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about the BNP

The Centre for
Social Cohesion



BLOOD & HONOUR

Britain's Far-Right Militants



Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens
and Edmund Standing

Foreword by Rt Hon Denis MacShane MP

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extremism and racism.

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About the CSC

The CSC is a non-partisan think-tank that studies issues related to community cohesion in the UK. Committed to the promotion of human rights, it is the first think-tank in the UK to specialise in studying radicalisation and extremism within the UK. The CSC is headquartered in London, and was founded in 2007 to promote human rights, tolerance and greater cohesion among the UK's ethnic and religious communities and within wider British society.

About Nothing British

Nothing British was founded by James Bethell and Tim Montgomerie in March 2009 to help protect Britain's liberal democratic values from political extremism and racism. As the first centre-right campaign against the British National Party, it is committed to preventing British identity from being hijacked by extremists through reclaiming patriotism and addressing the concerns of ordinary people.

CSC publications

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Hizb ut-Tahrir: Ideology and Strategy (2009)

Nothing British Publications

Stolen Valour: How the forces of extremism and racism are hijacking the good name of Britain's military, and what needs to be done to stop them (2009)

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Foreword

In the last few years, and particularly since the economic downturn, Europe has seen a rise in the popularity of far-right organisations. This is evident not only from the increased popularity of political parties like the British National Party (BNP), but also from the increased prominence of such underground neo-Nazi movements as Blood & Honour (B&H), which encourage and glorify racially motivated violence.

During a September 2009 hearing before the House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee, John Yates, Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, said that Britain faced an increasing threat from non-Islamist extremist violence. He alerted the Committee to the fact that the police took the threat of white-supremacist violence 'extremely seriously'.

To take some examples of British neo-Nazi terrorist activity from just 2009:

- In July, Yorkshire police raided a neo-Nazi terror cell with international links. They seized the largest suspected terrorist arsenal since the IRA bombings of the early 1990s. Twenty properties were raided and over 300 weapons and 80 bombs were discovered by counter-terrorism detectives. The hardware included rocket launchers, grenades, pipe bombs and dozens of firearms. Several people were charged, and over 30 were questioned over the incident.
- In September, Neil Lewington, a follower of B&H, was jailed indefinitely for attempting to launch a bombing campaign against non-white Britons. In his flat, police discovered a bomb-making factory and neo-Nazi literature. Court reports said that Lewington wanted to emulate his 'heroes' – David Copeland, the Soho bomber, and Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma bomber.
- In May, Terence Gavan, a card-carrying member of the BNP, was arrested after police raided his home. In January 2010, he was convicted on terrorism charges and sentenced to 11 years in prison, after a stockpile of nail and ball-bearing bombs, shotguns, improvised explosive devices and pistols was found at his house.

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It is important, however, not to overstate these neo-Nazi anecdotes. Britain is not about to turn into the Fourth Reich.

After the Yorkshire weapons cache raid, Sir Norman Bettison, Chief Constable of West Yorkshire Police, put the whole incident into context, saying: 'The big bad wolf is still the Al-Qaeda threat'; however, he went on, the police are also 'knocking over right-wing extremists quite regularly'.

On the threat of far-right violence, a cautionary Sir Norman also said that Yorkshire police were not prepared to wait for it to 'first emerge into the public eye out of a critical incident like an explosion'. He is right. And if there is one lesson to be learned from the rise of extremist UK Islamism, it is that we should not simply wait for people to die. Action is needed now.

As this report shows, like their jihadist counterparts, neo-Nazis are filled with hate, are conspiratorial and are prepared (and determined) to use extreme violence to achieve their political aims. If we want to reduce the threat we face from far-right extremism, it is imperative that new systems be put in place, allowing pre-emptive strikes against this budding threat.

Rt Hon Denis MacShane MP

LETTER TO HOME SECRETARY

What follows is a reproduction of a letter sent by Baroness Pauline Neville-Jones, Shadow Security Minister for the Conservative Party, to the Home Secretary, the Rt. Hon. Alan Johnson MP. Basing her arguments on previous research carried out by the Centre for Social Cohesion into Blood & Honour, she asks the Home Secretary to consider banning the group.

*The Rt Hon Alan Johnson MP
Home Secretary
Home Office
2 Marsham Street
London SW1P 4DF*

21 September 2009

Dear Home Secretary

I am writing following reports on 18 September 2009 of the activities of the group 'Blood & Honour'.

The reports suggest that Blood & Honour is currently distributing material, including music CDs, which encourage and glorify hatred and acts of terror against ethnic minorities. The reports also quote the group's 'Field Manual' as stating that those who carry out actions in the name of neo-Nazism 'must be respected rather than condemned' and that 'Die-hard "Nazis" not comfortable in any watered-down, democratic outfit, still have an option through leaderless resistance and direct action... These lone white wolves must be respected and left alone to stalk the worst enemies of our race. They expect no support and assistance but they deserve acknowledgement and understanding.'

Given these circumstances, I would like to know what your assessment is of the group's activities and what action can be taken in response to them under relevant sections of the Public Order Act 1986 and the Terrorism Act 2000 and Terrorism Act 2006. For example, you will be aware that under Section 21 of the Public Order Act 1986 a person who 'distributes, or shows, or plays, a recording of visual images or sounds which are threatening, abusive or insulting is guilty of an offence if he intends thereby to stir up racial hatred, or having regard to

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all the circumstances racial hatred is likely to be stirred up thereby'. You will also be aware that Sections 1 and 2 of the Terrorism Act 2006 (respectively) specify that the encouragement of terrorism and the dissemination of terrorist publications are offences. On the face of it, there appears to be a very strong case for the proscription of Blood & Honour.

There is a further and related issue, which is that much of the group's material is reported to be hosted and distributed from a website on an American server (although sale and distribution does occur in the UK). I would therefore like to know what scope there is to prosecute individuals involved and to block or remove this internet content.

I am sure you will agree that it is necessary to tackle all forms of extremism, including right wing extremism. The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, John Denham, announced earlier this year that the Government's PREVENT Strategy was being updated to reflect this.

In light of public interest in these matters I am making a copy of this letter available to the press.

*Baroness Neville-Jones
Shadow Security Minister*

Executive Summary

Blood & Honour (B&H) is an international neo-Nazi network that has evolved from its original incarnation as a neo-Nazi music scene into a far-right franchise. Through music CDs and ideological texts, the B&H network reinforces and disseminates a violent 'white power' supremacist ideology. This ideology derives from Third Reich Nazism and, unlike some other far-right organisations, B&H seeks the creation of a 'Fourth Reich'. While it is not an organisation with official membership, B&H acts as a very effective international network through which to spread violent neo-Nazism.

Connections to far-right terrorism

Although B&H has no official members, a number of recently convicted far-right terrorists were found to be followers of B&H music and literature:

- **Nathan Worrell:** Found guilty in December 2008 of possession of material for terrorist purposes and racially aggravated harassment; jailed for over seven years. At his residence, police uncovered bomb-making manuals and materials, as well as a Combat 18 (C18) video, which contained instructions on how to make a bomb using household items. Worrell was also in possession of a large amount of neo-Nazi propaganda material, including some produced by C18 (C18 is part of B&H).
- **Neil Lewington:** Convicted in September 2009 on seven separate charges, including preparing acts of terrorism; sentenced to an indeterminate prison sentence of at least six years. The expert witness at his trial stated that B&H materials played a central role in his radicalisation.
- **Martyn Gilleard:** Found guilty in June 2008 of preparing for terrorist acts and possessing articles and collecting information for terrorist purposes; sentenced to 16 years in prison. Among the materials found at his residence were copies of *Blood & Honour* magazine. Also found among his own writings was the '14 Words' slogan, which is popular with B&H and can be found in much of the organisation's literature.

Encouraging terrorism

A number of B&H texts glorify and encourage acts of terror against minorities, and also provide followers with detailed information about how to carry out a successful attack:

- ***The National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook [sic]***: This B&H text is described as a manual for members of the network, and essentially amounts to a terrorist handbook. It glorifies and encourages acts of 'lone-wolf' terror, which are carried out by white supremacists with no official organisational links. This text also includes detailed explanations of counter-surveillance techniques that should be employed by these 'lone wolves', in order to avoid the attention of the authorities.
- ***Blood & Honour Field Manual***: This text also endorses acts of 'lone-wolf' terror, stating that the individuals concerned 'must be respected and left alone to stalk the worst enemies of our race. They expect no support and assistance but they deserve acknowledgement and understanding.'

Spreading racial hatred

B&H's largest source of income is the sale of neo-Nazi rock music CDs, many of which incite racial hatred and violence, and glorify neo-Nazi terrorism. Two key UK B&H merchandising operations are Highlander East Coast and Rune and Sword Productions, both of which sell 'white power' music and other neo-Nazi material that contravenes UK legislation on racial and religious hatred. Lyrics from music CDs distributed by B&H include:

*We'll bomb your cities, destroy your towns
Wipe out the scum, kill all the browns
Hang politicians and waste the police
Until I'm feeling better, the murder will not cease!*

'Bomb the Cities', from the Blue Eyed Devils album *Murder Squad*

*Non white scum we're gonna kill you
Slit your throat and watch you die
Time to crush the brown eyed subrace
Strangle, beat and crucify*

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*Total destruction of all non whites
Right now is it time to attack
Take your guns, go shoot and kill
Cause the jew government won't send them back*

*'Vandalize and Victimize', from the Blue Eyed Devils album *Murder Squad**

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In 2009, there was a sharp increase in the attention paid by both the police and the media to the threat of far-right extremism and terrorism. In July, Metropolitan Police Commander Shaun Sawyer commented that the authorities were fearful of a 'spectacular' neo-Nazi terrorist attack.¹ Although he cautioned that Islamist terrorism still posed the primary threat, Sawyer made clear the necessity of deploying more resources to sections of the police that monitor the far right.

Like their Islamist counterparts, neo-Nazis are driven by a supremacist ideology, which sanctions the use of extreme violence in the name of its cause. However, unlike Islamist terror, the neo-Nazi equivalent is still in an immature and ineffectual stage in the UK. The recent cases of Martyn Gilleard and Neil Lewington (see p. 36–37), who both planned bomb attacks on ethnic minorities, showed the relatively unsophisticated nature of UK neo-Nazi terrorism. Although both were in possession of bombs, these were not on a par with those used by the 7 July 2005 Islamist suicide attackers, or by the 'liquid bomb' plotters, convicted in 2008 and 2009 of planning to detonate explosives on at least seven transatlantic aircraft.² Furthermore, whereas there are still regional enclaves around the Afghanistan–Pakistan border where future terrorists receive high-level training in bomb making and delivery, there is no neo-Nazi equivalent.

In Britain, there are numerous neo-Nazi networks and groups that reinforce – as well as promote and disseminate – their violent ideology primarily through pamphlets, music and private gatherings. Blood & Honour (B&H) is one of the largest of these networks; but even it is still at a stage where, if the government were to take suitable measures, the threat it poses to both security and community cohesion could be countered before it matures.

