



ENEMIES

NOT

ALLIES:

THE FAR-RIGHT

The One Law for All Campaign was launched on 10 December 2008, International Human Rights Day, to call on the UK Government to recognise that Sharia and religious courts are arbitrary and discriminatory against women and children in particular and that citizenship and human rights are non-negotiable. The Campaign aims to end Sharia and all religious courts on the basis that they work against, and not for, equality and human rights.

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Enemies not Allies: The Far-Right

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*'Perhaps one day, once by being rather more subtle we've got ourselves in a position where we control the British broadcasting media [...] then perhaps one day the British people might change their mind and say, "Yes, every last one must go." Perhaps they will one day. But if you offer that as your sole aim to start with, you're gonna get absolutely nowhere. So, instead of talking about racial purity, we talk about identity.'*¹ - Nick Griffin, British National Party (BNP) Leader

*'We don't care whether you arrived here yesterday; you are welcome to protect our Christian culture and our way of life. We will not tolerate it anymore.'*² - Tommy Robinson, English Defence League (EDL) leader

*Islamism 'is the threat that can bring us to power.'*³ - Nick Griffin, BNP Leader

*'If them barriers break one day and our lads get through they'll murder them all.'*⁴ - Guramit Singh, EDL Spokesperson

*'A permanent stop to immigration from [M]uslim countries and a temporary stop from other countries until there has been set up an independent inquiry to determine when the Danes are a minority in their own country [...] Repatriation of disaffected [M]uslim and other immigrants and all immigrant criminals who have proven that they are unsuitable and the removal from such people of any vested Danish citizenship. [...] Those already granted citizenship are to be examined very carefully with a view to withdrawing citizenship if they have proved unworthy of it because of criminal activities, promoting Sharia law and undermining the Danish constitution.'*⁵ - Stop Islamisation of Europe platform

1 BBC Panorama, 'Under The Skin', 25th November 2001, transcript available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/1588893.stm>; video clip available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bfwdNAT8sWU>

2 Tommy Robinson speech at Leicester EDL Rally, October 2010, video available here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IhDo5TCcaVc&feature=player_embedded#!

3 Copsey, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.162

4 Taylor, M., 'English Defence League: Inside the violent world of Britain's new far right', The Guardian, 28th May 2010, available here: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/may/28/english-defence-league-guardian-investigation>

5 'SIOE is now also a political party', SIOE website, 7th March 2010, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2010/03/07/sioe-is-now-also-a-political-party/>, available here: <http://callofthepatriot.blogspot.com/2010/03/sioe-is-now-political-party-in-europe.html>

*'There is no distinction in the American Muslim community between peaceful Muslims and jihadists. While Americans prefer to imagine that the vast majority of American Muslims are civic-minded patriots who accept wholeheartedly the parameters of American pluralism, this proposition has actually never been proven.'*⁶ - Robert Spencer, *Stop Islamization of America*

6 Spencer, R., '2 Men in New York and Florida, Charged in Qaeda Conspiracy', Jihad Watch, 30th May 2005, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2005/05/2-men-in-new-york-and-florida-charged-in-qaeda-conspiracy.html>

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Introduction

In just a few decades, we have witnessed the rapid rise of Sharia law in countries across the world. Sharia is now the most widely used religious law, mainly because of the rise in influence of the political Islamic movement backed by Islamic states. And whilst Sharia is no different from other religious laws, its adverse effects on people's lives are more widely felt due to the growth of Islamism's political power.

The establishment of Sharia law in Britain is a direct result of Islamism, and is not because of 'Muslim immigration' or people becoming more 'devout'. Sharia law is fundamentally the demand of Islamic states and the political Islamic movement to limit citizens' rights.

Clearly, many Muslims or those labelled as such are the first victims of Sharia law and Islamism and are opposed to it, as are people of all opinions. To criticise an ideology is not bigoted or racist, by definition. The criticism of Islamism is not an attack on Muslims, but in fact a defence of their individual rights and freedoms.

Whilst it is crucial to combat Islamism and Sharia law and defend citizenship and universal rights and secularism, it is equally vital to discriminate between genuine allies and those who would arrogate such efforts for their own ends, namely the far-Right, which has attempted to hijack legitimate criticism of Islamism to further its racist agenda.

It is the purpose of this report to expose the far-Right's agenda, explore its methods and fundamental similarities with Islamism (another far-Right movement), thereby illustrating the differences between legitimate criticism such as that of the One Law for All campaign from racist campaigns and organisations. This will help inform the public of the real threats faced by the far-Right and the need to combat them and defend equality, universalism and secularism.

7 One Law for All, 'Sharia Law in Britain: A Threat to One Law for All and Equal Rights', June 2010, available here: <http://www.onelawforall.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/New-Report-Sharia-Law-in-Britain.pdf>

Whilst this report focuses on the most conspicuous examples of the far-Right in Britain - namely the British National Party, the English Defence League and Stop Islamisation of Europe - inferences and implications will assist the reader when scrutinising other organisations of a similar nature particularly since these organisations have branches in a number of countries in Europe, Australia and the United States.

Executive Summary

The far-Right has adapted its rhetoric and shifted its targets in order to conceal its racist political programme. For the British National Party this is the latest in a string of tactics, while for others it is indicative of a new strain of far-Right thinking which seeks to mobilise people by using rights and anti-racist language. This new form of reaction however demonstrates extreme xenophobia, bigotry and paranoia concerning Muslims and immigrants. Its crude and alarmist ideology is hidden beneath pseudo-intellectual theorising and argument, and signifies a revival of far-Right politics.

The British National Party

The British National Party (BNP) remains a racist, neo-fascist organisation, and maintains a cordial relationship with neo-Nazi and 'white' supremacist groups and individuals, including Blood & Honour, Combat 18 and former Klansman David Duke. Its leadership regularly attends international events organised by groups of the extreme Right, where they mingle with assorted racists and neo-Nazis, including activists for Stormfront.org and the National Alliance. Some of these groups, such as the Nazi terrorist cult Blood & Honour, encourage their supporters to commit violence and mass-murder. The BNP is also allied to the Jobbik party in Hungary, which campaigns against minority communities. Senior members of the BNP have praised the National Front, and expressed 'nostalgia' for 'Germany in the 1930s', while its election candidates have made racist comments and fought with Asian youths.

Party leader Nick Griffin has openly sought to rebrand the BNP in order to conceal its fascist nature, as evidenced by many of his speeches and writings. The BNP's scrapping of its racist membership policy - which its leaders hailed as a P.R. boon - was imposed from without, and agreed to for legal reasons. The BNP's post-9/11 emphasis on Islamists is an openly admitted political trick. Despite these superficial changes, the BNP's activities and associations reveal its racist nature, as does its leader's Holocaust denial.

The English Defence League

While the English Defence League purports to be a pluralist movement, its actions and the opinions of its leadership betray an unwillingness to distinguish between Muslims and Islamists and reveal a desire to target Muslims en masse. Its rallies often descend into violence and arrests. While the EDL officially opposes 'Nazi infiltration' of its activities, their events are frequently attended by members of Blood & Honour, Combat 18 and the BNP. Neo-Nazis have also been recognised as organisers and 'official stewards' of their events.

The EDL has made use of 'non-white' persons sympathetic to its cause to insulate it from accusations of racism. However, its British Sikh spokesperson Guramit Singh has made racist and anti-Muslim comments online, as well as at EDL rallies. He has also stated that he believes most Muslims support 'extremism'. Its leader Tommy Robinson has spoken of England's 'Apartheid' system and its 'oppression' of English people, making threats and abusive remarks which differ in tone from his televised statements.

Stop Islamisation of Europe

Stop Islamisation of Europe is the 'expansion' of a Danish anti-Muslim party, Stop Islamiseringen af Danmark (SIAD), which was itself the result of a split within a xenophobic lobby group. Its leadership considers all Muslims to be congenital liars and a threat to civilisation. SIOE has political ambitions and boasts of its semi-autonomous branches across Europe and beyond. It calls for a boycott of all 'Islamic countries', for the Qur'an to be banned, for the mass deportation of immigrants from Europe, and protests against the building of Mosques. Its literature is of an extremely alarmist and conspiratorial nature, and strongly encourages fear and mistrust of Muslims, who it states are 'all Nazis'.

Despite its proclaimed opposition to Nazism, there is evidence of neo-Nazi having attended SIAD events. SIOE's leadership have also made statements which suggest that BNP and National Front members have attended its UK events. Further, SIOE has collaborated with and defended Julius Borgesen, a former spokesperson for the right-wing extremist group Danske Front, which has 'co-operated' with Blood & Honour and Combat 18. Borgessen has reportedly participated in a march to celebrate Rudolf Hess and was imprisoned in 2007 for calling for an arson attack against a Danish minister. SIOE have also defended war criminal Radovan Karadzic.

Stop the Islamization of America

The group's American branch, currently run by Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer, was set up by SIOE's leadership. In 2010 Spencer defended his and Geller's 'colleague' Joseph John Jay, who had recommended the 'wholesale slaughter' of Muslim civilians, including children. Spencer has also written that there is 'no distinction' between American Muslims and Jihadists, and explained that Muslims must prove their innocence or else be considered guilty. Pamela Geller's web log has featured conspiratorial articles regarding the President of America's religion, his family, his sexual history, and the circumstances of his birth. Geller and Spencer have also defended Serbian war criminals.

Whilst it is crucial to combat Islamism and Sharia law and defend citizenship and universal rights and secularism, it is equally vital to oppose the far-Right. Islamism and the Far-Right are two sides of the same coin using similar methods, ideologies and tactics in order to promote their bleak and inhuman worldview.

The British National Party

The British National Party was formed in 1982 by infamous Hitlerite and racist John Tyndall.¹ Tyndall believed in the biological superiority of the 'British' race due to its 'Nordic' roots, and that immigration, democracy and liberalism were a Jewish plot. In the 1960's his analysis was that as *'democracy tamely allows droves of dark-skinned sub-racials into our country, the Jew cleverly takes advantage of their presence to propagate the lie of racial equality, thus gradually encouraging their acceptance into European society, with the ultimate results of intermarriage and race-degeneration that he knows will follow'*.²

Tyndall was in favour of 'repatriation' or deportation of 'all those of alien race'. He lamented that 'liberal dogma forbids us [...] even to consider the introduction of a policy of genetic improvement as a means of breeding out the worst, and procreating the best, strains in our population', and proclaimed he would 'not shirk from proposing that there are elements in the population which, if not deprived of life themselves, should most certainly be deprived of the faculty and right to give life to future generations in whom criminal tendencies of the very lowest kind might be reproduced'.³ Tyndall's BNP prohibited homosexuality and 'mixed-race' marriage. It also desired party control of art, education, culture and the media, and hoped to 'depart from the concept of the career woman [and] encourage our womenfolk to regard home and family-making as the highest vocation for their sex'.⁵

Nick Griffin's BNP

Since 1999 the British National Party has been led by Nick Griffin, a former leader of the Young National Front's Student Organisation.⁶ Shortly before his

1 Copsey, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.10, 14, 88, 89

2 Ibid, p.88-89

3 Ibid. p.90

4 Ibid. p.87

5 Ibid. p.33-34

ascension Griffin argued that voters sought a 'strong, disciplined organisation with the ability to back up its slogan 'Defend Rights For Whites' with 'well-directed boots and fists'.⁶ In his writings, Griffin has warned of 'Jewish influence' in and 'control of' mass media,⁷ has referred to the Holocaust as the 'Holofoax', and clarified his position by declaring: *'I am well aware that the orthodox opinion is that 6 million Jews were gassed and cremated and turned into lampshades. Orthodox opinion also once held that the Earth was flat... I have reached the conclusion that the "extermination" tale is a mixture of Allied wartime propaganda, extremely profitable lie, and latter witch-hysteria'*.⁸

Griffin's BNP is allied to several European far-Right organisations including the Jobbik Party in Hungary, which campaigns against minority communities.⁹ In 2006 Nick Griffin attended a conference organised by the racist American Renaissance magazine, along with BNP candidate Mark Collett and Leeds BNP organiser Martin Reynolds. The conference was also attended by David Duke, a former Grand Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and many notable racists, including the founder of the neo-Nazi online forum Stormfront.org, and former members of the American neo-Nazi group the National Alliance.¹⁰

British National Party councillor Bob Bailey complained in a March 2010 public meeting about the building of what he called 'Nigerian churches' in the borough of Barking, explaining that 'we don't want the amount of black children' and that 'these people eat off the ground'.¹¹ While campaigning in May of the same year he asked three Asian teenagers how many 'are robbers'. When the boys confronted him, he and a colleague punched and kicked them until it was

6 Ibid. p.71

7 Ibid. p.71-72. An extract from 'Who Are The Mindbenders?' can be found here: http://4.bp.blogspot.com/_eZy7ckbz28/R4JXvrYNe6I/AAAAAAAAADo/gkyiuflgdFk/s1600-h/GriffinMindBenders2.jpg

8 BBC News website profile, available here: http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/programmes/2001/bnp_special/the_leader/beliefs.stm

9 LeBor, A., 'Jobbik: Meet the BNP's Fascist Friends in Hungary', The Times, 9th June 2009, available here: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article6457752.ece>

10 Williams, D., 'BNP Leader Embraced By Top US Nazis', Searchlight Magazine, April 2006, available here: <http://www.searchlightmagazine.com/index.php?link=template&story=162>

11 Lydall, R. and Bernard, J., "'Racist" London BNP Chief Threatened With Suspension', London Evening Standard, 26th March 2010, available here: <http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23819349-racist-london-bnp-chief-threatened-with-suspension.do?>

announced that the police were approaching.¹² The BNP's 2010 candidate for Mayor of Lewisham, Tess Culnane, who has also contested seats for the party in 2004, was a candidate for the National Front in 2007 and 2008, and has supported and spoken at meetings of the Naziphile British People's Party, which sells busts of Adolf Hitler.¹³

In 2009 it was discovered that racist books are available to purchase from the British National Party's website, and that the BNP's 'YouTube account, namely two official BNP branch accounts and a further two belonging to self-identified BNP members' demonstrate 'key elements of neo-Nazi ideology including: extreme racist views; a deep hatred for Jews; admiration of the Third Reich; and Holocaust denial'. Further, 'the administrators of the official BNP YouTube accounts do not object to the presence of neo-Nazis among their 'friends' [and in some cases] actively promote neo-Nazis', with no disclaimers posted or disassociations made by the party.¹⁴ The British National Party also maintains good relations with Covert Undercover Nuisance Tactics, which 'openly promotes extreme racism, anti-Semitism and homophobia and is affiliated with Blood & Honour', and that Covert activists encourage people to make donations to the BNP.¹⁵ Covert and similar groups regularly attend the BNP's Red, White and Blue festival, including the event held in January 2010.¹⁶

Blood & Honour (B&H) are a Nazi terrorist organisation whose 'armed wing', Combat 18, was formed by members of the BNP's security team.¹⁷ B&H

12 Kelly, T. and Doyle, J., 'BNP Candidate Punches And Kicks Asians After Being Spat At On Campaign Trail', Daily Mail, 6th May 2010, available here: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/election/article-1273583/General-Election-2010-BNP-candidate-Bob-Bailey-filmed-fighting-Asian-men-key-battle-ground-Barking.html>

13 BNP Facts, 'Are the BNP racist?', available here: <http://bnpfacts.wordpress.com/bnp-mayoral-candidate-has-given-speeches-at-meetings-of-pro-hitler-group/>

14 Standing, E., 'The BNP and the Online Fascist Network', The Centre for Social Cohesion, 2009, p.10, 27

15 Ibid. p.37-46

16 Standing, E., 'Why Does Nick Griffin Allow Neo-Nazis To Attend The BNP 'Family Festival'?', Harry's Place, 21st January 2010, available here: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/01/21/why-does-nick-griffin-allow-neo-nazis-to-attend-the-bnp-family-festival/>

17 Copey, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.71-72. An extract from 'Who Are The Mindbenders?' can be found here: http://4.bp.blogspot.com/_eZy7ckbz28/R4JXvrYNe6I/AAAAAAAAADo/gkyiufgdFk/s1600-h/GriffinMindBenders2.jpg

recommend violence and mass-murder as part of 'a pan-Aryan movement of White resistance against the oppressive forces of the Zionist Occupation Governments',¹⁸ and provide instructions on how individuals and 'cells' should carry this out as well as ways of avoiding capture.¹⁹ Despite claims to the contrary, the British National Party has remained friendly with Combat 18 and Blood & Honour. In 2001 Nick Griffin told a Combat 18 organiser that 'we're all on the same side', and has since accepted donations raised by the sale of B&H merchandise. B&H members and supporters have attended BNP events in 2007, 2008, 2009²⁰ and 2010.²¹

In 2004 a television documentary about the British National Party included footage of party founder John Tyndall delivering a speech at a BNP meeting. Tyndall declared of people with dark skin that 'Black magic, witchcraft, voodoo, cannibalism and AIDS. That is what they have given to the world', and closed his remarks by promising that '*Nationalism will come to the fore, nationalism will come to victory in this country, and we will build again a country that is great, strong, proud, free and white*'.²²

The documentary saw Tyndall arrested for 'incitement to racial hatred', along with 12 other individuals for various crimes.²³ Also featured in the documentary was BNP candidate and activist Mark Collett, who has been the BNP's Head of Publicity and leader of the Young BNP.²⁴ Nick Griffin remarked to Channel 4 in 2002 that Collett might one day succeed him as party leader.²⁵ During the

18 Meleagrou-Hitchens, A. and Standing, E., 'Blood & Honour: Britain's Far-Right Militants', The Centre For Social Cohesion and There Is Nothing British About The BNP, 2010, p.18

