Long Eaton, Derbyshire, 23 April 2023. Tom Beighton is in the black cap. Picture: HOPE not hate

EAST OF ENGLAND



PA's East of England branch, historically among its strongest, has been depleted by defections to the Homeland Party.

PA initially built the branch under Chris Mitchell, a well-known online figure who departed the organisation amidst a bout of vicious infighting in the summer of 2021. His replacement, former BNP organiser Steve Blake, is now a key figure in PA's national administration.

Under Blake, the branch won PA's interregional leafleting competition in April 2022, having distributed 26% of the national total. During the February 2022 Southend West by-election, activists distributed a misleading leaflet made to appear as Conservative campaign literature, but designed to stoke anti-immigration sentiment against the Conservatives.



The Norwich-based Homeland activists Kai Stephens (left) and Billy Green

As elsewhere, the branch has also sought to inflame tensions around asylum accommodation centres. Notably, in February 2023, footage of PA activist Alec Cave - who is from Milton Keynes - delivering an anti-migrant diatribe at a residents' meeting in Dunstable, Bedfordshire received thousands of views online.

However, PA's active membership was dented after a cohort of young activists left for Homeland in April 2023. This included one of PA's best-known figures, the teenage activist Kai Stephens (AKA Barkley Walsh), alongside Callum Barker (AKA Half Pint), Dan Young (AKA Durin's Bane) and Billy Green (AKA Kolibri), a Norwich-based former member of the New British Union, an attempted revival of the British Union of Fascists.

Fraser Patterson (AKA Fraser Edwards), formerly PA's South East Regional Organiser, also defected to Homeland and has since entered Flitwick Town Council in Bedfordshire as a councillor.

Blake remains PA's East of England organiser and has retained some of PA's most energetic activists. Also remaining with the branch is Darren Harrison (AKA Saint Harrison), a former Watford Conservative Party council candidate turned fascist micro-internet personality. However, offline PA activity has dropped notably since the split.



Darren Harrison at a far-right event in London, 11 March 2018. Picture: HOPE not hate

LONDON



London has long been a weak area for PA. The branch was established under Nicholas Hill (AKA Cornelius), formerly involved in Generation Identity UK (GI UK) and patron of the Traditional Britain Group. Hill was at the centre of a number of early PA scandals, attracting heavy criticism after the anti-fascist group Red Flare exposed his connection to James Shand, a convicted child sex offender, in 2020.

The branch saw a number of former GI UK activists join and subsequently defect upon the formation of the tiny GI successor group, Identity England. Several London-based social media influencers have also either left PA under a cloud or retreated from public activism. This includes the well-known fascist vlogger Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes) and Ryan Williams (AKA Nativist Concern), who is based in the capital when he is not travelling Europe.

PA embarked on a series of actions in the eastern outskirts of London, and took part in “Stop Drag Queen Story Hour” protests in 2022 and 2023. However, London was the poorest performing region in the group’s April 2022 leafleting challenge, delivering just 2% of the total, and the branch effectively folded after Hill moved away towards the end of 2022.

A remaining member in the capital is Jane Lombard (AKA Cruella), a former BNP activist in Dagenham. In September 2023, Lombard organised an event to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the BNP’s first council seat, attended by leading PA figures and a variety of fascist dinosaurs.

While Homeland lacks a foothold in the capital, Gareth Stone (AKA Horus), a fascist content creator and previously a PA activist in Romford, has flirted with the group in recent months.

NORTH EAST



PA has a small and sporadically active cluster of activists in the North East.

The group established a functioning branch in August 2021 under Steven Wilson, based in Ashington, Northumberland. Other branch activists include Wilson’s partner, Phoebe Hoare, and Callum Gooch.

Wilson is a member of the Odinist Fellowship, a group that follows a racially exclusive version of Norse paganism, and has visited the Odinist Fellowship temple in Newark, Nottinghamshire, alongside other PA activists.

PA North East activity has often revolved around “homeless outreach”, in which activists photograph themselves distributing food packages exclusively to white homeless people.

PA retained its North East branch wholesale during the April 2023 schism, and Homeland has yet to establish a presence in the region. However, it remains one of PA’s weaker branches.



