PATHWAY TO TERROR



From antisemitism to terrorism: Robert Taylor and the Goyim Defense League (GDL)



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This report contains a large number of images that link to extremist websites and social media accounts, as well as images that contain explicit violence and racism. CST have blurred these images, as well as images that contain faces of members of the public who are captured within source material.

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Contents

- Introduction 4 6 The Synagogue of Satan Brutus of Goy 7 7 What is Telegram? 8 'Brutus of Goy' 12 How CST identified Brutus of Goy 19 From posters to harassment 21 Reporting to police 24 The GDL: a dedicated anti-Jewish network 24 What does the word 'goy' mean? What makes the GDL a network and not a group? 25 27 Anti-Jewish activities and propaganda 27 A moral dilemma 30 GDL links to the UK 31 Jon Minadeo and Mark Collett Jon Minadeo and Richard Hesketh 32 34 'Every Single Aspect of Mass Immigration is Jewish' flyer 37 The GDL in Britain: wider influence and activism
- **39** GDL on X
- **43** Conclusion and policy recommendations

Introduction

At Manchester Crown Court on 18 October 2024, Robert Taylor was sentenced to four years in prison with a one year extended license period for nine offences relating to racial hatred, two terror offences, two offences related to hatred on the grounds of sexual orientation and one case of support for a proscribed organisation.

Taylor had shared antisemitic and extreme content online and offline, and most notably posted dozens of anti-Jewish flyers around his hometown of Farnworth, Bolton. In the context of the wider British extreme right,

Taylor is not a wellknown name and may not seem a significant influencer. However, he serves as an interesting case study that highlights the importing into the UK of a specific type of extreme rightwing extremism and activism that revolves specifically around the hatred of Jewish people. The case of

The case of Robert Taylor demonstrates acutely how online radicalisation can lead directly to offline, 'real world' hate crimes.

Robert Taylor demonstrates acutely how online radicalisation can lead directly to offline, 'real world' hate crimes. It relies on the international nature of the modern extreme right and the way that online spaces are powerful tools of radicalisation. Even the most lowly of activists can be drawn into a world of extremism that provides them with a sense of misguided purpose and meaning.

CST first became aware of Taylor's activity in May 2021, when an anonymous account was posting extreme and antisemitic material in various online forums. Importantly, this account also displayed evidence of reallife antisemitic activism, with images of antisemitic flyers that the anonymous poster had put up on walls and bus stops in their local area. This sparked an investigation by CST which lasted nearly two years, and which ultimately led to a report of Taylor's activities to Greater Manchester Police and his arrest in February 2023. In the course of this investigation, CST connected Taylor to other 'real world' hate crimes that he had committed separately from his online activism. Taylor is an example of why, in the words of former Metropolitan Police Deputy Assistant Commissioner John Grieve, *"hate*

> crimes are the foothills of terrorism"; and why reporting anti-Jewish hate, whether it occurs on the streets or online, plays such a vital role in keeping our communities safe.

Although Taylor acted on his own, this report will demonstrate his connection to a much larger online network of right-wing extremists. It

was in these digital spaces that Taylor would share his extremist beliefs and actions, under the pseudonym 'Brutus of Goy'. In particular, Taylor had links to members of the Goyim Defense League (GDL), a loose transnational collective of right-wing extremists, originating in the United States, who promote antisemitism online and encourage offline anti-Jewish activism. The GDL is responsible for circulating vast quantities of antisemitic material which is used by activists in locally perpetrated anti-Jewish hate crimes. Their promotion of wider neo-Nazi extremism and extremist antisemitic conspiracy theories risks radicalising individuals globally, including people like Robert Taylor.

This case acutely demonstrates how online social networks, alternative tech platforms and the promotion of extremism intersect with each other and can lead to individuals being drawn into terrorism. It also illustrates the transnational nature of right-wing extremism and how, in this case, a specific brand of US-based domestic extremism was imported into the UK.

This Research Briefing is the second in CST's 'Pathway to Terror' series that outlines CST's specific work in tracking, monitoring and reporting individuals' online extremism. It has two sections: the first section reveals the full extent of Taylor's anti-Jewish activity, the ideological extremism that lay behind his offending, and CST's investigation that led to his arrest and conviction. The second part of this report looks at the GDL network more widely, its links to the UK, its growing presence on X alongside its use of alternative tech platforms, and its role in attempting to radicalise online users globally.

The Synagogue of Satan

In May 2021, CST's online research team found a nearly 3-minute video uploaded by an anonymous user called 'Brutus of Goy' to a chat on the encrypted messaging platform, Telegram. This video showed the user at a car boot sale¹ handing out antisemitic flyers while giving a running commentary, referring to Jews as 'our enemies'. At one point in the video, a visibly Jewish person walks past his camera and 'Brutus' refers to him as 'the synagogue of Satan' (the Jewish person appeared not to hear this). At no point did the user show his face on camera, but he did state that he was at the East Lancs Car Boot Sale - a regular event that takes place in Astley, west of Manchester in the Northwest of England. At this point there was no indication of Brutus's real identity.

CST's targeted monitoring of online spaces is focused on users who are sharing terrorist or potentially illegal antisemitic material or, as happened in this case, users who upload content of themselves engaging in socalled 'irl' (in-real-life) hate crimes and other extremist activities. These kinds of posts particularly concern CST as they indicate that a user has shifted from simply posting content online to engaging in real-world activity, and in turn may pose a violent or terrorist threat to the Jewish community. It was this specific concern, amongst other reasons, which sparked CST's investigation into 'Brutus of Goy'.

Of particular note was the material that Brutus was handing out in the video. These were flyers from a group called 'The Goyim Defense League' (GDL), a loose transnational, neo-Nazi collective, originating in the United States, that engages in explicitly anti-Jewish activity, both online and offline. Whilst the GDL itself is USbased, it uses online social media platforms to distribute its messaging globally and to encourage individuals to engage in locally perpetrated anti-Jewish activities, often through the distribution of explicitly antisemitic flyers. The flyers used by Brutus seemed a clear example of exactly that.

CST has previously identified and reported other individuals who have engaged in GDL-related activity in the UK. This includes Richard Hesketh,² who in 2021 was sentenced to four years in jail after pleading guilty to stirring up racial hatred by posting a series of viciously antisemitic homemade videos on the fringe social media site BitChute. Hesketh had previously collaborated closely with one of the US founders of the GDL, Jon Minadeo II. CST had tracked Hesketh's online activities and reported him to police in the UK, leading to his arrest and subsequent conviction.

¹ A car boot sale is an outdoor sale in which members of the public can sell second-hand goods, usually from the boot of their cars.

^{2 &}lt;u>CST Blog: Richard Hesketh: CST research puts</u> antisemitic far right video streamer in prison

Brutus of Goy

'Brutus of Goy' is a play on the name 'Brutus of Troy', the mythical founder of Britain. The term 'goy' comes from Yiddish, which was the language spoken by Jews in central and eastern Europe up until the Holocaust, and means a person who is not Jewish. While it did not originate as a derogatory term, today it is generally seen as an insult and is not widely used amongst Jewish people (most of whom are not Yiddish speakers). However, extreme right activists will often utilise the term 'goy' or 'goyim' (plural) as a way of taking ownership of the word. Within this usage by extreme rightwing activists is the false implication that Jews view non-Jews in negative terms and that the term 'goy' or 'goyim' is deployed regularly to refer to non-Jews as inferior and/or subservient. Therefore, by taking the pseudonym 'Brutus of Goy' Taylor is parodying the name 'Brutus of Troy' in an antisemitic way, interweaving British history and his extremist beliefs to identify himself as both British and proudly non-Jewish.

