

# FAR-RIGHT MUSIC AND THE USE OF INTERNET: FINAL CONFLICT AND THE BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY COMPARED<sup>1</sup>

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Writing in 1997, David Lyon called it ‘extravagant’ to consider that ‘the Internet portends new kinds of networks and a transformation of society as we know it’.<sup>2</sup> Today, however, it would be banal to proclaim that the internet has already transformed the way we conduct research, studies, business, services, and entertainment. With the rise of cyber-politics, web-based pressure groups, and whistle-blower websites like WikiLeaks, the internet continues to exert increasing influence both on the rulers and the ruled. Although its extensive use has resulted, as one researcher put it, in ‘the reconfiguration of the reality of everyday life and the transformation of the ways in which individuals construct the lifeworld’,<sup>3</sup> the internet is nevertheless a medium, and as such it depends heavily on the contents or products created by people.

Turning to far-right music on the internet, here we find that it comprises of various websites as well as articles of merchandise. In general, one can find this type of music for free on YouTube videos uploaded by either bands/artists themselves or their fans; Myspace and other social network pages dedicated to individual far-right bands; radio-stations like Skrewdriver Radio<sup>4</sup> or 28 Radio;<sup>5</sup> or numerous blogs that give links to mp3-albums uploaded – primarily illegally – to various file-sharing web-pages. A number of internet sites, ranging from specialised right-wing mail-order companies like the UK-based Rampage Productions to various online auction/shopping websites like eBay, iTunes or Amazon UK, also sell far-right music, either in physical (CD/DVD) or digital (mp3) form.

Far-right music is – intentionally or unintentionally – a powerful tool of indoctrination. However, efficient propaganda differs from inefficient propaganda in that the former also becomes a medium of social interaction, leading to a whole sub-culture. The latter, meanwhile, remains limited to the intimate circle of the faithful

audience. This chapter will discuss two different approaches to using music for far-right propaganda purposes, taken by two different organisations, namely the Final Conflict group and the British National Party (BNP).

The BNP, at the time of writing at least, is Britain's main radical right-wing party, and hardly needs any introduction.<sup>6</sup> For the purposes of this article, however, it should be noted that the BNP's current chairman, Nick Griffin, was once a founding member of the neo-fascist organisation International Third Position (ITP), which by March 1999 numbered about 50 members.<sup>7</sup> The ITP was formed in 1991 by the 'Political Soldier' breakaway faction of the National Front (NF), and Italian fascist Roberto Fiore. The Final Conflict group, in its turn, is still associated with what left of the ITP, and its official website is called [www.politicalsoldier.net](http://www.politicalsoldier.net). The BNP, through Griffin and the ardently 'anti-Griffinite' Final Conflict group share common history, but their political ways, as well as approaches to using music for propaganda purposes, differ drastically. What follows will first focus individually on these two groups and then briefly analyse their differences.

### 'Packed full of patriotic Oi classics'

'Final Conflict' is, first of all, a title of a discontinued 'Nationalist music fanzine' that ran through thirty-eight issues, ending in 2008. As stated in the introduction to the first issue published in 1992, the group behind the fanzine

decided to bring out *Final Conflict* as we think there is a need for a quality fanzine which will give you news on events, bands etc. as well as providing a service for those wishing to sell records, videos etc. so that Nationalists will be able to get their hands on a wider range of materials.<sup>8</sup>

The fanzine was launched in Cardiff. Its name derives from Derek Holland's second neo-fascist pamphlet on the concept of 'the political soldier' that drew heavily on the interwar Romanian fascist organisation Legion of Archangel Michael and writings of Julius Evola.<sup>9</sup> While the first pamphlet summarised the worldview behind the eponymous faction of the National Front,<sup>10</sup> the second was an important document for the ITP. Holland 'was noted for being a Catholic fundamentalist'<sup>11</sup> and asserted that dividing one's life into such 'neat, watertight compartments' as politics, religion, family life, work, and leisure resulted 'in total dissolution, in the erosion of character and personality'.<sup>12</sup> For him, the concept of the 'final conflict' was spiritual and political at the same time, because, while alluding to the coming Apocalypse, it also referred to the 'New Man's' (i.e. 'political soldier') victory in 'the National Revolutionary

