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PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE

BRITAIN'S FASCIST THREAT



Authored by Gregory Davis and David Lawrence
Additional research by Joe Mulhall

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- This report is the most extensive exploration to date of Patriotic Alternative (PA), the largest and most active fascist movement operating in the UK today.
- It reveals extensive links between leading PA figures and the now-banned Nazi terror group National Action (NA), including:
 - A former NA insider has gone on record to state that PA Leader Mark Collett collaborated with NA in 2016, only walking away when he was refused a leadership role.
 - PA's third in command, Sam Melia, was photographed with leading NA members months after the group's proscription under anti-terror laws.
- This report contains the inside story of PA's national conference of October 2021.
- It reveals that Dean Morrice, a Somerset-based Nazi convicted of stockpiling explosives earlier this year, was active in PA's online milieu.
- It also exposes the identities of key PA social media influencers, including Gareth Stone (AKA Horus), Craig Whyte (AKA Ruffian Dick), Stuart Devers (AKA Bonnie Lad), Stephen Thomson (AKA Chief Moody) and Neil Hiatt (AKA Nathan R Lawrence), as well as a host of other PA figures.
- PA has established a base of approximately 200-250 core activists willing to mobilise offline in the UK, alongside a much larger online following, having 5,000 followers on the messaging app Telegram, and Collett's personal channel boasting over 12,500. By uniting elements across the splintered British far right, PA has enabled new and potentially dangerous networks to flourish.

PATRIOTIC ALTERNATIVE: IDEOLOGY AND PROSPECTS

On 30 October 2021, Mark Collett took to the stage at the Villa Levens Hotel in the Lake District to address the national conference of Patriotic Alternative (PA), the largest fascist group active in the UK today. Collett, the founder and leader of PA, told the assembled crowd of over 200 far-right activists: “Today, I want to talk about victory”. He went on to describe the event as “the biggest nationalist conference of its kind this century”, representing “a huge turnaround in fortunes that we, as a movement, have had since the demise of the British National Party in 2010.”

Collett, the BNP’s former head of publicity and a lifelong Nazi, is not famed for his honesty. As detailed elsewhere in this report, despite his claims otherwise, the conference was hardly an unmitigated success, being beset by issues after the location was exposed by several anti-fascist groups that morning. Collett could hardly disclose this fact to the public after he had prematurely declared the event a “victory” in its opening speech.

However, there is truth in the claim that, since its launch in September 2019, PA has provided

leadership for the UK’s beleaguered fascist scene of a kind not witnessed since the collapse of the BNP. Like the BNP, PA aims to lay the groundwork for a white ethnostate, but differs markedly in both organisation and strategy, posing a different kind of threat.

PA adopts a multi-pronged approach, using various forms of traditional campaigning and online activism to spread its core racist, antisemitic message and to build far-right communities. By downplaying its underlying Nazi doctrine and presenting a superficial “family friendly” image, it has drawn recruits from across the splintered British far right, uniting the remnants of the BNP with former Conservative and UKIP hardliners, fascist hooligans, anti-Muslim Tommy Robinson supporters, politically homeless “identitarians”, alt-right social media personalities and veteran Holocaust deniers.

As explored in depth in this report, PA also includes a contingent of former activists of the now-proscribed Nazi terror group, National Action, some of whom hold positions of influence within the new organisation. These formerly disparate far-right tendencies are organised into a regional



Mark Collett, leader of
Patriotic Alternative

PA activists
in Scotland



branch structure and communicate via a warren of public and private online chat groups, enabling new and potentially dangerous fascist networks to flourish.

Having established a base of 200-250 core activists and a much larger online audience, PA has become more brazenly Nazi over the past two years, and may be acting as a crucible for increasingly extreme elements. Dissatisfaction among sections of the membership means more radical splinters could be on the horizon, as well as an internal power struggle that could shift the group in a more extreme direction.

IDEOLOGY

As Collett told the inaugural PA conference in 2019, the group aims to “package” its message “in a way that will make it saleable”. To this end, the group has adopted demographic change as its key issue, hoping to cut-through to the British public by playing on a sense of white grievance, presenting white Brits as second-class citizens who are being “replaced” by immigrants. Jumping on wider far-right trends, the group has exploited fear around cross-channel migration and the backlash to the Black Lives Matter movement, seeking to steer reactionary impulses towards explicitly racist politics. More recently, the group’s relentless attempts to heighten ethnic tensions have exploited the murder of the Southend West MP David Amess, with Collett declaring that he had been “killed by the policies he supported”, continuing: “I will not go as far as to say he deserved what he got, but he certainly sowed the seeds of his own demise. David Amess opened the gates, and welcomed in the family of his killer.”

Whilst only hinted at in its public literature, PA’s core ideology is the “White Genocide” conspiracy theory, which alleges that Jews are orchestrating a demographic shift as part of a sustained campaign to weaken “indigenous” Brits in order to better control them. According to Collett and his comrades, Jewish (or Jewish-controlled) subversives embedded in British institutions are encouraging immigration and miscegenation, and also promoting feminism, LGBTQ+ rights and other progressive causes to divide white communities and to lower white birth rates. This narrative can be a powerful propaganda tool because it provides an all-encompassing worldview through which issues as wide-ranging as the economy, politics, media, race relations and historical events, down to personal unemployment, lack of relationships and social media bans can be “explained” (i.e. blamed on Jews).

PA’s official “solution” to this supposed replacement is to encourage voluntary repatriation for “those of immigrant descent who have obtained British passports”, and a “complete halt to all immigration unless under exceptional circumstances”, by which they mean “people with a shared ethnic and cultural background who can prove British ancestry”. As extreme as the above policies are, they obscure the true inhumanity of PA’s ideology. Collett has recommended Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* to his audience, and PA’s online chat groups are awash with Holocaust denial, noxious racial characterisations and many other forms of hateful content. The group anticipates the collapse of the “anti-white” status quo and in its stead hopes to establish a deeply patriarchal, homophobic, racist and punitive state that, if it ever came to fruition, would ruthlessly target those at the margins of society.

APPROACH

Befitting the varied political backgrounds of its membership, PA's approach draws on a number of far-right traditions. PA's founding goal is to encourage isolated fascists to move beyond the confines of the internet and to establish cohesive far-right communities across the UK, so that, in Collett's words, "when the storm breaks, our people can stand together and form a shield wall". To this end, branches regularly meet for activities such as litter picking, hikes and camping trips and organise sub-groups around a wide variety of interests from fitness, gaming, film and book clubs and even baking competitions. A dedicated section of the PA website provides child-rearing advice, and, in a sinister development, the group has produced an "alternative" syllabus and resources for home schooling, complete with racist tropes. PA encourages members to start their own businesses, which are then actively promoted by the group. The group also organises occasional national events, and has held three large fascist conferences to date, seeking to occupy the void left by the demise of the fascist London Forum in 2017. Whilst such seemingly pedestrian activities have frustrated sections of the membership, they are designed to engender a sense of group belonging, away from mainstream society.

Collett and several other PA officials have backgrounds in the BNP, and the group engages in traditional political tactics, for example adopting door-to-door leafletting as a key method of outreach. PA has voiced electoral ambitions, but the group's attempts to register as a party have been repeatedly rebuffed by the Electoral Commission; as a result, during the local elections in May 2021, activists in Yorkshire and the North West rallied around other local fascists in lieu of their own candidates. PA's attempts to register may be rooted in little more than the desire to appear legitimate, however, given the radical and fundamentally undemocratic ideology at the heart of the group.

Drawing in part from the pan-European far-right network Generation Identity, a core PA activity is the banner drop, creating images that are circulated on social media in the hope of provoking the mainstream press. Among PA's most notable campaigns were the mass "White Lives Matter" banner drops on Indigenous People's Day in 2020 and 2021, which involved dozens of activists around the country and some overseas. Despite its hunger for publicity, PA eschews pre-announced street demonstrations, wishing to avoid the inevitable confrontations with counter-protestors that would ensue, although in recent months it has collaborated

with extreme Nazi groups in unannounced anti-refugee "flash" demonstrations in Leeds. Avoiding pre-publicised demonstrations also allows for greater anonymity; only a small fraction of PA activists are public facing, the large majority adopting pseudonyms and taking pains to avoid exposure.

Simultaneously, PA utilises various forms of online activism, which enabled the organisation to continue operation during lockdown. PA draws heavily from the playbook of the "alt-right", a loose, tech-savvy far-right movement that coalesced around Donald Trump's 2016 Presidential campaign and updated white nationalism for the digital age. Post-BNP, Collett sought to associate himself with the alt-right through his lengthy weekly broadcasts, as did Deputy Leader Laura Towler, a practice both have continued in PA, bringing their audiences with them. PA is orbited by a slew of similar social media personalities, some of whom, such as former National Action activist Kris Kearns (AKA Charlie Big Potatoes), have become influential within the organisation. Another practice borrowed from the alt-right is "groyping", i.e. phoning-in to talk radio shows and attempting to introduce the audience to far-right ideas, or tricking political opponents into expressing far-right ideas in order to embarrass them; a notable such instance occurred in December 2020, when a PA activist using a false name asked Labour leader Keir Starmer questions relating to the White Genocide myth, live on LBC radio. Such efforts have enabled PA to draw figures from the "post-organisational" online far-right milieu into a more formal organisation, many of them younger than the UK's decaying traditional fascist community.

PA's online reach has been impeded by bans from most mainstream platforms, leading to a dependence on alternatives, most notably the video platforms Odysee and DLive and the messaging app Telegram. Telegram, a notoriously loosely moderated platform, has become particularly important to the group, providing opportunities for both public outreach and privacy; within such spaces users can be quickly immersed in bubbles in which they receive constant streams of propaganda, meaning it can also act as a powerful radicalisation tool. PA's dependence on Telegram also brings its membership in close proximity with the extreme, often violence-promoting far-right subcultures entrenched on the platform, which may have played some role in normalising the sickening rhetoric and accelerationist tendencies in some PA-linked chat groups.

PROSPECTS

PA currently lacks a clear vision for its continued growth, and may already be nearing a ceiling of support. Its increasingly barefaced Nazism is off-putting to many on the British far right, as is Collett's notoriously fractious personality and long history of embarrassing incidents, which many longstanding activists recall from his BNP days. As explored elsewhere in this report, many of PA's best-known activists have been forced out or have abandoned ship amid bitter disputes, a number of whom have subsequently released damning accounts of Collett and their experiences in the organisation. Some of these individuals have founded a small splinter group, the Independent Nationalist Network (INN), which is attempting to poach PA activists. Whilst it is highly unlikely to break free from the outer fringes of obscurity, INN and other far-right critics are producing a drumbeat of anti-Collett and anti-PA noise and offer a potential community for PA members who are becoming disillusioned with the group.