PA activists leafletting in Gateshead, August 2021

NORTH WEST

Despite lacking a stable Regional Organiser, PA's North West branch is its most active nationally.

The branch has been underpinned by a contingent of experienced ex-BNP activists from the Burnley area, including Chris Vanns, a former member of Nick Griffin's security team, and Gary Topping, a former BNP activist and British Democrats candidate.

Other activists include Sam Shaw, an Odinist from Blackpool and David Adams of Southport, who is also a practising Odinist and an active member of the British National Socialist Movement. Ben Harrison, a former Generation Identity UK member from Colne, is also active in the branch.

However, the branch's best-known figure is James Costello (AKA James Mac) from Kirkby, Merseyside. As detailed elsewhere in this report, Costello is a "Reverend" in the Creativity Movement, a militant American white supremacist cult, and a former associate of the now-banned nazi group National Action. In February 2023, Costello filmed himself at an anti-migrant protest outside the Suites Hotel in Kirkby, at which a police van was set ablaze. Costello's presence led to false reports that PA had organised the protest, resulting in much media coverage.



The group has recently sought to inveigle its way into an anti-migrant campaign in Standish, Wigan. A PA contingent attended a locally-organised protest in September, at which Costello delivered a speech to the crowd. While campaign organisers have since distanced themselves from PA, the group has returned to distribute leaflets in the town centre.

The branch has been relatively unaffected by splits and maintains an unusually high output. Since April 2023, it has been responsible for an estimated 30% of PA's leaflet output nationally.

SCOTLAND

In April 2023, almost the entirety of PA's Scottish branch left for the Homeland Party, forming the bedrock of the new organisation.

Under the leadership of the West Lothian-based Regional Organiser Simon Crane and Kenny Smith, PA's National Admin Officer, the Scottish branch quickly became one of PA's largest and most active.

Early on, the branch attracted the support from Scotland's extreme right fringes, including former members of the fascist Scottish Defence League (SDL). One such figure is Douglas Close (AKA Johnny Alba), who has previously been associated with a variety of extreme nazi groups, as well



James Costello and David Adams, Cannock, Staffordshire, 11 March 2023. Picture: HOPE not hate



PA activists in Erskine, Renfrewshire, 5 February 2023. Many have since defected to the Homeland Party.
Picture: HOPE not hate

as Jordon Murphy and James Munro, former members of the Scottish Nationalist Society, a tiny nazi outfit detailed elsewhere in this report.

The branch provoked wide media coverage after unfurling a banner atop Ben Nevis in August 2021, and was the first to hold its own regional conference in October that year. Jaden Milne - who we first exposed as a PA activist in 2021 - would eventually be convicted of racially aggravated behaviour relating to his speech at this conference. He would also plead guilty to four charges of sexual assault, committed against girls and women aged 11 to 19 in Stirling and Alloa from June 2022 to May 2023.

Early in 2022, the branch also attempted a shift towards Smith's favoured style of community politics. Announcing "a turning point in PA's history", the group promoted activist Tony Girling as a "local campaigner" in Clackmannanshire, aiming to lay the groundwork for a future election run. However, within months Girling had left PA and joined the openly nazi splinter group, the Highland Division, when it formed that October. The Highland Division has since lapsed into dormancy.

Almost the entirety of PA Scotland sided with Smith when his dispute with the leadership came to a head. The region is now home to three of the Homeland Party's community councillors, including David Gardner (AKA Gordon Freeman) and Crane, who sit on Forfar Community Council and East Calder and District Community Council respectively.

Other Homeland activists include the former SDL activist Robert Bisset (AKA Paul Elliot) from Edinburgh, Bailey McDerment from Kilmarnock and Simon MacGilp in Nairn.

So far, Homeland's main effort has been its anti-migrant campaign in Erskine, Renfrewshire, which began under the PA banner in January 2023. Crane led near-weekly protests outside a local asylum accommodation site over a seven month period.

However, the sole remaining PA Scotland activist, Stephen Thomson (AKA Chief Moody), has recruited the eccentric Erskine campaigner Richard McFarlane into the PA membership, leading to a tug-of-war between the two groups for ownership of the campaign.

SOUTH EAST

The South East has long been an underperforming region for PA.