1 'Police fear far-right terror attack', *Guardian*, 6 July 2009.

2 'Liquid Bomb Plot: Three guilty of murder conspiracy', *Guardian*, 9 September 2008; 'Airliner bomb plotters get life sentences', *CNN*, 14 September 2009

Background

B&H describes itself as 'a world-wide pan Aryan organisation dedicated to the struggle for survival and prosperity of the White Race'.³ Taking its name from the slogan of the Hitler Youth, it is an international neo-Nazi organisation, which claims branches in at least 18 countries and which has 19 'divisions' in the UK alone.⁴

Founded in the UK in 1987 by the British neo-Nazi Ian Stuart Donaldson (lead singer of the 'white power' band Skrewdriver), B&H disseminates its ideology through websites, magazines, manuals and booklets. This ideology is driven primarily by a hatred of racial and religious minorities, and is spread by B&H 'white power' music CDs, live concerts, marches and rallies. In September 2008, for example, an estimated 800 B&H supporters descended on a Somerset community for a neo-Nazi festival.⁵

While B&H was originally founded as a support network for the sale and promotion of racist rock bands, it has evolved into a revolutionary National Socialist movement with a specific ideological and operational outlook. Through its 'armed wing', Combat 18 (C18), B&H aspires to be a fully fledged white-supremacist terrorist movement, and openly calls for acts of violence in the name of reviving Nazism and 'saving the white race'.⁶

IAN STUART DONALDSON: NEO-NAZI ICON

B&H evolved out of the UK National Front's White Noise Club, which promoted racist punk rock concerts. In 1987, Ian Stuart Donaldson founded B&H in Britain as a movement independent of any particular political party. As a result, its followers are found in all the major UK white nationalist organisations, including the BNP. Donaldson died in a car crash in 1993 – a crash presumed by his followers to have been the work of a government agency – and he has since taken on an iconic status among those who seek to resurrect Nazi ideology and ethnically cleanse majority-white nations.

3 Hammer, M., *Blood & Honour: The way forward*, available at <http://www.bloodandhonour-usa.com/sect/pdf/TheWayForward.pdf> [accessed 10/12/2009].

4 Blood & Honour UK homepage, available at <http://bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/28unitedkingdom.html> [accessed 8/12/2009].

5 'Artists united in condemnation of "Nazi" festival', *Guardian*, 29 September 2008.

6 B&H and C18 are essentially the same group, although their description of C18 as an 'armed wing' is an attempt to give the impression of a more organised and official organisation – something that B&H aspires to become.

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Operational capacity

No official membership exists for B&H, though neo-Nazi expert Professor Roger Griffin notes: 'Structured around numerous autonomous but interconnected nodal points of organisation, performance, production, and distribution, Blood and Honour quickly evolved into an international, centreless, non-hierarchical politico-cultural entity.'⁷ Although the group has evolved, it has retained a clandestine nature, and almost all of its followers operate under pseudonyms when involved in online forums and other writing. All of their music events are organised in secret and are not widely publicised: often attendees only find out the exact location of the venue hours or minutes before the beginning of an event.

Through music CDs and ideological texts, the B&H network disseminates and reinforces a violent 'white power' supremacist ideology. This ideology derives from Third Reich Nazism and, unlike some other far-right organisations, B&H seeks the creation of a 'Fourth Reich'.

B&H 'divisions' exist in numerous countries, but as B&H is a decentralised network, the degree to which those groups interact and work with one another varies widely. As with the international jihadist movement, cooperation is largely based around a common ideology, as opposed to being 'directed' from an organisational hub. In a similar manner to the al-Qaeda franchise, sympathetic groups and individuals around the world follow and align themselves with the ideology and tactics promoted by B&H, and the network encourages, and lends legitimacy to, acts of terrorism in the name of 'white power'.

B&H websites claim the following UK 'divisions' and 'sections':

England

Southern England, 'Southlands Division'

West Country Section [covers Somerset, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall]

South East London and Kent, 'Invictus Division'

South London Division

East London Division [covers East London and Essex]

⁷ Griffin, R. (2003), 'From slime mould to rhizome: an introduction to the groupuscular right', *Patterns of Prejudice* 37(1), (March), pp. 27–50.

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West London, 'Westland Division' [covers West London and the Home Counties west of London]

West London, Wycombe Section

Central Division [covers Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Cambridgeshire]

Coventry/Warwickshire Division

'H' Division [covers Midlands and Lincolnshire]

'H' Division, Boston Section [covers Lincolnshire]

'H' Division, Cumbria Section

Manchester Section

Yorkshire Division [covers York, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield and Huddersfield]

County Durham Division

Scotland

Highlander West Coast

Highlander East Coast

Wales

B&H Wales

Ulster

B&H Ulster

All of these divisions and sections provide email addresses, and a number of them also have either PO or BM box addresses.⁸ Although this extensive list of groups is intended to give the impression of a large B&H support network in the UK, it is likely that they are overstating their actual reach. While it is important not to exaggerate the capacity of B&H in the UK (which is still very limited), it is the group's ability to spread a violent neo-Nazi ideology that poses the real threat.

On the international stage, B&H groups are currently known to operate in: the United States; Argentina; Chile; Brazil; Australia; Belgium; The Netherlands; Ger-

8 Blood & Honour UK homepage.

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many (where they are banned); Iceland; Spain; Bulgaria; Czech Republic; Norway; Finland; Greece; Serbia; Ukraine; Hungary; Russia; Poland and Canada.⁹

B&H UK political links

All three of Britain's main 'nationalist' political organisations have links with the B&H movement.

British National Party

The British National Party (BNP) has a long-running relationship with B&H, and C18 emerged from the BNP security team. Under the 'modernisation' directives of BNP chairman and MEP Nick Griffin, the party's links to such extremists have supposedly been severed.¹⁰ However, there is evidence that B&H is still tolerated by senior members of the party.

BNP Chairman Nick Griffin is well aware of the B&H organisation and its British activists. Steve Cartwright, a long-standing B&H leader, has claimed in an article that he was asked by Griffin in 1997 to tell C18 leader Will Browning that the BNP and C18 were 'on the same side'.¹¹

In the summer of 2001, Nick Griffin travelled to Oldham during a period marred by race riots. Speaking on the BBC *Panorama* programme that same year, Darren Wells, a former C18 organiser, recalled Griffin's visit to the town, during which the BNP leader again affirmed his support for C18. According to Wells, Griffin met C18 members and endorsed the group, despite the fact that C18 is the armed wing of B&H:

When we were in that pub drinking with some BNP supporters, they mentioned that Griffin was in town and that he wanted to come down and have a drink with us. And when C18 were asked if they had a problem they said no, bring him down. He's welcome to come down for a drink. And at no time did he make any effort at all to try and stop people drinking with C18 people, he didn't make any effort at all to stop people going

9 B&H C18 Divisions, available at <http://skrewdriver.org/links.html> [accessed 30/11/2009].

10 In 2000, Nick Griffin gave a speech in which he stressed the need for using 'saleable words' that would give the BNP a veneer of moderation, while at the same time not 'selling out' its ideas.

11 Cartwright, S., 'Rock against Griffinism', available at <http://finalconflictblog.blogspot.com/2008/01/b-responds-rock-against-griffinism.html> [accessed 2/12/2009].

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after a violent confrontation with Asian gangs. Griffin's words that stick with me were 'We're all on the same side'.¹²

In January 2008, Griffin tried to distance the BNP from B&H in his 'New Year Message', telling the audience that he was heartened to see nationalist music move away 'from the grim, raucous, counter-productive hatred of the old neo-Nazi Blood & Honour scene'.¹³ In response to this, Griffin's former B&H ally Steve Cartwright wrote the above-mentioned article, in which he also questioned the sincerity of Griffin's anti-B&H comments.¹⁴ He describes how Griffin was, in the past, very close to Highlander, B&H's Scotland division, and that it would, in return, often donate funds raised at Highlander events to the BNP. Cartwright also gives a specific example of Highlander raising funds for the BNP:

An ideal example of the measure of support that 'Highlander' gave the BNP is the 'Ballads for the new Britain' CD.

In 2002 we held a ballads evening in Armadale, Scotland. John, Stigger and Sisco [neo-Nazi musicians] were playing again. None of the band members took a penny expenses as it was planned that the BNP should benefit fully from that gig. The day after the gig the lads went into a studio and began work on the ballads CD.

Over the next couple of weeks the CD was 'tidied up' at the expense of 'Highlander' and when the album was near completion a prominent 'British Hammerskin' – again working for nothing – did the cover and CD artwork. The only thing the BNP had to do was get Tony Lecomber to print the covers.

The CD hit the stalls at that year's RWB [Red, White and Blue] festival. The sales (and exchanges) from nearly 3000 'Ballads for the new Britain' CDs allowed the BNP's 'Excalibur' merchandising [wing] to get off the ground a lot quicker than anyone in the BNP expected in their wildest dreams.¹⁵

The B&H *Ballads for the New Britain* CD, which, according to Cartwright, was sold at the 2002 BNP Red, White and Blue (RWB) family festival, was also on sale on

12 'Under the Skin', BBC *Panorama*, 25 November 2001, transcript available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/audio_video/programmes/panorama/transcripts/transcript_25_11_01.txt.

13 Nick Griffin's New Year Message, 2008.

14 Cartwright, 'Rock against Griffinism'.

15 *ibid.*

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the BNP's website until 2004.¹⁶ 'Excalibur' is the BNP's official merchandising wing, and Cartwright's claim that B&H music helped fund its creation also illustrates the lasting effect of the BNP's relationship with B&H.

At present, the BNP continues to attract – and apparently tolerate – the presence of self-declared B&H supporters. For example, the authors of the Covert Undercover Nuisance Tactics blog, which enthusiastically supports and promotes B&H, have written articles stating that they were present at the BNP's 2008 and 2009 RWB 'family festivals'.¹⁷ Griffin is aware of the nature of this group, having received an open letter in 2007 complaining about his failure to act against Tommy Williams, one of the Covert blog writers.¹⁸ Furthermore, videos from the 2007 and 2009 RWB, including a Sky One documentary, depict a number of individuals with B&H shirts and tattoos.¹⁹

National Front

The National Front (NF) is an organisation synonymous with racist skinheads. Interviewed by the Racial Volunteer Force (a C18 splinter group) in February 2009, Hull NF organiser and head of the NF Unit Development Department, Nick Walsh, reaffirmed the party's desire to 'represent... the B&H skin[head]'.²⁰

British People's Party

The British People's Party (BPP) is an openly neo-Nazi party, whose members have included convicted terrorist Martyn Gilleard. Justifying his plans for a nail-bombing campaign against ethnic-minority communities in Britain, Gilleard stated: 'Unless we the British right stop talking of racial war and take steps to make it happen, we will never get back that which has been stolen from us.'²¹ On B&H/C18 websites are found BPP endorsements, while the BPP website links to Sniper Records, a distributor of B&H music.²² The BPP also sells B&H and C18 badges via its website.