19 Ibid. p.20-23

20 Ibid. p.13-14

21 Standing, E., 'Why Does Nick Griffin Allow Neo-Nazis To Attend The BNP 'Family Festival'?', Harry's Place, 21st January 2010, available at: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/01/21/why-does-nick-griffin-allow-neo-nazis-to-attend-the-bnp-family-festival/>

22 BBC News website, 'Going Undercover In The BNP', 15th July 2004, available here: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/3896213.stm>

23 Copey, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.158

24 Standing, E., 'Nazi-Boy Is Hoping To Become An MP', Harry's Place, 27th January 2010, available here: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/01/27/nazi-boy-is-hoping-to-become-an-mp/>

25 'Dispatches: Young, Nazi and Proud', Channel 4, 4th November 2002

BBC programme Collett referred to asylum seekers as ‘cockroaches’, expounding that ‘cockroaches can’t help what they do, they just do it, like cats meow and dogs bark, they do it because they are what they are and they’ll do what they do’ [sic].²⁶ Collett was interviewed for a Channel 4 documentary in which he said of AIDS that ‘Blacks, drug abusers and gays have it. So really, I’ve got no problem with AIDS. In fact I would call it a friendly disease’. During the same programme he expressed ‘nostalgia’ for ‘Germany in the 1930s’, comparing it favourably with ‘the inner city hell of Britain today’, and opined that ‘the Jews had given the German people a bit of a whipping and one of the thorns that people felt were in their sides. [...] The Jews have been thrown out of every country, including England. There’s not a single European country the Jews have not been thrown out of. And let’s face it, David, when it happens that many times it’s not just persecution. There’s no smoke without fire’ [sic].²⁷ Elsewhere Collett has expressed admiration for Ian Stuart Donaldson, frontman of the neo-Nazi band Skrewdriver and founder of Blood & Honour.²⁸

Mark Collett was fired from the British National Party in April 2010 for attempting to take power via a coup.²⁹ Collett had allegedly been leaking BNP information to the press. He was arrested for threatening to kill Nick Griffin, as has been confirmed by the party leader.³⁰

Lee Barnes was until recently the British National Party’s spokesman, website writer, researcher and Legal Director. In 2009, Barnes described demonstrations by the neo-Nazi National Front as ‘superb’, and offered advice on how the group can best help the cause of ‘Nationalism’ by organising ‘street activism’ as a counterpart to the BNP’s ‘electioneering’. Barnes had previously written that ‘[t]he BNP have no interest in the National Front or its policies’.³¹ In December

26 BBC News website, ‘Going Undercover In The BNP’, 15th July 2004, available here: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/3896213.stm>

27 ‘Dispatches: Young, Nazi and Proud’, Channel 4, 4th November 2002

28 ‘Re:Brand, Episode 2- Nazi Boy’, UKPlay, 2002

29 Gabbatt, A. and Taylor, M., ‘BNP Official Mark Collett Questioned Over Alleged Threat To Kill Nick Griffin’, The Guardian, 4th April 2010, available here: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/apr/04/bnp-mark-collett-nick-griffin>

30 BBC News website, ‘BNP Sacks Head Of Publicity Over Death Threats’, 5th April 2010, available here: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/8603314.stm

31 Ibid. p.46-49

2009 Barnes praised an arson attack on a migrant welcome centre in Calais, explaining that ‘this is not a crime, this is an act of National Liberation’.³² Lee Barnes left the British National Party in August 2010, accusing it of law breaking, bankruptcy, threats of violence, incompetence and authoritarianism, as well as connections with terrorism in Northern Ireland, and stated that ‘such a party cannot be trusted with political power in our society’.³³ He revealed that Nick Griffin ‘would love a riot to flare up [in Bradford] as then he can exploit it politically afterwards’³⁴ and confirmed that Griffin had travelled to Oldham ‘during the riots’ especially for a Combat 18 cell meeting.³⁵ Barnes also revealed that Griffin is concerned about BNP members supporting and donating to the English Defence League, and rejected Griffin’s claim³⁶ that he had been ‘expelled’ from the party due to his support for the EDL.³⁷

BNP Strategy

When Nick Griffin became leader of the British National Party in 1999, he opined that ‘if we seriously want to be elected the very first step is to look at the things we do, or condone, which make us unelectable’. Griffin recommended that the party should express its policies ‘in the least controversial way possible’, while ‘teach[ing] the truth to the hardcore’. He advised ‘forget[ing] about racial differences, genetics, Zionism, historical revisionism and so on’ when attempting to ‘influenc[e] the public’, and that the party ‘must at all times present [the

32 Barnes, L. J., ‘The French Rise Up’, 21st Century British Nationalism blog, 27th December 2009, available here: <http://leejohnbarnes.blogspot.com/2009/12/french-rise-up.html>

33 Standing, E., ‘Lee Barnes Resigns, Declares BNP Cannot Be Trusted With Political Power’, Harry’s Place, 10th August 2010, available here: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/08/10/lee-barnes-resigns-declares-bnp-cannot-be-trusted-with-political-power/#more-37456>

34 Standing, E., ‘The Lee John Barnes Review’, Harry’s Place, 14th August 2010, available here: <http://hurryupharry.org/2010/08/14/the-lee-john-barnes-review/#more-37628>

35 Barnes, L. J., ‘Nick Griffin, the EDL, Bradford and Combat 18’, 21st Century British Nationalism blog, 11th August 2010, available here: <http://leejohnbarnes.blogspot.com/2010/08/nick-griffin-edl-bradford-and-combat-18.html>

36 Barnes, L. J., ‘The EDL Issue’, 21st Century British Nationalism blog, 10th August 2010, available here: <http://leejohnbarnes.blogspot.com/2010/08/edl-issue.html>

37 Barnes, L. J., ‘The EDL and Bradford’, 21st Century British Nationalism blog, 7th August 2010, available here: <http://leejohnbarnes.blogspot.com/2010/08/edl-and-bradford.html>

electorate] with an image of moderate reasonableness'.³⁸ In April 2000 Nick Griffin delivered a speech to The American Friends of the BNP, sharing a platform with former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan David Duke. He explained his strategy to the assembly:

'There's a difference between selling out your ideas, and selling your ideas. And the British National Party isn't about selling out its ideas, which are your ideas too, but we are determined now to sell them. And that means basically to use the saleable words. As I say, freedom, security, identity, democracy. Nobody can criticise them, nobody can come at you and attack you on those ideas. They are saleable. [...]

'Perhaps one day, once by being rather more subtle we've got ourselves in a position where we control the British broadcasting media [...] then perhaps one day the British people might change their mind and say, 'Yes, every last one must go'. Perhaps they will one day. But if you offer that as your sole aim to start with, you're gonna get absolutely nowhere. So, instead of talking about racial purity, we talk about identity'.³⁹

Griffin has recently presented himself as a Christian, stating in his 'Easter Message'⁴⁰ that 'in the past too much emphasis has been placed on the ethnic aspect of our present national dilemma, whilst the longest running feature of our identity has been overlooked: the fact that our country has been held together and guided for millennia by our common, ancient religion: Christianity. [...] I mean the traditional, upright, decent and honest Christianity that defended Europe from Islamic conquest, the Christianity of the Crusades and the Christianity of our forefathers'.

He commends Christianity as preferable to the 'eradicating [of] traditional unique cultures and national identities', 'the promotion of sexual perversion'

38 Copsy, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.102-104

39 BBC Panorama, 'Under The Skin', 25th November 2001, transcript available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/panorama/1588893.stm>, video clip available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bfwdNAT8sWU>

40 Easter message from BNP chairman hits the mark, Stormfront.org, July 2006, available here: <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t696276/>

and 'political correctness'. He declared that 'after the General Election, all BNP leaflets will carry a Christian Cross to demonstrate our commitment to maintaining and preserving our Christian heritage as a nation'.

Griffin has long believed that 'the inevitable media smear of 'Nazi' [...] remains the political kiss of death as far as 98 per cent of people are concerned',⁴¹ and has therefore camouflaged the party's anti-Semitism and racism, expressing it 'in the least controversial way possible'. In the 2005 BNP manifesto, Nick Griffin explained that there is 'no conspiracy of wicked plutocrats or sinister Elders of Zion at work here, [but rather that] the unique cultural and ethnic groups that are being destroyed [by multi-culturalism] are not so much specifically targeted for elimination, they are just in the way of a conscience-free global money-making machine'.⁴² Similarly, the 'destruction' of 'unique cultural ethnic groups' is used as a more palatable substitute to warn of the imminent extinction of the 'white race'.

Nick Griffin has taken this tactic of public disassociation from Nazism to its logical conclusion by declaring that he has 'no time for anti-Semites'⁴³, and telling a nationwide audience on BBC's Question Time '*I am not a Nazi and never have been [...] I am the most loathed man in Britain in the eyes of Britain's Nazis. They loathe me because I have brought the British National Party from being, frankly, an anti-Semitic and racist organisation into being the only political party which, in the clashes between Israel and Gaza, stood full square behind Israel's right to deal with Hamas terrorists*'.⁴⁴

Griffin was not asked to specify at what point the party ceased being 'anti-Semitic and racist'. In January 2009 he had written that though '[t]he fighting in Gaza is not a proper concern for a British political party' and that the BNP 'would oppose any move to entangle Britain in war on behalf of Israel, it is in our

41 Copey, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.111

42 Ibid. p.159

43 Standing, E., 'One the British National Party's 'Pro-Israel' Turn', Jewcy, 24th February 2009, available at: http://www.jewcy.com/post/british_national_partys_proisrael_turn#

44 Anon, 'BNP on BBC's Question Time: key quotes', The Telegraph, 23rd October 2009, available here: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newsttopics/politics/6411261/BNP-on-BBCs-Question-Time-key-quotes.html>

clear national interest that it should survive'.⁴⁵ Given his support for Ayatollah Khomeini, Louis Farrakhan and Hamas in the 1980's⁴⁶ and a lifetime of anti-Semitism, Nick Griffin's proclamations are tactical in nature.

Elsewhere Griffin offers an explanation by reflecting that 'in the United States, in Germany, and among small theoretical groups in most European countries (Britain included), there are a fair few sincere people who are quite convinced that we shouldn't be nasty to Islam and that 'the real enemy is the Jew'. Griffin argued in March 2006 that 'the proper enemy to any political movement isn't necessarily the most evil and the worst [...] The proper enemy is the one we can most easily defeat'.⁴⁷ Following the 2001 terrorist attacks in America, the BNP switched emphasis from asylum seekers to Muslims and Islamists, usually conflating the three.⁴⁸

In February 2010 the British National Party changed its membership policy. Previously, membership of the BNP had been restricted to 'being 'Indigenous Caucasian' and defined 'ethnic groups emanating from that race'. The party has attempted to use this alteration to appear more respectable. However, the abandonment of this racist policy was imposed from without. Griffin explained this at the time, telling the BBC that the party 'had to do it for legal reasons' and that they 'recognise the legal reality, so we've done it, so now for one thing they can't call us racist anymore'.⁴⁹ The possible tactical advantage this change may provide has been discussed openly by a senior member of the party, who boasted that 'today marks a historic moment in the evolution of British Nationalism': 'For the general public, [...] the constant scream of 'racists' and

45 Standing, E., 'One the British National Party's 'Pro-Israel' Turn', Jewcy, 24th February 2009, available here: http://www.jewcy.com/post/british_national_partys_proisrael_turn

46 Rich, D., 'Political Soldiers and the New Man - Part One, Two and Three', Community Security Trust blog, 26th, 27th and 28th April 2010, available here: <http://thecst.org.uk/blog/?p=1368>, <http://thecst.org.uk/blog/?p=1406>, <http://thecst.org.uk/blog/?p=1430>. Griffin's support of Farrakhan available here: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in_depth/programmes/2001/bnp_special/the_leader/beliefs.stm

47 Standing, E., 'One the British National Party's 'Pro-Israel' Turn', Jewcy, 24th February 2009, available here: http://www.jewcy.com/post/british_national_partys_proisrael_turn

48 Copey, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.135

49 BBC News website, 'BNP Votes To Ditch Whites Only Membership Rule', 14th February 2010, available here: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8514736.stm>

'Nazis' is the primary weapon in the arsenal' of those who campaign against the BNP, 'but that weapon is now rendered defunct. [...] The changes the BNP have agreed to render every attack they have used against us as useless' [sic].⁵⁰

Despite these and other superficial changes, the British National Party's activities and associations reveal its racist nature.

The BNP and Islam

In 1989 John Tyndall's British National Party held demonstrations following the Ayatollah Khomeini's fatwa for the murder of novelist Salman Rushdie. Tyndall hoped to manipulate societal tensions for this purpose.⁵¹ Nick Griffin was at around this time a supporter of Khomeini, using the Ayatollah's writings as 'set texts' for National Front 'political training seminars', and printing a picture of the 'Supreme Leader' on the cover of National Front News.⁵²

In 2006 Griffin wrote of the party's tenacious and poorly hidden anti-Semitism and Naziphilia that it should 'dump such paranoid political suicide notes in the historical bin where they belong'. He explained that Islamism 'is the threat that can bring us to power'.⁵³

'The British National Party is positioned very firmly to benefit politically from ever-growing popular concern about the rise of Islam. [...] we must ride the wave of public opinion and harness its power for our own use'.

This unambiguous statement was made in a long piece in which Griffin reassures the faithful that opposing Islamism is not to aid 'the Jews'.⁵⁴

50 Barnes, L. J., 'Membership Change Agreed', 21st Century British Nationalism blog, 14th November 2009, available here: <http://www.leejohnbarnes.blogspot.com/2009/11/membership-change-agreed.html>

51 Copsey, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.47-48

52 Rich, D., 'Political Soldiers and the New Man - Part Two', Community Security Trust blog, 27th April 2010, available here: <http://thecst.org.uk/blog/?p=1406>

53 Ibid. p.162

54 Griffin, N., 'By their fruits (or lack of them) shall you know them', 21st March 2006, available here: http://library.flawlesslogic.com/griffin_01.htm

A 2004 documentary featured Griffin delivering a speech on Islam, in which he stated that '[this] wicked and vicious faith has expanded from a handful of crank lunatics about thirteen hundred years ago till it's now sweeping country after country before it all over the world and if you read that book [the Qur'an] you'll find that's what they want'.⁵⁵ Griffin later defended his statements in court by explaining that he had referred to a religion, not a 'race'. This is not the sole instance in which Griffin has worn the cloak of anti-Islamism to legitimise racism. Hoping to take advantage of public concern about Islamism following the 7th July 2005 bombings, the British National Party circulated leaflets depicting the exploded bus in Tavistock Square with the slogan 'maybe now it's time to start listening to the BNP'.⁵⁶

Griffin's public statements on Islam are hypocritical. For example, he poses as a defender of 'freedom of speech', while his party is for state-controlled media. He advocates 'freedom of belief',⁵⁷ while his party is in favour of 'Christian worship in schools' and 'council-funded festivals' to celebrate the British patron saints.⁵⁸ This hypocrisy is no better exemplified than when Griffin condemns Islam for being expansionist and fascistic. He explains that Islam '[is] a religion at one level. It's a very efficient imperialistic machine for taking over other people's countries and territories on the other' and further, that 'Nazism and Radical Islam co-operated extraordinarily closely'. When struggling to describe Wahhabism to an audience, Griffin remarked 'I can't begin to think of the best Christian analogy, but if you think of the most extreme and extraordinarily intolerant Christian sect and then put it on acid'. Griffin's inability to call to mind a more specific example is surprising, since he has elsewhere lauded 'the Christianity of the Crusades' and has been a lifelong fan of European fascism.

55 BBC News Website, 'Going Undercover in the BNP', 15th July 2004, available here: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/3896213.stm>

56 Copey, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.166

57 Nick Griffin 10/24/07 speech on 'The Islamization Of Europe', available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Ro68xT3GNA&feature=related>

58 Copey, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.166

Griffin denounces 'the European elite' for failing to effectively combat Islamism, along with the flawed logic behind this failure, by remarking 'In the 1930's it was called appeasement. And that's precisely what it is'.⁵⁹

Nick Griffin's current strategy for the British National Party therefore culminates with the condemnation of its perceived enemies as Nazis.