PA's potential for growth has been further impeded by its increasingly extreme vetting procedures. Following embarrassing anti-fascist infiltrations and the repeated "doxing" (exposure) of prominent activists, PA now demands

identification and proof of address simply to join some private online chat groups, and requires house visits for full membership. Such measures have undoubtedly hampered its ability to recruit, particularly given concerns around data storage that will be especially acute for those who recall the disastrous BNP membership leaks of 2008 and 2009.

As such, concerns about PA relate less to its potential for growth but rather to its future direction. Sections of the membership are growing dissatisfied with the endless "community" events, and crave more direct action. If PA finally succeeds in registering as a party and seriously pursues the electoral route, the long, arduous realities of political organising are unlikely to excite younger members who are absorbing a stream of alarmist propaganda. A commonplace sentiment among the group's rank-and-file is that PA is "all we have" or the "only option" at present, suggesting that a cohort is only loosely invested and may defect if a more attractive vehicle materialises.

The increasing discontent within PA opens up several possibilities. Collett may continue to shift in a more radical direction to appease PA's revolutionaries, a taste of which was seen in his strident rhetoric at the recent PA conference:

Activists in Bath, Somerset





An activist poses for PA's Indigenous People's Day campaign, August 2020

This tyrannical, multicultural and diverse regime will be destroyed by an idea whose time has come [...] We must make sure that when this tyrannical regime does fall, when the dawn breaks on the day when our people are finally free, we must ensure that we are the ones there to claim that Brave New World. We must build this nationalist community to ensure that above all else, tomorrow belongs to us.

An internal struggle to wrest control from Collett is another possibility; HOPE not hate understands that an internal faction has identified a prospective leader and is considering its options. We may also see the formation of a more radical offshoot, potentially from within PA's Scottish

branch, which is its most active and hardline, and has an independent streak. Such eventualities are obviously concerning given the spread of a militant style of politics into the UK's far-right fringes since the collapse of the BNP, the most notable proponent of which was National Action, a group that, as outlined elsewhere in this report, casts a long and troubling shadow over PA.

PA has reinvigorated British fascism, but the far-right extremes have always been unstable and volatile and the group's future remains unclear. What is certain is that PA constitutes the most significant fascist threat seen in the UK for years, and in one way or another, its ripples will continue to be felt on the political margins for years to come.

KEY FIGURES



Mark Collett (left) alongside his then girlfriend, Jenna Smith

MARK COLLETT

Mark Collett is the founder and leader of Patriotic Alternative. A longstanding Nazi and formerly a leading figure in the British National Party (BNP), for many years Collett was a highly controversial and divisive figure on the British far right. However, in recent years he has rehabilitated his image (though not his politics) to appeal to a new generation of far-right activists.

THE BNP

Hailing from Rothley, Leicestershire and now based in Pontefract, Yorkshire, Collett began his political career in the early 2000s in the National

Front (NF), but switched allegiances to the BNP after a nasty falling out with his NF colleagues. He quickly became head of the BNP's youth wing, having engineered the removal of its previous leader, Paul Golding (now leader of the anti-Muslim group Britain First). Gaining a reputation as a BNP hardliner, in this period Collett was involved in Blood & Honour, the UK's disorderly Nazi skinhead music scene.

In 2002, Collett received national press attention due to his starring role in two highly embarrassing documentaries. In Channel 4's *Young, Nazi and Proud* he was filmed comparing Hitler's Germany favourably to modern day Oldham and Burnley, and stating: "Hitler will live on forever, and maybe

I will". In a particularly revealing exchange, Collett told the reporter:

I like to break people. When you've broken them and sucked that last bit of life out of them. That's it... In a very realistic way, when people say I am evil, yeah I am. But it all depends. I'm either the sweetest angel, or the most evil being you've ever encountered. It just depends which side you push me... Never kill people. Push them to the point of despair where they do it themselves, because that's when you've really won. When you've broken them down to the final level and there's nothing worth living for, and they do it themselves, there's no blood on your hands then, and you've just won.

In a further documentary hosted by comedian Russell Brand, Collett labelled gay men "AIDS monkeys".

Young, Nazi and Proud spelled the end of Collett's role in the Young BNP, though he remained close to leader Nick Griffin, a fact that outraged sections of the party. Yet another documentary, Panorama's *The Secret Agent* (2004), saw Collett describing asylum seekers as "cockroaches" in a speech. The documentary would lead to Collett's arrest, alongside Griffin, for inciting racial hatred; the pair were eventually cleared of the charges.

Collett was appointed the BNP's director of publicity, but by the late 2000s his attitude, manoeuvring and gaffes had made him arguably the most unpopular figure on the entire British far right. In the run up to the 2010 General Election, Collett was questioned by police following Griffin's accusation that Collett was plotting to kill him. This accusation was denied by Collett, who was released without charge and left the crumbling party soon after.

POST BNP

Alongside other former party activists, Collett flirted with the English Democrats, a far-right English nationalist group run by Robin Tilbrook, Collett's current solicitor. Collett's involvement with the group would be short-lived, however, and a hiatus from party politics followed.

As outlined elsewhere in this report, Collett resurfaced in 2016 when he became involved with the since banned Nazi terror group National Action (NA). According to a former NA insider, Collett leafleted with the group in West Yorkshire and booked a venue for an NA meeting in Leeds. At the same time he sought to attach himself to the Brexit campaign, running a Vote Leave-branded stall in Leeds alongside NA figures and his swastika-tattooed then-girlfriend, Jenna Smith (AKA Eva Van Housen). Our source claims

that Collett eventually walked away from NA after his offer to lead the group was refused. In 2017, following NA's proscription under terror laws, Collett attended a small far-right training camp in Derbyshire; among the other attendees were former NA member Garron Helm.

During this period Collett performed speaking duties, including at the fascist London Forum in 2016, the John Tyndall Memorial Meeting in 2017, and later at the Scandza Forum in Copenhagen, Denmark in 2019, an outfit Collett has credited as the inspiration for PA.

In 2017, Collett self-published a book in which he outlined his grand antisemitic conspiracy theory, referring to the Holocaust as "the alleged extermination of six million Jews" and writing:

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

Collett has successfully built an online audience, collaborating regularly with former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke and establishing his own YouTube broadcast, *This Week on the Alt-Right*, which became *Patriotic Weekly Review*, PA's central broadcast. During this period his effective Twitter propagandising earned him occasional retweets from significant figures, including Fox News host Laura Ingraham and the then-Republican Congressman Steve King in 2018.

After 20 years of activism, Collett's Nazism remains undimmed. He has recommended *Mein Kampf* as among his favourite books, and in a February 2019 stream described Hitler as a "simple, humble painter", going on to state:

[...] when you read transcripts from people who were very close to Hitler, they say the worst things about him, his worst personality traits, is that he used to ramble on a bit [...] and if that's the worst you can say about a politician, really can he be such a bad guy?

Collett remains a divisive and not altogether popular figure, even within PA. However, he also stands as the most influential Nazi active in the UK today, and a well-known figure on the extreme right internationally.



LAURA TOWLER

Laura Towler (real name Laura Melia, née Tyrie) is Deputy Leader of Patriotic Alternative. A former army cadet and politics graduate, the Leeds-based fascist is also a well-known social media personality among the British far right, and is founder of Grandma Towler's, a tea company used to raise funds for PA.

Formerly aligned to the anti-Muslim "counter-jihad" movement, she first became known in far-right circles in 2017 as an editor of the white nationalist site Defend Europa, which earned her an appearance on Red Ice Radio, the premier outlet of the alt-right. Together with Collett, she spearheaded the "We Were Never Asked" propaganda exercise in 2019, polling people on UK streets on questions related to immigration. Towler was appointed Collett's deputy after the first PA conference that September.

Towler built a considerable following on social media, maintaining a YouTube channel which gained over 3.5 million views, and a Twitter account with more than 26,000 followers, before her accounts were removed by the platforms. She has featured on many other far-right vlogs and attended far-right conferences, such as the Traditional Britain Group in London and the Scandza Forum in Copenhagen.

Despite her strong antisemitism, Towler is key in PA's attempts to "soften" its image and to "get more women involved" and "appeal to families". In 2020, Towler married Sam Melia, PA's Regional Organiser for Yorkshire, who was previously involved in the now-banned Nazi group National Action; the pair now host a show together, seeking to present a wholesome, family-friendly face to the organisation. This image belies her extreme beliefs, for example naming Oswald Mosley, the British fascist leader, as her "idol", and describing Kai Murros, a Finnish far-right activist who has called for violent revolution, as "incredible" and one of "two men who give me courage".

In June 2020, Towler received some mainstream attention after she was publicly condemned by Yorkshire Tea, which tweeted her: "Please don't buy our tea again", with other brands following suit. In November of that year, Towler launched her own brand, Grandma Towler's, "for customers who are fed up of brands and products bowing down to woke capital". Its website states: "Although Grandma Towler's is a separate entity to any other organisation, profits from the sales of Grandma Towler's tea will be invested back into projects that help our people and our communities," suggesting that funds raised through sales will be funnelled back into PA.



Sam Melia (front) leading an anti-refugee “flash” demonstration in Leeds

SAM MELIA

Sam Melia is PA’s Regional Organiser for Yorkshire, and is perhaps the organisation’s most prominent activist after its official leaders Mark Collett and Laura Towler. Adopting the role in March 2020, his profile within the organisation has been boosted by his marriage to Towler in November of that year, and he has increasingly stepped into broadcasting and public speaking roles.

Hailing from Bradford, Melia has cycled through a series of far-right movements, first coming to attention in connection to the now-banned National Action (NA). As outlined elsewhere in this report, Melia was pictured marching with the Nazi group at a November 2016 demonstration in Darlington. NA was proscribed as a terrorist organisation the following month. In July 2017, Melia was photographed alongside key NA figures, including its leader Christopher Lythgoe, seven months after the ban (see image on page 15).

In 2018, he attended the conference of Generation Identity UK, a now-defunct youth group that promoted a form of racial segregation, and also stood as a candidate for the anti-Muslim political party For Britain in the local elections that year. He was later expelled from For Britain after HOPE not hate revealed his past association with NA.

