

Lone wolves: myth or reality?



A Searchlight report



Searchlight has investigated nazi and fascist organisations and key individuals since its formation in 1964. Searchlight analyses and uses the results of that intelligence to prevent fascist organisations from growing and harming democracy.

Searchlight's investigative work has contributed to the arrest and conviction of fascist criminals, including terrorists, the prevention of specific crimes, and disruption of activities of fascist organisations that risk causing harm to communities. Many members of fascist organisations are heavily involved in crime and so by limiting the growth of these groups and diverting potential recruits, Searchlight also contributes to crime prevention.

Since 1975 Searchlight has published a monthly magazine and occasional other publications. Searchlight has given evidence to Parliamentary enquiries and worked on two European Community reports on racism and xenophobia. Searchlight also supplies information to the media and has been involved in the production of several major television documentary programmes exposing the activities and operations of fascists and their organisations.

In 2002 the British National Party started winning local council elections. Because of this, Searchlight has devoted increasing resources to developing effective campaigning strategies under the banner of HOPE not hate, which works closely with those sections of society most under threat from the BNP. HOPE not hate continues to be intelligence-led.

An electronic version of this publication can be downloaded from www.lonewolfproject.org.uk

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Foreword

by John Denham



Gerry Gable's report on so-called "lone wolves" was commissioned when I was Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government. For the first time, government had become actively engaged in undercutting the roots of far-right extremism and raising the issue through the "Connecting Communities" programme. Connecting Communities complemented the "Prevent" programme aimed at Islamist based violent extremism and we shared a concern with the routes which drew individuals into violent radicalism.

Gerry Gable's report lays bare the myth that most far-right racist terrorism is the action of isolated individuals, unconnected with other organised far-right groups and ideologies. In fact, those involved in apparent one-person actions have in all cases had clear and often long-standing involvement with organised groups. The report should prompt further debate about how the roots of such violence are best tackled.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "John Denham". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

The Rt Hon John Denham MP

About the authors

Gerry Gable

Gerry Gable, MA (Crim), is the publisher of *Searchlight* magazine and was one of its founding editors in 1964. He also acts as a consultant to Searchlight Educational Trust. He has pursued his lifelong interest in combating the far-right enemies of democracy alongside a career as a television investigative journalist and producer, which in turn gave rise to his work as a trainer and

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far-right extremism and contributed, together with *Searchlight's* European editor Graeme Atkinson, to two European Parliament reports on racism and xenophobia. He has also given evidence to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee and to Sir William Macpherson's enquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence.

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he coordinates a research group based at the University of Northampton, Radicalism and New Media. This is a specialist, applied research unit that develops consultancy projects with a range of practitioner partners, including police, probation and NGOs. Developing a particular expertise in far-right politics, Radicalism

and New Media also hosts conferences and promotes wider awareness of far-right politics. He will be publishing a major report on the English Defence League in autumn 2011 and has previously written a number of articles and specialist encyclopaedia entries on fascism and extremism.

Additional research and writing by Sonia Gable, BSc, deputy editor of *Searchlight* magazine and specialist in investigating the financial affairs of the British far right

The author wishes to thank a team of researchers from Searchlight and of course our brilliant designer.

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Executive summary

David Copeland's two-week bombing campaign in spring 1999 brought the existence of far-right terrorism into the public eye. In fact he was not the first far-right terrorist to be convicted in Britain and many others have followed. Nevertheless the police, Crown Prosecution Service and courts have generally viewed far-right terrorists as isolated individuals – lone wolves – rather than the inevitable consequence of the activities of several, often small, organisations that espouse a violent racist and fascist ideology. This has meant that the authorities have failed to put in place effective strategies to monitor these extreme-right groups with a view to early identification of those individuals who show signs of making the transition from racist abuse and threatening behaviour to terrorism and murder.

This report includes case studies of nearly 40 individuals holding far-right political views who have been convicted for violence or terrorist offences. The details revealed in court showed that they were motivated, and obtained the knowledge and wherewithal to carry out their acts, through dangerous networks that introduced them to a perverse ideological world. Many of them

used the internet to associate with likeminded people, exchange ideas and obtain information about how to acquire weapons or make explosives and deadly chemicals.

The current wave of far-right terror in the UK has its origins in the 1960s with the synagogue arsonists and the violent activities of a handful of nazi leaders, including Colin Jordan and John Tyndall. In the 1980s there was notably Tony Lecomber, a British National Party member, who attempted to blow up the offices of a leftwing political party. Although the police found grenades, petrol bombs and detonators at his home, he was sentenced to only three years in prison after, incredibly, the judge told him: "You are not a terrorist in the normal sense of the word, nor were you acting on behalf of some political group."

A less well known extreme-right terrorist of the 1980s was Richard Barnes, a murderer who holds the distinction of being Britain's first attempted extremist suicide bomber, when he drove a car into the entrance of a left-wing bookshop and set fire to it.

Another would-be bomber who joined the BNP was Terence Gavan. The Old Bailey jury heard he had a

strong hostility to immigrants and described himself as a patriot ready to defend his country. Again his political links were played down to the extent that after he was sentenced in January 2010 a police spokesperson claimed Gavan's association with a political party was of no interest. Nevertheless, the police and courts were beginning to take far-right links with terrorism more seriously. For example following the conviction of Martyn Gilleard in 2008, a spokesperson for the CPS Counter Terrorism Division stated: "This is a man who is comfortable with the idea of a race war and was preparing for one – going so far as to manufacture bombs and collect weapons."

The trial of Ian and Nicky Davison in May 2010 revealed the existence of the Aryan Strike Force. Ian Davison, father of 19-year-old Nicky, had manufactured ricin and other bombs and notably was the first person in Britain to be sentenced under the Chemical Weapons Act 1996 for producing a chemical weapon. Police believed the pair – nazi zealots who revered Hitler and hated black people, Muslims and Jews – were in contact with around 300 nazis worldwide.

Often the activities of these extreme-right terrorists were only

discovered by luck. For example police visited the home of David Tovey in pursuit of an enquiry about racist graffiti and Nathan Worrell came to attention because of the racist stickers he plastered near the home of a mixed race couple. Police only discovered Martyn Gilleard's extensive preparations to wage race war after acting on a tip-off regarding child pornography, for which he was also convicted.

The cases outlined in this report demonstrate conclusively that far-right terrorists are not lone wolves but are connected with, influenced by and often helped by organisations whose beliefs they share. Increasingly criminal justice practitioners and other experts are moving towards this view, with a few notable exceptions. Some of these views are reproduced in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 5 the question of what makes an individual commit an act of terror is examined comprehensively by Dr Paul Jackson, a researcher at the University of Northampton, who concludes that the term "lone wolf" is of limited value and that those who act alone are often supported by others, either tacitly or explicitly. Dr Jackson has also contributed a

chapter examining the issue of tackling violent extremism in the community, arguing that a more integrated approach is needed.

The report makes 11 recommendations aimed at improving the detection of terrorists motivated by extreme-right ideology. They cover better intelligence gathering and monitoring of those highly violent organisations that inspire individuals to engage in terrorism, facilitating exchange of information, and better training of those tasked with investigating violent extremism. The author proposes that the police should enter into deals guaranteeing a reduced sentence in exchange for information that would prevent other terrorist activity or lead to other prosecutions. Most crucially, the evidence in this report leads to the conclusion that far-right terrorism must be treated as seriously as Islamist terrorism. Fortunately many of those profiled in this report were caught before they could carry out the acts for which they were preparing, but that will not always be the case. In many instances the judges sentencing them were convinced that they would have used their bombs or weapons had they not been caught in time.

Often those who have become involved in far-right violence and terrorism have shown signs of such interests at a young age. As part of a strategy for tackling violent extremism there needs to be effective work with young people to divert them from engaging in racist violence and involvement in extreme-right organisations. Such work must be led by knowledgeable and properly trained specialists who have the skill to intervene with first-time offenders and determine whether they have any political interests that could result in the person stepping up their offending towards terrorism. Young people may be particularly vulnerable to the influence of superficially attractive far-right ideology, especially if it comes from those they look up to. Nicky Davison is a case in point.

Above all this report is aimed at promoting further discussion about the threat of terrorism emanating from the far right and encouraging further research on why a few individuals are attracted to violent racist political beliefs and as a result engage in terrorist activity. ●

Chapter 1

Introduction



David Copeland on the way to placing his first bomb in Brixton on 17 April 1999

Introduction (continued)

On the afternoon of 30 June 2000, the London nazi terrorist David Copeland was convicted at the Old Bailey and given six life sentences for the murders of the three people he had killed when he placed a nail bomb in the Admiral Duncan pub in Soho in April 1999 and for placing the bombs in Soho, Brixton and Brick Lane.

That evening the BBC current affairs series *Panorama* broadcast a programme on the Copeland bombings, which included contributions from Gerry Gable, the publisher of the long-running anti-fascist investigative magazine *Searchlight*, and David Veness, then an Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), responsible for special operational sections including Special Branch. It was officers under his command that had tracked Copeland down.

Soon after Copeland's arrest it had emerged that neither Special Branch nor MI5 held a file on him, despite his active involvement in the British National Party and the more extreme National Socialist Movement. This resulted in some left-wing groups cynically suggesting that the police knew of Copeland's intent to bomb the

Admiral Duncan, a well known gay bar, in time to stop the attack but failed to act. Not only was this accusation wholly unfounded, it stood in the way of addressing the valid criticism of the police and security service's lack of intelligence about the killer.

AC Veness, now Sir David Veness, had a deserved reputation as one of Britain's more thoughtful and intelligent police officers. Copeland has widely been described as a "lone wolf", a terrorist who acted alone, but in the final part of the programme, Sir David Veness accepted Mr Gable's proposition that Copeland committed his atrocities as a result of his association and "linkages" with "various rightwing organisations". Mr Gable had come to the conclusion, as a result of (at that time) 36 years of experience of gathering and analysing intelligence on the extreme right, that people such as Copeland are not born with terrorist inclinations, nor is their terrorism purely the result of some psychological problem, but that through their interaction with racist and nazi groups they develop the belief that violence is necessary to achieve their political goals and in some cases turn that into action.

At the end of the evening Sir David Veness approached Mr Gable suggesting cooperation between them in these matters of common interest, to which Mr Gable responded favourably. A few days later Sir David Veness contacted Mr Gable as he had learned that one of the Sunday papers was intending to attack him and the team of officers who had brought about Copeland's conviction and repeat the claim that the police could have prevented the Admiral Duncan bombing. *Searchlight* issued a statement to the media defending the police investigation of the bombings, particularly their use of advanced technological enhancement of CCTV images of the bomber that resulted in the identification of Copeland by one of his work colleagues (as well as by a *Searchlight* source in the BNP).

Soon afterwards Sir David Veness invited Mr Gable to play a role in training police officers who would be working in the newly formed Community Safety Units (CSU). As a result Mr Gable ran a training session for all officers joining London CSUs at Hendon Police College under the title "Confronting the Enemies of Democracy" and later helped train trainers at the Police Staff College at Bramshill.



Carnage caused by David Copeland's third London bomb at the Admiral Duncan pub in Soho on 30 April 1999

Sir David Veness and Mr Gable shared the view that to prevent rightwing extremists moving from racist abuse and threatening behaviour to terrorism and murder, it was necessary to monitor extreme-right groups with a view to early identification of those individuals who show signs of making that transition. They wanted to determine whether it was possible to spot potential far-right terrorists.

Sir David Veness, Mr Gable and Detective Sergeant Ron Woodland, an MPS Special Branch officer, now deceased, set up a joint working party, consisting of the Probation and Prison Services, the Crown Prosecution Service, the MPS Special Branch and Searchlight, under the title Operation Overture, to study the threat of extreme-right terrorism and devise strategies to contain it. It had the support of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

An important element of their work would be to consider whether or not far-right terrorists are "lone wolves", a view that, as stated above, Searchlight rejects. Searchlight has found only one instance of a far-right terrorist act where the perpetrator has not used nazi websites or been influenced by the writings and speeches of the leaders of far-right groups. This proposition was something that Sir David Veness had indicated he accepted in the *Panorama* programme¹ and DS Woodland too agreed this was correct after discussion with Searchlight.

One of the major obstacles to progress was the inability of government agencies to share information on far-right extremists because of data protection legislation and rules on the use of criminal records and other police data. A police legal officer started work on investigation how this difficulty could be overcome.

At Sir David Veness's behest, Mr Gable worked over an eight-month period to gather evidence that would disprove the theory that extreme-right terrorists were merely unbalanced, sad and lonely people acting alone.

Sir David Veness's departure from the MPS and the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) in 2005 for an appointment as the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Safety and Security brought Operation Overture to a standstill after his successor made the decision to discontinue Overture's work. Sir David Veness had indicated that a request for funding for Mr Gable to continue his work for a year would be placed before the ACPO Committee for Terrorism and Allied Matters (TAM), but this did not occur. After the London bombings of July 2005 attention focussed much more on Islamist terrorism and far-right terrorism took a back seat.

Introduction (continued)

Part of Operation Overture's brief was taken over by ACPO's National Coordination Unit for Domestic Extremism (NCDE) headed by Assistant Chief Constable Anton Setchell OBE, who reports directly to ACPO TAM. NCDE has a budget of £9 million in 2010 and operates with a staff of 70 police officers and 30 researchers and analysts.

NCDE has amassed files on a wide range of extremists. It has been the target of criticism from both the liberal press and some of the right-wing press for holding files on 1,822 persons suspected of involvement in Islamist, animal rights or more recently extreme-right violence. The critics consider holding such files to be excessively intrusive and a manifestation of a growing "surveillance society". In fact the figure may be seen as low. In particular it is unlikely to include many of the individuals who have become active in the English Defence League, which represents a new danger to community safety, since its formation in spring 2009.

Anton Setchell maintains an open door even to his most vocal critics and certainly is keen to look outside Britain's borders to uncover the links that exist between British far-right extremists and their counterparts abroad.

Views on the sources of domestic terrorism are changing in parts of the criminal justice system. In May 2008, on his first day as ACPO's counter terrorism coordinator in Scotland, Assistant Chief Constable Allan Burnett warned that the threat from right-wing extremism was as damaging to community relations as the menace posed by al-Qaeda, and that police forces should not ignore the latent neo-nazi presence across the UK. "There's no point promoting positive race relations if, in claiming to be everyone's coordinator of counter terrorism, you take your eye off the right wing," he said.

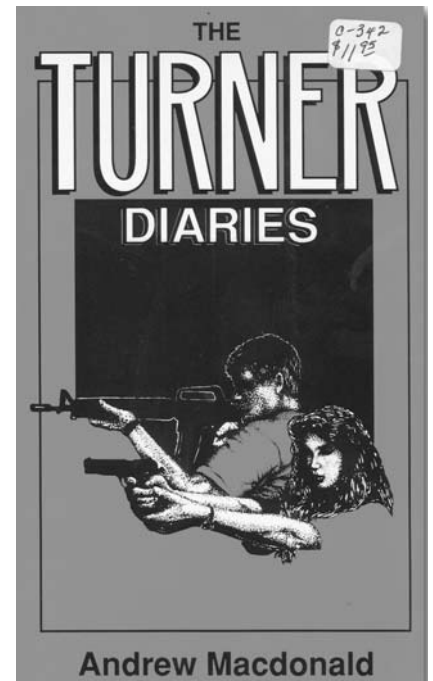
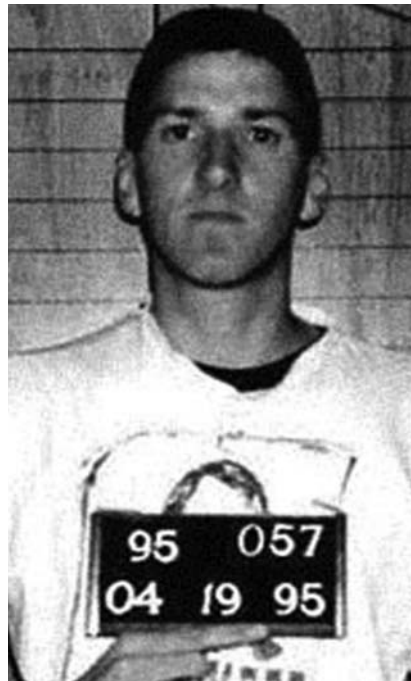
A vocal minority of those involved in tackling the threat from far-right terrorists, and some of the media involved in reporting the growing number of arrests and convictions for such offences, are quick to repeat the view that the perpetrators of these crimes are damaged loners. Searchlight, which has gathered intelligence on the far right since 1964, and others involved in countering far-right terrorism consider that those who commit these offences are motivated, and obtain the knowledge and wherewithal to carry out their acts, through dangerous networks that



(above) Robert Cottage
(below) Neil Lewington



Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh and the nazi book that inspired him



introduce them to a perverse world of political ideology and sexual control. The internet provides the facility for such people to exchange ideas, both political and sexual, with likeminded people and enables them to associate with or join around 30 to 40 far-right extremist groups and attend their meetings and events.

When Stuart Kerr stood trial with two other people after his racist fire bombing in Chichester, the trial judge referred to him as a lone wolf, surely a contradiction of the evidence in the dock before her.

When Assistant Commissioner John Yates QPM, head of Special Operations (Counter Terrorism) in the MPS, gave evidence to the Parliamentary Home Affairs Committee in November 2009, he was referred by David Winnick MP to the conviction of Robert Cottage, a BNP election candidate, for possession of explosives. AC Yates agreed that there had been “a growth around some of the far right extremism movements”. However, he said, mostly “they tend to be less organised. It tends to be the concept of the ‘lone wolf’.”

Martin Salter, who at the time was the MP for Reading, drew AC Yates’s

attention to the recent conviction of Neil Lewington, a rightwing extremist who had been found with bomb-making material and Ku Klux Klan manuals. “To what extent are these rightwing people who wish to use violence and acts of terrorism linked into other European networks? Or are they slightly disturbed freelancers getting their inspiration from the internet and other sources – in the way that Lewington appeared to be?”, asked Mr Salter.

“It is much more the latter,” AC Yates replied. “My assessment is – and it is not a detailed assessment – that it is not well organised. It tends to be lone individuals acting in that way, but, nevertheless, presenting considerable danger to public safety.”

AC Yates failed to draw the Home Affairs Committee’s attention to the clear evidence of the links that the individuals convicted of extreme-right terrorism offences had with far-right parties and groups, and also the links that some far-right organisations in

the UK and other EU member states have with extremists in the Middle East.

The lone wolf theory has little acceptance among Western European police services and certainly not in the FBI in the USA. A senior FBI officer told Mr Gable that the only genuine lone wolf they had come across was Ted Kaczynski, the so-called Unabomber.

The US media have incorrectly described Timothy McVeigh, the chief perpetrator of the Oklahoma City bombing on 19 April 1995, which killed 168 people and injured more than 680, as a lone wolf, despite the existence of a co-conspirator Terry Nichols, McVeigh’s clear connections with US militia movements and the fact that he took the idea and method for his act of terror from *The Turner Diaries*. Written by William Pearce, founder of the US nazi group the National Alliance, *The Turner Diaries* is a novel about a small group of white revolutionaries called The Order who carry out acts

Introduction (continued)

of terrorism against federal targets, the Jewish community, the black community and so on.

Another nazi killer whom the media generally described as a lone wolf gunman was James W von Brunn, who killed a security guard at the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC in June 2009. Von Brunn, 88, was an admitted white supremacist and antisemite who wanted to send a message that the Holocaust was a hoax, a thesis propounded by nazis worldwide. Although he acted alone, he was heavily influenced by nazi ideology and created his own antisemitic website called *The Holy Western Empire*. For most of his life he had been associated with or active in dozens of far-right groups, including having some links to this country. He died in January 2010, while awaiting trial, from the wounds he received when two security guards returned fire.

It seems that it is less troublesome for the media and some MPs to view these terrorists as lone wolves than to face the fact of an organised terrorist threat from the domestic extreme right and the need to devote resources to investigating and combating it.

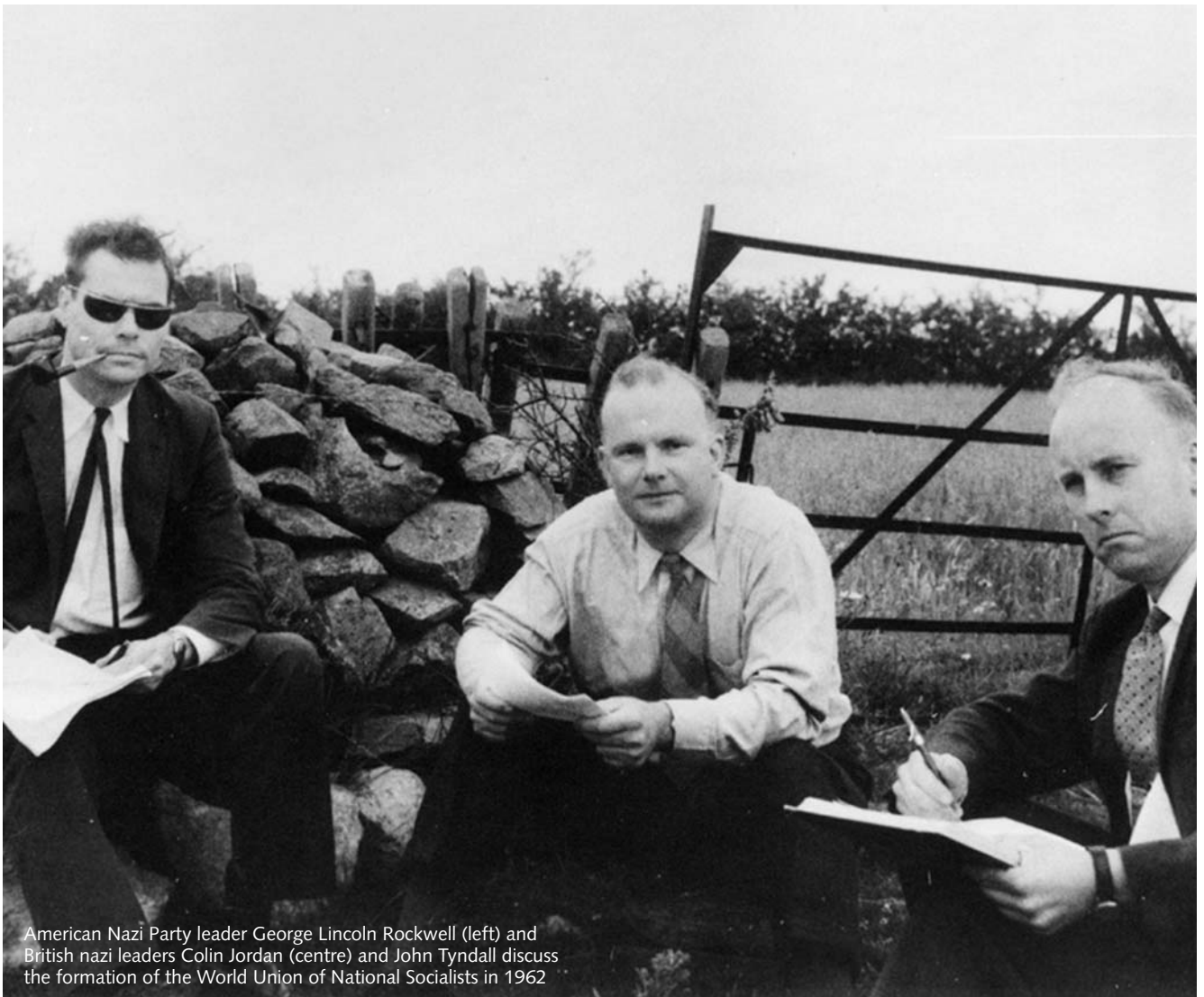
This report is intended to promote discussion of the nature of far-right terrorism and serve as a weapon against it. At Appendix A is a list of some of the many hundreds of far-right crimes committed in the UK. Only a small proportion of them are terrorist, a far larger proportion are violent, racist or both. The list indicates a propensity towards crime among those active on the political far right. Chapter 3 contains a selection of profiles of the more serious cases of politically motivated criminal acts. The report concludes with some recommendations for improved methods of tackling far-right terroristic extremism. ●

NOTES

1 A transcript of David Veness's comments is included in chapter 4

Chapter 2

An ongoing trail of terror



American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell (left) and British Nazi leaders Colin Jordan (centre) and John Tyndall discuss the formation of the World Union of National Socialists in 1962

An ongoing trail of terror (continued)

Far-right terrorism is nothing new to this country. This section provides an overview of the many terrorist-related acts carried out or planned by nazis and fascists in Britain since the end of the Second World War.

The last shots of the war had not long been fired when attacks on Jewish premises in London started occurring. These hits, which included synagogue arsons, were the work of a small group of fanatical Jew-haters who called themselves the North West Task Group, led by John Gaster. A strange and often solitary figure, Gaster died in mysterious circumstances in 1998 ago after falling out with people associated with the political operations in London of Roberto Fiore, a convicted Italian fascist terrorist and former Member of the European Parliament.

A close friend and associate of Gaster was the former Conservative councillor and law lecturer Sam Swerling, who is still a regular keynote speaker for the British National Party (BNP) under the alias Peter Strudwick.

The British prewar fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley ran movements after the war that included SS prisoners-of-war on the run, who

were not averse to brandishing firearms in attacks on, or clashes with, their anti-fascist opponents in the 43 Group, a predominantly Jewish group of ex-servicemen and women formed to combat the return to British political life of Mosley and his followers.

In the early 1960s George Parisy, a Frenchman wanted for involvement in an OAS plot to kill General de Gaulle, was caught in London by Special Branch sharing the bed of a Mosleyite activist. Parisy had a gun and several passports. He was deported.

Mosley's Union Movement, Colin Jordan's White Defence League and John Bean's National Labour Party, which were active in the 1950s, were all known for their violence. At the end of that decade Kelso Cochrane, an immigrant from Antigua, was murdered by a gang of white racists on the streets of Notting Hill. They were never caught.

Spearhead, the illegal paramilitary arm of the original British National Party, was formed in 1960. In 1962, on the anniversary of Adolf Hitler's birth, Colin Jordan set up the National Socialist Movement (NSM) and the Spearhead group moved into Jordan's new organisation. These groups carried

out military training including unarmed combat, stockpiled weapons and manufactured bombs, which were used to hit Jewish and leftwing targets.

Jordan was always keen to recruit from the armed forces. In 1962 media exposés prompted the police to raid Spearhead. They already held substantial evidence but for some reason never saw fit to act upon it until an infiltrator and the media drew attention to Spearhead's activities. It was these raids that uncovered the evidence of bomb making and paramilitary training. Jordan and three other key members of the NSM were imprisoned for a breach of the 1936 Public Order Act that forbade the wearing of uniforms for a political purpose and controlling a paramilitary body for political ends.

In Jordan's home town of Coventry, somebody in the police service tipped off Peter Ling, one of Jordan's key organisers who had a criminal record for violence, that they were about to be raided. With the help of Pat Webb from Wolverhampton, Ling buried a large cache of weapons on a railway embankment. When the police turned up at the NSM addresses, the premises were clean as a whistle.

Key activists pose in the uniform of the illegal paramilitary Spearhead organisation inside the Princedale Road, west London, headquarters of Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement



Webb, an ex-commando, was heavily involved in gun running for the far right. He went on to plant a bomb in the basement of a black family's home in the 1970s, which exploded killing a visiting teenage relative. The rest of the family escaped injury because they were attending church.

The two most spectacular NSM bombings involved Brendan Wilmer, a young man who in later life moved to South Africa. Wilmer planted a bomb at the newly opened premises of the *Jewish Chronicle* in Holborn, central London, and was one of those responsible for a second bomb that destroyed the Karl Marx memorial in Highgate cemetery. No arrests were made but the identity of those who carried out the attacks, in which military-issue plastic explosive was used, was almost an open secret.

In the mid 1960s a gang of fascists carried out a series of 34 arsons against Jewish buildings in London over a period of more than a year. One attack on a theological college in Stamford Hill left one student dead and another with serious spinal injuries. The arsonists were members of the NSM and the Greater Britain Movement (GMB), a splinter group formed by John Tyndall, who later founded the

present BNP. The theological college attack was never investigated by the police but the killer was unofficially identified as an NSM activist.

The police initially failed to catch the perpetrators of the arsons. It was only after intelligence officers from the Jewish anti-fascist 1962 Committee – known as the 62 Group, a partial successor to the 43 Group – conducted their own investigation that a series of arrests took place which resulted in three trials at the Old Bailey. In the dock in these trials were a former Welsh Guardsman Hugh Hughes, a former Parachute Regiment soldier, and a

number of disturbed and inadequate youngsters. They were all convicted. In the final trial Jordan's wife, the French perfume heiress Françoise Dior, was convicted and received a custodial sentence. The gang's targets had included large and small synagogues, other religious premises and an infants' school.

Jordan himself was never charged despite having prior knowledge of at least one attack, but in 1967 he was imprisoned for 18 months for distributing racist literature. In his absence the NSM collapsed and was reconstituted as the British Movement.

An ongoing trail of terror (continued)



Some of those later to be convicted in the Birmingham arms case take part in a British Movement march

After his release from prison, Jordan brought together some of his more violent elements and gave them his blessing to form the National Socialist Group (NSG) based in south and east London.

Once again the intervention of the 62 Group's intelligence officers helped bring about the conviction of two NSG members who had in their possession machine guns and parts. The anti-fascists also seized written material relating to bomb making and car bombs from the nazi activists.

Diana Hughes, a mentally ill member of the NSM and GBM, found her way into the NSG and plotted to assassinate Prime Minister Harold Wilson as he left a train at Kings Cross station. Hughes had taken with her a young NSG member who needed a stiff drink before the planned attack. Although they were in the pub for only a few minutes, they missed the early arrival of Wilson's train. They were never charged but warned off by Special Branch from any more terrorist attempts.

The nazis' interest in terrorism continued after the National Front (NF) was formed in 1967. At the time Tyndall was serving a prison sentence for possession of a firearm

and ammunition, but after his release he moved in on what was to become Britain's largest far-right party and took over its leadership.

One of the NF's London officers, Kenneth Matthews, was sent to prison for six years for possession of explosives after a police phone tap led to the uncovering of a plot to bomb trade unionists in south London.

Matthews was just one of several members of the NF or other far-right groups, including the British Movement and the purist nazi League of St George, to be convicted on explosives and firearms charges, at the same time as the NF was attracting growing support from Conservatives disillusioned with Edward Heath. Some had huge stockpiles of weapons, such as Robert Peace from Bury, who had 90 guns.

There was also ample evidence of strong links between the British far right and foreign assassins and terrorists, including James Earl Ray, who assassinated Martin Luther King in 1968. Ray and his brother had been linked to the original BNP and the late Sid Carthew, who later became the Yorkshire regional organiser of the present BNP.

In the early 1980s a number of leading members of the British Movement in the West Midlands were sentenced to various prison terms for possession of a large arsenal of weapons and ammunition, including machine guns, as well as false passports (the Birmingham arms case). Like in some more recent cases of far-right terrorists, one of the defendants, Reginald Cox, was also convicted of sexual offences against young girls. The successful prosecution was the result of joint working between Special Branch, MI5 and investigative journalists from the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight*.

After his release from custody, Cox became a member of “Defence Begins at Home”, a campaign that sought to convince the government that the defence of the country would be better served by forming a “home guard” than by reliance on a nuclear deterrent. Michael McLaughlin, the leader of the British Movement, also developed links with the campaign, which benefited from some state sponsorship.

Suicide bombing is these days associated with Islamist terrorists but Britain’s first attempted suicide bomber was a Birmingham NF member. In the early 1980s Richard

Barnes went on a deadly rampage during which he fired a crossbow bolt at an Asian man, attempted to run down two black women and then kidnapped a woman. An autopsy was unable to determine whether she was dead when Barnes placed her in the boot of his car or died when he drove the car into a leftwing bookshop where it burst into flames. Barnes was pulled from the blaze and eventually sentenced to life imprisonment.

One of the most high profile BNP terrorists was Tony Lecomber, who in 1985 injured himself with a nail bomb while attempting to blow up the offices of a leftwing political party. Police found ten grenades, seven petrol bombs and two detonators at his home. He was convicted for offences under the Explosives Act but sentenced to only three years in prison. After his release he was promoted to a senior position in the BNP and held party offices over many years, despite extensive publicity about his conviction and a subsequent conviction for assaulting a Jewish teacher, for which he was sentenced to another three-year prison term.

Nick Griffin in the 1980s had not yet joined the BNP, which he was later to lead, but was working closely

with Italian fascist terrorists to establish a cadre of “political soldiers”. A Special Branch officer at the time described much of the NF political soldiers’ internal material as different from what one might expect from people who were only engaging in political campaigning.

Since the 1980s Fiore, with whom Griffin still has close links, has safe-housed a stream of political and criminal colleagues arriving in London, including Andrea Insabato, who in December 2000 threw a bomb into the offices of the leftwing daily *Il Manifesto*. Others were wanted for armed robberies to support their cause. Rapists and killers have been no strangers to this group of unwanted immigrants.

In the mid 1980s Jordan wrote in the League of St George publication *League Review* about his vision for the future of the British far right. He envisaged two strands, one an open political organisation, the other an underground terrorist-type group.

Many on the far right appear to have adopted this outlook, including activists in the BNP and a number of smaller, more criminal and extreme groups, such as the British People’s Party (BPP), Racial

An ongoing trail of terror (continued)

Volunteer Force (RVF), Aryan Strike Force (ASF) and Power. Underlying the terrorist structure is Redwatch, the nazi website that posts personal details and pictures of opponents of the nazis to intimidate them and worse.

Griffin often returns to the theme of a coming civil war in Britain and cultivates his relationship with hardline nazis, such as the American Preston Wiginton, and even convicted terrorists such as Horst Mahler, 74, a former member of the Baader-Meinhof terrorist group that killed over 30 people in Germany from the late 1960s. Mahler was a founding member of the radical leftist Red Army Faction, but later espoused far-right politics, joining the German extreme-right National Democratic Party (NPD) in 2000.

It was talk at BNP meetings about an impending civil war that inspired Robert Cottage. In his statement to the police, Cottage said he was preparing not for a civil war but the coming race war. Statements specifically about race war had been bandied about in the BNP since shortly before the Oldham and Bradford riots in 2001.

David Copeland, whose three bombs exploded in London over a

two-week period in April 1999, found his terrorist ambitions frustrated in the BNP, despite the fact that the naïve and easily influenced young man attended the same BNP branch meetings as Lecomber. His growing interest in becoming involved in terrorism was able to bloom in the National Socialist Movement, a tiny nazi group unrelated to the NSM of the 1960s, run by Tony Williams, a former school friend and political ally of Griffin, together with Steven Sargent, the brother of the Combat 18 murderer Paul David Sargent, and David Myatt, a long-time hardline nazi and pagan mystic who more recently converted to Islam.

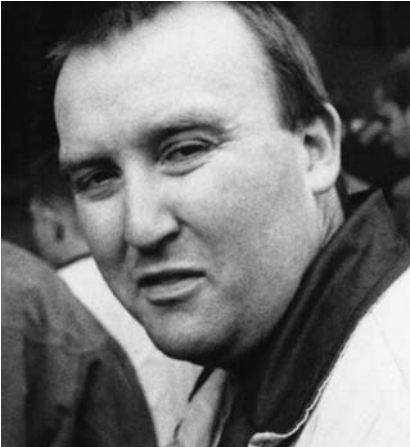
The London bombings grabbed the headlines, unlike a petrol bombing of an Asian shop in Chichester two weeks before Copeland's first bomb. Stuart Kerr earned a 12-year sentence for that attack but was not charged with setting alight a police car within a police compound. Kerr was fascinated by Nazism and was in contact with the nazi terror group Combat 18.

Another attack in that period seriously damaged an unemployed workers' centre in Mansfield, Nottinghamshire. It was followed

shortly afterwards by an attempted car bomb attack on the May Day celebrations in Chesterfield, Derbyshire. During the early hours of May Day a police patrol car chased a stolen vehicle. The occupants ran away but left behind the makings of a car bomb. This too went unreported. The perpetrators were never caught.

The three life sentences handed down to Copeland proved no deterrent to David Tovey, who received an 11-year sentence after being caught in 2002 with a huge arsenal of terrorist equipment at his home in Oxfordshire, including military plastic explosive, sophisticated remote control detonation devices and state-of-the-art weapons. Tovey, who appears to have applied to join the BNP, intended to bomb Swindon mosque.

The far-right terrorist threat continues to this day. In 2008 Ellis Hammond was allowed to resign from his job as a Police Community Support Officer (PCSO) in southeast London after Post Office security officers intercepted a package sent to him from the USA that contained an illegal Taser gun. When police officers raided his home they found a CS gas canister, various weapons, BNP and other far-right material and a BNP



(l to r) Charlie Sargent, Tony Williams and David Myatt

membership card, in contravention of a ban on police officers (including PCSOs) joining the party.

His strangely lenient treatment by the police and Crown Prosecution Service, which resulted in him leaving court in March 2008 with a one-year conditional discharge, was the subject of complaints by Searchlight and the Metropolitan Police Independent Advisory Group (Race) to the Home Office and the Director of Public Prosecutions.

A year later when the police had completed their examination of Hammond's computer, which they had seized in the raid on his home, he was charged with five specimen offences of downloading and possessing a total of 58 indecent images of children, ranging from level 1 to level 5 (the most serious). He pleaded guilty and received a three-year community sentence.

It is only in the past three years that far-right links with terrorism have begun to be taken more seriously, although even now it seems that Martyn Gilleard, for example, received a lesser sentence than would have been imposed on an Islamist terrorist committing the same crimes. Gilleard, an activist for the nazi BPP as well as for the

BNP, was jailed for 16 years in 2009 for possession of weapons, nail bombs and 39,000 child pornography images.

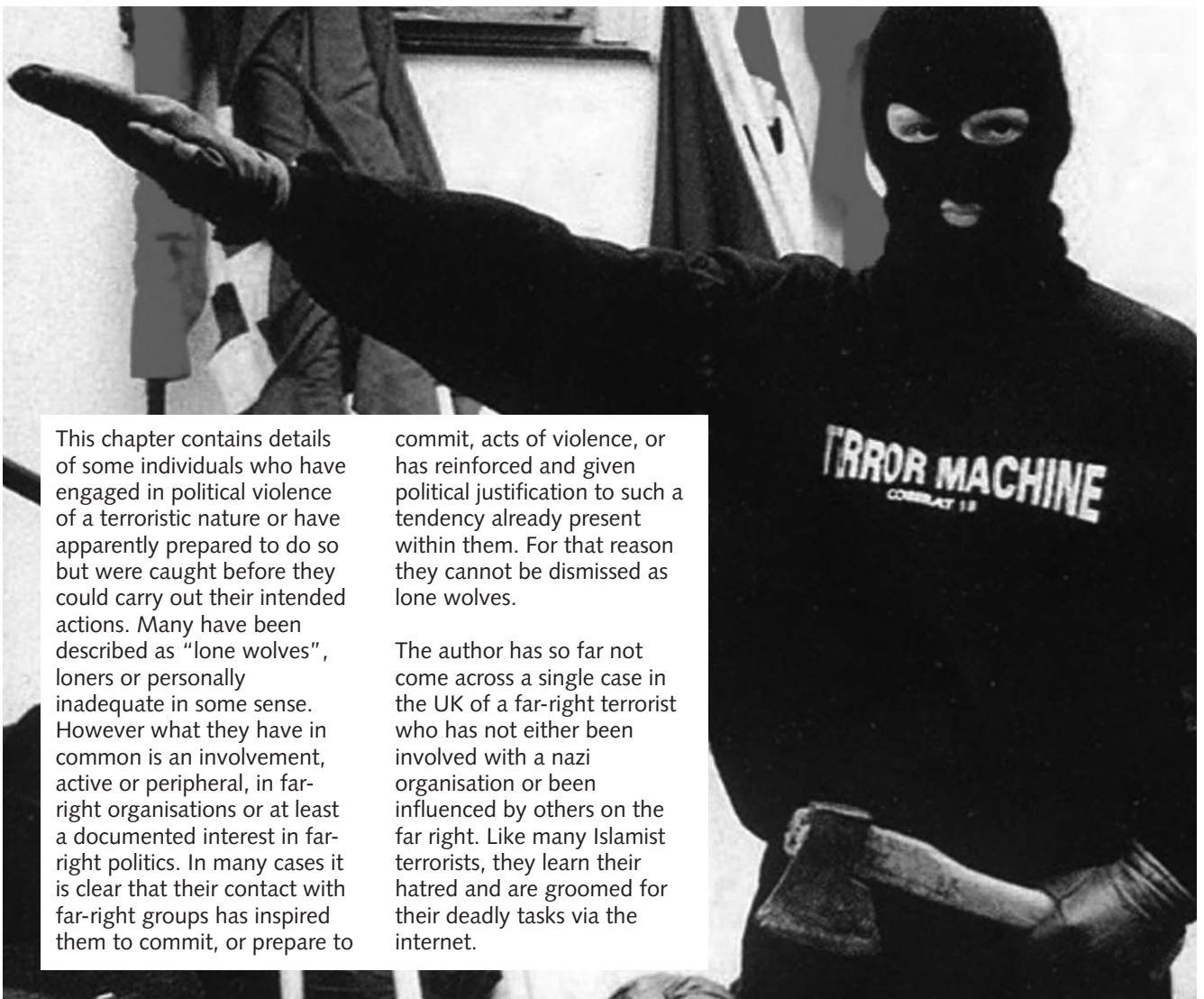
Even Copeland, although he received the life sentences that were mandatory for the three murders among the crimes for which he was convicted, was treated as an isolated madman rather than as an element in a long history of involvement by the extreme right in terrorism, of which this chapter only provides examples.

