## THE TANGLED WEB OF FAR-RIGHT ANTI-MUSLIM HATE

The Andrew Leak Case Study



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## Tell MAMA Investigation into Andrew Leak and the Dover Attack



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#### Introduction

Tell MAMA's Research Team uncovered a range of racist, inflammatory material linked to several social media accounts belonging to the Dover asylum centre bomber Andrew 'Andy' Leak. To draw attention to the ideologies displayed over many years, we felt a short briefing drawing upon our findings, in-house research, and academic reports would help stakeholders and the wider public make sense of this horrendous event.

The anti-Muslim hostility and animus draw on a process of "Othering" that Udah and Singh (2019) define as positions created in opposition to the dominant white "Self". Crucially, they add, this "Self-Other" binary is just that: an imagined falsehood; born from a racialised construction that defines oneself through **repeated** *(our emphasis)* vilification and projecting all negative beliefs towards that out-group more broadly. Examples of this repeated vilification and stigmatisation include blaming Muslims collectively (e.g. using language like "their culture") for the horrific crimes of child sexual abuse and the structural failing of public institutions in supporting vulnerable children. Thematically, such language reflects these racialised frameworks highlighted in previous Tell MAMA annual reports. Both online and on our streets, as case studies we have published included verbal abuse, hate materials, and threats. The racist murder of the Muslim pensioner Mushin Ahmed is a reminder of how inflammatory rhetoric can lead to street-level violence with tragic consequences.

The briefing though short will demonstrate examples of where Andrew Leak expressed more violent sentiments on Twitter – targeting refugees and Muslims, including a calling for the indiscriminate murder of refugees in Europe in reply to a racist tweet linking them to "Islamic terrorism" to which he replied, "It's time to get the spitfires out" on September 26, 2022, just over a month before the attack on the asylum centre. The escalating violent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Udah, Hyacinth, and Parlo Singh. "Identity, Othering and belonging: toward an understanding of difference and the experiences of African immigrants to Australia." Social Identities 25, no. 6 (2019): 843-859.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> lbid. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Tell MAMA Annual Report 2018: Normalising Hatred. 83-85. Available from: <u>https://tellmamauk.org/project/tell-mama-annual-report-2018-normalising-hatred/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Tell MAMA Annual Report 2017: Beyond the Incident – Outcomes for Victims of anti-Muslim Prejudice. 29. Available from: <u>https://tellmamauk.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Tell-MAMA-Report-2017.pdf.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Tell MAMA. "Passenger Intervenes After Muslim Man Threatened and Called a Paedophile in Front of Their Children." TELL MAMA. Last modified November 8, 2019. <u>https://tellmamauk.org/passenger-intervenes-after-muslim-man-threatened-and-called-a-paedophile-in-front-of-their-children/.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Tell MAMA. "65 Year Old Taxi Driver in Rotherham Racially Abused & Told to 'Go Home'." TELL MAMA. Last modified July 14, 2016. <u>https://tellmamauk.org/65-year-old-taxi-driver-in-rotherham-racially-abused-told-to-go-home/.</u>

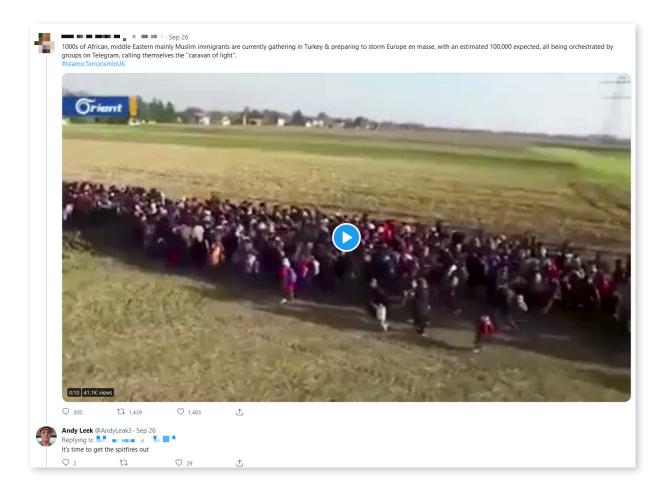
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Tell MAMA. "Grooming' Leaflets Targeted at Stirring Community Divisions Circulated in North Shields, Newcastle." TELL MAMA. Last modified July 29, 2015. <u>https://tellmamauk.org/grooming-leaflets-targeted-at-stirring-community-divisions-circulated-in-north-shields-newcastle/</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Tell MAMA. "GUILTY: Van Driver Who Mocked and Threatened Muslim Man After Attempting to Run Him over." TELL MAMA. Last modified March 20, 2019. <u>https://tellmamauk.org/van-driver-mocked-and-threatened-muslim-man-after-attempting-to-run-him-over/.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Tell MAMA. "The Mushin Ahmed Trial: when Anti-Muslim Hate Turns to Murder." TELL MAMA. Last modified February 29, 2016. <u>https://tellmamauk.org/the-mushin-ahmed-trial-when-anti-muslim-hate-turns-to-murder/</u>.