During this period, Melia was also secretly establishing the Hundred Handers (HH) network, an online operation that designed stickers with far-

right messaging and encouraged activists to print out and post them in their local areas, sending photos back to Melia to display on the group’s social media outlets. Despite taking great pains to establish what he believed to be an entirely anonymous framework, Melia’s role as head of the HH was exposed by HOPE not hate in 2020. The group has since essentially ceased to function as Melia began to take on a greater role with PA.

While operating under the anonymity of the HH brand, Melia made clear that his extremism remained undiminished. While many of the sticker designs used a degree of plausible deniability, others slogans such as “Blood and Soil” and “Make America White Again” clearly revealed his Nazi influences and extreme racist objectives. In a Telegram post, responding to the #YouClapForMeNow campaign to raise awareness of the contributions of minority ethnic NHS staff, Melia wrote that there was “no price we wouldn’t pay to send every fucking one of you home.”

In September 2021, Melia delivered an anti-migration speech at a “flash” protest outside a hotel in Leeds, an action that led some PA members and even critics on the far right to hail him as a leader-in-waiting. However, the fact that the majority of the attendees were drawn from the local membership of the British National Socialist Movement indicates that Melia was unable to persuade many of his own members to engage with this kind of direct action, with all the ensuing risks.

KRIS KEARNS (AKA CHARLIE BIG POTATOES)



Kris Kearns (AKA Charlie Big Potatoes) is a British Nazi and social media personality based in Spain. Kearns has emerged as an increasingly influential figure in the PA milieu, and until recently held the post of PA's Fitness Officer, charged with organising "Fitness Clubs" in each of the group's regional branches.

The Liverpoolian trained in the British Army as a paratrooper, although claims that he "didn't do a long time in there, just the bare minimum that I could". He has also claimed he was once active in the English Defence League (EDL), the anti-Muslim street movement that brought violence to UK streets.

As detailed elsewhere in this report, Kearns is also a former National Action activist, previously involved in the group's notorious North West branch. Kearns claimed he left NA "one minute before" the group's proscription, and that he was "hounded out of the UK by the security services", stating that he is unable to re-enter the UK without being "prosecuted by the state" for his "political activism".

In 2019, Kearns began to build an online following for his activities on the messaging app

Telegram, and became a co-host of the Patriotic Talk show alongside Chris Mitchell, who was then a PA Regional Organiser. The show, which was then closely linked to PA, became one of the most influential streams in the UK far right, broadcasting many hours of content per week and occasionally conducting "groyplings" and harassment campaigns, for the entertainment of the viewers. In April 2021, an episode of the show featured as guests Oliver Bel, a Brit then on trial (and currently serving two years) for terrorism offences and Thomas Sewell, an Australian Nazi who called for the rape of police officers, social workers and politicians involved in the alleged "cover up" of on-street grooming in the UK. The episode was not uploaded after it was streamed and Sewell's comments were disavowed, with Mark Collett subsequently claiming that PA disassociated itself from Patriotic Talk due to this episode.

Mitchell and Kearns bitterly parted ways in July this year, with Kearns publicly mocking Mitchell's mental health issues and apparent suicide attempt, in the same week PA announced that Kearns would lead a new programme to support the physical and mental health of their members. He has since become a co-host of the official PA Talk show, and the PA-aligned podcast *The Absolute State of Britain* (covered elsewhere in this report). He also founded the "Fascist Fitness" Telegram channel in January 2021, growing to over 5,000 members, through which he gives fitness advice and posts pictures of members flexing their physiques. He officially took a step back from his role in September, although seems to have continued his involvement behind the scenes.

Kearns' influence on PA is concerning in light of his unalloyed extremism. For example, prior to his position in PA he promoted *SIEGE*, an accelerationist work by the American Nazi James Mason that advocates the establishment of leaderless terrorist cells. In October 2019, he wrote: "Violence is the gold standard [sic]. That is the only way in which Europeans win every time. Why are we trying [sic] to avoid it again? To give our enemies a chance?", and the following month promoted propaganda of the AtomWaffen Division, a Nazi terrorist outfit that would be proscribed in the UK in April 2021. In March 2020, in reply to a user who asked: "The Jews want a civil war. How do we finish them?", he said: "we give them their civil war."

On 1 August, whilst an appointed PA official, Kearns stated: "I want a cult. I want fanatics, people who are willing to die for this cause. That's the level of commitment I want and expect [...] we want a hardcore group of people who know exactly what they want. It's that simple."

THE LEGACY OF NATIONAL ACTION

Whilst Patriotic Alternative has sought to rebrand British fascism by adopting a more outwardly “respectable” presentation, the thinly concealed Nazism of the group has attracted a number of former activists and fellow travellers of National Action (NA), a militant Nazi outfit proscribed by the Home Office as a terrorist group in 2016.

HOPE not hate can reveal that, according to former NA insider Robbie Mullen, Collett was involved with the group in 2016, only disassociating himself when they declined to appoint him to a leadership role.

The allegations about Collett’s past with NA may shed light on the apparent willingness of the PA leadership to accept former NA activists and to promote them to official positions within the organisation. Currently, three other known individuals – Sam Melia, Kris Kearns, and Jake Bewick – were active with NA prior to its ban and are now influential within PA.

Melia in particular is in close proximity to the PA leadership, being married to its Deputy Leader, Laura Towler; contrary to Melia and Towler’s claims, HOPE not hate can reveal links between him and NA activists months after the group’s

proscription. Several other figures now associated with PA have previously stood shoulder-to-shoulder with NA activists, or openly promoted the group prior to its ban.

PA and NA diverge in key respects; the former group is markedly less confrontational and radical in both word and action, and explicitly condemns violence and terrorism. However, their underlying ideologies have much in common, and PA has provided a home and fresh networking opportunities for potentially dangerous extremists.

NATIONAL ACTION

National Action was a Nazi youth organisation founded in 2013, and from the outset promoted an unflinching, Hitler-worshipping Nazism and a violent hatred of Jews. Recruiting a number of extremists from within the Young BNP and elsewhere, the group rejected electoral politics and instead prepared for revolution, and over time became increasingly militant and obsessed with the idea of an imminent race war.

The publicity-hungry group published photographs of activists Nazi saluting in Buchenwald



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

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



concentration camp, and received press attention after a supporter attempted to murder a Sikh man with a machete in 2015. After increasingly worrying signs – including studying ISIS videos at training camps, and celebrating the Nazi who assassinated Jo Cox MP – NA was proscribed under anti-terror legislation in December 2016. A number of NA activists continued to organise in contravention of the ban, however, and one prominent ex-member, Jack Renshaw, hatched a plot to murder an MP in 2017, which was averted due to information received by HOPE not hate.

NA spiralled inexorably towards terrorism, and numerous former NA activists are currently behind bars due to their activity in the group. However, some of those who abandoned ship prior to its proscription are still active in the UK far right, including in PA.

THE LEADER: MARK COLLETT

During its heyday, NA was a prominent force in the fascist political space, and Collett, himself a former BNP hardliner, was among those who found common ground with the group. Collett told *The Times* in September this year that he had never attended an NA event, and had “a very dim view” of the outfit. However, Robbie Mullen, a former NA insider, has gone on record to state that he met Collett whilst leafleting with the group in West Yorkshire in 2016, and that Collett had also helped to arrange a venue for an NA meeting in Leeds.

It is a long-known fact that Collett collaborated with NA activists during the 2016 Brexit campaign, running a Vote Leave-branded stall in Leeds alongside Jack Coulson, a then-NA member who has since been convicted

for making a pipe bomb and for downloading terrorist manuals. Also photographed campaigning with Collett was Wayne Bell (AKA Wayne Jarvie), a violent antisemite and then a leading NA figure. During this time, Collett was also linked to Garron Helm, an NA member who had served time for the antisemitic abuse of the then-MP Luciana Berger in 2014.

According to Mullen, Collett’s brief involvement with NA ended after he fell out with members of the group, due to their refusal to appoint him the leadership role he desired.



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

In September 2016, Collett addressed a meeting of the London Forum with known NA figures, including Wayne Bell, in the crowd. As outlined in Matthew Collins’ 2019 book *Nazi Terrorist: The Story of National Action*, and captured in a HNH/ITV documentary, the following year Collett attended a small far-right training camp in Derbyshire; among the other attendees were Helm and former NA associate James Mac.

SAM MELIA

Whilst Collett claims he never went on a demonstration with NA, the same cannot be said for Sam Melia, who counts among PA's most influential figures, serving as Yorkshire Regional Organiser and performing weekly broadcasts alongside his wife, Towler. HOPE not hate exposed Melia's links to NA in 2018, publishing a photo of him marching alongside senior members Wayne Bell and Ashley Bell in Darlington in November 2016, a month prior to the group's ban. The demo saw speakers delivering hate-filled speeches about "driving out the parasite class" of "hook-nosed bankers" while black-clad group members threw up Nazi salutes.

Towler assured her followers in May 2021 that her husband "has never been a member of National Action", and that he had attended the Darlington march, which featured several far-right groups, as a person with "no political affiliation", continuing that he had never had "a single conversation with anybody in NA".

However, as HOPE not hate can reveal, on July 2017 Melia was photographed alongside several prominent members of the organisation in Manchester (see image on page 15). This includes Christopher Lythgoe, who is currently serving eight years for continuing to lead the terrorist group post ban, and Mark Jones, described by counterterror police as a "lynchpin in the national structure" of NA, who is now serving five and a half years for his role in the group.

JAKE BEWICK

Melia's Yorkshire PA branch has appointed Sheffield-based Nazi Jake Bewick as its "Fitness Club Officer". HOPE not hate exposed Bewick as a former National Action activist in 2018, when he was involved in the now-defunct Generation Identity; this means that PA has appointed two individuals with known pasts in NA to official positions in its Yorkshire branch alone.



Bewick at a NA march in Darlington, County Durham, November 2016

Unsurprisingly, Bewick is an extreme antisemite: "Hitler Speaks About the Jews. The truth the world would be so much if he world [sic] of won. It's coming now tho [sic]." He also posted NA stickers bearing pictures of the notorious Auschwitz war criminal Josef Mengele, emblazoned with the slogan: "SAVE ANIMALS. TEST ON SUBHUMANS".

KRIS KEARNS

Bewick is an active member of PA's online fitness community, founded by Kris Kearns (AKA Charlie Big Potatoes), who was, until September, the group's national "Fitness Officer". Prior to PA, Kearns was active in NA's North West branch, which also included Lythgoe and Renshaw, the aforementioned would-be assassin, who has since also been convicted of child sex offences. Kearns claimed he left NA "one minute before" the group's proscription in December 2016.



Kearns (squatting, white hat) alongside Jack Renshaw (brown coat, standing).