16 Former BNP merchandising homepage which has now been removed by the BNP. The Centre for Social Cohesion (CSC) is in possession of archived versions of the original page.

17 'Red White & Blue', Covert Undercover Nuisance Tactics blog, available at <http://covert-tactics.blogspot.com/search/label/Red%20White%20And%20Blue%20Festival> [accessed 18/1/2010].

18 July 2007 resignation letter from Jonathan Bowden to Nick Griffin.

19 'BNP Wives', Sky One, first broadcast 17 January 2008, featured footage of B&H supporters at the 2007 RWB.

20 Racial Volunteer Force interview with Nick Walsh, 7 February 2009, available at <http://www.rvfonline.com/articlefiles/nationalfrontint.htm> [accessed 19/1/2010].

21 'Nazi sympathiser Martyn Gilleard jailed for 16 years', *Daily Telegraph*, 25 June 2008.

22 Combat 18 homepage, available at <http://www.combat18.net/index2.html>; British People's Party homepage, available at <http://www.bpp.org.uk/>; Sniper Records homepage, available at <http://www.sniper-records.net/> [all accessed 25/11/2009].

Blood & Honour Ideological Texts and the Spread of Hate

Through a number of key texts and articles (all of which are currently available online), B&H sets out its strategy and ideological worldview. The violence and hatred that underpins this ideology is then spread through neo-Nazi rock music, which is distributed at gatherings and through B&H websites.

As well as an instinctive hatred of all non-white races, the ideology promoted by B&H is based around a conspiratorial view of modern history, which holds that racially mixed societies are the product of a Jewish plan for global domination. Drawing on the same ideas that were ultimately used by Hitler as justification for the Holocaust, B&H describes non-white immigration into majority-white countries as a deliberate tactic, used by what is often referred to as the Jewish 'hidden hand', to supposedly dilute the purity of the 'white race' by encouraging 'mongrelisation' in the form of interracial relationships and marriages. B&H presents this as a calculated act of genocide against the white race, and considers it its duty to oppose this by any means necessary.

A variety of methods for carrying this out are proposed in B&H literature. Some texts suggest making use of the political process by employing extremist political parties as a 'Trojan horse' to inject racial nationalist ideology into the mainstream, while at the same time condoning and glorifying the use of violence as a tactic. Other texts are unambiguous and advocate outright racial violence and terrorism as the only solution. Throughout B&H literature and music, race war and violent revolution are a central theme, as is the incitement of hatred towards ethnic minorities and those who support liberal democratic values, pluralism and tolerance.

Unlike the material of 'entryist' extremist organisations and movements, B&H texts are often unambiguous about their support for violence: B&H does not try to portray itself as a non-violent movement committed to legal activities. Instead, its material is often critical of the idea of law and order and encourages supporters to be ready to die, if necessary, in order to further the cause of Nazism.

Ideological and strategic texts

Blood & Honour: The way forward

The book *Blood & Honour: The way forward* is available for download from a number of B&H websites. It declares B&H to be 'a pan-Aryan movement of White resistance against the oppressive forces of the Zionist Occupation Governments' (ZOG).²³ The author is listed as a Max Hammer, although this is almost certainly a pseudonym.

The book lays out plans for direct action by B&H supporters, and explicitly endorses illegal activities and violence in the name of neo-Nazism. The text is unambiguous, stating that:

As warriors of the political underground we shall thrive on anarchy and chaos! If anybody reading this still believes in the phrase of 'law and order', they have understood absolutely nothing and are of absolutely no value to us or our race.²⁴

Having explained the dangers of multiracial societies and the supposed death of the white race, the text states:

If nothing extremely radical is not done [*sic*] to solve this dire problem through a final solution of White backlash, the above dark scenario will definitely be our doomed future. We know that for a fact, but so do our enemies because that is exactly what the [*sic*] have planned for us!...

We can't afford to engage in the game of patriotic masturbation. It is by definition fruitless. Instead we have to get a clear picture of the political scenario ahead of us and then get our priorities straight. Do we really believe in the total evilness of ZOG and the coming of a race war? Do we really mean the slogan 'Victory or Death'?... Our slogans are not just impressive statements of ideological extremism. They are words of fact and a call to arms. This is IT and those who are not prepared to suffer the ultimate sacrifice to secure the future of our Aryan offspring should quit right here and now!²⁵

23 Hammer, M., *Blood & Honour: The way forward*.

24 *ibid.*

25 *ibid.*

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The 'ultimate sacrifice' in question is a willingness to die in the course of neo-Nazi revolution, and the author writes of 'political soldiers ready to do real battle' and 'ready to die for their beliefs'. C18 is considered an essential component in the neo-Nazi revolutionary movement:

We need an organization like Combat 18, and C18 is already there. It is as simple as that. And we need it not only for protection and safe-guarding. C18 must act as the armed wing of the Blood & Honour movement.²⁶

The author condemns those who glorify the American neo-Nazi terrorist group The Order, and who, at the same time, distance themselves from groups such as C18. He asks: 'Why do you condemn violence, terrorism and revolution while at the same time praising and even glorifying the Order?'

The text then goes on to warn against weapons stockpiling, which is 'not necessarily' the best course of action (although 'there are exceptions'), due to the risk of discovery by the police. Nonetheless, it concludes that 'the choice of action is YOURS!' and the author admits that 'I would be a liar if I told you that I'd cry if some obnoxious ZOG creature got a metallic addition [bullet] between his or her big ears.'

While tacitly condoning armed violence, the text goes on to explicitly endorse '[i]ntimidation, threats, and beatings' of opponents, and argues that politicians who take a stand against racism should be made aware that 'there are dark, sinister and severely unpleasant consequences' attached to doing so.

Continuing the discussion on neo-Nazi violence and the necessity of a race war, the text states:

And soon, of course. [*sic*] the going will get real rough. Then I think quite a few patriots will beg and pray for those 'mindless brutes' who are not afraid to risk either comfort or life to put the boot in, or – when the time comes – release the full strikeforce of the White power terror machine. OK, so many of them get their training through hooliganism or their aggression out by queer and paki bashing. It's our job to channel this raw force and fury into constructive Aryan militancy.²⁷

²⁶ *ibid.*

²⁷ *ibid.*

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Blood & Honour: Field Manual

Also authored by Max Hammer, the *Blood & Honour: Field Manual* further explains the neo-Nazi ideology of B&H and discusses the variety of strategies for action available to B&H activists.²⁸

The close affinity of the B&H ideology with mid-twentieth century Nazism is made very clear, and B&H is presented as a modern continuation of the original Nazi movement:

Sufficient to say that we live on the brink of a new Millennium...in times quite different from the 1920s and -30s of Germany and the 1940s of Europe. Though the basic enemy remains, it has changed its appearance as well as tactics. In addition new threats have emerged and new enemies arisen – sometimes replacing others but mostly being the natural result of the old disease. The modern-day 'Nazi' must conform to modern times...

The NS [National Socialist] movements in these cursed nations of pseudo-democracy of the more vicious kind, have neither the strength nor the resources needed for an all-out war of violent resistance.²⁹

It is clear from this extract that some members of the B&H network see the use of violence as counterproductive in the current political climate. They see themselves at a stage of capacity building, spreading their ideology, in the hope that they can increase and strengthen the zeal of their support base without attracting unwelcome attention from the authorities.

The pamphlet also recommends that, in order to fight an effective propaganda war against 'the Jews', B&H followers should refer to them only as 'Zionists', as it is more politically acceptable:

The Jews have been the favourite topic of our literature since the birth of National Socialism. The 'Jewish question' is of extreme political importance and the awareness of the Zionist peril is essential for all national revolutionaries. The propaganda value of this matter is minimal, though. People in general are conditioned and programed [*sic*] to feel sympathy

28 Hammer, M., *Blood & Honour: Field Manual*, available at <http://bloodandhonour.com/downloads/B&H%20Field%20Manual.pdf> [accessed 20/11/2009].

29 *ibid.*

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for Jews through a massive distortion of historical facts and oppression of political realities. When the 'Chosen Ones' need to be mentioned in our propaganda, they should be described as Zionists rather than simply 'Jews'.³⁰

An all-out race war is the ultimate objective of B&H. However, the *Field Manual* also mentions that 'manuals on guerilla [*sic*] warfare are in plenty [*sic*]' and argues that '[d]ie-hard "Nazis" not comfortable in any watered-down, democratic outfit, still have an option through leaderless resistance and direct action'.³¹ Those engaging in neo-Nazi terrorism 'must be respected rather than condemned' and those who 'condemn acts of direct force' are 'pathetic'. The text goes on to further endorse 'lone-wolf' neo-Nazi terrorists, who are described as:

the anonymous loners who show up at meetings but not as members, listen but do not make themselves heard – and then go about their own subversive and violent business... [They] must be respected and left alone to stalk the worst enemies of our race. They expect no support and assistance but they deserve acknowledgement and understanding.³²

The National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook [*sic*]

Available both on a UK B&H website and on the website of the Racial Volunteer Force, *The National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook* is described as a manual for 'Blood & Honour/Combat 18' and essentially amounts to a terrorist handbook.³³ It begins by setting out the B&H/C18 'Code of Honour', which is centred around a devotion to Hitler's Third Reich, and in particular the Waffen SS:

As National Socialists we have duties and obligations. We have a duty to fight for our race and for the cause of National Socialism itself. We have an obligation to strive to make the ideal of honour real in our own lives; to make that ideal live within us...

It is no coincidence that the motto of the SS was 'Meine Ehre heisst Treue', 'My honour means I am loyal.' For the warriors of the SS, their honour

30 *ibid.*

31 *ibid.*

32 *ibid.*

33 *The National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook*, on the B&H Skrewdriver website at <http://www.skrewdriver.org/handbook.html> or the Racial Volunteer Force website at [http://www.rvfonline.com/pdfs/1apdf%20\(3\).pdf](http://www.rvfonline.com/pdfs/1apdf%20(3).pdf) [both accessed 19/1/2010].

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meant that they were and would be loyal to Adolf Hitler unto death.³⁴

In order to further the cause of National Socialism, the manual recommends two courses of action: 'overt' and 'covert'. In the overt action section, followers are warned not to transgress the legal boundaries of the Public Order Act 1986:

Unless you have a great desire to be arrested on a regular basis, the only overt actions which you can undertake are those which are lawful, within the meaning of the System. Lawful overt actions are therefore limited to activities such as distribution of leaflets and literature which do not contravene the Race laws and demonstrations which do not contravene the Public Order Act.³⁵

It is in the covert action section that the manual makes clear references to terrorism as a legitimate course of action. It advocates 'direct action' against enemies by 'lone-wolf' terrorists and neo-Nazi 'cell' groups:

Direct action involves the disruption and elimination of all that is detrimental to our race and opposed to the cause of National Socialism. Direct action is also the clearest demonstration of National Socialism in action, often involving acts of great courage and heroism...