anti-Muslim and Islamophobic tweets culminated with Leak allegedly declaring a desire to murder Muslim children an hour before the attacks occurred<sup>10</sup>.

We also urge politicians and the media to resist engaging in divisive, stigmatising and inflammatory rhetoric, especially when such statements risk inflaming sentiments on social media.



Twitter took the welcome step to suspend the most recent account of Mr Leak. Our briefing identified various others (though they had far less reach than the most recent account). It raises pressing questions about if police forces were aware of the escalating, harmful and violent language. Twitter must clarify when the account was flagged for removal, as Kent Police must also clarify if Andrew Leak was known to the authorities before such terror occurred.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Weaver, Matthew. "Dover Petrol Bomb Attacker Said He Planned to 'obliterate Muslim Children'." The Guardian. Last modified November 2, 2022. <u>https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/nov/02/migrant-centre-attacker-planned-to-obliterate-muslim-children-in-final-tweet.</u>

# Social media hate: a pattern of far-right, anti-refugee and anti-Muslim views

The Facebook profile of the man responsible for firebombing an asylum centre in Dover contained anti-Muslim, anti-refugee, and vaccine conspiracy materials, as counter-terror police investigate a possible terror motive days after taking over the investigation.

Andrew Leak, 66, from High Wycombe, drove over 100 miles to attack the centre with three petrol bombs before taking his own life.

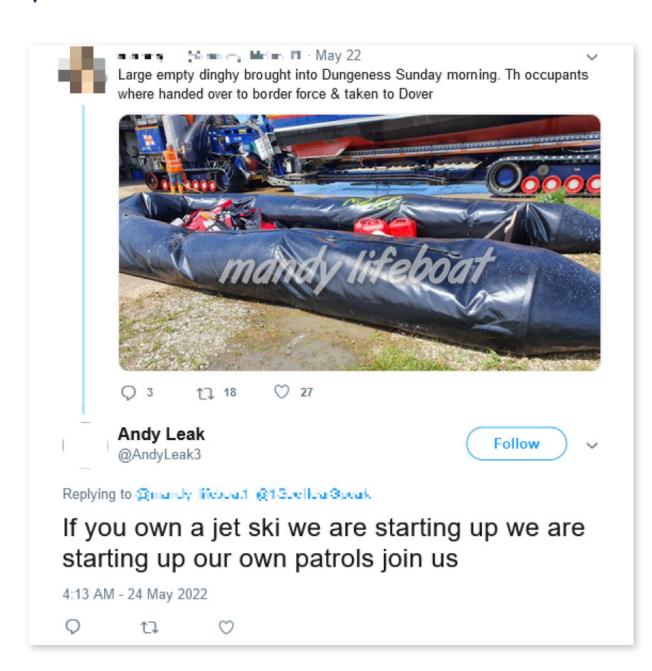
Tell MAMA's investigation following the findings of Kent Online<sup>11</sup> and HOPE Not Hate<sup>12</sup> uncovered an inactive Twitter account potentially linked to Andrew Leak from 2014, which included following the far-right, neo-fascist British National Party and calling for the internment of all "radical Muslims".

In late May 2022, tweets from a now-suspended Twitter account of Leak reveal an underlying desire to target refugees in Dover. For example, in reply to a recovered lifeboat, he wrote: "If you own a jet ski we are starting up we are starting up our own patrols join us". A further tweet called for the closing of a different refugee centre.