FENEK SOLÈRE

A further link is Fenek Solère, a pseudonymous Welsh writer who dominates the PA blog, having penned roughly 330 articles for the site. Before PA, however, Solère was fetishising political violence in a series of essays and a friendly interview for the NA website.

In his "Political Soldier Redux" series, posted to the NA website in 2015, Solère frames NA as part of "A warrior generation willing to face up to the inevitable sacrifices required to free Europe", and a "new breed of youth dedicated to defending their birthright". The tract includes a "Militant Manifesto for Taking Back Our Ethnic Homelands" in which he advocates the tactics of Louis Beam,



Kris Kearns (left) alongside NA members

the American Nazi who helped lay the ideological foundations for modern far-right terrorism:

And to achieve our objectives we must at first use tactics such as those established by Louis Beam's model of Leaderless Resistance which encourages the adoption of a phantom cell structure rather than a tiered and hierarchical form of army. Beam's strategy needs to inform our initial engagements with the hegemonic forces who seek to suppress us.

In his November 2016 interview with NA, Solère stated:

Vanguard groups like National Action must now work doubly hard to stiffen the resolve of such anti-immigrant movements wherever we find them, from Ivano-Frankivsk to Iowa. Our task is to provide an ideological spine and put boots on the ground to defend our living space.

Solère continued that he wants to see "cobbled alleyways smeared with Antifa blood". Prior to PA, Solère also penned numerous articles for Defend Europa, the far-right outlet at which Towler was an editor.

MICHAEL WOODBRIDGE

The veteran fascist Michael Woodbridge has described himself as an "adherent" of PA, and has attended PA meets. Woodbridge was arrested alongside several NA members at the infamous NA-organised "White Man March" in Newcastle in 2015 (all charges were dropped). Post-ban, he has accompanied alleged members facing charges to court.



Woodbridge (back, second from right) alongside then-NA members Andy Clarke, Ashley Bell and Garron Helm, released from custody following the White Man March in Newcastle

MORGOTH

In addition, the pseudonymous Morgoth, an influential social media personality who is promoted on PA's website, has previously shared disgusting NA propaganda celebrating the murder of Stéphane Charbonnier, the Editor of the French magazine Charlie Hebdo, by Islamists in 2015. In total, twelve people lost their lives in the attack on the magazine's offices in Paris.

In March 2015, Morgoth also wrote that he had discovered Renshaw's blog and went on to quote him at length, including the below passage:

World Jewry is the disease, whilst its product ideologies are just the symptoms.

Beat the symptoms and they'll return or be replaced - but - beat the disease and you'll eradicate the symptoms [...] The Jew has declared war on our people and we should - and in time we will - return the favour. Delenda est Judaica! [The Jews must be destroyed]

Morgoth continued: "I've mailed Jack to see what he's up to now and asked if he'd like to write a piece" for his blog, later stating: "I have never come across a singer counter argument to the points raised by Jack or any other Nationalist".

SUPPORT FOR OTHER TERROR GROUPS

NA has influenced the emergence of a number of small, international terrorist groups over the past five years, some of which have drawn support from PA activists.

For example, the pseudonymous "Johnny Alba" of PA Scotland has claimed that he "knew" Renshaw, saying of his conviction for child sex offences: "Shame he was an intelligent if odd lad". Alba has also spoken positively of a number of far-right terrorist organisations, stating of the US

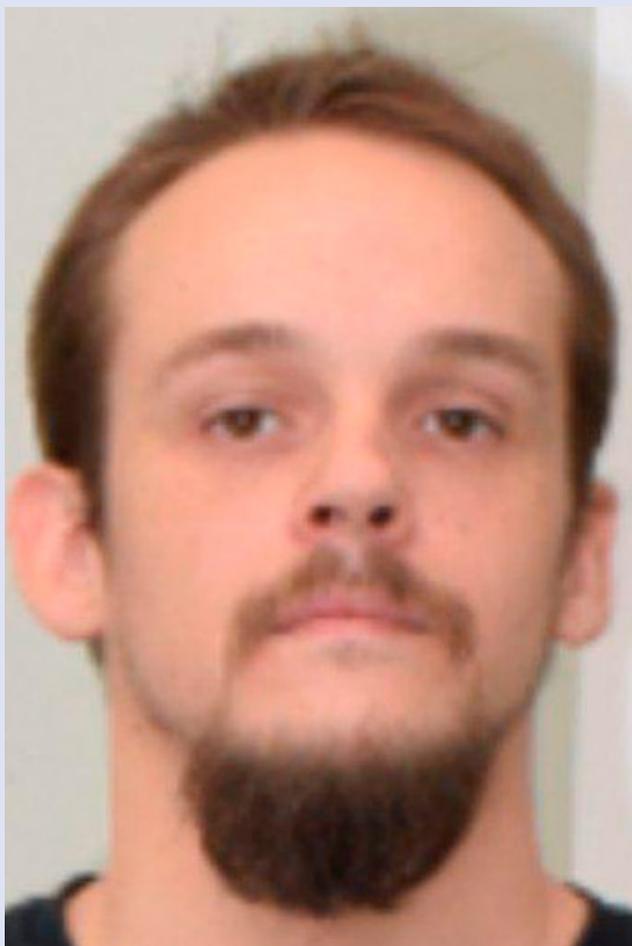
group, The Base, "I always thought the base had some potential. Shame its gone. We def need to up our opsec [operations security] on groups". He also claimed he had communicated with the "Commander" of the Feuerkrieg Division (FKD), a 13-year old Estonian who ran the online terrorist outfit, describing FKD as "good ..shame it went". He also claimed that the NA splinter System Resistance Network (SRN) "did some good stuff". The Base, FKD and SRN have all been proscribed in the UK under anti-terror laws, with Alba's comments on the latter two groups occurring after their ban.

Alba has made especially vile outpourings on Telegram, for example stating, in relation to COVID-19, that "we should organise mass infection..get some infected fluid spread through some ethnic shops". In reference to a woman and her biracial child, he wrote: "onto the train and into the showers for you and your simian", and he has also written that he would "quite happily genocide the roma". Alba has also described James Mason, the Nazi responsible for popularising modern far-right terrorism, as a "Great man".



AtomWaffen Division propaganda posted by Kris Kearns on Telegram in November 2019, to which he added the caption: "Lay SIEGE to the system".

DEAN MORRICE: PA LINKED TERRORIST



In June 2021, a Somerset-based Nazi named Dean Morrice was sentenced to 18 years for ten terrorism-related offences. Morrice, a former British Army employee, had stockpiled explosive materials at his home in Paulton, alongside ball bearings and pipes; he was also in possession of terrorist manuals and instructions for a 3D-printed gun. Morrice venerated the gunman who killed 51 worshippers at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand in 2019, even filming a video of himself playing a guitar to footage of the massacre, which he then shared with others.

Whilst the press picked up on his background in UKIP, what escaped attention was his involvement in the online milieu that surrounds Patriotic Alternative. Posting under a pseudonym, Morrice was active in a number of PA-linked chat groups on the messaging app Telegram, including a chat in which activists in the South West organised “White Lives Matter” banner drops for PA’s Indigenous Peoples Day campaign, the message history of which was erased after news of Morrice’s arrest broke. Morrice also discussed attending PA meetups.

In the chat group for fans of the PA-linked podcast, The Absolute State of Britain (TASOB), Morrice claimed that he personally knew the show’s host “Yuro Peon”, and he used the group to attempt to “coordinate” with activists in the South West. He also posted a meme that presented the Christchurch killer as a “Saint”, and claimed that National Action, the Nazi group proscribed in the UK in 2016, “had some of the best propaganda”.



A meme posted by Morrice to the chat group of The Absolute State of Britain podcast

Morrice was obsessed with an imminent collapse and civil war, particularly as tensions around the Black Lives Matter protests in the US peaked in the summer of 2020. In the chat overseen by Kris Kearns (AKA Charlie Big Potatoes), Morrice wrote: “A street war is the only thing that will cleanse”. He elsewhere fixated on the notion of installing a white ethnostate, discussing his desire to “enslave the lesser races”.

Morrice also supported the Hundred Handers propaganda project, claiming that he had purchased his own sticker printer to participate.

INSIDE THE CONFERENCE

The inside story of PA's national conference of 30 October 2021.

I'm not going to pretend I was not excited about going to the conference, but it was somewhat disconcerting to have paid £60 for the privilege and not to be told much more than that it was *not* in Manchester.

I hadn't been to a far-right conference since the good ole days of the BNP, when I was a true believer in fascism and Nazism.

As the conference got nearer, I was inundated with not just endless threats and warnings about security concerns, but also the internal rumour mill that dominates much of Patriotic Alternative about what to expect when it finally arrived.

There's a lot of cynicism – and it is increasing – about how everything costs so much, and how little consideration is given to us members who have to continually fork out money to prove our undying love for Mark Collett (or as he was called

in one chat group, “the pocket Hitler”). In fact, it's fair to say he is not quite as loved as people may think. There were a few jokes about his stature (or lack of it), and quite few jokes that emanate (apparently from HOPE not hate?) about his alleged penchant for dressing up in super hero costumes. Or something like that. So it was exciting!

Having first been told the conference was definitely not in Manchester, we were told to head there the night before, if we could. Then I was told the conference was *definitely* in Stockport and finally, that it was *definitely* in Altrincham.

By the time I got my 6am text message from the group, I was already exhausted – emotionally and financially! I got on the train to Oxenholme expecting it to be packed full of people, but because PA had kept the location secret, a lot of



Sam Melia addresses the PA conference

people started grumbling, saying they were not going as far as the Lake District. Plus, the weather was awful.

I was redirected from the train station by a man I now know to be the convicted football thug Joe Butler, who also goes by the names Joe Marsh and Joe Turner. Quite obviously a moron hired for his love of violence and not himself, he seemed very happy to be stood there dressed like a mannequin stolen from a shop window, selling the cheap attire of a 90's football hooligan. He told me we were booked in "somewhere posh", as a book club.

The Villa Levens hotel is beautiful, and we were in some kind of extension but it looked inside like a marquee. By the time I arrived the venue had been leaked online, and there was a massive panic. The hotel's staff were running around trying to stop the conference, and it is fair to say that some of the attendees were more than a little aggressive to staff. I should also be clear that the staff had no pre-knowledge of who we were.

A few old faces were there – including some I thought would never be allowed near a "nationalist" conference again. Let's be clear, although there are a few far-right "hippy" types, the majority of people here were more extreme than the old BNP types. Some of the older faces left the BNP in disgrace but hey, people have short memories when they're trying to bring Hitler back to life.