What is Telegram?

Telegram is an encrypted messaging application that gives users the ability to send direct



personal messages to each other, create group conversations, call other users and send images and files. Telegram's proclaimed USP (unique selling point) is privacy, meaning that all one-to-one messages are encrypted. Consequently, third parties, including in theory state intelligence agencies, cannot see the content of a conversation. Telegram has previously been exploited by jihadist groups as well as far-right extremists in groups that host thousands of users. Today, Telegram continues to host huge volumes of incitement, propaganda and hate. One such chat was that of the Goyim Defense League (GDL), and it was in this chat that Taylor shared some of his most extreme activity including content from the proscribed terrorist organisation National Action.

'Brutus of Goy'

The video uploaded by Brutus showing him handing out antisemitic leaflets and making abusive comments about Jewish people was found in a GDL group on Telegram that contained about 1,250 members and over 130,000 pieces of multimedia content, including photos, videos, audio files and files (this group is no longer online). This astonishing figure shows just how important a role visual media plays as part of the GDL's propaganda output, as well as the scale of the extremist ecosystem more generally. It is these images and videos which are then circulated online, aimed at inciting hatred and drawing other users into the GDL network. This may have been where 'Brutus' downloaded and printed the material he handed out at the East Lancs Car Boot Sale, demonstrating the circular links between extremist online networks, visual propaganda, radicalisation and the perpetration of real-world hate crimes, which are filmed and then uploaded to the online groups where the originating material came from.

It was in the GDL Telegram group that CST tracked and monitored Brutus's online activity, ultimately attempting to build a picture of both his ideological extremism and his current mindset. Both these factors help to form an assessment of whether or not someone may be moving towards engaging in real-world anti-Jewish hate crimes or violence. This work is not carried out because of some hypothetical threat, but due to the latest trends in how terrorism manifests itself today. For example, many recent extremist terrorist attacks have involved a significant online component. Deadly terrorist attacks that have targeted Muslims, Jews, black people and LGBT+ communities globally over recent years were preceded by the attacker expressing their extremist views and consuming extremist content online, and even posting their intentions directly before acting.

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It quickly became clear that Brutus sat at the more extreme end of the antisemitic. extremist spectrum. Content recorded and captured by CST included posts that suggested at the very least support for violence against minority groups. These posts included support for violence against Jews, black people and trans people. For example, one image shared by Brutus showed an image of Santa Claus wearing a swastika armband, while holding a shotgun at the head of a caricatured image of a Jew holding a menorah (a Jewish candelabra). Other posts showed images suggesting support for the idea that black and trans people should be hanged.





CST also recorded one instance of Brutus sharing a propaganda video from the far-right terrorist group, National Action, which has been proscribed as a terrorst organisation in the UK since December 2016. The video was a widely shared propaganda video of a National Action rally from 2016 in Darlington, and it was posted online by Brutus in July 2021, over four years after National Action was banned. Not only was the sharing of this video a reflection of where Brutus stood ideologically, it was also likely to constitute a terrorist offence.





It also became clear that Brutus's activity at the East Lancs Car Boot Sale was not a one off, and that he had been repeatedly spreading his hateful ideology offline. This included the posting of antisemitic stickers and flyers on public property, writing graffiti and even creating Nazi-themed mugs. In one such example, Brutus shared in the GDL Telegram group a photo of a bus stop advertisement poster and asked: *"Any ideas what to write on this ad goys...I'm thinking Gas the Jews"*. Just over four hours later, Brutus uploaded another photo

of the same advert, this time with the phrase 'Gas the Jews' written on it. This is an example of how these online networks operate as radicalising spaces for a global network of users who incite each other to perpetrate local acts of extremism while seeking validation from each other. Other examples from Brutus demonstrated that dynamic repeatedly. He posted deeply antisemitic, extreme flyers across his local

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tactics that are designed to be as shocking, explicit and pernicious as possible. This is an attempt to get attention and thereby draw others in ideologically, a point that will be addressed in more detail later in the report.

Brutus was not only distributing GDL propaganda that he downloaded from the internet; he was also adapting and editing their material to make it more 'UK friendly'. This in part demonstrates the US-centric nature of much of the propaganda output of the GDL, which makes sense given they

> are largely concentrated in the United States. However, it also suggests a desire on Brutus's part to make his material more relevant and impactful in his local area, while also making himself feel more central to the GDL. Whilst the GDL is a loose collective of individuals, it does still rely on some core leadership figures and individuals. Its online network clearly provided Brutus with a certain sense of belonging, an aspect that is

neighbourhood on post-boxes, lampposts, street signs and even on the sign of a school. This was a concerted attempt to import the tactics of the GDL to the UK.

These flyers contained a range of antisemitic conspiracy theories, including that Jews were behind the 9/11 terrorist attacks. This type of content is central to GDL messaging, which at its core blames Jewish people for all the world's ills. These conspiracy motifs are a standard form of antisemitic messaging, but the GDL combines this with often key when looking at issues around radicalisation and extremism. There can be several factors at play when analysing someone's radicalisation journey, but more often than not, it can be social factors that play a central role – a sense of belonging, socialisation and strong in-group identity are all elements that can be just as appealing as the ideology itself. By adapting the GDL's American leaflets for a British context, Brutus was in effect changing his status from an outsider, based thousands of miles away, to an insider within the GDL's world. As this report will show, GDL activists in the United States would in turn use UK-focused leaflets for their own American activism, demonstrating the truly international nature of the network.





How CST identified Brutus of Goy

CST's mission is to protect the UK's Jewish community from terrorism, antisemitism and extremism. Alongside CST's work enhancing physical security at Jewish premises and supporting victims of antisemitic hate crime, CST has developed an open-source intelligence (OSINT) capability to identify UK-based individuals and networks with extremist beliefs whose behaviour indicates that they may pose a threat to the Jewish community. Brutus of Goy's blatant extremism and antisemitic activity meant that he met CST's threshold for investigation. The purpose of an investigation like this is to allow CST to assess any potential security impact on local Jewish communities, cross-checking activity against any antisemitic incidents that have been reported to CST, and ultimately informing any referral that CST will make to police and counterterrorism partners. This section will demonstrate how CST drew back the curtain of anonymity from 'Brutus of Goy', which ultimately led to the arrest and prosecution of Robert Taylor.

The initial video found by CST's online research team showed that Brutus had a connection to the East Lancs Car Boot Sale and spoke with an accent suggesting he was from the North-West of England. However, it was his repeated sharing online of photos of flyers he had posted on street furniture in his local neighbourhood that enabled CST to begin mapping out his activities.

CST was able to establish an immediate connection from Brutus to the town of Farnworth, located just between Bolton and Manchester. The below image posted by Brutus shows an anti-trans poster on a bus stop. Various details in the background of the image led to the conclusion that this was posted on Highfield Road bus stop in Farnworth.





From this initial location, CST began mapping Brutus's extremist activities based on the numerous images he was uploading to the GDL Telegram group. One image uploaded by Brutus is a partial selfie in front of an antisemitic flyer he had just stuck on a bus stop. This selfie of a man wearing a mask and a hood was, at this stage, the only image we had of Brutus's face. Again, other details in the images enabled the identification of a more accurate location: Mount Pleasant Road in Farnworth.

