

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

RADIO 4

TRANSCRIPT OF "FILE ON 4" – "RIGHT WING EXTREMISTS"

CURRENT AFFAIRS GROUP

TRANSMISSION: Tuesday 22nd September 2009 2000 - 2040

REPEAT: Sunday 27th September 2009 1700 - 1740

REPORTER: Allan Urry

PRODUCER: Paul Grant

EDITOR: David Ross

PROGRAMME NUMBER: 09VQ4556LH0

THE ATTACHED TRANSCRIPT WAS TYPED FROM A RECORDING AND NOT COPIED FROM AN ORIGINAL SCRIPT. BECAUSE OF THE RISK OF MISHEARING AND THE DIFFICULTY IN SOME CASES OF IDENTIFYING INDIVIDUAL SPEAKERS, THE BBC CANNOT VOUCH FOR ITS COMPLETE ACCURACY.

“FILE ON 4”

Transmission: Tuesday 22nd September 2009

Repeat: Sunday 27th September 2009

Producer: Paul Grant

Reporter: Allan Urry

Editor: David Ross

ACTUALITY OF BIRMINGHAM DEMO

URRY: It's been a summer of discontent in some English towns and cities, as protestors take to the streets to demonstrate against Islamic extremism. Their opponents accuse them of provoking ethnic tension. File on 4 has been among the crowds to assess the threat they pose. We meet the men who say they're not racist, yet whose followers give Nazi salutes at these rallies. It's happening at a time when right wing extremists are committing hate crimes.

MAN: This man made no pretence of the fact that he was a Nazi. In his flat there were found four improvised explosive devices. Nails had been wrapped around, and these could have been used as grenades. It was his view that it was time for the right wing to begin a race war.

URRY: Privately, senior police officers have been warning about the possibility of a terrorist spectacular from violent right wing extremists. Only this month, a white supremacist from Reading became the latest British neo Nazi to be jailed when explosives were found in a bag he was carrying on a railway station. As community tensions rise, have the authorities been caught out by the re-emergence of the far right?

SIGNATURE TUNE

ACTUALITY AT DEMONSTRATION

ACTUALITY OF SHOUTING 'WE WANT OUR COUNTRY BACK'

URRY: Birmingham, Saturday the 5th of September.

ACTUALITY OF CHANTING

URRY: Members of a group calling themselves the English Defence League have come to the city centre on one of its biggest shopping days of the year. It's also the day of an England football international, and the EDL is joined by a group of soccer fans under the name of Casuals United. It's a provocative atmosphere.

ACTUALITY IN BIRMINGHAM

URRY: Just off the main shopping area there is a pub and bar. This has become the unofficial gathering point for those from the English Defence League, Casuals United and others who've come here today to protest. The police are out in force, there are police vans parked all across the streets, there are officers with helmets and riot shields. There's been a bit of chanting. The protestors are all inside refreshing themselves before they head off for their demonstration.

BROOKES: My name's Leisha Brookes. There's people from Scotland, people from Wales, people from Cheshire, people from London, people from Luton. I myself, I'm from Essex. We want to stop the influx of Muslim extremists building mosques and trying to insert Sharia law into this country. We do not want Sharia law, we do not want this to become a Muslim country. If I went to another country, I would respect their laws.

URRY: But before long the tone deteriorates. Chants with offensive language come from those inside the pub.

ACTUALITY OF CHANTING 'WHO THE FUCK IS ALLAH'

URRY: Is this the way to do it, gathered in a pub, glasses and bottles thrown?

WOMAN: No, no, no, there's no glasses and bottles thrown. There was a glass thrown. Unfortunately we do have a few unruly elements, but it's not the majority rule. The majority of us want a peaceful protest. If no one's attacking us, we will not attack back.

URRY: There was a lot of chanting going on in that pub, a lot of bad language too.

WOMAN: That you will get, hang on, there's an England game today and you'll get that at any England game. If you get a large group of guys that are being forced to sit in a pub by the police, they're not allowed to come out, they're going to have to keep drinking and tensions are going to run high.