As an aside, it is interesting to note the two incidences of individuals involved in far-right terrorism-related crime and child pornography. It is not the purpose of this study to explore whether this is mere coincidence or whether individuals involved in far-right crime are predisposed towards an interest in child pornography, or vice versa. However the BNP has attracted people with sex crime connections on a number of occasions and the party leadership has not consistently distanced itself from these people. Robert Bennett notably ran the BNP's leafleting campaign in Oldham in 2002 despite his conviction for the gang rape of two 17-year-old girls in

1976. Sid Chaney, who befriended and defended the notorious convicted paedophile Frank Beck and, in the 1980s, associated with a far-right political activist who had an improper interest in young boys, stood as a candidate for the BNP in the European Parliamentary election in 2004 and several council elections. In November 2008 Ian Hindle and Andrew Wells were convicted and imprisoned for sexual activity with 14-year-old girls, though in this instance they were apparently expelled from the BNP after publicity about their offences.

Chapter 3

The UK's far-right 'terrorists' and would-be 'terrorists'



This chapter contains details of some individuals who have engaged in political violence of a terroristic nature or have apparently prepared to do so but were caught before they could carry out their intended actions. Many have been described as "lone wolves", loners or personally inadequate in some sense. However what they have in common is an involvement, active or peripheral, in far-right organisations or at least a documented interest in far-right politics. In many cases it is clear that their contact with far-right groups has inspired them to commit, or prepare to

commit, acts of violence, or has reinforced and given political justification to such a tendency already present within them. For that reason they cannot be dismissed as lone wolves.

The author has so far not come across a single case in the UK of a far-right terrorist who has not either been involved with a nazi organisation or been influenced by others on the far right. Like many Islamist terrorists, they learn their hatred and are groomed for their deadly tasks via the internet.

Profiles

David James Copeland

Age 24

Occupation Engineering assistant for Transport for London

Address Cove, Hampshire

Politics Member of the National Socialist Movement, former BNP member

Convictions Murder x 3, planting bombs x 3

Sentence Life imprisonment x 6, minimum term 50 years, sent to Broadmoor



David Copeland is the London nail bomber who set off bombs in Brixton, Brick Lane in the East End and Soho over 13 days in April 1999. After he was arrested and diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia, he pleaded guilty to manslaughter on the grounds of diminished responsibility, but the prosecution refused to accept the pleas. He was convicted of murder at the Old Bailey in June 2000.

Copeland had been planning the bombing campaign for several months. He came up with the idea when a bomb went off in Centennial Park during the Olympic Games in Atlanta in 1996. Nigel Sweeney QC, prosecuting, said: "He told police that the Notting Hill carnival was on at about the same time. He began to wish that someone would blow up the carnival. To start with he treated the thought as a joke, but he could not get it out of his head. The thought became stronger. He woke up one day and decided he was going to do it."

Copeland wanted to make "proper bombs". In April 1997 he downloaded *The Terrorist's Handbook* in a cyber café, but found it difficult to follow the instructions for making one of the chemical ingredients and gave up. In 1998 he looked at the manual again and saw instructions for making a "pipe bomb". Referring to another guide on the internet, *How to Make Bombs, part 2*, he set about collecting the materials.

He bought £1,500 of fireworks and ignition devices and used old-fashioned clocks as his timers. He packed up to 1,500 nails in each device, which he taped into sports holdalls. Before the first attack, he experimented with different

mixtures of "flash powder" to get the biggest explosion, blowing up small lengths of pipe.

On Saturday 17 April Copeland went to Brixton, which he believed to be the heart of London's black community. He was surprised to find so many white people there. He told the police: "If they want to live there, that's up to them". He left the bag containing the bomb against the front of a shop and left by taxi. The explosion injured 50 people, including two who lost an eye.

The second explosion took place in Brick Lane on 24 April and was targeted at London's Asian community. Copeland had thought the market was open on Saturday when in fact it takes place on Sunday. A passerby spotted the bomb and took it to the local police station, but it was closed, so he put it in the boot of his car, where it exploded injuring 13 people.

The third bomb at the Admiral Duncan pub in Soho on 30 April was aimed at the gay community and was the most devastating. Three people died, including a pregnant woman, and four needed amputations. Twenty-six people suffered very serious burns, another 53 were injured by flying glass and nails

The bomb at the Admiral Duncan pub was not a political statement, said Sweeney. "It was personal. Copeland told police that he was very homophobic. He hated gay men and he said his hatred stemmed from the way his parents treated him as a child. He regarded gay men as perverted degenerates who were no use to society and should be put to death. Even as a racist he would prefer the company

Profiles

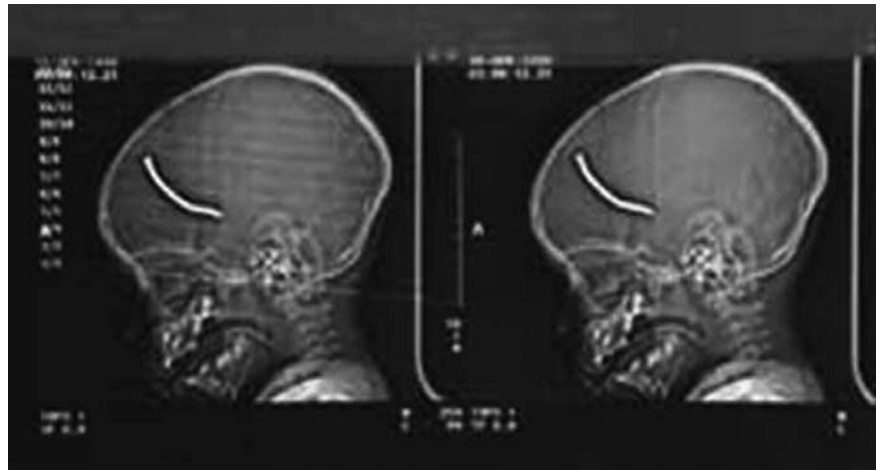


(above left) David Copeland with BNP leader John Tyndall

(above right) David Copeland's bedroom

(right) X-ray photographs showing a nail from Copeland's Brixton bomb embedded in the head of a baby

(below) Carnage caused by David Copeland's third London bomb at the Admiral Duncan pub in Soho on 30 April 1999



of a black or Asian man rather than a gay man.”

Copeland was caught after a work colleague telephoned the police to say he recognised Copeland as the Brixton bomber. Copeland immediately admitted to the officers who arrested him that he was responsible. They found two swastika flags on the walls of his room, bomb-making equipment and a membership card from the National Socialist Movement.

He told the police he was a homophobic nazi who believed in a white master race. Alongside a picture of Hitler were photographs of bomb scenes from Northern Ireland, a “Ku Klux Klan type photograph” and a picture of a man hanged from a crane under the headline “Death of a Vampire”. He also kept cuttings on racial stabbings and on his own



Profiles

David James Copeland (continued)

bombings. There was a copy of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and a knife engraved with the slogan *Alles für Deutschland* (everything for Germany) in a sheath embossed with an eagle and a swastika.

Copeland thought the British people had a right to ethnic cleansing, like the Serbs, Sweeney told the court, and that the bombs would be the spark to start a fire in this country, stirring up a racial war that would cause white people to vote for the BNP. He intended to cause "murder, mayhem, chaos and damage" and to "spread fear, resentment and hatred through the country".

Copeland told police he acted entirely on his own and told nobody of his plans, but that he targeted the communities for political reasons. "I believe what I believe and I took that belief to an extreme," he said. He described Combat 18, which had claimed responsibility for the blasts, as a "bunch of yobs" and was also dismissive of another group, the White Wolves, which also claimed responsibility. He told detectives he had never heard of the groups and thought they were "trying to take my glory".

However he had joined the BNP in May 1997 and attended meetings, including one where he was photographed next to John Tyndall, the party's founder. Four months later he rang the party's office to cancel his subscription and denounced the BNP for refusing to countenance a "paramilitary struggle".

He then joined the National Socialist Movement, which had been formed out of Combat 18. A letter from its leader, Tony

Williams, welcoming him as a member, proclaimed: "Let us all live in the hope that our racial brothers and sisters will find that which is within them, just as you have, and our strength will grow until that glorious day when the sun will once more dawn on our homeland and ultimately on a racially unified Aryan civilisation."

In a second letter to Copeland appointing him unit leader, in charge of developing the NSM in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire and Surrey, Williams wrote: "Welcome to leadership, responsibility and accountability to your comrades. Yours ever. Heil Hitler."

While on remand at Belmarsh prison he told a prison officer: "I'm not mad, I know why I'm in prison, I did plant those bombs, I targeted minority groups for political and religious reasons."

He also wrote to the BBC correspondent Graeme McLagan denying that he was a schizophrenic and claiming that "ZOG", the "Zionist Occupation Government" (terminology expressing the Nazi belief that Jews control the world) was trying to sweep him under the carpet by pumping him full of drugs. "The Jew, devil's disciples and peoples of mud must be driven out of our land. It is God's law and we must obey. I bomb the blacks, 'pakkies', degenerates. I would have bombed the Jews as well if I'd got a chance."

Giving Copeland six life sentences the Recorder of London, Judge Michael Hyam, said the public needed to be protected from his "virulent hatred and pitiless contempt for a very long time".

He added: "The public must be protected from you and must be assured that if you are ever released it will not be for a very long time."

After the trial, Scotland Yard and M15 came under attack for being unaware of Copeland's membership of two far-right organisations. ●

Profiles

Paul David "Charlie" Sargent

Age 37

Address Harlow, Essex

Politics Former leader of Combat 18

Conviction Murder

Sentence Life imprisonment



Paul David "Charlie" Sargent, former leader of Combat 18 (C18), was imprisoned for life in January 1998 for the murder of Christopher Castle on 10 February 1997 in conjunction with Martin Cross. The killing of Castle, who acted as a go-between for rival factions in the group, was part of a struggle for control of C18, which at the time was Britain's most violent far-right organisation.

In what was described as a vicious, violent and cowardly attack, Castle was lured to Sargent's home and



Christopher Castle

ambushed by Cross. He was killed by a stab wound to his back, which penetrated his lung and heart. Dr Michael Heath, the pathologist in the case, described the attack as involving "severe force", with a 22cm wound caused by a 20cm kitchen knife. Immediately after the attack Cross referred to Castle as "a casualty of war". The police officers who led the inquiry told a press conference that this was little more than an execution.

Steven Vogel, a C18 activist and England kickboxing champion, told Chelmsford Crown Court how Sargent tried to recruit him two days before the murder to help with the attack. He said Sargent had boasted afterwards that "Chris Castle was a mug". Disgusted by this attitude, Vogel approached the police and his evidence proved crucial in convicting Sargent as the prime instigator of the stabbing. After Vogel's refusal, Sargent turned to Cross, his friend for over 20 years.

Castle was the victim of a long-running feud between Sargent and his former right-hand man Will Browning (not named during the trial for legal reasons) that had often spilled out into violence and threats. Sargent was losing credibility in the organisation

which he had led for five years. He had fallen out with other members over control of the lucrative nazi skinhead music scene, the group's future strategy and allegations by the rival faction that he was a police informer. Sargent told the court that he believed Browning had stolen over £100,000 from C18's successful CD production business. He decided to teach his rival a lesson.

A number of witnesses were attacked and threatened in the run-up to the trial, and at least one person was given a police safe house, while others refused the offer. The few supporters of Sargent who turned up at the court on the day of the verdict promised revenge against those remaining in C18.

C18 first emerged in 1992 providing security for the BNP. By 1993 the two organisations had parted company. C18 established itself as the dominant street fighting force on the far right, drawing the bulk of its support from football hooligans in London, Essex and part of northern England. It promised to bring a paramilitary-style race war to the UK. Sargent and Cross were among three men convicted in March 1997 for publishing magazines containing bomb manuals.

Profiles

Paul David "Charlie" Sargent (continued)



One of C18's most successful operations was the formation of ISD Records, the first nazi record label in the UK. Over two years it produced nearly 30 illegal albums for nazi bands, generating some £200,000 profit. More than 30,000 CDs were produced.

After Sargent's conviction Browning took over C18, but soon lost interest. Sargent's supporters, including his brother Steve, formed a new version of the National Socialist Movement. Its members included Tony Williamson, a former close friend and political associate of the BNP leader Nick Griffin, and David Myatt, a convicted synagogue arsonist and former Satanist who later converted to Islam but is reported to have left that religion in 2010.

It was the NSM that the London bomber David Copeland joined after leaving the BNP. He became a regional organiser for the group and Williamson wrote that at last they had found somebody dedicated enough to take their work forward.

Williamson fled the UK after exposure of his links to Copeland and stories of male rape at his village home in Suffolk.



(below) Charlie Sargent acting as a bodyguard for the BNP leader John Tyndall



Profiles

Martin Cross



Age at conviction 35

Politics Combat 18 member

Conviction Murder

Sentence Life imprisonment

Martin Cross was convicted at Chelmsford Crown Court of the murder of Christopher Castle on 10 February 1997 in conjunction with Charlie Sargent and imprisoned for life. It was Cross who inflicted the stab wound with a knife, but he had been recruited for the task by Sargent.

Cross applied for parole in 2010. ●

Profiles

Tony Lecomber

Age Born 1963

Occupation Worked full-time for BNP for some years

Address Broomhill Road, Woodford Green, IG8 9EZ

Politics Former senior BNP officer, previously National Front

Convictions

1986 five offences under the Explosives Act
1991 unlawful wounding

Sentence

1986 three years in custody
1991 three years in custody



Tony Lecomber, who also went by the names Tony East and Tony Wells, was a leading figure in the BNP when a homemade nail bomb exploded as he sat in a car outside the headquarters of a left-wing party in south London in 1985.

Police found ten grenades, seven petrol bombs and two detonators at his home. He received a three-year prison sentence after being convicted of five explosives offences at the Old Bailey in November 1986. Sentencing him, judge Richard Lowry, hearing his last case before his retirement, said: "You are not a terrorist in the normal sense of the word, nor were you acting on behalf of some political group."

The judge's words caused anger at the time and ignored the facts of Lecomber's senior position in the BNP, at the time led by a man who had convictions for running a paramilitary organisation and possession of firearms, and the political target of his intended bombing.

Lecomber, who has previous convictions for criminal damage, had been associated with an active nazi, who worked as a mortuary attendant, who was charged with helping to construct the bomb. A court was shown the diagram for the bomb drawn on the back of a mortuary receipt from this man's place of work. However he was acquitted as a result of procedural errors in the investigation.

In 1991, Lecomber was sentenced to another three years in prison for unlawful wounding after he and two other BNP members, whom he refused to identify, mounted a vicious attack on a Jewish school teacher at Gants Hill underground station at around 10.30am on 13 October 1990. Lecomber had seen the teacher removing BNP "Love the white race" stickers and in full view of other passengers on the platform "gave him a good kicking" in the words of a police officer. The teacher was almost thrown onto the tracks and was saved only by the intervention of other passengers. At the time Lecomber was the BNP's director of propaganda.

After his release from prison, Lecomber was welcomed back into the BNP and became its group development officer with responsibility for building membership and setting up party organisations around the UK.

In 2006 Joe Owens, a Liverpool gangster who had acted as the BNP leader's personal bodyguard, revealed that Lecomber had asked him at a meeting that January to take part in a campaign of terror and murder directed against British political figures deemed enemies by the far right. Owens was suspicious, thinking it was an attempt at entrapment of himself, the BNP or both. He reported Lecomber's suggestion to the BNP leader and threatened to go to the press if Lecomber was not dismissed. Lecomber "resigned" from his position but Owens went to the *Sunday Herald* a few months later anyway.

Owens told the paper: "Lecomber said to me that it was 'too late to stop immigration' and he went on to talk about recent statistics that

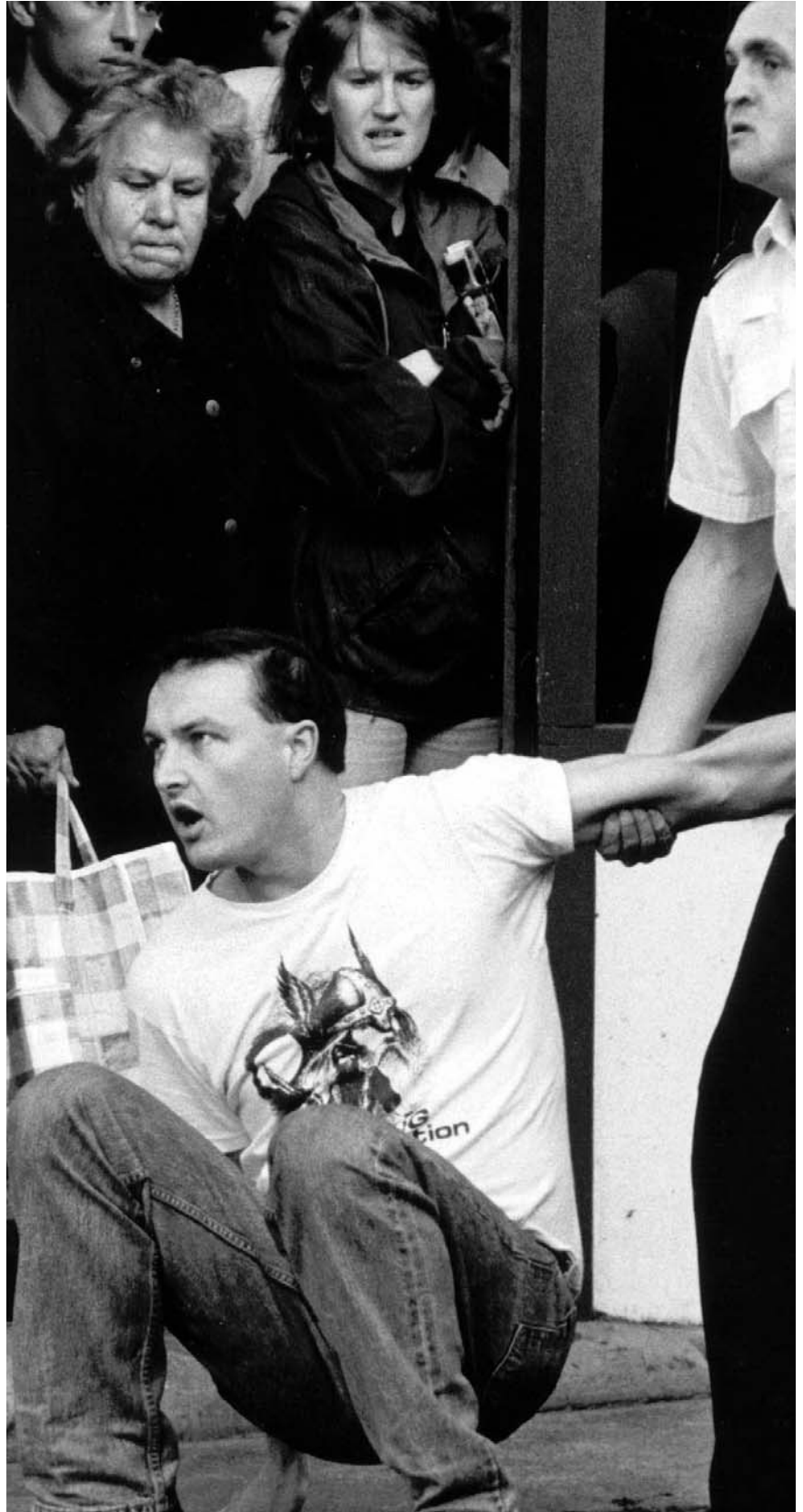
Profiles

Tony Lecomber being arrested
in east London

showed an increase in births from immigrants. He said to me that we needed 'direct action'.

"I asked him what he meant by the expression 'direct action'. He said 'targeting members of the establishment who were aiding and abetting the coloured invasion of this country'. I asked Lecomber what he meant by 'targeting'. He said 'killing them.'" According to Owens, reported the *Sunday Herald*, Lecomber referred to targeting figures such as the Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott and the former director-general of the BBC, Greg Dyke, who once referred to the corporation as "hideously white". Owens said he ended the meeting saying he wanted nothing more to do with such a "mad scheme". Lecomber responded: "If you change your mind, let me know."

The *Sunday Herald* reported that Lecomber admitted a conversation took place with Owens but said he did not mean the allegations to be taken literally. ●



Profiles

Terence Robert Gavan

Age 39

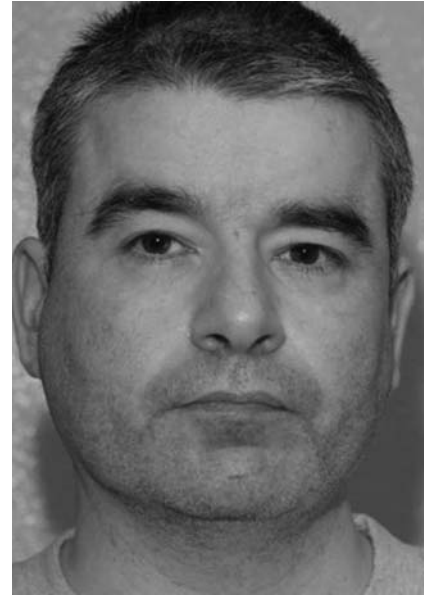
Address Batley, West Yorkshire

Occupation Bus driver and former soldier

Politics BNP member

Convictions 22 offences relating to the manufacture and possession of improvised explosive devices, firearms and ammunition, 6 offences under the Terrorism Act for the possession of weapons manuals

Sentence 11 years in custody



When officers from West Yorkshire Police entered Terence Gavan's house with a search warrant in May 2009 as part of a firearms investigation, they discovered the largest cache of homemade bombs and other weapons ever seen in the region.

The rest of the house that Gavan shared with his mother was "immaculate", according to police, in stark contrast to the tangle of bomb-making equipment, improvised weapons and materials filling a locked attic room. A police spokeswoman, Claire Forbes, said: "It was quite a concealed room. There was a door, then you went up some steps and it was up there."

It took police and army disposal officers six days to search the room and explode some of the devices to make them safe. They found 54 explosive devices, including nail bombs, pipe bombs and a booby trapped cigarette packet, 12 firearms – three of them loaded – plus devices in whisky bottles and aerosols. There were also materials

for making more devices, including fireworks, weed killer, hydrogen peroxide and gunpowder. Gavan was also in the process of building a rocket launcher. In addition there were about 40 knives, a crossbow and arrows, more than 30 firearms including pistols and revolvers and firearms-related documentation.

Gavan's lawyer, Paul Greaney, said Gavan had a "longstanding preoccupation with firearms and explosives dating back to his childhood and what he did was carried out for no other purpose". Gavan revealed he had spent years honing his skills in the hidden workshop, accumulating an arsenal of weapons over the course of a decade. He said he had been making bombs since the age of ten, saying he had "an obsession with things that go bang". He told police he made the weapons for the "illicit thrill of owning them" and that he was "learning his trade and as time went on he got better".

As a teenager he had a brief stint in the RAF and then joined the Royal

Dragoon Guards in 1988 where he underwent weapons training. Gavan served in the regiment for five years, during which he spent 280 days in military detention for nine separate disciplinary incidents. He was discharged from the Army in November 1993 after being jailed for brandishing a loaded gun at a friend during a pub row while absent without leave.

The Old Bailey heard he had a "strong hostility" towards immigrants. He joined the BNP in 2007 as a "gold member". Although it was stated that his membership of the party had lapsed by the time of his arrest, BNP material was found in his room, including letters to him from the party and a copy of its magazine *Hope and Glory*.

Detective Chief Superintendent David Buxton described Gavan as "an extremely dangerous and unpredictable individual". He said: "The sheer volume of homemade firearms and grenades found in his bedroom exposed his obsession

Profiles



Some of the weaponry found at Terence Gavan's home

with weapons and explosives. He was not simply a harmless enthusiast. Gavan used his extensive knowledge to manufacture and accumulate devices capable of causing significant injury or harm and as such he posed a very clear risk to public safety." He added: "Our investigation revealed Gavan's violent potential and while he had no single cause or agenda, represented no less of a threat to our communities."

Gavan pleaded guilty. Passing sentence, Mr Justice Calvert described Gavan as a "lone operator with what amounts to almost an obsession with guns and explosives". He told him: "Your case is unique. There is no case in which such a long and persistent course of manufacture of both guns and explosives combined with possession of material likely to be useful to those who commit terrorist acts has ever been before a court before." He added that the weapons had "the potential to cause serious injury if activated" although

there was no suggestion Gavan had tried to use them to hurt people, sold them or passed them on.

Although Gavan told the court that he did not have a clear target for his weaponry police found names, addresses and personal details of four people at his home. One was a female neighbour of one of the 7/7 bombers who had featured in a television documentary on the bombings. He also had a notebook in which he wrote: "A patriot must be always be ready to defend his country from his enemies and their government."

The BNP's deputy leader, Simon Darby, tried to justify Gavan's actions, claiming: "It's the inevitable consequence of enforced multiculturalism. You are going to get more and more incidents like this."

Chris Beverley, the Yorkshire organiser of the BNP, said: "It is a sign of the way in which multiculturalism has taken over. This is what is happening, people

are becoming very frustrated and there has to be a reason why he has gone down this road. ... I'm not condoning his behaviour but this is the unfortunate by-product of bringing different cultures together.

It is unclear why the police told journalists that Gavan had no BNP connection. After his conviction a police spokesperson claimed his association with a registered political party was of no interest to the media. ●

Profiles

Mark Bulman

Age 22

Address No fixed abode

Politics BNP officer

Convictions Arson, attempted arson, 2 x religiously aggravated criminal damage

Sentence Five years in custody



Mark Bulman, also known as Mark Bullock, threw a petrol bomb through a window of Broad Street mosque in Swindon during the early hours of 17 August 2006 and daubed swastikas and anti-Islamic abuse on its walls.

Bulman used a BNP leaflet as a fuse for the petrol filled beer bottle. When the bomb failed to ignite Bulman telephoned the police saying that they would find his fingerprints on the bomb. An officer went to the scene and found him armed with a chair leg which he said he needed to protect himself from the enemy. He referred to the Broad Street area as enemy territory because it had businesses owned by people from ethnic minorities. He also told police of his dislike for anyone other than white British people.

When police searched his house they found a variety of racist material. He admitted being a BNP sympathiser and attending its rallies in the past. In fact he was a BNP activist who had given out party leaflets at local schools and colleges, campaigned actively in the 2006 local elections and was the registered “fund holder” (treasurer) for Wiltshire BNP. He left the BNP shortly before the firebomb attack to form what he called the “1290 Sect”, named after the year Jews were expelled from England.

Bulman pleaded guilty at Swindon Crown Court in October 2006 to attempted arson, arson, and two counts of religiously aggravated damage to property. At his sentencing hearing in January 2007, Philip Warren, defending said: “On any view of it, it is a horrible and serious business. It is highly offensive, deliberately offensive, and the offence and outrage caused must have been massive”. Warren said his client had told the psychiatrist that he wanted to reduce the mosque to “ash and rubble” and “to give the establishment and lefties a wake up call”.

Sentencing Bulman to five years in custody, Judge Douglas Field told him: “You are a racial bigot. It was your wish and intention to burn that building to the ground. We have mixed races in Swindon and it is extremely important that we all get on together.”

Bulman was released on parole early in 2009. While in prison he wrote a series of letters to a local left-wing activist, in one of which he said: “I only attacked the mosque because there is no synagogue in Swindon, and it was close enough for public consumption.” The letters, which were passed to Searchlight, were filled with a virulent hatred of Jews,

a combination of racialised antisemitism, Christian anti-Judaic traditions and opposition to Israel.

It emerged that Danny Lake, the former leader of the Young BNP and also a Swindon BNP activist, had raised concerns about Bulman with Nick Griffin, the BNP leader, but the BNP had not considered Bulman’s mental instability, propensity to violence and gross antisemitism to be a problem. Bulman was supported by the BNP’s Wiltshire organiser, Mike Howson. Lake claimed that Howson, who puts himself forward as a campaigner for law and order, encouraged Bulman’s extremism.

The Swindon left-wing activist, who had also had telephone conversations with Bulman, considered that he was a troubled lad who had “always been a bit of a misfit”. He wrote: “The bewildered lad has been playing games in his head with his Nazi fantasies, irresponsibly encouraged by BNP activists who exploited him. ... What really is scandalous is the way the BNP used this young man. They had no problem with exploiting his obvious mental distress, they had no problem with his open support for genocide against the Jews, instead they encouraged him, they used him up and spat him out.” ●

Profiles

Martyn Gilleard

Age 31

Occupation Forklift driver

Address Goole, East Yorkshire

Convictions Preparing terrorist acts with intent to carry them out, under section 5 of the Terrorism Act 2006, possession of material which would be of practical use to someone preparing an act of terrorism, under section 58 of the Terrorism Act 2000, possession of ammunition without a firearms certificate, 10 specimen counts of possession of indecent images of children

Sentence 16 years in custody



Martyn Gilleard wanted to save Britain from “multiracial peril” and made nail bombs to further his cause through terror attacks. When officers from Humberside police arrived at his home in Goole, East Yorkshire, on 31 October 2007 they were allegedly acting on a tip-off regarding child pornography. What they found was a nazi fanatic preparing for race war.

In the flat police discovered over 39,000 indecent images of children, ranging from category one to five, depicting acts of sexual sadism, torture and rape. They also turned up an array of knives, guns, machetes, swords, axes, bullets and four nail bombs, together with internet instructions for making poison and bombs and “significant” amounts of racist literature from far-right parties including the National Front, the openly nazi British People's Party (BPP), the nazi skinhead group Blood and Honour and the BNP.

Gilleard was the Goole branch organiser of the BPP, which welcomes membership applications only from those who believe in “racial nationalism”.

It was clear from entries in Gilleard's diary that he was preparing to wage race war: “Be under no illusion, we are at war. And it is a war we are losing badly. Unless we, the British right, stop talking of racial war and take steps to make it happen we will never get back that which has been stolen from us. I'm so sick and tired of hearing Nationalists talk of killing Muslims, or blowing up mosques, of fighting back. Only to see these acts of resistance fail to appear. The time has come to stop the talk and start to act.”

Gilleard was no longer at his home when police arrived, but had fled to his brother's house in Dundee. Several hours after the raid on Gilleard's home the police turned up at the home of Tony Braithwaite,

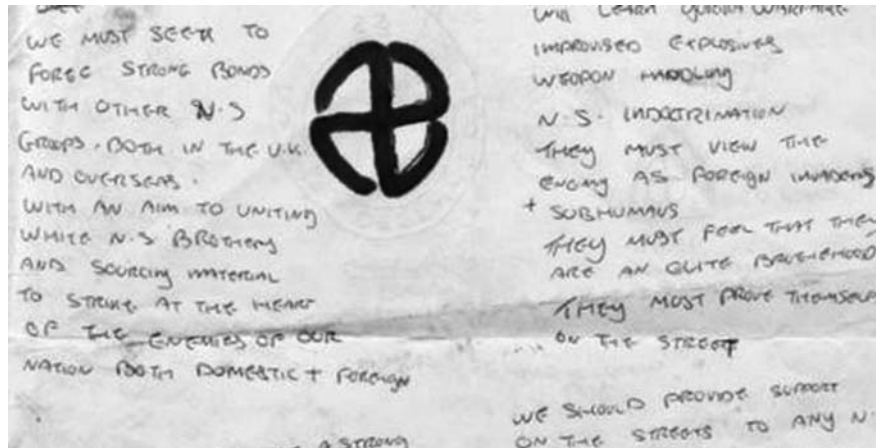
another BPP organiser, who alerted the party leadership that the police were searching for Gilleard. He was finally arrested three days later.

Gilleard's postings on internet forums revealed the depth of his racist venom. Writing about British Asians, he stated: “You are not, nor will you ever be British, we hate you, you are a cancer in our land that need to be cut out”. On homosexuality he wrote: “These creatures should be removed from all civilised societies even nature is trying to wipe them out (god bless aids). I mean ffs [for f***'s sake] just how many hints do these animals need, before they realise that they are not wanted on this earth?”

His internet password included the number 1488, a commonly used nazi code in which 14 represents the “14 words”, a phrase coined by David Lane, the founder of an American white supremacist paramilitary organisation, that states: “we must secure the

Profiles

Martyn Gilleard (continued)



existence of our people and a future for white children,” and 88 stands for HH: “Heil Hitler”.

Like many other nazis, Gilleard advocated that “every white nationalist should get a gun”. He was signed up to at least one gun forum, believing that “an armed society is a polite society”. To acquaint himself with “field craft” he used the internet to view SAS training exercises as “the sort of thing we ned [sic] to get going in the movement 88”. He also sourced online bomb-making manuals.

The woman with whom Gilleard had his only child in 2002 gave an interview to the *Daily Star Sunday* in which she described Gilleard as a racist and violent monster, who had told their son that black people are monkeys and banned her six-year-old daughter from attending any party where she might mix with non-white children. She also revealed that during one row he had thrown his son against a wall and on other occasions he had killed the family dog with an axe

and slaughtered a neighbour’s cat when it strayed into their garden.

Following his arrest the BPP offered Gilleard their “full support”. His friends on the internet “guestbook” of the nazi terror group Combat 18 (C18) extolled him as “a hero to the Cause”. On 7 December 2007 Kevin Watmough, the BPP leader, issued a statement in which he declared: “Martyn Gilleard is a trusted comrade and loyal member of the BPP ... We believe a person is innocent until proven guilty and we reserve the right to make no further comment regarding Martyn’s case until his trial is over. That said, the BPP is proud to have Martyn as an active member and we will give him our full support whether or not he is convicted of the alleged charges.” However, when Gilleard admitted the child pornography offences, Watmough promptly expelled him from the party.

Although Gilleard acted alone, he appears to have shared details of his terrorist plans with others, who appear to have approved. After his

arrest a number of mostly semi-literate messages appeared on the C18 Guestbook, including one from “White Wolf” on 3 December, advising that because Gilleard’s computer had been seized by the police “whoever he showed pictures of the bombs to on MSN, should think about wiping MSN messenger of their PCs and then reinstalling it. This should get rid of all your previous IM conversations. Because if the Pigs find out you knew about the plan, you will be charged with aiding and abetting terrorism ... and that is a very serious charge.”

One poster calling himself Nazi Youth RVF (NYRVF) noted: “I warned him about what he tells and shows people but he didn’t listen, we must take a lesson from this and keep our activities to ourselves and also any illegal equipment would be best out of your house ‘stashed’ close by.”

“Pino”, a white supremacist from Liverpool, commented: “By the sounds of thinks, Martyn spoke of his activities far too much. If he did

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Material found at Martyn Gilleard's home



actually show NYRVF the nail bombs on webcam then hes been a bit foolish there, if he willing to show people the bombs I'm assuming hes willing to discuss it with a lot more people."

On 2 December NYRVF admitted, "Ive seen the nail bombs spoke about by the police along with some more of his artillery and belive me he is serious about what he does, he has done time before and will handle it well, it's a sad day when comrades get nicked but for every one that gets nicked there must be 3 more that dont get caught, it's a pittty mart88 cudnt just of blown the

local mosque up before he was arrested."

Gilleard pleaded guilty to possessing 34 cartridges of ammunition without holding a firearms certificate and to ten specimen counts of possession of indecent images of children. He was found guilty by a jury of the terrorism offences.

Andrew Edis QC, prosecuting, said Gilleard had told the police he had made nail bombs when he was bored to see if he could do it and did not think they would work. He told police he did not intend to harm anybody. Gilleard said he had

been a member of a number of far-right groups including the National Front and the White Nationalist Party. He also had a collection of Nazi memorabilia, saying Nazism appealed to him because of the way Nazis rebuilt Germany.

In June 2008 Judge John Wilford QC sentenced him to 16 years' imprisonment, 11 years for the terrorism offences and five for the child pornography.

After Gilleard's conviction Peter McDonagh, of the Crown Prosecution Service's Counter Terrorism Division, said: "Martyn Gilleard has been found guilty of serious terrorism offences. He was actively planning to commit terrorist acts against people and communities that he hated with a bigot's zeal – black and Asian people, European immigrants, Jews, Muslims and anyone he regarded as a political opponent. This is a man who is comfortable with the idea of a race war and was preparing for one – going so far as to manufacture bombs and collect weapons." ●

Profiles

David Tovey

Age 37

Address Carterton, Oxfordshire

Politics Applied to join the BNP

Convictions Racially aggravated criminal damage x 2; possessing explosives x 3; possessing firearms x 6

Sentence 11 years in custody



The police called at David Tovey's house in February 2002 after an officer linked him to racist graffiti at a local garage. The words, which attacked white people, were clearly intended to look like the work of Asians and were a small part of Tovey's race war directed at turning communities against one another.

At the house the police found an arsenal of weapons, some professionally modified to make them lethal. There was also a collection of books on waging terrorism published in the USA and US Army and Special Forces manuals. The items included:

- A SPAZ pump-action smooth bore gun. Often used by swat teams in the US and shown in Hollywood action films, it has a range of 40m.
- A second world war Sten submachine gun, adapted so that two or more missiles could be successively fire without repeated pressure on trigger. Deadly in close combat.
- A Baikal pistol. A new barrel less than 30cm long and silencer had been added to this. Police believe Tovey adapted the weapon on his workbench.

- A single shot weapon which had been disguised as a police-style baton.

- A quantity of P4 explosive of the kind used by the British Army. Tovey had enough to destroy a small building.

- A homemade explosive containing sodium, chlorate and sugar, which can have a similar effect to napalm. The sugar makes the material stick to skin.

- Components for pipe bombs and some already assembled pipe bombs, which had been carved with lines in order to create shrapnel.

- A CS gas gun and CS gas spray.

- Body armour of the kind used by NATO forces and camouflage clothing.

- Books such as the *Death Dealer's Manual*, the *Poisoner's Handbook*, *The Black Book of Arson* and *The Black Book of Boobytraps*.

- US videos containing instructions on how to make nailbombs.

Tovey had accessed information

and made purchases over the internet.

A right-wing extremist angry with asylum policies, Tovey was on the point of launching a one man race war. He had drawn up a detailed list of Asians in his home area complete with their car numbers and the words "black bastard" and "Paki" alongside their names. He also had a hand-drawn map of the site of Swindon mosque. Senior police officers were satisfied that Tovey intended to carry out some form of terror spectacular against the building and those who use it.

It appeared he was planning the sort of campaigns carried out by the London nail bomber David Copeland and the Hungerford murderer Michael Ryan. They believed Tovey, a body-building fanatic, was waiting for "some kind of trigger" to start a massacre and that after he had committed his outrage he would have fled and survived off the land. He had survival guides in his library.