In 2006, Griffin shared his apocalyptic vision of the future in the party's magazine, *Identity*, musing on a global financial collapse which would cause Britain to become either a 'Third World Islamic state', or would see an 'indigenous popular backlash' against mass immigration and the evils of 'giant corporations' (looking to 'extract their pounds of flesh'), and in favour of the British National Party seizing power.⁶⁰

59 Nick Griffin 10/24/07 speech on 'The Islamization Of Europe', available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Ro68xT3GNA&feature=related>

60 Copey, N., 'Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party And The Quest For Legitimacy (Second Edition)', Palgrave MacMillan, 2008, p.170

English Defence League

In Spring 2009, several groups associated with football hooliganism merged to form the English Defence League.¹ The catalyst for this union was the verbal abuse of British servicemen by Islamists in Luton, which occurred on March 10th of that year.² The EDL formally launched the group in September 2009 with a press conference in a Luton warehouse. The members present wore black balaclavas, and set a large swastika flag on fire to demonstrate that they 'hate Nazis'. The spokesperson for the group, whose chosen nom de guerre is Tommy Robinson after a famous Luton Town football hooligan, said of their activities *'We're doing it to stand up to Islamic extremists who have been unchallenged in our country for 10-15 years. They're recruiting on our streets, in our universities, in our colleges, and the government are doing nothing about it. And to be honest we don't think the Islamic community is doing anything about it. [...] We will peacefully protest, but we will not be scared into silence'*.³

The English Defence League presents itself as an inclusive organisation, solely concerned with opposing Sharia law and 'Islamic extremism'.⁴ It claims to be 'a multi-ethnic, multi-religious movement', and has stated the following with respect to Muslims: 'As a movement we don't hate all Muslims, we respect their right to practice their religion peacefully as long as it does not infringe on our culture, our way of life, our rule of law and our customs. [...] The EDL was never set up to discriminate against all Muslims'.⁵

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- 1 Gable, G., Cressy, S., and Woodson, T., 'A Hot August?', Searchlight, August 2009, available here: <http://searchlightmagazine.com/index.php?link=template&story=286>
 - 2 Ballinger, L., 'Seven Protesters Charged Over Anti-Army Demo Refuse to Stand for Judge in Court', Daily Mail, 5th January 2010, available here: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1240518/Muslim-protesters-branded-British-soldiers-rapists-baby-killers-homecoming-parade.html>
 - 3 O'Brien, 'Under the Skin of the English Defence League', BBC News Website, 12th October 2009, available here: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/newsnight/8303786.stm>
 - 4 English Defence League website, available here: http://englishdefenceleague.org/?option=com_content&view=article%20e%20%20&id=168&Itemid=134 [accessed September 2010]
 - 5 English Defence League website, available here: http://englishdefenceleague.org/?option=com_content&view=article%20e&id=124&Itemid=130 [accessed September 2010], available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/02/the-english-defense-league-in-their-own-words.html

However the EDL's behaviour and the opinions of its leadership betray an unwillingness to distinguish between Muslims and 'extremists' and exposes a desire to target Muslims *en masse*.

EDL Organisation, Mission and Activities

The EDL have several 'divisions', including an Armed Forces Division, a Sikh Division, a Disabled Division, a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Division and a Jewish Division.⁶ The group claims to have 'divisions' nationwide and meets with like-minded groups in Europe regularly. Football style merchandise is for sale on their website, which further exemplifies the EDL's attempts to present itself as a friendly and attractive community, or 'a grass roots social movement who represent every walk of life, every race, every creed, and every colour; from the working class to middle England'.⁷

According to Maryam Namazie, Spokesperson of the One Law for All campaign, *'The EDL says their having followers amongst 'ethnic minorities, different religions and differing sexualities' means they are not far-Right.*⁸ *The political Islamic movement also has followers and supporters amongst various ethnic, religious and other groups. It has women supporters. The BNP too has non-white members. On its own this says very little about the non-racist nature of an organisation. Moreover, racism can be promulgated by minorities as can be seen in the statements of the EDL's Sikh spokesperson or Islamists.*

'Since its inception, the EDL has not put forward a mission statement until more recently. In my opinion, this is partly because it hoped to blame racist actions and statements on activists and rank and file rather than the organisation itself. Its new mission statement however alludes to the racist nature of the organisation, which is to 'promote the traditions and culture of England'.⁹ Having learnt from the BNP, the EDL promotes their nationalist and racist agenda in the most

6 English Defence League Homepage: <http://englishdefenceleague.org/>

7 English Defence League website, available here: http://englishdefenceleague.org/?option=com_content&view=article&id=124&Itemid=132 [accessed September 2010]

8 English Defence League, 'The EDL is a human rights organisation', 28th June 2011, available here: <http://englishdefenceleague.org/press-release-the-edl-is-a-human-rights-organisation/>

9 English Defence League Mission Statement: <http://englishdefenceleague.org/about-us/mission-statement/>

non-controversial manner possible. Even so, a summary look at their mission statement, the actions and statements of their leadership and the violent and racist nature of their protests exposes their primary aim - a defence of a white and Christian England'.¹⁰

As Ghaffar Hussain of the Quilliam Foundation says, 'The far-Right has been evolving in their tactics and strategy and seeking to adapt to their environment in order to survive. One of the outcomes of this adaption has been the attempt to hijack the anti-extremist agenda in order to drive through a hidden racist and xenophobic agenda'.¹¹

English Defence League events often descend into violence and arrests. They have attacked those they consider Muslims¹² or Asian¹³. Most of those who attend are male, and some arrive looking for a fight. Some have carried weapons, including 'knuckledusters, a hammer, a chisel[,] a bottle of bleach [...] metal poles, bricks[,] sticks' and knives. EDL supporters travelling to an event or congregating in a pub enjoy musical chants, such as 'Muslim bombers off our streets!', 'We had joy, we had fun, we had Muslims on the run',¹⁴ and 'We all hate Muslims! We all hate Muslims!'. Racism is demonstrated by some of those attending, ('Fuck off! You Fucking Pakis!'), while others express concern about Islamism.¹⁵ The violent and confrontational nature of their events is amply documented in video footage and by eyewitness accounts.¹⁶

10 Statement made during interview at One Law for All's Seminar Enemies not Allies, 26th January 2011: <http://www.onelawforall.org.uk/videos-seminar-on-enemies-not-allies/>

11 Ibid.

12 'EDL attacking Big John's in Leicester', 9th October 2010, video available here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxdTEVzzr_s

13 'EDL attacks Asians and Sikhs in Luton', video available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d a7iRZJKvK4&feature=related>

14 Briggs, B., 'This is England: Masked Like Terrorists, Members of...', Daily Mail, 2nd January 2010, available here: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/moslive/article-1238213/This-England-On-trail-English-Defence-League.html>

15 Gazi, F., 'The EDL Uncovered', The Spittoon blog, 13th June 2010, available here: <http://www.spittoon.org/archives/6632>

16 Anon, 'EDL in Bradford: Far-Right Protesters Clash With Police', Kirklees Unity blog, 20th August 2010, available here: <http://kirkunity.blogspot.com/2010/08/edl-bradford-far-right-protesters-clash.html>

The evidence of BNP and neo-Nazi associations among English Defence League activists and organisers continues to grow,¹⁷ while its events increasingly feature violence, intimidation and criminality.¹⁸ In interviews with One Law for All, former EDL members report that the number of BNP supporters attending EDL events is 'definitely increasing'. Talk of 'standing up for England' and 'whites', as well as references to 'fucking Pakis', are quite common.¹⁹

The EDL's attitude towards Muslims has been fairly consistent. One former EDL member, who had previously written website copy for the group, recalls how he submitted a statement to the group's leadership in November 2009, which invited Muslims to join them in opposing Islamists. The statement was passed on to Tommy Robinson for his approval, which it never received.²⁰

Another ex-EDL member cites the treatment of a Muslim girl at an EDL event in Barking²¹ as one of the incidents which prompted him to leave the group. The EDL were demonstrating against 'Muslims Against Crusades', when some of its supporters began to chant 'Allah is a paedophile'. The girl asked that they not say that. The chanters responded by pouring their beers over her.²²

Officially the EDL resents being accused of racism and Nazism, positing that *'The EDL are wrongly painted as racists, Nazis and Muslim-haters. This simply isn't true. [...] We set out our stall very early on, we are not racist, we don't like Nazis, we don't want Nazis joining our demos.'*²³ However, neo-Nazis baring swastika tattoos over their heart, or who enjoy being photographed in front of

17 Cressy, S., 'The Extremist Defence League', Searchlight Magazine, 26th October 2010, available here: <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/features/article/32/the-extremist-defence-league>

18 Maher, S., 'The EDL: Racists and Thugs', Standpoint Magazine, 15th October 2010, available here: <http://standpointmag.co.uk/node/3477>

19 One Law for All interviews with former members of the EDL, Spring 2011

20 Ibid.

21 Razaq, R., 'Muslims and extremists clash as soldiers march through Barking', Evening Standard, 15th June 2010, available here: <http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23845321-muslims-and-far-right-groups-clash-as-soldiers-march-through-barking.do>

22 One Law for All interviews with former members of the EDL, Spring 2011

23 English Defence League website, available here: http://englishdefenceleague.org/?option=com_content&view=artic%20le&id=124&Itemid=132 [accessed September 2010]

Nazi flags, have been recognised as organisers²⁴ and ‘official stewards’²⁵ of EDL events. Several have Blood & Honour tattoos across their chest and have posed for photographs performing the Roman salute.

EDL’s Spokespersons and Leadership

a) Paul Ray

Much of the EDL’s rhetoric and aesthetic can be traced to internet activist Paul Ray, who claims to have created the group by organising various pre-existing groups and planning rallies. While he probably overstates his role, Ray’s ideas have certainly influenced the EDL, and have been adopted by many of its members in a watered-down form. They are also typical of a new strain of far-Right thinking which is increasingly prevalent online. Ray’s web log ‘Lionheart’ features biblical quotations, World War I tributes, celebration of the British monarchy, hysteria concerning ‘Global Islamic Terror’, and the indulgence of ‘Crusader’ fantasies.²⁶ His interests are often expressed through homemade videos, usually calling on English ‘patriots’ to recognise Islam as a threat. In one video, Ray explains that the *‘EDL was formed to be a group of English patriots to protest, whatever political affiliation they’re joined to, to protest against the Islamification of their country [...] My support and my leadership was there throughout the EDL [...] I brought other people into the EDL, I brought the political side, that are connected with people all over Europe and America, I brought them in, I brought everyone together’*.

He claims that his videos provided the movement with a unifying ideology, and inspired its mobilisation and growth: ‘The vision for the EDL was written down in my blog[,] and through the videos I put out, which was to unite people to take to the streets. And they were the very first videos that were put out to promote the English Defence League’. Ray further takes credit for the red ‘Templar shield’

24 ‘EDL organisers proven Nazis – New!’ video available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oC5YYbwV5yo>

25 ‘EDL ask Nazi to steward Geert Wilders demo’ video available here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X0JpZB3avXo&feature=player_embedded

26 Lionheart blog, available here: <http://lionheartuk.blogspot.com/>

cross which is featured on EDL posters and merchandise,²⁷ and describes his part in initiating the EDL as 'a divine calling by almighty God'.²⁸ In 2008, Paul Ray was arrested and released on bail for 'inciting racial hatred' on his web log.²⁹ Interestingly, the video he made to celebrate the experience (entitled 'My Arrest') begins with the Stop Islamisation Of Europe slogan, 'racism is the lowest form of human stupidity, but Islamophobia is the height of common sense'.³⁰ His writings describe his 'willing[ness] to go to the North of England [to] do what needs to be done for the mothers and children caught up in this Moslem savagery that needs to be eradicated', and feature calls to arms: *'There are gangs of Moslem rapists and murderers walking the streets terrorising our society... Do we give in like most of Europe and accept the Islamification of our Nation? Or do we stand up and fight with every last drop of blood declaring 'No Surrender' no matter what the cost? A few summer riots will probably be the spark that lights the British fury that no British government or police force will be able to quench. Go quench the army of Islam before you pick on the British defenders of our lands'*.³¹

Paul Ray's view of Muslims is manifest in a cartoon posted on the Lionheart homepage, which depicts a woman draped in black with skeletal hands, a metal mesh across her face and a lit bomb for a stomach. The caption reads: 'The Other Islamic Bomb'.³² A photo on the EDL's homepage similarly shows a woman in a burka pointing a gun.³³ In interviews, Ray has expressed fear of a prison sentence for his web log's contents because of the high number of Muslims he would encounter,³⁴ and has defended and trivialised the use of the racist word

27 'The Founding History of the EDL' video available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vT0jXnKOHFY>

28 'A Message to the EDL Membership Part 2/2' video available here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qFEqAZa2J6w&playnext=1&videos=bsouKYBN45o&feature=mfu_in_order

29 Cunniffe, J., 'Racial Hatred Arrest for Internet Blogger', Luton & Dunstable Express, 13th April 2008 updated 19th February 2009, available here: <http://www.luton-dunstable.co.uk/News/Racial-hatred-arrest-for-internet-blogger.htm>

30 'My Arrest' video by LionheartUK available here: <http://lionheartuk.blogspot.com/2008/10/my-arrest.html>

31 Pierce, L., 'Oh England, My Lyin' Heart', Sadly No blog, 7th January 2008, available here: <http://www.sadlyno.com/archives/8416.html>

32 Lionheart blog, available here: <http://lionheartuk.blogspot.com/>

33 English Defence League website, available here: <http://englishdefenceleague.org/>

34 'Lionheart – An Interview' videos, Lionheart blog, 2nd February 2008, available here: <http://lionheartuk.blogspot.com/2008/02/interview.html>

'Paki'.³⁵ Ray has also posted a self-penned poem on his Lionheart web log, (entitled 'Original poem written from a Templar heart 2009'), in which he fantasizes about entering the houses of young Muslim men and murdering them with a sword. The poem also mentions its narrator's 'thirst' for 'foreign blood'.³⁶

Paul Ray has announced that although 'the EDL was not formed to be a BNP front', 'English patriots' of 'whatever political affiliation' who wanted 'to protest against the Islamification of their country' were welcome.³⁷ He believes that the BNP have a divine mandate, declaring that 'the British National Party are a party for the British people whose country this is, whose forefathers fought and died for this Great land' and that 'the Living God is on the side of the BNP'.³⁸

In April 2009 Ray wrote that 'there are 3 types of Moslem, Religious, Cultural and Apostate, and every religious Moslems wants to convert you into a Moslem or a Dhimmi, just like every practicing Christian wants to convert the non-believer into a Christian' [sic].³⁹ He clarified his position a few months later, in a radio interview of which the following is an excerpt:

Goldsmith: You're saying that every devout Muslim is under instructions from their religion to convert people to Islam in this country, and that in your view then, every devout Muslim who follows the teachings of the Qur'an, is in your view somebody seeking to undermine this country and in your view is an Islamic extremist?

Ray: Yeah definitely, definitely.

Goldsmith: So when you have a demonstration on the streets of Birmingham, and on the streets of Whitechapel in east London as you did on the weekend,

35 Bartholomew, R., 'Glen Jenvey's Friend Lionheart on 'Paki Muslims'', Bartholomew's Notes on Religion blog, 17th January 2009, available here: <http://barthnotes.wordpress.com/2009/01/17/glen-jenveys-friend-lionheart-on-paki-muslims/>

36 Anon, 'Original poem written from a Templar heart 2009', Lionheart blog, 8th August 2000, available here: <http://lionheartuk.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=200-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z&updated-max=2001-01-01T00%3A00%3A00Z&max-results=3>

37 'The Founding History of the EDL' video available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vT0jXnKOHFY>

38 Pierce, L., 'Oh England, My Lyin' Heart', Sadly No blog, 7th January 2008, available here: <http://www.sadlyno.com/archives/8416.html>

39 Ray, P., 'St. George's Day Parade in Luton', Lionheart blog, 10th April 2009, Comment 13th April 2009 08:40, available here: <http://lionheartuk.blogspot.com/2009/04/st-georges-day-in-luton.html>

really it's a demonstration against all devout Muslims in this country?

*Ray: Erm...[5 second pause] Yeah. You could say that really, yeah. Basically, let's not beat about the bush. Yeah.*⁴⁰

Thus Paul Ray, who helped found and organise the EDL and provided it with a unifying ideology, considers all Muslims to be 'extremists' from whom 'British lands' must be 'defended'.

In July 2009, Paul Ray declared that the EDL had been 'hijacked' by Tommy Robinson and BNP member Chris Renton ahead of an event in Birmingham.⁴¹

The EDL has also imported the ideology of the 'Stop Islamisation' franchise to articulate its concerns. This is increasingly evident in its rhetoric,⁴² as well as in its choice of guest speakers, (which have included Florida Pastor Terry Jones⁴³ and US Rabbi and Tea Party activist Nachum Shifren),⁴⁴ and is probably due to the EDL's relationship with its English and American branches.⁴⁵

b) Tommy Robinson

In June 2010, EDL spokesman Tommy Robinson was revealed to be Stephen Yaxley-Lennon of Bedford. Searchlight magazine published the information following the anonymous posting of videos featuring his name and unmasked face on the internet. Robinson confirmed his identity on his Facebook page. Robinson became a member of the British National Party in 2004. He spent 12 months in prison the following year for assaulting an off-duty police officer and resisting arrest.⁴⁶ Further, Robinson attended a Luton BNP meeting in 2007, in

40 Meleagrou-Hitchens, A., 'Hooligans, Racists, Bigots: We Don't Want Your Help', Standpoint, 16th September 2009, available here: <http://standpointmag.co.uk/node/2149>

41 Bartholomew, R., 'Paul Ray on Chris Renton', Bartholomew's Notes on Religion blog, 8th August 2009, available here: <http://barthnotes.wordpress.com/2009/08/08/paul-ray-on-chris-renton/>

42 Tommy Robinson interview on Sky News, December 2010, available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MEbL-IPL1Yc>

43 Anon, 'English Defence League says Pastor Terry Jones will not speak at rally', Telegraph, 14th December 2010, available here: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/8200443/English-Defence-League-says-Pastor-Terry-Jones-will-not-speak-at-rally.html>

44 Bird, S., 'US Rabbi Praises 'Patriots of England' at Pro-Israel Rally', The Times, 25th October 2010

45 See SIOE section of this report

46 Lowles, N. and Cressey, S., 'The BNP Past of the EDL Leader', Searchlight Magazine, June 2010, available here: <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/features/article/26/the-bnp-past-of-the-edl-leader>

which founding member Richard Edmonds delivered a speech. John Pater, activist for both the BNP and the Nazi 'November 9th Society' was also present.⁴⁷

On the subject of neo-Nazis attending EDL events, Robinson insisted that such people were unwelcome, and cited the expulsion of a man who 'gave a Sieg Heil' from a bus of EDL members as a 'message back to all their other far-Right, National Front scumbags: You're going to get beat up if you go to these English Defence League protests'. He went on to remark that he 'think[s] immigration [has] been good for the country', and asserted that, based on personal experience, he has 'no problem' with Muslims, only with 'Islamic extremists'. Among his major concerns were 'uncontrolled immigration', 'terrorism', 'sharia courts', the 'Islamification of our society', 'the emerging double standards [...] that he has experienced' and 'the threat of 'Christmas being called anything other than Christmas'', which he was described as being 'particularly worked up about'.⁴⁸

In reality, Tommy Robinson and the EDL use rights language, victim status and threats similar to the Islamists to target people. In a July 25th 2011 interview with Jeremy Paxman on Anders Behring Breivik's bombing and massacre in Norway, Robinson ends by saying, *'We are against extremism and all kinds of violence but you need to listen. God forbid this ever happens on British soil. It's a time coming. You're probably five or ten years away.'*

Jeremy Paxman: Thank you. That sounds almost like a threat, hang on a second. Robinson: No it's not a threat.