ACTUALITY OF CHANTING

URRY: Right down at the bottom end of the street, where the English Defence League are corralled into a pub is a shopping area, and in that area are their opponents, and there have been bottles thrown, a lot of jeering and chanting, again a strong police presence. There have been one or two shows of strength from some of the more powerfully built members of the Asian community, and at the moment the police are stopping them coming down this little precinct, because just around the corner is the pub where the other crowd are.

ACTUALITY OF SHOUTING IN BENNETT STREET

POLICE OFFICER: Bottles being thrown! Back up, back up ...

URRY: That just took a turn for worse with the other group of protestors trying to make a charge. They've come halfway down a street, we're at a sort of crossroads where the pub is. Bottles thrown, bricks thrown, police in hot pursuit, and I think now what they're trying to do is to make sure they don't come down another side street whilst they've got the difficult task of getting the English Defence League and their supporters onto two double decker buses, because that's taking quite a bit of time.

ACTUALITY OF SIRENS

URRY: They were bussed out of the city for their own safety. On the day, police made a total of ninety arrests on both sides. Birmingham councillor, Salma Yaqoob, a Muslim woman from the left wing party, Respect, believes gangs of Asian youths who turned up to counter-protest played into the hands of the EDL. But she points out it was the third time in recent weeks that the protestors had come to the city.

YAQOOB: It is very unfortunate and regrettable that some Asian young people did rise to the provocation, thousands of leaflets were given out in the run up to these so-called protests to say, do not rise to the provocation, in fact that's exactly what the EDL want, that's the reason why they're coming to Birmingham is that we can see these scenes of clashes and they can turn around and say, 'Well, multiculturalism isn't working.' And they can spread fear amongst all communities and tensions will increase. And I think some of these people, having talked to some of the ones who did turn up, they should be condemned, any violence should be condemned, you know, there should be no reservation about that. But unfortunately the feeling on the street was that these people have been allowed to come twice, they're coming again and we want to give a message to them so that they will not return. The EDL had actually come with the very intention of that kind of provocation. They wanted an overreaction so that those people could also be blamed.

URRY: West Midlands police are also sceptical about the English Defence League's motives. Head of Operations, Assistant Chief Constable Sharon Rowe, believes the EDL had little intention of staging an organised peaceful protest.

ROWE: The person we spoke to on the phone from the EDL was offering us to meet them outside of the city. We were offering them protest sites, and sort of right up to that morning that was what we were agreeing with the EDL.

URRY: But it's not really what happened though, was it?

ROWE: No. What actually happened on the day was that people came into the city, they sort of came together and got onto the streets. What was clear on the day that really there was no intent to protest. Once there was fighting on the streets, it appeared that the EDL then just wanted to get out of the city. So I have to question the reason why they came into the city in the first place. I think they knew the community was very much against them coming back to the city, which would generate a debate, potentially would generate violence, and that actually did happen.

URRY: The EDL organise themselves mainly on the internet. It provides easy access for others to join in, and the potential for violence in Birmingham was increased by some beyond their number who came on the day. We saw men in skinhead gear with tattoos signifying support of far right extremist groups, others who gave Nazi salutes. Casuals United, who run with the EDL, were founded by a self-confessed soccer hooligan, who's served prison sentences for attacks on rival supporters. Police identified troublemakers and men of violence.

ROWE: We actually put officers into all the football bars, because we knew there was a link to some football high risk supporters.

URRY: Thugs? Football hooligans?

ROWE: Yes, football hooligans. I think when you actually start looking at the internet; it does attract people from other protest groups. We have got lots and lots of footage at the moment that we are trawling through to identify who committed offences on the day and no doubt we will be making further arrests. And that intelligence is being shared with the National Public Order Intelligence Unit, who are helping us to identify those individuals.

URRY: They're not just protestors, are they? They're right wing extremists, a lot of these people.

ROWE: I've seen the profile of who was arrested on the day. The investigation is ongoing, we've got lots of footage and we've got more people to identify. So I'm not ruling out any other groups at the moment.

URRY: So who are the EDL? A key stronghold for them is Luton, one of Britain's most multicultural towns, and a community which finds itself on the fault line of current tensions.