The level of precaution to be taken by anyone contemplating any form of direct action can not be over-estimated. The enemy will do everything in its power to prevent it. Anyone contemplating direct action must bear this in mind and take all steps possible to minimise their vulnerability to the enemy's forces.

The most effective way to do this is to operate alone and speak to no-one of your plans – the 'lone-wolf' tactic. The 'lone-wolf' tactic is by far the most secure approach as you are dependent on no-one else for the successful completion of your plan and your personal security is entirely in your own hands. In this way, if your plan fails for whatever reason you have only yourself to blame. If your plan succeeds your courage will speak for itself.

The only alternative to the 'lone-wolf' tactic is to form an active cell of

34 *ibid.*

35 *ibid.*

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comrades in which information and responsibilities are shared. The success of a cell is dependent entirely on the quality of the individual members of the cell and on the absolute trust which must exist between the members.³⁶

The next section of the text is entitled 'Forensic Traces', and it gives detailed advice to anyone considering the 'lone-wolf' terror tactic. The book provides extensive detail about the methods used by the authorities to track down suspects, and this section focuses on what kind of forensic traces are left behind after an attack, and what steps one should take to avoid detection. Included are details about fingerprints, hair traces and DNA. In an explanation about ballistic forensics, the handbook states:

In Britain, which has such a small number of private firearms, the forensic investigation of ballistics is considered of paramount importance. For this reason, extreme care must be taken when getting involved with them... Once a gun has been used it is courting disaster to keep it. It should be cleaned, dismantled and distributed into a deep lake, not forgetting that fingerprints can be preserved under water, especially if covered with a layer of gun oil.³⁷

After explaining how to avoid leaving forensic traces at the scene of a crime, the text moves on to advice on circumventing video and audio surveillance. This chapter is illustrated with a CCTV image of British neo-Nazi nail bomber David Copeland, posting a warning to would-be terrorists of the dangers of capture.

'Tips' in this section include: how to 'spot a plainclothes cop'; how to 'blend in and get away'; and 'what to do when arrested'. Like the forensics section, there are details on how the police use surveillance tools to apprehend criminals, and explanations of the best methods of countering this:

To deal with this surveillance the most important thing is to be unrecognisable. For the most part this means keeping masks and balaclavas handy but not in situations where this may look too suspicious, such as a march or daylight activity. Hats, caps and glasses can be worn though, but try to avoid wearing conspicuous clothing as this will make you stick out.³⁸

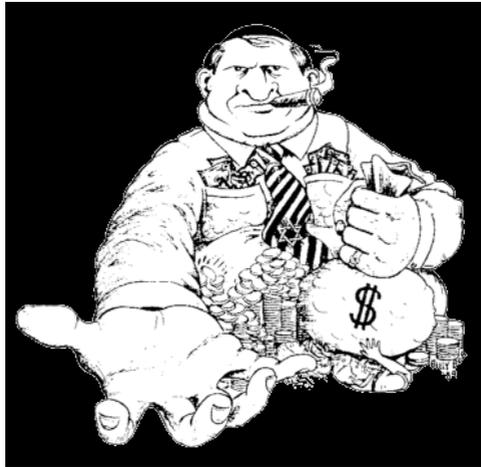
36 *ibid.*

37 *ibid.*

38 *ibid.*

'What is "ZOG"??'

This UK B&H article explains the neo-Nazi theory of 'Zionist Occupation Governments' (ZOG), which holds that the governments of Western nations are the pawns in an international conspiracy directed by Jews.³⁹ The article includes the type of picture that was common in Nazi propaganda, depicting a Jewish man surrounded by money and a dead body.



The article explains that there is a coalition of groups, controlled by the Jewish race, that runs the world and seeks to create a 'world devoid of races and cultures populated by mindless grey automatons who pose no threat to their [Jewish people's] illegally acquired wealth and privilege'. It goes on to cite the work of Ernst Zündel (renowned Holocaust denier and publisher of Richard Harwood's *Did Six Million Jews Really Die?*) as a reliable source of information on the subject of Zionism.

Having set out the threat of ZOG, the article then claims that National Socialists are the only resistance to this supposed Jewish control. It incites B&H supporters to take immediate – and apparently violent – action:

Are you going to carry on marching up and down whinging about Blacks coming here etc. for ever, waving your little Union flags to an apathetic public who stop and stare at you as though you were a travelling circus,

³⁹ 'What is ZOG?', available at <http://www.combat18.net/zog.html> [accessed 18/11/2009]

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while the real enemy count their shekels and drink their vintage champagne? Wake up White man – you’re shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted – that stage of the battle is over and we’ve lost! Now is the time to move into the next phase. It is no longer a case of stopping our nations being invaded and taken over. It’s time to realize that the Occupation Government is now firmly in place and has already massed its foreign mercenaries inside Europe. If you’re going to march the streets for another sixty years you might as well wear black armbands because all you will be is the White race’s funeral procession; forever attacking the symptoms but never the cause.

Those who appreciate the gravity of the situation and can look past ZOG’s coloured cannon-fodder and see the Capitalist dogs who pull the strings, the unscrupulous one-worlder race-traitors who play the Jews’ game to satisfy their greed and lust for power, will realize that... NOW IS THE TIME TO REGROUP! GO UNDERGROUND AND TRAIN FOR THE COUNTER-OFFENSIVE! WHATEVER IT TAKES!⁴⁰

‘Building the Underground’

This article begins with a discussion of the BNP’s chances of electoral success in the 2002 British local elections.⁴¹ Although the author clearly wishes the party well, he sees the democratic process as an ineffective tool for white nationalists to take power:

It is not this writers [*sic*] intent on bashing these Nationalist movements, we wish them well in there [*sic*] banging there [*sic*] heads on the electoral door.⁴²

Stating that ‘the electoral road is not the way to power’, the article explains the tactics that are necessary for the required ‘counter-offensive’:

We must TAKE OUR COUNTRY BACK BY FORCE OF ARMS. We must build a solid and dedicated cadre of revolutionary fighters ready and prepared to fight ZOG in whatever form that might take. We must build an underground cell system of dedicated fighters, trained and fanatical in the

40 *ibid.*

41 ‘Building the Underground’, available at <http://www.skrewdriver.org/build.html> [accessed 18/11/2009].

42 *ibid.*

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beliefs of National Socialism. Indeed we must build an underground army to take on ZOG – both politically and military [*sic*].

As the White race in the UK has no more than 60 years left until the British become minorities in their own country, the time for hand wringing and in-action are over. We must build the underground into a network of independent cells and lone wolves on the para-military front, but also a strong and vibrant propaganda arm whose job is to inform the population on successful para-military actions and dispense the National Socialist worldview to the our [*sic*] White folk.

A strong dedicated and fanatical cadre of National Socialist fighters, well financed and organised can take the fight to ZOG.

As time is running out for the White world, WE THEREFORE MUST FIGHT OR DIE!⁴³

The Blood & Honour music business and other media

B&H's largest source of income is the sale of neo-Nazi rock music CDs, many of which incite racial hatred and violence, and glorify neo-Nazi terrorism. Two key UK B&H merchandising operations are Highlander East Coast and Rune and Sword Productions, both of which sell 'white power' music and other neo-Nazi material that contravenes UK legislation on racial and religious hatred.

Highlander East Coast

Highlander East Coast is a B&H Scotland division. It was exposed in late September 2009 by the Centre for Social Cohesion as a major distributor of B&H hate materials.⁴⁴ As a result, its website (which was registered in the US) was removed that month, and Highlander East Coast is currently being investigated by the police.

Music CDs being sold on the Highlander East Coast site included incitement to hatred and violence against:

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ 'Neo-Nazi Group Glorify Murder of Minorities', Centre for Social Cohesion press briefing, 18 September 2009.

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Black and Asian communities

*We'll bomb your cities, destroy your towns
Wipe out the scum, kill all the browns
Hang politicians and waste the police
Until I'm feeling better, the murder will not cease!*

'Bomb the Cities', from the Blue Eyed Devils album *Murder Squad*

*Non white scum we're gonna kill you
Slit your throat and watch you die
Time to crush the brown eyed subrace
Strangle, beat and crucify*

*Total destruction of all non whites
Right now is it time to attack
Take your guns, go shoot and kill
Cause the jew government won't send them back*

'Vandalize and Victimize', from the Blue Eyed Devils album *Murder Squad*

*Nigger lover! Race traitor!
Walk in shame and hide your face*

*On your knees, my gun to your head
Worthless scum you know what lies ahead
With the pull of the trigger, now you're dead!*

'Hate Filled Mind', from the Blue Eyed Devils album *Murder Squad*

*Bang, bang – watch 'em die
Watch those niggers drop like flies*

'Bang, Bang', from the Berserkr album *Crush the Weak*

Jewish communities

*Death to the ones from the underground
All I hear is victory's call
My nation's honor rising above all
I regret nothing that I've done
I've seen so many through the sights of my gun
But to kill for the Reich is my job
A soldier in my nation's murder squad*

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*My orders are simple, plain and clear
Murder on command and have no fear
In my heart I know what's right
To do what I must for my nation's fight*

*Traitors are hung and others shot dead
Kill the jew and cut off his head
Destroy the enemy and his lies
Send the filth to an early demise*

'Murder Squad' from the Blue Eyed Devils album Murder Squad

Other titles on sale included: 'Fueled by Hate', 'Force Fed Hate', 'Genocidal Hate', 'Spread the Hate', 'Anthems of Hate', 'Operation Racewar', 'Race Riot', 'People Take the Gun', 'Aryan Revolution', 'Jew Boys', 'Don't Buy from Jews', 'Jew Boy '98', 'Killing Spree' and 'Ovens Again'.

The albums' cover art includes images of a dead black victim of a mob lynching in segregation-era America, and *Crush the Weak* by Berserkr features a photograph from a Nazi concentration camp of piles of dead Jewish people.

Although they are offensive, taken on their own the lyrics in B&H music may seem similar to other forms of music that also use racist and homophobic language. This music should instead be seen in the context of the goals of the B&H ideology, which requires followers to harbour extreme hatred and violent tendencies towards ethnic minorities. Combined with the ideological texts, this music serves to reinforce existing prejudice and support for violent action.

Rune and Sword Productions

Unlike Highlander East Coast, Rune and Sword Productions remains in operation, selling a wide selection of neo-Nazi music CDs, a number of which contain lyrics that clearly contravene the Public Order Act 1986.

The Rune and Sword website is registered in the United Kingdom, and its only contact details are a PO box in London.⁴⁵

Examples of the lyrics found in material being sold on the Rune and Sword website include the following.