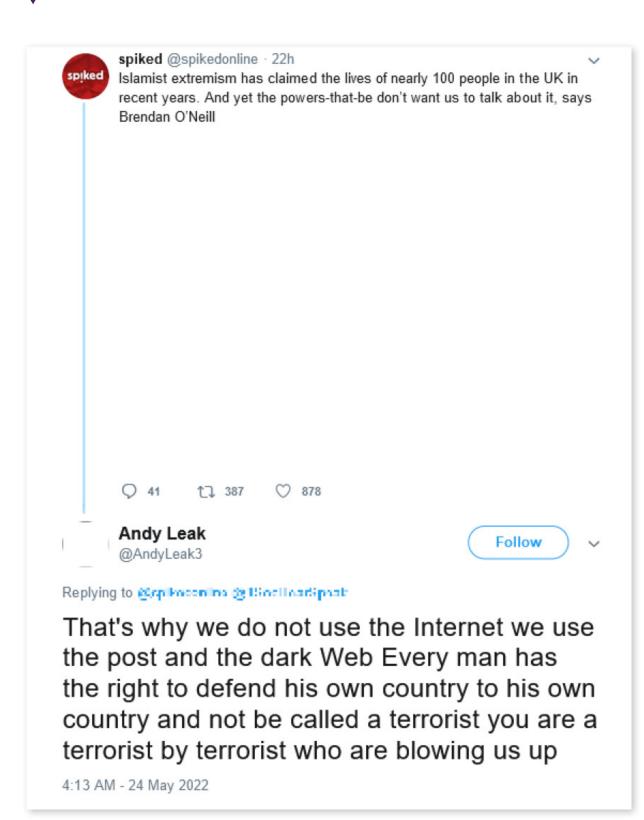


<sup>11</sup> Jee, Alex. "The Hate-filled Facebook Posts of Dover Petrol Bomber." Kent Online. Last modified November 1, 2022. <u>https://www.kentonline.co.uk/dover/news/the-hate-filled-facebook-posts-of-dover-petrol-bomber-276277/</u>

<sup>12</sup> HOPE not Hate. "Dover Migrant Centre Attacker Had a History of Far-right Views – HOPE Not Hate." HOPE Not Hate. Last modified November 1, 2022. <u>https://hopenothate.org.uk/2022/11/01/dover-migrant-centre-attacker-had-a-history-of-far-right-links/.</u>



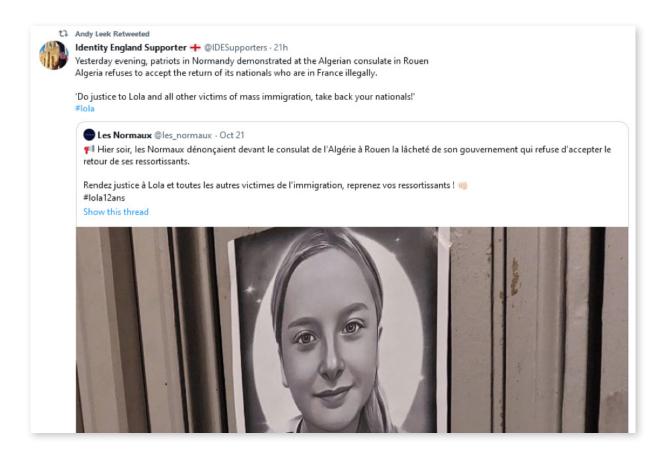
Somewhat ominously, on May 24, 2022, replying to an article on terrorism, Leak replied: "That's why we do not use the Internet we use the post and the dark Web Every man has the right to defend his own country to his own country and not be called a terrorist you are a terrorist by terrorist who are blowing us up".