In fact, Google Street View from the location in September 2021 shows the exact same location with what looks like the remnants of a poster that has been ripped off from the bus stop.



Following this, Brutus posted a series of images into the GDL Telegram group chat with the caption: 'Just been for a nice Sunday stroll o/'. 'o/' or '\o': The combination of o/ is a widely used extreme right-wing symbol that is meant to illustrate a raised arm nazi salute, with the 'o' representing a person's head and the '/' a raised arm.







This post provided a group of the locations across Farnworth where Brutus had posted these flyers. The fact that this was done as part of a 'Sunday stroll' also suggested that this may have been done close to where Brutus lived. By comparing these pictures to images of the local area on Google Street View, it was possible to geolocate the flyers posted by Brutus.



















At this point it was possible to make a connection between Brutus's activities and an article in the Manchester Evening News³ about an antisemitic poster on a bus stop in Farnworth. Attracting media attention was likely to be part of Brutus's motivation.



The poster, which has been blurred, included vile anti-Semitic conspiracy theories (mage: Manchester Evening News)



³ Manchester Evening News: Vile anti-Semitic poster appears on bus stop with Nazi logo reading "White Power"

From posters to harassment

CST receives reports of anti-Jewish hate incidents and hate crimes as part of the core work of protecting the Jewish community. As well as enabling CST to provide direct support to people who experience antisemitism, this work can provide vital intelligence for CST's work tracking the activities of extremists in this country. In July 2022, as the investigation into Brutus was ongoing, CST received a report from a member of the public that they had received antisemitic abuse whilst attending the East Lancs Car Boot Sale. This report came from a visibly Jewish man who told CST that an individual had said to him "It's the Synagogue of Satan. Gas, gas, gas", and later said "Heil Hitler" before walking off. The location of the East Lancs Car Boot Sale and the use of the phrase "Synagogue of Satan" immediately raised the possibility of a connection to Brutus, given how similar this sounded to the original video from Brutus that triggered CST's investigation over a year previously. If the perpetrator was Brutus, it would confirm that he was not limiting his activities to posting antisemitic flyers on bus stops and other street furniture, but was also capable of directly harassing and abusing Jewish people in person.

The details of this incident provided by the victim to CST included a physical description of the person who perpetrated the anti-Jewish harassment, and proved to be an important part of the evidence package that CST subsequently provided to police.

About a month after this incident, a post by Brutus suggested he had attended a protest outside a Drag Queen Story Hour (DQSH) event in Bolton. Drag Queen Story Hour is a children's event where drag performers read children's books to children. These events typically take place in libraries and are aimed at 'show[ing] the world that being different is not a bad thing'.⁴ The public nature of DQSH and the involvement of drag performers and children have attracted protests from both far-right and Islamist extremists, who claim that they are defending children and fighting back against so-called woke politics, trans rights and/or the LGBTQ+ community.



The fact that Brutus posted that he had attended the protest allowed CST to check images and video from the event and compare them to the description received following the incident at the East Lancs Car Boot Sale, to try and finally obtain a visual

⁴ Drag Queen Story Hour - What We Do

identity. A video of the protest on YouTube showed that one of the demonstrators matched this description: a white male aged between 20 and 40 years old, around 5ft 11 with long dark greasy hair.



Significantly, at various points throughout the protest, the individual suspected to be Brutus could be seen handing out GDL leaflets. This included a leaflet that Brutus had said in his online post that he had handed out at the protest. It seemed clear that this individual was indeed 'Brutus of Goy'.





Later on in the footage, the individual suspected to be Brutus could be seen remonstrating with one of the counterprotestors. Brutus labels the counterprotestor a 'Jew', stating that "now it makes sense", "child abuse in your religion" and "tell them about the Talmud". Again, this was further evidence linking this individual to far-right, specifically GDL-inspired language. Interestingly, during this interaction, the man suspected to be Brutus is seen standing side by side with a visibly Muslim woman wearing a Nigab, who was also on the protest against DQSH. Later on in the footage, that same woman can be seen holding aloft a GDL flyer which she took directly out of the hands of Brutus. The flyer is deeply antisemitic and contains on one side the text. 'Jewish privilege allows this child rape. child torture, and child genital mutilation to be legal'. The other side of the flyer contains an image of 'The Happy Merchant', an antisemitic meme depicting a Jewish man with ugly stereotypical features, greedily rubbing his hands together, that is used extensively by neo-Nazis. The flyer implies that Jews are behind illegal immigration, a war on Christianity, communism and pornography. The bottom of the flyer contains a link to the GDL's video sharing platform. It is unclear whether the woman holding the flyer was aware of, or fully understood, its antisemitic content.



Reporting to police

During this period, CST reported various pieces of online content from Brutus to Greater Manchester Police. Specific referrals containing evidence of Brutus's activity and his online extremism were made to police in August 2022, and then again in January 2023. This included extracts from a WhatsApp chat with a work colleague, screenshots of which Brutus had posted on Telegram, in which the colleague sent an image of orthodox Jews in the Cheetham Hill area of North Manchester. The colleague asked, "what do I do loads of em". Brutus responded - "Shout synagogue of satan", "There [sic] father is the devil" and "And stop sucking baby penis's". These messages suggested that Brutus was trying to radicalise others and incite them to hate Jewish people, and to act on that hatred. In another post, Brutus uploaded an image of himself with an infant, his Goddaughter, in which he can be seen performing a Nazi



salute. He even stated that he was attempting to 'red pill'⁵ his niece and nephew.

In February 2023, a month after the second of these reports to Greater Manchester Police, CST was informed that 'Brutus' had been arrested in Farnworth. It was then only in December 2023 that Brutus was charged and for the first time a name released: Robert Taylor from Farnworth in Bolton. Taylor was charged with 14 offences in total, covering online and offline offences. In addition to a series of section 4A Public Order Act offences (relating to the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour, or disorderly behaviour that causes harassment, alarm or distress to another with the specific intention of causing such harassment, alarm or distress),⁶ Taylor was also charged with terrorism offences, including the possession of the 'Improvised Munitions Handbook' and distributing a video in support of a proscribed organisation, National Action.

On Friday 24 May 2024, Taylor appeared at Manchester Crown Court where he entered guilty pleas for 11 charges and pled not guilty to three other charges. Then, on Monday 29 July, Taylor pled guilty to all 14, confirming his guilt for all the offences charged. On 18 October 2024, Taylor was sentenced at Manchester Crown Court to four years in

⁵ Red pilling is often used by extremists to refer to the process through which one learns uncomfortable or unsettling truths. Its origins come from The Matrix movie in which the protagonist, Neo, is given the option between two pills - a red pill and a blue pill. "You take the blue pill... the story ends, you wake up in your bed and believe whatever you want to believe. You take the red pill... you stay in Wonderland, and I show you how deep the rabbit hole goes." Therefore, red pilling is grounded in this idea of pulling back the veil and learning the supposed 'real' truth about our world.

⁶ CST: Hate Crime - A guide for those affected

prison with a one year extended license period. Taylor will also be subject to a Serious Crime Prevention Order for a period of five years after release.

Following his sentencing, Detective Superintendent Ben Cottam, Head of Investigations for Counter Terrorism Policing North West, said:

"Robert Taylor's actions over the time leading up to his arrest are nothing short of sickening.