Collett was whining, begging and pleading with a woman on the hotel staff that the conference be allowed to go ahead. Most people there – I guess around 100-120 or so – were busying themselves eating their breakfasts still! For a moment, I felt a little sorry for him. He'd spent hours waxing his hair and crisping the most-worn black shirt in fascism, but ended up looking like a petulant child being put back in his place!

When the hotel said they were calling the police there was a roar of laughter, but I could see that Collett was not finding it amusing. Then word went around there was a mole in the conference and the mood went very dark. Collett's Nazi thugs from Scotland (who are hated by other members) paraded around looking tough and menacing. A lot of people got up and left because the mood was so dark and intimidating, and then the PA security team blocked people from leaving until a decision was made about what to do.

Laura Tyrie (AKA Laura Towler), the PA Deputy Leader, was even worse than Collett, who seemed stunned and shaken by the events. She employed a full team to peddle her wares – tea bags, coffee and soaps etc. Jody Kay, who seems to have multiple personalities and roles, was selling candles, which I can only describe as the most

bizarre thing I've seen since Nick Griffin tried to flog me a Ford Capri years ago. Her speech was straight out of the "look at me" school of Mark Collett. Jody Kay loves Jody Kay as much as Mark Collett loves Mark Collett.

There was also very few copies of Collett's book, which for some reason *The Times* newspaper as good as advertised for him the week before. I'm told his bathroom at home is absolutely packed with copies he has failed to even give away.

Laura Tyrie is normally far more approachable than Collett, but not this day – not when the hotel intervened! She started shouting and pointing at her pregnant stomach. "Have you no shame? I'm a pregnant woman!!"

An arrangement was made for some speeches to go ahead and the rest were to be filmed later. Almost immediately the police arrived, we were told not to go on social media and say the conference had been stopped. Indeed, I understand that some people were threatened by Kris Kearns online later for spreading it. In one of our chats, someone said: "Collett's trying to spray air freshener over a blocked toilet."

I have to say, in the history of the far right have never so many speeches been so poorly delivered, and Collett led the way. Even with all the self-love and confidence in the world, he is an incredibly uninspiring bore. The way he bowed and scraped for Melia raised a few eyebrow, too. I was unaware there was some kind of rivalry between them, but the way they over did their unapparent love for each other made me wonder if Melia is really happy being patted on the head by the parody of a leader that Collett is.

Collett was as miserable as hell through the rest of the day, even though he tried to put a brave face on it. But at least he will have cheered up as I hear the hotel gave him his £7000 back. Not so happy was a certain foul-mouthed Nazi from Wales who had actually booked the conference, and everything around it, in his real name. He used to be an unknown, but now he is on bail and everyone knows his name now. He was absolutely livid with Collett. So too were those who had paid for dinner that night at the hotel. Some have still not received their money back, I hear.

Some are more than a bit livid that after being kicked out of the conference venue and therefore forfeiting the evening dinner, a small private meal did go ahead with a chosen, selected few from the south. Apparently they had been holed up in a nearby pub fuming for hours.

The conference broke up with so much acrimony and suspicion that a lot of people just went home or back to their hotels. I certainly did not see Laura Tyrie's speech - the one they belatedly put online and must have been filmed after.

SKULL MASKS IN THE CLOSET

A perennial topic of debate among far-right movements is the importance of “good optics”, or the extent to which extremists should disguise their beliefs and present themselves in a respectable manner in order to win mainstream approval and present fewer lines of attack from their opponents. While many activists see such efforts as the key to winning power, others see it as a losing battle and an unacceptable betrayal of their convictions.

Like many British far-right organisations, Patriotic Alternative has struggled to establish a coherent strategy in this regard. While its public output is clearly designed to present a “respectable face” of fascism, with litter picking, bake sales and family events heavily promoted on their website and social media feeds, PA has nonetheless welcomed people who run entirely counter to that sanitised public image.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in PA Wales, where much of the group’s campaigning is carried out by the violent thugs of the Pie and Mash Squad. Described by Mark Collett as “our very own Welsh Organiser”, the Barry Island-born Jeff Marsh (AKA Joe Butler) has decades of violent hooliganism and at least three convictions for violence under his belt, initially as part of the Cardiff City Soul Crew firm and later as part of the Welsh Defence League and Casuals United. Most recently, he was jailed for assault after throwing a female protester down a flight of stairs, a crime for which the group created celebratory stickers.

Marsh has written two books celebrating his exploits as a football hooligan, with gleeful descriptions of the violence to which he has



Graphic created by Pie and Mash Squad celebrating Marsh’s brutal assault on a female protester.

devoted his life. Detailing one drunken brawl outside a chip shop in which he stabbed two men, Marsh states that the wounds he had inflicted were lighter than he’d imagined and that he “wished he had his money’s worth”. The incident saw him sentenced to two years in prison for wounding with intent to cause GBH.

Another PA figure with a history of violence and criminality is James Goddard, former Regional Organiser for the North West, who first came to public attention with his campaign of harassment against MPs in the streets around Parliament Square during the Brexit debates. Goddard has been convicted of a range of crimes over the years, including theft, assault and racially aggravated harassment.

The newest branch in the organisation, PA North East, has quickly proved to have similarly low standards. A new addition to the group is the former North East Infidels member Tommy Allen of Sunderland, who has a dizzying list of criminal convictions to his name. In 2016, he was sentenced to 22 months in prison for violent disorder at the Dover riots, which included a suspended sentence for selling drugs one year previously.

Also belying PA’s “family friendly” image is former leading Scottish Defence League (SDL) activist Ryan McCue of Midlothian, now a prominent member of the PA Scotland branch. The SDL was, like its English and Welsh variants, a movement made up of violent racists and football hooligans, with numerous members convicted of violence and racially motivated abuse over the years.

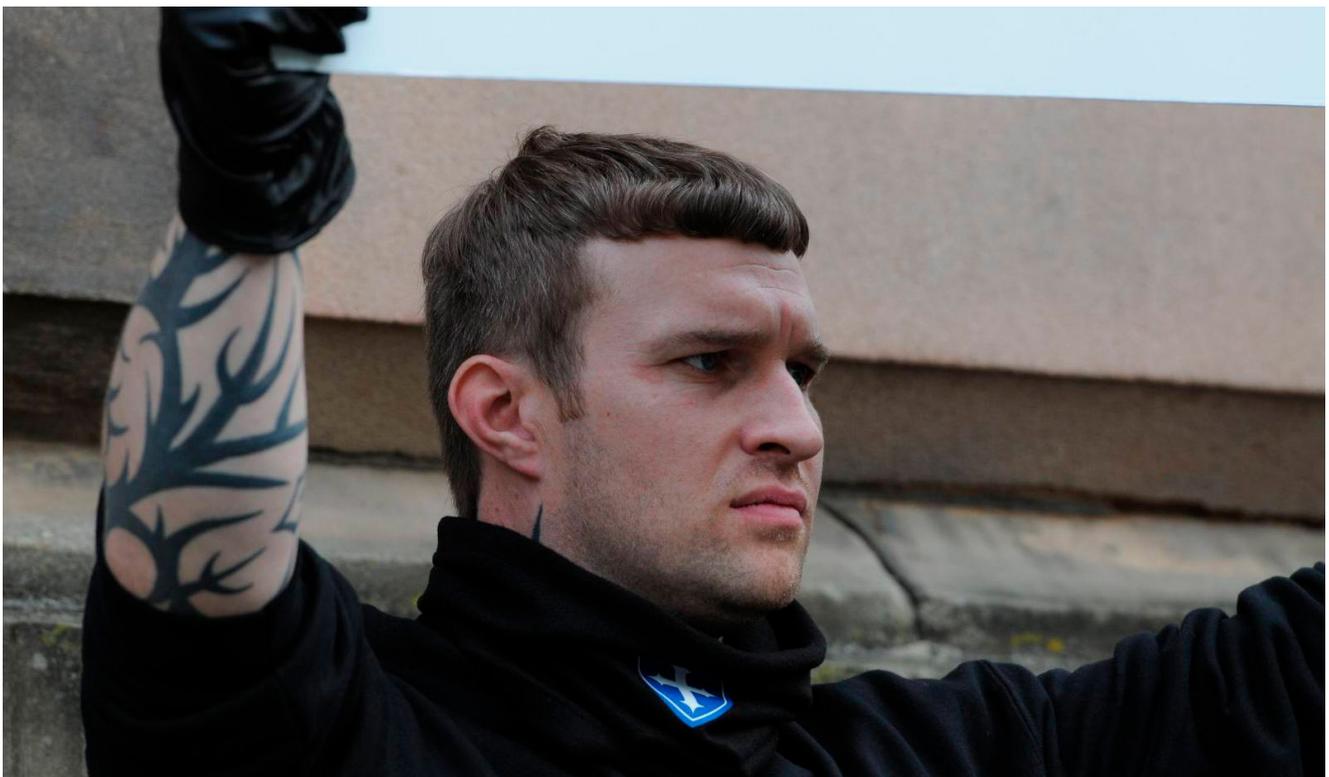


Tommy Allen (left) with fellow activists in Sunderland

Despite offering weak denials of racism, the SDL was riddled with violent extremism, and SDL demonstrations saw a presence from the later-banned National Action and later its local successor group Scottish Dawn.

PA has also shown a willingness to associate with the British National Socialist Movement (BNSM). Since August 2021, PA's Yorkshire branch

has taken part in a series of demonstrations in conjunction with the BNSM, which has a long history of violence and crime. Tim Ryan, a former member of Combat 18 who controls the group's Telegram output, was sentenced to four years in prison for firearms possession after police discovered a gun hidden in his mother's back garden.



Ryan McCue at a fascist demonstration in Preston, October 2015. Photo HOPE not hate

ESTIMATING SIZE: AN ANALYSIS OF ACTIVISM



PA activists in the Pentland Hills near Edinburgh, Scotland

In Patriotic Alternative's short history, the most visible element of its activism has been the banner drop. The aim of these actions is less about impacting those who witness the banners being unfurled in a public place, and more about creating images that can be shared on social media in the hope of garnering media coverage. Whether off motorway bridges, at famous historical landmarks or on top of hills and mountains after hikes, photographs of banners have been a key form of propaganda for PA.

Over the last two years, PA has held a day of action across the UK to coincide with International Indigenous People's Day (IPD) in early August, in an attempt to co-opt an event designed to raise awareness and protect the rights of persecuted indigenous populations around the world. In the ideology of PA, white British people qualify as such a group.