Paxman: Do you think something like this could happen here in a few years time?

Robinson: I believe it could and it's not a threat, it's a wakeup call to say listen we don't want this to happen but we need to address the problem. The problem ain't gonna get solved if we keep building mosques and keep flooding the country with Islamic immigration and not dealing with the threats of Islam and not listening to people'.⁴⁹

47 Woodson, T., 'EDL's Tommy Robinson at a Luton BNP Meeting?', Three Counties Unity blog, 1st November 2010, available here: <http://threecountiesunity.blogspot.com/2010/11/edls-tommy-robinson-at-luton-bnp.html>

48 Amis, L., 'In League With The Far Right?', Standpoint Magazine, Nov '09, available at: <http://standpointmag.co.uk/node/2311/full>

49 Tommy Robinson interview on BBC2, 25th July 2011: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4RdJ4dpRQeE>

At an October 2010 event in Leicester, Robinson complained about his alleged victimization by the police, and protested that he would not be subject to this kind of treatment if he were a Muslim:

'They threw the Bible on the floor like it was any other book. To myself, I'm not incredibly religious, but my parents are. Now, they disregard the Bible on the floor. They would not do that to the Qur'an. This is exactly the reasons why we formed. To combat a two-tier system. One rule for them, and another rule for us. And it's true, it's oppression. That's exactly what it is. It's apartheid. It's kid gloves for their community, and iron fist for our community. And it won't be tolerated. People have put up with it for far too long'.

To cheers from the crowd, he continued to merge his personal experience with that of the English Defence League as a whole, as well as with its cause more generally:

'The truth is I'm nothing more than a patriot who ain't gonna say no. The police weigh up the situation, and rather than deal with Islamic militant Muslim gangs peddling heroin, taking liberties in our towns and cities, taking liberties with our fuckin' youth, taking liberties with fuckin' non-Muslim youths, non-Muslim girls, raping, pimping, beating, abusing our whole system, rather than deal with these gangs, they would rather persecute us, the people who are highlighting the issue. And the fact is the police, the councils, the government, everyone needs to wake up. We're not going anywhere. We're growing in strength. We're growing in number. We will be here next year. We will be here for the next ten years.

'People say, "where are the English Defence League going?". My children, three, two and I've got another one on the way, they will be members of the English Defence League. The English Defence League is going nowhere. It's here now, it's not going anywhere. We will combat militant Islam wherever it raises its ugly, paedophilic, disturbed, medieval fuckin' head, we'll be there'.⁵⁰

He further spoke of 'Wales, Britain, Scotland, everywhere [...] coming together for the united front': *'The united front is we will not tolerate what's gone on for the last fifteen years. Liberties have been taken across our whole nation. And the days of militant Islam walking across our country unchallenged are gone. The English Defence League is here'.*

⁵⁰ Tommy Robinson speech at Leicester EDL Rally, October 2010, video available here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IhDo5TCcaVc&feature=player_embedded#

In closing, he extended this appeal to people of all ethnicities, nationalities and religions: *'We don't care whether you arrived here yesterday, you are welcome to protect our Christian culture and our way of life. We will not tolerate it anymore'*.⁵¹

Judging by the response he elicited from the assembly, Robinson's professions of martyrdom, vows of defiance, and his tactical discourse when addressing journalists combine to provide the English Defence League with the mask they require.⁵²

c) Guramit Singh

In order to prove its commitment to being a 'multi-ethnic, multi-religious movement' that 'represent[s] every race, every creed, and every colour', the EDL has made use of 'non-white' persons sympathetic to its cause. One such individual is Guramit (or Amit) Singh, a British Sikh and English Defence League spokesperson and activist. Singh has defended the group against the charge of being 'anti-Muslim', asserting the following:

'We're not here to be anti-Muslim, anybody in the group who is anti-Muslim will be kicked out. We're here to fight against Muslim extremism. If Hindus were doing what the Muslims are doing, if Sikhs were doing it [...] whoever was to do it in this country, we would fight against them. I can understand that it can look like we're singling out Muslims but we're not, we're not here to do that. We're against Muslim extremists'.⁵³

However, Singh advocates organising marches in parts of England such as Bradford and opined that *'Bradford will be huge. The problem with Bradford is, like, the security threat. It's a highly populated Muslim area. They're very militant as well. It don't take fucking much for those Pakis to walk in there and set a bomb off. There is a big security thing, so once we get over that and sort something out then we'll be going to Bradford. Bradford's a place that's got to be hit'*. He has also acknowledged the likelihood of violence at EDL events,

51 Ibid.

52 Paul Ray's 'EDL Leader Tommy Robinson Unmasked' video, available here: <http://www.youtube.com/user/EDLmediauk#p/u/30/qOd9bRJZtVk>

53 Kermani, S., 'Meet the EDL's anti-racist poster boy', The Samosa website, 19th January 2010, available here: <http://www.thesamosa.co.uk/index.php/news-and-features/society/210-exclusive-f-the-pakis-meet-the-elds-anti-racist-poster-boy.html>

remarking at one demonstration that 'If them barriers break one day and our lads get through they'll murder them all'.⁵⁴

It was revealed after an investigation that Guramit Singh's Facebook page was 'littered with racist jokes' and 'rants' directed at Muslims:

'You know what, ive got an inkling the profit muhammed was really a bit of a adultering, raping, hate preaching looting Cunt!! Anyone agree, or is it just me???? the muzzies wanna keep away from me im just looking for an excuse im fucked off at the mo fuck the pakis ... i just think we shud burn the cunts now!! [...] before you do retire sir richard attenborough, any chance you can find me a moderate muslim????

- [comment by Guramit Singh] hes just rung me and said hes got more chance of finding bin laden!!

- [comment by another supporter] Ordinary Muslims lol, there aint 1 in birmingham. They all have 6 inches of rat hair hangin from there chin

- [comment by Guramit Singh] how dare you compare muslims to rats, rats deserve more respect than that! lol

[Comment aimed at a Muslim who insulted the EDL] hey amir how many times have u fucked your sister today, ure all a bunch of pedos, piss off back to pakistan!!' [sic].

When confronted about these remarks, Singh explained that they had been 'provoked' by his 'receiving death threats from Muslims all the time', and that they were 'intended as jokes'. He went on to admit that he considers Islam to be an 'inherently extremist religion':

'I do believe that the majority [of Muslims] believe in these extreme actions [...] From what I've been told and what I've read it is an extremist religion. If you ask the majority of the world they say it is an extremist religion. This is what the British public perceives and this is what I perceive. This is what I know Islam to be. This is what I'm taught from Islam's speakers'.⁵⁵

54 Taylor, M., 'English Defence League: Inside the violent world of Britain's new far right', The Guardian, 28th May 2010, available here: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/may/28/english-defence-league-guardian-investigation>

55 Kermani, S., 'Meet the EDL's anti-racist poster boy', The Samosa website, 19th January 2010, available here: <http://www.thesamosa.co.uk/index.php/news-and-features/society/210-exclusive-f-the-pakis-meet-the-elds-anti-racist-poster-boy.html>

Clearly Singh considers all Muslims to be 'extremists', which may account for his willingness to speak of them and march against them in the aggregate, as well as his affinity with the EDL. At a London rally in March 2010, Singh closed his speech to cheers and applause with the following statement. He paused for dramatic effect before delivering the punch line: *'God bless every single person in this country, of all religions, creeds and cultures, and you know what? Even God bless the Muslims. They'll need it for when they're burning in fucking hell'*.⁵⁶

The EDL has attempted to disassociate itself from some of Singh's comments, which it asserts are an 'expression' of his 'personal views'.⁵⁷ It has not however taken any action since being made aware of them, nor has his position as EDL spokesperson been reviewed.

d) Chris Renton

Chris Renton, who has adopted the alias 'John Sheridan', was described in an interview with Paul Ray as an 'activist' for and 'fully paid up Gold member' of the British National Party.⁵⁸ Renton, according to Ray, 'hijacked' the English Defence League in August 2009.⁵⁹ Renton was 'de facto commander of EDL as a whole' following Robinson's unmasking, and has since retained great 'control over the EDL'.⁶⁰ Renton attended English Defence League events as early as May 2009.⁶¹ He has administrated many of the group's Facebook accounts,⁶² (which are used to organise and promote their rallies) and originally 'set up its website', as Paul

56 Taylor, M., 'English Defence League: Inside the violent world of Britain's new far right', The Guardian, 28th May 2010, available here: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/may/28/english-defence-league-guardian-investigation>

57 Kermani, S., 'Meet the EDL's anti-racist poster boy', The Samosa website, 19th January 2010, available here: <http://www.thesamosa.co.uk/index.php/news-and-features/society/210-exclusive-f-the-pakis-meet-the-elds-anti-racist-poster-boy.html>

58 'The Infiltration of the EDL', Lionheart blog, available here: <http://lionheartuk.blogspot.com/2010/03/infiltration-of-edl.html>

59 Bartholomew, R., 'Paul Ray on Chris Renton', Bartholomew's Notes on Religion blog, 8th August 2009, available here: <http://barthnotes.wordpress.com/2009/08/08/paul-ray-on-chris-renton/>

60 'The Infiltration of the EDL', Lionheart blog, available here: <http://lionheartuk.blogspot.com/2010/03/infiltration-of-edl.html>

61 'People of Luton Protest against Muslim Extremism' video, available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z3tg74jxOy4>

62 Cressy, S., 'English Defence League cracks begin to show', Searchlight Magazine, 14th January 2010, available here: <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/features/article/20/english-defence-league-cracks-begin-to-show>

Ray has confirmed in a radio interview.⁶³ Ray has accused Renton of leading 'smear campaigns' against those he considers 'traitors' or 'hostile'. Eligibility for such a campaign includes '*questioning EDL policy or suggesting new tactics for protests that do not involve fighting the police or UAF members*'.⁶⁴

e) Kevin Carroll

The EDL's current second in command, Kevin Carroll,⁶⁵ has admitted to having 'signed the nomination papers' for a BNP candidate and neo-Nazi activist in 2007. Carroll has also reportedly considered running as a BNP candidate himself.⁶⁶

f) Alan Lake

The English Defence League has been provided with 'funding materials[,] publicity'⁶⁷ and 'advice'⁶⁸ by Alan Lake, a 'middle-aged, respectable-looking' businessman⁶⁹ and 'computer expert'. Lake approached the EDL in the summer of 2009 with the promise of money and wisdom.⁷⁰ At a conference organised by the nationalist Swedish Democrats party in September 2009, Lake opined that it was 'necessary to build an anti-jihad movement' in Europe. This movement would have 'free speech, democracy, equality in law and cultural tolerance' as its 'message', and would make alliances with 'lesbian and gay organisations [and] other religions and ethnic groups'. Lake expounded the view that web logs alone were inadequate, and that circumstances required 'people that are ready to go

63 'EDL is a BNP front?', video available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1eeE9tJkdgg>

64 'The Infiltration of the EDL', Lionheart blog, available here: <http://lionheartuk.blogspot.com/2010/03/infiltration-of-edl.html>

65 'EDL Leadership and Structure', Hope Not Hate website: <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-groups/edl/structure>

66 Cressy, S., 'The Extremist Defence League', Searchlight Magazine, 26th October 2010, available here: <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/features/article/32/the-extremist-defence-league>

67 Lowles, N., 'Businessman Bankrolls Street Army', Searchlight Magazine, 17th October 2009, available here: <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/features/article/11/businessman-bankrolls-street-army>

68 Briggs, B., 'This is England: Masked Like Terrorists, Members of...', Daily Mail, 2nd January 2010, available here: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/moslive/article-1238213/This-England-On-trail-English-Defence-League.html>

69 Lowles, N., 'Businessman Bankrolls Street Army', Searchlight Magazine, 17th October 2009, available here: <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/features/article/11/businessman-bankrolls-street-army>

70 Briggs, B., 'This is England: Masked Like Terrorists, Members of...', Daily Mail, 2nd January 2010, available here: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/moslive/article-1238213/This-England-On-trail-English-Defence-League.html>

out in the street'. He further informed the assembly that 'he and his friends had already begun to build alliances with football supporters': *'Football fans are a potential source of support. They are a hoi polloi that gets off its backsides and travels to a city and they are available before and after matches'*.⁷¹

Lake has complained that 'our leaders in this country no longer represent us',⁷² and has expressed concern about Muslims 'within 40 years' becoming the largest community in Europe.⁷³ When asked about violence at EDL events, Lake explained that it was 'not desirable but sometimes inevitable', remarking that *'There are issues when you are dealing with football thugs but what can we do?'*⁷⁴ and elsewhere that *'These people are not middle-class female teachers [...] if they continue to be suppressed it will turn nasty one way or another [...] We have to put bodies on the street, writing letters to the Times does not work [...] if we are going to have a mess that is so much grist to the mill'*.⁷⁵

Lake has claimed subsequently to have broken ties with the EDL,⁷⁶ although it has been suggested that he continues to offer them advice.⁷⁷

According to Shiraz Maher of the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation: *'We really must see these organisations that operate on the far-Right, and try to present themselves as legitimate partners in this fight, as being the flipside of the same problem that we are ultimately seeking to defeat in Islamism itself'*.⁷⁸

71 Lowles, N., 'Businessman Bankrolls Street Army', Searchlight Magazine, 17th October 2009, available here: <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/features/article/11/businessman-bankrolls-street-army>

72 Briggs, B., 'This is England: Masked Like Terrorists, Members of...', Daily Mail, 2nd January 2010, available here: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/moslive/article-1238213/This-England-On-trail-English-Defence-League.html>

73 Lowles, N., 'Businessman Bankrolls Street Army', Searchlight Magazine, 17th October 2009, available here: <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/features/article/11/businessman-bankrolls-street-army>

74 Briggs, B., 'This is England: Masked Like Terrorists, Members of...', Daily Mail, 2nd January 2010, available here: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/moslive/article-1238213/This-England-On-trail-English-Defence-League.html>

75 Taylor, M., 'EDL: New wave of extremists plotting summer of unrest', Guardian, 28th May 2010, available here: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/may/28/english-defence-league-protest-bnp>

76 Ibid.

77 Cruddas, J., 'English Defence League is bigger threat than the BNP', Guardian, 10th October 2009, available here: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/oct/10/john-cruddas-english-defence-league>

78 Statement made at One Law for All 'Enemies Not Allies' seminar, 26th January 2011, available here: <http://www.onelawforall.org.uk/videos-seminar-on-enemies-not-allies>

Stop Islamisation Of Europe

Stop Islamisation Of Europe¹ describes itself as ‘an alliance of people in Europe with the single aim of preventing Islam becoming a dominant political force in Europe’. SIOE claims that it ‘exists to legally combat the overt and covert expansion of Islam’ and hopes to ‘stop the creeping growth of Sharia law in England’.² Clone web logs and Facebook pages exist for several countries in Europe, as well as for Russia and Australia.³

SIOE Origins

Dan Danske Forening, or the Danish Association, is a xenophobic lobby group founded in 1987 to ‘oppose’ the ‘new occupation of Denmark’ by ‘the tidal wave of mass-immigration from the third world’. It aims to ‘safeguard Danish culture, language and traditional lifestyle[,] to warn against the dissolution of [Danish] cultural identity which is now under threat of being swamped by an enormous influx of immigrants from countries plagued with overpopulation’, and ‘to prevent the disintegration of Denmark as the homeland of the Danish people’. Membership of the Danish Association is denied to what it refers to as ‘anti-democratic elements’ who ‘hold extremist views’, while it ‘[would] be pleased to co-operate with like-minded citizens of other countries’.⁴ Its website bares an ‘Official Apology From Denmark to the Muslim World’, which states on behalf of ‘all Danes’ that they are ‘sorry’ for having ‘[given] you shelter when war drove you from your home country’, for having allowed Muslims access to

1 The SIOE and SIAD websites were ‘hacked’ and ‘deleted’ in February 2011 according to SIOE, and are not available online. This report therefore cites the original web addresses and dates for links, where possible provides alternative web sources, and can produce screen captures and videos if challenged. For SIOE’s ‘hacking’ claim, see Geller, P., ‘SIOE Website Hacked and Deleted by the Enemies of Free Speech’, Atlas Shrugs blog, February 21st 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/02/sioe-website-hacked-and-deleted-by-enemies-of-free-speech.html

2 ‘About’ section of SIOE website, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/about/>

3 Homepage of SIOE website, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/>

4 ‘Who are we?’ section of Dan Danske Forening website, available here: <http://www.dendanskeforening.dk/index.asp?id=27>

‘an education[,] food and a home’ and the Danish welfare system, as well as for ‘build[ing] you Mosques so you could worship in our Christian land’.⁵

