

# Ground-Level Activist Funding — UK Far-Right

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## Overview

This document covers the **small-scale, informal, and street-level** funding that sustains UK far-right activism — as distinct from the billionaire/electoral pipeline documented in the main research. Ground-level funding is harder to track but forms the operational bedrock for street movements, legal defense, and day-to-day organising.

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## 1. Crowdfunding Platforms

### GiveSendGo (US Christian Platform)

The most important platform for UK far-right crowdfunding after deplatforming from GoFundMe, JustGiving, and PayPal.

#### Known UK campaigns:

- **PA member Costello:** £3,379 raised via GiveSendGo, described as "political prisoner". Campaign set up by Samuel Melia (known PA member). Source: The Ferret, Aug 2024.
- **Tommy Robinson legal defense:** Multiple campaigns, amounts unclear. Robinson has used GiveSendGo for legal fees.
- **General pattern:** GiveSendGo allows neo-Nazi fundraising that other platforms ban. The platform's "Christian" framing doesn't prevent this.

#### The 2022 leak:

- 92,000+ donor records leaked (Freedom Convoy-focused but contained ALL campaigns)
- Hosted by Distributed Denial of Secrets (DDoSecrets)
- Data includes names, emails, IP addresses, ZIP codes
- **Key gap:** The full leak has NOT been systematically analysed for UK recipients. This is a significant research opportunity — the dataset likely contains UK far-right campaign donors.
- Anti-disinformation org Logically reported in Jan 2022 that GiveSendGo was "the hub for a far-right funding network" including QAnon, anti-vaccine, and Project Veritas.

#### What we need:

- Access to the DDoSecrets leak dataset
- Filter for UK-specific campaigns (GBP currency, UK locations)
- Cross-reference donor names with known far-right figures

## GoFundMe / JustGiving

- Mainstream platforms generally remove far-right campaigns quickly
- JustGiving: John Myles (PDL) raised £16,544 for "4 Miles For Myles & MND Challenge" (charity, not political, but demonstrates fundraising network)
- GoFundMe bans legal defense for violent crimes and hate promotion

## SubscribeStar / Patreon / Buy Me a Coffee

- Used by far-right influencers as alternative to demonetised YouTube channels
  - **SubscribeStar:** Popular with deplatformed creators, including UK far-right figures
  - **Buy Me a Coffee:** Lightweight donation tool, harder to track
  - Amounts unknown — no public disclosure requirements
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## 2. Merchandise Sales

A pervasive, low-visibility funding stream for nearly every group.

### Britain First / Advance UK

- **iNews investigation (Jan 2026):** Both groups sell merchandise "Made in China" and "Made in Pakistan" — despite campaigning for British-made goods
- Items: t-shirts, hoodies, flags, patches, mugs
- Storefronts on their own websites (Shopify or similar)
- Revenue: Unknown but described as ongoing funding stream

# Patriotic Alternative

- Sells t-shirts, stickers, flags via website
- Hope not Hate: "tacky lines of merchandise are producing dwindling levels of support"
- Revenue: Unknown, likely small-scale
- **Key finding:** PA's merchandise and crowdfunding may be declining — the group is "flagging" per HnH Oct 2024

## Active Club Network

- **White Rex** brand: Combat sports clothing branded for white supremacist market
- MMA/fight club events generate revenue through ticket sales and merch
- Centralised merch operations (Terror Machine) route money to Robert Rundo
- Revenue: Unknown — BBC and ADL have flagged this as a concern

## General Pattern

- Print-on-demand means low overhead — no inventory risk
  - Platforms: Shopify, Teespring/Spring, Spreadshirt, Printful
  - Some groups use encrypted/private storefronts on Telegram
  - **Regulatory gap:** Merchandise sales are NOT reportable as political donations
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# 3. Cryptocurrency Fundraising

## Why Crypto?

- Deplatformed by PayPal, Stripe, Apple Pay, Google Wallet, Visa, Discover
- Pushes groups toward Bitcoin, Monero (privacy coin), and crypto donation bots
- Telegram integrated wallets (Button Wallet, NOWPayments) make it trivially easy

## Scale of Crypto Extremist Funding (Global)

- **Chainalysis 2025 report:** Crypto donations to extremist groups dipped globally BUT white supremacism and anti-Semitism grew across Europe
- **Europe's share:** Rose to ~50% of global extremist crypto inflows between 2022-2024
- **Daily Stormer** (Andrew Auernheimer): \$2.2M in Bitcoin at current values
- **Nordic Resistance Movement:** "Hundreds of thousands of dollars" in Bitcoin
- **ADL 2024 report:** Traced \$142,546 between extremist actors and exchanges (Kraken, Gemini, Binance)

# UK-Specific Crypto Activity

- **UTK coin:** "Unite the Kingdom" cryptocurrency promoted at Tommy Robinson's Sep 2025 rally. Logo visible during livestream. Described as route to "financial freedom". Sponsor: Core Signals (warned by FCA).
- **Reform UK:** First UK party to accept Bitcoin donations (May 2025). Electoral Commission "doesn't know where" the crypto donations come from (Byline Times, Mar 2026).
- **Tommy Robinson:** QR codes for crypto donations displayed at rallies. TBIJ described the UTK rally as a "cash grab".
- **Telegram channels:** Many UK far-right groups post Bitcoin/Monero wallet addresses for donations

## What We Need

- Systematic collection of crypto wallet addresses from UK far-right Telegram channels
  - Blockchain analysis of inflow/outflow (tools: Chainalysis, TRM Labs, or public explorers)
  - Focus on Monero — the privacy coin preferred by extremists (harder to trace)
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## 4. Legal Defense Funds

A recurring funding need — activists are frequently arrested and need legal representation.