struggle' for 'Mother Europe'.<sup>13</sup> Hardly surprisingly, the religious ardour has also been a characteristic feature of *Final Conflict's* editor, Welsh-born Gareth Hurley. Moreover, the fanzine claimed to be 'dedicated to the European Cultural Struggle against the Masonic/Judaic One World forces' that 'spans the ages, from the Warrior Knights of the Crusades to the dedicated activists of the revolutionary Cause today'.<sup>14</sup>

At the very beginning, *Final Conflict* was distributed to a handful of subscribers, in addition to being sold at White Power (WP) music gigs.<sup>15</sup> With the rise of its popularity, the fanzine started to be distributed throughout Europe, as well as Australia, Canada and the USA. In Belgium, distribution of the August 1998 edition, containing a revisionist article, resulted in a six months suspended sentence and a fine of £650 for one far-activist David Vercruyse – a figure also linked to Belgian New Right publications *Europe Nouvelle* and Robert Steuckers' *Vouloir*.

As early as 1997, the *Final Conflict* group started its own, short-lived Black Book series, its first volume being *Fascism in England, 1928-1940*, by former Chairman of the National Front Arthur Kenneth Chesterton. Another pamphlet, *Satanism and Its Allies*, was published the following year and contained, among anti-Semitic and homophobic materials, vehement critique of 'metapolitical fascist' activist Troy Southgate who once was a member of both the NF and the ITP.<sup>16</sup> However, the *Final Conflict* group's hallmark was distribution, promotion and production of White Power music. From the very start, *Final Conflict* featured a lot of information on this kind of music, and the ITP even referred to the fanzine as 'the Voice and Music of Nationalist Youth'. In the beginning, as with the majority of far-right periodicals, *Final Conflict* only published interviews with White Power bands and reviews of their albums. In 1993, *Final Conflict* launched a merchandise range that would furnish the readers with posters, T-shirts, videos, books, magazines, badges, etc.

In 1998, the group made a quantum leap forward as it established its own music label, 'Boadicea Music'. Its first release was the *Extremist* CD by Colorado-based 'Christian patriot' singer-songwriter Carl Klang, connected to various US white supremacist movements. Klang's music, as Gareth Hurley told in an interview to *Blood & Honour* magazine, 'contains a 101% spot on Nationalist message – and yet it's conveyed in a way in which it appeals to small children and your grandparents, and everyone in between!'<sup>17</sup>

Boadicea Music, however, did not last long: it gave way to *Final Conflict* Productions. Table 1 shows the CDs, released by *Final Conflict* Productions from 2000 to 2007.

Table 1. CDs released by Final Conflict Productions.

Band	Album	Year	Country of origin	Details
Terre di Mezzo/ Bobby Pearse	<i>The Eagle and the Harp</i>	2000	Italy/Ireland	Released in collaboration with Rupe Tarpea label (Italy).
Crusade	<i>Give Them a Future</i>	2005	Great Britain	None.
Violent Storm	<i>Celtic Warrior</i>	2005	Great Britain	First released on I.S.D. Records in 1995. <sup>18</sup>
Brigade M	<i>National Revolutionary</i>	2006	Netherlands	Released in collaboration with NatRevProp label (Netherlands).
Avalon Movement	<i>This is War</i>	2007	Great Britain	First released on  Records in 1998.