Anders Gravers Pedersen, chairman and founder of Stop Islamisation Of Europe, was a member of the Danish Association as recently as 2005. He and some Jutland based colleagues were dissatisfied with the group, complaining that ‘all they wanted was only to talk internally about the Islam problems and publish a well-informed magazine four times a year’, whereas they were aware ‘that we had to do something now if we would have any chance to sa[v]e Denmark from the Islamic invasion’. As Pedersen has recounted, they ‘therefore [...] decided to start an organisation whose aim was to wake up the Danes through actions and provocations, of course within the limits of the law’. This they believed would ‘*put the government in the devils dilemma, that means, no matter what they did, SIAD would have a win-and-win situation. If they allowed our demonstrations, there would be serious trouble, and if they wouldn’t allow us to demonstrate, SIAD had proved that the freedom of speech and the right to gather in public was suppressed and eliminated*’ [sic].⁶

The organisation Pedersen went on to found was Stop Islamiseringen af Danmark (SIAD), which contested Danish elections in 2005⁷ and 2007.⁸ Their manifesto included a ban on ‘Halal-slaughtered meat’, as well as ‘the prohibition of the Qur’an in Denmark’.⁹ As of late 2010 membership of Stop Islamiseringen af Danmark was restricted, as this message from the group’s website demonstrates: ‘Nazister, kommunister, muslimer og andre med udemokratiske holdninger kan ikke vaere medlem af SIAD’(emphasis original).¹⁰ This translated into English

5 ‘The Official Apology from Denmark to the Muslim World’, Dan Danske Forening website, available here: <http://www.dendanskeforening.dk/side405.html>

6 ‘UK and Scandinavia Counterjihad Summit’ transcript, SIOE website, 15th April 2007, published here: <http://siad.wordpress.com/2007/04/15/uk-and-scandinavia-counterjihad-summit/>, available here: <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.com/2007/04/report-on-counterjihad-summit.html>

7 ‘Sommerredaktion: Hojreradikal hooligan-mobilisering uden succes’, Redox magazine, 13th July 2006, available at: <http://www.redox.dk/spip.php?article30>

8 ‘Anti-muslimer taber pusten’, Redox magazine, 12th December 2007, available here: <http://redox.dk/spip.php?article190>

9 Hansen, L., ‘Fremmedfjendsk k-valg’, Modkraft.dk news website, 19th October 2005, available here: <http://www.modkraft.dk/nyheder/article/fremmedfjendsk-k-valg>

10 ‘Membership’ section of SIAD website, published here: <http://siad.wordpress.com/medlemskab/>, Anders Gravers Pedersen repeats the policy here: <http://ditcentrum.nordjyske.dk/forums/p/92319/183943.aspx#183943>

would read: 'Nazis, communists, Muslims and others with undemocratic attitudes can not be a member of SIAD'. It is worth noting that there are Danish words for 'Islamist', 'extremist', 'fundamentalist' and so on. (SIAD have since altered this message, which now refers to '*Islamister*', or Islamists.)¹¹

Despite their proclamations against Nazis, there is evidence of neo-Nazis having attended SIAD events, including members of Blood & Honour, *Danmarks Nationale Front* and *Danmarks Nationalsocialistiske Bevaegelse*,¹² (whose swastika-adorned website provides a neo-Nazi online directory).¹³ Further, Anders Gravers Pedersen has collaborated with Julius Borgesen, the former spokesperson for *Danske Front*,¹⁴ who in 2007 was sentenced to six months in prison for 'calling for an arson attack against' a Danish minister.¹⁵ *Danske Front* is a 'right-wing extremist' group which has 'co-operated' with Blood & Honour and Combat 18.¹⁶ Borgesen has reportedly attended B&H events, and in 2005 participated in a march to celebrate Rudolf Hess.¹⁷

Having been expelled from the *Front*, Borgesen founded *Frie Danske Nationalister*, or Free Danish Nationalists.¹⁸ The group's official YouTube channel¹⁹ has among its subscribers users calling themselves 'dkneonazi', 'JEWSARE666' and 'nickgriffen'. Other subscribers have chosen avatars which read 'United Aryan Terror' and 'White Power!'. The 'White Power!' avatar features an eagle atop

11 'Membership' section of new SIAD website, available here: <http://siaddk.wordpress.com/medlemskab/>

12 'Kendt skuespiller skal tale for nynazister', Redox magazine, 6th September 2010, available here: <http://redox.dk/spip.php?article971>

13 Website available here: <http://www.dnsb.info/politik/ns/docs/links.php>

14 Danish television interviews with Borgesen for TV2, available here: <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=1488099343485215184#> and here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4LZpwI4Wmms>

15 'Annual Report 2006-2007', The Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET), p.53, available here: http://www.pet.dk/upload/petannualreport_2006-2007.pdf

16 'Annual Report 2003', The Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET), p.40, available here: http://www.pet.dk/upload/aarsberetning_2003_uk.indd.pdf

17 'Anti-muslimere taber pusten', Redox magazine, 12th December 2007, available here: <http://redox.dk/spip.php?article190>

18 Ibid.

19 Frie Danske Nationalister YouTube account, available here: <http://www.youtube.com/user/FreeDenmark>

a swastika.²⁰ Borgesen's *Frie Danske Nationalister* is part of an 'alliance' of organisations called 'Anti-jihad Danmark', which SIAD dominates. Pedersen has defended his association with Borgesen, opining that 'Julius is in no way Nazi [or a racist], but is fighting for the democracy and freedom of Denmark'.²¹

Stop Islamiseringen af Danmark held its first demonstration after caricatures of Islam's prophet Muhammad were published in the Jutland Post.²² The storm that broke subsequent to the publication was taken advantage of by a number of far-Right groups including *Danske Front*.²³

Pedersen has claimed that these demonstrations were 'in support for the newspaper Jyllands Posten [...] and in support of the freedom of speech'. However, SIAD chose to 'name' their demonstration ' Hamas Genociders Out of Scandinavia'. Pedersen explained that 'the title was because Hamas was recently elected as a legal government in Palestine and their main goal is to chase the Jews out of Israel and to kill the Jews all over the world. We cannot allow to house these kind of people in Denmark'.²⁴

Stop Islamisation Of Europe

Anders Gravers Pedersen has explained that having tested the 'Stop Islamisation' brand in Denmark, he hoped to 'expand the ideas of SIAD' to other countries:

'We know that Denmark is such a small homogenous country, where the effects are felt quickly, much quicker than in bigger countries. Because of that

20 Frie Danske Nationalister YouTube account subscribers, available here: <http://www.youtube.com/profile?user=FreeDenmark&view=subscribers>

21 'The Vikings Are Stirring', Gates of Vienna blog, 25th April 2007, Comments made on 26th and 27th, available here: <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.com/2007/04/vikings-are-stirring.html>

22 'UK and Scandinavia Counterjihad Summit' transcript, SIOE website, 15th April 2007, published here: <http://siad.wordpress.com/2007/04/15/uk-and-scandinavia-counterjihad-summit/>, available here: <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.com/2007/04/report-on-counterjihad-summit.html>

23 'Annual Report 2004-2005', The Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET), p.52-53, available here: <http://www.pet.dk/upload/annualreport2004-2005.pdf>

24 'UK and Scandinavia Counterjihad Summit' transcript, SIOE website, 15th April 2007, published here: <http://siad.wordpress.com/2007/04/15/uk-and-scandinavia-counterjihad-summit/>, available here: <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.com/2007/04/report-on-counterjihad-summit.html>

we believe that Denmark is the perfect place to practice the anti-jihad actions and thereby affect the population, because we get a response right away. Then we can discover which actions will have the greatest affect on the people, and which actions can be copied to other places, USA, Canada, Australia and the rest of Europe' [sic].

This 'expansion' was to be achieved in part through the 'umbrella organisation' Stop Islamisation Of Europe.²⁵ SIOE was co-founded by Stephen Gash, who describes himself as a 'writer' who has 'spent over 20 years in biological research'.²⁶ In 2007 Gash contested an election in Sedgefield as candidate for the English Democrats,²⁷ a nationalist party which advocates secession from both the EU²⁸ and the United Kingdom.²⁹ The desire to 'reclaim control over our borders and stop uncontrolled immigration' was a 'main theme of his campaign'.³⁰

Stop Islamisation Of Europe states on its website that, '*SIOE finds the concept of 'moderate' Muslims difficult because of the Islamic practises of Taqiyya and Kitman which are designed to deceive and mislead non-Muslims in order to promote the ascendance of Islam over any other religion and political system. Therefore, if a political party's leaders and members may be accused of lying and their policies challenged, then so should a religion's, especially Islam, which considers lying not only acceptable, but obligatory in the furtherance of its doctrine' [sic].*³¹

This piece of illogic is typical of SIOE arguments, in that it piles sophistry upon a false premise. It likens Islam to a political party, and posits that as dishonesty

25 'UK and Scandinavia Counterjihad Summit' transcript, SIOE website, 15th April 2007, published here: <http://siad.wordpress.com/2007/04/15/uk-and-scandinavia-counterjihad-summit/>, available here: <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.com/2007/04/report-on-counterjihad-summit.html>

26 Stephen Gash, English Democrats, Sedgefield, 19th July 2007, available here: <http://by-elections.co.uk/sedgefield/edp.html>

27 By-elections Blog, available here: <http://by-elections.co.uk/sedgefield07.html>

28 'What we stand for', The English Democrats website, available here: <http://www.voteenglish.org/what-we-stand-for/>

29 'An English Parliament', The English Democrats website, available here: <http://www.voteenglish.org/an-english-parliament>

30 Stephen Gash, English Democrats, Sedgefield, 19th July 2007, available here: <http://by-elections.co.uk/sedgefield/edp.html>

31 'About' section of SIOE website, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/about/>

is one of this party's policies, its 'members', (i.e. Muslims), are 'obligated' to be dishonest. Thus it is reasonable to assume that all Muslims are liars and extremists, and to accuse them of this is perfectly legitimate.

To avoid ambiguity, SIOE explains in a section of their website titled 'Moderate Muslims?' that Muslims have a 'culture of deceit', and asserts that Muslims who tell pollsters they would not like Sharia law in Britain are lying, whereas those who vote in the affirmative are telling the truth.³² That Muslims are dishonest only when expressing opinions that challenge SIOE dogma is a curiosity that has yet to be registered by the group's leadership. The 'Moderate Muslims?' section of the website uses equally compelling arguments to establish that all Muslims are 'extremists' who support terrorists. It concludes: 'These are just a very few examples of why SIOE has difficulty in the concept of 'moderate [M]uslims', but these alone are persuasive enough in our belief'.³³

In response to the One Law for All campaign's criticism of SIOE, Stephen Gash posted the following on our website:

'We are openly anti-Islam as well as being anti-nazi and anti-communist. Conflating anti-Islam with racism is ridiculous and you know it.

'We are openly hardline against Muslims, but that means Muslims of all races.

'To be honest, the misappropriating the word "bigot" is as ridiculous as the misuse of the word "racist". The reason you use "racist" is to deliberately deter people from criticising Islam and is therefore a dishonest reason.

'You argue that Muslims are being killed by Muslims. If the "extremists" are such a tiny minority, then it is up to the vast majority of "moderates" to sort out Islam and how Muslim countries are governed. However, if indeed it is a minority that are ruling Muslim countries against the will of the vast majority, then that is even more reason to halt Muslim immigration into the West'.³⁴

32 'Moderate Muslims' section of SIOE website, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/moderate-muslims/>

33 Ibid.

34 Stephen Gash, One Law for All website comments section, available here: <http://www.onelawforall.org.uk/videos-seminar-on-enemies-not-allies/>

Despite clear racism in statements and deeds, Stephen Gash continues to declare that SIOE is non-racist because of its slogan 'Racism is the lowest form of stupidity! Islamophobia is the height of common sense!' and because 'co-founder of SIOE, Anders Gravers has fathered two mixed-race children with two women of different races'.³⁵ These examples further trivialise racism (such as the use of the word 'stupidity' when racism dehumanises, kills and destroys people's lives) and are tactical for purposes of appearance.

The SIOE website publishes articles, which among other things liken the Qur'an to Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*,³⁶ and declare that '*Islam is coming for you and your family; they are coming for your lands and your homes*' [sic]. One such article, posted in April 2009, states that '*Islam has one solution for you; there is not a multiple choice option. It is Submission or annihilation. By Bomb, Bullet, Ballot Box, or Breeding they will subjugate everyone and every country to the will or Allah and his amoral justice. Europe is sitting on a time bomb! Time is fast running out. [...] Now is the time to fight for our survival, or perish. Where Islam has put roots NOTHING else has grown!*' [sic]³⁷

The SIOE leadership has written in defence of Radovan Karadzic, who is currently on trial for war crimes and genocide.³⁸ In an article entitled 'The Extraordinary Rendition of Radovan Karadzic', they complain that anti-Serb media bias will deny Karadzic a 'fair trial'. It also attempts to justify his actions, remarking that '*The history of muslim oppression of Serbs during the Ottoman empire and the fear of the return of such persecution will not be allowed in Karadzic's defence. The current persecution of Serbs in Kosovo as justification for that fear will not be allowed as evidence*' [sic].³⁹

When publically challenged about SIOE's support for Karadzic, Stephen Gash repeated that 'the West' is anti-Serb, and has a pro-Muslim bias which extends

35 Ibid.

36 'From Paradise to Hell', SIOE website, 3rd June 2009, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2009/06/03/from-paradise-to-hell/>

37 'Danger', SIOE website, 15th April 2009, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2009/04/15/danger/>

38 'Radovan Karadzic trial recalls siege of Sarajevo', BBC news website, 17th August 2010, available here: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-10998883>

39 'The Extraordinary Rendition of Radovan Karadzic', SIOE website, 30th July 2008, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2008/07/30/the-extraordinary-rendition-of-radovan-karadic/>, available here: <http://sioeengland.wordpress.com/2008/07/30/the-extraordinary-rendition-of-radovan-karadic/>

as far as Darfur. He stated that this pro-Muslim bias is primarily responsible for Europe's denial of the 'truth'. 'If the media actually stopped being biased in favour of Muslims there would be no need for SIOE to exist because virtually all Europeans would believe what we believe' [sic]. Gash also asserted that 'Anders Gravers was among the first NATO troops to enter Sarajevo [and that] his opinion was that Serbian prisoners were in far worse condition than those incarcerated by the Serbs, but the West glossed over this fact'.⁴⁰

On the SIOE website, in a piece that also expresses contempt for Albania, Kosovo is described as 'the self-proclaimed "independent" state of Kosovo' [sic]. The website's homepage features a sketch of Kosovo, upon which has been painted the colours of the Serbian flag. The picture is accompanied by the caption 'SIOE Support Serbian Kosovo'.⁴¹ There is therefore evidence to suggest that SIOE's support for Radovan Karadzic has deep roots, and extends beyond mere concern about trial-by-media and due process.

Much like the British National Party and the English Defence League, Stop Islamisation Of Europe have attempted to use recent events in Europe and elsewhere to manipulate public opinion. Along with their unrequited 'solidarity' with *Jyllands-Posten*, SIOE have commemorated the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh.⁴² The group has also promulgated conspiracy theories regarding the patriotism and religious allegiance of the President of America,⁴³ which include musings over his possible complicity in the 'BP oil spill' as part of a 'Muslim act of sabotage/terrorism' [sic].⁴⁴

40 Meleagrou-Hitchens, A., 'The Madness of Stephen Gash', Standpoint magazine, 22nd November 2009, available here: <http://standpointmag.co.uk/node/2466>

41 'Boycott Islamic Countries and Islamic Produce', SIOE website, 28th February 2008, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2008/02/28/boycott-islamic-countries-and-islamic-produce/>

42 'Press Release for Immediate Release', SIOE website, 13th October 2007, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2007/10/13/press-release-for-immediate-release-3/>

43 'It Didn't Take Obama Long', SIOE website, 27th July 2009, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2009/07/27/it-didnt-take-obama-long/>

44 'BP Barak's Ploy', SIOE website, 24th July 2010, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2010/07/24/bp-baraks-ploy/>

SIOE Political Party

In March 2010, Stop Islamisation Of Europe announced that it 'is now also a political party'. *Stop Islamiseringnen af Europa* describes itself as 'pan-European', and claims to be 'the only political party in Europe that dares address the enemy: Islam'. As the party's 'political statement' explains, '*SIOE recognizes that islam has declared war on the West and therefore we take the necessary precautions to protect our own population. No other Danish politicians have done that previously. [...] Every time islam is discussed, all parties in the Danish parliament pull the wool over the eyes of the voters. If we really are in a war with islam why do we make all these special arrangements for islam?*' [sic]. The 'statement' goes on to declare that 'SIOE has the answer' to Denmark's 'civil war-like situations both in Copenhagen and in the biggest towns', which so far 'no politicians have dared to act upon'.

SIOE's 'answer' would include the deportation of 'every immigrant who has committed any kind of criminality' and of 'all immigrants who are not self-supporting', along with the 'stopping' of 'all government subsidized integration initiatives'. Further, the SIOE manifesto sinisterly promises 'more democracy' in the form of referendums: '*We would never have been caught in this present unhappy situation if the population had been asked whether or not Denmark should be an immigrant country where islam demands special treatment from its host, the Danish population. Therefore SIOE's wish is to implement more democracy. There shall be referendums held about many more things concerning the population*' [sic].

The party also lists '12 proposals that will create peace and order in Europe and give us Europe back politicians have taken from us through 30 years of irresponsible immigration policy' [sic]. It asserts that 'the draft laws will also ensure that the remaining foreigners are integrated properly through assimilation', and that 'the draft laws are easily implemented and will effectively stop the Islamization of Europe' [sic]. The '12 proposals' include the following:

'A permanent stop to immigration from muslim countries and a temporary stop from other countries until there has been set up an independent inquiry to determine when the Danes are a minority in their own country.