In August 2020, we estimated that roughly 100 activists managed to display banners - most bearing the slogan "White Lives Matter" - in roughly 80 locations across the UK. This year PA repeated the event, giving us an opportunity to analyse the pictures with a view to mapping growth over the past year, and to estimate areas of strength and weakness. While an unavoidably imperfect approach, the IPD day is the group's biggest yearly day of action, and so does provide a good estimate of how many activists are willing to engage in offline activism of this kind.

PA declared this year's IPD event to be an enormous success, claiming to have received 465 photographs from over 350 activists around the world. However, a detailed analysis of the pictures suggests that the number of individuals involved in the UK this year was roughly 160, as many activists took numerous pictures in different locations. An additional 30 or so activists from overseas also contributed pictures. While this is significantly lower than PA claimed, it does suggest a notable growth in the group's size over the previous year.

BY REGION

By analysing the location of the images, it is possible to give a rough picture of the number of activists involved in each region.

Of all the regions, the Yorkshire branch saw the most people take part with approximately 25 activists, though 15 of these were involved in the largest single event of the day, a banner drop in Leeds attended by Mark Collett and Sam Melia. In addition to this, a further 12 pictures were sent in by other activists. Being home to PA's leadership, it is no surprise that Yorkshire is amongst the largest branches.

Another region that performed well was the Eastern branch, which saw approximately 22 pictures produced by roughly 20 people, although a number of these pictures came from a series

of group pictures with a large banner. The images suggest that there is a cluster of activists in the Norwich area and around Essex, and that the Eastern region is one of the best organised of all PA branches. Outside of the IPD action, activists from the Eastern region have also taken part in activities in London and the South East.

The Midlands has always been a strong region for PA, and the IPD pictures suggest that while numbers across the region are not huge, they are organised and committed branches. There were 17 pictures from the East Midlands, although roughly 10 of them appear to have come from a small group of four activists with the same banner travelling to several locations. The rest all appear to have been individual pictures which were produced by a further seven people, meaning there could have been as few as 10 activists from the region who took part. The West Midlands produced just six pictures by 13 activists; however one picture had six people together and another had four, suggesting that the branch is small but collaborative.

London and the South East are areas where one would expect PA to be well represented, due to the high population in the region. There were 12 locations covered in London, but seven of those were produced by a single person, while a group of six went out with a large banner and covered four other locations, meaning roughly 10 people took part in the capital. This small showing no doubt reflects the tumultuous past of this branch. The wider South East region produced a further 10 pictures, although three of these came from the same two activists in the Guildford region of Surrey. Other pictures were produced by individuals from Reading, Byfleet and Shrivenham.

The South West has long been an active region for PA, and on IPD approximately 16 activists sent in around 20 pictures. This is impressive when compared to the North West of England branch which, despite the high population of the region, produced just 15 pictures by 14 people. Five pictures were produced by the same activist driving around football grounds in the region, while Jake Bewick took a large WLM banner to the Lake District. However, the weakest region in England was the North East, with just eight people taking part, including the social media personality “Morgoth” and the former BNP candidate Keith McFarlane. This is no surprise considering the North East branch was not yet fully established at the time of IPD.

Unsurprisingly, there was a substantial collection of pictures from across Scotland, reflecting the large and active nature of the branch. The majority of the pictures appear to have been of the same banner, used on several different days across a wide array of locations. There also appears to have been a day of action that roughly 13 people attended, again suggesting that the Scottish branch is amongst the largest in PA, with perhaps as many as 25 activists willing to take part in the IPD actions.

In Wales, 15 locations were covered by approximately 10 people, some of whom are involved with the hooligan group, the Pie and Mash Squad. They had two large banners, suggesting a cluster of activists in North Wales and another in South Wales. When combined with analysis of other offline events involving Welsh PA activists, we estimate 15-20 activists across the country.



OVERSEAS

In comparison to the 2020 action, more pictures were sent in from outside the UK, suggesting growing awareness of PA within the international far right. Unsurprisingly, due to Collett's regular online collaborations, the US was the most significant contributor; in addition to a picture from former KKK leader David Duke, pictures were sent in from eight different locations across the country.

Next came Scandinavia, with pictures produced in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland. As with last year's IPD, the group Action Zealandia from New Zealand participated in Wellington and Auckland. There were also a few additional pictures from people in Australia. The rest of the international pictures came from individuals in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Greece and a deep-sea diver in the Gulf of Mexico.

CONCLUSION

While this method of analysis is inexact, when cross-referenced with other information, it does allow us to produce a relatively accurate estimate of the number of activists PA can get onto the streets in the UK. While its official Telegram channel has nearly 5,000 subscribers, it is likely that the group can only count on around 200-250 core activists to mobilise for offline activism. These are spread unevenly across the UK, with areas of strength including Yorkshire, Scotland, the East and South East of England combined and across the Midlands.

All far-right groups have a larger footprint online than offline, however. While small, 200-250 activists willing to engage in offline activism is worrying, especially when considering the extreme nature of PA's ideology. It also marks it out as one of the largest far-right organisations in terms of actual activists in the UK, and certainly the biggest fascist group in the UK for some time.



Former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke

REGIONAL BRANCHES

EAST OF ENGLAND

REGIONAL ORGANISER: STEVE BLAKE

The East of England was once one of PA's most well established branches, regularly holding well-attended meetups organised by Chris Mitchell, a prominent figure within PA due to his role as co-host of the Patriotic Talk podcast.

However, Mitchell left the group in July amidst a bout of vicious infighting, going on to found the rival Independent Nationalists Network, leaving the branch temporarily rudderless. Steve Blake, a former BNP figure who handles IT duties for PA, was appointed Regional Organiser and has sought to rebuild the branch.

Activists in the Eastern branch include the former Watford Conservative Party council candidate Darren Harrison (AKA Saint Harrison), and Barkley Walsh, a teenage social media personality known for engaging in "groypping" campaigns.

EAST MIDLANDS

REGIONAL ORGANISER: ANTHONY BURROWS (AKA ANGLOFOLK)

The East Midlands branch is currently led by Anthony Burrows of Alfreton, Derbyshire, who was exposed by the anti-fascist group Red Flare as the man behind the "AngloFolk" pseudonym in August. Burrows is best known for his "practical nationalism" channels on the messaging app Telegram, which offered advice to fellow far right activists on matters such as buying precious metals and buying organic food.

The East Midlands branch has been less active in recent months with few notable examples of activism, and its social media reach is dwarfed by that of the West Midlands and Yorkshire branches. Active members include former Generation Identity associates Kevin Carrick of Nottingham and the "fashwave" music producer Xurious.

LONDON

REGIONAL ORGANISER: NICHOLAS HILL (AKA CORNELIUS)

Patriotic Alternative's London branch has been beset by embarrassing incidents and is widely derided in the chat groups of other regional branches.

The Regional Organiser, Nicholas Hill, has been hugely tainted by his formerly close relationship with James Shand, who was convicted of attempting to groom a child for sex in 2013, a fact exposed by *VICE* in collaboration with Red Flare in December last year. While the leadership appears to have accepted Hill's explanation that he was unaware of Shand's conviction, many PA members have raised strong concerns about his continued role with the organisation. The Antifascist Research Collective has also exposed a number of activists in this branch.

The branch's reputation had previously been tarnished in August 2020, when the group was ambushed by local anti-fascists. This prompted the public resignation of one activist who went on to write a lengthy blog detailing the shambolic organisation and disregard for vetting procedures that had characterised the group's planning for the day.

Notable members of the branch include Ryan Williams (AKA Nativist Concern), who was also exposed by Red Flare in February this year, and "Yuro Peon", known for hosting The Absolute State of Britain podcast.



PA London activist Liam Bush (AKA Flayedman)

NORTH EAST

REGIONAL ORGANISERS: PHOEBE HOARE AND STEVEN WILSON

PA has struggled to establish an active branch in the North East, with the region being managed by Sam Melia until August 2021, when Ashington-based antiques auctioneer Phoebe Hoare and her partner Steven Wilson were appointed as Regional Organisers.

Among the most active figures is Keith McFarlane, a former BNP candidate from Gateshead, Tyne and Wear, who spreads Nazi propaganda online under the name "Indigenous Advocate". Another addition to the team is notorious criminal Tommy Allen from Sunderland, a former North East Infidels activist who has a string of convictions for violence and drug offences stretching back years (detailed further elsewhere in this report).



Keith McFarlane leafletting for PA in Gateshead

NORTH WEST

REGIONAL ORGANISER: VACANT

The North West is another once-strong PA branch that has suffered in recent months.

The branch was formerly run by James Goddard, a Manchester-based fascist best known for abusing then-MP Anna Soubry and journalists Lizzie Dearden and Owen Jones. Under Goddard the branch engaged in regular action, and in the May local elections activists campaigned for Mark Cotterill, editor of the fascist magazine *Heritage & Destiny*, in his bid for seats in Preston. Activity for the branch stalled in the summer, however, and Goddard officially retreated from activism in September, leaving the branch rudderless.

Figures involved in the branch include Ross Holt (AKA Friendly Sperg), a contributor to PA-affiliated streams and runs his own Telegram channel.

SCOTLAND

REGIONAL ORGANISER: SIMON CRANE (AKA SI BORG)

PA's Scottish branch is perhaps its most active, and is split into a number of smaller sub-regional groups. It was the first branch to hold its own regional conference, which took place in October this year.

The Scotland region branch is run by Simon Crane, a West Lothian-based Englishman employed at a family butcher's. Crane has attempted to establish himself as a social media personality with PA, co-hosting the PA Talk podcast and the less frequent PA Patter podcast. His identity was exposed by anti-fascists in October.

Another key figure is Kenny Smith, the former Scottish Secretary of the BNP, and PA's current national Admin Officer. Smith's influence in PA is somewhat surprising as he had previously been a bitter, vocal opponent of Collett and his then-ally Nick Griffin within the BNP.

PA Scotland has a significant online presence, having by far the most subscribers to its Telegram channel (over 1,500) and its own show, PA Young Scots, which features University of Stirling alumni Jaden Milne (AKA Jay) and Ciaran Shearer (AKA Kerr). Other known activists include Ryan McCue, a Nazi formerly involved in the Scottish Defence League, a more hard-line racist offshoot of the English Defence League, and Tony Girling, Mid-Scotland, Fife and Central organiser.