The Final Conflict group's first website appeared around 1999, and was hosted by the UK's first commercial Internet service provider, Pipex. The website republished selected articles from printed issues, and featured a section of merchandise sold through PayPal. Gareth Hurley also launched a daily e-mail newsletter and, later, a *Final Conflict* e-zine. Another of Final Conflict's website, [www.politicalsoldier.net](http://www.politicalsoldier.net), was registered in June 2001 by Kenneth J. Schmidt of the American Third Position formally affiliated with the ITP.<sup>19</sup>

In 2002, Hurley started to accompany his fanzine with multimedia CD-Roms. Their contents were quite diverse, including: PDF copies of sold-out issues of the fanzine, *Final Conflict* e-zine archives, racist and revisionist books and videos, images, software, mail-order catalogues, and music mp3s. The editor evidently tried to show the breadth of his musical taste, but almost all the music featured on the multimedia CD-Roms, to a greater or lesser degree, was associated with the historical and contemporary far right, such as: German singer-songwriters Annett Müller and Frank Rennicke (both members of the extreme right National Democratic Party of Germany), Carl Klang, Richard Wagner, Confederate music, and songs of the Legion of Archangel Michael.

After 2003, printed versions of *Final Conflict* went into crisis. No issues were published in 2004 and 2005. In 2006, only one issue was published. Finally, 2008 saw the publication of the last issue of *Final Conflict*. However, the website, as well as the merchandise, continued to exist, and Hurley also launched a Final Conflict blog in 2006.<sup>20</sup> Between 23 December 2009 and 28 December 2010, the Final Conflict blog was accessed by 30,523 visitors, their top five countries of origin being the UK, USA, Canada, Ireland and Germany.

In summer 2009, Final Conflict group experienced another crisis. PayPal had

presumably blocked all the payments from the group's online merchandise shop. Nevertheless, Hurley has managed to bypass this problem, and suggested possible buyers contact him via e-mail to receive instructions how to securely send payments. In addition, he accepts payments via BACS (Bankers' Automated Clearing Services).

Notwithstanding these issues, already in March 2009 Hurley started distributing his merchandise through the online shopping website eBay, under the nickname "77eastender77", and using PayPal again.<sup>21</sup> At the time of writing, Hurley lists 389 articles of merchandise. Among these are 90 White Power music recordings on CDs and DVDs which are somewhat generally described as 'packed full of patriotic Oi classics'. Additionally, those who purchase CDs or books from the Final Conflict shop quite often get racist stickers promoting the Final Conflict website as a gift.

It is not currently possible to determine a turnover of Hurley's merchandise operation on eBay. However, he seems to sell items almost every day and the 'feedback ratings' section gives some information about "77eastender77" as a seller, as well as providing certain insights into preferences of buyers of music recordings distributed by Final Conflict. First, from 8 March 2009 to 6 December 2010, Hurley received 2,707 feedback reports in total,<sup>22</sup> and, for the last twelve months, positive feedback for the Final Conflict's eBay shop makes up 99.5%, which is considered a very high rating on this website. Second, White Power music accounts for almost 13% of the whole merchandise operation. Third, Hurley's five bestselling bands are Violent Storm, Brigade M, Avalon, Vandal (Russia) and Project Vandal (Slovakia). Finally, White Power music from England, Germany, Wales, USA, Netherlands and Russia sells best.

So far, there have been no indications that Gareth Hurley will continue publishing *Final Conflict* and he now confines himself to updating the Final Conflict blog and selling White Power music and other merchandise via his website and eBay.

### Too 'moderate' to win

In terms of ideology and form, music promoted and employed for propaganda purposes by the BNP under its former leader John Tyndall differed little from the music released and sold by the Final Conflict group. This was hardly surprising because 'moderating the party's image and ideology was never a vital concern for Tyndall', although he did attach some, but limited, importance to it.<sup>23</sup> In summer 1999, just before Nick Griffin replaced the then incumbent party chairman, he and his supporters openly attacked Tyndall for his approval of the merchandise distributed by Tyr Services run by two party members Ricky Fawcus and Mark

Penton.<sup>24</sup> Particularly problematic was the then latest issue of the Tyr Services catalogue that listed, *inter alia*, the compilation CD *White Pride World Wide 3*, produced by the neo-Nazi Swedish label Nordland which contained overtly racist White Power music. Although Griffin himself, as a national organiser for the National Front, helped establish the Rock Against Communism movement and actively promoted Ian Stuart Donaldson's model White Power band Skrewdriver through the 1980s, he wanted both to smear Tyndall as a hardcore, unreformed Nazi, and to pursue a course towards externally-oriented moderation and a turn to respectability for the BNP. As he declared in 2002, the BNP should pursue the 'transformation into a mature, mainstream and professional political party' and, therefore, not 'tolerate the faintest hint of idle "extremism"' in the organisation.<sup>25</sup> His article also attacked the skinhead subculture, yet this stance revealingly proved the insincere, public-oriented nature of the projected moderation of the BNP:

[S]kinheads are associated with thuggery and racial hatred. [...] Skinheads – even in suits – scare the public. Of course it's unfair, but I don't make the rules, I'm just explaining some of the things we've got to do to win the game, and ditching of the last vestiges of this unfairly demonised youth cult is one of them.<sup>26</sup>

This attempt to distance the BNP from White Power music, however, did not mean that Griffin was going to leave music as an instrument of propaganda behind. Griffin always recognised the importance of the cultural struggle.<sup>27</sup> In 2002, the BNP launched a merchandise operation titled *Excalibur*, under the management of Nicholla Smith. Merchandise has been promoted through the BNP's printed publications, first and foremost, through *Identity* magazine and *Freedom* newspaper, as well as the Internet, first at [www.excaliburheritage.com](http://www.excaliburheritage.com) and then [www.buyexcalibur.com](http://www.buyexcalibur.com).

The first music CD produced by the BNP and distributed by *Excalibur* dropped a hint to what music the 'mature, mainstream and professional political party' would tolerate and promote. It was *Red, White & Blue: Ballads for the New Britain*, recorded by Stephen 'Stigger' Calladine, former member of Skrewdriver, and John Cartwright of the Scottish band Nemesis. The CD was recorded after the BNP's Red, White & Blue (RWB) annual festival and featured nine 'patriotic ballads'. This musical direction within the British White Power music scene was originated by Donaldson and Calladine in 1991 when they released the CD *Patriotic Ballads* on the notorious German music label Rock-O-Rama Records. This clearly neo-Nazi context notwithstanding, Calladine's and Cartwright's ballads were – in terms of their

contents – relatively moderate, although still racist, and basically promoted the BNP and its anti-immigrant agenda. One of the songs, addressed to former supporters, featured the lyrics: ‘Come on now get back in line / In a fight for your family / Come on now get back involved / Join the BNP!’<sup>28</sup>

In March 2002, the BNP also asked its supporters send demo recordings, so as to contribute to the ‘cultural/political struggle for white survival’.<sup>29</sup> It was not, however, until 2005 that the BNP’s vaguely defined musical project began to materialise. That year the party launched its own record label Great White Records, directed by David Hannam, who was jailed for three months in 2000 for handing out anti-Semitic leaflets in Hull. As Hannam declared on Great White Records’ newly registered website in 2006,

Great White Records is determined to create the musical revolution amongst our people, especially the young that will educate our people to the issues of concern, most namely the thinly-disguised genocide of the indigenous natives of the British Isles perpetrated by the policy of present government pushing mass immigration and multi-culturalism on the British native population.<sup>30</sup>

Great White Records’ first release was *Time to Make a Stand* by Lee Haggan, a folk singer and the BNP’s local election candidate in Doncaster. The release of the album raised fears that it could find its way into schools. As Griffin stated: ‘It’s a great way of getting our message to children because they will listen to songs again and again and pick the words up straight away, where as maybe one in 100 would bother to listen to a speech’.<sup>31</sup> Haggan, himself, however, denied that he would target schoolchildren.

Originally Hannam planned to release at least thirteen albums on Great White Records, while the BNP was expecting a turnover of £100,000 in 2006.<sup>32</sup> In spite of the original plans, the label released only one record in 2006 and four more albums from 2007 to 2008 (see Table 2). The overwhelming majority of the songs featured on these albums can be characterised either as ballads or ‘folkish’ songs.

Great White Records has tried to promote the label not only via its own website, but also through the Myspace social network, where the record label’s page was registered in December 2007. Four audio clips and one full track have been uploaded, and since 2007 these have been played only 2,757 times. In general, Hannam, also holding a position of the party’s deputy treasurer, turned out to be an inefficient manager, and the BNP’s hopes that the label would become a major fundraising operation never came true.