Several reports in the media suggested that Tovey obtained books from a specialist bookstore in Horley, Surrey. The shop's website

Profiles

Terrorist manuals and weapons found at David Tovey's home



claimed to supply specialised manuals to the police, and security organisations, but they were also freely available to any member of the public. The shop denied that Tovey was one of its mail order customers.

Tovey appeared to have applied for membership of the BNP. A copy of the pro forma letter that the BNP sent to applicants in response to an enquiry was found at his home together with BNP literature. There is no evidence that Tovey actually joined the BNP. He had written to the BNP asking them about the party's attitude to asylum seekers.



The plastic explosive was still in its original wrappers and was the same type that is issued to British forces. No one was charged with supplying or selling Tovey the guns and explosives, yet there were several military installations in the area where Tovey lived. Searchlight investigations had shown that Combat 18 activists operated within the British Army in the period before Tovey's arrest.

Detective Superintendent Steve Morrison said the police were working with the army and security services to try and find the source of



Profiles

David Tovey (continued)



British military issue plastic explosive still in its wrapper

Tovey's weapons. He stated: "We have made enquiries but so far have not found anything that would suggest how he got hold of that material and that is very worrying. The P4 explosive is commonly found in Eastern Europe and it is not impossible to imagine it came from there. If someone is determined to get that material and determined to use it, they will find a way." He added: "At some time this man would have used these weapons."

Oxford Crown Court heard that Tovey had scrawled anti-white graffiti in public toilets, in an attempt to stir up hatred against ethnic minorities. Simon Mayo prosecuting said: "It would not have escaped your attention that looking at the defendant in the dock, he is quite obviously a white European male himself. The prosecution say

the defendant's intention was to stir up the white European population in this country a groundswell of hostile reaction to that graffiti campaign and therefore to excite racial tension."

Acquaintances described Tovey as a sex-obsessed loner, devoid of social skills. His younger brother Simon died of septicaemia at the age of 12 after developing lead poisoning from an air rifle pellet wound. Tovey, then 15, might have accidentally shot him while they were out playing and is believed to have blamed himself for his brother's death.

Sentencing Tovey, Judge Mowat said: "The weapons, the body-building equipment, the military car, the military clothing all suggest the fantasy life of a lone

commando. I think the right catalyst could well have provoked him into acting out real violence against persons or property." She said that while he had never actually carried out any act of violence her sentencing had to reflect the very real anxiety felt by the public about guns, bombs and racial hatred. He was sentenced to a total of eight years for the firearms and explosive charges and a further three years for the two counts of racially aggravated graffiti, to run consecutively.

That Tovey never managed to use his arsenal to commit acts of violence was thanks to a young police officer's vigilance over a minor racial matter. Tovey's apprehension was not the result of any information held by the police or security services. ●

Profiles

Ian Davison



Age 41

Occupation Unemployed lorry driver and part-time pub DJ

Address Myrtle Grove, Burnopfield, County Durham

Politics Aryan Strike Force

Convictions Producing a chemical weapon (ricin) under the Chemical Weapons Act 1996, preparing acts of terrorism, possessing material useful to commit acts of terror (3 counts), possessing a prohibited weapon

Sentence Ten years in custody

Ian Davison was arrested in June 2009 when Durham Police was informed by another police force of the online activities of the Aryan Strike Force (ASF). A search of his home uncovered ricin together with terror manuals and pipe bombs. He became the first person in Britain to be sentenced under the Chemical Weapons Act 1996 for producing a chemical weapon.

Found in a sealed jam jar, the ricin was a cloudy liquid that had been extracted from castor beans. An amount roughly equivalent to a few grains of salt is enough to kill an adult, making it 1,000 times more poisonous than cyanide. The amount in the jar was enough to kill up to 15 people. The ricin was thought to have been produced in 2006 or early 2007 and lain undisturbed in Davison's kitchen ever since.

Nicky Davison



Age 19

Occupation Milkman

Address Annfield Plain, County Durham

Politics Aryan Strike Force

Conviction Possessing material useful for acts of terror

Sentence Two years in a young offenders' institution

The trial of Ian Davison and his son Nicky Davison at Newcastle Crown Court in May 2010 heard different views about whether the pair were simply "keyboard warriors" or whether they posed a genuine threat to the public. Peter Carter QC, defending Nicky Davison, dismissed his client's father as "a monstrous dreamer" and told the court: "This is terrorism as a fantasy, not as a reality." However Detective Superintendent Neil Malkin, who led the investigation, said of Ian Davison: "I think he is a real danger. There was a pipe bomb and the ricin and these are the tools of a terrorist. There is no question in my mind that at some stage they would have carried out their intention to cause serious violence." ▶

Profiles

Ian and Nicky Davison (continued)

Ian Davison was the leader and one of the founders of the tiny ASF, described in court by Matthew Feldman, of the University of Northampton, as believing itself to be “the pinnacle and most uncompromising of the neo-nazi groups in the UK”. Police believe the pair were in touch with about 300 nazis around the world, as far afield as Canada and Australia. His son, who adopted the name Thorburn 1488, was leader of its youth wing in the northeast.

Ian Davison posted racist messages on his website and also placed several videos on YouTube, including a tribute to Adolf Hitler, whom he described as “a true hero of the white race”.

But the posts on the ASF website were becoming more sinister. One showed footage of what appeared to be a paramilitary-style training camp in a forest in Cumbria, which featured men wearing balaclavas and combat fatigues, parading through the woods carrying swastikas. Others showed two pipe bombs being detonated, while others discussed the effectiveness of “lone wolf” terrorism and “leaderless resistance”. At one stage even fellow hardened nazis warned the Davisons that their online calls “to wipe out the whole race” of black people were overstepping the mark, but they went unheeded.

When police raided Nicky Davison's home in Annfield Plain, County Durham, they discovered a number of terrorist manuals on his computer, including the *Anarchists' Cookbook*, which detailed how to make bombs, and the *Poor Man's James Bond*, which included details

on how to make incendiary devices, poisons and napalm. There was also evidence the pair had researched the creation of an electromagnetic pulse bomb, which disables computer systems.

Ian Davison founded the ASF with Michael Heaton in 2008 after the pair broke away from the now defunct far-right group Patriots of the White European Resistance (POWER). The ASF's slogan was “For blood, faith and honour”. It held secret training days in Cumbria and was initially closely linked with the Racial Volunteer Force, which is a splinter off the nazi terror group Combat 18.

To protect itself against infiltration, the ASF operated behind two front organisations, Legion 88 and Wolfpack. Only when new members had demonstrated their allegiance to those organisations were they admitted to the inner circle.

The ASF adopted the phoenix rising from the ashes of Nazism as its symbol and claimed on its website that nationalists must “take down” what it described as the Zionist Occupation Government, stemming from the belief that the governments of all western nations had been secretly taken over by a Jewish conspiracy. Its mission statement, written by Nicky Davison, claimed: “This government is corrupted ... and aims to destroy the Aryan race. We will resist, we will fight, we will never give up.”

The ASF also said it planned to “develop active street crews in every town to deal with insurgents” and ended its statement with the 14 words, a phrase coined by the

American white supremacist David Lane and adopted by nazis across the world: “We must secure the existence of our people and the future of our children.”

Det Supt Malkin admitted they did not know who Ian Davison intended to target but were convinced an act of terrorism was in the planning stages. “We know he had these very extreme views. We know he was the centre of an extreme right-wing group that certainly espoused these views. He was purchasing the ricin, we know he had the pipe bomb, he was downloading material that was of use to a terrorist. He was very much in the planning stage and we had to take action very quickly to stop it from coming to fruition.” (In fact Davison had manufactured the ricin not purchased it.)

He added: “Certainly this man for me is a terrorist – one of the extreme right-wing terrorists. He was well capable of a terrorist act. Yes, it could have led to carnage.”

Stewart Laidlaw, the Crown Prosecution Service counter terrorism division case lawyer, said after the sentencing hearing that father and son were “Nazi zealots who believed in white supremacy and revered Adolf Hitler. They hated minority ethnic groups, be they black, Asian, Muslim or Jewish.”

He added: “It may be that there was no specific plan or target but the law does not require there to be. People should make no mistake about how serious Ian and Nicky Davison were in their hatred of anyone who they considered a ‘threat’ to ‘their’ race.” ●

Profiles

Michael Heaton



Age 42

Occupation Factory worker

Address Leigh, Greater Manchester

Politics Aryan Strike Force, British Freedom Fighters, previously National Front, connections with BNP and English Defence League

Convictions 4 x using threatening, abusive or insulting words likely to stir up racial hatred

Sentence 30 months in custody

Michael Heaton and Trevor Hannington operated the website of the Aryan Strike Force from Hannington's home, where they posted violent and vicious racist messages. Hannington's postings included messages that read: "Kill the Jew, Kill the Jew, Burn the synagogues, and Burn the Scum," while Heaton wrote: "Jews will always be scum, and must be destroyed, I would encourage any race who wants to destroy the Jews, I hate them with a passion."

Heaton, who pleaded not guilty to inciting racial hatred in relation to four comments on the ASF website, made more than 3,000 posts using the nickname Wigan Mike, between January and June 2008, before he had a "bust-up" with the organisation and created his own group, the British Freedom Fighters. Hannington operated under the aliases Fist and Lee88.

Trevor Hannington



Age 58

Address Hirwaun, South Wales

Politics Aryan Strike Force

Convictions Disseminating terrorist publications, 2 x using threatening, abusive or insulting words likely to stir up racial hatred, 3 x possessing a record containing information likely to be useful to a person committing or preparing an act of terrorism

Sentence Two years in custody

The two were arrested in December 2009. Police found an armoury of weapons at their homes, including knives and firearms. Heaton's bedroom was adorned in flags with symbols of far-right movements and a samurai sword hung above his bed. Around the house in Leigh, Greater Manchester, officers found batons, knives and knuckle dusters hanging on the walls, and a BB machine gun was recovered. In Hannington's house police found an air rifle and daggers.

During a 12-day trial in June 2010 Liverpool Crown Court heard that Heaton idolised Adolf Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess. The court was also told of Heaton's connections with other convicted nazi extremists, including Mark Atkinson, who was jailed for five

Profiles

Michael Heaton and Trevor Hannington (continued)

years in 2005 for publishing racial hatred in a magazine called *Stormer*.

The court was shown a series of videos designed for the training of extremists and activists which featured Heaton violently attacking another man in a demonstration of strength and aggression.

Heaton and Hannington attended English Defence League demonstrations around the country. Heaton has also attended BNP events and was one of several people arrested in Blackpool in June 2009 outside a BNP event celebrating the party's success in the European election.

Hannington was jailed for two years after pleading guilty to six offences of stirring up racial hatred, possessing information likely to be useful to a person committing or preparing an act of terrorism, and disseminating a terrorist publication. He admitted owning the *Anarchist's Cookbook*, *Kitchen Complete* and the *Terrorist Encyclopaedia* and posting instructions for making a homemade flame-thrower on the ASF website.

Heaton was jailed for 30 months after being convicted of four counts



Nazi shrines at the homes of Michael Heaton (above) and Trevor Hannington (below)



of using threatening, abusive or insulting words likely to stir up racial hatred. Both men were cleared of soliciting murder.

Sentencing the men, Mr Justice Irwin told Heaton: "You saw yourself as the leader of a potentially significant and active national socialist group. Your sustained racist

rants were intended to bolster that group. You wanted to start a race war. You are clearly filled with racial hatred and also with violent and angry beliefs."

He told Hannington: "You are a longstanding racist who has never hidden your views, which are violent and vicious in the extreme." ●

Profiles

The Racial Volunteer Force



Clockwise from top-left: Mark Atkinson, Nigel Piggins, Michael Denis, Steven Bostock



The extreme-right Racial Volunteer Force (RVF) was formed in 2002 as a splinter off the nazi terror group Combat 18. Five of its members, including the founders Mark Atkinson and Jonathan Hill, pleaded guilty to race hate charges in October 2005. They had been due to be tried at the Old Bailey but changed their pleas during pre-trial proceedings.

Mark Atkinson, 38, of The Roundway, Egham, Surrey, was jailed for five years for conspiracy to publish the RVF's magazine *Stormer* with the intention of stirring up race hate and 12 months concurrently for operating the RVF website.

Nigel Piggins, 39, of Haltemprice Street, Hull, was jailed for two years and three months for *Stormer* and a further three months for distributing a racist DVD, *Skrewdriver Live*, in Germany.

Jonathan Hill, 33, of South Croft, Oldham, was jailed for four years for *Stormer*.

Steven Bostock, 27, of Westmorland Road, Urmston, Manchester, was jailed for two years and three months for *Stormer* and a further three months for operating the website.

Michael Denis, 30, of Ashdown Way, Tooting, London was jailed for one year for *Stormer*.

The prosecution followed raids by police in London, Lincolnshire, Surrey, Bedfordshire and Greater Manchester after police in Lincolnshire discovered the RVF website during monitoring of internet race hate material. It led to the home of Piggins, a former turkey catcher. Other documents resulted in the arrests of the other men.

Sentencing the men at the Old Bailey on 4 November 2005, Judge Jeremy Roberts said *Stormer* had tried to "encourage readers to resort to violence against people with non-white backgrounds". He said: "No one is being sentenced for their political beliefs – this is a free country", adding: "The real danger

Profiles

The Racial Volunteer Force (continued)

is that it only needs to fall into the hands of one or two individuals who might be persuaded to take up the suggestions and cause a great deal of damage.”

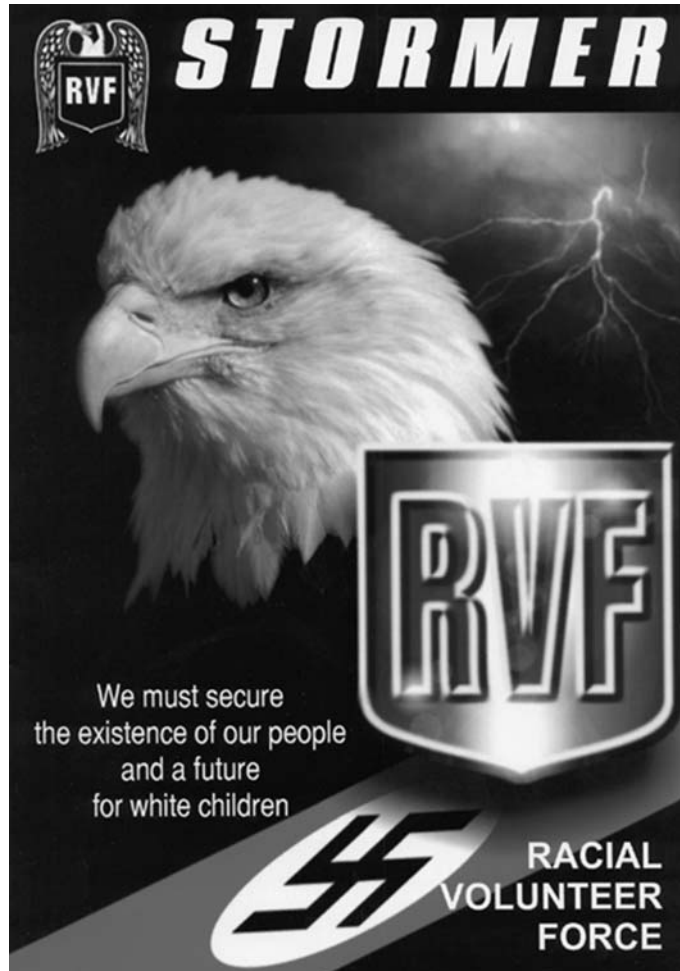
One edition of the magazine had included a step-by-step guide to making a nail bomb, with advice on dipping the nails in manure to cause additional infectious harm. The guide was part of a tribute article on the London nail bomber, David Copeland. The magazine also made derogatory references to the murdered black teenager Stephen Lawrence and to Jews and Muslims.

Another edition had an article headed “Roast a Rabbi”, which included the recipe for a petrol bomb and offered “one hundred team points” for the first person to torch a synagogue. Above a picture of a firebomb it said: “With the winter nights to shroud you in darkness we thought a few of you would like to don your disguises and rubber gloves and make things a little warmer.”

Above a picture of a swastika on the front of the magazine were the words: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children” – the infamous “14 words” coined by David Lane, the founder of an American white supremacist paramilitary organisation.

Max Hill, prosecuting, described the two editions of the magazine as “offensive, shocking and explicit”. A third edition was published in Poland and transported to Britain.

After the case, Peter Davies, Assistant Chief Constable of Lincolnshire, said: “It is difficult to imagine more extreme race hatred than was contained in the material



which was seized during this meticulous enquiry. The conclusion of this case sends a clear message to anyone inclined to stir up race hatred that they will be tracked down and brought before the courts.” Carmen Dowd, head of special crimes at the Crown Prosecution Service, said: “You only need to look at the details of these magazines to show how despicable and heinous the material is.”

Atkinson, a former dustman, had previously been imprisoned for 21 months in London in 1997 for publishing a Combat 18 magazine, similarly named *The Stormer*, which targeted celebrities such as Anna Ford and Vanessa Redgrave. After he was charged in the RVF case in 2004, he fled to Spain where he hid out with members of

Spanish Blood and Honour/Combat 18. That lasted until spring 2005, when he was arrested in a large police raid on the Spanish group's meeting place carried out by Spanish police in conjunction with officers from Scotland Yard. Atkinson was briefly hospitalised after he put up a fight, but was quickly extradited to London. Many of the Spaniards were charged with possession of weapons and explosives.

On his release from prison following the RVF conviction he resumed activity on the extreme right in the UK. In February 2009 he was the special guest speaker at a demonstration by the Dutch People's Union, a small nazi organisation that supports Hezbollah terrorists. ●

Profiles

Nathan Worrell

Age 35

Address Cromwell Road, Grimsby

Politics Joined the BNP, National Front, Ku Klux Klan, British People's Party and White Nationalist Party

Convictions Possession of articles for terrorism purposes between April 2006 and 25 January 2008; racially aggravated intentional harassment, alarm or distress

Sentences 6 years for the terrorism offence, 15 months consecutive for the Public Order Act offence



Nathan Worrell waged a year-long race hate campaign against a Grimsby couple. Among the stickers he plastered near and around their home was one that read: "Only inferior white women date outside their race. Be proud of your heritage. Don't be a race-mixing slut."

When the police visited his flat on 24 January 2008 they found five different types of sticker that had appeared outside the couple's home, together with "numerous bomb-making manuals and items for the manufacture of homemade bombs," said David Farrell QC, prosecuting, at Grimsby Crown Court in December 2008. "These included instructions on how to make detonators and what ingredients were needed for bombs.

"When interviewed by police he described himself as a white nationalist," said Farrell. "He said he believed this country belonged exclusively to the indigenously people – white people – and that he

is fighting for this country, albeit in a peaceful manner. He claims to believe in forced peaceful compulsory repatriation. He was not merely a peaceful right-wing activist. He had more sinister, violent intentions."

The jury heard that racist and far-right political pamphlets and books were found in his flat, including a copy of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and that Worrell signed off text messages with "88", code for Heil Hitler. There was material and membership cards from several far-right and nazi groups including the White Nationalist Party, British People's Party, National Front, Ku Klux Klan, BNP and November 9th Society. A bomb-making manual came from the nazi terror group Combat 18.

He had written out the names of chemicals needed for explosives and had a large number of fireworks, some of which had been tampered with to remove the gun powder. "Other books in Worrell's bedroom covered subjects

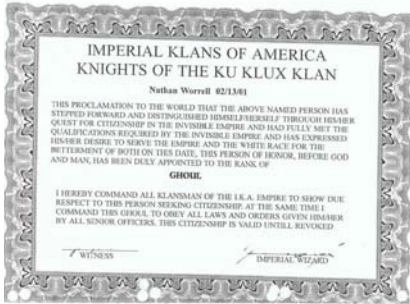
including murder, contract killers and hit men, arson as a means of attack, guerrilla warfare, leaderless resistance and references to convicted London nail bomb killer David Copeland," the court heard.

Other items found were 171 match heads, a large quantity of matches, several tubs of sodium chlorate (weedkiller) and containers of lighter fluid. Defending, William Harbage QC denied Worrell was a terrorist, describing him as a "slightly sad loner".

After Worrell was sentenced to six years for the terrorism offence and 15 months for the racial harassment, Acting Detective Chief Superintendent David Buxton, of the Leeds-based counterterrorism unit, said: "Literature found at his flat exposed his interest in creating explosives and even more concerning a number of items were recovered that could have been used to create these devices. We are thankful for his early arrest that has stopped Worrell from taking his interest further." ▶

Profiles

Nathan Worrell (continued)



Nazi stickers and bomb-making material found at Nathan Worrell's home



“Worrell’s racial intolerance and his hatred for religion are more than obvious. Worrell showed he had the ability and readiness to use threats and intimidation to promote his beliefs and, because of this, his actions became of a terrorist nature. ... Worrell had already crossed a line and was demonstrating the potential to move towards even more dangerous actions. Today’s verdict and sentence recognises this and sends out a clear message that terrorism in any form will not be tolerated.”



That Worrell was far from being a “lone wolf” is evidenced by his contact with several far-right groups and individual racists, to whom he sent text messages that included an image of Hitler with a halo surrounding his head, and a message about immigration about which he wrote: “Makes you want to commit violence.” He also admired other far-right terrorists including Copeland and Martyn Gilleard, who was convicted for terrorism offences the previous summer. Gilleard’s picture and prison address were found on Worrell’s mobile phone. ●



Profiles

Richard Barnes

Age 21

Address Birmingham

Politics National Front sympathiser

Sentence Life imprisonment

Richard Barnes, Britain's first attempted extremist suicide bomber, celebrated his 21st birthday by embarking on a bloodbath against black people and left-wingers. Barnes fired a crossbow at an Asian man in Small Heath, Birmingham, on 23 March 1981, which missed killing him by 1cm. He then attempted to run down two Asian girls and threatened several other people.

Four days later he kidnapped a woman in Watford and drove to Digbeth, Birmingham. Having locked her in the boot, he drove onto the pavement blocking the entrance to a left-wing bookshop in Digbeth, set fire to the car and dumped a five gallon can of petrol in the shop entrance. The woman, Heather Bridges, died in the fire, which also totally destroyed the shop. Barnes was caught by the police as he tried to run off. He pleaded guilty to murder, arson, attempted murder, wounding with intent and kidnapping.

Barnes was not a member of the National Front but had been to its meetings, associated with NF members and saw himself as a



right-wing "freedom fighter". He had been collecting uniforms, arms and other weapons since he was 19 and was wearing army uniform when he was caught.

Birmingham Crown Court was told that Barnes "embarked single-handedly on an attack on the coloured community and left wing elements in British society". Sentencing him, the judge said his medical records showed he was immature but not insane or mentally unstable. ●

The interior of the left-wing bookshop after Richard Barnes's attack

Profiles

Neil Lewington

Age 43

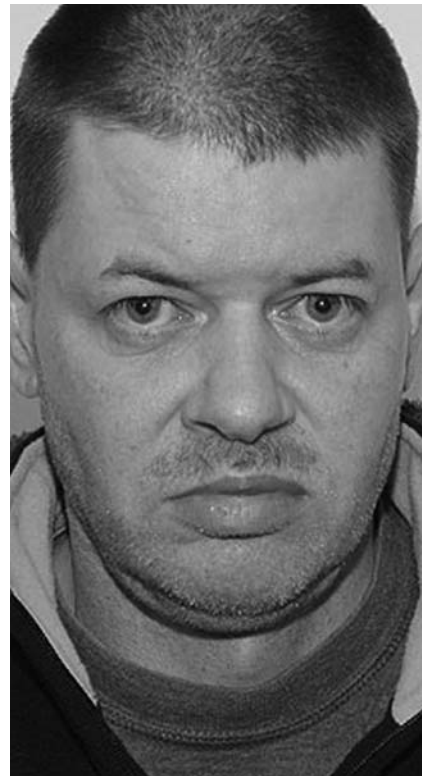
Occupation Electrician

Address Tilehurst, Reading

Politics National Front member (claimed)

Convictions 7 charges covering preparation for acts of terrorism, possessing articles for purposes connected to an act of terrorism, possessing documents containing information likely to be useful to a person committing or preparing an act of terrorism, possession of explosive substances with intent, possession of explosives

Sentence Indeterminate with a minimum term of six years; ten years concurrent



When police arrested Neil Lewington in October 2008 for smoking on a train, urinating in public and abusing a conductor, they found two homemade bombs in his holdall. A search of his home found chemical mixtures labelled “igniter”, weedkiller, firelighters, fuses, pyrotechnic boosters and a range of bomb-making manuals. A notebook entitled “Waffen SS UK members’ handbook” contained diagrams and information on “picking target areas” and “counter-surveillance”.

One of Lewington’s notes read: “A new group has been formed, the Waffen SS UK. We have 30 members split into 15 two-man cells. We are highly trained ex-military personnel and will use incendiary and explosive devices throughout the UK at random until all non-

British people as defined by blood are removed from our country.” Another link between Lewington’s extremist views and his interest in explosives was illustrated by a note that said: “Compressed thermite grenade vs Paki front door”.

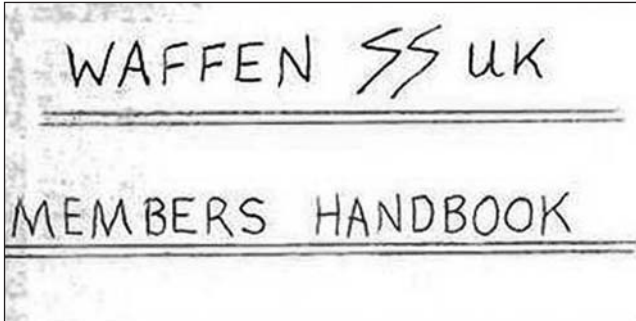
At Lewington’s trial at the Old Bailey in June/July 2009, Brian Altman AC, prosecuting, said: “The effect of these finds is to prove that this man, who had strong if not fanatical right-wing leanings and opinions, was on the cusp of embarking on a campaign of terrorism against those he considered non-British.”

Lewington kept racist propaganda and videos of nazi terrorists including David Copeland, the Unabomber and the Oklahoma

bomber Timothy McVeigh. His mobile phone contained hate material from the violent nazi group called Combat 18 and material from the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was also found. He claimed to be a National Front member and had links with the nazi groups Combat 18, Blood and Honour and the British People’s Party.

The court heard that he had told a 27-year-old woman, Samantha Dale, whom he had approached in an internet chat room, that he wanted to hang a black man from a tree and skin him alive. He also bombarded her with racist jokes including one about the model Jordan’s disabled son. He said he was part of a group like the KKK and that if he could go to the USA he would become a proper member.

Profiles



Bomb-making materials and handbook found at Neil Lewington's home

She said in a statement to police: "He was fed up of the black people; they took all the jobs and money."

The Old Bailey also heard that Lewington planned to bomb his then girlfriend's Newbury neighbours as part of his national, racist terrorist campaign.

David Etherington QC, defending, suggested there was insufficient evidence to say Lewington was a terrorist rather than just an "oddball". "Is he the real deal? Is he a terrorist or just a big pest, a nuisance?" He suggested Lewington was a "silly, immature, alcoholic, dysfunctional twit, fantasising to make up for a rather sad life".

The court was told Lewington had been unemployed for ten years

after being sacked from his last job for being drunk. He had not spoken to his father for ten years and spent his time searching for girlfriends on chat lines. His mother said her son lived in a world of his own.

Judge Peter Thornton said Lewington was a "dangerous man, somebody who exhibits emotional coldness and detachment. You would not have been troubled by the prospect of endangering somebody's life". He said the devices found on Lewington were made "to a very high standard" and the igniters and timers only needed wiring up for them to be set off. "These were dangerous firebombs, meticulously constructed, all set to go.

Although Lewington had not selected a specific target, Thornton

said he "clearly had in mind" Asian and black people. "You were in the process of embarking upon terrorist activity. You were going to use or threaten action involving either serious violence to people or serious damage to property. This action was designed to intimidate non-white people and it was for the purpose of pursuing the ideological cause of white supremacy and neofascism, albeit in a rather unsophisticated way."

Lewington was given an indeterminate sentence and told he must serve a minimum of six years for possessing explosive substances with intent. He was also given a ten year prison sentence to run concurrently for engaging in preparation for acts of terrorism.

Profiles

Robert Cottage

Age 49

Occupation Bus driver for Lancashire County Council

Address Colne, Lancashire

Politics BNP council election candidate

Convictions Possession of explosives that could reasonably be suspected to be for an unlawful purpose

Sentence Two and a half years in custody



Robert Cottage stockpiled weapons and explosive chemicals in preparation for a civil war in Britain. His hoard had come to light after his wife, who suffered mental health problems, had become increasingly concerned about his behaviour and told her social worker that her husband had several crossbows and chemicals stored at their home.

A police raid on 26 September 2006 uncovered a vast array of weapons and 21 types of chemicals all of which could have been used to kill and seriously maim. Officers found four air pistols with ammunition, a number of crossbows, a bow and arrow, chemicals that, when combined, could form explosives and two nuclear protection suits. There were also ball bearings that could be used as shrapnel for explosive devices. Police also recovered a 300-page computer document called the *Anarchists' Cookbook*, which detailed how to make different types of bombs. This was the same source David Copeland had used when he carried out his bombing campaign.

At his trial in February 2007 alongside David Jackson, both charged with conspiring to cause explosions intended to endanger life, Manchester Crown Court heard that Cottage often said he wanted to shoot Prime Minister Tony Blair and the Liberal Democrat Peer, Lord Greaves, according to his wife. Cottage had met Jackson, 62, a retired dentist of Nelson, Lancashire, at a BNP meeting. A police raid on Jackson's home uncovered a bow and arrow and two nuclear protection suits. The court was told that the two men ordered the chemicals together and Jackson paid for them.

Alistair Webster QC, defending, said Cottage, who was a former BNP election candidate, had been the subject of threats. He explained that his client believed the "political and financial condition of the country" would lead to civil war within the coming years.

A statement from Mrs Cottage, which was read out to the court, said: "Rob believes there will be a civil war and the emergence of a

new world order. That's why he keeps the crossbows and says he will shoot anyone who comes to his property without permission. He blames the Government for letting the illegal immigrants into the country. He is very religious and has become more and more so. He doesn't attend church. He prays to God all the time, he says, in his head." She added that Cottage's involvement with the BNP had caused a change in him and put a strain on their marriage, causing a temporary separation.

The court heard that in addition to the weapons and chemicals half a tonne of rice and two 56 kilogram bags of sugar were found during the search. Police also found three large canisters of petrol and 34 canisters of camping gas. Louise Blackwell QC, prosecuting, said: "These chemicals, if mixed together in the right quantities and combinations, are explosive substances. Large amounts of food were found. Along with being foodstuffs, they were capable and

Profiles



Part of Robert Cottage's stockpile in preparation for the coming "civil war between races"

suitable for being fuel for certain types of explosives. Robert Cottage said in interviews that the rice and sugar were being stored for future use in the event of a civil war."

An entry from Cottage's diary read out in court stated: "Thought for the day – the easiest way to save the country is to assassinate Tony Blair and when Prescott takes over shoot that fucker as well." The court heard that Cottage had begun listening to Republican Radio on the internet, which aired conspiracy theories about who had planned the attacks on New York and Washington in September 2001.

The trial collapsed when the jury failed to reach a verdict. The judge, Justice Beatson, dismissed the case after jurors told him they could not reach a majority verdict following three days of deliberation.

At a second trial in July 2007 the jury again was unable to return a verdict and the prosecution

indicated it would not seek a third trial. Sentencing Cottage to 30 months in prison for the possession of explosives, to which he had pleaded guilty, Mrs Justice Swift said Cottage's actions had been "criminal and potentially dangerous", but added there was a low risk of him committing further offences. Jackson was cleared of all charges.

Cottage had admitted the possession of explosives charge on the basis that the explosives were designed to deter attacks on his property. The prosecution did not accept that basis of plea. He told the court: "I believe it is everyone's God given right to defend themselves and their families if they are attacked. The breakdown of the financial system will inevitably put an unbearable strain on the social structures of this country."

Mrs Justice Swift said: "I am satisfied it was Cottage's views on how he put it 'the evils of uncontrolled immigration' would lead to civil war which would be

imminent and inevitable. I accept the intention was to hold these chemicals until the outbreak of civil unrest. That was a criminal and potentially dangerous act. In letting off any such thunder flash mistakenly believing you were under threat you may have caused injury to some innocent person." Mrs Justice Smith said Cottage still continues to hold views that "veer toward the apocalyptic".

A BNP spokesman, Dr Stuart Russell, also known as Phil Edwards, said after the sentencing that the prosecution had been brought for political reasons. "We're not condoning it, but it's a quid pro quo to appease the Muslims."

The BNP had refused to cooperate with the police during the investigation and claimed that media reports linking Cottage and Jackson with the BNP were "at best misleading, at worst a deceitful attempt to smear the BNP". In fact both were active in the party and Cottage had attended a Burnley branch meeting two weeks before his arrest.

Profiles

The Birmingham arms case



Part of the large arsenal of illegal weapons and ammunition built up by the defendants

Seven men were sentenced at Birmingham Crown Court on 20 January 1981 for offences relating to arms, arson and conspiracy to incite racial hatred. Three were active members of the openly nazi British Movement (BM), one was a member of the National Front (NF) and the other three were involved in the arms trade in the Midlands. One of the arms dealers resumed his far-right connections after his release from prison and his subsequent activities, particularly his involvement with both British Movement and the Volunteer Defence Reserve, a government organisation, were a matter of some concern.

Roderick Roberts, British Movement member, was jailed for seven years on 13 charges relating to possession of weapons, arson and offences against the Race Relations Act.

Robert Giles, British Movement and National Socialist Party (UK) member, received an 18-month sentence suspended for two years for conspiracy to obtain a Mauser pistol and carrying an offensive weapon.

Harvey Stock, British Movement member, received a two-year sentence suspended for two years on two charges of arson and conspiracy to incite racial hatred.

Harold Simcox, National Front member, was sentenced to 18 months suspended for two years for two offences of possessing firearms and ammunition.

Jon Stokes was imprisoned for two years for five offences of theft from a gunmaker where he worked.

Reginald Cox, manager of a firearms dealer, was imprisoned for three years for various weapons charges and five years for sexual offences against young girls.

Ian Gilmore, firearms dealer, two years suspended for two years on arms charges.

Roderick (Rod) Roberts had built up a huge cache of arms and ammunition from sources that included registered arms dealers selling weapons illicitly on the side and contacts in the armed forces. He pleaded guilty to ten charges of

possessing weapons including a submachine gun, an anti-riot gun, a Mauser machine pistol and thousands of rounds of ammunition. He also admitted one charge of arson. Two trials were held for the charges of conspiracy to acquire a Mauser pistol with Robert Giles and conspiracy to incite racial hatred, together with Harvey Stock. They were all found guilty.

Roberts was a senior BM activist who was asked by the organisation to provide accommodation in his flat for the Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke on a visit to the UK in March 1978. His involvement in firearms deals can be traced back at least to early 1977 after a number of BM and NF members joined a shooting club and started making plans to store arms.

Roberts and Harvey Stock were arrested following an attack on a Job Centre in Birmingham in which they put a smoke cartridge through the letter box and sprayed "Jobs for Whites" on the door. Police found thousands of anti-racist and antisemitic stickers at their homes and a Mauser pistol at Roberts's flat.

Profiles



(above) Rod Roberts (left with shades) and Harvey Stock (with beard) taking part in a British Movement march in London in June 1979
(above right) Robert Giles in uniform at an international Nazi gathering in Belgium in 1980

West Mercia police then raided his parents' farm in Spetchley near Worcester and discovered the arms buried in a pigsty.

Roberts and Stock were also involved with the NF and the extreme Nazi League of St George. Stock had been the NF's press officer but was dismissed when his membership of the rival BM was revealed. Roberts was believed to have used several cover identities, with papers to match, to facilitate his travels in Nazi circles abroad.

Robert Giles, a fanatical Nazi, told police: "I have been a collector of Third Reich militaria for the past ten years. I sincerely believe in the principles and teachings of National Socialism and my *Führer* Adolf Hitler."

Reginald Cox was believed to have little political involvement at the time of his convictions in 1981. However, soon after his release from prison he was organising weapons training for far-right youngsters. He then became the organiser of a Midlands group of Defence Begins At Home, an organisation run by Major Michael

Hickey that had the support of the Admiral of the Fleet Lord Hill-Norton GCB and Farrar Hockley, a well known wartime commando officer. Hickey and Noel Gibbs, a farmer, set up Defence Begins At Home in 1982 as a pressure group that wanted the government to increase Britain's community defence capability. When Whitehall announced the formation of the Volunteer Defence Reserve in 1986, Defence Begins At Home, which was also known as the Hedgehogs, was disbanded and many of its activists were absorbed into the government organisation.

Hickey visited Wrexham in the early 1980s where he met Michael McLaughlin, who owned a shop there called Rucksack 'n' Rifle. McLaughlin, the former leader of the BM, also published *The Survivalist* and *The Mercenary* and sold BM and Nazi material via his Phoenix Books business. McLaughlin tried desperately to ingratiate himself with Hickey until Searchlight informed him of the nature of McLaughlin's politics and criminal convictions.

In 1988 Cox pleaded guilty to four firearms offences, including

possession of fireable Sten guns and a concealed .45 American service semi-automatic hand gun. Despite his previous convictions he received only a 21-month sentence, suspended for two years. Judge Turner, presiding, was informed that Cox led a small group called the Hedgehogs, who dressed in camouflage gear and held armed night exercises on Cannock Chase. The court also heard that Cox, who ran a military memorabilia shop called The Elitist, had approached the Nazi November 9th Society with a view to setting up a joint movement. Despite this, when sentencing Cox Judge Turner told him: "There was nothing sinister about your leadership or association with the little group which you formed," and concluded that it was "quite without any political overtones whatever".

Cox's Hedgehogs was a separate organisation from Defence Begins At Home but persistent reports at the time suggested that many right-wing extremists joined Defence Begins At Home as a useful cover for their paramilitary activities. ●

Profiles

Terry Collins

Age 27

Occupation Sheet metal worker

Address Eshton Road, Eastbourne

Politics BNP member

Conviction Race hate attacks

Sentence Five years in custody



Terry Collins subjected three families to a series of racially motivated attacks between September 2003 and November 2004. Their windows were smashed, fireworks were put through their letterboxes and their car tyres were slashed.

Minaxi Patel, whose home, husband's business and car suffered more than £15,000-worth of damage, said: "He made my family's life hell. Every night my son wakes up and comes into my room because he fears this man is going to kill us." In another incident, just after midnight on 24 March 2004, Ali Rostam was in bed when he heard shattering glass and smelt smoke. When he went downstairs he found his porch carpet on fire and a large brick with a firework attached on the floor alongside the broken glass.

Sussex Police started an operation involving more than 600 house-to-house enquiries. Officers lying in wait caught Collins red-handed as he tried to throw a lump of concrete through the window of another of his victims.

Collins, a former Territorial Army soldier, claimed he had been "brainwashed" by the BNP to commit acts of violence against

ethnic minorities and had been given a "schoolboy recipe" for making bombs together with plans of a hotel housing asylum seekers.

After his arrest in possession of a lock-knife, police found fireworks and paint in his flat identical to those used in the attacks. They also found bullets that he had stolen from the Army and a BNP magazine.

Collins admitted charges of arson, racially aggravated harassment, criminal damage and the possession of bullets, and asked for 11 further offences of racially aggravated criminal damage to be taken into account. Prosecutor Stephen Shay told Lewes Crown Court in March 2005: "From the outset the motive for the offences was the extreme-right political views that were held by Collins". The court heard how he had told a colleague to vote for the BNP as Blair was too soft.

Julian Dale, defending, told the court that Collins had joined the BNP two years earlier after he was attacked by a gang of ethnic minority youths in Manchester. "That appears to have been the spur which put him in the sphere of the BNP. He was specifically

targeted by one or two very forceful and extreme individuals."