ACTUALITY OF SOLDIERS' HOMECOMING

URRY: When the Royal Anglian Regiment had a homecoming parade through Luton in March following a tour of Iraq, a small group of Islamic extremists called Al Muhajaroun turned up to wave offensive placards and shout insults. It incensed the crowd and later drew condemnation from almost all quarters, including the local Muslim community and the Prime Minister. Peter Adams, from the Luton Council of Faiths, saw what happened when Al Muhajaroun began to demonstrate.

ADAMS: They're there, standing there with their banners – Butchers of Basra, Murderers, Rapists, etc, and it just inflamed those who saw it. Ordinary, good, solid Lutonians angered to the point of violence, a violence that I've not seen before. Just lashing out, wanting to get through, and then the way that that anger in the crowd was whipped up and turned on them. By the end of the morning there was a counter demonstration going on.

URRY: Was there a level of organisation in that counter demonstration then?

ADAMS: It looked like it. It looked like there were those who did the classic extreme right wing thing of mobilising, whipping up the anger, turning valid frustration and anger that was just lashing out in all directions and turning it into a organised event and protest.

URRY: It's that frustration and anger which the EDL claim to represent. First they formed a group called United Peoples of Luton, who marched in the town leading to disorder. Then they transformed into the English Defence League.

ACTUALITY WITH WAYNE

URRY: You must be Wayne.

WAYNE: Yes, hiya.

URRY: Thanks for coming to talk to us today.

WAYNE: No problem.

URRY: We're from the BBC.

WAYNE: Okay.

URRY: Is it all right if you show us round the estate?

WAYNE: Yes, no problem.

URRY: Getting in the car?

WAYNE: Yes.

URRY: We met up with someone who called himself Wayne and who told us he speaks for them. Wayne's a man in his late twenties, stocky with a firm handshake, a very short haircut and tattoos.

ACTUALITY WITH WAYNE

URRY: The name you've given us is not your real name, is it?

WAYNE: It's not.

URRY: We've got difficulty and our listeners will have difficulty in sort of verifying who you are.

WAYNE: That's just through fear...that's through fear of safety. You go on Jihadist websites, they're already circulating pictures of people in English Defence League and they're calling for a Fatwa or something, basically for people to be killed over it.

URRY: Where's headquarters?

WAYNE: It's all over the country, to be honest.

URRY: Because you've got an executive committee, have you?

WAYNE: They've got a committee set up, yeah.

URRY: Where are the committee? Where do they all meet?

WAYNE: All over the country. It's done through a secure thing on the internet.

URRY: People worry about an organisation, don't they, that you can't really verify, it's not clear who's behind it, not clear who the names and addresses are, not clear who the committee is.

WAYNE: Because quite clearly they'll be attacked.

URRY: As we drove around, it wasn't long before the subject of the recent EDL visit to Birmingham came up. They think that your organisation or the people that attach themselves to your organisation are stirring up racial hatred.

WAYNE: How? By wanting to come out and speak out against Muslim extremists acting in our communities?

URRY: I know you say you target Muslim extremists, but what it quickly turns into – and we've been on one of these demonstrations – what it quickly turns into is anti Muslim feeling andbigoted chants.

WAYNE: Yes, it did It has now. You put England game on TV and you fill any city centre, large groups of young Muslim males walking the streets, there will be friction anyway.

URRY: There is a very very provocative atmosphere there. Racist chants

WAYNE: Which racist chants?

URRY: Racist chants – 'We want our country back'.

WAYNE: We want our country back – how is that racist?

URRY: 'Allah Allah, who the F is Allah?' That's all pretty offensive stuff, isn't it? So the English Defence League isn't against Islam?

WAYNE: No, it's against Islamic extremism, it's against extremism.

URRY: Because I want to show you a leaflet that was handed out at the recent demonstration in Birmingham. It's got your website address at the bottom of it and it says here, 'Islam is a threat to us all. Don't let this oppressive religion go unchallenged. Time to make a stand.'

WAYNE: Yes, that is not, that's a leaflet that's been made off someone's own back.

URRY: It's got your website on it.

WAYNE: I know. The English Defence League, the only official thing is on the website or the banners.

URRY: Luton Borough Council says it too is against extremism, but leader Hazel Simmons admits they've had little success engaging with the EDL about their protests and what lies behind them.