The branch has lapsed into stretches of inactivity due to the resignation of key organisers. For a time it came under the administration of London organiser Nicholas Hill, with activists from the South East, London and East of England often collaborating on actions. This has included supporting anti-migrant demonstrations in Dover, Kent alongside Steve Laws, a so-called “migrant hunter” who has grown close to PA in recent years.

In October 2021, HOPE not hate revealed that Tim Wills, a Conservative borough councillor in Worthing, West Sussex, had embraced PA, leading to his suspension by the Conservative Party and later resignation from the council itself.

In April 2023, Fraser Patterson (AKA Fraser Edwards), then PA’s South East Regional Organiser, defected to the Homeland Party and has since entered Flitwick Town Council in Bedfordshire as a councillor. Also to defect was Alec Cave (AKA Wesley Russell), an activist from Milton Keynes who runs the little-viewed “Renew Britannia” show and had previously been tipped as a future PA leader.

However, much of the South East branch remained with PA. This includes Wills, the musician Jerry Rulf from Brighton, and former BNP member Adam Worley from Oxford.



Laurence Parsons (left) and Aaron Spreadbury (right) in Cannock, Staffordshire, 11 March 2023. Pictures: HOPE not hate

SOUTH WEST

PA’s South West branch was initially headed by Claire Ellis, who left the region in May 2022 to move in with her now-husband Kenny Smith in Scotland. Laurence Parsons (AKA Lawrence Somerset), an activist based in the Taunton area, duly filled the Regional Organiser slot.



Both Ellis and Parsons sided with the Homeland Party during the April 2023 split. However, few others followed suit and no significant Homeland activism has taken place in the region to date. Former UKIP and Generation Identity UK activist Mike Lynton (AKA Mike Kernow), based in east Cornwall, is also now a Homeland activist and has written for the group’s website.

Under the new RO Aaron Spreadbury, PA has engaged in small protests against a Drag Queen Story Hour event and the housing of asylum seekers in the Bibby Stockholm barge in Portland, Dorset. Activists include Ethan Lee and Ryan Martin from Wiltshire, and Maria Cowle from Bristol. Nathaniel Bennett (AKA Natty), a Cornwall-based activist known for co-hosting the now-defunct Patriotic Talk show, continues to contribute to PA streams.

On the fringes of PA is Simon Birkett (AKA Woodlander), a Warminster, Wiltshire-based tattoo artist and longtime far-right activist. Birkett runs a YouTube channel through which he gives advice on off-grid living, and is behind the “Woodlander Initiative”, a land-buying scheme for far-right activists and conspiracy theorists.



(left) Fraser Patterson (AKA Fraser Edwards)
(right) Tim Wills at an anti-migrant demo in Dover, Kent, 4 March 2023. Picture: HOPE not hate



Jeff Marsh and Laura Towler, Long Eaton, Derbyshire, 23 April 2023. Picture: HOPE not hate

WALES

Wales remains a strong region for PA. The branch's key activist is Jeff Marsh (AKA Joe Butler), a former BNP activist with a history of violence, initially with the Cardiff City Soul Crew hooligan firm and later the Welsh Defence League and the fascist Pie N Mash Squad.

The branch has drawn recruits from the ageing traditional fascist scene, including the veteran fascist Michael Woodbridge and Christopher Webster (AKA Bill Atheling), a former lecturer at Aberystwyth University. Other activists have included Aaron Watkins, who has called for violence against ethnic minorities, refugees, journalists and police officers.

Notably, Alex Davies, the co-founder and former co-leader of the now-defunct National Action, attended PA Wales activities before his conviction on terror charges last summer. This May, another PA Wales figure, James Allchurch (AKA Sven



Longshanks), was sentenced to two and a half years in prison for race hate offences.

The Regional Organiser role was temporarily assumed by the youngster Jerome O'Reilly from Cardiff. Marsh, however, remained the dominant force in the branch, spearheading the group's campaign against Drag Queen Story Hour over the summer of 2022.

O'Reilly left for Homeland in April 2023, adopting the role of Treasurer. However, the majority of the branch remained with Marsh and little notable Homeland activism has taken place in Wales to date.