Tell MAMA Investigation into Andrew Leak and the Dover Attack

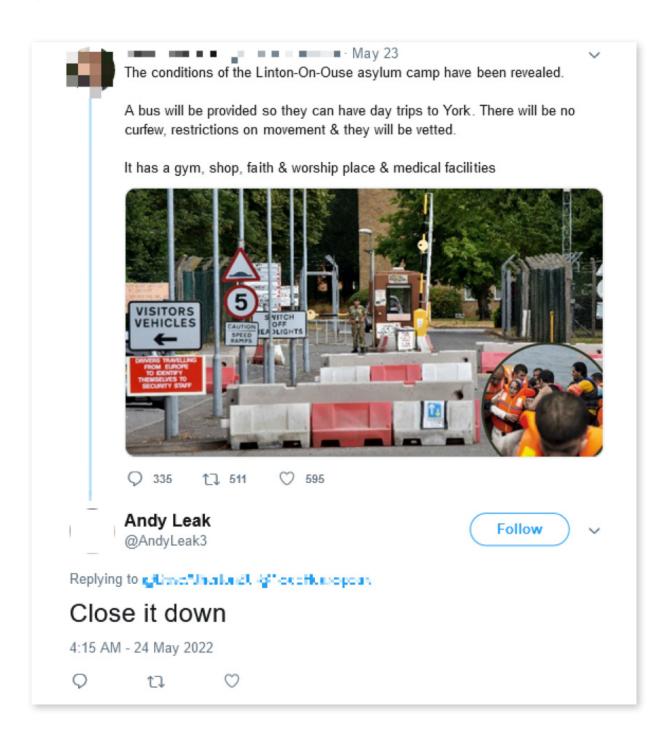
The @AndyLeak3 account would post other tweets that upped the inflammatory rhetoric, hinting at a pathway to violence with statements like "What else did they expect keep poking keep poking and you will be poked back" in response to stories about refugees.

One of the more extreme examples came when Leak tweeted "It's coming get ready if you're not ready you will not survive what is coming you have been warned stand your gsound". He retweeted support for the ethnonationalist group Identity England – born from the collapse of the domestic iterations of Generation Identity<sup>13</sup>.



Discriminatory tweets about Muslims included calls to remove all elected Muslim officials from their respective roles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Richards, Imogen. "A philosophical and historical analysis of "Generation Identity": Fascism, online media, and the European new right." *Terrorism and political violence* 34, no. 1 (2022): 28-47.





They should all be removed immediately join Lee join the white line



Kar (1) May 21 The Rape of Britain 3

Fresh from the dinghy within the last few weeks, living in **#Britain**'s hotels, they all arranged to meet our British children aged 10-14 for sexual activity after grooming them on social media app



Andy Leak @AndyLeak3

( Follow )

Replying to

This is enough how dear they this government has failed us watch the white line



andy leak @andyleak63	
Followers	Following
BritishNationalParty @bnp	Follow
The official Twitter account of the a better place to live; <a href="https://www.bnp.org.uk">bnp.org.uk</a>	e BNP. Join us today and help make Britain /join/ Tel 07572548669
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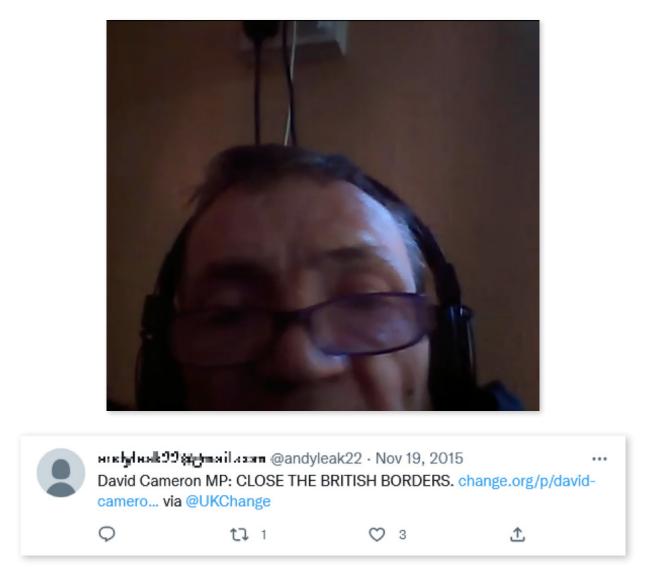
A Twitter account inactive since 2015 included videos from Leak, one of which, in response to the terror attacks in Paris in November of that year, included inflammatory anti-refugee statements like; "time to close the borders and sink all these boats. Let's sort out the strong from the weak".