"He subjected innocent people to vile antisemitic abuse, including a family with two young children who were enjoying a day out. Not content with abusing people in person, he attempted to spread his ignorant views wider by putting up posters, handing out leaflets and scrawling graffiti on walls in public places.

"Taylor would then brag about his exploits on social media and use it as a platform to share more antisemitic, racist, homophobic, and transphobic content. On one occasion he even shared a propaganda video for a proscribed organisation on social media and was later found to have sent a similar video to somebody directly.

"I'm grateful to the Community Security Trust for reporting Taylor's online activity

to police, and I hope today's outcome sends a clear message that we are prepared to act decisively on reports such as these. Ignorance like that shown by Taylor has no place in society and, working alongside key partners such as the CST, we will continue to support communities targeted by abuse and ensure those responsible face the consequences of their actions." This case also demonstrated clearly the impact of antisemitic abuse on its victim(s). The court heard testimony from the victim who Taylor had targeted with antisemitism at the East Lancs Car Boot Sale in July 2022. The victim said in a statement that the abuse has had a "permanent impact on his life" and that he now chooses not to wear a yarmulke (a Jewish skullcap) in public. In fact, the prosecution stated that "The actions of the defendant have made him question as to whether or not his family's long term future lies within the UK."

Whilst the focus of this report is on the activity of Taylor and the extremist online networks around him, CST's work also continues to be focused on supporting victims of antisemitism. This included providing both practical and emotional support, as well as ensuring that antisemitic hate crimes are investigated fully. It is the impact on victims, on Jews and on the Jewish community as a whole, which continues to provide focus and drive to CST's mission.



Greater Manchester Police: Robert Taylor

The case of Robert Taylor illustrates the dangers of antisemitic incitement and extremism in unmoderated online spaces where an international network of largely anonymous far-right online users has been allowed to grow. It reflects how extremist groups based in the US can influence local hate crimes in a small town in England. While in this case the hate crimes involved verbal abuse, antisemitic posters and the possession of terrorist literature, in other From CST's online research to its work supporting victims of antisemitism; from the reports CST's incidents team receive from members of the public through to the protective security work focused on physically securing the Jewish community – this case is just one example of how CST's different functions combine with the collective goal of protecting the UK's Jewish community from antisemitism, terrorism and extremism.

cases the international far-right network that resides in similar unmoderated online spaces has generated violent terrorism targeting Jews and other minorities. It is this specific risk which continues to guide CST's work in this space and why the organisation took Taylor's online activity so seriously.

Taylor will now serve out the consequences of his criminality and hatred, demonstrating

that engaging in public acts of extremist antisemitism and sharing terrorist material online are not tolerated in the UK. CST wishes to express deep thanks and gratitude to partners at Greater Manchester Police, Counter Terrorism Policing North West (CTPNW) and the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) for their work on this case. The basis of this relationship is grounded in shared values and a common aim of protecting our communities.

CST's different functions combine with the collective goal of protecting the UK's Jewish community from antisemitism, terrorism and extremism.

The GDL: a dedicated anti-Jewish network

The Goyim Defense League, otherwise known as the GDL, is a loose transnational, neo-Nazi collective that engages in explicitly anti-Jewish activity, both online and offline. The GDL does not have a formal organisational structure, and in that sense, it represents a more modern incarnation of an extremist group. Whilst it does have an organised capacity in the United States, globally it relies on online networks and social media to bring activists together and coalesce around the GDL brand. It was this part of the GDL's online infrastructure which drew in Robert Taylor (Brutus of Goy). The GDL emerged around 2018 and is today led by one of its co-founders, Jon Minadeo II, who lives in Florida in the United States.

The GDL name and logo are purposefully and mockingly modelled on the Anti-Defamation League, one of the most prominent and leading Jewish-American anti-hate organisations whose stated mission is to 'fight all forms of antisemitism and bias'.⁷ Since its inception, the GDL has consistently attacked the ADL and its leadership, viewing them as a malign influence in the United States. The ADL has for years been subjected to antisemitic attacks and conspiracy theories due to its prominent role in fighting, exposing and challenging antisemitism in the US. The ADL has, in turn, extensively and consistently tracked GDL activity in the States.89

What does the word 'goy' mean?

The term 'goy' (pluralised as 'goyim' and

sometimes 'goys') comes from Yiddish, which was the language spoken by Jews in central and Eastern Europe up until the Holocaust, and means a person who is not Jewish. While it did not originate as a derogatory term, today it is generally seen as an insult and is not widely used amongst Jewish people (most of whom are not Yiddish speakers). However, extreme right activists will often utilise the term 'goy' or 'goyim' (plural) as a way of mockingly taking ownership of the word, and this appears to be the meaning behind the name 'Goyim Defense League'. Within this usage by extreme right-wing activists is the false implication that Jews view non-Jews in negative terms and that the term 'goy' or 'goyim' is used regularly to refer to non-Jews as inferior and/or subservient.

The leader and face of the GDL is Jon Minadeo II, otherwise known by his online username of "Handsome Truth". Minadeo is an avowed and self-declared antisemite, having previously described himself as "AMERICAS #1 ANTI SEMITE!" in the 'About' section on his Gab profile. Minadeo is 41 years old and currently lives in Florida. He has been active on the far right for several years, primarily online, building a platform on YouTube (Minadeo's channels on YouTube were consistently removed) and often on livestreaming platforms. Like the GDL's realworld activity, Minadeo has built his profile by engaging in explicit, often crude, acts of antisemitism online. For example, Minadeo often used fringe livestreaming platforms such as Omegle to speak to other online users and promote antisemitism¹⁰ (Omegle was a one-to-one livestreaming platform

⁷ ADL's Mission & History

⁸ Goyim Defense League: ADL explainer

⁹ CST thanks our partners at the ADL for their consistent work in challenging hate and for their research into the GDL which has helped inform this report.

¹⁰ Rolling Stone: This Neo-Nazi Gets Paid to Groom Children. Who's Supporting This?

that matched random users to speak to each other via video. The platform was taken offline in 2023 after a lawsuit accused it of facilitating child abuse).¹¹ These sites have for years courted controversy due to their links to a range of online harms, including child sexual exploitation.¹² In Minadeo's case, he used these platforms for many years, and continues to do so, to promote explicit antisemitism, often to younger online users, including children. In particular, Minadeo would livestream and record these interactions so that they could then be watched by other users online, promoting this tactic and growing both his and the GDL's profile. Minadeo has described his livestream as "the best Jew hating stream on the planet".



GDL and ADL logos

As seen above, the GDL logo (top) is an extremist parody of the ADL logo (below). The GDL has mimicked the ADL's style, but replaced the colour scheme with the colours of the Nazi swastika flag black, red and white.

What makes the GDL a network and not a group?

The GDL is a network of extremist individuals rather than a formal organisation like far-right parties of the past. In that sense, the GDL may be more accurately described as a network or a collective as opposed to a group. Unlike loose networks of individuals, formal groups may have card carrying members, a formalised leadership structure, with regular meetings, a constitution or rule book and clear instructions from key figures. Contrastingly, a collective does not have a formal structure or membership. It is based around the sharing of ideas, activity and content within the same online spaces. A collective may have key figures who are influencers or nodes, but they do not necessarily need to provide direct instruction for where and when followers should carry out their activities. Instead, they inspire and encourage others to act in support of the network's ideology and goals. The role of social media and online platforms, especially ones with poor or non-existent moderation policies, has been central to the increasing informality and structureless nature of extremist and terrorist groups. This provides new challenges for police, security services and governments in combatting these threats.