[...] Repatriation of disaffected muslim and other immigrants and all immigrant criminals who have proven that they are unsuitable and the removal from such people of any vested Danish citizenship.

[...] Those already granted citizenship are to be examined very carefully with a view to withdrawing citizenship if they have proved unworthy of it because of criminal activities, promoting Sharia law and undermining the Danish constitution.

While a SIOE-run Denmark would 'make allowances [...] for the receipt of genuine refugees', 'non-self-supporting migrants' would be 'repatriated regardless of the situation in their original homelands', as 'Denmark can no longer be responsible for the actions of foreign governments[,] and can no longer be the dumping ground for criminals and agitators from other countries'. Elsewhere in the statement, the authors offer the following summary of their political project: 'In brief, SIOE is a party where the population is of greater concern than the people from outside'.⁴⁵

SIOE Protests

In 2009, Stop Islamisation Of Europe organised a series of protests against the building of a mosque in Harrow. The protests were planned to coincide with the eighth anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks.⁴⁶ In publicising the events, the group featured a picture of a blood-soaked mosque on its website, which had spears in place of minarets and a helmeted skull for a dome. SIOE explained that 'the Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan, publically read an Islamic poem including the lines: 'The mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets and Muslims our soldiers'. To this the group offered the measured response 'HAMMER THEIR HELMETS! BLUNT THEIR BAYONETS!', adding for clarity's sake: '(metaphorical reference to no more mosques)' [sic].⁴⁷

45 'SIOE is now also a political party', SIOE website, 7th March 2010, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2010/03/07/sioe-is-now-also-a-political-party/>, available here: <http://callofthepatriot.blogspot.com/2010/03/sioe-is-now-political-party-in-europe.html>

46 Jones, A., 'Rightwing and Anti-Fascist Protesters Riot in London', The Guardian, 11th September 2009, available here: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/sep/11/rightwing-anti-fascist-protesters-riot>

47 'Harrow Stop Mosque Building', SIOE website, 7th October 2009, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2009/10/07/harrow-stop-mosque-buiding-demo-13th-december/>

The protests themselves were attended by very few people, provoked large counter-demonstrations and ended with several arrests.⁴⁸ Some of the events were collaborations with the English Defence League,⁴⁹ of whom SIOE has said it 'hopes tens of thousands of football supporters join [...] to campaign in their unique way'.⁵⁰ SIOE have since published an EDL 'Official Statement', which urges people to 'mobilise' in support of arrested members.⁵¹

Like the English Defence League, Stop Islamisation Of Europe has made a special effort to attract Jewish people to its protests, requesting that 'Jews please come to the Harrow demo [and] bring one thousand Israeli flags'. However, they managed to surpass the BNP and EDL by informing Jewish people of the following:

'If you do not attend this demonstration then you are prepared to see Israel wiped off the map. If you do not attend this demonstration then you are prepared to see Jews removed from the world. Vile anti-Semitism is being preached in mosques across the world and almost certainly the one in your neighbourhood. [...] Are you going to demur to being called 'apes and pigs' instead of the people you are? [...] If Islam takes over Europe and the West where will Jews run to? Support your friends now!' [sic].

This unpleasant piece of demagoguery provides a further window into the group's calculations, as the 'flag' request is accompanied by the observation that as 'there are 295,000 Jews in the UK[,] surely 1,000 can give 2 hours on a Sunday and bring a flag each!'.⁵² SIOE appear to be attempting to gain legitimacy by claiming to represent an ethnic or religious minority.

SIOE have very strict policies regarding which flags and slogans are acceptable at their events. These rules are published frequently, at length and in a number of

48 'Rally Turns Violent at London Mosque', ABC News website, 12th September 2009, available here: <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2009/09/12/2683928.htm?section=justin>

49 Jones, A., 'Rightwing and Anti-Fascist Protesters Riot in London', The Guardian, 11th September 2009, available here: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/sep/11/rightwing-anti-fascist-protesters-riot>

50 'Clarification of Ant-Islamist Groups in England', SIOE website, 16th September 2009, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2009/09/16/clarification-of-anti-islamist-groups-in-england/>

51 'Official Statement from the EDL', SIOE website, 22nd February 2010, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2010/02/22/official-statement-from-edl/>

52 'Jews Please Come to the Harrow Demo', SIOE website, 26th November 2009, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2009/11/26/jews-please-come-to-the-harrow-demo/>

places, and include the proclamation that ‘only national flags and SIOE banners are allowed’. The group explains that ‘there will be many organisations and people who may differ on certain other matters, but are united in anti-Islamism’, and that ‘displaying distinctive banners might provoke unnecessary ill feeling between marchers’ [sic]. SIOE also declare that they ‘must project a unified front to the world, in other words, impenetrable armour. Different banners etc. will present a mixed and confusing message and enable the media to stick knives in the gaps of our armour, to discredit our achievements’ [sic].⁵³

These statements and policies seem to be an attempt to conceal who their events will attract. Elsewhere, the group has felt the need to announce that ‘racists and violent people or organisations are not welcome to join our demonstration’, referring specifically to ‘Stormfront’ and ‘Blood & Honour’.⁵⁴

These policies would also allow extremists to conceal their affiliations when attending SIOE events. Pronouncements by the group regarding their hostility to such people are betrayed by their apparent neutrality elsewhere. In their website’s statement ‘clarifying anti-Islamist groups in England’, the section concerning the British National Party, the National Front and the England First Party is devoid of serious condemnation:

‘If people are inclined towards the BNP, NF, EFP or any other political party who seem to do nothing other than ride on the backs of other organisations’ efforts, merely for their own publicity, or try to infiltrate groups that actually do something then please join these parties and motivate them to actively do something themselves.

Just don’t tell those who are actually doing their efforts are useless then spoil it for them by promoting these parties on videos of events organised by groups who have nothing to do with the BNP, NF, or EFP etc. Offering the lame excuse ‘it was not an official video’ is one step short of pathetic. We won’t hold our breath’ [sic].⁵⁵

While Stop Islamisation Of Europe claims to be ‘against Nazism’ it is plain that groups like the BNP are in their view not enemies, but competition.

53 ‘SIOE Newsletter’, SIOE website, 12th July 2007, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2007/07/12/sioe-newsletter-1/>

54 ‘Peaceful 911 Demonstration in Brussels’, SIOE website, 30th August 2007, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2007/08/30/peaceful-911-demonstration-in-brussels/>

55 ‘Clarification of Anti-Islamist Groups in England’, SIOE website, 16th September 2009, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2009/09/16/clarification-of-anti-islamist-groups-in-england/>

Stop Islamization of America

Stop Islamization of America is a campaign group, best known for its opposition to the proposed Ground Zero Mosque, or Park51 Community Centre in New York.¹ Describing itself as ‘a human rights organization dedicated to freedom of speech, religious liberty, and individual rights [with] no special rights for special classes’,² SIOA occupies the more eccentric wing of the American political right. It was founded by Anders Gravers Pedersen, who enlisted writers Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer to replace its existing leadership in April 2010. Upon announcing SIOA’s ‘new board’, Pedersen explained that ‘*SIOA has not developed in the direction we wanted. SIOA was meant to be a group that should take action, staging demonstrations, happenings and events against the Islamisation of the U.S. The way Stephen and I see it, we need to make SIOA more active. And in order to do that, we have now — after working for a long time to persuade them to take this on — gotten a yes from both Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer to become the leaders of SIOA. We think they are the right people to bring SIOA to the forefront in the fight against the Islamisation of the U.S.*’ [sic].³

Spencer wrote on his website Jihad Watch that these were ‘exciting, momentous developments’, that ‘much more is to come’, and that SIOA’s board ‘plan this to be an activist group’.⁴ Geller said on her web log Atlas Shrugs that she was ‘honored to have been asked by Anders Gravers and Stephen Gash to assume leadership’, and ‘very excited to work with our ‘brothers’ in Europe’. ‘We are in the planning stages, but look forward to actions, legislation, protests, defense and offense in this war, primarily in the information battlespace. We are in this to win. Be a part of us’.⁵

1 Barnard, A., and Feuer, A., ‘Outraged, and Outrageous’, New York Times, 8th October 2010, available here: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/10/nyregion/10geller.html?_r=2&pagewanted=all

2 Bio on SIOA website homepage, available here: <http://sioaonline.com/>

3 ‘New Leaders of Stop Islamization of America’, SIOE website, 2nd April 2010, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2010/04/02/new-leaders-of-stop-islamization-of-america/>

4 Spencer, R., ‘New Leadership of Stop Islamization of America!’, Jihad Watch, 2nd April 2010, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2010/04/new-leadership-of-stop-islamization-of-america.html>

5 Geller, P., ‘New Leadership of Stop Islamization of America’, Atlas Shrugs, 2nd April 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/04/new-leadership-of-stop-islamization-of-america.html

Jihad Watch and Atlas Shrugs are part of the Freedom Defense Initiative (FDI),⁶ which Spencer and Geller set up in January 2010⁷ ‘to go on the offensive when legal, academic, legislative, cultural, sociological, and political actions are taken to dismantle our basic freedoms and values’: ‘FDI acts against the treason being committed by national, state, and local government officials, the mainstream media, and others in their capitulation to the global jihad and Islamic supremacism, the ever-encroaching and unconstitutional power of the federal government, and the rapidly moving attempts to impose socialism and Marxism upon the American people’ [sic].⁸

The Freedom Defense Initiative’s website refers to SIOE, SIOA, SIAD, the FDI and a number of other ‘Stop Islamisation’ chapters in aggregate, and names Geller, Spencer and Pedersen as ‘leaders’ and ‘organisers’.⁹ The relationship between the FDI and SIOE has been symbiotic, with Pedersen appearing on FDI platforms including their ‘Ground Zero Mosque’ protest¹⁰ and their CPAC event ‘Jihad: The Third Political Rail; What They Aren’t Telling You’.¹¹ Pamela Geller has described ‘[her] colleague, partner, dear friend, and European counterpart’ Pedersen as a ‘European [and] Danish patriot’,¹² and features links to other ‘Stop Islamisation’ branches on the SIOA website.¹³ Geller has also published SIOE’s political manifesto on her web log, remarking: ‘They have my full support. Excelsior!’ [sic].¹⁴ SIOE

6 FDI website, available here: <http://freedomdefense.typepad.com/>

7 Geller, P., ‘Freedom Defense Initiative Inaugural Event Jihad: The Third Political Rail’, Atlas Shrugs, January 26th 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/01/freedom-defense-initiative-inaugural-event-jihad-the-politiical-third-rail.html

8 FDI website, available here: <http://freedomdefense.typepad.com/about.html>

9 ‘Global Freedom Initiative’, FDI website, 11th November 2010, available here: <http://freedomdefense.typepad.com/fdi/2010/11/global-freedom-initiative-.html>

10 Anders Gravers Pedersen speech at SIOA rally in New York, June 6th 2010, video available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n46iyMfM1F8&feature=related>

11 Geller, P., ‘FDI Speaker Spotlight: Anders Gravers, Danish Leader, SIOE FDI CPAC Event...’, Atlas Shrugs, 11th February 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/02/speaker-spotlight.html

12 Geller, P., ‘Anders Gravers, Leader of Stop Islamization of Denmark, Assaulted During Protest’, Atlas Shrugs, May 22nd 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/05/anders-gravers-leader-of-stop-the-islamization-of-denmark-anders-gravers-assaulted-during-protest.html

13 SIOA website homepage, available here: <http://sioaonline.com/>

14 Geller, P., ‘SIOE Announces Formation of Political Party’, Atlas Shrugs, March 5th 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/03/sioe-announces-formation-of-political-party.html

have reciprocated by promoting Geller and Spencer's book 'The Post-American Presidency: The Obama Administration's War on America',¹⁵ and recommending Spencer's books¹⁶ and interviews¹⁷ through its Norwegian branch.

In 2007, Robert Spencer posted *Stop Islamiseringen af Danmark's* party literature on his website, encouraging his readers to 'vote anti-dhimmi in Denmark'.¹⁸

Upon the articles of agreement for the Freedom Defense Initiative can be found the signature of an attorney named Joseph John Jay, who runs his own web log. As recently as July 2010, Jay has written that 'to preserve their liberties' people will 'have to kill folks', including their families, and warned of government 'relocation camps'. He has made the following observations and recommendations regarding Muslims:

'[...] every person in islam, from man to woman to child may be our executioner. [...] there are no innocent muslims. Islam is subject to killing on grounds of political expediency on the same basis as islam kills its victims, and islam cannot ethically or morally claim otherwise'.¹⁹

'islam has declared war on the west and its political and social institutions, and upon the two great religions which are the pillars of same.[...] they mean conquest. [...] to me, the answer is simple. they wage war on us, so we kill them, and we kill them in sufficient number and with sufficient purpose and zeal that it causes them to stop killing us, and then we should kill them a little bit more, just to drive the point home. by this i mean.—

[...] we should declare war on iran, syria, egypt and saudi arabia, as well as libya and the sudan and somalia, and we should kill people by the scores. no science. no precision bombing. no shock and awe designed to "impress" and send

15 'Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer's New Book', SIOE website, 29th July 2010, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2010/07/29/pamela-geller-and-robert-spencers-new-book/>

16 Stopp Islamiseringen Av Norge website, available here: <http://sian.no/node/214>

17 Stopp Islamiseringen Av Norge website, available here: <http://sian.no/multimedia>

18 Spencer, R., 'New Political Party Stop the Islamization of Denmark', Jihad Watch, 12th February 2007, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2007/02/new-political-party-stop-the-islamization-of-denmark.html>

19 Bartholomew, R., 'SIOA Co-Founder: Buy Guns...You Are Going to Have to Kill Folks...There Are No Innocent Muslims', Bartholomew's Notes on Religion blog, 10th August 2010, available here: <http://barthnotes.wordpress.com/2010/08/10/sioa-co-founder-buy-guns-you-are-going-to-have-to-kill-folks-there-are-no-innocent-muslims/>

“signals,” but old fashion war with wholesale slaughter including indiscriminate death of innocents and babes. down to the last muslim, if necessary’ [sic].

The latter was a comment Jay posted on Atlas Shrugs. It goes on to declare that ‘domestic law’ should be modified to allow ‘private institutions and individuals [to] wage war on islamic terrorists’, so that ‘when a private individual feels justifiably threatened by a person reasonably identified as being a terrorist’, or by a person who ‘raises funds’ or ‘spout[s] pernicious silliness in support of terror[,] that private individual ought to be recognized under the law as exercising his rights [...] in killing the same’ [sic].

Jay concludes by stating that ‘our religious leaders, such as the pope, and the recognized spokesmen of the great religions and affiliations of the world, ought to lend their sanction and approval to both governmental and private killing of identified terrorists, or their aiders and abettors’, and that religious leaders ‘who feel constrained by matters of faith to not kill should be released of religious duty and authorized to defend themselves, their religions, and their civilization’ [sic].²⁰

When these remarks were discovered, Robert Spencer confirmed that John Joseph Jay was ‘a member of the SIOA board’, and defended him as having been ‘misinterpreted’. Spencer also posted a link on Jihad Watch to a rambling article by Jay supposedly explaining the remarks.²¹ In the article Jay writes that he ‘considers’ Spencer and Geller to be ‘[his] mentors’, as well as ‘champions of the anti-jihad movement’.²² Pamela Geller has since referred to ‘the attorney John Jay’ as ‘my associate’ in an August 2010 article,²³ and has recommended his writings as recently as July 2011.²⁴

20 Geller, P., ‘Muslims Mercilessly Tortured the Victims, Jews Got it the Worst’, Atlas Shrugs, 30th November 2008, Comment by Jay made at ‘07:22 pm’, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2008/11/mumbai-muslims.html?cid=140889682#tp

21 Spencer, R., ‘ Hamas-linked CAIR, Leftist Bloggers Lie Again’, Jihad Watch, 11th August 2010, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2010/08/hamas-linked-cair-dhimmi-leftist-bloggers-lie-again.html>

22 Jay, J., ‘The Daily Kos Calls Me ‘Killer,’ Labels Me a ‘Very Disturbed’ Individual...The Pot Calls the Kettle Black’, Summer Patriot Winter Soldier blog, 10th august 2010, available here: http://wintersoldier2008.typepad.com/summer_patriot_winter_sol/2010/08/the-daily-kos-calls-me-killer-labels-me-a-very-disturbed-individual-the-pot-calls-the-kettle-black-.html

23 Geller, P., ‘Rifqa Bary’s New Problem’, American Thinker, 15th August 2010, available here: http://www.americanthinker.com/2010/08/rifqa_barys_new_problem.html

24 Geller, P., ‘Lord of the Flies: Machiavelli Comes to the Blogosphere’, Atlas Shrugs, 1st July 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/07/lord-of-the-flies-machiavelli-comes-to-the-blogosphere-.html

In 2005, Spencer opined that ‘there is no distinction in the American Muslim community between peaceful Muslims and jihadists. While Americans prefer to imagine that the vast majority of American Muslims are civic-minded patriots who accept wholeheartedly the parameters of American pluralism, this proposition has actually never been proven’. When asked by a commenter on his website ‘how distinctions can be made’, Spencer replied: ‘That’s simple. Let American Muslims renounce all attachment to violent Jihad and Sharia, refuse all aid from Sharia states (chiefly Saudi Arabia), and cooperate fully with anti-terror efforts aimed at rooting jihadists out of American mosques’.²⁵