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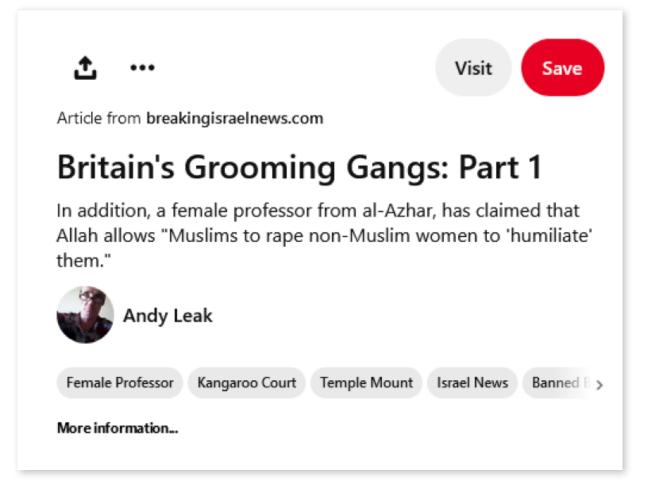


Andrew Leak: "It's about time we shut down the United Nations".

The same username (@andyleak22) revealed his Pinterest account. It included a post that included a statement that began, "We in the UK have a serious problem with Pakistan a Muslim grooming gangs", adding, "this is part of their culture it is racism the reason is do with race it's because they're only raping white Christian girls", posted three years ago.







## Pakistani grooming gangs

We in the UK have a serious problem with Pakistan a Muslim grooming gangs we have never had grooming gangs in this country where grown men in packs track down white Christian girls to rape this is part of their culture it is racism the reason is do with race it's because they're only raping white Christian girls this government has 10 years 5 years to bring this the book or we will bring it to book these are scum paedophiles and they will get what's coming to them by the courts of the UK kangaroo court time to save our children God save the Queen Less · 1 Pin 3y



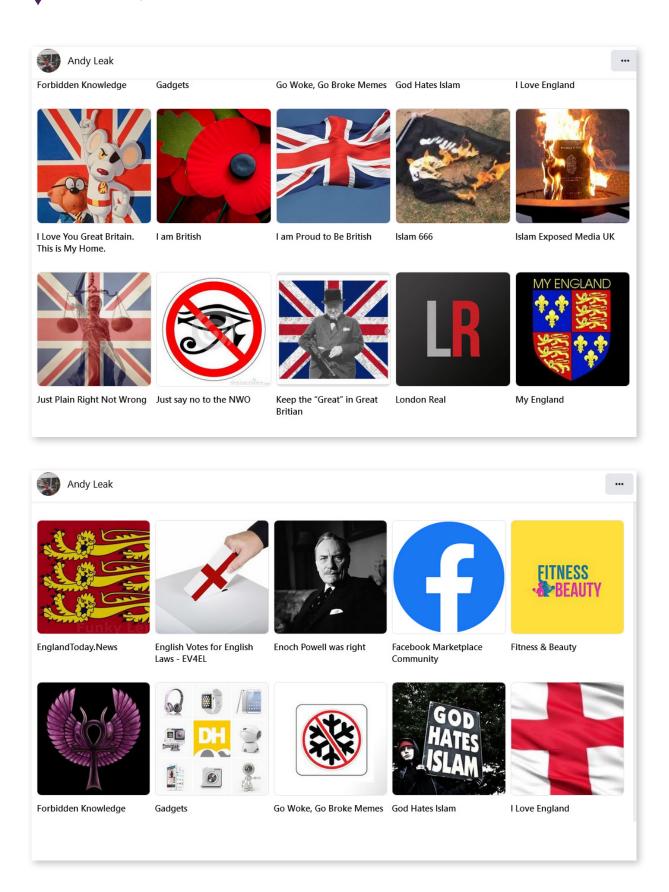
Andrew Leak would later praise Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson).

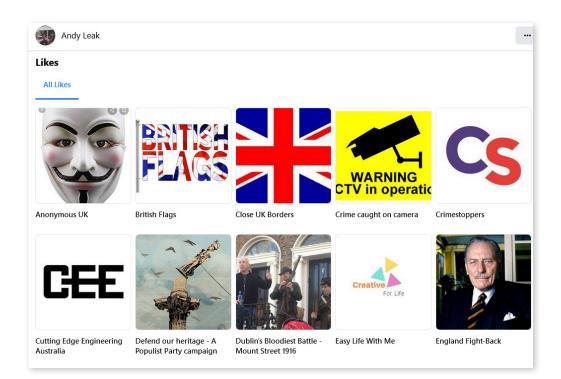
Similar rhetoric would appear on Facebook, as he said that "all Muslims are guilty of grooming ... they only rape non-Muslims" and only rape "white Christian girls".