^{11 &}lt;u>Omegle shut down: Video chat website closed after</u> abuse claims

¹² BBC: Omegle: Children expose themselves on video chat site



Minadeo's Gab profile where he describes himself as "AMERICAS #1 ANTI SEMITE!"



A post taken from the GDL Telegram channel where Minadeo promotes one of his livestreams. Minadeo describes his stream as *"THE BEST JEW HATING STREAM ON THE PLANET"*. The image of the famous painting The Scream has the face of Jonathan Greenblatt, Director of the Anti-Defamation League, superimposed onto it.

Anti-Jewish activities and propaganda

In the United States the GDL uses offline stunts, often involving extreme and offensive antisemitism, to attract widespread media attention. Most commonly this involves the distribution of GDL-branded flyers which include the promotion of a range of anti-Jewish conspiracies, stereotypes and tropes. These flyers are made available online through GDL networks on alternative social media platforms and GDL-run websites. Users are encouraged to print off and distribute the flyers in their local area. This was exactly the method used by Robert Taylor, which demonstrates how the GDL has successfully spread its influence globally. This has proven to be a highly effective tactic, not least because this activity has drawn the attention of mainstream media outlets in the United States.¹³ Minadeo himself has said that if a follower is able to get their flyer distribution on mainstream news, then they should contact him to claim credit and receive a free GDL t-shirt. The media response to the GDL's activities is a key component of their strategy, because it amplifies their antisemitic messaging to a much larger audience than they can reach on their own, thereby gaining them increased exposure. They do not care that this media coverage is overwhelmingly negative, as the outrage that their antisemitism causes helps to increase their visibility to potential supporters.

A moral dilemma

Media coverage of hate and/or extremist groups, individuals and activities raises important questions regarding the extent to which their activity should be publicised. It reflects an important moral and strategic question for the media, as well as for anti-hate organisations such as CST. The benefits of exposing hate and extremist groups, individuals and activities always need to be weighed against an increase in publicity such groups will then receive. It is a question that CST consistently asks itself and one that was discussed prior to writing and publishing this report. Ultimately, CST felt that the presence of GDL literature and ideas in an increasing number of antisemitic incidents and trials in the UK meant that the need to expose its role outweighed the downsides of giving it publicity. However, this is not a straightforward decision and, in some ways, represents a Catch-22 whereby extremist groups like the GDL feel they stand to benefit in either case.

¹³ NBC 5 Dallas-Fort Worth: Bags of antisemitic, homophobic flyers found in North Texas town during Pride Month, KOKH-TV Oklahoma: Antisemitic packets found in Oklahoma City prompts community call for change, Houston Press: Jersey Village Peppered With Anti-Semitic Flyers Ahead of Passover and Easter

The GDL's efforts to gain notoriety and spread hate extend to other activities such as banner drops. These involve GDL supporters publicly displaying banners with various antisemitic slogans and messages in highly public places across the US. Previous banner slogans have included 'THE HOLOCAUST WAS A LIE!', and 'JEWS DID 911'. For example, in October 2022, GDL activists unfurled a banner from a bridge over a main highway in Los Angeles with the phrase 'Kanye is right about the Jews'.¹⁴ This was in response to a series of antisemitic comments from US rapper Kanye West, and images showed the activists performing Nazi salutes¹⁵ above the public highway alongside their banner. These stunts are directed towards the general public and often draw outrage, again resulting in widespread attention from news outlets and on social media.







^{14 &}lt;u>NBC News: Rise in antisemitism is feared after banner</u> saying 'Kanye is right' is hung over Los Angeles freeway

¹⁵ ADL California post on X

One of the GDL's most notorious stunts is something they call 'Name the Nose' tours.¹⁶ These involve GDL followers travelling across parts of the US with anti-Jewish slogans displayed on their vehicles.¹⁷ In Florida in 2021, for example, GDL supporters drove around in a van emblazoned with antisemitic slogans such as 'Rabbi's [sic] rape kids' and 'Holocaust never happened'.¹⁸ In February 2023, GDL activists gathered outside the Chabad centre of South Orlando holding antisemitic signs and again shouting explicitly antisemitic abuse.¹⁹ Jon Minadeo II was part of this gathering, where he performed Nazi salutes, harassed a Jewish passerby and shouted slogans such as 'Heil Hitler Jew' and 'leave our country go back to Israel'.²⁰

The different approaches of GDL activists in the United States and the United Kingdom reflect the different legal frameworks relating to hate speech in both countries. In the United States, much of what the GDL does is protected by the First Amendment, which protects free speech in all but the most harmful of circumstances. This has allowed extremist groups to mobilise and engage in explicit displays of public extremism and hate that would not be permissible in the UK, where laws regarding hate speech are more restrictive. This means that the more explicit types of activities undertaken by the GDL in the US have not occurred in the UK. It is also the reason why individuals like Robert Taylor have engaged in more covert and anonymous activities; and why, ultimately, he could be prosecuted for his actions.

As well as spreading hatred offline, the GDL also engages in antisemitic activities online. It has its own video-sharing website called GoyimTV, the sole purpose of which is to spread antisemitic content. It is on this site that Minadeo records and uploads all of his livestreams. The site acts as a central hub for GDL's online activity, in addition to the various GDL accounts and groups across a range of other online platforms.

¹⁶ ADL Extremism Terms: Name the Nose tour

¹⁷ ADL Blog: Fighting Antisemitism: How ADL Monitored and Responded to GDL

¹⁸ Oren Segal (Vice President, ADL Center on Extremism) post on X

¹⁹ ADL blog: Antisemites Gather in Florida for Weekend of Hate

²⁰ Breaking 4 News post on X

GDL links to the UK

Despite the GDL being predominantly USbased, as this report shows its influence through social media has extended globally, including to the UK. Their material and influence have been central to an increasing number of incidents and trials in the UK, including Robert Taylor and another British GDL-linked activist, Richard Hesketh.²¹ The social media platforms that GDL activists use, especially alternative platforms such as Telegram, Gab and Odysee, are essential to the enabling of this international influence. These online spaces often have little to no content moderation, and as such are exploited by extremists to promote their messaging and connect with each other. In some cases, such as Gab, these platforms exist explicitly to facilitate a space for extremist individuals and groups. It is these platforms that foster the online environments that allow a global network of extremists to communicate and radicalise. CST's 2019 report 'Hate Fuel'²² explored these online networks and their role in fuelling far-right terrorism.

^{22 &}lt;u>CST Blog: Hate Fuel: the hidden online world fuelling far</u> right terror

Jon Minadeo and Mark Collett

Mark Collett is the founder and leader of Patriotic Alternative (PA), an organisation that has been described as *"the largest and most active fascist movement operating in the UK today"*.²³ Collett has for years been a prominent figure on the British far right, having previously been the chairman of the youth wing of the British National Party. Collett today plays a central role in leading Patriotic Alternative and hosts a weekly online video livestream titled Patriotic Weekly Review with a different far-right guest each week.