45 Rune and Sword homepage, available at <http://www.runeandsword.com/> [accessed 20/11/2009].

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*We'll drive the muds [ethnic minorities] out of our lands
We'll crush the jews back into the sands
We'll break the hold of the alien powers
Rahowa! [Racial Holy War] This planet is ours!*

*We'll stand against the jewish lies
Not stand and watch as our race dies
We'll take it back in this perilous hour
Rahowa! This planet is ours!*

'The Planet is Ours' from the Centurion album *14 Words*⁴⁶

*Nigger! Prepare to burn!
You attacked our people and now it's your turn
You act so bold, but we'll slap you down
The legions of hate will put you underground!*

...

*Jewboy! Tremble in fear!
Your days are numbered Centurion's here
We'll leave your kind to wither on the vine
We've made up our minds to be rid of jew swine!*

'Centurion' from the Centurion album *14 Words*

If violence is what it takes then we'll give you more

*Oh the system what a shame
The jews behind it are the ones to blame
Oh Earl Turner [fictional neo-Nazi terrorist] you are in our hearts
We will give our race a brand new start*

*Earl Turner you saw it all through
Battling a system run by traitors and jews
Some people think our movement is just a big joke
But we will last laugh on the day of the rope*

'Ballad of Earl Turner' from Das Reich album *Triumph of the Will*⁴⁷

46 Rune and Sword CD sales page, available at http://www.runeandsword.com/advanced_search_result.php?keywords=Centurion [accessed 20/11/2009].

47 Rune and Sword CD sales page, available at http://www.runeandsword.com/advanced_search_result.php?keywords=Das+Reich [accessed 15/11/2009].

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*I'm standing in a world with a gun in my hand
I'm standing in a foreign land
Thoughts for tomorrow and actions for today
Alone with a gun in my hand*

*I understand what I'm fighting and what I'm fighting for
But the system keeps pushing me more and more
You don't think that we're serious don't think we'll fight this war
Well here I am with a gun in my hand*

'A Gun in My Hand' from Das Reich album *Triumph of the Will*

The Das Reich album is also on sale at another online B&H distributor called Rampage Productions, a website which is also registered in the UK.⁴⁸

***Blood & Honour* magazine**

The *Blood & Honour* magazine is distributed both in printed form and via the internet.⁴⁹ Copies of the magazine found on a UK B&H website contain racist and antisemitic content, as well as references to neo-Nazi violence. One issue includes support for the convicted American neo-Nazi terrorists of The Order.⁵⁰ It was this very issue (number 33) that was discovered in the house of convicted British neo-Nazi terrorist Martyn Gilleard (for more see p.37).

In the magazine, non-white Britons are often referred to as 'parasites', and a Jewish conspiracy is held to be responsible for their presence in the country.⁵¹ A typical article claims that '[o]ur people are forced to accept aliens and sexual deviants as normal people to have in society' and that '[o]ur people's heritage, culture and bloodlines are being deliberately weakened and killed off in an attempt to rule over them without any fight back.'⁵² Another article claims that Jews are corrupting the British education system as part of this plot against white people:

48 Rampage Productions CD sales page, available at http://www.rampageproductions.co.uk/advanced_search_result.php?keywords=Das+Reich&x=0&y=0 [accessed 15/11/2009].

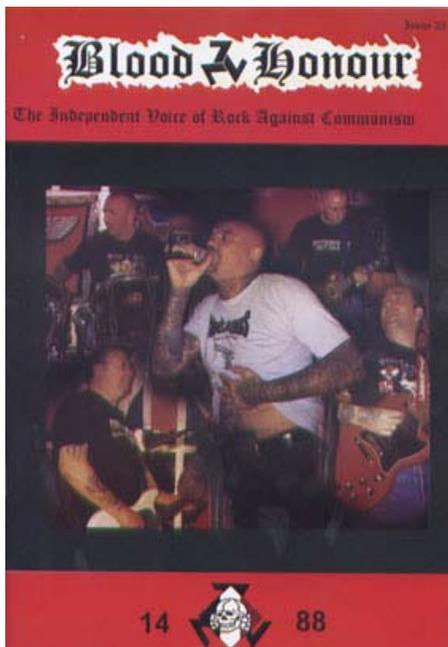
49 Blood & Honour UK website, available at <http://bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/mags1.html> [accessed 20/12/2009].

50 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 33, available at <http://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue33/issue33p28.html> [accessed 20/12/2009].

51 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 39, available at http://bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue39/issue39p_34.html [accessed 22/12/2009].

52 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 40, available at <http://bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue40/issue40p24.html> [accessed 20/12/2009].

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Front cover of magazine found in the possession of Martyn Gilleard

The school curriculums are changing to incorporate the religions and customs of these foreign parasites to the detriment of our religion and customs. The whole of the education system is being dumbed down – apart from the education of the rich and important Jewish future ‘super beings’ and wanna-be world masters.⁵³

The magazine carries a number of interviews with B&H affiliated neo-Nazi bands, as well as various extremist ideologues. One such interview concludes with the words: ‘The times become harder and we must become harder also!.. Racewar [sic] is the only solution!’⁵⁴ In another interview, well-known American neo-Nazi and former head of The Order, David Lane, states:

There can be no ‘spiritual escapism’ or waiting for a ‘God’ to save us. Re-

53 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 39, available at http://bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue39/issue39p_34.html [accessed 20/12/2009].

54 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 38, available at <http://bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue38/issue38p10n11.html> [accessed 20/12/2009].

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ardless of religious beliefs, if there is some power our folk have called God, then power [*sic*] gave us the creativity to invent guns. But God won't pull the trigger.⁵⁵

Blood & Honour magazine also includes reviews and promotional material for neo-Nazi literature. In a review of a reprint of a 1945 Nazi text on carrying out guerrilla warfare against the victorious allied forces, the magazine states that the book 'opens your eyes to the real implements needed to sustain a guerrilla war' and 'gives a fascinating insight into the training of the first National Socialist resistance fighters' which 'we can all learn from'.⁵⁶ A promotional feature for an antisemitic text entitled *The World in Flames* includes the words:

Nature abhors weakness; we must rekindle the spirit of Aryan man and rediscover the greatness that lies within our genes. Time is of the essence if we are to survive. . . So will you bow down or pick up the sword?⁵⁷

British National Party

Although some B&H writings reject the political process, a number of issues of *Blood & Honour* magazine include clear support for the BNP. Issue 24 contains an article entitled 'Fighting Back for Britain' which celebrates the three seats gained by the BNP in the 2002 local elections:

News the BNP has taken 3 seats in local government is reverberating around the world! Congratulations go out to all involved in the immense hard work, which went into this monumental victory. We salute the BNP! And all those amongst the Nationalist community who worked together to gain this first small step towards our common goal.⁵⁸

Issue 33 also contains an endorsement of the BNP record label Great White Records and praises its first album, *Time to Make a Stand*, which includes 'one of the most politically incorrect songs in recent [*sic*] nationalist history, "The Menace" written by BNP Chairman Nick Griffin'.⁵⁹

55 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 35, available at <http://bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue35/issue35p8.html> [accessed 20/12/2009].

56 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 36, available at <http://bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue36/issue36p9.html> [accessed 20/12/2009].

57 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 38, available at <http://bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue38/issue38p5> [accessed 21/12/2009].

58 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 24, available at <http://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue24/issue24p07.html> [accessed 21/12/2009].

59 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 33, available at <http://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue33/issue33p5.html> [accessed 21/12/2009].

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Islam and Muslims

Although the B&H ideology is primarily concerned with race, there has been a clear rise in recent years of anti-Muslim sentiment among the far-right. Some B&H material does make direct references to Muslims, and much of these are found in *Blood & Honour* magazine.

In November 2002, BNP member David Wilson was jailed for four months after being found guilty of distributing leaflets that incited hatred against Muslims.⁶⁰ An issue of *Blood & Honour* magazine published at the time included an article about Wilson's conviction, referring to it as a 'ZOG show-trial', and describing the leaflets as 'perfectly legitimate'.⁶¹

The magazine also contains a number of sympathetic references to anti-Muslim Serbian nationalists, and in 1999 published an interview with a member of German B&H band, Landser, in which he suggested that no efforts should have been made by NATO to prevent the genocide of Bosnian Muslims in the mid-1990s:

Interviewer: In England, we all thought the Kosovo War should not have happened. Our troops had no right going into Serbian territory and fighting. How was the German view of the war?

Band member: The Reds and Green movement also opposed the war and indeed it was the first time that German troops have fought in a war since WW2. We knew why the Kaiser and Fuhrer went to war, but this government... let our airforce bomb innocent people in Serbia for the aid of the Albanians in Kosovo who are all Muslims. This is the first time our government supported a Muslim war, but our army is essentially not German, they are ZOGS [*sic*] soldiers of fortune.⁶²

A more recent issue also contains writings in support of Serbian abuse of Muslims. Commenting on unrest at a Serbian football match, the article states:

FC "Work" from Belgrade had a match vs FC "Novi Pazar". Amongst the supporters of FC "Work" there were always many 28 [B&H] supporters and

60 'BNP man jailed for race hate leaflets', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 November 2002

61 *Blood & Honour*, Issue 26, available at <http://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue26/issue26p17.html> [accessed 3/2/2010]

62 *Blood and Honour*, Issue 17, available at <http://www.bloodandhonourcentral.co.uk/interviews/landser.html> [accessed 3/2/2010]

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nationalists, and supporters of FC "Novi Pazar" are mostly Albanian Muslims. Brave supporters of FC "Work", called United Force, sing many songs and slogans against Muslims. Once again, the match was stopped and many good nationalists arrested.⁶³

Issue 33 of the magazine also contains an advert for an American concert entitled 'Rock Against Islam', that was held in 2005 by a B&H division in Portland, Oregon:

The first concert of the American Division's Rock Against Islam is taking place on the 29th of October in Portland, Oregon as well as being the Volksfront 11th Anniversary Party. We plan to hold many smaller regional gigs throughout the country on a regular basis to promote the deportation of Islamic radicals and muslims, and at these events distribute information packets on the history of Western conflict with Islam and the threat they pose to Western Society.⁶⁴

28 Radio

A UK-based online radio programme, 28 Radio (2=B, 8=H) can be heard via the 28 Radio website or downloaded in MP3 format.⁶⁵ 'Episodes' of the programme, presented by a British B&H activist who uses the name 'Captain Scarlet', routinely feature racist, antisemitic and homophobic language, make derogatory references to non-white Britons, and promote the B&H organisation's musical events and merchandising operations.⁶⁶ The 28 Radio website also offers MP3 downloads of neo-Nazi speeches. One, featuring the founder of The Order, is 'a call to action' against Jews and non-white people, who are referred to as 'filthy lying Jews', 'Levantine vermin', and 'the mud of yellow, black, and brown'. Another is a speech by George Lincoln Rockwell of the American Nazi Party, who states unambiguously: 'I'll tell you what we are, we are racists.'