Tell MAMA saw posts where Andrew Leak called for uprisings amidst incoherent, confounding statements,

Yesterday evening, we revealed how Leak had "liked" various far-right, conspiracist and racist pages.

Such examples included Enoch Powell was right; God Hates Islam; Close UK Borders; England Fight Back; Islam Exposed Media UK (which displays a photo of a copy of the Holy Qur'an burning as its profile picture); Islam 666; The Racist Posts; and Tumbling Down The Rabbit Hole (full of conspiracist materials).





Some of the above pages remain inactive (as of writing), suggesting that these views are long-entrenched, as 'Islam 666' had last posted in September 2021 and linked to a video about the so-called "globalist PLANdemic" echoing antisemitic discourse. In addition, the page 'Islam Exposed Media UK' has seen no new content since November 30, 2020.

Conversely, however, other pages remain far more active as of writing.

The Times newspaper revealed that Leak sought "revenge" for the murder of the Conservative MP Sir David Amess and shared content from "the far-right Traditional Britain Group, Turning Point UK and the US-based anti-Islamic movement ACT for America"<sup>14</sup>. He had also experienced various account suspensions or temporary bans for the racist or hateful content expressed.

One racist post shared last year from Leak detailed how a claim that he had sent a letter to the government, warning that "I will end illegal immigration into this country within one year from the French boat side."

Various nihilistic memes inspired by The Joker movies included quotes like "Die with Respect but don't let your respect die" and "3 THINGS TO KEEP IN MIND NEVER BEG ANYONE. NEVER TRUST ANYONE. NEVER DEPEND ON ANYONE" appeared throughout Andy Leak's Facebook.

He also took various photos of himself wearing masks from V for Vendetta and The Purge.

During a visit to a branch of the pub chain JD Wetherspoon in Easter last year, he captioned the photo "1st time in a pub in Kenya".

A neighbour told Sky News that Leak had rheumatoid arthritis and cancer, having experienced a recent cut in their benefits.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Johnston, Neil, Mario Ledwith, Ali Mitib, and Charlie Parker. "Migrant Centre Attacker Warned It Was 'time for Payback' After Amess Murder." The Times & The Sunday Times. Last modified November 2, 2022. <u>https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/25eb4d7a-59fc-11ed-9b1f-f7c251e9dfdc?shareToken=7f0dcbe4181c04252fd93a5e5815d0c1.</u>

#### Homophobia and transphobia

HOPE Not Hate identified<sup>15</sup> a further account linked to Andrew Leak before Twitter suspended the account for violating its policies. Comparing archival materials, we found several examples of anti-LGBT+ comments.

One tweet, dated May 24, 2022, recycled a long-standing homophobic myth blaming gay men for the apparent collapse of Ancient Rome<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, the homophobic stigmatisation around Monkeypox made headlines<sup>17</sup> as medical professionals called for rapid, compassionate public health responses, not stigmatising LGBT+ groups and framing the virus in the problematising language that perpetuates the harmful myth<sup>18</sup> of a "gay disease"<sup>19</sup>. Further tweets from Leak about the virus used more harmful, overt homophobic language.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Right Response Team. "Dover Attacker's Twitter Reveals Strong Support for Far-Right Migrant Hunters – HOPE Not Hate." HOPE Not Hate. Last modified November 2, 2022. <u>https://hopenothate.org.uk/2022/11/02/dover-attackers-twitter-reveals-strong-support-for-far-right-migrant-hunters/.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Park, James. "Academic Who Blamed Fall of Roman Empire on Gays Under Pressure to Resign." PinkNews | Latest Lesbian, Gay, Bi and Trans News | LGBTQ+ News. Last modified June 8, 2021. <u>https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2011/04/09/academic-whoblamed-fall-of-roman-empire-on-gays-under-pressure-to-resign/.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Chan, Wilfred. "Rightwing Media Embraces Aids-era Homophobia in Monkeypox Coverage." The Guardian. Last modified August 10, 2022. <u>https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/aug/10/monkeypox-homophobia-lgbtq-rightwing.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Aquino, Yves Saint James, Nicolo Cabrera, James Salisi, and Lee Edson Yarcia. "Monkeypox and the legacy of prejudice in targeted public health campaigns." BMJ Global Health 7, no. 10 (2022): e010630.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Gonsalves, Gregg S., Kenneth Mayer, and Chris Beyrer. "Déjà vu all over again? emergent monkeypox, delayed responses, and Stigmatized populations." Journal of Urban Health 99, no. 4 (2022): 603-606.