Judge Guy Anthony told Collins: "In this country you are entitled to hold whatever views you like, however repugnant they may be. What you are not entitled to do is to turn those views into the sort of actions you did." ●

Profiles

Allen Boyce



Age 73

Occupation Pensioner

Address Old Orchard Road, Eastbourne

Politics BNP, National Front, British Israelites

Conviction Incitement to possess explosives

Sentence Two years' imprisonment suspended for two years

Allen Boyce gave Terry Collins (above) a “schoolboy recipe” for making bombs, together with the plans of a hotel housing asylum seekers. Together with a diagram headed: “to make explosives”, Boyce sent Collins a letter saying he had visited a seafront hotel thought to house immigrants, remarking that he had not spotted any “grinning Kosovans, maybe they were out shopping at the British taxpayers’ expense”. However the recipe was wrong and could not work.

Boyce admitted inciting Collins to possess explosives. Brighton Crown Court heard Boyce, who was born in Australia to a German mother, had been involved in extreme-right politics for some time before he was approached by Collins in 2004 for advice on making explosives.

Prosecutor Stephen Shay told the court: “In the letter he enclosed a plan of the Cambridge Hotel in Eastbourne, telling Collins it was where more than 100 bogus asylum seekers were housed. He also enclosed details of how to make a bomb. He said mix the ingredients together in a paper bag and to light a fuse soaked in petrol to make a large explosion. There was also a suggestion they should visit a gun shop together some time.

“An aggravating factor is that this was written at a time when Collins was in the middle of a campaign of racial harassment against immigrant families. There’s no evidence Collins ever made a bomb.”

Stephen Bevan, defending, said: “The focus of his life is his attachment to his religion, based on an eccentric interpretation of the Bible. He regards what he did as wrong and knows it merits punishment. His ability to influence anybody is rather remote; this was a dimly remembered schoolboy recipe”.

Judge Anthony Niblett passed a two-year sentence, but suspended it for two years because of Boyce’s age, lack of previous convictions, and the fact the recipe was “non-viable”. He also ordered that Boyce be supervised for two years. He told Boyce: “Your involvement in criminality stems from wholly misguided political views which are abhorrent to all right-minded people.”

Boyce was no newcomer to fascist politics. He had been active in a number of extreme-right groups and was well known as the National Front bugler on their Remembrance Sunday parades in London dating back to the 1970s. ●

Profiles

Colin Ireland



Date of birth 16 March 1954

Occupation Unemployed

Address Southend-on-Sea

Politics Survivalist

Convictions Murder x 5

Sentence Life imprisonment x 5, whole life tariff, 20 August 1993

The victims

Peter Walker 8 March 1993

Christopher Dunn 28 May 1993

Perry Bradley 4 June 1993

Andrew Collier 7 June 1993

Emanuel Spiteri 12 June 1993

Previous convictions

1971 Robbery (two years' borstal training)

December 1975 Two counts of burglary, stealing a car, damage to property (18 months' prison)

1977 Demanding with menace (18 months' prison)

1980 Robbery (two years' prison)

1981 Attempted deception (two months' prison)

1985 Going equipped to cheat (six months' prison)

On 1 January 1993 Colin Ireland made a New Year's resolution to become a serial killer. Over a three-month period he murdered five gay men, four of them in just 16 days. He became known as the gay slayer. Preying on customers of the Coleherne pub in Fulham, Ireland would go to the men's homes under the premise of a sexual encounter where he would tie them up and eventually kill them.

His first victim was Peter Walker. He told the police: "I remember after Walker, looking in the mirror walking down the road and I thought, people must see in my face that I've just murdered someone, they must be able to tell, they must just by looking at me. I remember losing my virginity and I remember that same feeling then. You're almost buzzing."

While Ireland was rifling through Walker's possessions he discovered Walker was HIV positive and, in his fury, decided to humiliate him. Ireland left Walker's body in a ritualistic way, with two teddy bears appearing to simulate the 69 position and a condom on his nose. He also burnt the dead man's pubic hair – he wanted to know what it smelled like.

Worried that he would raise suspicion with neighbours Ireland remained in his victim's apartment until the following morning. He then travelled home to Southend on public transport, blending in with early morning rush hour commuters. He disposed of his clothes, gloves and shoes from the crime scene by throwing them out of a train window.

After a two-month break, Ireland felt the need to kill again and returned to the Coleherne to search for his next victim. This time and thereafter Ireland decided to reimburse himself for expenses incurred for the murders so he made his victims hand over cash cards and PINs and would withdraw money from their accounts.

The police treated the first three murders as sex games that had gone wrong. Ireland was becoming frustrated at the failure of the police to link the murders and the lack of publicity they were getting, so only three days after the murder of Perry Bradley he killed his fourth victim Andrew Collier. The police finally linked the murders of Walker and Collier, due to similarities in the scenes and the strange use of condoms. They were beginning to suspect they

Profiles

were the work of a serial killer and had started to collate information on similar murders in the London area. They had also lifted a set of fingerprints from a window frame in Collier's flat.

On 12 June 1993 Ireland called Kensington Police, saying he had killed four men and they had to stop him from killing again. He then called Battersea police asking them if they were interested in the murder of Peter Walker and why they had stopped the investigation. He told them he would kill again, as he had always dreamed of committing the perfect murder.

Ireland killed his fifth and final victim, Emanuel Spiteri, that same night. Before Ireland left the apartment he attempted to set fire to it, hoping the whole block would catch fire. However the fire went out in Spiteri's bedroom, where it had been started.

The next day, Ireland rang the police, telling them to look for a body at the scene of a fire in south London. He also told them he had read many books on serial killers and that to reach a "serial" classification by the FBI, the killer had to have five victims. He said he could now stop, as he had killed five times, adding he just wanted to see if it could be done and would probably not do it again. On 15 June 1993, Spiteri's landlady called the police to report his death.

A huge publicity campaign began, with a press conference being called for the head of the police inquiry, Detective Superintendent Ken John, to report that five homosexual men had been

murdered and were linked as a series, both pathologically and forensically. He speculated that the killer may have Aids and that the motive for the murders might be revenge.

On 17 June 1993 Det Supt John made a direct appeal, via the media, to the killer to give himself up, saying he wanted to talk to him and offer him help. On 19 July 1993 Ireland went to his solicitors in Southend and told him that he was with Spiteri on the night in question. He confirmed that it was he on a train's security camera picture but said he had not killed Spiteri. He was charged two days later.

On remand in custody, Ireland confessed on 19 August 1993 to all five murders. Showing no emotion, he gave police calculated descriptions of the killings. At the Old Bailey on 20 August he received five life sentences and will spend the rest of his life in prison.

In his confession he said he had not committed the murders under the influence of drugs or alcohol and he was not gay or bisexual. He claimed he had not undressed or engaged in any sexual activity with his victims and gained no sexual thrill from the murders. He held no grudge against the gay community and had chosen gay men as his victims simply because they were easy targets. He claimed it was extreme male deviancy that triggered his anger, which had begun with brushes with paedophiles in his youth. He said his victims were deviants (sodomasochists) who just happened to be gay. He saw himself as ridding society of

vermin and craved recognition as a superior person.

Ireland had had a troubled childhood. His father had deserted the family and they moved home nine times over six years. Ireland attended six primary schools and found it hard to settle. Always labelled the "new boy" and the odd one out, his thin lanky frame and bow legged stance brought him verbal abuse and bullying. He became a sad, lonely and withdrawn boy, immature for his age and always on the perimeter of the activity. While living in Sheerness Ireland was approached on four occasions by older men wanting to have sex with him. He resisted their advances but he was upset and filled with a feeling of violation and confusion over his own sexuality.

The police asked a psychologist, Dr Mike Berry, to draw up a profile of the killer. Dr Berry judged that the killer was fuelled by violent fantasies but each murder was never as good as the fantasy and he therefore was driven to kill again.

There may be more to it. While working as a chef in London in 1981, after a number of stints in prison, Ireland met Virginia Zammit at a lecture on survivalism. They were married in 1982 and lived in Holloway, where he was known as the "gentle giant". The brief happiness and stability was not to last and he was soon back in custody and becoming increasingly aggressive. The couple were divorced in 1987 after Ireland admitted to having an affair with another woman.

His interest in survivalist groups remained. ●

Profiles

Darren Tinklin

Age 24

Address Blackwood, Caerphilly

Politics British Movement and BNP member

Convictions Possessing an improvised firearm, a pipe bomb and gunpowder

Sentence Three years in custody for the pipe bomb, eight months for the homemade gun



Darren Tinklin was originally arrested on suspicion of drugs offences alongside two other men (who were later released without charge) after a raid on his house by Gwent police. Gwent police brought in detectives from Scotland Yard's Terrorism Command when the police uncovered a potentially lethal haul of homemade weaponry.

An improvised pipe bomb made by copper tubing held together with tape was found in a cupboard under the stairs and an improvised muzzle-loading firearm was discovered under a seat in the kitchen. The police also found right-wing posters, leaflets and magazines, including *Spearhead*, formerly published in support of the BNP, Nazi flags, white pride t-shirts and membership cards for the British Movement and the Nationalist Alliance. However the court accepted that Tinklin had had no interest in right-wing extremism since 2005.

Tinklin admitted possessing an improvised firearm, a pipe bomb and gunpowder at a hearing at

Cardiff Crown Court. The offences took place between 30 April and 22 October 2009. He pleaded not guilty to three further Explosives Act offences which were ordered to lie on file. A separate charge of possessing a document contrary to section 58 of the Terrorism Act 2000 was dropped by the CPS.

At a hearing in January 2010 the court heard Tinklin had not meant to cause injury and had made the explosives as an "experiment". He said he admitted the charges on the basis that he was not pursuing any particular cause in making the items. The Recorder of Cardiff, Nicholas Cooke QC, said: "At one time he was a member of a far-right organisation. Though I understand that has ceased since, it is still relevant background."

Deputy Assistant Commissioner Stuart Osborne, senior national coordinator of counter-terrorism, said: "Darren Tinklin has pleaded guilty to very serious offences. Those who actively seek to manufacture these items are of great concern to us." ●

Profiles

David Lucas

Age 49

Occupation Farmer

Address South Road, Lakenheath

Politics BNP activist and election candidate

Sentence 12 months in custody, suspended for 12 months



David Lucas, a Suffolk farmer and BNP parish councillor in Lakenheath until July 2010, was arrested after police visited a static caravan at Black Dyke Farm near Lakenheath in April 2009, where Lucas had been staying, and found a plastic tub containing a small amount of gunpowder and 2,500 rounds of ammunition.

Lucas pleaded guilty at Ipswich Crown Court to possessing gunpowder without an explosives licence, two offences of possessing prohibited ammunition and one offence of possessing ammunition without a firearm certificate.

Sentencing Lucas in June 2010, Judge David Goodin said the offences crossed the custody threshold but agreed to pass a 12-month sentence suspended for 12 months after concluding that Lucas was eccentric rather than a danger to the public. (It should be noted that other individuals included in this report have been described in similar terms but did prove dangerous.)

Lucas was on the list of BNP candidates for the European

election in June 2009 and allowed the party to use his barns for a fundraising event in the run-up to the election. After he was charged the BNP accused the police of persecuting him because of his politics. Lucas had caused controversy in 2006 when it emerged that he was building gallows for export.

He was arrested again in August 2010 after police searched a caravan in Hockwold and has been committed for trial at Ipswich Crown Court on charges of possession of a signal launcher gun without a certificate and possession of ammunition for a firearm without a certificate. ●

Profiles

Jefferson Azevedo

Age 45

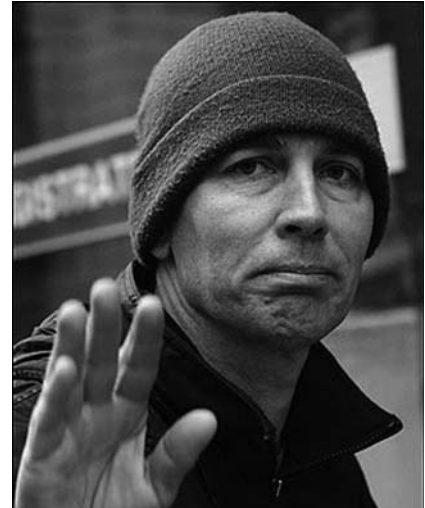
Occupation Postman

Address Langley, Portsmouth

Politics Nazi sympathiser

Convictions Placing an article with intent; 9 x hoaxes involving noxious substances under the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act between 7 January and 28 February 2005; 9 x sending a letter conveying a threatening message between 28 February 2003 and 5 March 2007

Sentence Four years in custody



Jefferson Azevedo sent more than 150 threatening letters to mosques, churches, MPs, companies and a primary school between 2003 and 2007. Recipients included Tony Blair, the Attorney General's office, Portsmouth Royal Naval Dockyard, a Portsmouth curry house, the head of the Voluntary Service Overseas organisation, O2's offices in Slough and a refugee centre. Many of the letters, which were sent shortly after several anthrax letter attacks in America, contained white powder wrapped in tin foil. The powder was harmless. The parcels also contained sheets of paper with a swastika symbol in the middle and "AF" – Aryan Force – in the corner.

Many letters were signed "RAHOWA" an acronym for "Racial Holy War" used by white supremacists. He also placed a hoax bomb on a footbridge above the A27, where he had unfurled a swastika banner displaying the website address – NSM88.COM – of the National Socialist Movement, the American Nazi Party.

Some letters contained threats and a picture of the Oklahoma bomber Timothy McVeigh with the words "in memory of Timothy McVeigh".

Azevedo, who was born in Italy, pleaded guilty at Southwark Crown Court to 19 charges, including eight under the Anti-Terrorism Act, and asked for a further 140 to be taken into consideration. The court heard that he singled out individuals because of their support for foreign nationals in Britain or their opposition to the BNP.

In January 2004 he sent letters to the media after plans to build an asylum centre at HMS Daedalus in Lee on the Solent were revealed. In one, signed RAHOWA, he wrote: "The race traitor and nigger slut Beverley Hughes is about to give her permission to turn the former air base into a refuge centre to accomodate thousands of terrorists and criminals from around the world. As soon as we know from the media of her definitive approval we will start a series of attacks against specific targets across the country. The two scumbags should be held responsible for any damages following our action."

He responded to a campaign to prevent a Portsmouth schoolgirl and her family from being returned to Syria by sending letters containing caustic soda, some with the message: "If they be black, send

them back." In March 2007, he sent hate mail to a number of residents in Portsmouth and the West Midlands bearing a swastika and the warning: "Ethnic cleansing coming soon to this area."

Azevedo was arrested after police matched his DNA to traces on the letters. He explained that he wanted publicity because of his concerns over immigration and intended to frighten. He said he had the idea from the US when anthrax had been sent through the post to various people and had carried out research in the public library, in newspapers and on the internet. If he found a story that interested him, he would do what he could to find out how to contact the individuals concerned.

The defence told the court his client had a background of depression that had made him a solitary individual who had difficulty making friends.

Judge Peter Testar, told Azevedo: "I find a significant aggravating factor in this case was the sheer nastiness which was directed against individuals. I can't ignore these offences seem to have been racially aggravated." ●

Profiles



P63 (above) A nazi banner owned by Jefferson Azevedo



(right) Azevedo's hoax bomb over the A27
(below right) One of more than 150 threatening letters sent by Azevedo



Profiles

Miles Cooper

Age 26

Occupation School caretaker

Address Cherry Hinton, Cambridge

Politics No affiliation known

Convictions 7 charges of sending letter bombs, 5 charges relating to injuries caused by the bombs

Sentence Indeterminate



Over a period of 21 days in January and February 2007 Miles Cooper sent two letter bombs to the offices of companies involved in traffic regulation enforcement in London and Berkshire, one to the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency in Swansea, three to forensic science laboratories in Oxfordshire and the West Midlands and one to a private house in Folkestone from where the owners used to run a security firm. Five of the bombs exploded.

He used two types of bomb, which were contained in jiffy-bag-type envelopes. One was designed to fire a nail at the victim; the other sprayed shards of glass. At his trial the prosecution accepted that none of the devices was capable of killing anyone but they were “sadistically conceived” to cause unpleasant and painful injury.

Cooper did not contest that he sent the bombs but denied intending to cause injury. He said he sent them because of an “overbearing and over-intrusive surveillance society”. He was angry with authority and called the UK “one of the most watched societies on the planet”. He said the bombs were sent to organisations he believed were connected to government control, surveillance and monitoring, and were intended to cause fear rather

than harm. He told Oxford Crown Court that he had been “concerned about the direction my country was heading in” and that his aim was “ultimately to highlight my cause”.

Cooper, described by his uncle as “a lonely boy most of his life”, claimed his anger at the authorities had intensified when his father was unable to have DNA samples removed from the police database, even though he had been cleared in 2003 of assault.

Judge Hall ruled Cooper was a danger to the public and gave him an indeterminate sentence, saying he must serve four years and 149 days before being eligible for parole. “First and foremost you are a terrorist, there can be no mistake,” he said. “Anyone who tries through violence or threat of violence to change the political will is a terrorist and that is precisely what you did. Either what you did was rational, in which case it was evil, or it was irrational which, in my mind makes it even more frightening.”

Detective Superintendent Turner said the numerous items found at Cooper’s home demonstrated that his arrest had “almost certainly” prevented further attacks. “He utilised his interests in anarchy,

terrorism and explosive devices in support of his political views. He carefully researched, prepared, and then sent these devices, taking extensive precautions to avoid detection.”

Although no far-right political interest was established in this case, Cooper’s hatred for the authorities was a mirror image of the mindset that encouraged far-right terrorists in the USA to attack federal buildings and individuals working in law enforcement, the judicial system and the Internal Revenue Service. ●

Profiles

John Laidlaw

Age 24

Occupation Former boxer

Address Holloway, north London

Politics BNP member

Convictions Attempted murder x 3 and 2 firearms charges

Sentence Life imprisonment with a minimum term of 15 years



John Laidlaw, a former boxer from Sierra Leone, went on a shooting spree in north London in May 2006. The first victim, Abu Kamara, was returning home after a game of badminton when his friend's sports bag accidentally brushed against Laidlaw walking in the opposite direction. Laidlaw calmly pulled out a pistol from his waistband, pointed it at Kamara's head and fired.

Half an hour later he fired at least two shots at Evans Baptiste at Finsbury Park Tube station, accidentally hitting 26-year-old Emma Sheridan. Baptiste had been chasing Laidlaw after recognising him as the man who had attacked him with a hammer earlier in the year.

Three weeks before the shootings, Laidlaw had been sentenced to an 18-month supervision order after admitting punching and racially abusing a black motorist in 2004. When he was arrested he behaved violently and was "foaming at the mouth" according to a police document. "In the presence and hearing of the black female jailer the defendant made racist comments and remarks, stating he was a member of the BNP and that he hated all black people," the document says.

He also stated that he was going to "kill all black people".

Detective Sergeant Nick Bonomini of Scotland Yard's Serious Crime Directorate told the Old Bailey: "He has previously demonstrated a high level of aggression towards black people that appears, given his words, based on their race. But there was no evidence in these current two shootings that suggest that this formed the same sort of motivation for him and on that we have an open mind."

Passing sentence Judge Samuel Wiggs said Laidlaw "intended to

kill" his victims, but they were not racially-motivated attacks. "Although both people you aimed at were black I make no finding that your crimes were racially motivated." A police officer said people could form their own views given Laidlaw's previous behaviour.

Laidlaw had a string of previous convictions starting at the age of 14. His crimes included property damage, public order offences, 16 counts of theft and knife possession. He also carried out seven armed street muggings and had been in jail several times. ●



Gun in hand, John Laidlaw terrorises passengers at Finsbury Park Tube station

Profiles

Robert Scobie McMahon

Age 24

Address Highgate, Birmingham

Politics Evidence of an interest in the BNP and nazism

Conviction Murder

Sentence Life imprisonment with a minimum term of 18 years



Robert Scobie McMahon battered Mark Green, a 31-year-old college lecturer, to death in a brutal homophobic attack at McMahon's flat in Birmingham between 17 and 18 January 2002. McMahon smashed Green's skull with a gas canister and then dismembered his body and buried the remains in his brother's garden, where they were found on 7 June 2002.

The brother, James McMahon, 21, denied a charge of impeding the apprehension or prosecution of an offender by helping to dispose of Green's body.

Timothy Raggatt, prosecuting, told the court at the three-week trial in March-April 2004: "In dismembering the body, Robert McMahon cut the head off and both legs and then wrapped the now four pieces – the two legs, the head and the torso with arms still attached – in carpet and other material from the flat." The court heard how McMahon kept an ear as a trophy and talked to the

severed head in his flat. He then contacted his younger brother and persuaded him to come to the flat, where he sought his help in moving the body parts to Coventry. The court heard that the remains were packed in suitcases and taken to Coventry by taxi.

Detailing how Mr Green was battered to death with a 20lb gas canister, Mr Raggatt said: "The beating was of great severity. His skull was shattered by what must have been a series of blows, and, you may think, pretty savage blows which caused his skull to fracture into 20 separate pieces.

"The crime, you may come to think, has more than one sinister side to it – a desire to kill someone may well be part of it and also, unhappily, that there is a pretty strong inference that the killing was motivated in some respects by a homophobic attitude on the part of the killer."

Evidence was given in court of an interest in the BNP and nazism.

Robert McMahon's defence of diminished responsibility due to mental illness was rejected by the jury. Sentencing him to life imprisonment in April 2004, Mr Justice McKinnon said: "Precisely how you murdered an entirely innocent member of the public may never be known. It may indeed have been a homosexual killing." Judge McKinnon recommended McMahon serve at least 18 years before being considered for parole and remain on licence for life if released, saying: "It is obvious that you have the potential to be an extremely dangerous man."

In sentencing James McMahon to two years' custody the judge said: "I am entirely clear that you were recruited by your brother completely by chance. You were faced with the brother from hell but I am worried by your own very extreme views which, it is clear, you share with Robert. There is an extremely unattractive undercurrent to your Nazi sympathies and homophobic views." ●

Profiles

Stuart Kerr

Age 20

Address Hunston, Chichester

Politics BNP supporter

Conviction Arson

Sentence 12 years in custody



Stuart Kerr's bedroom

Stuart Kerr, a self-confessed racist, threw two petrol bombs at a shop in Chichester belonging to Chandrakant Patel. Fortunately the toughened glass windows of the shop did not break, preventing the fire from taking hold. It was the latest attack in a systematic campaign against the shop. For almost two months Kerr and at least two others carried out a campaign of violence against the property, smashing lights and windows on a number of occasions. He was caught after police installed a CCTV camera which filmed the attack. Police believe he did not carry out the bombing alone.

"I am a racist and a supporter of the British National Party," Kerr told the police and Chichester Crown Court at his trial in November 1999. He went on to say that he had met nazi activists while attending West Ham football matches.

Kerr's bedsit was a shrine to nazism and was very similar to the home of David Copeland, who carried out the London bombings the same

year. Pictures of Hitler adorned the walls, along with National Front stickers and derogatory slogans defacing a West Ham team photo. Among the nazi literature found were copies of *Spearhead*, *British Nationalist*, information bulletins from the nazi terror group Combat 18 and *The Wolf*, published by a former Combat 18 activist. There was also a copy of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. However, while the judge described the material found in Kerr's bedsit as "appalling", he somewhat surprisingly ordered that

it not be disclosed as evidence, fearing that it might be prejudicial to the case.

Imposing the maximum sentence available, Judge Anthony Thorpe told the court: "Members of the ethnic minority groups rightly look to the courts for protection from the vile and despicable hatred that is peddled by racist bigots. In the past I suspect they have felt they have not been afforded the protection they rightly deserve and I have great sympathy." ●

Chapter 4

The lone wolf: views from experts and criminal justice practitioners



The lone wolf: views from experts and criminal justice practitioners (continued)

The author approached a number of people in the criminal justice system to elicit their views on the nature of far-right terrorists in Britain. Those written responses received are set out in this chapter.

A contribution from Nick Lowles of Searchlight, the author of several books on the far right, highlights the ways in which groups and activists on the extreme right inspire individuals and the role of the internet in enabling people to link up in non-traditional ways.

These statements are followed by an extract from evidence given to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee by Metropolitan Police Service Assistant Commissioner John Yates, in which he expressed his view on the nature of far-right terrorism. Finally there is a transcript of part of a BBC *Panorama* programme on the London nailbomber David Copeland in which David Veness, who was then an Assistant Commissioner in the Metropolitan Police Service, and the author consider Copeland's involvement with far-right organisations.

The author also received helpful information from a number of other people. One was Patrick

Mercer MP, a former professional soldier and long-time thorn in the side of successive governments over their lack of preparedness in dealing with threats other than those presented by Muslim extremists. His views helped the author in formulating the recommendations in this report.

Sir Ken Macdonald QC (now Baron Macdonald of River Glaven), who was the Director Public Prosecutions and head of the Crown Prosecution Service from 2002 to 2008, explained how the CPS had rationalised the way in which it worked with specialist police units such as SO15 and sections of the security services in investigating and prosecuting an increasing number of far-right extremists. Previously this work had been fragmented.

Anton Setchell, ACPO's National Coordinator for Domestic Extremism, expressed a firm belief that police investigations must respect individuals' civil liberties and right to hold political opinions. In response to the author's suggestion that he should have investigated more thoroughly the associations of convicted far-right extremists, he said: "What would you have me do, send my officers down the pub and round up the

people whom they drank with?" In the author's view action of such a nature may sometimes be justified to prevent the commission of acts of terrorism. Understanding the motivation and influences on potential terrorists is a key element in detecting those who might commit terrorist acts and visible police scrutiny can act as a deterrent to those who incite more vulnerable individuals to commit political violence. Setchell's resignation, following the removal of one of his senior officers from his team, is a great loss to policing extremism in the author's view.

ROB BECKLEY

Deputy Chief Constable, Avon and Somerset Police

Right-wing extremism is an ever-present threat to the cohesion of our communities. In the past year public awareness of this extremism has increased partly because of the activities of the English Defence League. The EDF is a more recent manifestation of a long-standing problem that causes tension within communities and presents a threat that is consistent and persistent.

For much of my career I have had involvement in countering the threat of domestic extremism. I have held specific roles at times where I have been engaged in dealing with the symptoms and causes of racial hatred and tension. It was when I was the Head of Race Policy in the Metropolitan Police in the mid 1990s that I met Gerry Gable and first worked with Searchlight.

I ran the police index of race hate literature and Mr Gable and his colleagues at Searchlight provided valuable intelligence and information on the sources of the literature and personalities behind much of the material.

Their understanding and knowledge of the people and risks posed by various individuals and right-wing groups was exceptional. It was not matched by an equivalent understanding and knowledge within the Police service. At that time there was, to some extent, a complacent attitude about the extreme right within the Police service. It was seen as an irritant and not as a significant threat to community cohesion.

Gerry Gable and his colleagues have been relentless in identifying and shaming those whose activities are corrosive and harmful to society. Often they have identified illegal activity which has led to police intervention. In recent years the response of the Police service to the threat of right-wing extremism has developed, it has become more sophisticated and co-ordinated. Our intelligence network is better, the partnership with other organisations and groups such as Searchlight is better and the way the national work of the Metropolitan Police supports local police forces is better.

The recent research and work by Gerry Gable and Searchlight has continued to inform and guide the work in preventing extremism in our communities. For five years

from 2002 I led the national work of ACPO's National Community Tensions Team. This involved once more some close work with Gerry Gable and Searchlight. He introduced me to the thinking in respect of Lone Wolves and brought me up to date on the extremist picture within the UK. Searchlight was able to prove that "Lone Wolf" is not a good description of people whose activities and criminality are inspired and precipitated by the work of others. As Deputy Chief Constable in Avon and Somerset I have involved Gerry and his colleagues in briefing our local Special Branch and community officers on the extremist threats in Bristol and the surrounding area.

Ultimately, the Police have a difficult and finely balanced judgement on whether and how to intervene when faced by extremist activity. Nuanced and accurate understanding of the intelligence, as well as the motives and personalities of the people involved in extreme right-wing activity is essential in making such judgements. Gerry Gable and Searchlight have been invaluable in helping us make our judgements and ensure they are founded on the best information and intelligence.

November 2010

The lone wolf: views from experts and criminal justice practitioners (continued)

SARAH SHAKESPEARE

Communications Team, North East Counter Terrorism Unit

The Lone Wolf is a term often associated with an individual who possesses extreme views and takes violent action, prepares for it, or demonstrates a desire to do so, in order to further their personal goals and motivations. While they may mix with like-minded individuals, generally Lone Wolves try to avoid attention or compromise by undertaking their activities alone.

Lone Wolves may be unknown to police for their extremist views or intentions and are more likely to be discovered through other, criminal investigations. For this reason, the Lone Wolf represents an undiscovered risk and a potential threat to community cohesion or safety

July 2010

BETHAN DAVID

Crown Advocate, Crown Prosecution Service Counter Terrorism Division

The Crown Prosecution Service does not have a definition for a 'lone wolf'. Furthermore I am not aware of any other organisations within the criminal justice system having such a definition.

Personally I would consider a lone wolf to be someone who acts without assistance of others and develops their own methods and tactics in pursuance of an ideology, which may well be shared with others. Although most lone wolves act alone and in isolation of others in respect of extremist activities, many, it would seem, obtain their ideas and ideology through association with others and/or have used the internet and chat forums to exchange ideas and obtain information.

July 2010

NICK LOWLES

Chief executive of Searchlight and editor of *Searchlight* magazine

Cause and effect

When Robert Jay Mathews and The Order made their last stand on Whidbey Island, in Washington state, in December 1984, he probably was not thinking about the impact his actions would have around the globe. The Order, also known as the Silent Brotherhood, was a small neo-nazi terrorist group which attempted to ignite a race war in America in the early 1980s.

Unlike previous far-right terrorist groups they didn't specifically target Jews or non-whites but the state, which they believed was under Jewish control – the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG) – a term first coined by the veteran US nazi leader William Pierce in his novel *The Turner Diaries*. This fictional story of a small band of racials taking back "their" country proved inspirational to Mathews and his group.

Pierce's book, and the story of The Order, was to inspire a generation of white supremacists and racists across the globe. In Sweden VAM – White Aryan

Resistance – and the Storm network carried out a number of armed robberies and murders in the early 1990s. Pierce was also warmly welcomed by several British National Party leaders and in 1994 he was the main speaker at the BNP's annual conference.

In 1991 the language and ideology of The Order came to the UK, first through a series of book clubs which sold Pierce's book and *Brüder Schweigen*, a sympathetic account of the Silent Brotherhood, and then by hardline nazi groups, most noticeably Combat 18. "ZOG" became common terminology and the notion of attacking the state and using terrorism was openly vocalised.

Of course the vast majority of those involved in Combat 18 had no intention of carrying out a terrorist act. It was bravado, even hyperbole. But there were a few who wanted to live the dream, live the fantasy.

Darren Wells, a former leading C18 activist who became an informer for Searchlight, articulated this succinctly to me while I was writing *White Riot: The Violent Story of Combat 18*. "We read *The Turner Diaries* and the story of Robert Mathews and felt inspired. We had the money and the

weapons and we wanted to do the same over here. Of course it was all stupid but we wanted to be famous. We got carried away, we were like kids in a candy store."

David Copeland was never in Combat 18 but he was in the National Socialist Movement, a spin-off group. Just as importantly, if not more so, he read *The Turner Diaries* and was inspired by the actions of The Order. He might have acted alone but he was following a strategy encouraged by others. Copeland was a deeply disturbed and troubled young man and this violent far-right ideology gave him a cause through which to channel his anger.

In the age of the internet and 24-hour news the world is a much smaller place. What happens in one country can instantly be beamed around the world. The internet allows people to read and be indoctrinated in a way that was unimaginable before.

The likelihood is that we will have more individuals who are unknown to the authorities carrying out politically motivated violent attacks and terrorism. People no longer have to go to meetings, subscribe to literature or discuss plans with others. The internet bypasses

traditional methods of organising, allows people to connect up with one another in secret and become inspired by ideas and actions a world away.

Labelling people as Lone Wolves may sometimes be an understandable initial reaction when no obvious organisational connection is made and sometimes it is a convenient label to explain away a lack of knowledge on behalf of the authorities. But in most, if not all cases, people have been inspired by something or someone. This is why it is vital that the authorities monitor not just the groups who threaten violent action but also the publications and individuals who through their words incite and inspire.

March 2011

The lone wolf: views from experts and criminal justice practitioners (continued)

HAROLD W GOSSETT, former FBI Special Agent Supervisor

I am a 20-year veteran of the FBI. As a former Special Agent Supervisor I continue to train and consult with US law enforcement and intelligence agencies about counter-terrorism topics.

The “lone wolf” terrorist is as unlikely to exist as a lone wolf canine. That is to say even the mentally deranged attackers get their inspiration from hate mongers who fan the flames of fear and peddle paranoia about their target groups.

Five years ago I met Gerry Gable at Oxford. Ever since, I have enjoyed the benefit of information from his well placed sources and his insightful analysis of far-right extremism in European countries and beyond.

When appropriate I have forwarded information from Mr Gable to the FBI and to police detectives assigned to our Joint Terrorism Task Force. The recipients continue to express their appreciation and their desire for more information from him.

February 2011

Oral evidence to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee on the Home Office’s response to terrorist attacks 10 November 2009

Evidence from Assistant Commissioner JOHN YATES

Q116 David Winnick: There are other groups, are there not, which could be described here as racist and fascist elements – most of whom presumably do not wish to engage in terrorism of any kind, although some do? For example, a BNP election candidate called Robert Cottage was found last year with the largest amount of chemical explosives ever found in this country. There remains that danger of such groups, not necessarily just the BNP.

Assistant Commissioner Yates: That is correct. In recent months and recent years we have seen a growth around some of the far right extremism movements. Mostly, I have to say, they tend to be less organised. It tends to be the concept of the “lone wolf”. We have seen several manifestations of that over the past months and several arrests, and there are ongoing cases which of course I cannot comment upon. This is something we take extremely seriously. We make sure

we balance our resources appropriately, to ensure we can devote sufficient to the growth of that threat, the intelligence picture, and of course the response, should that be required.

Q120 Martin Salter: I have the dubious pleasure of representing Mr Lewington in Reading, the rightwing extremist who was found with the bomb-making material and all the rest of it and the Ku-Klux-Klan manuals. To what extent are these rightwing people who wish to use violence and acts of terrorism linked into other European networks? Or are they slightly disturbed freelancers getting their inspiration from the internet and other sources – in the way that Lewington appeared to be?

Assistant Commissioner Yates: It is much more the latter. The internet is a fertile feeding ground for some of these issues. You can receive briefings from around the world about these matters and act upon them through that medium. My assessment is – and it is not a detailed assessment – that it is not well organised. It tends to be lone individuals acting in that way, but, nevertheless, presenting considerable danger to public safety.

Extract from BBC Panorama “The Nailbomber” transmitted 30 June 2000

DAVID VENESS (Assistant Commissioner, Metropolitan Police)

The man is not a member of any of the groups which have made claims of responsibility for the bombing, nor did he make any of the claims using their name. It is understood that he was working alone for his own motives.

GRAEME McLAGAN (reporter)

You gave the impression that he was not connected to any extremist groups. Do you still stand by that?

DAVID VENESS

I think what we have learnt subsequently is that there were linkages. I think again they appear to be not of longstanding, or of particular depth. But I wouldn't dismiss for one moment that he has not had association with the background, the linkages, of various rightwing organisations. One wouldn't dismiss that.

McLAGAN

Copeland's name was not on any police database of rightwing extremists, but should the police have known about him? Because three months earlier he'd

joined another nazi group, even more extreme than the British National Party.

GERRY GABLE (Searchlight magazine)

I think that there was a transitional period for him, as an impressionable young man, between going from the BNP to something even more extreme, if you can imagine that, and I think that transition was the reading of hate literature, probably seeing hate videos, probably listening to music that's full of hate lyrics, and deciding that the BNP, to some extent, in its present form, is a bit of a paper tiger.

McLAGAN

Copeland found what he was looking for in a much more openly nazi group - the National Socialist Movement.

MIKE WHINE (Board of Deputies of British Jews)

This is a very small but very violent neo-nazi group. Their whole programme is one of terrorism, even in the written word or in actual fact against Jews, against blacks and against Asians.

McLAGAN

This appeared on an NSM run website on the internet. ►

The lone wolf: views from criminal justice practitioners (continued)

“A practical guide to Aryan revolution. Racial war. This means creating tension and terror within ethnic communities and damaging or destroying their property and their homes by fire bombs and/or explosive devices. Part of this involves attacking individuals and killing some of them.”

McLAGAN

The NSM was formed when another nazi terror group - Combat 18 - split violently in 1997. C18's leader, Charlie Sargent, ended up doing life for murder. His brother, Steve Sargent, from Essex, was one of the hard line nazis who split away to set up the NSM. When Copeland applied to join the NSM in January 1999, Sargent was one of those who approved his membership. But he's not keen to talk about it now.

Mr Sargent, we want to talk to you. Can we talk to you? We're from Panorma. We'd like to talk about David Copeland and the National Socialist Movement. The National Socialist Movement inspired David Copeland to do his bombings. What have you got to say about that?

McLAGAN

But even more involved with Copeland was the NSM's leader, Tony Williams. It was Williams who

wrote to Copeland to tell him he had been accepted as a full NSM member.

“It's always a special day for us when a new comrade has the strength of purpose and the courage to step forward and join.”

McLAGAN

A little later Williams wrote to another activist living in Basingstoke suggesting Copeland should be visited and checked out. In February Williams wrote to Copeland again appointing him unit leader, in charge of the NSM in his own area.

“Welcome to leadership, responsibility and accountability to your comrades. Yours ever. Heil Hitler.”

McLAGAN

But like Steve Sargent, Williams is not at all keen to discuss his involvement with Copeland.

Mr Williams, we're from Panorama. We'd like to speak to you about David Copeland and the National Socialist Movement. Can you please come to the door.

McLAGAN

He was at home but he refused to talk to us. But despite all these

letters between Copeland and his political leaders, when his terror campaign began, the police Special Branch had never heard of David Copeland.

GERRY GABLE

The authorities don't appear to know anything about that correspondence. Now we all know that mail gets opened in this country as part of tackling terrorism and organised crime and international drug dealing. It's beyond me why a clearly established extremist group, advocating violence publicly like the NSM is not monitored.

McLAGAN

Shouldn't the intelligence services have been across such an organisation and known that Copeland was a member?

COMMANDER ALAN FRY (Anti-Terrorist Branch, Metropolitan Police)

The security services are looking at extreme right wing groups collectively. They are looking at those who pose a danger to the security of the state. We have a group here that had not actually carried out any violent activity. We have to act within the law within data protection and I think we

sometimes have an expectation of the tentacles of the Security Service which are far wider than their actual role, their actual scope and their ability.

McLAGAN

So now a fatal chemistry was taking place. Copeland, the loner, deeply insecure about his sexuality, nursing a loathing of black people and gays, was feeding on a diet of literature which developed and sharpened his hatred and his anger. From the Turner Diaries he'd absorbed the idea of sparking a campaign of terror against the enemies of his race. That idea was fuelled by the writings of the NSM whose literature also provided the internet website address from which Copeland got his instructions in bomb making.

(Actor's voice - Words from David Copeland's confession)

My aim was political. It was to cause a racial war in this country. There'd be a backlash from the ethnic minorities. I'd just be the spark. That's all I will plan to be, the spark that would set fire to this country. Chaos, damage, fire, it's okay.

McLAGAN

But the man whose ideas had more influence than most on Copeland was David Myatt from Worcestershire. The NSM's first leader, the intellectual who shaped the ideas propelling Copeland on his road to terrorism. A man who once said the nazi movement needed people prepared to get their hands dirty, and perhaps spill some blood.

Mr Myatt, we're from the BBC. We're from Panorama. We wanted to ask you some questions about the NSM and David Copeland, the London nailbomber.

DAVID MYATT

I have no comment to make.

McLAGAN

You called for the creation of racial tension and that's exactly what Copeland did. You inspired Copeland indirectly to do what he did.

MYATT

I have no comment about anything to do with that.

McLAGAN

But two years ago, when you were head of the NSM, the NSM was calling for the creation of racial terror with bombs.

MYATT

I have no comment to make about the past, as I said, and as...

McLAGAN

Well the fact that you're making no comment, doesn't that make it clear that you are excepting some responsibility?