SIMMONS: We've never been able to sit round a table with this group, and my instinct tells me – and it is my instinct because I've not spoken to them – is that they don't want to actually do anything that's within the proper format. To be honest with you, if you want to do things in the proper format, you don't come charging through the town with balaclavas on, do you?

URRY: They say they're in fear of their own safety, they'll be targeted by the Muslim extremists that they say they want to rid the town of.

SIMMONS: Well, I mean, they obviously know very little about Luton, if that's what they're saying, and it does anger me slightly that people from outside of our town decide to take the town on.

URRY: I think it's the people inside your town actually.

SIMMONS: There are people in, I recognise, but we know from the previous stuff that was on the internet, people from outside of the town are also agitating.

URRY: A lot of the arrests from the demonstrations subsequent to the Flashpoint one back in March were people with Luton addresses, weren't they?

SIMMONS: That's right, they were, yes, I noticed that myself, yes. So obviously there is a growing resentment in part of our community as well.

URRY: So what's the resentment about? Does the man who calls himself Wayne have a point? He was keen to show us examples of his grievances as we drove around.

ACTUALITY IN CAR WITH WAYNE

WAYNE: That's the park for the local community. That's as big as the park gets now.

URRY: It's pretty small though, isn't it?

WAYNE: It's small. It's from the 1970s. This is a big community live in Luton.

URRY: What is the estate called?

WAYNE: Farley Hill. Predominantly this area was mainly white. It's a lot changing that now. As soon as a council house comes up, the family moving in, it's not even whether they're white or black or brown, they're Muslim and that's just the way it is. Here's a park here, this is the Islamic area of Luton.

URRY: Yes, but that, I mean, it's a very nice looking park with great facilities for children that I can see down there, but that hasn't just been put in for Muslim people, has it?

WAYNE: Well it hasn't, but why won't they put it on Farley Hill? I'm not saying it's all done on purpose, but I'm saying when people assess it and people think, like young kids think about it in Farley Hill, they think, 'Hold on, all we see is Islamic cultural centre or Islamic community centre or Luton Town played in the Cup Final and ten coaches of Muslim children were taken for free to encourage young Muslims from Bury Park to get involved in Luton Town.' People will look and think well that's not fair.

URRY: But isn't that part of how you integrate people?

WAYNE: It is part of how you integrate, but if you're going to take ten coaches of Muslim kids who can't afford tickets, there's ten coaches full of kids up Farley Hill who can't.

URRY: Council leader, Hazel Simmons, says the town has what's known as a community cohesion policy, based on partnership working to build understanding between faiths - and she argues it's been a success.

SIMMONS: If you've got a town like we have, where part of our community dies seven years younger than another part of our community, that can't be right in a cohesive society. We have certain wards where unemployment is much higher than other wards. We look at it in a holistic way rather than saying cohesion is just about race, because it's not.

URRY: When you step back from this, do you think you might have been guilty of not doing enough for some of the poorer white areas, who are complaining to us that they don't get the facilities and community support, as far as they're concerned, that they see other parts of the town getting? And of course they always point to the Muslim part of town.

SIMMONS: There are many white communities in Luton that do very well. I don't like talking about white and black or white and Muslim communities. There are communities and we work for them all.

URRY: We've just been taken on a tour of Farley Hill, for example, where they don't seem to have an awful lot up there - there's a bit, but not much.

SIMMONS: I'm really surprised at that, because they've got a community centre up there, there's quite a lot of facilities up there, and I'm shocked to hear that. I think they're using the argument about facilities to batter other political aspirations they've got.

URRY: All this is taking place in a town which has had money from central Government to tackle violent extremism under something called the Prevent strategy. Luton got more than £160,000 of extra cash to distribute to schemes which met the

URRY cont: Government's agenda, but the trouble is that agenda has focussed almost exclusively on the Muslim community. And in Luton, few give it unqualified support. The council agrees some of the funding for women's groups and similar initiatives were of value, but believes it should have been allowed to spend the money as it saw fit across the town to help cohesion. Muslims are unhappy that it stigmatises them as having violent extremists in their midst, and it's given Wayne and the EDL something to moan about, because they argue it's Luton's Muslims who get all the money and not them. Even Peter Adams of the Council of Faiths believes it's been divisive.