SOUTH EAST

REGIONAL ORGANISER: VACANT

Formerly led by Southampton-based care worker Theo Wilmot, PA's South East branch has been without a Regional Organiser since his resignation from PA in late April. This has left the group essentially moribund in that period, with no one seemingly willing to step up and take over the position, leaving the group's administration in the hands of the much-maligned London organiser Nicholas Hill and, more recently, deputy leader Laura Towler and PA Scotland's Kenny Smith.

Like the London branch, PA South East was also subject to a security breach that saw a planned walk by activists in Sevenoaks get ambushed by anti-fascists. Wilmot was left bruised after the attack and Mark Collett later said that the incident prompted his resignation from the organiser role.

In early October HOPE not hate revealed that Tim Wills, a Conservative councillor in Worthing, West Sussex, had joined the regional group chat and was enthusiastically embracing the racist politics of the organisation, including exhorting fellow

members to “remember the 14 words”. This led to his suspension by the Conservative Party and later resignation from the council itself.

SOUTH WEST

REGIONAL ORGANISER: CLAIRE ELLIS (AKA OURCLAIRE)

PA has a well-established branch in the South West, headed by Claire Ellis, a Devon-based activist who claims to be a former employee of the Royal Navy. Ellis was exposed by the anti-fascist group Red Flare this July. Alongside PA activist Jody Swingler (AKA Jody Kay), Ellis is co-owner of Clean & Pure, a soap company launched in the summer of 2021.

The branch has engaged in the usual leafleting, hiking, banner drops and wild camping, attracting some local news coverage for breaking COVID restrictions in the process.

Other activists include Simon Birkett (AKA Woodlander), a Warminster, Wiltshire-based tattoo artist and long-standing far-right activist. Birkett runs his own YouTube channel and has appeared on a number of PA-related shows, often to give advice on off-grid living.

WALES

PA's Welsh branch appears to be in large part made up of members of the Pie & Mash Squad, a gang of fascist football hooligans drawn from the remnants of the English and Welsh Defence Leagues. Involved in the branch is Jeff Marsh (AKA Joe Butler), a notorious thug with a conviction for throwing a female protester down a flight of stairs during an anti-austerity demonstration.

Prior to its suspension, the PA Wales Twitter account was controlled by the same person who operates the Pie & Mash Telegram channel, and it is not clear to what extent the groups remain separate.

The branch have been particularly active in opposing the settlement of refugees in Wales, hoisting banners promoting the Great Replacement conspiracy theory outside council offices across the country.

WEST MIDLANDS

REGIONAL ORGANISER: UNKNOWN

The West Midlands branch is one of PA's most active branches, and frequently joins up with the East Midlands and Yorkshire branches for combined social activities. It has also spawned three fairly developed sub-regional groups in Shropshire, Staffordshire and Birmingham.

This branch has a particularly heavy presence of former BNP members, including the former

West Midlands secretary Tom Gower and Wolverhampton organiser Steve Haddon, despite the latter having been firmly part of the anti-Collett faction during the BNP upheavals of the late 2000s. Another former BNP official, Wolverhampton sub-regional Organiser Richard Lumby, has since left PA to found the microscopic rival group, the Independent Nationalist Network.

YORKSHIRE

REGIONAL ORGANISER: SAM MELIA

PA's Yorkshire branch is among its most prominent, being the local branch of PA leaders Mark Collett and Laura Towler, and headed by Towler's husband Sam Melia. It is also the only known branch to feature two former National Action activists as appointed officials: Melia and Jake Bewick, who was appointed the group's “fitness officer” in July.

During the May 2021 elections, PA activists led by Melia campaigned for fascist candidate James Lewthwaite of the British Democratic Party, claiming they distributed 3,500 leaflets in his support. Lewthwaite received 213 votes (6%) in the Wyke ward of Bradford.

Since August 2021, the Yorkshire branch has taken part in a series of actions in conjunction with the British National Socialist Movement (BNSM), a longstanding and extremely antisemitic Nazi group. This included an event on 18 September in which Melia and Collett led more than 20 activists on “flash” demonstrations outside hotels in Leeds that they believed to be housing Afghan refugees. Standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the PA leadership were BNSM thugs, known football hooligans and figures associated with Blood & Honour, the disorderly Nazi music scene.



Jake Bewick, PA Yorkshire activist

SOCIAL MEDIA INFLUENCERS

PA is orbited by a number of social media personalities who, through their online shows and various platforms, play a key role in extending the organisation's reach.

Whilst some such shows are officially endorsed by PA, featuring as part of a roster promoted on the group's website, others are closely linked, hosted by members of the group and often featuring regular guest appearances from the PA leadership.

THE ABSOLUTE STATE OF BRITAIN

The Absolute State of Britain (TASOB) is a weekly PA-linked podcast that, since its launch in April 2019, has become a fixture of the UK antisemitic far right.

TASOB is part of The Right Stuff (TRS) podcast network, which is best known for being one of the central hubs of the US alt-right in the mid-2010s, fostering the explicitly fascist currents of that movement. TASOB is similarly extreme, featuring gutter antisemitism and support for Nazism often in a "humorous" tone.

TASOB has gone through several line-up changes, and is currently hosted by Kris Kearns (AKA Charlie Big Potatoes) alongside the pseudonymous founding host and PA activist "Yuro Peon", as well as the more recent addition, "Ruffian Dick". Yuro has praised Nazi terrorism in the past; in a Discord message from 2017, he declared that "one day there will be statues to [Anders] breivik in Norway", while in other posts he said that "All Muslims must die".

HOPE not hate can now reveal that the man behind the Ruffian Dick pseudonym is Craig Whyte, of Glenrothes, Fife. Whyte has recently moved back to Scotland after a period living in Andover, Hampshire. He appears to have been drawn to the far right through his support for Donald Trump, with US politics dominating his early videos and social media posts.

Alongside leading PA figures, guests on the show include Andreas Johansson of the Nazi Nordic Resistance Movement and the American extremist Joseph Jordan (AKA Eric Striker). Other guests include the notorious Australian



Craig Whyte (AKA Ruffian Dick)

Nazi Thomas Sewell; the episode in which he appeared was removed by TASOB after he advocated for the rape of British police, social workers and politicians on an episode of Patriotic Talk, a separate podcast (see elsewhere in this report).

TASOB has a dedicated channel and chat group for supporters on the messaging app Telegram, the former having over 2,200 subscribers. An active member of the TASOB chat group was Dean Morrice, a man who has since been convicted of ten terror-related offences (see elsewhere in this report).

GARETH STONE (AKA HORUS)



Horus is a video content creator and supporter of Patriotic Alternative who has established himself as a well-known voice in the PA orbit and in the UK far right more broadly. Whilst he has so far enjoyed anonymity, HOPE not hate can now reveal that the man behind the account is Romford-based marketing executive, Gareth Stone.

Via his now-deleted YouTube channel and ongoing livestreaming, Stone's content ranges from discussions with other PA-aligned influencers and his own videos, many of which promote a pro-Nazi view of the Second World War. Stone has made multiple videos claiming that the Second World War was a "Judean-German War", with the UK and USA manipulated into declaring war against Germany by their Jewish populations.

Describing himself as an "ethnonationalist and supporter of Patriotic Alternative", Stone uses his platform to denounce supposed "Jewish power" and call for the ethnic cleansing of the UK using the hashtag #StartTheDeportations. He also runs a Telegram channel, with over 2,000 subscribers.

MORGOOTH



An influential figure emerging for the UK alt-right, the pseudonymous Geordie blogger and YouTuber "Morgoth" has been an active content creator for longer than most PA influencers, and aside from Mark Collett is perhaps the best known social media personality in the PA orbit.

Having already built something of a following through articles and comments on other websites, he created his influential blog "Morgoth's Review" in 2014, providing commentary on cultural and political issues, with its comment section functioning as an active far-right discussion board. In 2018, he established a YouTube account that has amassed 45,000 subscribers and over five million views, and in 2020 a Telegram channel which currently has over 11,400 subscribers.

While Morgoth's YouTube content tends towards cultural critique and euphemistic language, his writing leaves no doubt about his extreme racial hatred and authoritarian instincts. For example, in a 2015 blog he wrote that he would be unmoved to watch migrants drown at sea: "Even if I imagine myself standing on the Italian shoreline in the Spring sun watching a boat full of blacks sink sending them all to their deaths I would still feel the same." He is similarly extreme in his antisemitism; in another post entitled "Merry Holocaustmas!", he wrote that "the Holocaust is the primary tool used to cripple whites in the genocidal war the Jewish community is waging against them".

As outlined elsewhere in this report, in March 2015 Morgoth spoke positively of Jack Renshaw, claiming that he contacted him to write for his blog after encountering his extreme antisemitic

outpourings. He has also shared disgusting NA propaganda celebrating the murder of Stephane Charbonnier, the Editor of the French magazine Charlie Hebdo, by Islamists in 2015.

Despite this long history of extremism and hatred, Morgoth was recently invited to appear on the podcast of *The Spectator* columnist James Delingpole, who referred to him as “one of the smartest people on the planet”.

STEPHEN THOMSON (AKA CHIEF MOODY)



Chief Moody is a Scottish YouTuber and host of Mood of the Nation, a twice-weekly livestream that forms part of PA’s official roster of online shows. While he has been able to operate anonymously until now, HOPE not hate can reveal that Chief Moody is Stephen Thomson of Stenhousemuir, Falkirk.

Thomson drifted towards PA after finding his entry point through figures like Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) and Carl Benjamin (AKA Sargon of Akkad). He claims to have grown disillusioned by their supposed “liberalism”, and cites the reaction to the murder of George Floyd and ensuing protests as “redpilling” him towards the explicit racial politics of PA.

STUART DEVERS (AKA BONNIE LAD)

A streamer whose show is listed in PA’s official schedule, Stuart Devers of Keighley, Yorkshire is another influencer who has been able to operate anonymously up until now. His weekly show alternates between lengthy pub quiz-style shows and interviews with other streamers.

Alongside his solo efforts, Devers forms one part of the “Three Amigos” group along with streamers Sensum Communem and Scottish Tam.

ALEC CAVE (AKA WESLEY RUSSELL)



“Wesley Russell” is a PA-affiliated streamer and rising star of the movement. HOPE not hate can reveal that he is Alec Cave, from Milton Keynes.

Cave hosted the little-viewed “Renew Britannia” show, since rebranded as the “Nefarious Podcast”. He has also hosted a run of episodes of the Patriotic Talk “aftershow”, where the main hosts hand over to less prominent, and often younger, activists in the British far right. He also runs a moderately-sized Telegram channel of roughly 600 subscribers.