Pamela Geller wrote an article in 2008 regarding Israel and ‘the poor, terrorist Palestinians’, in which she offered the following advice: ‘I say to Israel, stand loud and proud. Give up nothing. Turn over not a pebble. For every rocket fired, drop a MOAB [Massive Ordinance Air Blast bomb]. Take back Gaza. Secure Judea and Samaria. Stop buying *Haaretz*. Throw leftists bums out. Stand straight and walk on. Be worthy of your ancestors’ [sic].²⁶

Geller’s web log has featured conspiratorial articles regarding the President of America’s religion, his family, his sexual history, and the circumstances of his birth. One such article posits, among other things, that President Obama is the son of Malcolm X.²⁷ Geller has also complained that ‘CNN won’t touch the birth certificate issue’, nor Obama’s ‘corruption’ and ‘anti-Semitism’, and has written that ‘it’s time to tell the ugly truth about the enemy in the White House and his whores in the media’.²⁸ Some of these articles have been linked to and endorsed by Stop Islamisation Of Europe,²⁹ including a piece by Geller which asserts that President

25 Spencer, R., ‘2 Men in New York and Florida, Charged in Qaeda Conspiracy’, Jihad Watch, 30th May 2005, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2005/05/2-men-in-new-york-and-florida-charged-in-qaeda-conspiracy.html>

26 Geller, P. and Saxon, E., ‘Indomitable Israel’, Arutz Sheva/Israel National News, 11th May 2008, available here: <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/Articles/Article.aspx/7968>

27 Geller, P., ‘How Could Stanley Ann Dunham have Delivered Barack Hussein Obama Jr...’, Atlas Shrugs, 24th October 2008, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2008/10/how-could-stanl.html

28 Geller, P., ‘CNN Tells, Sells More Lies About Palin – It’s Time To Expose The Truth About Obama’, Atlas Shrugs, 1st August 2009, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2009/08/cnn-tells-sells-more-lies-about-palin-its-time-to-expose-the-truth-about-obama.html

29 ‘BP Barak’s Ploy’, SIOE website, 24th July 2010, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2010/07/24/bp-baraks-ploy/>

Obama secretly revealed that he is a Muslim to the Egyptian Foreign Minister. In the article, Geller remarked that 'This is devastating news, and yet *no media is covering it* (emphasis original). A stealth jihad on the White House', adding that 'This is akin to an SS officer getting elected president during WW II' [sic].³⁰

Elsewhere on Atlas Shrugs, Geller has defended Radovan Karadzic, and likened his war crimes trial at The Hague to a 'Sharia court'. She has also asserted that Bosnian Muslims killed themselves during the conflict in question in order to 'manipulate media coverage'.³¹ Further, Geller has published and endorsed articles by Julia Gorin, which in their criticism of Karadzic's trial refer to the '8000' Muslims supposedly executed by Serbian forces' [sic], and place scare quotes around the word 'genocide' when discussing Srebrenica.³² Gorin is a 'conservative stand-up comedienne' whose dubious sources include Andy Wilcoxson³³ of slobodan-milosevic.org.³⁴ Gorin is also on the 'Advisory Board' of the 'American Council for Kosovo',³⁵ which opposes the independence of Kosovo. The 'Council' asserts that what it still calls the 'Serbian province of Kosovo'³⁶ was 'forcibly and illegally detached from sovereign Serbia', and that its independence would 'strengthen global jihad terrorism' [sic].³⁷ Gorin's 'Advisory Board' biography states that 'while she writes on a variety of pressing issues of the day, her most oft-returned-to subject is the Balkans, an interest ignited

30 Geller, P., 'I Am A Muslim, Obama Tells Egyptian Foreign Minister Gheit Islamic Coup on the White House', Atlas Shrugs, 12th June 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/06/-obama-tells-egyptian-foreign-minister-i-am-a-muslim-stealth-coup-on-the-white-house.html

31 Geller, P., 'The Real Criminals Presiding Over The International Criminal Court Part II of Nuremberg II', Atlas Shrugs, 11th July 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/07/the-real-criminals-presiding-over-the-international-criminal-court-part-ii-of-nuremberg-ii.html

32 Geller, P., 'Canadian PM Steven Harper, Leader of the Free World, Vetoes Bosnian Lie Resolution', Atlas Shrugs, 11th August 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/08/canadian-pm-steven-harper-leader-of-the-free-world-vetoes-bosnian-lie-resolution.html

33 Geller, P., 'The Real Criminals Presiding Over The International Criminal Court Part II of Nuremberg II', Atlas Shrugs, 11th July 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/07/the-real-criminals-presiding-over-the-international-criminal-court-part-ii-of-nuremberg-ii.html

34 Wilcoxson, A., 'Karadzic Cross-Examines Harland', Slobodan-milosevic.org, 15th June 2010, available here: <http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/news/kt050710.htm>

35 'Advisory Board' section of ACK website, available here: <http://www.savekosovo.org/default.asp?p=1&au=advisory>

36 'About Us' section of ACK website, available here: <http://www.savekosovo.org/default.asp?p=1>

37 'Kosovo: Questions and Answers' section of ACK website, available here: <http://www.savekosovo.org/default.asp?p=2&q=6>

by the bizarre American-led war in 1999 against world war ally Yugoslavia' [sic]. Also on the 'Advisory Board' is SIOA leader Robert Spencer,³⁸ who has published articles in defense of the Milosevic project by both Gorin³⁹ and Wilcoxson⁴⁰ on his website. Further, Spencer promoted an article by Wilcoxson in June 2011 which, under the headline 'UN officials and the Muslim regime in Sarajevo orchestrated the Srebrenica massacre', argues that everybody is to blame for the 1995 genocide (which Wilcoxson denies took place) except its Serbian fascist perpetrators.⁴¹

Since the arrest of Ratko Mladic, Geller has reaffirmed her denial of Serbian atrocities,⁴² referring to the genocide at Srebrenica as a 'propaganda lie'.⁴³ She considers it part of 'the ongoing blood libel against the Christian Serbs',⁴⁴ asserts that 'the international community jumped to manufacture a 'genocide' of a couple of hundred people' [sic],⁴⁵ and concludes that 'the whole premise of why we fought for the Bosnian Muslims against the Christian Serbs was a big fat lie'.⁴⁶

38 'Advisory Board' section of ACK website, available here: <http://www.savekosovo.org/default.asp?p=1&au=advisory>

39 Gorin, J., 'Jihadists vs Anti-Jihadists: Something Else At Work', Jihad Watch, 13th March 2011, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/03/julia-gorin-anti-jihadists-vs-anti-jihadists-something-else-at-work.html>

40 Wilcoxson, A., 'Setting the Record Straight on Bosnia', Jihad Watch, 12th March 2011, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/03/setting-the-record-straight-on-bosnia.html>

41 Spencer, R., 'UN officials and the Muslim regime in Sarajevo orchestrated the Srebrenica massacre', Jihad Watch, June 30th 2011, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/06/un-officials-and-the-muslim-regime-in-sarajevo-orchestrated-the-srebrenica-massacre.html>

42 Geller, P., 'Distorting History', Atlas Shrugs, 4th June 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/06/mladics-record-distorted.html

43 Geller, P., 'Bosnia: A War Story', Atlas Shrugs, 9th June 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/06/bosnia-a-war-story-more-back-up-debunking-the-big-lies.html

44 Geller, P., 'For the First Time upon the Capture of a Wanted Serb', Atlas Shrugs, 7th June 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/06/for-the-first-time-upon-the-capture-of-a-wanted-serb-a-news-broadcast-questions-the-evidence.html

45 Geller, P., 'Distorting History', Atlas Shrugs, 4th June 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/06/mladics-record-distorted.html

46 Geller, P., 'Bosnia: A War Story', Atlas Shrugs, 9th June 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/06/bosnia-a-war-story-more-back-up-debunking-the-big-lies.html

SIOA, SIOE and the EDL

In 2009, Pamela Geller praised SIOE's demonstrations against what she described as 'an Islamic fortress in the heart of Harrow, England',⁴⁷ and quoted select passages from the group's press release for the event, which she published in full on her web log.⁴⁸ In an article titled 'Jews Who Won't Support Their Allies', she censured Jewish people for not attending, and blamed the Community Security Trust's condemnation of the protest for this occurrence: 'Once again, leftist Jews were lying and deceiving to advance the aims of the enemies of Jews and Jewish life'. She then excoriated the Rabbis who had 'attacked the campaign', writing that 'these morally ill rabbis have lost their basic instinct of self-preservation'. Finally she denounced the *Jewish Chronicle* for 'gloat[ing] when attendance was small', and accused them of not covering stories which the Chronicle had in fact covered. Her article concluded with the following remarks:

*'Much like the Jewish councils of World War II Germany that helped assist in what would become the extermination of the Jews, we are witnessing Jewish groups like the CST aiding and abetting Islamic jihad and Islamic anti-Semitism. [...] Jewish history is littered with these traitors. [...] Jews should have stood with SIOE. These cowards put all Jews at risk. If you are too scared to stand up, then shut up!'*⁴⁹

Linking to this article on their website, SIOE wrote that 'Pamela Geller is a true friend and staunch ally of SIOE and we thank her from the bottom of our hearts for her support'.⁵⁰

SIOA have also supported the English Defense League. Pamela Geller has posted EDL literature on her web log, and has strongly recommended that readers attend their events: 'Any Atlas readers in or around Dudley? GO! Get thee to the

47 Glazov, J., 'Collaborators in England in the War Against the Jews', FrontPage Magazine, 22nd December 2009, available here: <http://frontpagemag.com/2009/12/22/collaborators-in-england-in-the-war-against-the-jews-by-jamie-glazov/>

48 Geller, P., 'December 13: Stop the Islamisation of Europe UK Event', Atlas Shrugs, 26th November 2009, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2009/11/december-13-stop-the-islamisation-of-europe-uk-event.html

49 Geller, P., 'Jews Who Won't Support Their Allies', American Thinker, 21st December 2009, available here: http://www.americanthinker.com/2009/12/jews_who_wont_support_their_al.html

50 'Support From Pamela Geller to SIOE', SIOE website, 23rd December 2009, published here: <http://sioe.wordpress.com/2009/12/23/support-from-pamela-geller-to-sioe/>

EDL protest today. Here are the details. I will have full coverage late Saturday NY time'.⁵¹ Geller's 'full coverage' consisted of praise for the EDL's Jewish division ('Bless you, guys. I stand with you. I love them'.),⁵² and neglected to mention the violent nature of the event, which included its '2000' attendees 'breaking down metal fences and throwing the metal brackets at riot police'. Also absent from Geller's coverage were the 'terrified' population, one of whom 'tried to help an elderly woman who suffered a panic attack during the protests', and remarked to reporters that he 'came down here for a peaceful protest[,] but it was horrible, absolutely horrible'.⁵³

When challenged, Geller has defended her support for the group by explaining that the '*corrupt, bias media has done a smear campaign against the English Defense League, as they do with any group, person, or organization standing against Islamic supremacism. They tar, feather and destroy the good name of good people who stand for life, liberty and individual rights. Libel and slander like 'racist,' 'fascist,' 'bigot,' etc. color every news report of every counter jihad action. Despicable'* [sic].⁵⁴

'The media has been defamatory and libelous towards any and all counter jihad activists, including the EDL, which far from being neo-Nazi and racist, is pro-Israel and has Sikh and other non-white members and spokesmen' [sic].

Geller blames the presence of neo-Nazis at EDL events on a plot between 'the left', 'the British elite', 'neo-Nazis' and Islamists: '*The left and real neo-Nazis frequently attempt to infiltrate EDL rallies in order to discredit the EDL. This is amply documented. Both have an interest in seeing the EDL fail: the left so that there will be no serious resistance to its agenda, and the neo-Nazis so that there exists no respectable alternative to them in opposing the British elite, and also because the neo-Nazis have generally aligned with the Islamic jihad that the EDL resists'* [sic].

51 Geller, P., 'EDL Protest Today Against Islamic Supremacism and Sharia in the UK', Atlas Shrugs, April 3rd 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/04/edl-protest-against-islamic-supremacism-and-sharia-today-in-the-uk.html

52 Geller, P., 'The EDL Jewish Division', Atlas Shrugs, July 18th 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/07/the-edl-jewish-defense-division.html

53 Jamieson, A., 'Violent Clashes at Mosque Protest', Telegraph, 3rd April 2010, available here: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/7549964/Violent-clashes-at-mosque-protest.html>

54 Geller, P., 'The English Defense League in their Own Words', Atlas Shrugs, 28th February 2010, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/02/the-english-defense-league-in-their-own-words.html

Having thus established to her satisfaction that all the group's attractive characteristics are genuine, and that all evidence to the contrary is a 'media smear' or the work of 'infiltrators', Geller defiantly announces that *'the left is attempting to split the counter jihad movement. They want me to distance myself from brave souls fighting Islamic supremacism. N-O-T G-O-I-N-G T-O H-A-P-P-E-N. If I lived in England, I would surely be active in the EDL Jewish division. Members of the EDL will be attending our rally to stop the Ground Zero Islamic supremacist mosque on September 11th (be there)'* [emphasis original].⁵⁵ Members of the EDL accepted Geller's invitation and attended SIOA's 'Ground Zero Mosque' event. However, Tommy Robinson was 'refused entry at JFK airport, taken into custody and flown straight back to the UK'.⁵⁶

Robert Spencer has also praised the EDL, proclaiming that 'the EDL are standing up for human rights, for the freedom of speech, for Western civilization, for Israel, and for the defense against the global jihad and the Islamization of Britain'. He went on to state that 'there is no credible evidence that this group is racist or fascist in the slightest degree', and that the EDL 'is standing as a virtually unarmed David against a Goliath of the British establishment, government media and police muscle': 'They are being vilified and smeared as well as brutalized and railroaded. Yes, it has come to this quickly, and all free people who are in the U.S. and elsewhere should take careful note, because it is happening quickly here as well. The EDL deserves the support of all free people'.⁵⁷

Spencer has defended his organisation's support for the EDL, making the following statement: 'I don't believe [the EDL] are neo-fascist white supremacists [...] There is no way Pamela Geller or I would ever work with, endorse, or approve of any genuine neo-fascist or white supremacist individual or group in any way, shape or form'. Thus Spencer contends that the EDL cannot possibly be 'neo-fascist or white supremacists', by virtue of their having won his endorsement and approval. These comments were part of a typically evasive reply to an article

55 Geller, P., 'Newsweek on the EDL', Atlas Shrugs, 31st August 2010, available here: http://atlashshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2010/08/newsweek-on-the-edl.html

56 Booth, R., 'English Defence League Members Attend New York Mosque Protest', Guardian, 12th September 2010, available here: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/sep/12/english-defence-league-mosque-protest>

57 Spencer, R., 'EDL Stands Up Against Fascists in Britain', Jihad Watch, 6th March 2010, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2010/03/edl-stands-up-against-fascists-in-britain.html>

critical of SIOA, in which Spencer remarked that *'neither I nor Pamela Geller ever made any alliances [with] the EDL. That should not be taken as a repudiation of [the] group; at the same time, however, I refuse to accept the Leftist contention that I must be responsible for everything anyone connected with either one ever says or does because I refuse to denounce them as a whole. [...] because we would not denounce people [the writer] demanded we denounce, he denounced us, and claimed we were far closer to them than we ever were'*.⁵⁸

Spencer's argument here against guilt by association seems to contradict his belief that all Muslims are 'Jihadists' unless they prove themselves to be otherwise. This contradiction can however be resolved, provided Spencer's contention is that Muslims should be judged by a different standard to other members of society.

In June 2011 Pamela Geller 'withdrew her support' for the EDL, claiming that the group had been 'infiltrated' by neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic elements, and that this had caused it to 'morph and diverge from its original course'.⁵⁹ She was echoed by Robert Spencer, who wrote that he 'agree[d] wholeheartedly' with her statement.⁶⁰ The pair then received and published a response from the EDL which stressed the group's fondness for Israel, as well as its opposition to anti-Semitism, fascism and racism.⁶¹⁶² Following correspondence with the EDL's Tommy Robinson, (whom she recently praised as a mensch),⁶³ Geller reversed her decision to 'withdraw support'. While 'deeply concerned about the hijacking of

58 Spencer, R., 'Hateblogger Charles Johnson Lies About Pamela Geller in The Guardian', Jihad Watch, 14th October 2010, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2010/10/hateblogger-charles-johnson-lies-about-pamela-geller-in-the-guardian.html>

59 Geller, P., 'EDL Shake-up', Atlas Shrugs, 30th June 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/06/edl-shake-up.html

60 Spencer, R., 'Change for the worse at the EDL', Jihad Watch, 29th June 2011, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/06/change-for-the-worse-at-the-edl.html>

61 Geller, P., 'Tommy Robinson, EDL Chief: 'Any Rogue Elements'', Atlas Shrugs, 30th June 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/06/tommy-robinson-any-rogue-elements-within-the-edl-that-go-against-our-mission-statement-will-be-remov.html

62 Spencer, R., 'EDL Leader: We repudiate any individual, group or writing', Jihad Watch, 30th June 2011, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/06/edl-leader-we-repudiate-any-individual-group-or-writing-that-favors-anti-Semitism-neofascism-and-any.html>

63 Spencer, R., 'Groundswell of support for Geller and Spencer on EDL', Jihad Watch, 3rd July 2011, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/07/groundswell-of-support-for-geller-and-spencer-on-edl.html>

the EDL', she would now 'watch how events unfold' in the hope that these 'vile elements' are 'purged' from the group.⁶⁴

Following attacks by online 'anti-Jihad' activists, Geller and Spencer have postured as though their criticism of the EDL is a brave and principled action.⁶⁵ This is odd when placed next to their earlier hostility towards criticism of the EDL and their absolutist defence of the group. Since it took reports of anti-Semitism to cause them to reconsider their endorsements, one could conclude that SIOA are willing to support the EDL, regardless of its nature, activities and associations, provided its bigotry is directed at Muslims.