On 11 January 2023, Jon Minadeo II appeared as the special guest for a twohour livestream, which was then uploaded to the alternative video-sharing platform Odysee. As of August 2024, the video has had just over 10,000 views and over 3,600 comments.²⁴ The Patriotic Weekly Review streams uploaded during the weeks before and after Minadeo's appearance each have less than 7,000 views and over 800 and 1,300 comments respectively, indicating that Minadeo's appearance attracted a larger audience than usual for Collett's stream. This suggests increased interest from both regular and new viewers of Collett's stream, including those who were previously aware of Minadeo and the GDL and wanted to hear what he had to say, and others who were exposed to his antisemitism for the first time by Collett.

When introducing Minadeo, Collett stated that he had known Minadeo for *"quite some time"*, initially meeting through the messaging platform Telegram. Collett described Minadeo as a "genuine, nice, decent, down to earth and passionate man". Collett described their existing relationship, stating that Minadeo attended some of his Telegram presentations, and revealed that Minadeo contacted him "to see how he could help when our friend 'Charlie Big Potatoes' was wrongfully imprisoned and extradited from Spain".

'Charlie Big Potatoes'...

...was the online username for Kristofer Kearney, a member of Patriotic Alternative and the former head of fitness for the organisation. Kearney, originally from Liverpool, was living in Alicante, Spain when he was extradited back to the UK for terror offences, specifically the dissemination of terrorist publications, for which he was subsequently imprisoned.²⁵ These included the manifestos of a number of extreme right-wing terrorists, including those who perpetrated deadly attacks on Jews, Muslims and Hispanics.

Moreover, it emerged during the livestream that Minadeo had previously asked Collett for advice on how to carry out real-world activism. Collett stated "he's [Minadeo] reached out to me asking for advice on how to take his message into the real world with leaflets, banner drops and protests".

During their conversation, Minadeo explained that he was concerned about any legal ramifications for Collett in the UK, saying: *"I have big notes in front of me, I know you're taking a big risk, because the*

^{23 &}lt;u>Hope Not Hate Report: Patriotic Alternative, Britain's</u> <u>Fascist Threat</u>

²⁴ Odysee: Patriotic Weekly Review - with the Handsome Truth, 11 January 2023

²⁵BBC: Far-right fitness guru jailed over terror manifestos

rules are quite different here in the US with how we can talk about things and how you know, you're kind of censored in the UK, so I have notes right in front of me that say behave and use certain terms that do not broad stroke anything." He said explicitly "I'm looking out for Mark, I want to keep him safe" stating that he has "seen some of my buddies get locked up in the UK".

The following two hours of conversation touched on several topics, including discussion of the so-called 'Jewish Question', Israel-Palestine, Jewish overrepresentation and tactics for targeting audiences with different types of messaging. Minadeo stated it *"doesn't matter what group you're with guys, get out there and get active, even if you're not in a group, do it for yourself, do it for God, do it for your future".*



Jon Minadeo and Richard Hesketh

Minadeo's relationship with other UK-based activists included Richard Hesketh (also known as Rick Heskey), a prolific antisemitic video streamer and video content creator from Greater Manchester. Hesketh had posted around 4,000 videos that attracted over 5.5 million views on the alternative video-sharing platform, BitChute,²⁶ and he was jailed for four years in 2021 after pleading guilty to seven charges of stirring up racial hatred. It was CST's investigative research that uncovered Hesketh's antisemitic propaganda activities, leading to his initial referral to police and subsequent conviction. Notably, Hesketh and Minadeo had appeared on streams together. In fact, Minadeo stated that Hesketh is the first person that he ever shared a stream with and that they first appeared together on Facebook. This appearance predated the creation of the 'Handsome Truth' moniker for Minadeo.²⁷

After Hesketh was found guilty of stirring up racial hatred in 2021, Minadeo donated half of the funds from one of his livestreams to Hesketh as a sign of material support from the GDL. It is unclear what happened to these funds and if the money ever reached Hesketh.

²⁶ CST Blog: Richard Hesketh: CST research puts antisemitic far right video streamer in prison

²⁷ GDL stream discussing Hesketh: 105th GoyimTV livestream

Both Collett and Minadeo benefit from their relationship as it helps them to spread their messaging and profile to each other's audiences: Collett to a US audience and Minadeo to a UK audience. Furthermore, there is clearly an operational benefit for both the GDL and PA as Collett and Minadeo say they have exchanged best practice and tips for engaging in 'irl' (in real life) activity. This relationship demonstrates the increasingly international nature of the modern far right, facilitated primarily by unregulated social media platforms that allow for instant communication and the exchanging of ideas. The relationship between Collett and Minadeo also demonstrates that despite Collett's attempts to make his organisation appear 'family friendly',²⁸ he expressly supports Minadeo's vile, crude and horrible bigotry.

The majority of the comments under the livestream video of Collett and Minadeo are positive, many of which are expressed through far-right symbols. The most common such symbol involves a comment of 'o/' or '\o', visual code for a Nazi salute. Notably, Jon Minadeo frequently starts his





own streams by asking his viewers to put this nazi salute emoticon in the chat as a form of greeting. Whilst performing a salute himself he states, "*Put those Romans in the sky, and let's expose some Jewish lies*" (Minadeo refers to the salutes as 'Romans', which is short for roman salutes, as opposed to Nazi salutes).





HT & RICK HESKEY "NAMING THE FILTHY JEW" Handsome Truth GDL

5 years ago

Lets Talk Talmud with Rick Heskey Handsome Truth GDL

4 years, 12 months ago

'Every Single Aspect of Mass Immigration is Jewish' flyer

As this report has shown, a core aspect of GDL activity is the production of eyecatching flyers that make outrageous anti-Jewish slurs and allegations, that followers of the network can print off and distribute for themselves in their local area. These response to the European refugee crisis in 2015, stemming from the Syrian Civil War. These organisations were listed at the time on a legitimate website set up to support refugees, and a screenshot of this website and the organisations involved started to

flyers typically tie into pre-established antisemitic conspiracies and tropes that have existed long before the GDL. More often than not, they simply take a right-wing grievance such as immigration, the so-called 'LGBTQ+ agenda' or terrorism and claim that it is Jews who are secretly behind them. The GDL 'twist' on this propaganda is that they use modern examples to perpetuate these conspiracies and use their flvers

Violent far-right terrorism is a real and dangerous reality for Jewish communities; this leaflet increases that danger through the promotion of unfounded antisemitic conspiracy theories circulate amongst far-right extremists as seeming proof of Jewish involvement in facilitating mass immigration. It did not matter to GDL activists in the United States that these organisations were British. nor that this was a UK-specific scheme or the fact that the last time the website for the scheme was updated was in 2017. The mere fact that Jewish organisations were listed on a webpage that stated

to direct individuals to the GDL's videosharing platform GoyimTV. The flyers are also designed to cause as much offence as possible and therefore are also aimed at attracting attention for both the GDL and its anti-Jewish messaging.

One such GDL flyer is titled 'EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF MASS IMMIGRATION IS JEWISH'. Notably, this flyer lists a series of mainly British Jewish NGOs, synagogues and organisations that are alleged to be 'promoting mass immigration'. The specific organisations listed on the flyer were probably chosen due to their involvement with a UK Jewish community scheme in they supported refugees and asylum seekers was enough 'proof' to confirm supposed Jewish involvement with mass immigration.