Officially filling the RO slot once more, Marsh and other PA activists sought to attach themselves to the anti-migrant campaign in Llanelli, Carmarthenshire. He also now handles security at PA's national events.



Connor Marlow (back row, centre) in Cannock, Staffordshire, 11 March 2023. Picture: HOPE not hate

WEST MIDLANDS

The West Midlands is the Homeland Party's key stronghold in England, the majority of the PA branch having defected in April 2023.

PA initially recruited several experienced former BNP figures in the region, although it lost members to the Independent Nationalist Network (INN), including Matthew Joseph Strutt (AKA Anglo Joe) and Richard Lumby, upon its formation in July 2021.

In April 2022, HOPE not hate revealed that the branch's then-Media Officer, "Anglo Josh", had repeatedly abused black users of video chat sites while waving a noose and dressed in Nazi apparel and black face. The activist had also posted videos that included footage of the New Zealand mosque shooting and celebrated historical lynchings. He was subsequently dropped by the group.

The branch has cycled through several Regional Organisers, most recently Martin Kuziel from a village outside Dudley and then Connor Marlow from Stoke-on-Trent.



At the start of 2023, Marlow led an attempt to co-opt an anti-migrant campaign in Cannock, Staffordshire. The effort culminated in a demonstration on 11 March that saw a hundreds-strong crowd addressed by the PA leadership, an event hailed as a high watermark for PA activism.

However, the campaign collapsed after the branch's mass defection to Homeland, with Marlow and his comrades rejected by local campaigners at a scheduled demonstration on 30 April. The group held a tiny protest separate from the locals and the campaign has since been abandoned.

Marlow, who sits on Fulford parish council in Staffordshire, remains Homeland's key regional figure. Other activists include Tom King, a former Generation Identity UK member, and Liam Hart (AKA Liam Connor), involved in the nazi punk scene Blood & Honour. Another is Chris Gilmartin (AKA Bjarki Fraser), a Coventry-based activist who has repeatedly used extreme racial slurs on the messaging app Telegram.

PA's remaining activists include David Miles from Birmingham, although the branch is largely dormant. INN also retains a cluster of activists in the region.

YORKSHIRE

Yorkshire is an area of strength for PA, home to national leaders Mark Collett and Laura Towler, and under the regional leadership of Sam Melia, Towler's husband.



The branch is responsible for some of PA's most inflammatory stunts, including hoisting large banners on the walls of Clifford Tower in York, site of one of the UK's worst antisemitic pogroms. In election periods, branch activists have campaigned for James Lewthwaite of the British Democrats, a BNP splinter, for three years running. The group has also collaborated with the British National Socialist Movement, a hardcore nazi group with a history of violence.

The branch also led PA's shift into street protests and anti-migrant campaigning. A notable example was Linton-on-Ouse, a Yorkshire village close to a site earmarked to temporarily house asylum seekers, in the summer of 2022. Attempting to hijack the concerns of residents, the group distributed leaflets and held small protests in the village, claiming credit when the plans were scrapped.

In February 2023, prominent branch activist Alek Yerbury left PA to found the rival National Support Detachment. Yerbury and his circle have since held a number of protests in the region, most notably a 10 June demo that brought roughly 100 fascists and hooligans to the streets of Leeds. Rifts between Yerbury's faction and PA have deepened considerably in recent months.

The branch lost the longstanding activist Simon Shepherd to the Homeland Party in April 2023. However, most activists remained with PA, and Homeland has yet to establish a presence in the region.

Remaining PA activists include the eccentric Joseph Badminton in North Yorkshire, and the former BNP members Antony Flowers in Towton and Craig Mullen in Scarborough. Liam Kernaghan, another ex-BNP member and a former British Democrats candidate from Bradford, has also attended branch activities.

Another is Jake Bewick, who became the branch's "fitness officer" in 2021. As detailed elsewhere in this report, Melia and Bewick were both formerly active with the now-banned terror group National Action.



PA's Yorkshire branch, March 2022. L-R: Antony Flowers, Alek Yerbury, Sam Melia, Laura Towler, Mark Sykes, Peter Ford and Joseph Badminton



HOPE not hate Ltd
Registered office:
Suite 1, 7th Floor, 50 Broadway,
London SW1H 0BL, UK