ADAMS: I don't think the Government Preventing Violent Extremism agenda, the PVE agenda as it's called, is terribly well thought through. We need activities that bring us together, not money just being poured into activities just for Muslims. To use that money you have to self identify as an extremist almost and not many people are going to do that, are they?

URRY: So there's an imbalance in the funding that has gone to the Muslim community – as the white community see it, I suppose, at their expense.

ADAMS: There is the groundswell now becoming evident, but which was obviously there beforehand, in the white community of those who feel equally marginalised within society. I mean, up until 9/11 we left the Muslims to be marginalised and there are now many who feel they've been favoured and now there are many who would say, 'We too are left out.'

URRY: We wanted to interview a minister about the Government's Prevent strategy. We were offered the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, John Denham, but he pulled out 24 hours before it was due to take place. No other minister in his department was prepared to come on the programme either. In a statement from the Department we were told Prevent had had some real successes, but there was a recognition that:

READER IN STUDIO: We need to continually respond to feedback from the local authorities and community organisations involved in delivering a programme on the ground. We have acknowledged that the Preventing Violent Extremism label can isolate some groups, and therefore funding going into communities will no longer be branded in this way.

URRY: The Government is to put another £7.5 million into tackling Al-Qaeda influenced extremism, but at the moment the violence appears to be coming from the other direction as well.

LATIF: People said for the first time in their life they felt very very vulnerable, it was a feeling that, you know, they haven't had before.

URRY: Farasat Latif runs a mosque known as the Islamic Centre, in the heart of Luton's Bury Park. In May, someone tried to burn it down, using firebombs. CCTV captured what happened in the dead of night.

LATIF: The first thing people saw was two youths - from the camera it was hard to identify their nationality – jumped out of the car and run towards the mosque. They had something in their hands and they ran down the corridor. They tried to smash one of the windows to pour petrol into the window. They were unsuccessful.

URRY: This is your vulnerable point here, isn't it? There's a little alleyway down the side of the Islamic Centre and mosque, which is an easy sort of hiding place really.

LATIF: Absolutely yes. No, we've got security there now, we've got security doors there. At the time we didn't have them. We weren't expecting anything like this. So they smashed a second window of the library, poured petrol and some accelerant. That immediately caused an explosion and then the CCTV footage sees them, catches them running away from the scene. And immediately about four or five young Asian men running towards the scene to help put the fire out.

URRY: You've had it rebuilt now, haven't you?

LATIF: Yes.

URRY: So can we just go inside and have a bit of a look at that?

ACTUALITY ENTERING MOSQUE

LATIF: The explosion actually knocked the wall out. It was still standing, but it was leaning at about 30 degrees. That was the main damage done to the mosque. The last person left about half an hour before the incident, so sometimes people do sleep over at night times. Fortunately, and often they use the library actually because it's like a rest room.

URRY: So you could have been looking at fatalities?

LATIF: Absolutely yes. And the biggest irony is that our mosque has been active against violent extremism for the last fifteen years. We are probably the most active mosque against extremists. We are the only mosque that ban Al-Muhajaroun, so the irony is we actually got attacked.

URRY: The centre had received religious and racist hate mail in the days running up to the attack. Mr Latif believes that stemmed from what happened during the soldiers' homecoming parade. So was there some forethought to the firebombing?

LATIF: The police told us that the car used to drive the perpetrators to the mosque was stolen nine months before the incident and it was off the radar, so the car was kept for a good eight, nine months before the incident, and that points to an element of planning, definitely.

URRY: And then there's the run up with the letters and the letter afterwards.

LATIF: That's right. And it could be that the letters are not actually anything to do with the incident itself. I mean, they had a sort of far right insignia on them. Whether it was a far right organisation who was responsible for the firebombing, it's hard to say really, we can't pin it down to an organisation. It's led to a feeling of vulnerability and also, to an element, almost a siege mentality – them and us.

URRY: You're on edge in the community.

LATIF: Absolutely. We're on edge. And because everyone is expecting another attack and we were doing a risk assessment on our mosque, we're thinking maybe the next attack could be an incendiary device left in the mosque, because people come into the mosque with bags. Our mosque, people of many many different nationalities, so if an English person was to walk into our mosque, he wouldn't stand out. We're looking at different options, maybe even searching people before they come into the mosque.