Of particular concern is the way that this flyer draws directly on the Great Replacement conspiracy theory, a far-right conspiracy theory that alleges 'native' white populations across the West are being deliberately replaced by non-whites as part of a plot to destroy the white race, otherwise known as 'white genocide'. The conspiracy can take many forms and partly depends on the specific beliefs of those promoting it. For example, some proponents may claim that white populations are being replaced by Muslims or black people, or both – placing the focus on those specific communities. At the most extreme end, advocates of this conspiracy theory allege that Jewish people, organisations or communities are facilitating this so-called replacement as part of a wider plot against white people and Western civilisation. Most infamously, at a far-right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia in 2017, American neo-Nazis chanted the slogan 'Jews will not replace us' – a specific reference to the Great Replacement conspiracy.²⁹

The Great Replacement has motivated several far-right terrorist attacks in recent years. Robert Bowers, who murdered 11 Jewish people at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh in 2018, blamed the synagogue's work with the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society for bringing in socalled "invaders" to the country, stating this was why he had chosen it as his target. Brenton Tarrant, who murdered 51 people at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand in 2019, titled his 78-page manifesto "The Great Replacement". The introduction to it began, "It's the birthrates. It's the birthrates. It's the birthrates." The next section was entitled "This is WHITE GENOCIDE". John Earnest, who attacked the Chabad of Poway synagogue in San Diego County, California, in 2019, wrote in his manifesto, "Every Jew currently alive plays a part in the destruction of my race". It ended with "Give. Them. Hell." Patrick Crusius, who targeted Hispanics and Latino Americans in an attack in El Paso in August 2019, wrote in his manifesto that "This attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas. They are the instigators, not me. I am simply defending my country from cultural and ethnic replacement brought on by an invasion." Stephan Balliet, who attacked the synagogue in Halle,

Germany ended his manifesto: "I originally planned to storm a mosque or antifa 'culture' center...but even killing 100 golems won't make a difference, when on a single day more than that are shipped to Europe. The only way to win is to cut the head of ZOG, which are the k*kes. If I fail and die but kill a single jew, it was worth it. After all, if every White Man kills just one, we win."

This pattern of far-right terrorism is the backdrop to the circulation of a GDL leaflet alleging that Jews are responsible for mass immigration, which could be taken by some people in online far-right networks as a list of suggested targets for future attacks. Violent far-right terrorism is a real and dangerous reality for Jewish communities; this leaflet increases that danger both through the promotion of unfounded antisemitic conspiracy theory and through the listing of Jewish organisations, synagogues and community centres - real physical locations. As a result of this leaflet, CST has provided security advice to the locations listed, as well as informing the police.

It is notable that this flyer has been widely distributed in the United States, despite its predominant British focus. The fact that American GDL activists use a leaflet blaming British Jewish organisations and synagogues for immigration to the United States highlights the way that the GDL's anti-Jewish allegations do not depend on reality, but are based on a set of conspiratorial beliefs with no basis in fact. For example, this leaflet was recently used by GDL activists in Baldwin County, Alabama;³⁰ East Bay Area,

^{30 1819} News: Antisemitic flyers thrown in Baldwin County forwarded to FBI as possible hate crime

California;³¹ and Staten Island, New York.³² It is beyond parody that British Jewish organisations, listed on an antisemitic piece of propaganda, are named in this way on far-right leaflets circulated thousands of miles away from where those organisations operate. It is an example of the dangerous ridiculousness of antisemitic conspiracy thinking, the complete lack of anything resembling evidence and the extent to which antisemitism can warp the mind of those who indulge in it. It is no surprise therefore that it is the GDL who are responsible.





31 KTVU Fox: Antisemitic fliers found in several East Bay cities

Image of Jon Minadeo (middle) holding flyers in Nashville, July 2024

32 <u>Staten Island Live: Urination at mosque; antisemitic</u> mailing: <u>Staten Island incidents spark concern</u>

33 Facebook: John Partipilo Photography

The GDL in Britain: wider influence and activism

In recent years pockets of more organic GDL-related activity have begun to emerge in the UK. This does not amount to a formalised or structured presence, but rather confirms the transatlantic impact and reach of the GDL's online messaging, propaganda and tactics. This has manifested in two ways. First, British users can be found interacting with GDL-linked accounts and groups online. For example, one GDLaffiliated Telegram chat includes numerous users who either explicitly state that they reside in the UK or indicate a connection to this country, such as by having British flags in their username.

The second way this has manifested is through offline activities, where GDL materials have been used in antisemitic



The GDL leaflet 'EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF FEMINISM IS JEWISH', found in Aberdeen, May 2024

incidents or other far-right activities in the UK. In 2022 CST received three separate reports of GDL-branded antisemitic literature discovered in public places: one report from Swansea, and the other two from Brighton & Hove.

In May 2024, copies of a GDL flyer titled 'EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF FEMINISM IS JEWISH' were found in and around a primary school in Aberdeen.³⁴ The flyer lists several Jewish women with pink Stars of David over each of their heads. There are QR codes and a link to a website where further copies can be downloaded. This is another example of the GDL utilising a standard farright grievance, in this instance feminism, to promote antisemitic messaging.



The GDL leaflet 'EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF THE JEWISH TALMUD IS SATANIC', found in Manchester, February 2024

³⁴Press and Journal: Highly offensive racist and anti-Semitic posters found outside Aberdeen school

In February 2024, another GDL flyer was found on the Manchester Metrolink titled 'EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF THE JEWISH TALMUD IS SATANIC'. The Talmud is a central Jewish religious text that contains centuries of rabbinical debate regarding Jewish law, philosophy and theology. The Talmud has been subject to constant antisemitic scrutiny, often as a consequence of selective quoting, as well as a complete lack of understanding regarding the complexities of Jewish law and practice. In this instance, the GDL flyer accuses the Talmud of being 'satanic', drawing again on antisemitic tropes of Jews and Judaism being a satanic, evil presence in society.

In May and August 2022, two different, but similar GDL flyers were reported to CST, both with the title 'EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF THE UKRAINE-RUSSIA WAR IS JEWISH' and a link to GoyimTV. Both flyers were found in Brighton & Hove, and despite sharing the same title they had different content. However, the message of both leaflets was the same: to blame Jews for the Ukraine-Russia war, demonstrating acutely how the GDL adapts its central message of antisemitism to current geopolitical events.

These two flyers claimed to identify Jews in the governments of both Russia and Ukraine, as well as listing examples where Jews have appeared in news articles connected to either country with images from when both Russian President Putin and Ukrainian President Zelensky have visited Israel. These exaggerated, misrepresented and simplistic connections between Jews and the two countries are used to promote the antisemitic idea that Jewish people are disproportionately powerful, and that Jews in Russia and Ukraine are working together to orchestrate and/or facilitate the Ukraine-Russia war.

The notion that Jews are the secret manipulators behind wars and terrorism, working against the interests of their own countries to serve some secretive Jewish purpose, has historically been a central part of antisemitic conspiracy thinking. Jews have been blamed for orchestrating wars for centuries, including both the first and second world wars, as well as more recent conflicts in Iraq and Syria.

CST's research teams were able to track one of these incidents to an anonymous online user who took credit in a GDL-affiliated chat group on Telegram for having distributed the flyers in Brighton & Hove.