The internal split within the party that occurred in 2007 – 2008 delivered a serious blow both to Great White Records and Excalibur. In 2007, a number of dissenting senior party officials, including Excalibur’s manager Nicholla Smith, demanded the resignation of a few other leading officials, Hannam being one of the latter. Griffin backed Hannam, dismissed the dissenters, and, in his New Year message published on the BNP’s website in December 2007, blasted the rebels.<sup>33</sup> Griffin presented the split as a conflict between the ‘modernisers’ and ‘hardliners’, who wanted to prevent the BNP from turning into an ‘electable, modern, moderate, [and] principled’ party. Most importantly, it was apparently the first time when Griffin openly attacked the Blood & Honour (B&H) movement (discussed elsewhere in this volume), when he stated that Hannam’s Great White Records was ‘moving nationalist music on from the grim, raucous, counter-productive hatred of the old neo-Nazi Blood & Honour scene’.<sup>34</sup> Quite expectedly, this attack offended many individuals – some of them being members of the BNP itself – associated with the B&H. Steve Cartwright, brother of John Cartwright from the band Nemesis and organiser for B&H Scotland (‘Highlander’), reminded Griffin that it was ‘Highlander’ that supported the party’s numerous festivals and contributed to the production of *Ballads for the New Britain* CD.<sup>35</sup>

Table 2. CDs released by Great White Records.

Artist	Album	Year	Place of origin	Details
Lee Haggan and	Time to  Make a Stand	2005	Doncaster	Griffin wrote four songs  co-wrote another.
Various Artists	Red, White & Blue Live	2006	Various	Live audio performances played at the 2005 RWB festival.
Various Artists	West Wind	2007	Various	Eleven songs written by Griffin and performed by different artists.
Colin Auty	Truth Hurts	2007	Dewsbury	None.
Various Artists	Red, White & Blue 2007 Live	2008	Various	Live audio performances played at the 2007 RWB festival.
Joey Smith	Not Just about Music	2008	Dewsbury	None.

To make the bad situation even worse, two Great White Records artists, namely Lee Haggan and Colin Auty, supported the dissenters. Moreover, in 2008, Auty launched a campaign to oust Griffin as the party’s chairman. He failed and resigned his membership in summer 2008. In spite of these developments, however, Great

White Records continued to sell Haggan's and Auty's albums. That year, the label merged with Excalibur, then under the management of Arthur Kemp, but stopped releasing music CDs.

In summer 2009, the BNP tried to revitalise Great White Records, and young and energetic Joey Barber (better known under his stage name Joey Smith) replaced Hannam as the record label's director. Smith actively started to promote the label on the internet. In July 2009, Smith registered a Facebook page for Great White Records. At the same time he opened the label's official YouTube channel,<sup>36</sup> and uploaded nine music videos by himself, David Hannam, Lee Haggan, and Richard Greenfield. According to the statistics provided by YouTube, the most popular Great White Records video is 'Pondlife' by Joey Smith (11,284 plays), who leaves his competitors far behind. Curiously, in contrast to the other Great White Records videos, 'Pondlife', a song scoffing at a gilded youth, has nothing to do – in terms of the lyrics – with the far-right agenda. In terms of context, however, the song can still be considered right-wing, as it was produced by Smith in response to Lily Allen's song 'Fuck You', which itself criticised the BNP's bigotry.<sup>37</sup>

Despite the initial active promotion of Great White Records, Smith failed to push it forward. The label's Myspace, YouTube and Facebook pages have been neglected since 2009, while its website, [www.greatwhiterecords.com](http://www.greatwhiterecords.com), is no longer active. The label's CDs are distributed through Excalibur, currently under the management of Alwyn Deacon, a Nuneaton pub landlord. It seems unlikely that Great White Records will recover as a full-fledged music label any time soon.