Cave has been touted by Collett as “the brightest young star” of PA, and was afforded a speech at the national PA conference in October 2021, indicating that he is being lined up for a more prominent role in the organisation.

JODY SWINGLER (AKA JODYKAY)



Swingler, among PA’s best known figures, hosts a show that forms part of PA’s official roster of online shows.

A musician and former “apolitical liberal”, Swingler has attributed her swift radicalisation into antisemitic, far-right conspiracy theories to the output of PA leader Mark Collett. Founding a YouTube channel in June 2020 and returning to the UK from Ibiza that November, Swingler has adopted a public role in the group; in Collett’s words, “she’s very different to the sort of person that people typically associate with the dissident right”.

In December 2020, Swingler was involved in “groying” Labour leader Keir Starmer on LBC radio, calling in under a pseudonym and asking him questions relating to the White Genocide conspiracy theory live on air. Alongside PA’s South West Regional Organiser, Claire Ellis, Swingler co-owns Clean & Pure, a soap company launched this summer.

Swingler addressed the conference of PA’s Scottish branch in October 2021, as well as the PA national conference later that month. She also runs a channel on the messaging app Telegram.

NEIL HIATT (AKA NATHAN R LAWRENCE)



Among the most bizarre and extreme figures welcomed into the PA fold, Telford-based Neil Hiatt has regularly contributed articles to PA’s website under the pseudonym “Nathan R Lawrence”.

The Lawrence character is just the latest in a dizzying array of identities that Hiatt has assumed over the past 25 years, and one that he uses largely to promote his eclectic ideology of Nazism and “Esoteric Hitlerism”. The latter is a quasi-religious belief in the divine nature of Adolf Hitler; writing under another pseudonym, Lawrence defined it as the belief that “Adolf Hitler was an enlightened, supernatural and divine being; an avatar and messenger of the Divine forces to save the world [...] the closest thing to a living God.”

Hiatt oversees a number of Esoteric Hitlerist and other Nazi groups on the messaging app Telegram. He was also an active member of the “TOTENKVLT” chat, which was awash with pro-terror content and was run by Luke Hunter, a man currently serving four years for various terror offences after being identified by HOPE not hate.

DARREN HARRISON (AKA SAINT HARRISON)



Darren Harrison is a Watford, Hertfordshire-based YouTuber and minor content creator active within PA’s East of England branch.

Harrison stood as a candidate for the Conservative Party in Watford’s Borough Council election in 2018, but was thrown out of the party after his links to Generation Identity UK, a now-defunct far-right group that advocated for a form of racial segregation, were exposed by *VICE*. Harrison came last in his ward with 564 votes.

Harrison remained active in far-right circles, including writing for *Defend Europa*, the white nationalist blog at which Laura Towler was editor. Since January 2020, he has run a Telegram channel, his own little-viewed YouTube channel, and made guest appearances on PA-affiliated shows.

INFIGHTING



L-R: Jason Kohn, Laura Towler, Mark Collett, Dionne Moller, and Colin Robertson

Despite only launching just over two years ago, Patriotic Alternative has already suffered a seemingly endless stream of defections, scandals and bitter recriminations. This is well illustrated by photos from the inaugural PA conferences of September 2019 and March 2020, which show a host of speakers and attendees who have since been expelled or have left in scandal or acrimony.

The relentless infighting has taken its toll on PA. Many of those who have departed have sizable social media followings in their own right, sometimes rivalling that of PA itself, and therefore constitute a large and noisy community of disaffected ex-members who can amplify each other's criticisms of the group and its leadership. At least five of the eleven regional branches have seen their regional organisers resign or be sacked after just a few months in the post, often leading to a substantial reduction in that group's activity until a replacement can be found.

Among the most common complaints is that the group displays a cult-like hostility to any form of criticism, an allegation supported by the fact

that many of those departing more recently had themselves taken part in lambasting those who had left the group before them. Excommunicated activists are often condemned in harsh terms, but little discussion is given to why such supposedly dangerous and untrustworthy people were close to the organisation's leadership in the first place.

Among the earliest and bitterest disputes was the departure of Tommy Robinson's former aide, Lucy Brown, and, consequently, the streamer Nick Cotton (AKA Unwashed). Both had attended the second PA conference in spring 2020 but left after falling out with Collett. Cotton has since become among the most vocal critics of PA, accusing it of grooming teenagers to join the group and failing to protect their welfare, citing the example of Barkley Walsh, who was 16 years old at the time he was arrested while handing out the group's leaflets.

Another proactively hostile former figure is Dionne Moller, a former police officer who delivered a speech at PA's conference in 2020 but has since become a tireless critic. She has described PA

as being “infested with criminals and persons of dubious character” and that Collett “will protect those who he feels will boost his organisation regardless of their crimes”.

Perhaps the most damaging defection is that of Chris Mitchell, former Regional Organiser of PA’s East England branch. Once a prominent supporter of Tommy Robinson, it represented a coup for the group when he was gradually enticed away from the so-called “counter-jihad” movement and towards the ethno-nationalism of PA, bringing with him the relatively large pro-Tommy Telegram chat group that he controlled. As with other disputes, it is hard to untangle its exact origins, but it soon devolved into a hugely bitter and public fall out between Mitchell and Kris Kearns (AKA Charlie Big Potatoes), with whom he co-hosted the Patriotic Talk podcast. Both sides aired dirty laundry and exchanged accusations across a number of Telegram groups.

This has led to the most significant split in PA so far, with Mitchell helping to launch the Independent Nationalist Network (INN), although he has since also left this new outfit. While INN remains very small, it includes at least three defectors from the PA West Midlands branch alone and represents a hostile alternative to which past and future defectors can turn. Even some of those who have remained with PA have expressed their disapproval over Kearns’ behaviour during the dispute, which included sharing private information and cruelly mocking Mitchell’s apparent suicide attempts.

Other members have been pushed out or sidelined due to their alleged indiscretions. Most notable and perhaps most damaging to the group is the re-emergence of Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes), a well-known early associate who addressed the group’s inaugural conference. Robertson has been subject to a number of allegations of sexual harassment and inappropriate behaviour from women on the far right (which are denied by Robertson), including an alleged incident at the PA conference in 2020 that led to his ban from attending future events. However, in a live streamed chat from September 2021, Collett and Kearns both apologised to Robertson, demonised the woman who accused him and took pains to emphasise that he had not been convicted of any crime, seemingly paving the way for a return to the fold.

It appears that defecting from PA does not come without risks. Scottish activist Fraser Hudson (AKA Madfwaz) has claimed that members of PA tried to intimidate him into silence by turning up at his home at 7am, while Mitchell was allegedly subjected to a death threat from a PA activist who uploaded a video of himself brandishing a machete. While PA initially denied that the activist had any involvement in the movement, it emerged that he was an admin of a channel controlled by Collett’s close ally Kris Kearns.



A number of PA activists have left to start the Independent Nationalist Network

PRAISE FOR HITLER

“When you read transcripts from people who were very close to Hitler, they say the worst things about him, his worst personality traits, is that he used to ramble on a bit [...] and if that’s the worst you can say about a politician, really can he be such a bad guy?”

Mark Collett, Leader of PA

The Ralph Retort “Killstream”, 22/02/19

“Hitler was merely one of LONG list of brave and noble souls while taken up the struggle against judea. Look through history and the tale is there to be told”

Kris Kearns, former PA Fitness Officer

Telegram message, 13/10/2020

“Adolf Hitler was an enlightened, supernatural and divine being; an avatar and messenger of the Divine forces to save the world [...] the closest thing to a living God.”

Neil Hiatt, regular contributor to PA website

“Adolf Hitler, who art in Valhalla, Sacred is thy name. Give us this day, your strength, courage, conviction, and wisdom, that we may continue your struggle to save our race and secure a future for White children. This we beseech you. Hail Hitler!”

Keith McFarlane, PA North East

Telegram, 23/08/2021

“Hitler Speaks About the Jews. The truth the world would be so much if he world [sic] of won. It’s coming now tho”

Jake Bewick, PA Yorkshire Fitness Club Officer

Twitter, 31/01/2017

“Hitler gave his people a faith in themselves again and we know why they had to destroy him and what he created in the end.”

Steven Fowler, PA West Midlands

Telegram, 21/10/2020

“If uncle Adolf’s speeches were incorrect, they wouldn’t give me a semi”

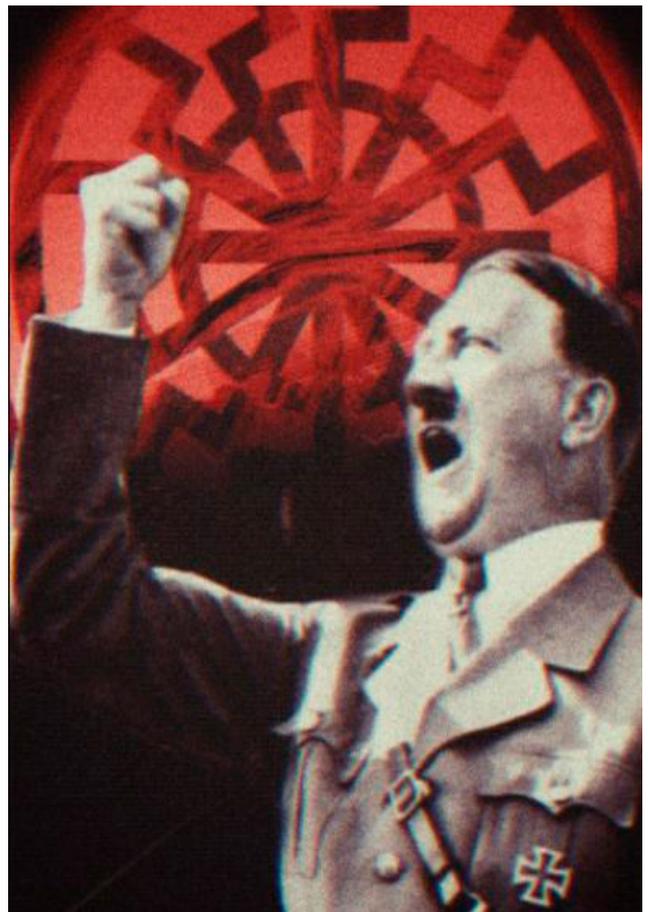
Kenny Chance, PA South East

14/06/21

“i just posted a pro hitler video. i like hitler ffs”

Ryan Williams, PA London

Telegram, 28/07/20



Posted with the caption: “From the depths I cry to thee, mein Fuhrer. Heil Victory”

Kris Kearns, former PA Fitness Officer

Telegram message, 09/11/2019



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