MYATT

I have no comment to make about responsibility and anything to do with that.

McLAGAN

Any guilt?

MYATT

What I feel is between me and God. It is nothing to be made public. It is a private matter.

McLAGAN

Are you keeping a closer watch now on the extreme right?

DAVID VENESS

I hope I've made that clear that that was a commitment that we recognised was absolutely necessary and needed to be reinforced during the time of the nail bomb inquiry, and as a result of listening to the community, understanding their concerns, and that is a very significant resource commitment, ►

The lone wolf: views from criminal justice practitioners (continued)

not only that we made, but we're going to keep it up.

McLAGAN

Today David Copeland was convicted of three counts of murder and three of causing explosions. He was given six life sentences. We now know that in building and planting his bombs, David Copeland acted alone. But how much do others share responsibility for what he did?

PHIL MADDOCK (Father of Andrea Dykes, victim of the Soho bomb)

We have a democratic system and free speech, and whether you're Conservative, Tory, Liberal, Communist, I haven't got a problem with that. I have got a problem when these rightwing fascists going out there actually saying to people "stamp on a queer" or "kill a black" or whatever.

That to me is abhorrent and it shouldn't be allowed in any civilised society.

STEPHEN COPELAND (Father of David Copeland)

I don't think David is a rotten, evil swine. I think he's just been badly advised, badly misled. He's a boy that hasn't grown up. He hasn't matured. And he's just gone down the wrong road I'm afraid, and no-one, including myself, has noticed.

GERRY GABLE

I think you have to look at a young man like Copeland and think here's a young guy who's done terrible damage to our society. He's killed. He's done terrible damage to himself and his family as well. Who at point (a) is responsible for all of this? Who wrote those terrible ideas up in that boy's mind? And I think you just go and see who produces this hate material and you know. ●

The Nailbomber was produced by Graeme McLagan, with Nick Lowles, editor of Searchlight, as associated producer. The full programme transcript is available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/audio_video/programmes/panorama/transcripts/transcript_30_06_00.txt

Nick Lowles and Graeme McLagan are the co-authors of *Mr Evil*, about David Copeland and the investigation of the London bombings (Blake Publishing, July 2000).

Chapter 5

Solo actor terrorism and the mythology of the lone wolf

By Dr Paul Jackson



Solo actor terrorism and the mythology of the 'lone-wolf' (continued)

INTRODUCTION

What makes an individual commit an act of terrorism? This is a key question that, at least within the academic literature on the topic, remains to be answered satisfactorily. This despite the renewed energy found in academic debate on why people carry out acts of terror that has followed 9/11. Although the analysis in what has emerged as 'terrorism studies' has offered some clear discussion on the factors driving terrorism, often its focus has been on group actor terrorism, with far less attention given to the problem of what this chapter will call the 'solo actors' who commit, or aim to commit, terrorist violence. Discussions that have emerged on solo actor terrorists often casually dub such figures 'lone-wolves', yet have had great difficulty in satisfactorily clarifying what comprises 'lone-wolf' terrorism beyond the common sense interpretation that it signifies attacks that are perpetrated by an individual terrorist.

Countering the casual adoption of the 'lone-wolf' language, this chapter highlights the historical context of the 'lone-wolf' concept, and suggests the term should be used to highlight terrorism inspired

by far-right, Leaderless Resistance style ideas. It also stresses that the more nuanced contributions to the analysis of solo actor terrorists suggest that surface appearances of acting alone can be deceptive: what appear to be lone acts are often actually more accurately interpreted as group efforts, though manifesting violent endgames conducted by a solo actor. For example, Timothy McVeigh has often been misunderstood as a 'lone-wolf' terrorist in academic discussion because it seemed he acted alone. Yet this is clearly incorrect. McVeigh was part of a terrorist cell which also included a significant contribution from fellow activist Terry Nichols. However, McVeigh was indeed a 'lone wolf' in the US far right's usage of the term, highlighting an individual or small terrorist cell spontaneously carrying out an act of violence against an allegedly oppressive state.

To break down such complexity, this chapter will examine the theme of solo actor terrorism and 'lone wolf' mythology. In so doing, it will stress that solo actor terrorists are more often than not dependent on wider networks of support. Such communities of support provide structures that legitimise extremism, and offer access to a cultural milieu that advocates

violent solutions. These wider cultures of extremism are vital for inculcating a terrorist worldview that will lead to individuals or groups carrying out violent acts. Moreover, as will be discussed, the literature does suggest that solo actors possess significant distinguishing features: in particular, a greater propensity to integrate personal components within their terrorist ideology; and a higher probability of suffering from mental disorders of some form compared to group actor terrorists. These key observations help to characterise solo actor terrorists as troubled figures on the fringes of, in this case, far-right culture. Through this lens, addressing wider cultures of far-right extremism, and the violent culture it propagates, becomes a crucial aspect of preventing such solo actor terrorists from developing violent campaigns in modern Britain.

PROBLEMS DEFINING 'LONE-WOLF' TERRORISM

To begin with the most problematic term here, 'terrorism', it is worth stressing at the outset that there is no clear academic consensus on how to define the phenomenon.

Oklahoma City bombers
Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols



Simply put, tensions between the need for sufficient abstraction required when defining terms, and maintaining a sense of precision, hinder this process.¹ Despite this lack of consensus, a core distinction for identifying terrorist acts that has genuine analytical value is the use of violence to create a wider culture of fear which can be used to advance political, religious or ideological causes. From such an employment of terror, we can see that from historical scenarios such as the French Revolution, to contemporary cultures of terrorism, the core aim of those developing acts of terror is to advance an ideological cause through fear-inducing attacks. What follows from this basic distinction is that terrorism is not committed solely for the self-interest of the protagonist. This is a central aspect that distinguishes terrorism from other acts of violence that are carried out for reasons of personal motivation, or simply criminal intent. Broadly put, terrorism is an extreme form of politics, and so terrorists are motivated by a belief that they are working for the benefit of an ostensible wider community. This may be a real or largely imagined community, but it is likely to have some basis in reality. For the cliché image of the isolated, ‘lone-wolf’ terrorist, this is highly

problematic: how can someone really be acting alone if their motivation is driven by a desire to support a community of people?

Aside from allowing us to problematise the loner cliché associated with solo actor terrorism, the emphasis on terrorists being those who act on behalf of a wider community is reflected in the UK’s current Terrorism Act. This document defines terrorist acts as follows:

- 1** In this Act “terrorism” means the use or threat of action where –
 - a** the action falls within subsection(2),
 - b** the use or threat is designed to influence the government or an international government organisation to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and
 - c** the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, racial or ideological cause.
- 2** Action falls within this subsection if it –
 - a** involves serious violence against a person,
 - b** involves serious damage to property,
 - c** endangers a person’s life, other than that of the person committing the action,

- d** creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public, or
 - e** is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system.
- 3** The use or threat of action falling within subsection (2) which involves the use of firearms or explosives is terrorism whether or not subsection (1) (b) is satisfied.

So here we again see the characterisation of terrorism as an act motivated by a wider political, religious or ideological cause. As with many academic discussions, it is this distinction which helps differentiate acts of terrorism from other acts of violence in British law.

So implicit in both academic debate and British law is the idea that acting on behalf of a community is central to terrorism. Reflecting on the importance of cultures of extremism when understanding terrorism, one leading analyst, Mark Juergensmeyer, convincingly contends that terrorism is rarely, if ever, an act committed alone. His work shows that wider cultures of extremism are almost always needed to support even the solo actor terrorist. In particular, he stresses that the community of

Solo actor terrorism and the mythology of the 'lone-wolf' (continued)

support given to solo actors is vital to understating how and why such terrorist acts are perpetrated. Further, the wide variety of worldviews that underpin rationales for terrorist acts hold a common denominator: the need to cultivate a sustained, alternate sense of morality capable of justifying the destruction of property, or even life, that terrorism entails. Engagement with a wider community is often crucial to developing such a culture, one that offers plausibility to the acts of potential solo actor terrorists. Thus, Juergensmeyer contends that even 'acts that appear to be solo ventures conducted by rogue activists often have networks of support and ideologies of validation behind them, whether or not these networks are immediately apparent.'² So even the Unabomber, arguably the archetypal solo actor terrorist, was in part ideologically supported by the student activist culture that he encountered at Harvard University. This helped him conceive a larger, suppressed community that his terrorism was trying to support. To achieve this alternate morality that legitimises violence, terrorist ideologies view contemporary reality as an intrinsically violent and dangerous realm. Following on from this, such acts carried out by either solo or

group perpetrators tend to be framed by a terrorist ideology as part of a great existential struggle, a battle to overcome living in an 'immoral' world, a place where awful things are believed to happen on a daily basis. For terrorists everyday life becomes a manifestation of extremism, whereas their worldview is 'normal'.

With Juergensmeyer's careful warning, we should be wary of quickly assuming that acts committed by individuals can simply be understood as the behaviours of disconnected loners. Although such actions may be carried out by a solo actor, we do also need to stress here the important role that the group plays too, offering a community of support. When examining the specific cultural context of such solo actor terrorism in the case of the contemporary far right, we find a particular culture strongly present. This is the culture of the 'lone-wolf' developed by American ideologists.

THE 'LONE-WOLF' MYTHOLOGY AND THE FAR RIGHT

Often, secondary literature on solo actor terrorists of all ideological

persuasions will highlight that the 'lone wolf' term was popularised in the 1990s by two American-based extreme right-wing activists: Tom Metzger and Alex Curtis.³ Both figures are white supremacists whose ideas were designed to pursue a specific, political agenda. Media use of the 'lone wolf' term has subsequently helped to popularise the concept, especially within journalist, academic and practitioner settings. Consequently, the idea of the 'lone-wolf' terrorist is now applied to a diverse range of cases of solo actor terrorists, from Theodore Kaczynski to David Copeland to Richard Read. With such cases we can see that there is good reason to think that the most vital components of their activity were solo ventures. Nevertheless, closer scrutiny shows not only that the solo actor in each case was also motivated by a wider cause, but that each terrorist actor believed their actions would benefit a wider community whom they were acting 'for'. The casual use of 'lone wolf' fails to understand both the particular context from which 'lone wolf' ideology comes, and the community of support that backs up such solo actor terrorism.

Neither the Islamist ideas of Read or the conspiratorial worldview of Kaczynski are of primary interest to

this report though, which is focused on far-right behaviours. Maintaining this far-right focus, we see that in the more extreme variants of far-right ideologies there has been a powerful culture promoting 'lone-wolf' attacks as part of a wider narrative of revolutionary action emerging from radicalised sectors of the American far-right community. Novels such as *The Turner Diaries* (1978) and *Hunter* (1989), both written by the US far-right activist William Luther Pierce, offer an idealised vision of this far-right narrative of revolution, giving gripping, fictional accounts of terrorist violence. The actions of a lone wolf will inspire a more general rising against the state. These texts also act as a blueprint for committing violent acts. As discussed above, in terms of developing a culture of violent extremism, the terrorist worldview marked by a clear sense of 'good' and 'evil' is powerfully evoked in these highly influential texts. Also developed here is the normative idea of terrorist violence as a legitimate means to overthrow an allegedly corrupt political system, and replace it with a white supremacist new order. Such texts are freely available via the internet, and have gained notoriety in far-right circles internationally.

Within this violent sub-culture, these key fictional texts are augmented by Louis Beam's highly influential essay, 'Leaderless Resistance' (1983). Attracted to the Ku Klux Klan before becoming an active member of Aryan Nations in the early 1980s, here Beam developed the idea that, in order to combat an oppressive society, white supremacist resistance needed to be conducted through numerous terrorist acts. As with Turner's fiction, these acts of violent revolt would be conducted by individuals or small groups, and specifically these groupings would have no contact with each other. Only this decentralised system would lead to a movement that governments could not control or suppress. Therefore, according to Beam, 'It goes almost without saying that Leaderless Resistance leads to very small or even one man cells of resistance.'⁴ These texts are seminal in the far-right mythology surrounding 'lone-wolves', presenting such figures as a positive, revolutionary vanguard. So in such extreme right-wing contexts, the term is actually framed as an optimistic concept, offering a narrative for revolutionary action.

So with these key examples we can see the outline of a common

terrorist narrative. Importantly, this is an ideological structure that can be used by solo actors outside the immediate US context – such as David Copeland. In its many forms, the key, underlying theme proposed by this 'lone-wolf' ideology is that contemporary society is moving towards a great crisis in the near future, an impending calamity brought about by a largely hidden set of forces. While the vast majority living within capitalist society are blind to these hidden forces, a select few are alert to the 'true' threat to the nation and the white race. The format may emphasise a Zionist conspiracy (ZOG), or develop other critiques of western politics that equally allow for revelry in the mood of a coming apocalypse. With this framing conceit, extreme right-wing activity, including its terrorist activity, regards itself as responding to an unfolding crisis, one that will lead to a major global clash within a generation. Furthermore, for far-right protagonists their movements are seen to operate in antagonism with the state. The latter is part of the problem: state authorities both suppress the 'truth', and keep any organisation that works towards revealing hidden controlling forces at bay. The state and its defenders are either conscious of the

Solo actor terrorism and the mythology of the 'lone-wolf' (continued)

conspiracy, or are being duped into conformity. This ideology can offer the sense of community, one offering an alternate morality advocating violence, which Juergensmeyer identifies as crucial to terrorism.

In Britain, the writings of Colin Jordan present us with a further example of this style of extremist culture being developed to fit a UK context. A confirmed neo-Nazi who was deeply influenced by the American far-right cultural milieu until his death in 2009, Jordan presents us with a sustained, British example of an extreme right-wing voice promoting extra-parliamentary politics, and the creation of revolutionary, neo-Nazi vanguards – features that typify the American culture of far-right terrorism. Indeed, Jordan was especially complimentary towards the US far-right terrorist David Lane (a member of the extremist 'The Order' grouping active in the mid 1980s, responsible for the murder of radio presenter Alan Berg). To take one example of this trend in Jordan's writings, in his essay 'Vanguard of the Future', Jordan calls for a new 'Task Force' to develop extra-parliamentary politics. Typifying his outlook, he writes as follows on the sense of total alienation, and confrontation

with mainstream society, that will define this 'Task Force'. Specifically, the vanguard will undergo:

... the realisation that the gravity and urgency of the struggle makes it tantamount to a war, and that the ubiquity of the menace makes that war a war on all the fronts of life, and thus a total war. Thus for this spearhead of the struggle politics becomes a whole way of life ...

Soon after Jordan offers another telling, cryptic interpretation on what to do in the light of far-right extremists fighting such an existential 'total war':

For obvious reasons one cannot here go into and leave to the fertile imagination the wide range of political warfare open essentially to the select few operating on lines comparable to the special units of Otto Sorzeny [sic]. This is the domain for the professional soldier of politics with no room for the dilettante or the juvenile desperado.⁵

This suggestive presentation of the need to commit extreme actions, potentially violent ones, is crucial

to Jordan's writings, and broadly encourages a far-right worldview necessitating violent extremism – thus offering us a telling example of a culture within which far-right terrorism can be cultivated. Such ideas echo the wider, US-influenced discourse promoting Leaderless Resistance, 'lone wolf' terrorism, and violent extremism.

Within this US-influenced, far-right mythology, the distinction between an individual 'lone-wolf' and the action of a small cell not connected to a wider organisation is a blurred one. As expert on this phenomenon Jeffrey Kaplan puts it, 'Leaderless resistance may be defined as a kind of lone wolf operation in which an individual, or a very small, highly cohesive group, engages in acts of anti-state violence independent of any movement, leader or network of support.'⁶ Jordan shows how these ideas can be imported to a British context, also arguing for revolutionary warfare along similarly racial lines. So within the internal thinking of such far-right protagonists, often the idea driving the 'lone-wolf' theme is to create a culture that encourages spontaneous action 'from below' by activists who are already sympathetic towards a white supremacist-motivated movement. Ultimately, it is not the solo actor

(right) US far-right terrorist David Lane
(far right) Colin Jordan, British terrorist and promoter of "extra-parliamentary politics"



that is championed by such thinking, but rather the opportunity to evade detection through uncoordinated, decentralised actions that follow a common ideology. Within far-right contexts, this is the mythology that is signified by the term 'lone-wolf'. In other words, it is useful to distinguish between the idea of a solo actor terrorist, i.e. an individual carrying out a terrorist act, and the 'lone wolf', a far-right terrorist which is either a solo or small grouping that has emerged from the culture of Leaderless Resistance.

PERSONALISING TERRORISM AND VULNERABILITIES

With this distinction in mind, we also need to ask what drives the solo actor terrorist to violence. One of the major observations developed by Ramón Spaaij in a recent survey of terrorist acts carried out by solo actors is that such protagonists combine the broad structures of a more prevalent extreme ideology with their own personal grievances – so suggestive commentary from figures such as Lane or Jordan can be combined with more individual

concerns. As Spaaij stresses, individual actors:

tend to create their own ideologies that combine personal frustrations and aversion with broader political, social, or religious aims. The degree to which these aims correspond to those of existing extremist movements vary ... motivational patterns tend to involve complex constellations of ideas and feelings that change over time.⁷

Although no simple hard and fast laws for understanding solo actors are set out here, we see that, implicitly, solo actors are dependent on the wider culture sustaining an extremist worldview. Here, the 'lone-wolf' and 'Leaderless Resistance' theme is crucial in the far-right context. This community of support may be engaged with vicariously by the individual actor, or it may be achieved through direct general contact with other individuals and movements. Moreover, though these wider contacts may not engage in terrorist activity, they will provide the necessary culture of support that legitimises the behaviour of potential solo actor terrorists.

So mapping potential communities of support in individual cases is central to understanding the linkages between more general cultures of far-right activity and solo actor terrorists. Given the prevalence of new media, it is worth stressing these supportive milieus may now be developed through virtual encounters. For example, one website based in Britain promoting the far-right 'lone-wolf' mythology is: www.lonewolves88.blogspot.com. Here, one can download guides to carrying out 'lone wolf' activity. Commentary on the site also blurs distinctions between cultivating solo actors and larger 'street crews' through the mythology of the 'lone wolf'.⁸ Again we see the far-right employment of the term denoting decentralised units of violent extremism, rather than simply solo actor terrorists. Meanwhile, links to

Solo actor terrorism and the mythology of the 'lone-wolf' (continued)

other far-right movements are also promoted via this site, showing the relevance of offline meetings as well as online encounters. For example, on this website one can watch Youtube videos of English Defence League demonstrations, while the website's commentary broadly supports the latter movement as an example of the community of support provided by the actions of other far-right protagonists. Though the EDL does not actively promote terrorist violence, in the eyes of lone wolf mythologisers its activities can be styled in a way to boost this more extreme instance of far-right behaviour.

Aside from the blurring of individual and ideological grievances, a second key observation summarised by Ramón Spaaij is that individual actors tend to have a greater propensity to suffer with mental health issues. Here there is a clear contrast with group actor terrorists. While many commentators observe that group actor terrorists commonly do not suffer from forms of psychopathology – and are often regarded as, broadly speaking, psychologically 'normal' with little in the way of distinguishing personality traits other than an interest in terrorism – broadly put,

there appears to be a greater level of psychological instability among solo actor terrorists. Key cases, ranging from Theodore Kaczynski to David Copeland, are used to illustrate this point in Spaaij's analysis. Though precision here is difficult, for Spaaij such solo actors are 'relatively likely to suffer from some form of psychological disturbance'. Referring to the American context, Christopher Hewett also highlights this connection.⁹

What is important to bear in mind here is that, although this tendency towards forms of psychological disturbance may help to explain a degree of what might be dubbed social ineffectiveness among solo actors, and even the desire to withdraw from wider communities and act alone, this facet also does not offer us a definitional component of solo actor terrorism, merely a common pattern. Solo actor terrorists may choose to act alone as a result of a lack of options to act collectively. For example, David Copeland sought likeminded individuals to work with, but was unable to find such figures and so eventually acted alone.

Turning to the case of David Copeland, we can see the crystallisation of a number of the

core themes in this example that have been developed in this discussion. Firstly, we can see from his interest in the British National Party, Combat 18 and the National Socialist Movement an attempt to discover an extremist milieu that conformed to his expectations of a violent, revolutionary vanguard. Such organisations were able to augment Copeland's personal worldview that regarded mainstream society as a corrupt and decaying order, in need of violent confrontation. As he put it, he wanted to provoke a 'race war'. Secondly, we can see the influence of the American far-right culture used to help develop his personalised ideology. In particular, *The Turner Diaries* was of central importance to the construction of his worldview. Thirdly, we can see the integration of personal grievances to his extreme right-wing views. These gave added shape and colour to his political convictions, and helped him develop a strategy that justified attacks on ethnic minority and homosexual communities in particular. And finally, we can see a diagnosis of an underlying psychological disturbance. The configuration of such factors in Copeland's case is unique, but in many ways he typifies the makeup of the solo actor terrorist.



To give just one further example, one can see variance on similar themes in the more recent case of Neil Lewington, who again conforms to these general trends. He was interested in the wider cultures of extremism generated by British far-right movements, for example in his claim to being a former member of the National Front. Moreover, as with Copeland, Lewington conceived his terror campaign as a solo venture, yet also believed that he was acting on behalf of a wider vanguard community, as listed in his personal notes. Secondly, we see the powerful influence of the Leaderless Resistance culture on Lewington. Though there was no clear evidence of reading the primary texts that are discussed above, Lewington was especially interested in two cases of far-right

terrorism that were exemplars of this culture: Timothy McVeigh and David Copeland. He was also interested in the Unabomber story, providing a further inspirational case of solo actor terrorism. Thirdly, Lewington developed his own interpretation of extreme right-wing ideology, integrating personal fantasy with the wider far-right worldview. Here we can take his handwritten 'Waffen SS UK Members Handbook' as a clear example of this synthesis of typically far-right and personal grievances. Finally, Lewington's behaviour again suggests issues regarding his mental state. A significant degree of social clumsiness has been noted by a number of observers who worked on this case, revealed for example in dysfunctional family relations and poor social skills.

CONCLUSIONS

In sum, to develop from the academic literature to date a set of hard and fast laws regarding the makeup of solo actor terrorists seems premature. More research into the psychological and cultural factors that motivate solo actor terrorists, and their attempts to create new communities of extremism through violence in a far-right context, needs to be carried out. What is clear at this stage is threefold. Firstly, the term 'lone wolf' is of limited value, and is best understood as highlighting a particular strand of violent extremism found in far-right cultures. It is less useful as a synonym for solo actor terrorism. Moreover, those who act alone are often supported by others, either tacitly through the creation of a

Solo actor terrorism and the mythology of the 'lone-wolf' (continued)

wider supportive community promoting violence, or explicitly though providing materials useful for carrying out violent extremism. Though individuals may act solo, they are supported by a community. Consequently, any far-right violence carried out by solo actor terrorists is an extreme product of the wider cultural milieu of far-right activism.

Secondly, the positive mythology surrounding the 'lone wolf' concept within far-right cultures is crucial to contextualising such activity. Emerging largely from the postwar, neo-Nazi, American context, this white supremacist narrative of extremism stresses the world is ruled by corrupt elites that need to be overthrown. Such views have been imported to Britain, both through key protagonists such as Colin Jordan, and through various new media sources. Commonly, this will carry a strong antisemitic tenor. This extreme worldview justifies violent extremism against all those who support and sustain the perceived global conspiracy, and so this 'lone wolf' culture can fuel solo actor terrorists, such as David Copeland and Neil Lewington.

Thirdly, turning to some of the more psychology-orientated literature here, we can see two key

characteristics in many solo actor terrorists: a personalisation of far-right themes in the development of a terrorist 'cause'; and a greater propensity to suffer from forms of psychological disturbance. However, though these two characteristics are useful for understanding solo actor terrorism, they do not provide a

comprehensive model for interpreting it, and more importantly, predicting where such solo actor terrorism may emerge from. So as with the case of Neil Lewington, by their nature such fringe figures can operate 'off the radar screen', with detection being dependent upon chance as much as good intelligence. ●

NOTES

1 See Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler, 'The Challenges of Conceptualising Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 16, no. 4 (2004), pp. 777 – 794.

2 Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) p. 11.

3 For example: Instiut voor Veiligheids en Crisismanagement, *Lone Wolf Terrorism*, available at: <http://www.transnationalterrorism.eu/tekst/publications/Lone-Wolf%20Terrorism.pdf> [last accessed 13/02/2011]

4 Louis Beam, 'Leaderless Resistance' available at: <http://www.louisbeam.com/leaderless.htm> [last accessed 13/02/2011]

5 The reference is to the Werwolf Commando Force developed by the Nazi regime at the end of the Second World War. Essentially, this unit was designed to operate under cover in Allied occupied territory, and is an example of the way that themes of total war and conflict, alongside Nazi heritage, are evoked in Jordan's discourse to frame contemporary conflict with the state. Colin Jordan, *National Socialism: The vanguard of the future – selected writings by Colin Jordan* (Aalborg: Nordland Forlag, 1993) pp. 115 – 117.

6 Jeffrey Kaplan, 'Leaderless Resistance', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 9 no. 3 (1997), pp. 80 – 95, p. 80.

7 Ramón Spaaij, 'The Enigma of Lone Wolf Terrorism: An Assessment', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, vol. 33, no. 9 (2010), pp. 854 – 870, p. 866.

8 Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens and Edmund Standing, *Blood & Honour: Britain's Far-Right Militants* available at: http://www.socialcohesion.co.uk/files/1266837784_1.pdf [last accessed 13/02/2011].

9 Christopher Hewitt, *Understanding Terrorism in America. From the Klan to al Qaeda* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Chapter 6

These people are dangerous



These people are dangerous (continued)



Former BNP councillors Sadie Graham (above) and Nina Brown (right) firing full-bore sniper rifles. The weapons are similar to the one that Derrick Bird used to kill 12 people in Cumbria on 2 June 2010





Kieren Trent, leader of the BNP's Resistance youth movement, with obscured handgun, in front of a banner of the paramilitary UDA

Kieren Trent unmasked (fourth from left) manning a BNP street stall



These people are dangerous (continued)



This page and next: Scottish supporters of the nazi British Freedom Fighters and the Blood and Honour movement display some of their weapons.

These weapons may be replicas, but Blood and Honour supporters in Scotland have in recent years dealt in the real thing





These people are dangerous (continued)



(above) Adam Thomas Worley,
an activist in the Young BNP
from Oxford

(right) An English Defence League
supporter





(above) Stevie Courier



These people are dangerous (continued)



Wolf's Hook, an organisation of hardline nazi supporters of a programme of terrorism, spending a day in the forest

Michael Sanderson, one of the leaders of Wolf's Hook, stabbed to death by his nazi comrade John Pakulski





John Pakulski, sentenced to six years for manslaughter for killing Michael Sanderson after finding his partner Catherine Parker-Brown (below) in a state of undress locked in a bathroom with Sanderson



Lone wolves: myth or reality?

These people are dangerous
(continued)



Birmingham English Defence League activists
(below) English Defence League activist gives a Nazi salute



Steve Fyfe, who has contested several elections for the BNP and has been the BNP organiser for Grimsby, has boasted about his disregard for "rules and regulations" controlling the use of firearms in the UK. On internet forums he has said he has a firearms certificate that permits him to own rifles, shotguns with a magazine capacity greater than two and certain types of airguns. He claims to own around £6,000 worth of legally held weapons and to be secretary of a gun club.

On 11 August 2008 Fyfe, posting as "sidneysausage", wrote on a gun trading forum: "However, I don't do rules and regulations if there is absolutely no point in it whatsoever. If some of my friends want to 'have a go' they will bloody well 'have a go'. Personally, I'll take my friends out to the field where I shoot, somewhere [sic] out of view, with a nice, big backstop, up to 300m away and they can use as many rounds as they care to fire. Who the hell are the police to suggest they might know my friend I've known for more than fifteen years better than me?"

He has also demonstrated an interest in the illegal use of explosives. On 27 May 2008 he wrote: "I've a big box of fireworks in my attic, just waiting for the day when some muslim extremists fly a plane into westminster."



What made Fyfe's postings of particular concern is that he was at the time a member of the 3rd Royal Anglian Regiment of the Territorial Army and there were hints that he might be abstracting items from his TA unit. For example on 21 July 2007 he wrote: "The new 30 round H&K mags for the SA80 work really nice in mine. I have 'aquired' [sic] one or two. However, if you aren't in the TA/Army/Navy/Air Force, you can find one or two floating round on ebay."

Fyfe was not the first Grimsby nazi to show an unhealthy interest in terrorism and weapons. In the 1960s, Donald Mudie, a crank member of Colin Jordan's National Socialist

Movement, used to hold court at his Grimsby home for people who shared his political views. In the 1970s Mudie, was one of two security guards at a camp held by the elite nazi League of St George on Mersea Island in Essex. Mudie patrolled the site with a loaded shotgun.

In 2002 Cameron Duncan, a supporter of the BNP and the Ku Klux Klan, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment after a man in the USA with whom he was exchanging emails turned out to be an FBI agent. Duncan had been asking him to obtain firearms and explosives. The agent had infiltrated the KKK for the purpose of catching such dangerous men as Duncan.

Chapter 7

Tackling violent extremism in the community

By Dr Paul Jackson



Tackling violent extremism in the community

INTRODUCTION

Tackling far-right terrorism is one part of a wider issue of confronting threats from violent extremism within Britain. Developing Government policy around the complex issue of community engagement has been fraught with difficulties in the past decade. In particular, this has been a period in which both the perceived and actual threats from al-Qaeda inspired terrorism have grown rapidly. To develop community engagement and education, the Government's major response to this threat has been the Prevent Agenda, a policy area which has received substantial public funds.¹ Problematically, Prevent has become indelibly associated with tackling extremism within a Muslim context. Critics highlight that this has been detrimental both to British Muslim communities, as well as to attempts to empower all communities with knowledge of the threats from violent extremism, such as far-right violence. More recently, the previous Government's Connecting Communities programme augmented the community engagement techniques developed by the Prevent Agenda, and offered a wider framework for communities to tackle violent extremism.

In particular, this brought fresh focus to social issues associated with majority white communities. Both of these policy developments have been of relevance to tackling far-right extremism, and historically both have been used as vehicles for offering communities greater information and awareness of the threats from far-right violence.

This chapter will summarise the core aims of the Prevent Agenda, alongside the Connecting Communities programme, policies developed under the previous Government. At the time of writing, the former is currently under review, while the latter has fallen victim of the 2010 expenditure cuts. Having examined key issues from this historical legacy of policy making, it will then argue that tackling both al-Qaeda inspired movements and far-right Islamophobia as two variants of an underlying problem of contemporary violent extremism can be useful for developing community resilience. In particular, by acknowledging the threat from 'tit for tat' radicalisation found in the interplay between populist Islamist and populist Islamophobic politics, one sees how the interaction between Islamist extremism and the larger far-right organisations helps to foster a

supportive environment suitable for incubating smaller pockets of far-right violent extremism. Here, the concept of far-right 'host organisations' also helps us understand the relevance of using community projects that tackle the politics developed by the British National Party and the English Defence League (EDL) as a strategy for minimising the risk from extreme right-wing violent extremism.

THE PREVENT AGENDA AND THE TARGETING OF MUSLIMS

To begin with the Prevent Agenda, this term was taken from the CONTEST strategy, launched in 2003, which developed the 'Four Ps': Pursue, Prevent, Protect and Prepare. It has been led by the Office for Security and Counter Terrorism (OSCT), based within the Home Office. The Department for Communities and Local Government has been central to its delivery, and has been concerned with community-based approaches to tackling violent extremism. CONTEST was updated in 2009, dubbed CONTEST II. This revision placed a far greater emphasis on the Prevent theme. Here, the aims of the strategy were described as follows:



Bradford Together

- To challenge the ideology behind violent extremism and support mainstream voices
- To disrupt those who promote violent extremism and support people living in the communities where they may operate
- To support individuals who are vulnerable to recruitment, or have already been recruited by violent extremists
- To increase the resilience of communities to violent extremism
- To address grievances which ideologues are exploiting

- To develop supporting intelligence, analysis and information
- To improve strategic communications.

The interpretation of Prevent at the local level has been diverse, and more study is needed to develop clear analysis of how these goals have been successfully met though specific Prevent related projects.²

Though such detailed academic research is in its infancy, some more general themes have been developed by public reports that have critiqued the Prevent Agenda. In particular, to date one of the major failings of the Prevent

strategy has been the manner in which it has focused on issues of violent extremism found in Muslim communities, to the neglect of other forms of the problem. Critical reports, such as Arun Kundnani's *Spooked! How not to prevent violent extremism*, stress this failing.³ In particular, such research highlights divisive aspects of the policy, such as its mechanism for allocating funds. Areas targeted for Prevent funding are identified by the number of Muslims: if a region has a Muslim population exceeding 2,000 then it qualifies for support. By targeting Muslim communities, Prevent has fostered the perception that Muslims are uniquely susceptible to the risks of violent extremism. ►

Tackling violent extremism in the community (continued)

Often this can falsely divide Muslim communities into ‘moderates’ and ‘extremists’, a division that characterises moderates as those supportive of Government policy, and tars any more critical perspective with the ‘extremist’ label. This kind of Government-led stereotyping has hindered the very engagement with Muslim communities that the policy has sought to develop.

Aside from these complex issues, the primary concern of this report is to address the issue of threats from a far-right perspective. The current review of the Prevent Agenda is considering whether the policy should be used to address a wider range of extremisms.⁴ Kundnani’s analysis deals with this theme too. This research highlights the ways in which far-right themes have been developed in, at best, a secondary manner via previous Prevent Agenda initiatives – this despite the far right also developing clear instances of violent extremism. One worker based in the Midlands cited in *Spooked* summarised this problem as follows:

People feel that Prevent is aimed only at the Muslim community and is labelling them. If you look at the

government’s guidance, you will see there is just a cursory paragraph which talks about preventing all forms of extremism. This is all very well but, in real life, money is only going to the Muslim community. That is not right. The money should tackle all forms of extremism, like the BNP for instance.

Indeed, many Muslim interviewees who responded to this research highlighted the need for a more serious and sustained engagement with the far right: a sector that has developed the most virulent strand of Islamophobia in Britain today. In sum, Muslim communities are critical of a policy that on the one hand labels them as ‘closer’ to terrorism, while on the other offering only tokenistic attempts to tackle far-right extremism.

Meanwhile, the emergent academic literature is stressing that the relationship between the far right and Islamophobia is crucial to understanding contemporary far-right extremism, yet this issue is not satisfactorily addressed by Prevent. This point needs to be developed further, but before doing so it is also important to raise the issue of the Connecting Communities programme.

CONNECTING COMMUNITIES PROGRAMME AND THE FAR RIGHT

While Prevent has largely been associated with issues facing Muslim communities, the previous Government’s Connecting Communities programme sought to address largely white working class areas – a scheme that was a victim of the cuts undertaken by the Department of Communities and Local Government last year.⁵ In particular, this policy sought to tackle the development of local pockets of extremism, while also promoting trust in local government institutions. Arguably anticipating the ‘Big Society’ rhetoric, the programme sought to engage the voluntary sector to help achieve this goal, while also supporting academic interventions – for example offering Connecting Communities funding via the Arts and Humanities Research Council. John Denham, MP, who was then the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, described the scheme as follows:

At the heart of this drive is a willingness to encourage local people to speak out about their concerns, even if it raises difficult and uncomfortable issues.

In turn, government – national and local – needs to be able to set out how it is responding and to discuss frankly where things are working and where they could be improved.⁶

So the Connecting Communities scheme rightly identified systemic social issues in poorer, predominantly white areas, and sought to develop positive frameworks for local initiatives to develop responses to these concerns.

However, what is noticeable with the historical development in tandem of Prevent and Connecting Communities policies is a trend towards tackling far-right threats separately from issues of violent extremism found within Muslim communities. Such an approach can augment the assumption that these are more dissimilar than related phenomena. This is despite recent developments in the academic literature on this topic, especially Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin's 2010 edited volume *The New Extremism in 21st Century Britain*, a volume that rightly highlights the interconnected nature of Britain's extremist politics.⁷ Moreover, local studies, such as in Hounslow, also reveal striking structural similarities between the push and pull factors

found in al-Qaeda inspired and far-right violent extremism.⁸

So the historical reasons for such policies emerging as separate mechanisms for tackling extremism is entirely understandable.

However, to move beyond these historic limitations it is desirable for future Prevent Agenda strategies to develop a more embracing approach, one that takes as a key principle that all communities face risks of violent extremism, and all communities need to be engaged in a political debate regarding the best ways to confront these threats from extremism. This approach of understanding the interrelated nature of violent extremism is crucial to developing a more sophisticated discourse of community engagement. In particular, this approach will avoid the trap of labelling certain communities as intrinsically more violent: one of the major failings of the Prevent Agenda.

'TIT FOR TAT RADICALISATION' AND 'HOST ORGANISATIONS'

To develop this point, two questions are of crucial importance: Should problems regarding the far right and

radicalised Islam be tackled in a more joined up manner? And does tackling the larger far-right organisations help challenge threats from extreme right-wing terrorism? To address these questions, two key concepts are worth stressing: 'tit for tat' radicalisation and 'host organisations'. The former concept helps reveal the synergies developing between different forms of extremism in contemporary Britain. (As stated, currently the interplay between the far-right and Islamist ideologies is particularly striking.) Meanwhile, the latter concept helps unpick the role of larger far-right organisations acting as incubators for more extreme views, which is also crucial to acknowledge.

The process Professor Roger Eatwell dubs 'cumulative radicalisation',⁹ which can also more pithily be characterised as 'tit for tat' radicalisation, is an important dimension of contemporary patterns of radicalisation. With regard to far-right radicalisation, we have seen that, from the riots in Oldham and Bradford in the summer of 2001 to the case of EDL leaders attacking the protest mounted by the organisations Muslims Against Crusades on 11 November 2010, ►

Tackling violent extremism in the community (continued)

there has been a range of high-profile cases that highlight the phenomenon of 'tit for tat' extremism. In such signal cases, we see pugnacious, radical groups feeding off each other's rhetoric, promoting stereotypes to justify extremism.

Typifying this confrontational, Islamophobic far-right agenda, Nick Griffin, the BNP leader, has defended the BNP's turn to Islamophobia in the 2000s as follows:

... in real politics in the real world, one's proper choice of enemy is a group who you gain a worthwhile level of extra support by identifying, who you have a realistic chance of beating, and whose defeat will take you the furthest towards your goal. With millions of our people desperately and very reasonably worried by the spread of Islam and its adherents, and with the mass media ... playing 'Islamophobic' messages like a scratched CD, the proper choice of enemy needn't be left to rocket scientists.¹⁰

It is striking that BNP rhetoric demonising Muslims primarily deploys the threat of terrorism

posed by Islam as the crucial demonising trope. Meanwhile, the newer far-right social movement, the English Defence League, has emerged from this phenomenon of 'tit for tat' radicalisation. It was founded following the widespread outrage that developed in the wake of protests by Islam4UK against returning Royal Anglian Regiment Soldiers in Luton in March 2009.¹¹ It needs to be stressed that, in both the academic literature and in public reports, the relationship between Islamophobia and the growing popularity of the far right in Britain has not been sufficiently researched. Further questions outside the scope of this report need to be asked to fully understand this dynamic relationship. However, we can make a clear *prima facie* case that 'tit for tat' extremism is central for understanding the context within which far-right ideologies are currently thriving.

This moves us on to the second concept highlighted here: 'host organisations'. Often, it is the lack of control that the larger far-right movements have over individual members and followers that should alert us to their risk of fostering violent extremism. The case of Terence Gavan, a potential solo actor terrorist who was also a

member of the British National Party, and the case of the Aryan Strike Force, whose members were found on early EDL marches, highlight the links between Britain's small but perennial extreme right-wing and the larger, more populist far-right movements. Though it is useful to make a distinction between populist and extreme forms of right-wing activity, in reality these are not discrete categories for individual protagonists. The populist far right and the extreme right-wing are two phenomena that cannot be neatly partitioned. Through careful grooming, more causal followers attracted to the larger far-right organisations that promote a populist, Islamophobic agenda can be further radicalised and gain access to hardline neo-Nazi and fascist ideologies that can locate themselves within populist far-right organisations.