In July 2011, SIOE and SIOA organised a joint 'transatlantic anti-Islamization conference' set to take place in Strasbourg, France. Under the headline 'United We Stand', the poster for the event publicised a 'SIOA/SIOE demonstration' to 'Stop Mosque and Minaret building in Europe', and promoted a screening of their 'explosive new film: The Ground Zero Mosque - The Second Wave of 911 Attacks'. 'Noted activist' Anders Gravers Pedersen and the English Defence League's Roberta Moore were listed as speakers, along with 'bestselling author and internationally renowned Islamic expert' Robert Spencer.⁶⁶ SIOA claim the event's last minute cancellation was due to 'Strasbourg authorities' being 'unable to guarantee [their] safety' from planned counter-protests.⁶⁷ However, French press reports suggest the event was cancelled by the proposed venue after it discovered that SIOA had lied about the nature of the conference.⁶⁸

64 Geller, P., 'Lord of the Flies: Machiavelli Comes to the Blogosphere', Atlas Shrugs, 1st July 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/07/lord-of-the-flies-machiavelli-comes-to-the-blogosphere-.html

65 Spencer, R., 'Groundswell of support for Geller and Spencer on EDL', Jihad Watch, 3rd July 2011, available here: <http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/07/groundswell-of-support-for-geller-and-spencer-on-edl.html>

66 Geller, P., 'United We Stand: First Transatlantic Anti-Islamization Conference Coming To France July 2', Atlas Shrugs, 21st June 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/06/united-we-stand-.html

67 Geller, P., 'Democracy Collapses In Europe: EU Cancels SIOA/SIOE Free Speech Rally', Atlas Shrugs, June 28th 2011, available here: http://atlasshrugs2000.typepad.com/atlas_shrugs/2011/06/democracy-collapses-in-europe-eu-cancels-sioasioe-free-speech-rally-freedom-from-jihad-flotilla-to-l.html

68 Bartholomew, R., 'SIOA and SIOE 'Transatlantic Summit' Cancelled', Bartholomew's Notes On Religion blog, 2nd July 2011, available here: <http://barthnotes.wordpress.com/2011/07/02/sioa-and-sioe-transatlantic-summit-cancelled/>

Conclusion

The July 2011 atrocity in Norway has put the spotlight on the far-Right once more. There are numerous organisations and political parties with similar platforms to that of Anders Behring Breivik, which have gained and are gaining influence, including winning parliamentary seats. This is due to a number of factors, including the unprecedented attack on people's welfare and livelihood, the respectability afforded anti-immigrant policies, the 'war on terror', appeasement, the ethno-cisation of the world, and multi-culturalism - not as a positive lived experience, but as a social policy that has segregated communities and the world. Today people everywhere are divided into religions, cultures, nationalities, and ethnicities and our humanity, universalism and citizenship have been deemed irrelevant.

Though the far-Right appears to target Islamism, they are two sides of the same coin. Islamism is also very much an extreme Right movement.

And whilst there are obvious differences within far-Right and Islamist groups as there are in any phenomenon, the differences are not fundamental. The 'hate cleric' Anjem Choudhary supports stoning to death as do more 'liberal' Islamists like Tariq Ramadan.¹ The 'liberals' have merely adapted their language and changed tactics to better dupe public opinion. The same is true with the far-Right. There is fundamentally little difference between Anders Behring Breivik's Knights Templar and the EDL or SIOE. What they want is the same; their tactics are different. The EDL and SIOE are merely better at duping the public.

In his 1500 page European Declaration of Independence, Breivik says, 'Organisations like EDL, doesn't have an **official** extreme political doctrine [emphasis ours]. When they "bait" the UAF, and Jihadi youth (in the thousands) in to rioting, they ensure that the riots are covered by national and international press.... It also results in increased polarisation. Is it really that bad that more Europeans are shocked out of their slumber?' He adds later, 'Instead of condemning and rejecting organisations like EDL it is essential that conservative intellectuals contribute to help them on the right ideological path'.² Clearly, the

1 '40 reasons why Tariq Ramadan is a reactionary', Workers' Liberty, 26th July 2007, available here: <http://www.workersliberty.org/node/4004>

2 'A European Declaration of Independence', Anders Behring Breivik, 2011, available here: <http://info.publicintelligence.net/AndersBehringBreivikManifesto.pdf>

various organisations see themselves as part of the same movement; the groups addressed in 'Enemies Not Allies' are all mentioned by Breivik. They often work together and defend each other's words and actions (even if 'only' to legitimise atrocities by explaining why they happened and threatening more to come).

The far-Right and Islamists have similar ideologies, characteristics, tactics and aims. Both rely on religion. Both use a language of hate and are extremely xenophobic, misogynist, homophobic, and anti-Semitic. Both rely on indiscriminate violence and terrorism to intimidate the population at large. They are dogmatic and punish free thinkers and dissenters. They use threats and scaremongering to push forward their agenda. Both are vehemently anti-working class and the Left. They believe in the superiority of their views and culture and deal harshly with anyone who transgresses...

The world they have in mind is equally bleak, segregated, hateful and inhuman.

Religion

Much of the language and symbolism of the far-Right is Christian, and makes reference to the crusades. The BNP's Nick Griffin has spoken of a 'traditional, upright, decent and honest Christianity that defended Europe from Islamic conquest, the Christianity of the Crusades and the Christianity of our forefathers'.³ The EDL's Tommy Robinson has said, 'We don't care whether you arrived here yesterday, you are welcome to protect our Christian culture and our way of life'.⁴ Similarly, Islamists use Islam as their banner and call for Sharia law and the Caliphate.

Misogynist

Nick Eriksen, until recently the BNP's London organiser, has said: 'Rape is simply sex. Women enjoy sex, so rape cannot be such a terrible physical ordeal. To suggest that rape, when conducted without violence, is a serious crime is like suggesting that force-feeding a woman chocolate cake is a heinous offence'.⁵

3 Easter message from BNP chairman hits the mark, Stormfront.org, July 2006, available here: <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/t696276/>

4 'Tommy Robinson's speech at EDL Leicester Demonstration', 2010, video available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z2VrK8EAHuU>

5 'Five reasons not to vote BNP', Mirror, 5th May 2010, available here: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/features/2010/05/05/5-reasons-not-to-vote-bnp-115875-22233649/>

Sheikh Maulana Abu Sayed, a Sharia judge, has similarly said marital rape is ‘not aggression because when they got married, sexual intercourse was part of the marriage’. In fact, he says, ‘calling it rape is a major aggression’.⁶

Homophobic

BNP candidate and activist Mark Collett has said of AIDS that ‘Blacks, drug abusers and gays have it. So really, I’ve got no problem with AIDS. In fact I would call it a friendly disease’.⁷ Likewise, the Islamic Education and Research Academy chairman, Abdur-Raheem Green, argues that homosexuality and adultery are ‘inexcusable, and justly punished with severity’.⁸

Anti-Semitic

The BNP’s Nick Griffin has called the holocaust a “Holofoax” saying: ‘I am well aware that the orthodox opinion is that 6 million Jews were gassed and cremated and turned into lampshades... I have reached the conclusion that the “extermination” tale is a mixture of Allied wartime propaganda, extremely profitable lie, and latter witch-hysteria’.⁹ The Islamic scholar Yusuf Al Qaradawi who has been hailed as ‘progressive’ by former London mayor Ken Livingstone,¹⁰ has likewise said: ‘Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the (Jews) people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler. By means of all the things he did to them – even though they exaggerated this issue – he managed to put them in their place. This was divine punishment for them. Allah willing, the next time will be at the hand of the believers’.¹¹

6 ‘UK Sharia Chief, There is no such thing as rape within Marriage’, The Somosa, 6th October 2010, available here: <http://www.thesamosa.co.uk/index.php/news-and-features/society/431-uk-sharia-chief-there-is-no-such-thing-as-rape-within-marriage.html>

7 ‘Dispatches: Young, Nazi and Proud’, Channel 4, 4th November 2002

8 ‘Ibis Hotel hosts anti-gay preachers’, Harry’s Place, 14th January 2011, available here: <http://hurryupharry.org/2011/01/14/ibis-hotel-hosts-anti-gay-hate-preachers/>

9 BBC News website profile, available here: http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/programmes/2001/bnp_special/the_leader/beliefs.stm

10 ‘Mayor justifies cleric’s welcome’, BBC News, 11th January 2005, available here: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/4165691.stm>

11 Guardian Blog whitewashes Al-Qaradawi’, Harry’s Place, 22nd February 2011, available here: <http://hurryupharry.org/2011/02/22/guardian-live-blog-whitewashes-al-qaradawi/>

Support of Violence

Both rely on indiscriminate violence and terrorism to intimidate the population at large and justify their abominations. In fact, both target civilians and place collective blame. Breivik said his massacre in Norway was 'atrocious but necessary'.¹² John Jay, a Stop Islamization of America board member says '[...] every person in [I]slam, from man to woman to child may be our executioner. [...] there are no innocent [M]uslims'.¹³ Regarding Israel and 'the poor, terrorist Palestinians', Pamela Geller of Stop Islamization of America states, 'I say to Israel, stand loud and proud. Give up nothing. Turnover not a pebble. For every rocket fired, drop a MOAB [Massive Ordinance Air Blast bomb]'.¹⁴ Islamists are exactly the same. 'Progressive' Islamic Scholar Yusuf Al-Qaradawi has justified suicide bombings by saying: 'Israeli women are not like women in our society because Israeli women are militarised'.¹⁵ Even when they renounce violence for public consumption, the violence is always justified. The EDL's Tommy Robinson has said about a May 2011 attack of a meeting attended by Labour councillors and the National Union of Teachers in Barking, 'I would condemn the attack if there was any violence. But I can completely understand their frustration. People are so fed up with the leftist agenda'.¹⁶

Use of Threats and Scaremongering

Suhaib Hasan, Secretary General of the Islamic Sharia Council says, 'If Sharia law is implemented, then you can turn this country into a haven of peace because once a thief's hand is cut off nobody is going to steal. Once, just only once, if

12 'Profile: Anders Behring Breivik', BBC News, 25 July 2011, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-14259989>

13 Bartholomew, R., 'SIOA Co-Founder: Buy Guns...You Are Going to Have to Kill Folks...There Are No Innocent Muslims', Bartholomew's Notes on Religion blog, 10th August 2010, available here: <http://barthsnotes.wordpress.com/2010/08/10/sioa-co-founder-buy-guns-you-are-going-to-have-to-kill-folks-there-are-no-innocent-muslims/>

14 Geller, P. and Saxon, E., 'Indomitable Israel', Arutz Sheva/Israel National News, 11th May 2008, available here: <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/Articles/Article.aspx/7968>

15 'Yusuf Al-Qaradawi tells BBC Newsnight that Islam justifies suicide bombings', BBC Press Office, 7th July 2004, available here: http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2004/07_july/07/newsnight.shtml

16 'Hooded thugs attack office before meeting in Barking', Barking and Dagenham Post, 26th May 2011, available here: http://www.bdpost.co.uk/news/hooded_thugs_attack_office_before_meeting_in_barking_1_903835

an adulterer is stoned nobody is going to commit this crime at all. We want to offer it to the British society. If they accept it, it is for their good and if they don't accept it they'll need more and more prisons'.¹⁷ In a July 25th 2011 interview on the Norwegian atrocity, the EDL's Tommy Robinson said, 'We are against extremism and all kinds of violence but you need to listen. God forbid this ever happens on British soil. It's a time coming. You're probably five or ten years away... I believe it could and it's not a threat, it's a wakeup call to say listen we don't want this to happen but we need to address the problem'.¹⁸

Use of victim status

The EDL's Tommy Robinson has spoken of the Emblem of St George being banned at a school¹⁹ and said at a rally that the EDL was formed '...To combat a two-tier system. One rule for them, and another rule for us. And it's true, it's oppression. That's exactly what it is. It's apartheid. Its kid gloves for their community, and iron fist for our community'.²⁰ Islamists and their apologists do this all the time. Mehdi Hassan, the political editor of *New Statesman*, likens criticism of Lutfur Rahman - the new Mayor of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets who has close links with the extremist Islamic Forum of Europe - to McCarthyism.²¹

Use of Islamophobia and racism

Both the far-Right and Islamists have co-opted rights and anti-racist language to gain legitimacy. Far-Right groups will say they are not racist to evade scrutiny and even invite non-whites to join. Islamists speak of Islamophobia and the 'right' to Sharia law in a bid to silence criticism by labelling it racism.

17 'Divorce, Sharia Style', Channel 4, February 2008: video available here: <http://video.google.ca/videoplay?docid=7551240419498830429#> and 'We want to offer Sharia law', *The Telegraph*, 20th January 2008, available here: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1576066/We-want-to-offer-sharia-law-to-Britain.html>

18 Tommy Robinson interview on BBC2, 25th July 2011, available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4RdJ4dpRQeE>

19 'Tommy Robinson speaks at EDL rally in Luton', 6th February 2011, video available here: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GcpHR8Lrnd8>

20 'Tommy Robinson speech at Leicester EDL Rally', October 2010, video available here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IhDo5TCcaVc&feature=player_embedded#

21 Meleagrou-Hitchens, A., 'Who Are the Real McCarthyites?' 24th November 2010, *Standpoint*, available here: <http://standpointmag.co.uk/node/3618>

It's important to note that a fight against Islamism is not a fight against Muslims; it's a defence of rights and freedoms. Muslims or those labelled as such are the first victims of Islamism and many are at the forefront of battling it. Nowhere is opposition against Islamism and Sharia law greater than in countries under Islamic rule.

It is also not a fight against immigrants. Islamism was brought to centre stage by the US Cold War policy of creating a green Islamic belt around the then Soviet Union. It was not concocted in some immigrant's kitchen. In fact, many immigrants have fled Islamism and Sharia law and continue to fight it here. Moreover, many of the Islamists in Europe are European born. 'Hate cleric' Anjem Choudary is one such example.

The Fight against Islamism and the Far-Right

Whilst the fight against Islamism is an historical task and duty, it must go hand in hand with a fight against the far-Right, particularly in Europe, Australia and North America.

Clearly, any opponent of Islamism today must also be an anti-fascist, but not the pro-Islamist and anti-racist Left version of anti-fascism. This grouping is only interested in opposing its 'own' fascists, including Unite Against Fascism, Socialist Workers Party, and George Galloway. United Against Fascism even joined the Islamist Muslims against Crusades counter rally against One Law for All's rally in June 2010.²² Another form of 'anti-fascism' that must be resisted is the sort we are increasingly seeing amongst secular groups that have joined hands with the far-Right against the Islamic and 'foreign' versions of fascism, such as the French Riposte Laïque²³ and others at the 2010 Conference on the Islamicisation of Europe.²⁴

Groups like SIOE and the EDL are as hateful as the Islamists; they are enemies not allies. Clearly, our enemy's enemy is not necessarily our friend.

22 Barnett, A., 'Letter to UAF', 7th September 2010, available here: <http://www.onelawforall.org.uk/uaf-letter/>

23 'The Offensive of Islam in Multicultural Great Britain, Riposte Laïque, 15 June 2009, available here: <http://ripostelaique.com/The-offensive-of-Islam-in.html>

24 Videos of some of the speakers at the 18th December 2010 Islamisation of Europe conference can be seen here: <http://www.bivouac-id.com/billets/suivez-en-direct-les-assises-internationales-sur-lislamisation-sur-internet/>

According to women's rights campaigner, Rahila Gupta, *'Recent anti-racist alliances, such as the one against the EDL in Tower Hamlets, which includes Socialist Workers Party and the East London Mosque, reveals the capitulation of the left to the fascists within while organising against the fascists without. We should be sophisticated enough by now to construct a politics that is simultaneously anti-racist and anti-fundamentalist so that vulnerable groups like women, lesbians and gays and religious minorities do not get hung out to dry. As feminists we have been abandoned by those who should have been supporting our right to make 'legitimate criticism'. They feel now, during the War on Terror, is not the right time. In a racist society, it is never the right time. When we expose the underbelly of our communities we are told that we are providing ammunition for racists. For us it isn't a choice. We can't hide one evil to fight another'*.²⁵

This fight also includes challenging multi-culturalism, which the far-Right and Islamism use to show that the 'other' is different, thereby validating identity, separation and 'clash of civilisations' politics. The idea of difference has always been the fundamental principle of a racist agenda. The defeat of Nazism and its biological theory of difference largely discredited racial superiority. The racism behind it, however, has found another more acceptable form of expression. Instead of expression in racial terms, difference is now portrayed in cultural terms.²⁶

Today, more than ever, there is a need for a renewed anti-fascism that stands firm against both the far-Right and Islamism. It is within this context that the One Law for All Campaign fights against Sharia law in Britain. In the face of regression and abomination, its banner is humanity without labels. It holds the human being sacred and nothing else. And it unequivocally defends citizenship and universal rights, freedom, equality and secularism for people not just in Britain but everywhere.

August 10th 2011

25 Statement made at One Law for All 'Enemies Not Allies' seminar, 26th January 2011, available here: <http://www.onelawforall.org.uk/videos-seminar-on-enemies-not-allies/>

26 Namazie, M., 'Rights Trump Culture and Religion, The Iranian, 6 September 2006, available here: <http://www.iranian.com/Namazie/2006/September/Relativism/index.html>

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