63 *Blood and Honour*, issue 35, available at <http://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue35/issue35p27.html> [accessed 3/2/2010]

64 *Blood and Honour*, Issue 33, available at <http://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue33/issue33p28.html> [accessed 20/12/2009]

65 28 Radio homepage, available at <http://www.28radio.net/> [accessed 22/12/2009].

66 28 Radio programme archives, available at http://www.28radio.net/Blood_and_Honour_28_Radio_archive.html [accessed 22/12/2009].

‘Lone-Wolf’ Terror and the Role of Blood & Honour Ideology in White-Supremacist Violence

As demonstrated above, the main role of B&H is not as a functioning or official group, but as a network which disseminates the most violent brand of neo-Nazi ideology.

One of the main recurring themes in B&H literature is the glorification and encouragement of the notion of ‘lone-wolf’ terror. In November 2009, Assistant Metropolitan Police Commissioner and Head of Scotland Yard’s Special Operations, John Yates, warned of the rise of far-right extremism and, in particular, of the threat of ‘lone wolves’:

What we have seen in recent years is a growth around some of the far-right extremism movements. Mostly they tend to be less organised, you tend to see the concept of the ‘lone-wolf’. There have been several manifestations of that in past months and several arrests.⁶⁷

The term ‘lone-wolf terrorism’ refers to an act of terror carried out by a single individual with no clear organisational links. Examples of this type of terrorism include the Oklahoma bombings carried out by Timothy McVeigh – the archetypal white-supremacist ‘lone-wolf’. The ideology that has inspired the actions of a number of white-supremacist lone wolves bears crucial similarities to that which is currently being promoted by B&H and C18. In some cases, B&H material has been recovered from the homes of would-be neo-Nazi terrorists, and experts have even attributed to B&H a role in their radicalisation.

67 ‘Warning of threat from right wing “lone-wolf” terrorists’, *Daily Telegraph*, 10 November 2009.

David Copeland

Known as the 'London nail bomber', Copeland carried out a bombing campaign in April 1999 that targeted homosexual, black and Bangladeshi communities in London. He killed three people and injured 139. Copeland was allegedly inspired to carry out these acts during his time as a member of the National Socialist Movement (NSM).⁶⁸ The NSM is itself a splinter organisation from C18, the B&H armed wing.

As well as his hatred of homosexuals and ethnic minorities, Copeland shared the B&H admiration for the Third Reich and fantasised about being a member of the SS.⁶⁹ During his trial, the court was told that, through his actions, Copeland had sought to trigger a race war, much like the one encouraged by B&H.

Nathan Worrell

In December 2008, Nathan Worrell was found guilty of possession of material for terrorist purposes and racially aggravated harassment, and was jailed for over seven years.⁷⁰ Police believed that he was planning an attack on his Asian Muslim next-door neighbours. At his residence, police uncovered bomb-making manuals and materials, as well as a C18 video, which contained instructions on how to make a bomb using household items. Worrell was also in possession of a large amount of neo-Nazi propaganda materials, including a substantial amount of anti-Muslim material produced by C18.

Neil Lewington

Neil Lewington was arrested in October 2008, and was found to be in possession of bomb-making materials and manuals, along with a list of targets. He was convicted in September 2009 of seven separate charges, including preparing acts of terrorism, and was sentenced to an indeterminate prison sentence of at least six years.⁷¹ Dr Matthew Feldman, who gave evidence at Lewington's trial as an expert witness, told BBC Radio's *File on 4* that Lewington used B&H

68 'David Copeland: a quiet introvert, obsessed with Hitler and bombs', *Guardian*, 30 June 2000.

69 'Nailbomber "followed Nazism"', *BBC News*, 15 June 2000.

70 'Racist who had bomb kit jailed for campaign against couple', *Guardian*, 13 December 2008.

71 'Neo-Nazi Neil Lewington jailed indefinitely for racist bomb plot', *The Times*, 8 September 2009.

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websites 'to derive not only some of his material but quite possibly some of his ideas.'⁷² In an article, Dr Feldman also notes that Lewington had in his possession a 'catalogue of counter-surveillance techniques' similar to those provided in *The National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook*.⁷³ Lewington was also in possession of a notebook, in which he had written:

No longer will the weaklings rule the white man by lies and deceit, but, the warrior will make his comeback, and, rule by strength, honesty and love for his race.

This, according to Dr Feldman, was 'cribbed from the far-right skinhead, Ian Stuart Donaldson's, introduction to the *Skrewdriver Songbook*... within the context of the neo-Nazi, "Blood and Honour" network founded upon Donaldson's death...'.⁷⁴

Inspired by David Copeland, Lewington intended to carry out attacks that would begin a race war. He also fantasised about the revival of the Third Reich, and in particular the Waffen SS.⁷⁵

Martyn Gilleard

In June 2008, Martyn Gilleard was found guilty of preparing for terrorist acts and of possessing articles and collecting information for terrorist purposes; he was sentenced to 16 years in prison. Among the materials found at his residence were copies of *Blood & Honour* magazine. Also found among his own writings was the '14 Words' slogan, which is popular with B&H, and can be found in much of the organisation's literature.⁷⁶

During his trial, Gilleard spoke of his admiration for Nazism and its role in rebuilding Germany. He claimed that he wanted to 'secure a future for white children' and, like many British 'lone-wolves', also saw a violent race war as the only solution.

Gilleard illustrates the danger posed by the free dissemination of the hate-filled

72 'Right Wing Extremists', BBC *File on 4*, 22 September 2009.

73 Feldman, M., 'Broadband Terrorism: A new face of fascism', *History and Policy*, September 2009.

74 *ibid.*

75 'Warning of threat from right wing "lone-wolf" terrorists', *Daily Telegraph*, 10 November 2009.

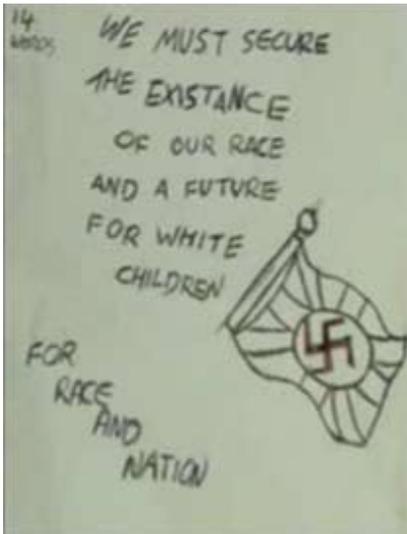
76 The expression '14 Words' is code for the popular 14-word neo-Nazi motto 'We must secure the existence of our race and a future for white children', which was coined by David Lane.

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ideology promoted by B&H and similar organisations. Having immersed himself in the literature of neo-Nazi extremism, he decided to act upon the violent calls it contains. During his trial, it was revealed that Gilleard wrote:

Unless we the British right stop talking of racial war and take steps to make it happen, we will never get back that which has been stolen from us... The time has come to stop the talk and start to act.⁷⁷

Gilleard's last sentence here is almost word for word the same as a popular motto found on B&H and C18 material. B&H and C18 T-shirts often have written on the back: 'Time to talk is over... Time for action is now.'



(Left) An example of Gilleard's writings that were seized by police on his arrest.
(Right) A C18 T-shirt and slogan

⁷⁷ 'Nazi sympathiser Martyn Gilleard jailed for 16 years', *Daily Telegraph*, 25 June 2008.

The 'Lone-Wolf' blog

Although not directly linked to B&H, the 'lone-wolf' blog contains advice and support for white-supremacist 'lone wolves'.⁷⁸ The blog's administrator uses the pseudonym 'Wolfpack', and describes himself as a builder from South Wales who is 'Fighting for my Race and nation'. The blog's 'mission statement' uses themes and language that are very similar to the B&H ideological literature, including the ZOG 'conspiracy':

Today we live under a Zionist Occupation Government. This is a government that has corrupted the white culture and aims to ultimately destroy the Aryan race.

The blog says that its purpose is 'to pull all national socialists, nationalists, racists and facists [*sic*] together' in order to organise a 'resistance' against ZOG and 'secure the existence of our people and a future for white children'.

'Wolfpack' lists *The Turner Diaries* as his favourite book.⁷⁹ *The Turner Diaries* is a cult work of fiction on the neo-Nazi underground, which contains a narrative of anti-government terrorism and race war. Among those who have been inspired by reading *The Turner Diaries* are the Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh, British neo-Nazi terrorist David Copeland and the American neo-Nazi terrorist groups The Order and the Aryan Republican Army.⁸⁰

In a blog posted on 3 November 2009, entitled 'Laws for the LONE-WOLF', the author gives advice to potential lone wolves in much the same way as the National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook.⁸¹ As well as offering advice on the importance of secrecy and on what measures to take to avoid capture, the blog states that 'with the right response, we'll develop active street crews in every town to deal with the local insurgents'.⁸²

The blog also contains news of plans for neo-Nazi training camps, information on

78 'lone-wolf' blog homepage, available at <http://lonewolves88.blogspot.com/> [accessed 20/12/2009].

79 Blogger profile: 'Wolfpack', available at <http://www.blogger.com/profile/02251098816676327266> [accessed 18/12/2009].

80 'Turner Diaries introduced in McVeigh trial', CNN, 28 April 1997; 'The Nail Bomber', BBC *Panorama*, first aired 30 June 2000.

81 'Laws for the "Lone-Wolf"', 'lone-wolf' blog, available at <http://lonewolves88.blogspot.com/search?updated-max=2009-11-19T21%3A20%3A00Z&max-results=10> [accessed 18/12/2009].

82 *ibid.*

how to build bunkers or 'safe rooms' in which to evade the police, and army training videos.⁸³ According to 'Wolfpack', a hidden room in his house 'has independent Power & water supply, as well as Short Wave Radio and Internet'. While 'Wolfpack' could be dismissed as a harmless fantasist (as have others who have gone on to either plan or carry out attacks) he has links to neo-Nazi groups, including B&H, and is clearly ideologically driven, paranoid and an admirer of material that has inspired 'lone wolves', including Timothy McVeigh and David Copeland. The cases of Copeland, Gilleard and others demonstrate the danger posed by the propaganda and ideology espoused by organisations such as B&H, and the writings of individuals such as 'Wolfpack' illustrate the fact that it continues to thrive.