So, as in the cases given above, the larger, populist far-right organisations are an important hosting environment for far-right extremism in contemporary Britain. Not only do these movements pose serious challenges to community cohesion from their Islamophobic politics, but also protagonists within them promote the hardcore aspects of the far-right worldview, opinions that can

further be radicalised to become extreme right-wing. Although both the BNP and the EDL claim they aspire to peaceful engagement with themes of race and immigration, it is clear that both have a more sinister 'back stage' politics. Terence Gavan is a prime example of this from the BNP, while Trevor Hannington and Michael Heaton highlight this issue with regard to the EDL. So the concept of a 'host organisation' is useful for conceptualising the threats of violent extremism posed by larger organisations such as the EDL and the BNP. Although violence is not actively condoned by the leadership, or other media representatives, such figures only exert limited power over the behaviour of their members and followers. Thus, such movements can easily act as host organisations for more extreme pockets of radicalised nationalism.

THE NEED TO DEVELOP A MORE INTEGRATED APPROACH TO TACKLING VIOLENT EXTREMISM

Developing a robust civil society through effective community engagement lies at the core of tackling extremism. So by

addressing the real threats posed by both Islamist extremists and Islamophobic far-right organisations, it is possible to frame community engagement strategies that both address the core push and pull factors leading to violent extremism, and avoid the trap of implying one community alone has significant issues to address. Such divisiveness can easily be exploited by the far right. As we have seen, there has been support for tackling both far-right and Islamist threats among frontline workers who have developed local interpretations of Prevent Agenda projects. The author's own experiences of presenting far-right issues at public meetings around the country in 2010 emerging from local Prevent Agenda initiatives further backs up such observations. Meanwhile, the recent upturn in the fortunes of far-right 'host' movements, including the British National Party and especially the English Defence League, highlights the need for policies that tackle these organisations to become part of the agenda for addressing violent extremism within British communities.

Arguably, the historic tactic of a separation of attempts to develop resilient communities that was

found in the distinct Prevent Agenda and Connecting Communities approach revealed a failure to develop a fully integrated strategy for developing community engagement and resilience to violent extremism. With its strong focus on tackling real and perceived issues within Muslim communities, Prevent has been limited in its ability to offer a full appreciation of the threats of far-right violent extremism. So the strong contemporary focus on al-Qaeda inspired terrorism can often lead to far-right threats being either neglected or seen as needing merely tokenistic inclusion. Finally, the Prevent Agenda policy itself can be used as a rhetorical tool for the far right's 'tit for tat' radicalisation: Muslim communities are characterised as favoured over white communities for Government funding, or its existence is used as proof of the general threat posed by Muslims.

Rather than a silo attitude here, establishing a vibrant and dynamic culture of local and community politics is crucial for revealing the relationships between the growth of Islamism and the growth of the far right and other forms of violent extremism. So the actions of local authorities are at the core of

Tackling violent extremism in the community (continued)

developing bespoke interpretations of such an agenda. As the *Stronger Together* report analysing historical problems with the Prevent Agenda stresses, local authorities 'have responsibilities as community representatives and as local leaders to help ensure public safety, to help people feel confident and get along well together, to protect the vulnerable and to limit harmful behaviours.'¹² Such analysis argues that it is crucial that the stigma often attached to Muslims by such engagements under the Prevent banner is avoided in future revisions to this policy. It is also vital that violent extremism is shown to be a problem that affects a wide range of communities, including predominantly white communities.

Currently, no study of the delivery of Prevent projects has sufficiently analysed the relative success of projects confronting al-Qaeda inspired and far-right radicalisation together. However, personal experience suggests strongly that when events designed to address a range of community figures, including representatives from Muslim communities, are able also to develop the major problems posed by the far right, such an approach elicits much positive reaction.

Moreover, for diverse public audiences this frames debate in a way that reveals the process of 'tit for tat' radicalisation. From issues such as open debate on the lasting impact of EDL marches on local Muslim communities, to BNP campaigns to prevent the building of mosques, to threats posed by potential solo actor violent extremists such as Terence Gavan, many Muslim community representatives view such a discourse as crucial to future community engagement strategies that address a range of issues of violent extremism. Given the sustained manner in which the far right seeks to use Muslim communities as scapegoat figures, offering Muslim communities engagement strategies that actively tackle this issue becomes positive and empowering rather than stigmatising.

CONCLUSIONS

Three crucial observations follow from the discussion above, each highly relevant for future Government policy in the area of tackling violent extremism. The first is that such policy should recognise the relationship between populist Islamist and far-right

politics. Though this relationship cannot explain the full dynamics of either category of extremism, it does reveal the need to move away from partitioning out different forms of extremism into artificially neat categories. As local studies such as in Hounslow reveal, the push and pull factors here are more similar than dissimilar. Moreover, the antagonisms these movements develop often feed off each other. The manner of the formation of the EDL is a classic case in point here.

The second observation is that the populist far right, manifest in the British National Party and the English Defence League, is not a coherent force. In the EDL in particular one finds a social movement that cultivates membership on a very loose basis. This allows the EDL, as well as the BNP, to act as a 'host organisation' for forms of far-right violent extremism. Though not every EDL grouping, or local gathering of the BNP, will be a hotbed for such politics, on occasion this phenomenon will develop as these movements recruit new members and existing figures become more radicalised over time. So although the 'front stage' of BNP and EDL politics asserts a more respectable, law abiding profile this needs to be

read critically. The more dangerous 'back stage' of such movements needs to be closely monitored for it is here that a tendency to 'host' violent extremism develops. At a future policy level, this monitoring may include encouraging staff within statutory services that come into contact with far-right activity to be alert to issues of such radicalisation towards extremism, and being given specific training in dealing with far-right ideology. As I argue elsewhere in this report, solo actor terrorism can often develop in adults with vulnerabilities and mental health issues. Creating policy that can give frontline professionals clear guidance on tackling violent extremism from such a quarter is important, yet is often lacking.

A final observation to be stressed is the positive impact that community engagement policies that are aimed at encouraging Muslim communities to confront issues of al-Qaeda inspired terrorism receive once the comparative dimension of far-right extremism has been raised. This counterpoint to the one dimensional theme of al-Qaeda inspired threats helps to avoid creating the impression that Muslims are singularly susceptible to such issues, or that Islam is

intrinsicly 'closer' to violent extremism, both implied by some current implementations of Prevent Agenda policy. Rather, a more embracing attitude to this

issue reframes debate to encourage a more critically aware appreciation of the diversity of threats that emerge from contemporary society. ●

NOTES

- 1 For example, one strand of this policy, the PVE Pathfinder fund for 2007 / 8, had a budget of £6 million.
- 2 Academic analysis here has begun to emerge. For example, Vivien Lowndes and Leila Thorp, "'Preventing violent extremism' – why local context matters", in Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, *The New Extremism in 21st Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2010) pp. 123 – 142.
- 3 Arun Kundnani, *Spooked: How not to Prevent Violent Extremism*, available at: <http://www.irr.org.uk/pdf2/spooked.pdf> [last accessed 13/02/2011].
- 4 See the Home Office outline of the Prevent Agenda review: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/counter-terrorism/review-of-prevent-strategy/> [last accessed 24/02/2011].
- 5 For details, see: *Local government contribution to efficiencies in 2010-11* available at: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/localgovernment/pdf/1611330.pdf> [last accessed 24/02/2011].
- 6 Quote available at: http://www.shapeyourcity.org.uk/fileadmin/_temp_/Connecting_Communities-_Briefing.pdf [last accessed 13/03/2011]
- 7 Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin, *The New Extremism in 21st Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2010) pp. 123 – 142.
- 8 See *A Window on Extremism: Young People in Hounslow – a study of identity, social pressures, extremism and social exclusion*, available at: http://www.hounslow.gov.uk/window_on_extremism.pdf [last accessed 24/02/2011].
- 9 Roger Eatwell, 'Community Cohesion and Cumulative Cohesion in Contemporary Britain', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 2 (2006), pp. 204 – 216.
- 10 Nick Griffin, 'By their fruits (or lack of them) shall you know them' (2006) reprinted on the Stormfront forum: <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t280313/> [last accesses, 24/02/2011].
- 11 Nigel Copey, *The English Defence League: Challenging Our Country and Our Values of Social Inclusion, Fairness and Equality* available at: <http://faith-matters.org/images/stories/fm-reports/english-defense-league-report.pdf> [last accessed 24/02/2011].
- 12 Anna Turley, *Stronger Together: A New Approach to Preventing Violent Extremism*, pp. 5 – 6. Available at: <http://www.nlgn.org.uk/public/wp-content/uploads/stronger-together.pdf> [last accessed 13/02/2011]

Chapter 8

Recommendations

The criminal justice system is facing a time of financial stringency. That makes it all the more important that serious crime is tackled efficiently and in the most effective manner. The police service as a general rule is praiseworthy in this regard. Unfortunately, because of a lack of willingness by successive governments to accept the existence of a terrorist threat other than from Islamist extremism, the growth of violence from the extreme right that sometimes leads to terrorist acts has not been properly examined and tackled in a coherent way.

This report has demonstrated the seriousness of the far-right terrorist threat. Arising from it, the author makes a number of recommendations aimed at enhancing the way in which this country faces this threat and ensuring that government now and in the future, as well as the civil service and those in the criminal justice system, deal with the threat from terrorism in the UK as a whole rather than partially.



Recommendations (continued)

1. The authorities should monitor the groups that threaten violent action and the publications and individuals who through their words incite and inspire.

This report has shown that individuals who commit acts of terror, or plan to do so, are not acting in isolation but are inspired and informed by far-right organisations usually via the internet. It is clear that monitoring these groups and their internet activity would pick up contacts with or by individuals at risk of putting words and beliefs into action.

Groups such as the BNP and English Defence League act as “host organisations” for far-right violent extremism. Those monitoring these organisations need to be alert to issues of radicalisation towards extremism.

2. Terrorism from the extreme right must be viewed in the same way as terrorism from Islamist extremists.

Far-right terrorism has rarely been taken as seriously as other forms of terrorism. In 1986 the extreme-right terrorist Tony Lecomber was sentenced to just three years in prison

for an attempted bombing of a left-wing target in London at a time when IRA terrorists were getting very much longer prison sentences. More recently far-right terrorists have been considered to be isolated individuals with personality defects rather than perpetrators of a dangerous political ideology. Often the crimes of these individuals are explained with reference to their childhood problems and little reference is made to their links with far-right organisations and the influence on them of the propaganda and ideology of these organisations. This contrasts unfavourably with the way Islamist terrorists and their links with al-Qaeda are viewed.

3. Young people found to be experimenting with explosives or dangerous chemicals or devices should be investigated more thoroughly with a view to establishing whether the person has any connections with people or groups that could influence the young person to go on to commit terrorist acts.

Often a young person’s dabbling with dangerous devices is dismissed as innocuous experimentation whereas an older person might be investigated more seriously.

Three years ago at the suggestion of a senior SO15 officer the author approached the Minister of State for Policing, whom he met in the course of his role on the Metropolitan Police Service Independent Advisory Group on Race Hate Crime, to establish what records the police maintained about incidents where young people had been caught making home-made bombs, dangerous chemical formulae or other dangerous devices, and whether such cases had been brought to the attention of the CPS. The author was concerned to find out whether the police took such incidents seriously and in particular whether they investigated whether the young person had any connections with extremist groups or was accessing extremist websites, such as those of far-right groups or other types of “direct action” organisations.

Had the police looked for evidence of an interest in extreme-right music, leaflets and other publications, or clothing such as t-shirts? Was such information being recorded in any way at the Home Office or ACPO(TAM)? Such investigation could potentially result in a future terrorist being spotted and monitored before carrying out any acts of violence. The civil servant dealing with the author’s inquiry at the behest of the Minister was unable to obtain any answers.

4. Exchanging information between agencies for the purpose of monitoring potential terrorists should be made easier.

One reason why potential terrorists might be overlooked is that data protection rules do not permit the sharing of information between different agencies involved in investigating and preventing crime. There may be a need for legislative change to facilitate this process.

5. Effective work with young people should take place to divert them from engaging in racist violence and involvement in extreme-right organisations. Such work must be led by knowledgeable and properly trained specialists.

Evidence from the Prevent programme indicates that some of the external agencies employed to deliver the programme in regard to far-right extremists have little or no knowledge or experience of dealing with such people. For example one person engaged to provide information about the BNP has only limited knowledge of the BNP and even that is several years out of date.

In one situation a fieldworker who was successful in delivering information to schools about how the far right operates was then tasked to deal with a gang of young and radical nazis led by a 19-year-old. The fieldworker took charge of the sessions being held with the gang aimed at turning them away from the politics of violence and extremism. It became apparent that the 19-year-old leader had great influence on these youngsters and the fieldworker had no experience in handling such a dedicated and dangerous man. Schemes such as this, while well intentioned, will fail if delivered by inadequately trained people and without sufficient controls in place.

Another experience known to the author further illustrates the risks. Two decades ago eastern Germany and Berlin in particular were faced with a serious increase in young people being recruited into far-right activism that included arson and murder. Berlin city council funded a project to work with young nazis who had been attacking people around Berlin's railway stations. A former East German Olympic athlete who had become an academic had started spending time with these youngsters and having a positive influence in turning them away from racist violence.

Her initiative attracted the attention of Berlin city council, which bought a building in the city to be used as a youth centre, equipped it and employed a church leader to take charge of the project. A year down the road he had been converted to national socialism and the building was being used by the growing numbers of young nazi activists who were being manipulated older people behind them. The council withdrew its support and the centre closed.

It is essential, therefore, that work directed at young people at risk involvement in far-right terrorism is carried out by people who understand the politics and culture of such people. There needs to be better selection of people to run such schemes, proper training and overall direction by a small number of experts in this field.

6. There is a need to develop a more integrated approach to tackling violent extremism.

Developing a robust civil society through effective community engagement lies at the core of tackling extremism. By addressing the real threats posed by both Islamist extremists and Islamophobic far-right organisations, it is possible to frame

Recommendations (continued)

community engagement strategies that both address the factors leading to violent extremism and avoid the trap of implying one community alone has significant issues to address. Such divisiveness can easily be exploited by the far right.

There has been support for tackling both far-right and Islamist threats among frontline workers who have developed local interpretations of Prevent Agenda projects.

The recent upturn in the fortunes of far-right “host” movements, including the BNP and especially the English Defence League, highlights the need for policies that tackle these organisations to become part of the agenda for addressing violent extremism.

The Prevent Agenda focussed unduly heavily on Muslim extremism. It is vital that violent extremism is shown to be a problem that affects a wide range of communities including predominantly white communities.

7. There is a need to learn from and use past experience of dealing with the far-right terrorist threat rather than constantly reinvent the wheel.

The Home Office has long struggled

with the problem of dealing with hate on the internet, often claiming it is impossible to shut down hate websites and websites that provide information on making bombs and dangerous chemicals, such as ricin.

Nearly a decade ago the Home Office set up a group that included external specialists to look at how this problem could be tackled. Nothing was achieved. Some four or five years later a Home Office civil servant informed the author that another such working party was being set up but it was clear he knew nothing about the work of the earlier one.

The Redwatch hate website, which posts personal information about enemies of the far right and encourages supporters to attack them, was discussed during a briefing by the author to the Home Office on the BNP. It was clear that the civil servant tasked with investigating Redwatch had no real idea about those who had been identified as running it and how it functioned; he was simply upset that a delegation, possibly the third in as many years, had banged the table in anger because of what they saw to be successive governments dragging their feet.

Nobody in the room had heard of Noncewatch, another website that

stepped up the threats to the targets of the extreme right. Some of those at the meeting understood that to identify people falsely and dishonestly as paedophiles and publish their addresses could result in people being attacked, even killed, and damage being caused to their property.

It was therefore surprising to read of a speech by Baroness Pauline Neville-Jones, the Minister of State for Security and Counter Terrorism, reported in *The Times* on 16 March 2011 under the headline “A new generation of terrorists is ‘being radicalised by the internet’”.

There was no reference to anybody engaged in terrorism other than Muslim extremists, nothing about the far right or even the animal rights extremism that took place before excellent police work put an end to it. Her speech, like other speeches she has made recently on the same theme, reveals that she is out of touch with the wider terrorist threats facing this country. Critics of such failures include Patrick Mercer MP, who is concerned about the return of would-be terrorists to Ireland both North and South, a concern echoed by Lord Carlile, the independent reviewer of anti-terror laws.

8. Even if there is not enough evidence to prosecute an individual, the pressure of constant police attention can damage their activities and impact.

Some of the key perpetrators have been raided by the police and had their computers seized, but they can be up and running again very quickly with new equipment. However if the police maintain the pressure with repeated raids and seizures of equipment, their operations would collapse as their ability to finance new equipment is limited.

9. The police should consider entering into deals by which a defendant is guaranteed a reduced sentence in exchange for providing information that would prevent far-right terrorist activity or enable the prosecution of other perpetrators of such activity, as they do already in connection with other types of crime.

Over the past 18 months the author has attended two briefings carried out by the Metropolitan Police Service SO15 Counter Terrorism Command on the management of witness agreements assisting offender

debriefing policy set out in the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005 sections 71-74. It was clear that although the legislation is being used sparingly the SO15 officers were willing to discuss outside the police family and the criminal justice system how the policy was working in practice.

It is clear that some defendants facing long sentences will be prepared to deliver worthwhile intelligence in exchange for a reduction in sentence. The difficulty is that few SO15 officers have sufficient detailed knowledge of the political background of these terrorists and the sub-culture from which they come to enter into a worthwhile deal and make use of the intelligence so obtained. The world of far-right extremism may prove very different to the types of crime the police and CPS are used to dealing with, such as armed robbery and drugs.

There has been discussion recently to doing such deals with convicted Islamist extremists, but no reference to far-right terrorists.

10. Training of SO15 officers and others dealing with investigating extreme-right crime needs to be centralised

A large number of bodies are presently engaged in the investigation of violent extremism in a rather piecemeal approach. This is particularly apparent in connection with the flow of intelligence and analysis about the English Defence League between local intelligence teams and those in the field spotter and observation teams, those assets operating inside extremist groups and more so that both the Sections in the Home Office and ACPO(TAM) and now the Metropolitan Police Service who have recently taken over some of the key elements of ACPO (TAM)'s work are not contradicting each other. Most senior SO15 officers dealing with the threat from the extreme right came to this work from Special Branch units; newer recruits appear to be learning on the job.

One of the roles of the UK Border Agency is to spot dangerous individuals who are not on the Home Office Stop List and prevent them from entering the UK. A senior officer from the UKBA, questioned about their training, responded that many officers came from SO15 so had good knowledge about Islamist extremists and their organised. Yet asked about the extreme right he declared that they received training of just a day or two.

The lack of knowledge about the



Recommendations (continued)

extreme right is borne out by the fact that visiting Islamist preachers and speakers are far more likely to be refused entry than someone from an extreme-right group. Take for example the Blood and Honour organisation, which contains people who were in the criminal group Combat 18 and have links with some of the most extreme nazi groups internationally. They are at the heart of the nazi music scene, a business worth anything up to a million pounds a year, on which no tax is paid.

When these people cross international borders, drugs and sometimes firearms travel with them. In Germany the police constantly raid the nazi music scene and Blood and Honour activists who have direct links with their British counter parts. These raids result in seizures of masses of illicit material, which undermines the groups both financially and organisationally. Some of the key far-right activists in Europe have links to Muslim extremists in the Middle East.

In contrast, in the UK hardly anything is done to stop nazi gigs going ahead or raid them while they are in progress. Searchlight has obtained a confidential list of nazi "gigs" in the UK in 2011 and found that two have already taken place and another four

or five will take place later in the year. No action has been taken over them.

The House of Commons Home Affairs Committee is informed that the British far right has no serious international links, when all the evidence shows that not to be the case.

Better informed national and regional training of Home Office staff, SO15 officers and local CPS teams would ensure more effective and targeted action against far-right extremists. It may be that such training should be extended to the House of Commons Home Affairs Committee so that they can better scrutinise the action taken by the Home Office to combat the far-right threat and are better equipped to propose appropriate legislative changes.

Arguably the brief of the Home Affairs Committee is too broad for its members to develop sufficient expertise in dealing with the far right threat, although a few of them have done so admirably.

11. Instead of eight bodies that often appear to the public to be pulling in different directions there is a real need for a monthly meeting of interested parties, including relevant practitioners outside the criminal justice system, to work together under the auspices of the Home Office. If this is not possible, perhaps there should be a parliamentary body supported by practitioners and able to call evidence and assistance from the criminal justice system. ●



Further reading and useful contacts

FURTHER READING

- *The New Extremism in 21st Century Britain*, Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin eds (Routledge 2009)
- *Walking Away from Terrorism*, John Horgan (Routledge 2009)
- *Hate Crime*, Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland (Sage, 2009)
- *Leaving Terrorism Behind*, Tore Bjorgo and John Horgan eds (Routledge 2008)
- *Root Causes of Terrorism*, Tore Bjorgo ed (Routledge 2005)
- *Racist Violence in Europe*, Tore Bjorgo and Rob Witte eds (Palgrave Macmillan 1993)
- *At War with Society: the exclusive story of a Searchlight mole inside Britain's far right*, Tim Hepple with Gerry Gable (Searchlight 1993), out of print but available at the British Library and a few other libraries
- *From Ballots to Bombs: the inside story of the National Front's political soldiers* (Searchlight 1989) out of print but available at the British Library and a few other libraries
- *Mr Evil*, Graeme McLagan and Nick Lowles (John Blake Publishing 2000)
- *White Noise*, Nick Lowles and Steve Silver (Searchlight Educational Trust 1998)
- *Holocaust Denial: the David Irving trial and international revisionism*, Kate Taylor ed (Searchlight Educational Trust 2000)
- *Facing the Threat: fascism and the labour movement* (Searchlight 1998)
- *Hooligans (Volumes 1 and 2)*, Nick Lowles and Andy Nicholls (Milo Books 2005)
- *From Cable Street to Oldham: 70 years of community resistance* Nick Lowles ed (Searchlight 2007)
- *White Riot: the violent story of Combat 18*, Nick Lowles (Milo Books)
- *Propositions on Antisemitism* Anthony Julius (Community Security Trust 2011)
- *A Guide to Fighting Hate Crime* (Community Security Trust 2011)
- *Neo-fascism in Europe*, Luciano Cheles, Ronald Ferguson, Michalina Vaughan eds (Longman 1991)
- *Psychology, racism and fascism* Michael Billig (Searchlight 1979)
- *Signs of Hate*, Matthew Collins and Gerry Gable (Searchlight 2003)
- *Fear and HOPE: The new politics of identity*, Nick Lowles and Anthony Painter (Searchlight Educational Trust 2011)

USEFUL CONTACTS

- The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, www.icsr.info
- Community Security Trust, www.thecst.org.uk
- Radicalism and New Media Group, Director Dr Matthew Feldman, University of Northampton, Park Campus, Boughton Green Road, Northampton NN2 7AL
- Quilliam Foundation (counter-extremism think tank) www.quilliamfoundation.org
- HOPE not hate, which campaigns against the BNP and other far-right organisations, www.hopenothate.org.uk
- Fear and HOPE, Searchlight Educational Trust's project to understand and tackle the rise of right-wing nationalism, www.fearandhope.org.uk
- The Home Office counter-terrorism section, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/counter-terrorism/>

Appendix A

List of some known convictions of members or associates of far-right groups

Year	Name	Political affiliation	Source
1962 Oct	Dennis Pirie	NF	Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1962 Oct	John Hutchyns Tyndall	NF	Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1963 Dec	Anthony Peter Dunford	UM	Searchlight 1 Spring 1965
1963 Sep	George Parisy	OAS/UM	Searchlight 1 Spring 1965
1965 Dec	David Pascoe	NF/GBM	Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1966 Sep	Gordon Marshall aka Brown	NF	Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1966 Jun	John Hutchyns Tyndall	NF	Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1966	Peter McMenemie	NF	Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1967	John Hutchyns Tyndall	NF	Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1969 Dec	Barry Bolton		Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1969	Joe Short	NF	Searchlight 131 p6
1969 Dec	John Clarence Smith		Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1969 Dec	Michael Calton		Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1969 Dec	Unknown	NF	Searchlight Feb 1975 p9
1970 Jan	John Roberts aka Jan Sylvester	NF	Searchlight 33 p5
1972 Sep	Alan Beshella aka Allan Entwistle	KKK/BNP	Searchlight 322 - p13
1974	John Gadd	NF	Searchlight 130 p4/Fortnight 7.7.86
1974 Sep	Roy Mennie	NF	Searchlight Feb 1975 p10/ Eve News 1.10.74
1975	Brian Hosie	NF	Searchlight June 1975 p20
1975	Carl Kukla	NF	Searchlight June 1975 p20
1975 Aug	David Boucher	NF	Searchlight September 1975 p14/ Eve Mail Slough 13.8.75
1975 May	Keith Squires	NF	Searchlight Feb 1975 p10/ The Times 16.10.74
1975	Roger Gleaves	LOSG	Searchlight 76 p7
1976 Dec	Richard Carver	NF	Searchlight 62 p 3
1976 Nov	Thomas Patrick McMahon	NF	Searchlight Sept 1976 p6 / SL 4 7/77 p3
1977 Oct	John Bogle	NF	Searchlight 31 p16
1978 Dec	Alan Birtley	NF	Searchlight 56 p9
1978	Charlie Sargent	C18	Searchlight 214 p8
1978 Aug	James Tierney	NF	Searchlight 62 p 3
1978 Aug	James Tresney	NF	Searchlight 39 p9

ABBREVIATIONS

ASF	Aryan Strike Force	N9S	November 9th Society
B&H	Blood and Honour	NA	Nationalist Alliance
BM	British Movement	NF	National Front
BNP	British National Party	NSM	National Socialist Movement
BPP	British People's Party	NSPUK	National Socialist Party United Kingdom
C18	Combat 18	OAS	Organisation of the Secret Army (France)
EDL	English Defence League	UDA	Ulster Defence Association
GBM	Greater Britain Movement	UM	Union Movement
HAPL	Harlow Anti Paki League	WDL	Welsh Defence League
KKK	Ku Klux Klan	WHWB	Wolf's Hook White Brotherhood
LOSG	League of St George	WNP	White Nationalist Party

Details (age, offence, sentence, etc)	Court
Exec member NF, organising paramilitary body	London Old Bailey 16.10.62
Imprisoned for organising & controlling a paramilitary organisation	London Old Bailey 16.10.62
Crawley UM branch leader, aged 17, admitted murder by stabbing	Crawley
Captured in UM member's flat with loaded pistol + 2 rounds of ammunition	
Possession of weapons	North London Court
Dep chairman NF, possessing offensive weapons	London Marylebone Court 27.9.66
Possessing offensive weapons	London Marylebone Court 29.6.66
Spearhead editorial staffer, theft of gun	London
Possession of gun and ammunition, prison term doubled after appeal	London 1967
Arson	Sheffield 8.12.69
Arson, non custodial sentence	Sheffield
Arson	Sheffield 8.12.69
Arson	Sheffield 8.12.69
Former NF student organiser, arson	Sheffield 8.12.69
NF candidate attacked wife with knife, 2 years' probation	Newbury County Magistrates
Child molesting	Los Angeles Superior Court
Conspiracy to supply arms to the UDA, jailed 10 years	Leeds
Carrying offensive weapon	London/Fulham
Murder, life imprisonment	Glasgow
ABH, jailed 3 months	preston
Armed robbery of Slough building society, jailed 3 years	Slough (Reading Crown Court)
NF candidate, ABH and criminal damage, fined £125 (prev convictions ABH, assault, theft)	Wood Green
Jailed for sex offences against young boys and social security fraud	London
Jailed 6 years for explosives offences	
Made Molotov cocktails and other explosives, jailed 7 years	Sunderland Magistrates
Possession of firearms + ammunition, fined £110	Manchester City Magistrates (Sale)
Possession of bomb making equipment, jailed 2 years	Newcastle Crown Court
Possession offensive weapon, threatening behaviour	
Explosives, jailed 3 years	Exeter
Possession offensive weapon + explosives	Exeter

Appendix A List of some known convictions of members or associates of far-right groups (continued)

Year	Name	Political affiliation	Source
1978	Robert Nash + 4 others	NF	Searchlight 36 p11
1979 Feb	Christopher Alan Mott	NF	Searchlight 46 p18
1979	Colin London	NF	Searchlight 52 p18
1979	Graham Newson	NF	Searchlight 51 p19
1979	Harold Nash	NF	Searchlight 52 p18
1979 Oct	Harvey Stock	NF/BM	Searchlight 53 p3
1979	Norman Lyons	NF	Searchlight 48 p8
1979	Raymond Pearce	NF	Searchlight 53 p18
1979 Oct	Roderick Roberts	BM	Searchlight 53 p3
1979	Tony McRoy	NF	Searchlight 47 p19
1979	William Royal	NF	Searchlight 51 p19
1980 Feb	Anthony Sullivan	BM	Searchlight 58 p15
1980	Ashley Harford	NF	Searchlight 58 p15
1980	Bobby Reddin	NF	Searchlight 58 p15
1980 Feb	David Burton	BM	Searchlight 58 p15
1980 Feb	George Coome	BM	Searchlight 58 p15
1980 Feb	Mark Hudson	BM	Searchlight 58 p15
1980	George Wright	NF	Searchlight 58 p15
1980 Feb	Ian Ettinger	NF	Searchlight 57 p15
1980 Jun	Kenneth Matthews	NF	Searchlight 61 p 13
1980 Jan	Mark Jan Plaza	NF	Searchlight 56 p9
1980	Robert Ward		Searchlight 60 p8
1980 Jun	Stephen Beales	NF	Searchlight 61 p 13
1980 Jun	Stephen Fitzpatrick	NF	Searchlight 61 p 13
1980	Stephen Hockey	NF	Searchlight 58 p15
1980 Feb	Stephen Mark Gaunt	NF	Searchlight 57 p15
1981	Bill Bentley	BM	Searchlight 77 p7
1981	Bill Hawes	BM	Searchlight 77 p7
1981 Jan	Carl Brandish		Searchlight 80 p 9
1981	Charles Magee	NF	Searchlight 74 p7
1981	Paul David (Charlie) Sargent	C18	Searchlight 214 p8
1981 Jan	Colin Roberts		Searchlight 80 p 9

Details (age, offence, sentence, etc)	Court
Broke into cadet training centre, stole guns and ammunition, Nash jailed 6 months	Marylebone Court
Age 19, threatening behaviour, fined £300 + bound over (previous threat behav, carrying offensive weapon, ABH, robbery)	Walthamstow (Hornchurch)
Sexual offences with boy, 13, indecent assault, indecency with child, attempted serious sexual offence, jailed 2 years	Chelmsford
Age 17, murdered girlfriend, detained during HM's pleasure	Old Bailey (Brixton)
Sexual offences with boy, 13, indecent assault, handling stolen goods x 2, jailed 12 months	Chelmsford
Arson – incendiary device	Birmingham
Aged 48, indecent acts on boy, 11, jailed 6 years	Walthamstow
Owning illegal firearm, unnecessary suffering to cat, fined £200 (previous 5 year sentence)	Bristol
Possession of arms and ammunition	Birmingham
UDA member, detained under Prevention of Terrorism Act	Hull (Liverpool)
Violent attacks and assaults, jailed 3 years	Norwich
Age 17, violent attack on Camden Squat, robbery, conspiracy to steal, conspiracy to assault, jailed 6 years	Camden
Age 17, chased girl down street threatening to kill, jailed 6 months (previous conspiracy to make firebombs, Old Bailey, light sentence as bombs not worked)	West London
Age 18, chased girl down street threatening to kill, jailed 6 months (previous conspiracy to make fire bombs, Old Bailey, light sentence as bombs not worked)	West London
Age 18, violent attack on Camden squat, robbery, conspiracy to steal, conspiracy to assault, jailed 5 years	Camden
Age 19, violent attack on Camden squat, robbery, conspiracy to steal, conspiracy to assault, jailed 4 years	Camden
Age 19, violent attack on Camden squat, robbery, conspiracy to steal, conspiracy to assault, jailed 5 years	Camden
Former Yorks organiser, gross indecency x 7 (enticing 4 girls, aged 12 & 13, into car, 6 months suspended + £500 fine	Skipton
Carrying an axe, 6 months suspended	Snaresbrook Crown Court
Chairman Southwark NF, 44, possession explosives + petrol with intent to destroy, jailed 6 years (previous possession firearms, assault, obstruction)	Southwark
Fighting, affray, malicious wounding, jailed 18 months (long list of previous, inc affray, threatening behaviour, assault x 2, burglary, theft, handling stolen goods)	Dudley Crown Court
Age 18, arson, jailed 3 years	Stepney
Possession explosives + petrol with intent to destroy, arson at Irish club, jailed 3 years	Southwark
Possession explosives + petrol with intent to destroy, sent to borstal	Southwark
Age 19, chased girl down street threatening to kill, jailed 6 months (previous conspiracy to make fire bombs, Old Bailey, light sentence as bombs not worked)	West London
ABH, jailed 18 months	Nottingham Crown Court
Age 35, ABH, poss offensive weapons, jailed 18 months	Leicester
Age 21, ABH, possession offensive weapons, jailed 4 years	Leicester
Arson, jailed 4 years	Norwich
Age 24, criminal damage and possessing gun within 5 years of leaving prison, jailed 3 months, £100 compensation (previous making & using petrol bombs in Belfast)	Ulster?
Importing illegal drugs to Sweden, jailed 18 months	Sweden
Arson, jailed 10 years	Norwich

Appendix A List of some known convictions of members or associates of far-right groups (continued)

Year	Name	Political affiliation	Source
1981	Colin Wilks	BM	Searchlight 78 p7
1981	Frank Burden	NF	Searchlight 70 p 19
1981 Jan	Harold Simcox	NF	Searchlight 68 p 4
1981 Jan	Harvey Stock	BM	Searchlight 68 p 4
1981 Jan	Ian Gilmore		Searchlight 68 p 4
1981	Kevin Moody	NF	Searchlight 71 p15
1981	Kevin Watmough	NF	Searchlight 70 p19
1981 Jul	Kevin Watmough	NF	Searchlight 87 p4
1981	Malcolm Sears	NF	Searchlight 71 p15
1981	Kim Newton	BM	Searchlight 78 p7
1981	Mandy Fieldgate	BM	Searchlight 78 p7
1981	Private Brian Luckhurst	BM	Searchlight 78 p7
1981	Private Paul Bunn	BM	Searchlight 78 p7
1981	Robert Baker	BM	Searchlight 78 p7
1981	Mark Crompton	BM	Searchlight 76 p3
1981	Michael Clifford	BM	Searchlight 69 p9
1981	Paul Mullery		Searchlight 69 p15
1981 Jan	Paul Pottle		Searchlight 80 p 9
1981	Phillip Harley/Hartley		Searchlight 78 p15
1981 Jan	Reginald Cox		Searchlight 68 p 4
1981	Richard Barnes	NF	Searchlight 79
1981 Jan	Richard Wadsworth		Searchlight 80 p 9
1981 Jan	Robert Giles	BM/NSPUK	Searchlight 68 p 3
1981	Robert Peace	NF	Searchlight 69 p9
1981 Jan	Roderick Roberts	BM	Searchlight 68 p 3
1982	Brian Larnar		Searchlight 82 p10/ Times 23.2.82
1982	Graham Arnold		Searchlight 82 p10/ Times 23.2.82
1982	Paul Twiner		Searchlight 82 p10/ Times 23.2.82
1982	Brian Romans		Searchlight 81 p5
1982	Craig Turner	NF	Searchlight 81 p11
1982	James Fields	NF	Searchlight 88 p8
1982 Feb	John Deighton	BM	Searchlight 81 p5
1982	Kevin Harrison		Searchlight 88 p9
1982	Stephen Goodier	BM	Searchlight 85 p7
1982	Steven Storey		Searchlight 84 p10
1982	Thomas Allen	BM	Searchlight 84 p10 / Bradford T & A 23.4.82
1982/83	Paul David (Charlie) Sargent	C18	Searchlight 214 p8
1983	David McShane		Searchlight 93 p15/ Hackney Gazette 21.1.83
1983	Nicholas Rudd	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1983	Russell Bliss	NF	Searchlight 91 p4

Details (age, offence, sentence, etc)	Court
Age 19, attempted malicious wounding, fined £70 + bound over	Colchester
Age 25, ABH, 12 months detention	Leeds
Possession firearms and ammunition x 2, 18 months suspended	Birmingham Crown Court
Arson + conspiracy to incite racial hatred, suspended sentence	Birmingham Crown Court
Arms charges, 2 years suspended	Birmingham Crown Court
Age 17, assault with intent to rob, ABH, robbery, 6 months detention	Epping
Age 25, ABH, 3 months detention	Leeds
Age 19, possession offensive weapon, conditional discharge	Leeds
Age 17, assault with intent to rob, ABH, robbery, 6 months detention	Loughton, Essex
Age 25, attempted malicious wounding, £70 fine	Colchester
Age 20, attempted malicious wounding, £70 fine + bound over	Colchester
Age 24, attempted malicious wounding, £70 fine + bound over	Colchester
Age 21, attempted malicious wounding, £70 fine + bound over	Colchester
Age 24, attempted malicious wounding, £70 fine + bound over	Colchester
Age 19, possession offensive weapon, jailed 6 months	West Hawton Lancs
Leeds BM organiser, murder, life sentence	Leeds
Age 17, murder motivated by race hate, detained during Her Majesty's pleasure	East Ham
Age 16, arson, jailed 8 years	Norwich
Age 26, attempted synagogue arson, jailed 3 years, previous for Leeds Crown Court (Dewsbury) threatening behaviour, crim damage, affray	
Various arms charges, jailed 3 years, + sexual offences young girls, jailed 5 years	Birmingham Crown Court
Age 21, murder, attempted murder, kidnapping, arson, wounding with intent, jailed for life	Birmingham
Age 16, arson, jailed 6 years	Norwich
Conspiracy to obtain pistol, 18 months suspended	Birmingham Crown Court
Hoard of 90 guns found	Bury
13 charges – possession of arms, arson and race relations offences, jailed 7 years	Birmingham Crown Court
Age 15, murder, life sentence	Southwark
Age 17, murder, life sentence	Southwark
Age 15, murder, life sentence	Southwark
Threatening, abusive and insulting behaviour, fined £150	
Threatening words and behaviour, fined £150	Middlesbrough
Age 22, ABH, jailed 1 month + 14 days for bail offence, previous for burglary, criminal damage, threatening behaviour, assault PC	North London
Possession prohibited weapon and ammunition, fined £90	South Oxhey
Age 19, arson + criminal damage, jailed 5 years	Birmingham
Age 26, possession firearms without certificate, 12 months conditional discharge	Manchester
Age 17, murder, detained during Her Majesty's pleasure	Coventry
Murder, jailed for life	Bradford
Possession illegal drugs with intent to supply	
Age 19, murder, jailed for life	Kings Cross
Murder, life sentence, previous: arson, gross indecency, burglary, drugs poss, living of immoral earnings	Brighton
Age 20, ABH, fined £150 + £40 compensation	Brighton

Appendix A List of some known convictions of members or associates of far-right groups (continued)