URRY: So far no one's been caught. The firebomb attack has added to the tension around the EDL and the disorder that came with them. As summer came to a close, Luton was on virtual lockdown over the August bank holiday weekend as police successfully applied to the Home Secretary for a banning order to keep troublemakers from out of town demonstrating. Fixtures for home soccer games are being changed to allow for more policing, because the ground is in the mainly Asian area of Bury Park. The Police Service has begun to think more strategically about how to deal with the sort of disruption seen in this and other towns and cities. West Midlands Assistant Chief Constable Sharon Rowe argues the law needs updating to give them more appropriate powers to manage demonstrations.

ROWE: One of the things we're doing at the moment, West Midlands Police, with other forces around the country, is opening up that debate to say, you know, is the Public Order Act right for today's circumstances? The whole new dynamic here is the internet. All the communication and discussion goes on across the internet. At the last minute people can come together and form up and do whatever they choose really anywhere. We are fully supportive of peaceful protests, we are fully supportive of obviously freedom of speech and we will do everything we can to help anyone who wants to do that. As soon as it gets violent, that is unacceptable, and I think we need to have better powers to

STANDING: Yes, I think that it has. I think that apart from anything else we do not live in a society for the most part where many people tolerate people walking round the streets openly advocating Nazi ideas and race war and this kind of thing, so I think yes, the internet is kind of reinvigorating it because it's getting it out to a wider audience and, as I said, making it much easier to access this stuff and to connect up with people in a way that you just couldn't do in the past.

URRY: It's not just an ideological talking shop either. Edmond Standing has easily been able to access Neo Nazi websites, which show the kind of damage improvised explosives can cause.

STANDING: There's a video that's been posted on here, a guide to how to make and use a pipe bomb, which again was posted by a British user. It has a demonstration of it going off.

ACTUALITY OF COMPUTER - EXPLOSION

URRY: That's a considerable explosion.

STANDING: That is, even though they've used fireworks and things like that in it. If that was in someone's face, you know, that could do serious damage. Or if you put that through someone's front door, which is obviously the kind of thing they're hoping that someone would do. This user is also claimed to have taken part in training weekends in the countryside and has posted pictures of people, you know, Sieg Heiling and all the rest of it.

URRY: How do you know this isn't just idiots fooling around though?

STANDING: The fact that a lot of these people may be fantasists and do not pose in themselves a direct threat doesn't mean that these forums and these websites don't, because these kind of groups and these kind of forums create an atmosphere and an environment in which it's seen to be more and more acceptable to express these kind of hateful views. On their website they have these manuals, you know, a website is

STANDING cont: easily accessible by anyone, advocating lone wolf tactics, talking about how anonymous people should show up at meetings and go on to carry out subversive and violent business. I think we've got a far more difficult task on our hands, which is dealing with these individual lone extremists who go to these groups or who hang around on the edges of these groups and become radicalised. They're far more hidden.

URRY: Less than three weeks ago, one of them was jailed - a white supremacist from Reading who'd been found in possession of explosives, about to board a train.

BAKER: When they searched the holdall they found inside it two incendiary devices. They were firelighters that had inside them electrical igniters and a booster that needed to be attached to a timer. And then once that had been done he could set the device and it could therefore ignite at a later stage.

URRY: The holdall in question belonged to 44 year old Neil Lewington, a fascist loner who hated Asians and liked making bombs. Lewington was caught by chance - arrested for being drunk at a railway station and then searched. The contents of his bag triggered a more serious investigation. According to Stuart Baker, a senior lawyer in the Counterterrorism Division at the Crown Prosecution Service, Lewington had the intent and the know-how.

BAKER: He was someone who had an interest in electronics, in chemicals and had spent some time preparing parts of devices that he could then construct at a later stage, which he had done with these two. But it's quite clear that he'd gone to some effort in what he'd done. It was our case that the devices he had with him were actually to be used to endanger life or to damage property, and the jury found guilty on that particular count, and therefore they were sure that those devices were going to be used for that purpose.

URRY: You don't know what his intended target would have been?