Other violent activities

B&H is not only linked to 'lone wolves': the group is also connected to and condones violence perpetrated by small groups and gangs associated with the far-right:

- In 1999, Sweden saw a spate of violent far-right activity. The first was an armed robbery in May, which resulted in the murder of two policemen. Following this, in June, in the city of Nacka, a bomb was detonated in the car of Swedish journalist Peter Karlsson. Both he and his 8-year-old son were seriously injured. The attack was carried out by a Swedish white-supremacist group, acting in retaliation for Karlsson's work, which exposed the Swedish white-supremacist rock music scene. Although B&H was not directly involved in either of these incidents, its British website at the time carried an article that justified both, referring to the attack on Karlsson as 'justified self defence', and the two dead policeman as 'not innocent... they wore the State's uniform to uphold its criminal laws. They took order [sic] from the Jewish chief of Police and the Soviet minister for justice... People who engage in this kind of terror, deserve no mercy.'⁸⁴
- In September 2009, the Belgian Army dismissed four soldiers who were members of a B&H splinter group. They now stand accused of planning several terrorist attacks. They used the army barracks as a training facility,

83 'Training camps', available at <http://lonewolves88.blogspot.com/2009/09/training-camps.html>; 'The bunker', available at <http://lonewolves88.blogspot.com/2009/09/bunker.html>; 'Training: the Army way', available at <http://lonewolves88.blogspot.com/2009/12/training-army-way.html> [all accessed 15/12/2009].

84 Hammer, M., 'Swedish ZOG Under Siege'. This article has been removed from the B&H site, although the CSC is in possession of an archived version.

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and were allegedly planning to use Belgian military equipment to carry out attacks on ethnic minorities.⁸⁵

- In October 2009, Dragan Petrović, leader of B&H in Serbia, was arrested in Prague by the Czech Republic's Organised Crime Detection Unit (ÚOOZ), along with 23 other neo-Nazis. According to news reports, the arrests were intended to foil an impending terrorist attack. The Czech police chief, Oldřich Martinů, also stated that the group had been receiving training from a member of the Czech armed forces.⁸⁶
- C18 has been directly linked with the June 2009 attacks on Romanian immigrants in Belfast. C18 followers sent text messages and emails to fellow members in Northern Ireland during the violence saying:

*Romanian gypsies beware beware
Loyalist C18 are coming to beat you like a baiting bear
Stay out of South Belfast and stay out of sight
And then youse will be alright
Get the boat and don't come back
There is no black in the Union Jack
Loyalist C18 'whatever it takes.'⁸⁷*

The mobs which attacked the immigrants were also chanting C18 slogans, although some reports claim that there was no evidence to show that C18 in England had organised cells to carry out the attacks.⁸⁸

85 'Belgian army dismisses soldiers with neo-Nazi sympathies', *Expatica*, 16 September 2009, available at http://www.expatica.com/be/news/belgian-news/Belgian-army-dismisses-soldiers-with-neo_Nazi-sympathies_56320.html [accessed 20/9/2009].

86 'Officials break up terrorist plot, Serbian Blood & Honour leader arrested', IREHR News, 26 October 2009, available at http://www.irehr.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=27:czech-republic-officials-break-up-terrorist-plot-serbian-blood-a-honour-leader-arrested&catid=13:news&Itemid=25 [accessed 16/12/2009].

87 'Romanian gypsies beware beware. Loyalist C18 are coming to beat you like a baiting bear', *Guardian*, 21 June 2009.

88 'Romanian race attack victims housed for own safety in Belfast sports centre', *Guardian*, 17 June 2009.

Recommendations

Home Office to consider proscription of B&H and C18 under Terrorism Act 2000 and 2006 legislation

The Terrorism Act 2000 states that:

an organisation is concerned in terrorism if it –

- (a) commits or participates in acts of terrorism,
- (b) prepares for terrorism,
- (c) promotes or encourages terrorism, or
- (d) is otherwise concerned in terrorism.⁸⁹

Thus, any group that meets some or all of the above criteria may be liable to legal proscription. B&H is not, at present, a proscribed organisation in the UK.

Based on the evidence provided in this report, B&H may be proscribed for:

- **Promoting and encouraging terrorism:** a B&H pamphlet *The National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook* gives tactical and strategic advice to would-be 'lone wolves' about how to carry out terrorist operations without attracting police attention. This text amounts to a terrorist training manual. Additionally, the above-cited popular B&H music album *Murder Squad* calls for bombing minorities and killing police.
- **Preparing for terrorism:** *The National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook* provides the reader with details on how to adequately prepare for a terrorist act, so as to avoid being apprehended by the police either during or before the act.
- **Concerned in terrorism:** B&H states in its *Field Manual* that those who

89 Terrorism Act 2000 [United Kingdom and Northern Ireland]

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carry out terrorist actions in the name of neo-Nazism 'must be respected rather than condemned' and considers those who condemn neo-Nazi violence to be 'pathetic' and 'cowardly'. In *Blood & Honour: The way forward*, references to the 'White power terror machine' also indicate the organisation's terrorist aspirations.

Possible outcome of proscription

In the past, the banning of a UK-based group under terrorism legislation has acted mainly as a symbolic rejection of the beliefs and actions of the organisation. So far, only one person has been convicted in the UK under Section 11 of the Terrorism Act, which states that a person 'commits an offence if he belongs or professes to belong to a proscribed organisation'.

In 2004, the Islamist extremist groups al-Ghuraaba and Saved Sect were proscribed under the Terrorism Act 2000; however, none of their members have ever been convicted under Section 11. Although, two members of al-Ghuraaba and Saved Sect – Simon Keeler (otherwise known as Sulayman Keeler) and Omar Brooks (also known as Abu Izzadeen) – have been convicted under Section 59 (1) and (2) (a) (inciting murder for terrorist purposes overseas) and Section 15 (1) (fundraising for terrorist purposes) of the Terrorism Act 2000.

If B&H is proscribed, individuals involved in the organisation could be pursued under the following sections of the Terrorism Act 2000:⁹⁰

- Wearing, carrying or displaying an item of clothing or some other article which shows support or membership of a proscribed organisation – Section 13 (1) (a) and (b).
- ◆ T-shirts and pendants bearing the B&H and C18 insignia are very popular among the group's followers, and are sold on many B&H websites. These would be made illegal, and anyone publicly displaying them could be prosecuted.
- Possessing an article which gives rise to a reasonable suspicion that possession is for a purpose connected with the commission, preparation or instigation of an act of terrorism – Section 57 (1).

90 Offences detailed here are taken from the Terrorism Act 2000.

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BANNED IN GERMANY

The B&H German wing – inspired by the UK organisation – was formed in Berlin in 1994. On 12 September 2000, B&H Germany and its youth organisation White Youth were banned by the German government. At the time, a German Ministry of Interior press release stated that ‘200 right-wing extremists belonged to the “Blood & Honour division” in Germany.’¹ If true, this suggests that B&H Germany was an organisation with an official membership – unlike the network in the UK.

The press release also stated that the ban on B&H was ‘based on §3 Vereinsgesetz [Law of Associations]. The Ministry of the Interior concluded that the group’s aims were directed against the constitutional order and the concept of international understanding. “Blood and Honour” was openly inspired by Hitler and other National Socialists. It propagated racism and sought to override the constitutional order.’² At the time of the ban, the then German Interior Minister Otto Schily told the BBC that B&H was banned because ‘they adopted the goal of spreading Nazi ideology’ and ‘poison the bodies and minds’ of young Germans.³ Schily also stated that, although B&H was not directly involved in a spate of racially motivated violence that year, many of those involved had been inspired by music played at concerts organised by B&H.

Information on extremist groups in Germany is gathered and analysed by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV), which is part of the Ministry of Interior. In its 2008 annual report, the BfV stated that, although B&H remains proscribed, its members are still active and operate under groups with a variety of names. Indeed, B&H Germany is advertised on the UK B&H site, with the words ‘banned in name – contact through B&H Great Britain.’⁴ The report also notes that B&H music is also still distributed in Germany, despite the ban, citing the appearance in 2008 of B&H album *Blood & Honour – Voices of Solidarity 2*, which featured a number of German right-wing extremist bands praising Hitler and the Nuremberg Laws.⁵

1 ‘Schily verbietet neonazistische Organisationen Blood & Honour und White Youth’, German Ministry of Interior press release, 14 September 2000.

2 *ibid.*

3 ‘Germany bans neo-Nazi group’, BBC News, 14 September 2000, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/925009.stm> [accessed 10/12/2009].

4 UK B&H Webpage, available at <http://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/28worldwide.html> [accessed 1/2/2010]

5 ‘2008 Annual Report on the Protection of the Constitution’, German Federal Ministry of the Interior.

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- ◆ The possession of any or all of the above-mentioned B&H literature, which supports and provides advice on the execution of 'lone-wolf' terrorism, would thus become a criminal offence.
- Collecting or making a record of information likely to be useful to a person committing or preparing an act of terrorism, or possession of a document or record containing information of that kind – Section 58 (1) (a) and (b).
- ◆ This section could be applied in particular to the possession of *The National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook*, which contains advice that is specifically useful to a person intent upon either committing or preparing an act of terrorism.

Individuals involved in B&H could also be pursued under the following sections of the Terrorism Act 2006, which widened the criteria of the 2000 Act to include the glorification of terrorism:⁹¹

- Selling, distributing, circulating or providing a service which allows others to gain access to terrorist publications which encourage or induce people to commit acts of terror or glorify the 'commission or preparation' of terrorist acts – Section 2 (1), (2), (3) and (4).
- ◆ The B&H literature cited above refers to 'lone-wolf' terror as a legitimate option for B&H followers. These publications are currently made available online, and those responsible for this could be charged. Additionally, B&H's Rune and Sword site currently sells music that encourages and glorifies acts of white-supremacist terror, and the site's administrators would also be liable for prosecution.

Internet activity

The case of Younis Tsouli provides the legal precedent to convict an individual who uses the internet to incite murder. Convicted under Section 59 (1) of the Terrorism Act 2000, Tsouli ran online forums that attempted to incite readers to carry out acts of terror overseas. Similarly, both the Racial Volunteer Force site and the B&H Skrewdriver site provide an online version of the National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook, which is a terrorist handbook that provides potential terrorists with details of how to carry out an attack and avoid the attention of the police and security services.

⁹¹ Offences detailed here are taken from the Terrorism Act 2006 [United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland].

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Public Order Act 1986

A number of B&H activities are currently in breach of the Public Order Act 1986.

B&H activists could be pursued for contravening the following sections of the Public Order Act 1986:⁹²

- Acts intended to stir up racial hatred – Section 18 (1) (a) and (b).
 - ◆ It is an offence to use threatening, abusive and insulting words or behaviour if either a person intends, or is likely, to stir up racial hatred. This also applies to the displaying of written materials which meet this criterion. The above-mentioned B&H 28 Radio repeatedly contravenes this Act. One example is a radio broadcast from 2007 that refers to ‘Niggers...Pakis...and any other kind of sub-humans.’⁹³
- Publishing or distributing written material intended to stir up racial hatred – Section 19 (1) (a) and (b).
 - ◆ It is an offence to publish or distribute written material that is threatening, abusive or insulting if it intends, or is likely, to stir up racial hatred. *Blood & Honour* magazine regularly publishes such material.
- Distributing audio and video material which intends to stir up racial hatred – Section 21 (1) (a) and (b).
 - ◆ It is an offence to distribute, show or play recordings of visual images or sounds that intend, or are likely, to stir up racial hatred. As has been demonstrated, Rune and Sword Productions continues to sell materials that are in clear contravention of the Public Order Act. At least two other significant distributors of B&H material are also currently in operation in the UK: Rampage Productions and the Final Conflict store, with the latter’s website registered in Ontario, Canada.⁹⁴
 - ◆ The Highlander East Coast website was hosted by an American server

92 Offences detailed here are taken from the Public Order Act 1986 [United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland].