Year	Name	Political affiliation	Source
1984	Albert Martin	NF	Searchlight 109 p7
1984	Clifford Bickerstaffe	NF	Searchlight 109 p7
1984	William Madine	NF	Searchlight 109 p7
1984	Graham Simmonds	NF	Searchlight 116 p12
1984	Graham Withers	HAPL	Searchlight 112 p8
1984 Dec	John Ellison	NF	Searchlight 131 p4
1984	Nigel Shaw		Searchlight 116 p20
1984	Paul Simpson		Searchlight 116 p20
1985	Brian Thornhill	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Carl Colin Roberts	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Christopher Codd	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	David James Howson	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Derek Higgins	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Desmond Clarke	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Ignatius Sonny Arnold	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	James Howson	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Keith Howson	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Michael Coulson	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Michael Edward Coulson		Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Michael Gorman	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Pat Fitzsimmons	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Danny Fields	NF	Searchlight 123 p5
1985	James Fields	NF	Searchlight 123 p5
1985	Darren Scott Langeland	NF	Searchlight 126 p10
1985	Dave Gardiner	NF	Searchlight 122 p4
1985	James Fennessy	NF	Searchlight 126 p10
1985	Keith Thomas Green	NF	Searchlight 124 p9
1985	Kenneth Logan	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Maurice Castles	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1985	Paul Wesley	NF	Searchlight 123 p14
Mid 80s	Stewart Morgan	BM	Searchlight 214 p8
Mid 80s	Stuart Chandler	BM	Searchlight 214 p8
1985	Unknown		Searchlight 121 p20/ Ilford Recorder 2.5.85
1985	Warren Hammond	NF	Searchlight 123 p3/4
1986	David Cotton		Searchlight 131 p9/ Birm Eve Mail 5.4.86
1986	David Rowton		Searchlight 131 p9/ Birm Eve Mail 5.4.86
1986	Dawn Powis		Searchlight 131 p9/ Birm Eve Mail 5.4.86
1986	Robert Betteley		Searchlight 131 p9/ Birm Eve Mail 5.4.86
1986	Stephen Booker		Searchlight 133 p12
1986	Stephen Chandler	BM	Searchlight 130 p5

Details (age, offence, sentence, etc)	Court
GBH, 12 months suspended	Belfast
Manslaughter, jailed 2 years 11 months, young offenders' centre	Belfast
Manslaughter, jailed 2 years 11 months, young offenders' centre	Belfast
Age 23, malicious wounding, 12 months suspended + £100 compensation	Lordswood Kent
Age 14, multiple convictions conspiracy to commit criminal damage, 4 months youth detention	Harlow
Blackburn organiser, unlawful killing of rival football supporter, jailed 6 years	Carlisle (Blackburn)
Age 26, racially aggravated firebomb attack, jailed 1 year	Sheffield
Age 25, racially aggravated firebomb attack, jailed 1 year	Sheffield
Armed robberies, jailed 4 Years	Islington & Camden
Armed robberies, 6 months suspended for 2 years	Camden
Armed robbery, borstal	Islington & Camden
Armed robberies, jailed 7 years	Islington & Camden
Armed robberies, jailed 7 years	Islington & Camden
Armed robbery, jailed 3 years	Islington & Camden
Armed robberies, jailed 6 years	Islington & Camden
Armed robberies, jailed 6 months	Islington & Camden
Armed robberies, jailed 10 years	Islington
Armed robbery, jailed 1 year	Islington & Camden
Armed robbery, jailed 18 months	Islington & Camden
Armed robberies, jailed 4 years	Islington & Camden
Armed robberies, borstal	Islington & Camden
Rape and imprisonment of a woman, jailed 8 years	Finsbury
Sexual assault, imprisonment and beating a woman, jailed 16 months, 13 previous convictions	Finsbury
Age 18, GBH, jailed 6 months	Bury St Edmunds Magistrates
Age 40, threatening behaviour, fined £600	Birmingham
Age 25, ABH, jailed 6 months	Bury St Edmunds Magistrates
Age 21, assault, burglary, attempted robbery, jailed 12 months	Grimsby Crown Court (Scunthorpe)
Firearms offences £100 fine + 6 months suspended sentence	Islington & Camden
Firearms offences £600 fine + 6 months suspended sentence	Islington & Camden
Age 22, gross indecency, committed suicide before trial	Middlesex
Importation of illegal drugs, jailed 6 years	
Importation of illegal drugs, jailed 6 years	
Arson, 30 months' youth custody	Chadwell Heath
Armed robberies, borstal sentence	Islington & Camden
Age 16, firebomb attack on Asian family, 8 weeks' youth custody	Walsall
Age 17, firebomb attack on Asian family, 15 months' youth custody	Walsall
Age 17, led firebomb attack on Asian family, wearing swastika badge, 21 months' youth custody	Walsall
Age 16, firebomb attack on Asian family, 21 months' youth custody	Walsall
Age 21, arson, jailed 2 years	Middlesex
Caught with drugs worth £2 million, jailed 15 months	Newham

Appendix A List of some known convictions of members or associates of far-right groups (continued)

Year	Name	Political affiliation	Source
1986	Steven Morgan	BM	Searchlight 130 p5
1986 Nov	Tony Lecomber	BNP	The Guardian 28.11.86
1987	Andrew Robertson	NF	Searchlight 142 p7
1987	James Winters		Searchlight 142 p7
1987	Peter Miller		Searchlight 142 p7
1987	Robert Grieve	UDA	Searchlight 142 p7
1987	Harry Butler	BM	Searchlight 174 p11
1987	Malcolm Lowes		Searchlight 144 p8
1987	Paul O Leary		Searchlight 151 p5
1987	Paul Smith	NF	Searchlight 152 p12/ Welwyn & Hatfield Times 3.12.87
1987	Trevor Jones	BM	Searchlight 174 p11
1989	Jeff Marsh	EDL/WDL	Wales Online 05.03.10
1989 Dec	Shaun Crambie	BNP	Searchlight 216 p7
1990	Terry Thornton	NF	Searchlight 195 p6
1991	Barry Edward John	NF	Searchlight 198 p5
1991 Mar	Richard Chambers		Searchlight 214 p11
1991	Scott Forbes	BNP	Searchlight 190 p13
1991 Nov	Steve O'Connell, aka Sadgrove	BNP	Searchlight 219 p12
1992	Peter Brawley	NF	Searchlight 216 p6
1993	George McKay	NF	Searchlight 212 p8
1993	Wayne McGrath	NF	Searchlight 212 p8
1994	Brian Hunter		Searchlight 229 p3
1994	Brian Phoenix	BM	Searchlight 228 p5
1994	David Fletcher	NF/C18	Searchlight 237 p6
1994 Feb	Frank Portinari	UDA	Searchlight 225 p5
1994 Feb	James McCrudden	UDA	Searchlight 225 p5
1994	Gordon Jackson	BM	Searchlight 232 p3
1994 Feb	Graham Tasker	BNP/C18	Searchlight 226 p4
1994 May	James Docherty		Searchlight 230 p6
1994 May	John Walter James Heard	NF	Searchlight 230 p6
1994	Joseph Patrick Owens	BNP	Searchlight 230 p6
1994	Terry Blackham	NF	Searchlight 227 p4
1994 Jun	Edward Duggan	BNP	Searchlight 229 p3
1994 Jun	Vincent Ribbans	BNP	Searchlight 229 p3
1997	Peter Moore		Searchlight 259 p16
1998 Jan	Paul David Charlie Sargent	C18	Searchlight 272 p2
1998 Jan	Martin Cross	C18	Searchlight 272 p2
1998 May	Nick Griffin	BNP	Searchlight 276 p6

Details (age, offence, sentence, etc)	Court
Age 31, caught with drugs worth £2 million, jailed 4 years	Newham
Making explosives: 10 grenades, 7 detonators, 2 petrol bombs, biscuit tin bomb, jailed 3 years	London
Conspiracy to supply arms to the UDA, jailed 12 years	Glasgow
Acquiring explosives, jailed 4 years	Glasgow
Acquiring explosives, jailed 4 years	Glasgow
Acquiring explosives for terrorism, jailed 9 years	Glasgow
14 arms offences, jailed 4 months + longer suspended sentence	
Age 39, arson of synagogue + obtaining money by deception, jailed 4 years	Norwich Crown Court (Scarborough)
Arson, 3 years youth custody	Dagenham
Assault, ABH, previous convictions violence + dishonesty	Hatfield
Age 26, armed robberies, jailed 7 years	
GBH, jailed 2 years	
Age 22, arson + theft, 12 months young offenders institution	Burnley Crown Court (Colne)
Age 60, bomb plot to kill ex-lover, 2 life sentences	
Age 21, arson, jailed 2 years 9 months	Milton Keynes
Possession firearm + ammunition, fined £1,200	
Bomb hoax to threaten council leader, fined £400	Dundee
Threats to kill, jailed 6 month, 2 previous convictions football hooliganism	
Aged 43, Arsenal of weapons + hit lists, jailed 2 years 6 months	Little Hulton, Bolton
Age 21, murder, life imprisonment	
Age 19, manslaughter, 3 years 6 months youth custody	
Age 18, firebombed Asian shop, 21 months custody	Tyne & Wear
Age 34, sold Uzi submachine gun to former soldier, jailed 4 years	
Possession 3.7kg heroin, jailed 5 years 10 months	New York
Arms & ammunition possession, 5 years (associate of Eddie Whicker, former NF parliamentary candidate)	Birmingham Crown Court
Arms & ammunition possession, 2 years 6 months (associate of Eddie Whicker, former NF parliamentary candidate)	Birmingham Crown Court
Conspiracy to commit armed robbery, 6 years 6 months, previous for possession of firearms	Derbyshire Crown Court
Affray and assault, 120 hours community service	Leicester Crown Court
Assault, abduction, possession illegal firearm, 3 years, already serving life for manslaughter	Blackpool
Assault, abduction, possession illegal firearm, 12 months	Blackpool
Possession of knuckleduster, CS gas, other weapons, well known in Nazi circles	Liverpool
Possession of submachine gun and other weapons, 4 years 6 months	
Age 25, violent racist attack, jailed 3 years, increased to 5 years	Ilford
Age 26, violent racist attack, jailed 3 years later increased to 5 years	Ilford
Age 50, murder, life imprisonment, known Nazi sympathiser	North Wales
Murder, life imprisonment	Chelmsford Crown Court
Murder, life imprisonment	Chelmsford Crown Court
Publishing racist magazine, 9 months suspended	Harrow Crown Court

Appendix A List of some known convictions of members or associates of far-right groups (continued)

Year	Name	Political affiliation	Source
1998 May	Paul Ballard	BNP	Searchlight 276 p6
1999	David Copeland	BNP/NSM	The Times, 3.3.07
1999 Dec	James Shaw	NF/BNP/BM	Searchlight 295 p12
1999 Dec	Stuart Kerr	BNP/NF/NSM/C18	Searchlight 295 p13
1999 Mar	Roger Gleaves	LOSG	Bucks Free press 1.1.00
2000	Anthony Donaldson	B&H	Searchlight 300 p22
2000 Oct	Cameron Dudley	NF/BNP/KKK	Searchlight 306 p17
2002 Apr	Andrew McLorie	BNP (former NF)	Daily Mirror, 5.4.02
2002 Oct	Barry Oliver	BNP	Darlington and Stokton Times, 15.10.02
2002 Oct	David Tovey		Searchlight 329 p6
2002 Dec	Edward Sheppard	BNP	Coventry Evening Standard, 5.12.02
2004 May	Thomas Jackson	BNP?	The Scotsman, 2.5.04
2004 May	Brian Gifford	BNP	The Scotsman, 2.5.04
2004 Jun	Christopher Povey	BNP	The Sun, 9.6.04
2004 Feb	Mark Kilpatrick	BNP	Northern Echo, 17.3.04
2004 May	Mark Weldrake	BNP?	Essex Evening Gazette, 21.5.04
2004 Apr	Robert McMahon		The Guardian, 16.4.04
2004 Jan	Robert Parry	NF/WNP	Birmingham Evening Mail, 5 January 2004.
2004 Jun	Tony Wentworth	BNP	Searchlight 361 p20 BBC News, 3.6.04
2005 Jul	Ben Boylen	BNP	Sunday Mirror, 24.7.05
2005 May	Karl Hanson	BNP	Huddersfield Daily Examiner, 18.5.05
2005 Nov	Roderick Rowley	BNP	Birmingham Post, 1.12.05
2006 Feb	Anthea Mizzi	BNP	South London Press, 10.2.06
2007 Feb	John Laidlaw	BNP	BBC News, 23.2.07
2007 Sep	John Pakulski	NA/WHWB	Nottingham Evening Post, 11.9.07
2007 Jan	Keiron Richards	ex-C18	icWales.co.uk, 21.1.07
2007 Jan	Mark Bulman	Young BNP	ThisisWiltshire.co.uk, 6.1.07
2007 Jun	Robert Bennett	BNP	Tameside Advertiser, 8.6.07
2007 Feb	Robert Cottage	BNP	BBC News, 13.2.07
2007 Dec	Sharif Gawad	BNP	
2008 Nov	Andrew Wells	BNP	News of the World, 23.11.08
2008 Nov	Ian Hindle	BNP	News of the World, 23.11.08

Details (age, offence, sentence, etc)	Court
Publishing racist magazine, 6 months suspended	Harrow Crown Court
3 bombings in London killing 3 people, 6 life sentences, must serve 50 years	London
Age 57, possession explosive devices, racially inflammatory material, offensive weapons, jailed 9 years	Old Bailey
Age 20, firebomb Asian shop and police car, jailed 12 years	Chichester Crown Court
Rape, attempted rape, incitement of one boy to rape another, indecent assault x 3, jailed 15 years	Old Bailey (Tottenham)
Child pornography, 6 months	Blackpool Crown Court
Attempt to purchase guns & explosives, jailed 5 years	Grimsby Crown Court (Scunthorpe)
Arson (conviction dates back to 1980s)	Ulster
Assault, 240 hours unpaid work + £500 compensation	North Yorkshire
Age 37, 9 firearms and explosive offences, Racially aggravated criminal damage, jailed 11 years	Oxford Crown Court
Shooting and wounding a man, jailed 3 years, BNP 2001 general election candidate	Coventry
Racially aggravated firebomb attack, jailed 7 years, boasted of BNP membership	Hull
Racially aggravated firebomb attack, jailed 4 years 6 months	Hull
GBH + possession offensive weapon, jailed 14 years	North West
Violent assault on girlfriend on Valentines Day	Darlington
Racial abuse at football match, wore BNP badge, £200 fine + 3 year football banning order	Colchester/Hartlepool
Age 24, murder, dismembered body, life imprisonment, evidence of interest in BNP and Nazism	Birmingham
Racially aggravated intentional harassment, 'No Mosques Here' stickers, 12 months community rehabilitation order	Birmingham
Caused fear & provocation to violence, conditional discharge	Salford
Smuggling illegal immigrants into Britain	Kent
Possession heroin + crack cocaine, fined £400	Huddersfield
Making & distributing obscene images of children x 14, jailed 15 months, BNP Coventry candidate	Coventry
Using stun gun against a neighbour in a row over St George flag, jailed 6 months	London
Series of shootings in north London, life imprisonment, many previous convictions, claimed BNP member and to hate all black people	London
Manslaughter, jailed six years	Worksop
Murder after victim joked about England's World Cup defeat by Portugal, life imprisonment	Llandudno, Wales
Arson of mosque using BNP leaflet as fuse, jailed 5 years	Swindon
Affray, assaulted neighbour who asked Bennett's son to leave a BBQ for racist remarks, 150 hours unpaid work + £250 compensation	Manchester
Age 49, possession of explosives, former BNP parliamentary candidate, jailed 2 years 6 months	Dewsbury
Possession of heroin, fined £80	Bradford
Sexual activity with, and in presence of, child, jailed 2 years 3 months	Blackburn
Sex with child, jailed 3 years	Blackburn

Appendix A List of some known convictions of members or associates of far-right groups (continued)

Year	Name	Political affiliation	Source
2008 Jun	Martyn Gilleard	BPP	CPS press release, 25.6.08
2008 Dec	Nathan Worrell	BPP/N9S	Daily Mail, 12.12.08
2008 Oct	Jason Owen	NF	The Observer 16.8.09
2009 Oct	Ellis Hammond	BNP	Searchlight 413 p24
2009 Jul	Neil Lewington	NF/KKK	Searchlight 410 p15
2009 Nov	Terence Gavan	BNP	Searchlight 416 p6
2010 Feb	Darren Tinklin	BM/B&H	South Wales Argus 24.02.10
2010 May	Ian Davison	ASF	BBC 14.05.10
2010 May	Nicky Davison	ASF	BBC 14.05.10

Details (age, offence, sentence, etc)	Court
Terrorism offences and indecent images of children, Nazi fanatic, jailed 16 years	Goole
Possession of material for terrorism + racially aggravated harassment, jailed 7 years 3 months	Grimsby
Age 37, convicted of allowing the death of Baby P	
Downloading child pornography, 3 year community sentence, life ban from working with minors	Wood Green Crown Court
Age 44, possession explosives intent to endanger life + preparing for acts of terrorism, jailed indefinitely, must serve at least 6 years	Old Bailey (Reading)
22 charges of terrorism, possession of explosives, firearms, collecting information useful for terrorism, jailed 11 years	Old Bailey (Batley, West Yorks)
Age 24, possession firearm, making + possessing explosives and pipe bomb, information useful for terrorism, jailed 3 years	Newport Crown Court (Blackwood)
Producing chemical weapon, jailed 10 years	Newcastle Crown Court (Co Durham)
Age 19, possessing material useful for acts of terror, jailed 2 years	Newcastle Crown Court (Co Durham)

Appendix B

Extract from Crown Prosecution Service guidelines on prosecuting “violent extremism”

CODE FOR CROWN PROSECUTORS

TYPES OF CONDUCT AND OFFENCES LEADING TO PROSECUTION

“Violent extremism” may be defined as:

The demonstration of unacceptable behaviour by using any means or medium to express views which:

- foment, justify or glorify terrorist violence in furtherance of particular beliefs;
- seek to provoke others to terrorist acts;
- foment other serious criminal activity or seek to provoke others to serious criminal acts; or
- foster hatred which might lead to inter-community violence in the UK.

There are a number of offences that can be considered when dealing with violent extremism. (See “Offences” below). They include offences arising through spoken words, creation of tapes and videos of speeches, internet entries, chanting, banners and written notes and publications.

The main offences employed to date have been soliciting murder and inciting racial hatred.

FREE SPEECH

When deciding whether or not to prosecute such offences, we also have to bear in mind that people have a right to freedom of speech. Free speech includes the right to offend. Indeed the courts have ruled that behaviour that is merely annoying, rude or offensive does not necessarily constitute a criminal offence.

The offences that have been successfully prosecuted go well beyond the voicing of an opinion, free speech, or causing offence.

The distinct common thread in terms of criminal prosecutions under the radicalisation umbrella has been a manifested desire to kill, maim or cause a person or group of people immense fear for their personal safety through the threat of (often) extreme violence based on their colour or religion and urging others to take this course.

Prosecutions are not limited to cases of the above, however, and in addition there have been

prosecutions for deeply insulting behaviour. This is behaviour which falls short of a desire to commit violence but is nevertheless threatening abusive or insulting and intends to stir up racial hatred.

RACIAL HATRED

Hatred is a very strong emotion. Stirring up racial tension, opposition, even hostility may not necessarily be enough to amount to an offence. Sometimes it may be obvious that a person intends to cause racial hatred; for example, when a person makes a public speech condemning a group of people because of their race and deliberately encouraging others to turn against them and perhaps commit acts of violence. Usually, however, the evidence is not so clear-cut and we may have to rely upon people's actions in order to prove their intentions.

If we are not able to prove that the accused intended to stir up racial hatred, we have to show that, in all the circumstances, hatred was likely to be stirred up, not simply liable or possible.

The offence on inciting religious hatred is on the statute books but has not been brought into force.

OFFENCES THAT COULD BE CONSIDERED

Offences that could be considered include:

- Treason (Desiring death of the monarch, levying war against the Queen, giving aid and comfort to enemies of the state,)
- Soliciting Murder: s4, Offences against the Person Act 1861 (Encouraging or persuading any person to murder any other person)
- Incitement to commit acts of terrorism overseas: s59, Terrorism Act 2000
- Incitement to disaffection: Various Acts
- Inciting racial hatred - Part III Public Order Act 1986 (as amended by the Racial & Religious Hatred Act 2006)
- Sedition and Seditious Libel (inciting hatred or contempt and violence against the state and its institutions)
- Inviting support for proscribed organisation: s12, Terrorism Act 2000
- Terrorist financing offences s15-18 Terrorism Act 2000
- Encouragement of terrorism: s1, Terrorism Act 2006
- Dissemination of terrorist publications: s2, Terrorism Act 2006
- Offences of encouragement and dissemination using the internet
- Distributing, showing playing or possessing a recording, with intent to stir up racial hatred: s21-23, Public Order Act 1986

Appendix C

Crown Prosecution Service Counter-Terrorism Division case summaries

The Counter-Terrorism Division of the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) reports each year on the cases it has concluded. Below is the introduction to the 2009 report and the summaries of the two extreme-right defendants convicted of terrorism offences included in that year's report.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CPS REPORT 2009

Included in the list below is a brief summary of the cases which have been concluded in 2009 (as of 2nd November 2009). It should be noted that, as a general rule, a defendant is entitled to a one third discount on his sentence if he pleads guilty at the earliest opportunity, with a sliding scale for guilty pleas which are entered later than that. If a defendant is found guilty after trial, the Court can consider the maximum tariff to be available, subject to any personal mitigation that may be submitted on the defendant's behalf. Where a life sentence has been imposed, the tariff shown as the minimum sentence is the time to be served before parole can be considered. Some life sentences are shown as indefinite in which case it is for the Parole Board to monitor the defendant's progress towards a time when he can be considered for release.

NATHAN WORRELL (OP MOONSTONE)

Jamal Ahmed

Aranachalam Chrishanthakumar aka Shanthan (Op OSMIUM)

Mohammed Abushamma (Op TURNOVER)

NEIL LEWINGTON (OP OPELLA)

Daniel James (Op ZOOLITE)

Isa Ibrahim (Op VULCANISE)

Pa Modou Jobe

Hassan Tabbakh

Kevin Gardner

Houria Chentouf

NATHAN WORRELL (OP MOONSTONE)

The defendant had lived in Grimsby since 2001. He was a racist who followed the political views of the National Socialist or Nazi Party and in furtherance of his beliefs that this country belongs exclusively to the indigenous (white) people, he stated that he was fighting for this country, believing in forced, but peaceful, repatriation.

Living nearby were a mixed race couple; the husband was of Bangladeshi descent. In 2007 the couple had a daughter and around this time the defendant began posting racist stickers on the rear gate of their home and on a lamp post adjacent to their gate. This continued for several months until January 2008. In particular a sticker: 'Only inferior white women date outside of their race. Be proud of your race, don't be a race mixing slut'. These stickers caused harassment, alarm or distress to the couple.

Police searched the defendant's flat on 24 January 2008 and found not only evidence linking him to the racist stickers, but also documents for making explosives, incendiary devices and booby traps, together with chemicals and other materials

to assist in such preparation, as well as notes written by him which showed that he was committed to the use of violence in furtherance of his beliefs.

On 12 December 2008 he was convicted after trial of two counts, namely of racially aggravated intentional harassment, alarm or distress to the couple referred to above contrary to section 31(1) (b) of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and for possession of articles for terrorist purposes under section 57 of the Terrorism Act 2000.

He was sentenced on the same day to a total of 7 years and 3 months imprisonment. He appealed against this sentence but it was upheld by the Court of Appeal on 14 May 2009.

NEIL LEWINGTON (OP OPELLA)

On 30 October 2008 the defendant travelled from Reading to Lowestoft on trains in order to meet a woman whom he had met on an internet dating site.

The defendant was travelling with a holdall and during the course of the journey was drinking cans of lager on the train. He was verbally abusive to the train guards and other passengers. As a consequence the police were called to arrest him at Lowestoft station. When the defendant got off the train at Lowestoft he was seen to place the holdall on the floor whilst urinating in public. He was arrested at 1445 hours that day under Section 5 of the Public Order Act 1986.

When the defendant was taken to Lowestoft police station his holdall was searched and a number of items were found in the holdall which raised the police's suspicions. Some of the items in the holdall were component parts to an improvised explosive device (bomb), a small screwdriver and 2 metal hooked instruments, a black Samsung mobile phone with a picture images on it containing racist comments, a set of keys and several handwritten notes containing lists which related to

components of improvised explosive devices (bombs).

In relation to his home address in Reading which he shared with his parents, a search of his bedroom resulted in a number of component parts to an improvised explosive device (bomb) as well as a number of instruction manuals on how to make improvised explosive devices (bombs).

The defendant was indicted on the following counts:

Count 1 - Engaging in conduct in preparation for acts of terrorism, contrary to section 5(1) of the Terrorism Act 2006.

Count 2 - Possessing articles for a purpose connected with the commission, preparation or instigation of an act of terrorism, contrary to section 57(1) of the Terrorism Act 2000.

Count 3 - Possessing documents or records containing information of a kind likely to be useful to a person committing or preparing an act of terrorism, contrary to section 58(1)(b) of the Terrorism Act 2000.

Count 4 - Possessing explosive substances with intent, contrary to section 3(1)(b) of the Explosive

Appendix C Crown Prosecution Service Counter-Terrorism Division case summaries (continued)

Substances Act 1883.

Count 5 - Possessing articles for a purpose connected with the commission, preparation or instigation of an act of terrorism, contrary to section 57(1) of the Terrorism Act 2000.

Count 6 - Possessing documents or records containing information of a kind likely to be useful to a person committing or preparing an act of terrorism, contrary to section 58(1)(b) of the Terrorism Act 2000.

Count 7 - Collecting information of a kind likely to be useful to a person committing or preparing an act of terrorism, contrary to section 58(1)(a) of the Terrorism Act 2000.

Count 8 - Possessing explosives, contrary to section 4 of the Explosive Substances Act 1883.

Following a trial the defendant was convicted on 15 July 2009 of counts 1-6 and count 8. On 8 September 2009 he was sentenced to a total of 6 years' imprisonment, less the time he had spent on remand.

Appendix D

The POWER investigation



Searchlight has always conducted investigations into far-right extremists here and abroad. The growth in terrorist activities from the extreme right over the past decade prompted the Searchlight Information Services research team to investigate a small white supremacist group called Patriots of the White European Resistance (POWER) that was attracting the interest of several hardline nazis who we considered might turn to acting upon their beliefs by using or threatening violence and terrorism. The results of that investigation were recorded in the document that follows, which was written in July 2007, to demonstrate, in particular to specialist investigators in the criminal justice system, how real the threat from the far right was.

Some of the people who feature in that document (though not in all cases under their real names) were later convicted and are included in chapter 3 of this report.

Personal contact details have been redacted.

P.O.W.E.R.

(Patriots of the White European Resistance)

P.O.W.E.R. is a small white supremacist skinhead gang consisting of approximately 20 people. At the time of writing (July 2007) the P.O.W.E.R. forum had 233 members, attracting the interest of a number of minor fringe Nazi parties including the British Peoples Party and the Wolfs Hook/Nationalist Alliance.

P.O.W.E.R., which stands for 'Patriots of the White European Resistance', emerged in 2006. They do not consider themselves to be a political party but rather 'freedom fighters' in the 'struggle for the white race.' The group is openly National Socialist 'and we will willingly stand and defend National Socialism because unlike the propaganda that surrounds this political stance we feel that

National Socialism is the way forward even today in the year 2006.' The group is strongly racist and anti-Semitic viewing the 'Jewish people' as 'a threat to the future of Europe'.

Its website denies the Holocaust and contains downloadable copies of the Leuchter Report and other 'Holohoax' documents. It also contains dozens of other downloadable anti-Semitic and fascist books including *Main Kampf* and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Also available is the 'Leaderless Resistance' document written by US extremist Louis Beam, which has been the blueprint for cellular extremist terrorism.

The principal activities of P.O.W.E.R. has been its holding of two 'vigils' to

'remember our fallen... brothers and sisters murdered for the colour of their [white] skin' including Kriss Donald and Ross Parker. The first of these vigils took place on 30 September 2006 at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. The second occurred in Hyde Park on 24 June 2007.

Sid Williamson, national organiser of the British Peoples Party (BPP) who made a speech (see below), attended the second vigil.

Its members often using the greeting 816 or 8/16, which translates as 8 = H and 16 = P, i.e. H/P or Hitler Power/Heil Power. (we think).

At present we have been able to identify the following individuals as being connected to P.O.W.E.R.





Daniel Bryan ('Ragnarok')

The P.O.W.E.R. website was registered to Daniel Bryan on 14 August 2006. He lives at 4 Stretyn, Truro, Cornwall, TR3 6LY. This is 'Danny' who also uses the name 'Ragnarok'. He is the principal contact for P.O.W.E.R.

He is aged 25. Height 6ft 5 inches apparently.

Mobile number: 07922 27■■■■■

He uses a number of e-mail addresses including the following:

odinseye14@■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■

RAGNAROKPWER816@■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■

What3v3rittak3s@■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■

Also has username 'odinseye14'

Windows Live Space site:
<http://odinseye14.spaces.live.com/>
[appears to have been taken down].

Bryan posts on You Tube as 'UK Militant' though claims to be 'Terry' and 34:

<http://www.youtube.com/user/UKMilitant1488> The website has a photomontage of Ian Stuart Donaldson.

To date he has posted seventeen videos, all of them racist.

Possible other You Tube Site:
<http://www.youtube.com/user/BritishUnion14>

On it he describes himself as 'Militant White' and also 'White and Ready To Fuck You Up Kike.' He is strongly anti-Semitic.

He regularly attends the NF St. George's Day gathering but has not been present for the last two years apparently (according to a post on the forum).

The reason he was absent from the 2007 march on 23 April is that he had a court case due for the same day.

He was present at both the 2006 and 2007 P.O.W.E.R. vigils in Hyde Park. On the second vigil of which we have footage Bryan is the speaker before Sid Williamson from the BPP.

He has a fourteen-year-old stepson.

Details of website registration

Visit AboutUs.org for more information about 14power88.com

AboutUs: 14power88.com

Registration Service Provided By: Affordable Multimedia

Contact: dns@afmu.com

Visit: <http://www.afmu.com>

Domain name: 14power88.com

Registrant Contact:

14POWER88

Daniel Bryan
(WHAT3V3RITTAK3S@HOTMAIL.CO.UK)

+44.187287■■■■■

Fax: +44.187287■■■■■

Possibly responsible for the 'Worldwide Aryan Freedom Fighters'

<http://www.freewebs.com/what3v3rittak3s/index.htm>

According to POWER newsletters, he claims he was a conditional discharge for hitting a "paedophile" with a hammer.

He is a member of the www.revolutionaryleft.com forum which he uses because they post details of demonstrations and meetings on the website advising the rest of the P.O.W.E.R. forum 'so keep an eye out and keep your plans sweet.'

Appears to have a bit of a bee in his bonnet about Searchlight, posts a picture of Gerry Gable on the forum.

Scott Cowan (‘WarMachine816’)



He is the other key member of the group. He is also the ‘youth leader’.

Claims to have been involved in a number of racist gangs in Scotland calling themselves ‘Scotland Against Pakis’ (SAP), ‘Glasgow Skinhead Elite’ (GSE), ‘Tyrs Chosen’ and the ‘Terror Skins’ – as he admits ‘these were mainly the same people in each little gang but we could never decide a name... a few dropped out but the remaining strong are now in power also’ These gangs are no doubt either figments of his imagination or just a group of racist mates.

Based in Scotland, possibly from Renfrewshire. He is an administrator of the forum. Not a Celtic fan!

E-mail address:
voice of britain 88@████████

He was present at the 2006 P.O.W.E.R. vigil in Hyde Park.

YouTube Site:
http://www.youtube.com/profile_videos?user=British88Skin

He has a Myspace website:
<http://www.myspace.com/foolsno>
[more](#)

Less involved due to new girlfriend – Amy Toner (see below)

Posts the free phone number for the SNP on the P.O.W.E.R. forum on 4 May 2007 with the injunction ‘give em commie wankers A GOOD OLE TALKIN TO!’

Paul Carrie (‘Killthereds’)

Paul Carrie lives at ██████████, Rasen, Lincolnshire, ██████████. He uses the name “Killthereds”.

E-mail: killthereds@████████████████

He posts on Blood and Honour Forum and is a former member of the November 9th Society.

Carrie is the administrator of the P.O.W.E.R. forum. In his profile he pretends that he is 16. On the B&H forum he states that he is 16 and that he was recently suspended from school for breaking a Romanian immigrants jaw. Elsewhere, however, he has claimed that he was 22.

On the P.O.W.E.R. forum he claims that he owns a 12 bore side-by-side shotgun, Lee-Enfield refurbished rifle. He states that he is about to obtain a shotgun licence in 8 weeks. He has also been experimenting making “Napalm Grenades” and gives instructions on forum on how to make “Molotov Cocktails”

He is applying for 1st rifleman division of the British army in February 2007

He has a Myspace website under the name “Posh Paul” which was set up on 22 February 2007:

<http://profile.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=user.viewprofile&friendid=161305712>

The sound files on the website are racist parodies of dance music. He describes his mission as: “Using Blacks music against them...”

He describes the sound as “Shitty Nigger Music of MTV, with a Racial twist”.

Carrie describes himself thus:

“Well ... im a Nazi Punk but have realised that Some music i like will not wake up Wiggers, etc. Now i have started the Wake Up The Lost Whites Project, by creating as music of different Genres as possible to ‘wake up the lost whites’. To all you ‘whigga Mo fuckaz’. I am not a 12 year old kid, i used Pitch shift to change my voice tone to fit in with the speed of the track. I am not pathetic, i am me, im am Proud that i am White. To be honest all you cocks who keep Messaging me, i Read your messages and laugh, i laugh at your Pathetic ways, i laugh at you because you think you messaging me with change my ways and those who are proud of there people. WHITE PRIDE WORLD WIDE!”

He was present at the 2006 P.O.W.E.R. vigil in Hyde Park.

He left a message of condolence on the Mick “Belsen” Sanderson tribute page after this member of the Wolfs Hook White Brotherhood was murdered by another member of the brotherhood.

<http://pub46.bravenet.com/guestbook/3882428660>

A member of the on-line gaming “Team Nox” for the game Halo2:
<http://teamnox.awardspace.com/contact.htm>



Michael Heaton (‘Wigan Mike’)



Although most P.O.W.E.R. members appear to be in their early twenties, if not younger, one member in particular appears far older.

This is Michael A. Heaton, aged 39, who uses the name ‘Wigan Mike’. He is ex-National Front (NF).

He lives at [REDACTED], Leigh, Lancashire, [REDACTED].

E-mail: [wigan-mike@\[REDACTED\]](mailto:wigan-mike@[REDACTED])

E-mail: [northwestnf@\[REDACTED\]](mailto:northwestnf@[REDACTED])

He left the NF after an argument with Richard Lee, one of the ‘global moderators of the NF forum who lives in Portsmouth. Heaton joined the NF forum on 25 January 2007, made 41 posts and is now banned.

He may also be involved with the Wolfs Hook White Brotherhood. Certainly appears to favour the National Alliance from his post of 18 May 2007 in which he refers to them as his ‘favourite’.

Heaton is friendly with Anita Corbett, the former Oldham BNP organiser.

He posts on You Tube with the following profile:

<http://www.youtube.com/user/WIGANMIKENF>

Martin Brown (‘Marbro1’)

Another regular on the forum is “Marbro1”. This is an abbreviation of his real name.

E-mail: [mr.marbro@\[REDACTED\]](mailto:mr.marbro@[REDACTED])

His profile on the P.O.W.E.R. forum claims that he is 48.

He was born on 4 February 1959. He is a divorcee, married for thirteen years. He has two children, both of whom at University. He is unemployed and lives on the disability living allowance. He also claims incapacity benefit. He suffers from Agoraphobia.

He is a former milkman and member of the TGWU.

He is a BNP member from Aylesbury. Indeed as he posts on Stormfront:

“I am from Buckinghamshire England and am a member of the BNP, I hoppe [sic] to make contact with like minded friends who think the way that I do and want to cleanse this country and also America of the plague that is spreading in both our great countries before it is too late. Great to be here marbro1”

<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/new-members-around-world-post-226853p117.html>

He posts on Stormfront and BNP forum using same user name.

He is divorced but was married for fourteen years until his wife divorced him.

He is a Hitler worshipper. As he posts on Stormfront, people,

“have been brainwashed into seeing Adolf Hitler as some kind of monster when in reality he was a great tactician and cared about the true Aryan race and wanted to preserve it. He must be turning in his grave to see how things are going now.”

<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?p=4294274#post4294274>

On the causes of World War Two he writes:

“It was started by the jude inciting the allies into a war with Germany, which is a stupid thing for us to be forced into since We all wanted the same thing, the annihilation of the jews and Hitler always hoped that we would join him in the struggle against the jude and slimes.”

<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?t=393279>

Having applauded the “annihilation of the jews” Marbro1 then goes on to claim, “the gas chambers is a lie.”

<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?p=4206811#post4206811>

Nevertheless he also expresses sympathy on Stormfront following the death of John Hansl, an 82-year-old former SS concentration camp guard who was stripped of his US citizenship in 2005 and died whilst still fighting deportation.

<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?p=4352392#post4352392>

He also signed Griffin’s ‘The Truth is No Defence’ Internet appeal:

<http://www.thetruthisnodefense.com/petition.htm>

States on the P.O.W.E.R. forum that he owns a .22 air rifle.

He may no longer be a BNP member as he claims to have been a member of the New Nationalist Party though he appears oblivious to the allegations about Ebanks’ racial ancestry. The impression created is that he is not be a member but just reads their website.

He is still a registered member on the BNP Members forum

... (‘Vonherman’)

According to a post by Peter Carrie on the P.O.W.E.R. forum ‘Vonherman’ is responsible for the P.O.W.E.R. website.

E-mail: heathen.reich@

Listed as living in Surrey, near Guildford. Avatar states ‘The Werewolf of Farnham.’

He is 18 years old and posts on Stormfront as ‘Thomicus’

He has a Live Journal website: <http://thomicus.livejournal.com/>

He is into NS Black Metal and appears to have fantasised about killing a classmate who he believed to be lower than a ‘Jew’.

Has a website: <http://hrdesigns.has.it>

‘Heathen Reich Designs’ which has the by-line ‘elite heathen Aryan supremacist propaganda creation.’

He was present at the 2006 P.O.W.E.R. vigil in Hyde Park.

Has applied to join “Das Reich Clan” which looks like a sort of NS gaming and role-play on-line community:

<http://kroenen.proboards21.com/index.cgi?board=recruiting&action=post&thread=1136501282"e=1136501282&page=1>

Also applies to join another on-line role-play community – as an Elf.

<http://wow.allakhazam.com/db/item.html?witem=1449>

Joe... (‘crazy_white_joe’)

Male, aged 25. DOB: 24 September 1981. Located in Swindon. He moved from Bradford in 2002 and used to live in Batley (Kirklees).

E-mail: joefrombradford@

He is one of the more prolific posters on the NF forum as ‘joefrombradford.’

He is an NF member – he applied to join at the beginning of 2007 and gets his membership some time in early February 2007 - and posts on Stormfront and the NF forum as ‘joefrombradford’

Lists his interests as ‘running, cardio and weights.’

In July 2007 he handed out 250 NF leaflets near Wroughton School following the hammer attack on schoolboy Henry Webster. Claims the BNP made an “empty promise” to guard the school. He was accompanied by ‘skinhead_mick’ who is listed as a 23-year-old college student born on 18 January 1984 and who also lives in Swindon:

<http://forum.national-front.org.uk/showthread.php?t=1495>

On another occasion he appeals for anyone interested in “activism” in the Swindon area to get in touch.

<http://forum.national-front.org.uk/showthread.php?t=387>

He attended 2007 Vigil

Youtube site: <http://www.youtube.com/user/joefrombradford>

Odinsreich Site:

http://www.odinsreich.com/index.php?mode=people_card&p_id=5394

Lists his interests as ‘saving quality genetics’ but refuses to list an occupation because being a ‘hater’ he knows he would get the sack. Contains a link to Micetrap Records, the NS music supplier in the USA.

He is friendly with Michael Matthews from Swindon who in 2006 was convicted of trying to burn down a mosque and Sikh temple in Swindon.

He himself served 12 months (Sentenced to 18 months) for a racially motivated attack in Bradford. [Do we have more details?]

He is a former Cocaine addict. He is a Bradford City and Rangers fan

Gives instructions on POWER site on how to make Molotov Cocktails

Plans to visit Berlin in August



Miles... (‘commando’)



He lives in Shepperton, Surrey and is a carpet fitter by trade.

He is a leading member who can be identified from photograph. He is a former member of the BNP.

E-mail: londonrec@

Telephone: 01932 24

This is also the telephone number of D C R L P G Services, based at , Middlesex, London, .

He was present at the 2006 P.O.W.E.R. vigil in Hyde Park.