BAKER: We don't, it was never part of our case that we could say exactly what he was going to do with them, other than endanger life or cause damage to property.

URRY: It was further evidence seized from Lewington's home which showed who he was most likely to attack. Racist rantings in notebooks. Dr Matthew Feldman was asked by the prosecution to give testimony in the trial as an expert on far right extremism.

FELDMAN: There were two websites that he was using to derive not only some of his material but quite possibly some of his ideas. One of these was the so-called Blood and Honour Combat 18 website, which is really the pre-eminent British far right export when it comes to really neo Nazism. This is unabashed form of Neo Nazism that is spread out right across Europe through the so-called Oi music scene - sort of skinhead music scene. The other was much less expected, I must say, it was a website for the KKK, which again has been using the internet to set up international offices around the world to advance its own particular ideology.

URRY: Do you believe he was close to letting off some sort of device then?

FELDMAN: A very difficult question to answer. It could have been a day, it could have been a week or a month or never, but he certainly had operating explosive devices, and from what I gleaned from the testimony he was asking about people he considered to be non British in terms of their addresses or locales so that he could target them. So I have every reason to believe that yes, this person posed a very serious risk to public order in this country.

URRY: Lewington was given an indefinite jail sentence with a minimum recommended term of six years. He's just the sort of so-called lone wolf the authorities are most concerned about. Another, Martyn Gilleard, did little to disguise his race hate, but according to Peter McDonough, a lawyer with the Crown Prosecution Service counter terrorism division, he too was only caught by chance, when officers raided his house about another matter.

MCDONAGH: The police were investigating Gilleard for distributing indecent images of children. And when they attended at his flat in pursuance of a search warrant, they then found four improvised explosive devices under a bed. And then Counter

MCDONAGH cont: Terrorism became involved after that. The scene was then treated as a terrorism scene and dealt with in that way. Gilleard wasn't in the premises because he'd received information from another source that his premises were being searched by the police.

URRY: Somebody tipped him off?

MCDONAGH: Someone tipped him off. He tried to escape to Scotland and subsequently he was then arrested and returned to England.

URRY: Peter McDonough showed some of the evidence seized at Gilleard's home to File on 4.

MCDONAGH: There were photographs taken of the inside of the premises. The walls were replete with Nazi pictures and Nazi memorabilia.

URRY: And daggers I can see here, lots of pictures of Adolf Hitler.

MCDONAGH: This man made no pretence of the fact that he was a Nazi; he was a member of the British Nazi Party. He had written in a notebook and he in this notebook expressed his views about the state of Britain and what in his view had to be done.

URRY: What is he saying here then?

MCDONAGH: He said at one point in time that I'm so sick and tired of hearing nationalists talk of killing Muslims, of blowing up mosques, of fighting back only to see these acts of resistance fail to appear. The time has come to stop and talk and start to act. That's what he said.

URRY: He's a dangerous man then?

MCDONAGH: An extremely dangerous man.

URRY: But Gilleard wasn't only a Hitler fan and a paedophile. Inside his house were weapons and the home made bombs he'd designed to maim and kill.

MCDONAGH: Under a bed in Gilleard's flat were found four completed improvised explosive devices. These were camera casings in which black powder had been placed and in which nails had been wrapped around and these were effectively could have been used as grenades.

URRY: That could have caused serious injury or loss of life to any cause?

MCDONAGH: It could have caused serious injury or death, yes.

URRY: And they were under his son's bed, I understand?

MCDONAGH: They were under the bed of his son where his son slept when he came to stay with him.

URRY: He wanted to start a race war by the sounds of it.

MCDONAGH: The evidence suggests it was his view that it was time for the right wing to begin a race war.

URRY: Martyn Gilleard was jailed for sixteen years, eleven of those for terrorism offences. The judge said he'd intended to cause havoc. People like Gilleard and Lewington are the reason why senior police officers have started to speak of their concern. A member of the Association of Chief Police Officers has recently reminded a conference about the dangers they present, observing that his officers were regularly knocking over right wing extremists. But it appears to be such a sensitive subject at the moment that no one from ACPO would be interviewed for this programme. A senior commander in the Metropolitan Police has also spoken privately about the fear of them