## Conclusion

The two far-right music operations, managed by the Final Conflict group and the BNP, are very different. At this moment, both Final Conflict Productions and Great White Records do not release any CDs and are on the decline. Yet the difference between them lies not so much in managerial aspects – although they are important – as in their different approaches to far-right music itself. As argued earlier, there are two major types of far-right music.<sup>38</sup> One is White Power music, which is generally characterised by encouraging and glorifying hatred and even violence towards ethnic minorities and ideological enemies, as well as associated with the political cause, however marginal, that inspires it. The other is a type of far-right music, which I call '*apoliteic* music', characterised by an ideological message that contains either obvious or veiled references to fascism, while simultaneously being detached from any practical attempt to implement that message through explicit political activity. Bands such as Death in June, Von Thronstahl and H.E.R.R. epitomise this trend. While the Final Conflict group promotes White Power music, the BNP has chosen

to focus neither on White Power nor on *apoliteic* music. As the BNP has been pursuing a 'moderation' and 'electability' agenda, these major types of far-right music clearly appear to be inappropriate as tools of propaganda. However, nationalist 'folkish' ballads, which are the party's musical choice, have proved to be quite unpopular, developing an audience confined only to the artists' friends and immediate followers.

The Final Conflict group is what Roger Griffin terms a right-wing groupuscule – a concept outlined elsewhere in this volume.<sup>39</sup> Although its size is negligible, its significance lies in its easy association with other, ideologically similar groups, for example, B&H or the Romanian neo-Nazi organisation Noua Dreaptă. As a groupuscule, the Final Conflict group combines 'organizational autonomy with the ability to create informal linkages with, or reinforce the influence of, other such formations'.<sup>40</sup> In terms of ideology, rhetoric and music that the Final Conflict Productions has released, this groupuscule is not limited by the slightest notice of political correctness, and is not concerned about 'electability'. This has given the Final Conflict group a freedom to release and distribute aggressive White Power music which attracts far more listeners than 'moderate' nationalist ballads do. The internet in general, and various social networks and online shopping websites in particular, function as a magnifying glass: in case of the Final Conflict group they help to sell music and, therefore, promote radical right-wing ideas, while in case of the BNP they only show – as the Great White Records' inactive website and neglected Myspace and Facebook pages so eloquently demonstrate – the inefficiency of the party's approach to music and lack of managerial skills.