Other homophobic tweets linked gay men to paedophilia.



An example of the transphobic content Leak shared or tweeted on Twitter.

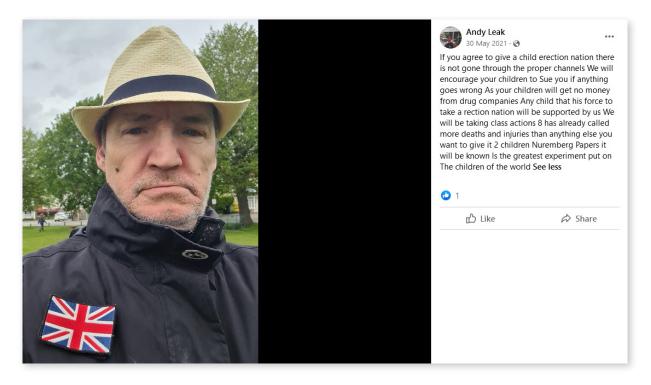


#### **Conspiracy theories**

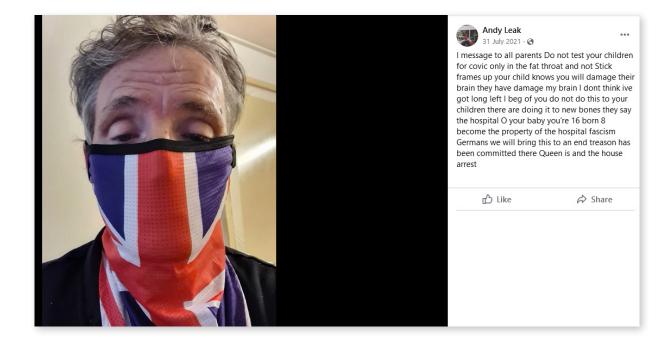
It is far beyond the scope of this short briefing paper to elaborate on existing literature and research on conspiracy theories. Instead, we want to focus on a few studies<sup>20</sup> showing that the influence of such theories creates an orthodox opinion that seeks to remove space for "acceptable opinions"<sup>21</sup>. The appeal of conspiracies arising from forms of validations whilst speaking to what some deem 'a search for meaning'. Thus, collapsing complexities into digestible singular explanations best characterised by perceived dysfunction or evil doing.<sup>22</sup>

Other research grounds the appeal in a socioeconomic disadvantage<sup>23</sup> or the perception of belonging to the "losing" side of politics find validation from conspiracy theories.<sup>24</sup>

Conspiracy beliefs have negative health consequences, especially around Covid-19 and vaccinations<sup>25</sup>. A small study from 2012 found a "positive association" between political cynicism, conspiratorial ideation, and authoritarianism in the desire to remove the rights of others<sup>26</sup>. Such findings may help us understand how someone like Leak expressed such views towards minoritised groups like Muslims and refugees.



- <sup>20</sup> Addley, Esther. "Study Shows 60% of Britons Believe in Conspiracy Theories." The Guardian. Last modified February 3, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/nov/23/study-shows-60-of-britons-believe-in-conspiracy-theories.
- <sup>21</sup> Keeley, Brian L. "Of conspiracy theories." The Journal of Philosophy 96, no. 3 (1999): 109-126.
- <sup>22</sup> Uscinski, Joseph E. "The study of conspiracy theories." Argumenta 2 (2017): 1-13.
- <sup>23</sup> Crocker, Jennifer, Riia Luhtanen, Stephanie Broadnax, and Bruce Evan Blaine. "Belief in US government conspiracies against Blacks among Black and White college students: Powerlessness or system blame?." Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 25, no. 8 (1999): 941-953.
- <sup>24</sup> Uscinski, Joseph E., and Joseph M. Parent. American conspiracy theories. Oxford University Press, 2014. 118.
- <sup>25</sup> Jolley, Daniel, and Karen M. Douglas. "The effects of anti-vaccine conspiracy theories on vaccination intentions." *PloS one 9*, no. 2 (2014): e89177.
- <sup>26</sup> Swami, Viren, Ingo W. Nader, Jakob Pietschnig, Stefan Stieger, Ulrich S. Tran, and Martin Voracek. "Personality and individual difference correlates of attitudes toward human rights and civil liberties." *Personality and Individual Differences* 53, no. 4 (2012): 443-447.