A user takes credit for one of the GDL flyers found in Brighton & Hove

GDL on X

Whilst the GDL's main communication networks have been built primarily on fringe, alternative social media platforms, there is evidence showing a significant increase in their activity on X, over the past two years since it was acquired by Elon Musk. This change in ownership included a key change in the platform's approach to hate speech, specifically to a policy called 'freedom of speech, not reach'.³⁵ This new approach meant that X would allow a wider range of content on the platform, including hateful content, and that instead of being removed this content would be 'restricted', i.e. its reach would be limited. At the same time, X scaled back its content moderation capacity, including laying off 80% of the engineers working within its Trust and Safety teams.³⁶

Since then, research has shown that X now hosts vastly more hateful and extremist content, as well as other forms of harmful content such as misinformation, than it did prior to this change.³⁷ In July and August 2024, posts on X containing false information about the alleged identity of the person accused of murdering three children, and stabbing several more, in Southport, North West England, played a significant role in sparking a wave of violent antimigrant and anti-Muslim riots across parts of the UK.³⁸ CST's own Antisemitic Incidents Reports show that incidents of antisemitism on X reported to CST rose by 249% between 2022 and 2023.³⁹ As a platform, X now constitutes a far more significant part of CST's online research work into violent anti-Jewish incitement and extremism than it did two years ago, reflecting the sharp increase in extremist, hateful and sometimes terrorist material that is now hosted on the site.

It should therefore be of little surprise that GDL-related content, as well as GDL leaders themselves, are now active on X. As of 7 October 2024, GDL leader Jon Minadeo II has over 45,000 followers on his X account. His bio includes a link to his account on GoyimTV, as well as his streaming schedule.

New research conducted by CST shows that outlinks from X to GDL-related websites have increased dramatically over the past two years. CST looked at links to both GoyimTV as well as to the website that hosts GDL-related flyers. The below timeline shows the stark increase in the sharing of these links from the point at which the ownership of X changed. Whereas there were barely any such outlinks in the two years prior to that date, from September 2020 to October 2022, as the below graph shows this began to increase as soon as X was sold. Put simply, there has been a significant increase in the reach, exposure and activity of the Goyim Defense League on X under its new ownership.

^{35 &}lt;u>X Blog: Freedom of Speech Not Reach: New Updates</u> and Progress

^{36 &}lt;u>Forbes: Elon Musk Fired 80 Percent of Twitter X</u> <u>Engineers Working on Trust and Safety</u> – Trust and Safety is the overarching term that many social media companies use to define the teams that work on everything to do with safety.

³⁷ CCDH: X Content Moderation Failure / CCDH: Hate Pays / European Commission: Commission opens formal proceedings against X under the Digital Services Act / Rolling Stone: How Elon Musk and X Became the Biggest Purveyors of Online Misinformation

³⁸ Institute for Strategic Dialogue: From rumours to riots: How online misinformation fuelled violence in the aftermath of the Southport attack

³⁹ CST Blog: Antisemitic Incidents Report 2023



Links shared to GDL-related websites on X, September 2020-September 2024

It is notable that the sharing of GDL outlinks began on X almost immediately after Musk took ownership on 27 October 2022, demonstrating that extremist users immediately started sharing content on the platform. This is likely to have been an attempt to test whether or not X's content moderation standards remained the same after the sale.



Links shared to GDL-related websites on X, August 2022-January 2023

However, this initial surge in content did not wane and over the coming two years, the volume of links shared continued to increase month on month.



Links shared to GDL-related websites on X, September 2022-September 2024



The increase in GDL-related content on X has included the sharing of clips of Jon Minadeo II from his online livestream videos. The clips, often chosen for their absurdity and vulgarity, have amassed significant engagement, reflecting that X is not limiting the reach of hateful content as its stated policy is supposed to do. There now exists a significant network of right-wing extremist accounts that are engaging with this type of content on X. One particular right-wing extremist X account has shared multiple clips of Minadeo: just five clips shared by this account in September 2024 have amassed collectively 2.4 million views, 5.432 retweets and 41.700 likes.⁴⁰ For comparison, a selection of five livestreams uploaded in September by Jon Minadeo to his GoyimTV video sharing website have a total of 17,782 views and 434 likes.⁴¹ Whilst this comparison is not necessarily likefor-like, especially because the clips on X were just minutes long as compared to the hours-long streams on GoyimTV, it does demonstrate a stark increase in audience size that GDL and Minadeo are able to reach through being on X.







⁴⁰ Data accurate as of 12 September 2024

⁴¹ Data accurate as of 12 September 2024



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Conclusion and policy recommendations

Robert Taylor's arrest and conviction for terrorism and hate offences was the culmination of a process of radicalisation and extremism that intertwined the perpetration of offline hate crimes with online extremism.

Antisemitic hate crimes are an unfortunate reality for Jewish communities, and it is easy to treat hateful posters in local communities as somehow less important than racist violence or other forms of hate crime. The case of Robert Taylor, however, should be an important reminder that these incidents can be a precursor of much more dangerous activities. This case illustrates the relationship between online and offline actions, and how online extremism can provide the basis for offline activities. This is a symbiotic relationship, in which online content can influence real world actions, and vice versa.

Any approach to dealing with these issues needs to involve multiple stakeholders, including police, government, civil society and tech companies. Moreover, as demonstrated acutely by this case, this collaboration needs to be happening internationally. The threats we face today cross borders; therefore, our response needs to match that same level of cross-border collaboration.

On the GDL specifically, it is clear that social media companies and tech platforms should not be allowing any of its extreme anti-Jewish content on their sites. The GDL thrives because of its ability to spread its hateful message through social media, and this needs to be blocked wherever it occurs. Platforms that have the tools to detect the GDL's iconography, flyers, content and leading activists ought to be proactively and consistently removing them. Where they fail to do this, it is down to the Online Safety Act, government and Ofcom to demonstrate that the UK's new laws have the teeth and power to deal with these serious issues.

We also hope that this report will be a useful resource for police forces across the UK, especially where pockets of local GDL-related activity may be occurring. This report has demonstrated that the GDL, and the ideology that underpins the group, should be taken seriously and that any attempt to import their methods and tactics should be swiftly and robustly prevented. Police must prosecute any identified distribution of GDL material whenever possible. The GDL's antisemitic leaflets, flyers and stickers are likely to constitute stirring up racial or religious hatred and their activity should be seen as such and properly investigated and prosecuted.

John Minadeo II and other prominent GDL activists from the United States should be barred from entry to the United Kingdom. Although this will not prevent them from using social media to influence British activists, it would still place a limit on their ability to interact and work with each other in person, while sending an important message that the GDL's anti-Jewish hatred is not welcome in this country.

This case demonstrated the importance of CST's operations and how it works to protect the Jewish community in the UK. From CST's online research, to its incidents teams and relationships with police, these functions were key to ensuring that Robert Taylor was successfully arrested and prosecuted. CST continues to remain at the forefront in the fight against antisemitism and extremism, ensuring that there can be no safe space for hate anywhere, offline or online.

CST's Mission

- **Promote good relations** between British Jews and the rest of British society by working towards the elimination of racism, and antisemitism in particular.
- **Represent British Jews** on issues of racism, antisemitism, extremism, policing and security.
- Facilitate Jewish life by protecting Jews from the dangers of antisemitism, and antisemitic terrorism in particular.

- Help those who are victims of antisemitic hatred, harassment or bias.
- **Promote research** into racism, antisemitism and extremism; and to use this research for the benefit of both the Jewish community and society in general.
- **Speak responsibly** at all times, without exaggeration or political favour, on antisemitism and associated issues.



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