He has not been too active lately because he has been in Germany presumably working. But as he announced on 2 June 2007 in a thread entitled ‘shit skins better run, I am coming back’ Miles wrote: ‘things aint worked out too good here in Germany, so I will be coming back soon and becoming active again, I feel things are going to kick off in England within the next 5 years and I aint going to miss that, will be good to see you all again and look forward to recruiting new members. Sieg heil.’

... (‘WhiteTide’)

Male, 18, claims to be located in Glasgow, Scotland.

Email address:
WhiteTideIsRising@

He is a College Student, and Irish Catholic by birth. He is a Celtic supporter.

His is a former Cannabis User

He possibly lives in the central Scotland area as

Youtube Site:
<http://www.youtube.com/profile?user=WhiteTide88>

Nicholla Ritchie was a candidate in his region. He is too young to vote ‘but I made sure a lot of my mates voted for her.’

... (‘Maiden of Valhalla’)

Female, 31. Has children.

E-mail: maidenofvalhalla@

E-mail: Maid3nOfValhallaUK@

Pretty sure that she is trusted by ‘Ragnarok’ and was braced to post on the forum on his behalf if he had been sent to prison (see above).

... (‘waynes’)

He is 23 years old. He is located in ‘Steel City’ – Sheffield? – and lives with his parents. He appears to work in a local gym.

Email: bootboy@

He is one of the more prolific posters on the P.O.W.E.R. forum.

He is ex-White Nationalist Party (WNP), the British National Party (BNP) and the National Front (NF).

He was guilty of GBH age 12!

Claims he owns a crossbow.

States on the P.O.W.E.R. forum that he used to be a self-harmer:

<http://www.14power88.com/forum/index.php?topic=742.0>

Posts information on the P.O.W.E.R. forum taken from Redwatch regarding a meeting of the South Manchester Anarchist Federation to be held on 28 August 2007. He posts information on the 17 August the day after Redwatch.

He could be the ‘SHEFFIELD816’ who posts on the NF forum who states that ‘I was in the NF in my teens and still feel the party is for me’. Renewed his membership in July 2007 – unlike most others he gets his membership card within a month on 30 July ‘and just hoping [sic] now to get stuck into things’.

This could also be John Christian (SteelWolf), however.

On 4 August 2007 Waynes proffers the idea on the P.O.W.E.R. of picking three people from all the various Nazi sects and then linking up to form an ‘aryan unity movement’.



... ('Road2hell')

Male, 31, DOB: 8 February 1976.
Located in East Ham.

E-mail: road2hell@

Runs the anti-Islamic website:
<http://www.england-forever.co.nr>

It seems that he is involved in some way on the periphery of C.U.N.T.S, the NF and also B&H.

He posts on the NF forum. He joined on 17 June 2007.

He is a West Ham fan.

... ('sweaney')

From the North East. By his own admission he has been active for the past four years on the C18 forum. Had a falling out with 'Bart' but hopes to put this behind him. Joined the P.O.W.E.R. forum on 7 July 2007.

E-mail: davison924@

You Tube Site:
<http://www.youtube.com/profile?user=sweaney88>

Website: <http://www.blogtext.org/sweaney> entitled 'The DVD Project' which is 'first and foremost a united effort by all who wish to see and [sic] end to terror on our streets, all who are sick of living under the threat of Muslim extremist while our government sits by and does little of nothing. It is a rallying call to all that would stand united and in one clear voice cry out "we want our country back, we have had enough."'

The site markets a downloadable DVD, which is asks you to watch, burn and pass on. It is available from <http://thepiratebay.org.tor/3730615>

He explains the rationale behind the idea on the C18 guestbook as being a non-party political project, which aims to distribute and anti-Islamic DVD in order to heighten awareness of the menace of multi-culturalism:

<http://www.drypool.net/cgi-bin/system.pl?id=isdgb&cmd=reply&topic=78>

He posts on the NF forum.

He joined on 10 July 2007.

Adrian Jowitt ('Lord_Lancaster')

DOB: 31 July 1973.

Claims to be based in Blackpool, Lancashire - possibly located in Carleton area of Blackpool. He is a Blackpool FC season ticket holder.

He has a 10-year-old daughter.

He is a civil servant, more specifically an I.T. Project Manager. He claims to work in a UK government building and that he has an income between £30,000-£45,000

E-mail: swhitewizard2003@

E-mail: swhitewizard@

E-mail: swhitewizard@

He is a pagan and lists his religion as 'Wiccan'.

Has a website which sells '100% authentic Nazi goods':
<http://www.nazi-collectables.co.uk>

The contact point is e-mail:
sales@

The website is registered to one Adrian Jowitt, no address is provided.

His 'sponsored links' page links to a number of extremist websites including ISD records, Resistance Records, the National Vanguard, Redwatch, Combat 18 and Stormfront. It also carries the C18 skull logo. Not what one would call a politically impartial website.

Posts on
<http://www.youtube.com/user/swhitewizard>

Myspace site:
http://www.myspace.com/blackpool_ady

He submitted an e-petition to No. 10 stating: 'We the undersigned petition the Prime Minister to Dissolve [sic] Parliament forever and install The Sheriff of Lancaster as supreme leader of the United Kingdom and all her territories.' It was rejected.

<http://petitions.pm.gov.uk/rulebyLancs/#detail>

As he posted on 7 May 2007 on the topic 'RE: A list of Red Groups, know your enemy' which can be viewed at:





John Christian (‘SteelWolf’)

DOB: 21 March 1978. Male aged 29.

Lives at: ■■■■■■■■, Sheffield,
■■■■■■■

E-mail: LARDE@■■■■■■■

He has a six-year-old daughter. He has just lost his job.

He posts on the NF forum. He joined on 10 February 2007.

Enquiring about the dates of NF marches.

<http://forum.national-front.org.uk/showthread.php?t=412>

He posts on You Tube:
<http://www.youtube.com/LOYALBUSHER>

‘MY BLOOD IS MY LOYALTY...
WE MUST STUDY POLITICS
AND WAR SO THAT OUR
WHITE CHILDREN CAN
STUDY MATHEMATIC AND
ECONOMICS’

His videos contain information about bomb making and details of how to make an electronic detonator. There is also a clip of him CS gassing a friend to be found in the ‘comedy’ section.

In the ‘How to and DIY’ section is found ‘Home Made Boooooommm’

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zuaALjI-9i0>

In the same section can be found ‘Electronic Detonator’.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tHS6NkCF9w8>

‘Me CS gassing Rene’:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CsjJFSxLtU>

Also, is a video of him shooting his mate with a paintball gun:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=og1UoyYnHRY>

Possibly called Rob (‘Odins Law’)



E-mail: shaw1488@■■■■■

He is a forum administrator. He is from the Yorkshire area but appears to be in the USA at present.

He was present at the 2006 P.O.W.E.R. vigil in Hyde Park.

Knows someone called ‘Jade’ who was or is N9S.

Ryan ... (‘SouthernWolf’)

He is an administrator of the forum. He lives in England.

E-mail: themanwhoknows@■■■■■

Claims to be 18 years old

He was one of the three contact points given for the 2007 P.O.W.E.R. vigil.

Claims that P.O.W.E.R. is the first political group he’s been involved with.

There is an ‘swolf816’ who posts on the NF Forum stating his location is ‘south England’ – possible that they are one in the same.

He was married.

<http://www.14power88.com/forum/index.php?topic=1346.0>

‘I find – www.redwatch.org - is a pretty good place to keep an eye on the antifa wankers. There is even an address of some nob head commie twat in Lancaster I fancy a ride over to...’

He is undoubtedly referring to Ketlan at Lancaster UAF.

... (‘Spoon Slinger’)

Based in Manchester.

E-mail: dark_baz06@

Collects Knives – he also claims on the forum that he would like to get hold of a Luger pistol.

Despite his age – it is believed that he is eighteen – he claims to be ex-Armed forces.

Possible Myspace site:
http://www.myspace.com/northern_baz

There is a photo.



Amy Toner (‘Cupcake’)



Female, 17, located in East Kilbride, Scotland.

E-mail: amy_toner@

She states that she is a ‘National Socialist’.

It appears that she is the girlfriend of Scott Cowan (‘War Machine816’) – see above.

She is a student at South Lanarkshire College, possibly studying catering.

She has two jobs, one in a large cafe in Hamilton and one in the local Cinema in her hometown.

She has a Bebo Site:
<http://www.bebo.com/Profile.jsp?MemberId=530795>

Myspace site:
<http://www.myspace.com/cutestcupcake>

The music on her Myspace website is currently ‘Coon Hunt’ by Chingford Attack who are also ‘Friends’ of her website.

She appears to suffer from some as yet unidentified illness which has her shuttling back and forth to hospital and the doctors and which means she is not as active as she would like to be.

Craig Coombes (‘Blitz88’)

Lives at , Ryde, Isle of White, Hampshire,

Aged 43, he runs “Loopy Scooter” which describes itself as “the one stop skinhead shop”. It appears to be a small Internet auction site that sells skinhead memorabilia etc. He is married (Vivian) and has two children aged 14 and 8.

E-mail:
CELTICREBEL89272@AOL.COM

Telephone: 0774605

Both he and his wife are members of The Armed Forces Scooter Club (TAFSC).

He is a (former?) member of the Royal Signals Corps. He is also a Northern Soul DJ though he lists his favourite non-Northern Soul group as being Skrewdriver.

<http://www.tafsc.com/members.htm>

There is a photograph of Craig Coombes on the website.

Coombes sells neo-Nazi DVDs. Indeed, the Stigger Live DVD we have in the office comes from him.

He also has tattoos (possibly of a white power variety)



Liam Hankin (‘Nottspower’)

Hankin is 19 years old.

He posts on Stormfront as ‘Liam14/88’.

He lives in Nottinghamshire, possibly in Pinxton/Kirkby in Ashfield.

He is a former member of November 9th Society and appears to be involved with the ‘Troops of Tomorrow’ skinhead outfit.

E-mail: liam1488@■■■■

Gareth Hemingway (‘Deacon’)



DOB: 21 December 1980

Deacon is actually his son’s Christian name, also known as Yorky.

Address: ■■■■, Bognor Regis, ■■■■

Also uses nickname ‘crazy whiteman’

E-mail: dea_jo@■■■■

His partner is Deanne Maddocks – ‘Sweet Aryan Girl’ (see below)

He has two children, a boy (three) and a girl (two).

He posts extremist material on You Tube using the profile ‘Pauldtjt’:

<http://www.youtube.com/user/pauldtjt>

That they are one in the same is confirmed by a row with NottsNationalist88 (a BNP supporter) in which ‘Deacon’ uses the same e-mail address:

<http://www.youtube.com/user/NottsNationalist88>

One of the videos he has posted on You Tube is currently the subject of a police investigation. The video, entitled ‘Dewsbury Needs Help’ features Nazi imagery and threats to the Muslim community. In the video ‘Paul’ states that he is a member of the British Peoples Party. (Source: *The Dewsbury Reporter*, 26 July 2007).

He has a Myspace site under his nickname ‘Yorkie’ though the profile is private:

<http://profile.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=user.viewprofile&friendid=188213188>

He has a number of tattoos – there are photos.

Deanne Maddocks (‘Sweet Aryan Girl’)

DOB: 29th November 1983

Female, 23. She lives at: ■■■■, Bognor Regis, ■■■■. She is originally from the Birmingham area.

E-mail: dedem83@■■■■

Tagged Website:

<http://www.tagged.com/mypage.html?uid=37268767>

As well as photos of herself it features flyers for C.U.N.T.S. and the National Alliance (NA). She is a former National Front member.

She has a Myspace site:

<http://www.myspace.com/sweetydethesexyaryangirl>

She is the girlfriend of Gareth Hemingway (Deacon) – see above. They have been together for 5 years – they met at Butlin’s Holiday Camp.

Claims on the P.O.W.E.R. forum on 21 May 2007 that she slashed her wrist when she was fifteen as ‘I had a lot of things going on at the time.’ Claims her mother’s boyfriend’s son and his friend abused her when she was thirteen. There was a Crown Court Case apparently. Her mother stayed with the boyfriend, which tipped her over the edge.

<http://www.14power88.com/forum/index.php?topic=742.0>

She has a tattoo that says ‘Deacon’ on her lower back (I think)



... ('Skinheadkid')

He is a regular poster on the forum. Listed as a 'global moderator'.

He claims not to be involved with P.O.W.E.R. anymore. Politically he claims to be in the British People's Party and the National Front.

He posts regularly on the NF forum. Joined 18 April 2007.

He is either 16 or 17 years old. He Lives in London according to NF forum. He most likely lives in Barnet, North London.

He claims to have been involved in the NF, the BPP, Hammerskins, Combat 18 and BNP 'sort of'.

He has been banned form You Tube three times. States that he is Straight Edge.

He has a Faceparty website: <http://www.faceparty.com/skinheadkid>

E-mail: mental_skinhead@

Left a threatening message on the Australian anti-fascist website Fight Dem Back:

<http://www.fightdemback.org/archive/places/global/>

Also posted, though account now disabled, on the following forum listing his interests '[boots](#) [braces](#) [combat18](#) [deathmetal](#) [metal](#) [nationalfront](#) [nazism](#) [neonazism](#) [nsbm](#) [oi](#) [rac](#) [rightwing](#) [skin](#) [skingirl](#) [skingirls](#) [skinhead](#) [skinheads](#) [skins](#) [whitepower](#) [whitepride](#)'.

http://www.imvu.com/catalog/web_tag_search_result.php?tag=nsbm

... ('Ethan Rome')

Joined the P.O.W.E.R. forum on 29 June 2007.

26 year old male located in Mansfield, East Midlands

Claims to be in Lockham, Nottinghamshire.

E-mail: ethanromeKtb@

Website: <http://1488.sm4.biz> - membership of this website is restricted to members only and you have to register. Has an e-mail contact address:

thearyanson@rock.com

Has a Youtube website

<http://www.youtube.com/user/EthanRome>

He has served time in prison

Posted details on POWER forum about how to make tear gas and explosives

Also posts about how to modify air gun pellets

Writes poetry and has a book of poetry for sale

<http://www.lulu.com/content/908975>

Posted on Allpoetry.com until he was banned for using 14/88 signature



... ('smeTANKa')

DOB: 13 May 1986.

E-mail: [@](mailto:deadnymph)

E-mail: [@](mailto:daemonianymph)

She is a student nurse in the Acute Male Medical Department (2006 to present). Based in Prestwich, Manchester and Lipetsk, Russia.

She posts on the P.O.W.E.R. forum about the arrest of the Format 18 leader, Maxim Marsinkevich.

She is a 'Straight Edge' but appears more interested in NS Black Metal.

He posts on the Blood and Honour forum as 'Gemini'

She has a number of blog-style Internet sites:

<http://deadnymph.livejournal.com/>

<http://rusalka741989.livejournal.com/>

<http://daemonianymph.livejournal.com/>

Myspace site: <http://www.myspace.com/rusalka741989>

She is a member of the following forum, which lists her interests as "Slavic paganism" and "industrial photography." See:

<http://ourworld.iforumer.com/profile.php?mode=viewprofile&u=56&mforum=ourworld>

She has her own website for her experimental photography;

<http://deadnymph.deviantart.com>

This lists her age as twenty and gives an alternative e-mail: sablina@

On the P.O.W.E.R. admits to having been a self-harmer:

<http://www.14power88.com/forum/index.php?topic=742.0>

It would also appear that she suffers from an eating disorder.

**Jade ...
(‘xJaeihx’)**

Joins the P.O.W.E.R. forum on 24 August 2007.

According to her profile she is 32 and has ‘been in the movement around 20 years, most of it as a Skinbyrd now I’m with the NF’

She posts regularly on the NF website, particularly on its women’s section.

Her profile contains a link to the Razors Edge Myspace website:

<http://www.myspace.com/razorsedgeuk>

From the way she talks about it elsewhere I think she may be close to the band.

She claims to be a student studying early childhood education. She posts regularly on Stormfront and VNN as ‘xJaeihx’.

She is originally from Georgia USA but is in process or has recently moved to UK

Posts on Boverworld:

http://www.boverworld.com/view_contacts.php

Prolific poster on Aryan Front:

http://www.aryanfront.com/search.php?search_author=xJaeihx&sid=4f01fd0a7490a7f6525150a1fdbd8b70

The following are forum members who play a more peripheral role or for whom we have far less detail.

**Rachel Blackley
(‘honour/14’)**

Based in Dumfries, Scotland. Lists gender as ‘male’.

E-mail: rachel.blackley@

Came to P.O.W.E.R. through the C18 site. Has a daughter possibly.

(‘Ben83’)

Aged 19, lives in Scotland.

E-mail: europa_aware_88@

Claims an allegiance to Christian Identity. He is a College Student.

Claims to have been involved on the periphery of the football hooligan scene stating, ‘wen [sic] I was younger I used to run with various teams (young inverkeithing terrors and wen [sic] I moved the camdean young team) but power is my first and only organisation [sic]...’

He is probably the Ben referred to as having attended the 2006 P.O.W.E.R. vigil in Hyde Park.

(‘TykeSCS’)

Claims he is ‘Kev’s (Hartlepool) mate’. He is from Sheffield, originally from Cottingley West Yorkshire.

E-mail: atn@

He is a former member of the BNP.

He is approximately 32

Straight Edge

(‘Fearnzy4’)

P.O.W.E.R. Northwest. He lives in Manchester. Listed as an administrator on the forum.

E-mail: joycentre88@

Aidan Griffin (‘88Power88’)

E-mail: aidangriffin10@

Aged 18

Website: <http://white-power-pics.piczo.com/?cr=4&rfm=y>

Attended 2007 vigil.

On the following forum asking how to make a good website:

<http://uk.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20061202083109AAcbv0Y&show=7>

(‘blackshirts1488’)

Male, 17, located in Newcastle.

E-mail: jesus_is_a_cun_t@

Possibly the one who is posting on You Tube as ‘BritishUnion14’.

(‘FM 14/88’)

Male, aged 27. He is located in ‘Brizzol’ – Bristol?

He is a BNP member. He did not attend the 2007 P.O.W.E.R. vigil.

(‘Panzer88’)

E-mail: treblinka18@

He/She is Portuguese

(‘TheQ’)

Aged, 18. Lives in London.

E-mail: fascistthx0r@

Appears not to be involved.

(‘MidsSer’)

Males, located in Midlands. It appears that he has left the forum.

P.O.W.E.R. activities



Hyde Park demonstration 30 September 2006

On 30 September P.O.W.E.R. held a vigil in Hyde Park at Speakers Corner for the white victims of 'racism'. An account of the event was carried on the Nationalist Alliance website (<http://www.allnationalist.com/vigil/htm>) though the group stressed that it was not theirs.

Approximately sixteen to twenty people attended the event including a polish skinhead called 'Wilk' (see below). Two of those there traveled down from Scotland and several came from Yorkshire.

P.O.W.E.R. Tour

During 2006 the group also held a 'P.O.W.E.R Tour' which consisted of nine or two individuals on a camping trip. A video of the event was initially posted on You Tube though has since been taken down because it violated You Tube's terms and conditions. It was available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=trVgyFfgMAI>

We do have screen shots.

P.O.W.E.R. Training camp February 2007

In February 2007 members of P.O.W.E.R. staged a four-day training camp in the Lake District, Cumbria. The proceedings were very secret. This was not an open invitation to all members and was not discussed on their forum. As was made clear in a briefing document:

"During the 4 days we shall be selecting members to lead regions of the UK and to build on P.O.W.E.R. growth across the UK, this 4 day training will also be a way to test our own abilities and to build strong bonds with the brothers who will form a resistance and will one day stand side by side as brothers of a Racial Holy War. We shall be enjoying 4 days of hard work and great enjoyment, 4 days of brotherhood and stamina challenges, 4 nights of exercises, walking, climbing, mountain biking, fishing, swimming, camping skills, night tasks and self defence, and much more."



Hyde Park demonstration 24 June 2007

On 24 June 2007 P.O.W.E.R. held a second vigil at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park.

The event was publicised in advance by the websites of both the Racial Volunteer Force (RVF) and the National Front (NF)

The RVF 'news' section (www.rvforce.org/news.html) stated that:

"We would urge all comrades to turnout and support the vigil that is going to take place on 24 June 2007 in hyde park. London. The young comrades that arrange this have turned into into [sic] a annual event and it deserves support, as do they. To often are the White victims of racial crime forgotten, while any Ethnic that even receives a paper cut seems to get knighthoods, benefit concerts, memorials etc. Even ZOG's own statistics prove that more racial attacks are carried out on White than any other group. We need to make our voice heard that no longer will we sit quietly back as our Brothers and sisters are slaughtered by Alien scum. Make your voice heard."

The NF announced on their forum.

<http://forum.national-front.org.uk/showthread.php?p=5060>

On 21 June "Hanger 17" wrote:

"there is a nationalist day of action by Power group, <http://www.14power88.com/> on Sunday 24th Hyde Park, Speakers Corner.

Although this is not an NF activity, I thought that some people may wish to attend this event. Contact Danny [Bryan] from the above web site if you want more information."

The event was publicized by the BPP on their website.



Eddy Morrison publicized the event on his blog:

<http://beowulf14.blogspot.com>

As did Sid Williamson:

<http://survivalordeath14.blogspot.com/>

(According to Sid the dates for the vigil were put forward from September to allow the group to concentrate on plans for disrupting the Israel v England game at Wembley.)

At the event Danny Bryan unfurled a Polish flag to stress white European unity. After he had finished talking and arguing with the crowd Williamson made a speech. 'Buster' a BPP member from Brighton accompanied Williamson. There was, needless to say, plenty of heckling.



Links with the British Peoples Party

The BPP are clearly taking an interest in the group. Williamson, who addressed the second vigil, posts on the P.O.W.E.R. forum as 'StGeorgeIsCross'. He also uses this name on Stormfront.

His own blog site carries only two 'favourite links' – one to the BPP and one to P.O.W.E.R. which is indicative of his attempt to court the group in the last few months and which is also reflective of his increased activity within the BPP.

P.O.W.E.R. clearly reciprocate this interest. In the June 2007 P.O.W.E.R. Newsletter Bryan announced:

"That we are standing side by side with the BPP in the aim to being an end to infighting, to make John Tyndalls [sic] years of hard work mean more than ever, so on behalf of POWER I salute Eddie [sic] Morrison, Pete (Sid) Williamson and thank them deeply for the support, advice and encouragement and support not just with regards to the London Vigil but also for advice Eddie [sic] offered to me, without which I would have been rather stuck on something that was said to me regarding the POWER Vigil and the distribution of Leaflets [sic]. The 816 stands side by side with the British Peoples Party, and if there is anything we can do to assist or help the BPP consider it done."

A video entitled 'bpp 8/16 unity' was posted on You Tube on 20 June 2007:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dzFviH9Gk9s> It states that 'this video is dedicated to the British Peoples Party from the 8/16'. It goes on to state that 'your hand of friendship is well received and accepted.'

It was posted by <http://www.youtube.com/user/pauldttj> 'Deacon'. Danny Bryan made the video itself.

On 1 July 2007 'Streicher88' [who is also so he claims a member of the BPP and supporter of the NA and RVF] posted that: 'The BPP, in light of recent events [i.e. the P.O.W.E.R. vigil in London] is hoping to org. meeting in Glasgow over the next few days. Can POWER's Scots members PM me so we can arrange it.'

There is a Glasgow BPP listed: glasgowbpp@ and a telephone number: 07722 08. No idea who is behind it though.

One member of P.O.W.E.R. has posted some 28 times on the BPP forum since joining on 17 November 2006 using the avatar "Oswald Mosley". He lists his interests as: "Odinism-Paramilitary-NS-Fishing". His profile can be seen at:

<http://bpp.jconserv.net/profile.php?mode=viewprofile&u=25&sid=87f1759ec7618234ec0f69b91df5bf97>

Another member of the BPP who is involved with P.O.W.E.R. is:

Martyn E Gilleard ('Mart8814')

Address: , Selby, North Yorkshire,

E-mail: martyngilleard@

E-mail: martyngilleard@

Joined the P.O.W.E.R. forum on 4 August 2007. States that he is a member of the BPP and the RVE.

He is a former member of the White Nationalist Party, the Nationalist Alliance and the National Front.

He is a Sheffield Utd fan

He is currently the Goole BPP contact

Mobile 0770794

Email: mart8814@

Goole is in East Yorkshire not North Yorkshire but they are only 15 miles apart.

Links with the Racial Volunteer Force



The February 2007 P.O.W.E.R. newsletter announced that the group stood 'side by side' with the RVF:

"A group that deserves nothing but utmost respect for its dedication to the 14 words and its fight in the White Resistance is the RVF (Racial Volunteer Force). POWER would like to announce that in the near future, UK sections of POWER and RVF will be in discussion to make some vital changes for the good of the white race, POWER supports the RVF and Likewise [sic], again I shall be in contact with the RVF POW's [Mark Atkinson and Jonathan Hill] in the coming weeks and will be adding an interview from a comrade from the RVF to the site in the coming weeks. Together the RVF and POWER shall make vital leaps forward to make changes to the rot we face, to the RVF both inside and outside of the ZOG walls. POWER sends a big 14 to you all.'

The RVF website subsequently advertised the second P.O.W.E.R. vigil on its website.

The April 2007 P.O.W.E.R. newsletter describes the RVF as a 'brother of the 816'.

Links with the Nationalist Alliance/Wolfs Hook

The April 2007 P.O.W.E.R. newsletter described the Wolfs Hook White Brotherhood (WHWB) as a 'brother of the 816'. The WHWB website meanwhile recommended P.O.W.E.R. as 'A fantastic site with one hell of a good forum' (<http://www.wolfshook.com/links2.htm>).

At least four members of the Wolfs Hook White Brotherhood and Nationalist Alliance have joined the P.O.W.E.R. forum:

Catherine Parker-Brown ('Cat69')

Catherine Parker-Brown is the leader of the Nationalist Alliance

Website:

<http://www.wolfshook.com>

E-mail: whwb1488@

I would put money on that this is Cathy Parker-Brown. States her location as 'Albion', which is something CPB always uses i.e. 'Catherine of Albion.'

Adrian Brooks ('Kruger')

Brooks is a Nationalist Alliance member located in Stockport.

E-mail: England@

Website:

<http://www.wolfshook.com>

('Dave1973')

Lives in North Belfast.

E-mail: whiteulster@

Website:

<http://www.allnationalist.com>

He is almost certainly the same as the contact listed for Wolfs Hook Ulster. There was a website, now defunct: <http://dave1973.kk5.org/>

He also ran another (defunct) website:

<http://www.ulster1488.t83.net/>

He made a post on the Chav Scum website. Commenting on one picture of a young girl he commented:

"Dirty Nigger Loving whore. We in Belfast when we see these little track suit bitches hanging out with Wogs we knock the fuck out of them! They run to the cops, but they are never believed! KILL ALL RACE MIXING CHAVS!"

http://www.chavscum.co.uk/4images/details.php?image_id=5422&sessionid=6

According to the "white ulster" profile on the Oldham BNP pro-boards site he was born on 10 September 1973 and is thirty-three years old.

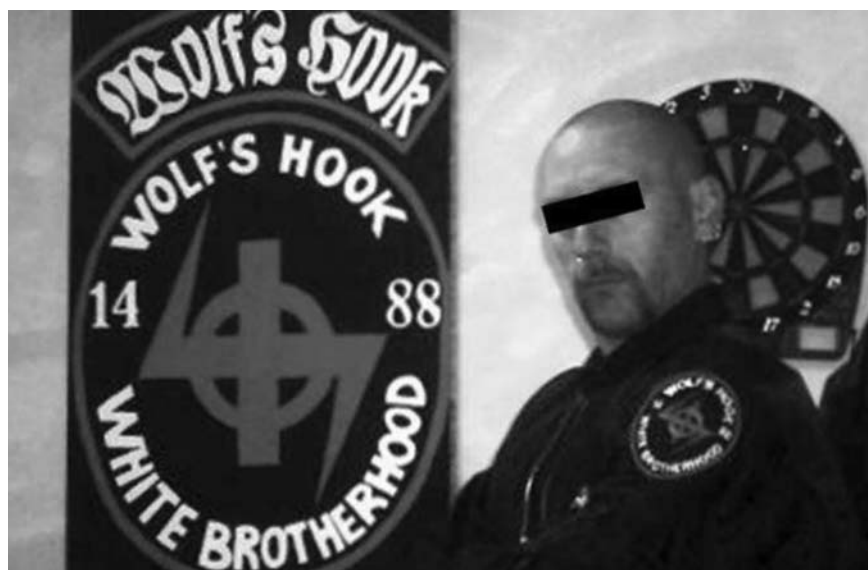
His profile can be viewed at:

<http://oldham.proboards3.com/index.cgi?action=viewprofile&user=whiteulster>

He regularly ends his posts on this forum "14 words" and is clearly an admirer of David Lane.

There is further NA member "nibelungen" on the forum too.

A link is also carried to the P.O.W.E.R. website by Covert Undercover Nuisance Tactics: <http://covert-tactics.blogspot.com/>



Foreign links

The P.O.W.E.R. forum has a number of European sections, which are used by skinheads from Holland, Poland, Switzerland, Serbia, Germany, Slovenia, Sweden, France, Italy, Croatia, Norway, Finland, Spain, Portugal, Australia, Canada and the United States.

The most prominent of those who post to the forum from abroad include the following individuals.

Brian A. Boender ('R1pCLaW') – Holland

P.O.W.E.R. has a Dutch member who is currently in prison whose "plight" they advertise on their forum.

This is Brian A. Boender, from Almere is currently incarcerated at:

P.I. Almere
Caissonweg 2
1332 BX Almere buiten-de vaart
Boender
B.A. 4901191

He claims to have been involved with Platform de Krijger (PDK), National Collectief (NC), Jeugdstorm Nederland (JN) 'and I hope to get into C18.'

Age 19, it is believed that he was born on 30 March 1988, though contacts not 100% sure.

He has been imprisoned since the end of February 2007. Together with 10 other people he was in a Dutch court on 21, 22 and 23 August as a result of attacking and setting fire to a squat as well as other violent political actions.

Contacts have spotted him on two separate occasions, on NVU demonstrations on 30 September 2006 in Arnhem and on 24 February 2007 in Doetinchem.

He has white power tattoos (see attachments) and says he's a NS orientated skinhead. A small new group of young NS activists in Holland, calling themselves "New National Unity" put his address on their site because they consider him as a POW.

(<http://www.nieuwenationaleeeneid.com/POW.html>)

He posts on the P.O.W.E.R. forum using the name 'R1pCLaW' as well as 'RechtsExtrem' a name he uses

when posting as a 'guest' of the forum.

His e-mail is: sserrace@

He has the number '14' tattooed upon his right shoulder and the words "Blut" and "Ehre" (Blood & Soil) tattooed on his forearms.

He has a You Tube site:
<http://www.youtube.com/profile?user=R1pCLaW>

There is another Dutch member of the P.O.W.E.R. forum who uses the name 'Aesir'. His e-mail is: rebelshead@

There is a posting listed using this address on the following Dutch website:
<http://www.kattuk.nl/leden/?nick=Dimple>



Wilk – Poland



A Polish Skinhead called 'Wilk' attended the 2006 P.O.W.E.R. vigil. He had made the trip from Germany. According to the Nationalist Alliance website (<http://www.allnationalist.com/vigil.htm>) Wilk, 'being of Polish blood and a citizen of Germany meant that we were represented by 2 brother Nations of Europe.'

There is a photo.

E-mail: lukas14w@

E-mail: lukas_k_44@

DOB 21 November 1987 – He is 19 years old. He is 5ft 11.

Wilk is currently located in Hessen, Germany. He attended an American High School in Germany. He was born in California USA but his family originates from Gdansk, Poland. Both his parents are Polish but have US citizenship.

Father is/was a US service man stationed in Germany. It is believed that he lived on Rhein-Main Air Base for about 10 years.

He claims that he is/was about to move to Scotland in which case he may become more active.

This e-mail address is the contact point for the band Nec Timide website: <http://users.cjb.net/nec-timide/about.htm>

According to the blurb on the website Nec Timide 'is a project

Lone wolves: myth or reality?

started be and headed by Lord Kaelzeth. It is an ode to the misanthropic arts of the third millennium aimed to strengthen Slavonic pride and to weaken the enemies of our forefathers.'

The band has released two albums to date, Krew i Chwała (2005) and Oblicza Naszych Przodków (TBA).

Wilk posts on Stormfront as 'Kaelzeth' and also on Blood and Honour using same name

He has a You Tube site:
<http://www.youtube.com/user/kaelzeth>

He is an administrator of the P.O.W.E.R. forum though he did not attend the 2007 vigil.

There are a number of members from Sweden including the following:

Steffi Kennel ('SwissAngel88') – Switzerland



E-mail: landser1291@

According to Swiss Indymedia:

<http://ch.indymedia.org/de/2006/06/41436.shtml> SwissAngel88 is Steffi Kennel, Wybergliweg 64, 6415 Arth. 0788756769.

There is another Swiss connection. In June 2007 members of P.O.W.E.R. met in London for a 'weekend tour' where they met with a number of their gang. One of those present was a Swiss skinhead studying in London called 'Tommy'.

('Racistagain178') – Switzerland

Aged 36, Switzerland

E-mail: racistcartman18@

David Innes ('BaronVonHund') – Australia



Aged 32, Lives in Perth, Western Australia

E-mail: baronvonhund@

E-mail: wpww@

Innes is the web-designer, editor and researcher for the Down Under Nationalist Resource (DNR) website: <http://www.dn-resource.org/contact.html>

He is self-employed and married.

He has a profile on X-Tube:
<http://www.thextube.com/BaronVonHund>

There is a photograph on the website.

The DNR website lists his contact details as: bvh@

Mobile: 0420

He was a 'sustaining member' of Stormfront as well as a prolific poster.

Innes also ran 'The Thunder From Down Under' Rock Against Communism radio show, advertised on both Stormfront and the Prussian Blue website:

<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/online-radio-thunder-down-under-366855p2.html>

<http://www.officialprussianblue.net/showthread.php?p=37146>

In the last few weeks, however, he and his wife have both been thrown off Stormfront. He has fallen out 'WCOTC Australia'.

In recent weeks it appears that he has also been removed from the P.O.W.E.R. forum too.

('Wolfsangel')

South African but definitely lives in the UK and has British citizenship.

E-mail: boer_39@

He is over 20 years old and was born deaf. His birthday is 4 June. He speaks Afrikaans, English and German.

He is a college student, possibly Doncaster College

He has a Windows Live Space Site:
<http://wolfsangelboer39.spaces.live.com/default.aspx?partner=Live.Spaces&mkt=en-GB>

He describes himself thus:

'I was born South African citizen. I'm now British citizen. I'm Boer-written language because I'm

deaf and use sign language. I'm proud of Boerevolk.' He lists his interests as: 'Animation and European Anime. Martial Arts History of Ancients Boerevolk and Third Reich.'

He is a former/current member of the November 9th Society and regularly posts on the NF Forum, which he joined on 19 March 2007.

On the NF forum he describes himself thus: 'I'm white British Afrikaner. I'm deaf for the birth.'

Describes himself as an 'Aryan national socialist priest'.

He also posts on Stormfront as "Wolfsangel777".

A posting on the following forum in Afrikaans lists his location (on 22 April 2006) as "Engeland"

<http://www.boerevryheid.co.za/forums/showthread.php?t=2809>

It also lists another e-mail address: gehorlosbure@

Interestingly, at least one of those who was on the Hyde Park vigil in 2007 was wearing an AWB patch on his jacket whilst others have been pictured Seig Heiling in front of an AWB flag.



Eric Norling ('Sonofodin') – USA

Address: ██████████, Rockford,
Illinois, 61109, USA

Norling is another leading member.
He is an administrator of the forum.

E-mail: hailpower816@██████

He has a Windows Live Space Site
but it is blank at the moment except
for the heading 'for race and
nation':

[http://huginnandmuninn.spaces.
live.com/](http://huginnandmuninn.spaces.live.com/)

Based in the USA he and 'Jim' are
responsible for setting up an
American section of P.O.W.E.R.,
which was announced in the
January 2007 newsletter.

Norling controls the P.O.W.E.R.
paypal account, a function he has
performed since the summer of
2007 when, according to the June
2007 P.O.W.E.R. newsletter, Bryan's
own account was frozen.

On 6 August 2007 Norling and his
partner had "the first 816 baby"
which has been called Cailin Aryan
Norling. Danny Bryan is the
"wotan-father".

He sells P.O.W.E.R. merchandise
such as T-shirts through the forum
as well as copies of *Hunter* and
Turner Diaries by Williams Pierce
and *Deceived, Damned and Defiant*
by David Lane.

Norling appears to have been
involved with the Spanish skinhead
scene. His name features in *Diario
de un Skin* an expose of the scene
by an Spanish journalist Antonio
Salas. [currently hoping to get a
translation of these short passages
from a friend].

P.O.W.E.R. advertises a video of Son
of Odin meeting 'SS Officer Junker'
and his son. This is most likely
Theodor 'Ted' Junker, an 87 year-
old farmer who claims to have been
a member of the Waffen-SS. Junker
came to the US from Germany in
1955, working as a janitor in
Chicago until 1963 when he bought
a farm in Wisconsin. Junker hit the
headlines in June 2006 when he
announced that he was building a
memorial to Adolf Hitler on his
property in Walworth County,
Wisconsin, near Millard, Wisconsin.



The shrine allegedly cost \$200,000
and was envisaged as 'America's
Feldherrnhalle,' the name a
reference to the 'Hall of
Commanders' that honors German
military leaders in Bavaria.

More details can be found at:
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/
Ted_Junker](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ted_Junker)

Junker has been in contact with the
National Socialist Movement
(NSM), and allowed 25 members of
the NSM to gather at the shrine for
which he was fined \$2,000.

[http://www.splcenter.org/intel/
intelreport/article.jsp?aid=709](http://www.splcenter.org/intel/intelreport/article.jsp?aid=709)

He was interviewed by the group on
their Internet radio station on 10
October 2006 by Kris Johnson:

[http://www.nsm88radio.com/
nazi_america/
101006.wma](http://www.nsm88radio.com/nazi_america/101006.wma)

He appears to work with
'aryangoddess' in the distribution
of some of his books. She lists
herself as a nineteen year old
female located in the United States
and who is also an 'administrator'
of the P.O.W.E.R forum.

('Veronica_88') – USA

Female, based in the USA, possibly
San Jose – definitely Nevada.
Fourteen years old but she will be
fifteen in December. She states that
'Right now, I'm suffering from a
mental disorder that might ruin
me'.

E-mail: Veronica_Angelique@██████

Her tag line lists her as 'Nazi
Veronika'.

('Borum') – Canada

borum_88@██████

w.n.e.c.r@██████

P.O.W.E.R. Croatia

There is a Croatian P.O.W.E.R.
website: <http://14power88.blog.hr/>

This website is made by a Croatian
forum member called 'Kroenen'.

E-mail: no_more_idols@██████

E-mail: Johnny.lesh@██████

Based in Zagreb, Croatia.

Other links

Troops of Tomorrow (TOT)

P.O.W.E.R. is advertised on the 'Hitler Jugend Division Troops of Tomorrow' website (http://www.freewebs.com/tot_hj/links.htm) alongside the NF, C18, B&H and also on the "Fourth Reich TOT" website - <http://www.freewebs.com/protot/index.htm>

Troops of Tomorrow are, according to the SPLC, an emerging international skinhead. Both Liam Hankin ('Nottspower') posting as 'Liam1488' and 'Wolfsangel777' appear to be involved. 'Waynes' also states he has been involved in TOT.

There are postings about it on Stormfront but it is at the moment tangential to the investigation into P.O.W.E.R. Indeed it seems that the English section of TOT is largely moribund.

Other Internet activity

"14power88" have posted a number of videos, amongst them "Snow Fell" by Skrewdriver, to a number of internet sites including the following:

http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=14power88

<http://www.berm.co.nz/cgi-bin/video/browse.cgi?t=14power88>

<http://www.clicnews.com/videos/14power88.html>

<http://video.aol.com/video-search/tag/14power88>

<http://downthisvideo.com/tag/14power88>



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