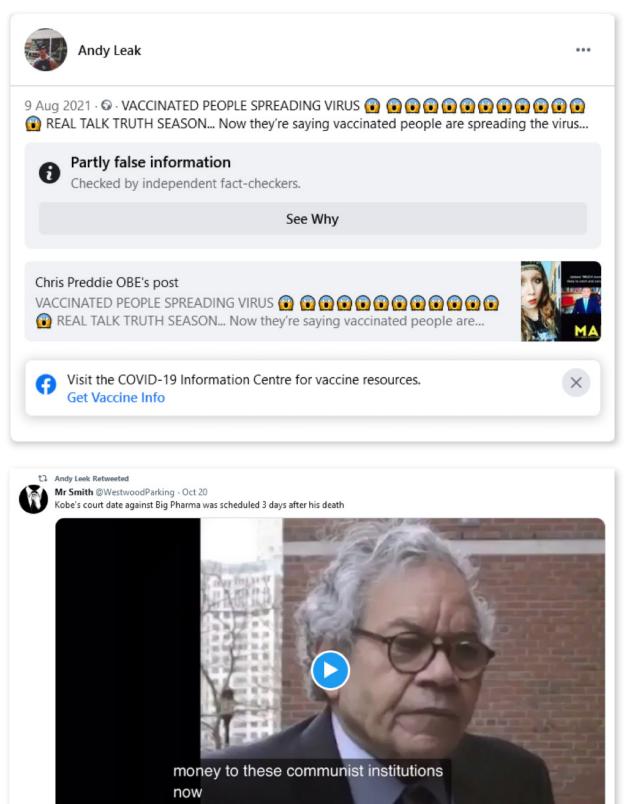


Andy Leak 30 July 2021 · 🚱

Maybe this will change your mind disgrace Never trust governments



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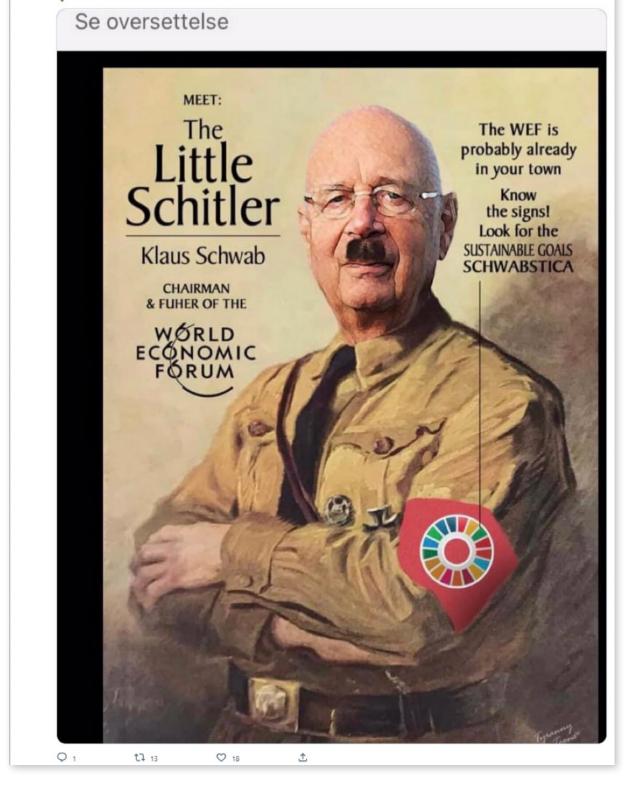


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Indigenous Norwegian Europa @NorwegianEuropa · Oct 20 Replying to @jolenebuntinguk 





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