93 Audio in possession of the CSC.

94 Final Conflict homepage, available at <http://politicalsoldier.netfirms.com/shop//catalog/> [accessed 20/12/2009].

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in an apparent attempt to circumvent the UK's anti-racist legislation. Although prosecuting individuals for what they post on foreign servers has always been a difficult task, a precedent was set in January 2009 by the Sheppard and Whittle case, in which the Crown Prosecution Service secured the conviction of two men – Simon Sheppard and Stephen Whittle – on charges of incitement to racial hatred, based on material posted on US-based websites.⁹⁵ While the Highlander East Coast website was hosted in the US, the CDs it advertised were sold and distributed within the UK, and the return address for faulty goods was a mailbox at a storage centre in Dundee.

Internet activity

At present, two UK neo-Nazi websites – B&H's Skrewdriver and the official website of the Racial Volunteer Force – provide online versions of *The National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook*. The Skrewdriver site is registered to Simon Sheppard (see above), who was convicted in January 2009 of publishing racially inflammatory material, distributing racially inflammatory material and possessing racially inflammatory material with a view to distribution.⁹⁶ Despite this conviction, Sheppard's UK-based site is still fully operational. The Racial Volunteer Force site is currently registered in Arizona, USA, in an attempt to circumvent UK laws, although the case against Sheppard and his associate, Stephen Whittle, has set a precedent for convicting individuals of incitement to racial hatred based on material posted on US-registered websites. Thus, the administrators of the Racial Volunteer Force site should also be investigated for breaking British racial and religious hate laws.

To combat the far right, create a cross-departmental anti far-right extremism strategy based on CONTEST

CONTEST is the government's cross-departmental counter-terrorism strategy, introduced in 2003 and updated in March 2009. It is coordinated by the Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism (OSCT), which is part of the Home Office.

CONTEST was developed specifically in response to the threat faced by the UK from international al-Qaeda-influenced terrorism, and is currently divided into

⁹⁵ 'Two guilty of inciting racial hatred against Jews', Crown Prosecution Service, 8 January 2009, available at http://www.cps.gov.uk/news/press_releases/101_09/.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

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four strands:

- **Pursue:** stopping terrorist attacks.
- **Prevent:** stopping people becoming terrorists or supporting violent extremism.
- **Protect:** strengthening our protection against attack.
- **Prepare:** mitigating the impact of attacks.⁹⁷

Because of the currently immature state of the far-right extremist threat, the most relevant CONTEST strand for this issue would be Prevent. Prevent has five stated objectives:

- **Challenging** the violent extremist ideology and supporting mainstream voices.
- **Disrupting** those who promote violent extremism and supporting the institutions where they may be active.
- **Supporting** vulnerable individuals.
- **Increasing** the capacity of communities to resist violent extremism.
- **Addressing** grievances.⁹⁸

Through the Preventing Violent Extremism Pathfinder Fund, Prevent provides money to organisations that are working towards any of these five objectives. At present, by far the largest part of Prevent funding is aimed at groups that are involved in combating Islamist radicalisation. In September 2009 the head of the Department of Communities and Local Government (CLG), John Denham, pledged to widen the scope of the project so that it also took account of the

97 HM Government, *Pursue Prevent Protect Prepare: The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism*, March 2009, available at http://security.homeoffice.gov.uk/news-publications/publication-search/general/HO_Contest_strategy/HO_Contest_strategy22835.pdf?view=Binary [accessed 20/10/2009].

98 The Prevent strategy also lists two secondary aims – developing Prevent-related research and analysis, and improving strategic communications – to support the delivery of the Prevent strategy. See HM Government, *The Prevent Strategy: A guide for local partners in England – Stopping people becoming or supporting terrorists and violent extremists*, June 2008, available at <http://publications.dcsf.gov.uk/default.aspx?PageFunction=productdetails&PageMode=publications&ProductId=288324&> [accessed 22/1/2010].

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rising threat of far-right violence.⁹⁹ At the December 2009 Prevent Conference in Birmingham, Denham suggested that one of Prevent's main initiatives, the Channel Project, would also receive funding specifically to deal with far-right extremism.¹⁰⁰

Prevent, however, is part of the overall CONTEST strategy, and CONTEST should remain focused on international jihadist terrorism. Although certain aspects of it could be drawn upon in order to create a similarly holistic, cross-departmental strategy to counter far-right extremism. Furthermore, rather than expanding Prevent to cover the far-right, it may be more appropriate to base a new holistic and multi-agency far-right counter-extremism strategy on the five main principles of Prevent. However, as far-right terror comes from an environment of neo-Nazi inspired extremism, these five Prevent principles should not focus, as they currently do, solely on violent extremism. Instead, this strategy would have to acknowledge that violent extremism is the inevitable outcome of extremist ideology, and shape itself accordingly.

At present, domestic far-right extremism falls within the remit of the National Domestic Extremism Team (NDET), which is part of the police force. Much of the work that NDET does is of a covert nature, including gathering intelligence and producing confidential briefings on far-right groups. Rather than acting in isolation, NDET's covert role could be part of a largely overt strategy to combat far-right extremism, with central leadership and coordination. As well as the police, this strategy could include the following government departments:

Department of Communities and Local Government: CLG should play a central role in any strategy targeted at far-right extremism. It could issue guidelines to local governments that would provide easily accessible explanations of the key aspects of the far-right, neo-Nazi ideology and how best to both identify and counter the messages of far-right groups. In order to prevent far-right extremism, local authorities and local community partnerships that work in community cohesion must fully understand the ideology, so that they are properly equipped to counter it.

Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF): The role of the DCSF within a strategy to combat far-right extremism would be focused on raising

99 'Government "Prevent" strategy widened to combat rightwing racism', *Guardian*, 8 September 2009, available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2009/sep/08/prevent-strategy-rightwing-racism> [accessed 1/12/2009].

100 Speech by Rt. Hon. John Denham MP at 2009 Prevent Conference, 8 December 2009, available at <http://www.communities.gov.uk/speeches/corporate/nationalpreventconf> [accessed 18/12/2009].

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awareness within schools, in particular, about the nature of the far-right ideology. This would better equip teachers to be able to identify young individuals who express all or some of the crucial aspects of the ideology and attempt to prevent them from straying further down that path.

In addition, the Cabinet Office could play a central role in this new strategy, as one of its primary functions is to coordinate policy and strategy across government departments. Briefed regularly by the police, the Cabinet Office would ensure a coherent cross-departmental strategy to counter far-right extremism.

In the new strategy, NDET should continue its covert work on far-right extremism. In the past, it has neutralised a number of other domestic extremist networks, the most recent success being the complete dissolution of extreme UK animal rights groups that were carrying out attacks on laboratories and scientists. This successful strategy has remained largely covert, and a similar covert strategy could be implemented against far-right extremists.

A new strategy could also incorporate non-governmental groups. As mentioned above, the B&H network relies heavily on the internet to organise meetings and distribute its materials. For a new strategy to be effective, it would require the involvement of independent organisations that specialise in online extremism. One such organisation is the Internet Watch Foundation (IWF), whose stated aim is 'to provide the UK internet Hotline for the public and IT professionals to report potentially illegal online content within our remit and to be the "notice and take-down" body for this content.'¹⁰¹ The IWF already works with the government and is supported by the Home Office, the DCSF and a number of other government departments.

¹⁰¹ About the Internet Watch Foundation, available at <http://www.iwf.org.uk/public/page.103.htm> [accessed 21/12/2009].

Conclusion

The B&H organisation in the UK constitutes an undeniable threat to both security and community relations within the UK. Its propaganda is centred on an apocalyptic vision of racial conflict, and unambiguously encourages respect for, and glorification of, terrorist actions carried out in the name of furthering the cause of neo-Nazism. The B&H *National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook*, in particular, provides information and advice that would clearly be useful in the commission or preparation of an act of terrorism.

B&H is ostensibly a 'political' movement; but arguably it has far more in common with other violent ideological forms of extremism than it does with what is generally understood as 'politics', even of a nationalist variety. Certainly, as an explicitly anti-democratic, anti-liberal, fascist organisation, B&H constitutes an atavistic manifestation of the same venomous mix of racial hatred and a cult of violence that came to prominence in the original Nazi movement. B&H takes its name, its imagery and indeed much of its ideology from the Third Reich, which is exalted as the apotheosis of white European achievement.

As fervent followers of Nazism in a world that has, in the wake of World War II and the Holocaust, so clearly rejected this ideology, B&H supporters exist outside the bounds of normal social and political interaction. The group, therefore, acts as a magnet to those who feel disenfranchised and, in more extreme cases, to the pathological, who find in its message and its embrace of neo-Nazism as an 'identity', a vehicle by which to indulge their extreme prejudice and nihilistic hatred of the modern world. As such, B&H is less a genuine 'political' threat than it is an incubator for racially motivated violence, which has already spilled over on a number of occasions into outright terrorism.

For these reasons, the government must seriously consider proscribing B&H, or else take stronger measures to prevent the proliferation of the militant white-supremacist ideology that, if left unchecked, opens up the very real possibility of the future loss of innocent lives at the hands of those who act in the name of reviving Nazism.

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Blood & Honour (B&H) is an international neo-Nazi network that has evolved from its original incarnation as a neo-Nazi music scene into a far-right franchise. Through music CDs and ideological texts, the B&H network reinforces and disseminates a violent 'white power' supremacist ideology. This ideology derives from Third Reich Nazism and, unlike some other far-right organisations, B&H seeks the creation of a 'Fourth Reich'. While it is not an organisation with official membership, B&H acts as a very effective international network through which to spread violent neo-Nazism, and its message has already played a significant role in the radicalisation of a number of white supremacist terrorists.

***B**y highlighting the dangers of Blood & Honour neo-Nazi terrorism, this new pamphlet points to the dangers of unduly focusing on the electoral side of the contemporary extreme right. This development threatens a spiral of cumulative extremism, as an important aspect of the strategy is to provoke an ethnic minority response which will escalate into race war, which groups like Blood & Honour see as necessary to awake apathetic true Britons from their slumbers.*

Roger Eatwell, Professor of Comparative European Politics and Dean of Faculty, Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Bath and author of *Fascism: A History*

***T**his well-researched and forcefully written exposure of the threat to democracy posed by Blood & Honour is a wake-up call to all those liberals who complacently assume the militant far-right died with the National Front. 'Britain Awake' is a slogan that should not just be left to the far right!*

Roger Griffin, Professor of Modern History, Oxford Brookes University and author of *The Nature of Fascism*

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