## NOTES

- 1 I am grateful to the British Academy for providing financial support for this research.
- 2 David Lyon, 'Cyberspace Sociality: Controversies Over Computer-Mediated Relationships', in Brian D. Loader (ed.), *The Governance of Cyberspace: Politics, Technology and Global Restructuring* (London and New York, 1997), p. 23.
- 3 Shanyang Zhao, 'The Internet and the Transformation of the Reality of Everyday Life: Toward a New Analytic Stance in Sociology', *Sociological Inquiry*, 76 (2006), p. 464.
- 4 Skrewdriver Radio: Streaming 24 hours a Day!, <http://www.skrewdriver.isdrecords.com>, accessed 9 December 2010.
- 5 28 Radio, <http://www.28radio.net>, accessed 9 December 2010. The numbers "28" stand for the letters "B" and "H" which make up an acronym for Blood & Honour, and 28 Radio is directly associated with the official website of this organisation (<http://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk>).
- 6 An extensive account on the BNP and its origins can be found in Nigel Copsey, *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy*. 2nd ed. (Houndmills/New York, 2008).
- 7 'The Extreme Right in Britain', *Searchlight*, 285 (March 1999), p. 21.
- 8 'An Introduction', *Final Conflict* 1 (1992), p. 1.
- 9 Derek Holland, *The Political Soldier: Thoughts on Sacrifice and Struggle* (Croydon, 1990).
- 10 Idem, *The Political Soldier: A Statement* (London, 1984).
- 11 Copsey, *Contemporary British Fascism*, p. 215.
- 12 Holland, *The Political Soldier: Thoughts on Sacrifice and Struggle*, p. 11.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 14 'An Introduction', *Final Conflict*, 1 (1992), p. 1.
- 15 On White Power music see Nick Lowles and Steve Silver (eds), *White Noise: Inside the International Nazi Skinhead Scene* (London, 1998); and Robert Futrell, Pete Simi and Simon Gottschalk, 'Understanding Music in Movements: The White Power Music Scene', *Sociological Quarterly*, 47 (2006), pp. 275-304; Michael Simkin (dir.), *A Donal Macintyre Investigation: Nazi Hate Rock* (Sydney, 2009).
- 16 On Southgate see Graham D. Macklin, 'Co-opting the Counter Culture: Troy Southgate and the National Revolutionary Faction', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 39 (2005), pp. 301-326.
- 17 'Final Conflict', *Blood and Honour*, 22 (2002), p. 8.
- 18 The acronym 'I.S.D.' stands for Ian Stuart Donaldson, name of the late Skrewdriver's leader.
- 19 On Schmidt see Heidi Beirich, Mark Potok, '40 to Watch: Leaders of the Radical Right', *Intelligence Report*, 111 (Fall 2003), <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-report/browse-all-issues/2003/fall/40-to-watch>, accessed 28 December 2010.
- 20 See <http://finalconflictblog.blogspot.com>, accessed 28 December 2010.
- 21 See <http://myworld.ebay.co.uk/77eastender77>, accessed 28 December 2010.
- 22 Customers are not obliged, although encouraged, to leave feedback for items they have bought. Paul Resnick and Richard Zeckhauser report that only 52.1% of buyers leave feedback on eBay, see their 'Trust among Strangers in Internet Transactions: Empirical Analysis of eBay's Reputation System', in Michael R. Baye (ed.), *The Economics of the Internet and E-Commerce (Advances in Applied Microeconomics, Volume 11)* (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 127-157. Thus, we can assume that during the indicated period Hurley has sold about 5,195 items on eBay.
- 23 Copsey, *Contemporary British Fascism*, p. 44.
- 24 Sam King, 'BNP Leadership Contender Nick Griffin Has Accused His Rival John Tyndall of Distributing Material that "Reeks with Nazism"', *Searchlight*, 291 (September 1999), p. 11.
- 25 Nick Griffin, 'Moving Forward for Good', *Identity*, 21 (June 2002), p. 4.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 5-6.
- 27 See, for example, his article in the NF's publication: Nick Griffin, 'Culture and Nationalism', *New Nation*, 6 (Winter 1984), p. 3.
- 28 Nemesis, 'Never Too Old', *Red, White & Blue: Ballads for the New Britain* (2002).

- 29 'Building a Nationalist Music Alternative', *Identity*, No. 18 (March 2002), pp. 8-9.
- 30 David Hannam, 'Statement: Great White Records', Great White Records, <http://web.archive.org/web/20060513231952/www.greatwhiterrecords.com/statement.html>, accessed 8 January 2011.
- 31 'Town Folk Musician Records CD for British National Party', *Doncaster Free Press*, 23 February 2006, <http://www.doncasterfreepress.co.uk/free-press-news/TOWN-FOLK-MUSICIAN-RECORDS-CD.1363019.jp>, accessed 8 January 2011. The second part of Griffin's statement is clearly a paraphrase of Donaldson's remark: 'A pamphlet is read only once, but a song is learnt by heart and repeated a thousand times'.
- 32 Neil Mackay, 'White off the Scale', *Observer Music Monthly*, 22 January 2006, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2006/jan/22/popandrock1>, accessed 8 January 2011.
- 33 Nick Griffin, 'New Year's Message', The British National Party, 31 December 2007, <http://web.archive.org/web/20080104023846/http://www.bnp.org.uk/?p=389>, accessed 9 January 2011.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Steve Cartwright, 'Rock Against Griffinism', *Final Conflict*, 9 January 2008, <http://finalconflictblog.blogspot.com/2008/01/b-responds-rock-against-griffinism.html>, accessed 9 January 2011.
- 36 <http://www.youtube.com/user/GreatWhiteRecords>, accessed 8 January 2011.
- 37 I thank John Richardson for pointing this out to me.