### Tommy Robinson

- **Constant legal battles:** Multiple arrests, terror act detention (Feb 2025), contempt of court
- **Funding mix:** US donors (Shillman, Andy Miller, Elon Musk allegedly), GiveSendGo, direct appeals to supporters
- **Politico EU:** "Elon Musk to fund Tommy Robinson's legal fight, supporters claim" (Dec 2024)
- **Typical pattern:** Robinson posts video asking for money → supporters send crypto/PayPal → legal fees paid

### Patriotic Alternative

- **£14,500 raised** (2024) to "support families" of convicted members. Source: Hope not Hate
- Sam Melia and Costello both convicted — PA crowdfunding for their support
- **Key insight:** PA is now providing financial support to members facing legal consequences — suggests institutional maturity

# Britain First

- Legal fee crowdfunding is a recurring theme
- £200,000 undeclared donation (via shell company) — VICE investigation

## PDL / Street Activists

- Legal support for members arrested at counter-protests
- Funded by Telegram donations and informal collections
- Amounts unknown

# 5. Major US Donors to UK Street-Level Activity

This bridges the "billionaire" and "ground-level" categories. US individuals are directly funding UK street events.

| Donor                                    | Amount    | Recipient      | Event                              | Source                |
|------------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>Andy Miller</b> (US Republican donor) | \$200,000 | Tommy Robinson | Unite the Kingdom rally (Sep 2025) | TBIJ, HnH, May 2026   |
| <b>Robert Shillman</b>                   | \$100,000 | Tommy Robinson | Unite the Kingdom rally (Sep 2025) | TBIJ, HnH, May 2026   |
| <b>Elon Musk</b> (alleged)               | Unknown   | Tommy Robinson | Legal fees                         | Politico EU, Dec 2024 |

**Andy Miller** is a US Republican donor — previously not in our research. This is a new lead that connects US GOP donor networks directly to UK street-level far-right activity.

# 6. Shell Companies and Obfuscation

## Britain First Shell Company

- **VICE investigation:** Britain First set up a shell company to disguise £200,000 donation
- Electoral Commission found £200,000 of undeclared donations in 2016
- Pattern: use limited company registration to obscure donor identity

# Patriotic Alternative Ltd (12759841)

- Registered company provides some transparency
  - Micro-entity accounts required at Companies House
  - **Action needed:** Download and analyse latest accounts
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## 7. Funding Channels — Full Summary

| Channel                           | Transparency             | Scale                   | Groups Using It                     | Difficulty to Track                  |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| GiveSendGo crowdfunding           | Low (public campaigns)   | £3k-£50k per campaign   | PA, Robinson, Britain First         | Medium                               |
| Merchandise sales                 | Very low (private sales) | Unknown, likely small   | ALL groups                          | Hard                                 |
| Crypto (Bitcoin/Monero)           | Pseudonymous             | Growing globally (£Ms)  | Robinson, PA, ACN + Telegram groups | Very hard (Monero = near impossible) |
| Legal defense crowdfunding        | Low                      | £10k-£100k per case     | Robinson, PA, Britain First         | Medium                               |
| US individual donors              | Ad-hoc public            | \$100k-\$200k per event | Robinson                            | Low (when reported)                  |
| Shell companies                   | Opaque                   | £200k+ per case         | Britain First                       | Hard                                 |
| Telegram / informal               | Zero transparency        | Unknown                 | PDL, local groups                   | Very hard                            |
| Patreon / SubscribeStar           | Low                      | Unknown                 | Individual influencers              | Medium                               |
| Event revenue (tickets, QR codes) | Zero transparency        | Unknown                 | Robinson, PDL                       | Very hard                            |

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## Priority Actions

### High Priority

- ☐ **GiveSendGo 2022 leak analysis** — search the leaked dataset for UK campaigns. The raw data is hosted by DDoSecrets. Filter for GBP, UK locations, and known far-right figures.
- ☐ **Andy Miller profile** — US GOP donor who gave \$200,000 to Tommy Robinson's rally. Who is he? What's his network?

- ☐ **Patriotic Alternative Ltd accounts** — download from Companies House (12759841). Latest micro-entity accounts will show revenue.
- ☐ **Telegram crypto wallet collection** — systematically collect BTC/Monero addresses from UK far-right Telegram channels.

## Medium Priority

- ☐ Britain First / Advance UK merchandise revenue estimates
- ☐ Active Club Network / White Rex financial footprint
- ☐ SubscribeStar analysis for UK far-right creators
- ☐ Cross-reference GiveSendGo leak for Tommy Robinson campaigns
- ☐ UTK coin analysis — who created it, who profited?

## Lower Priority

- ☐ Buy Me a Coffee profiles of far-right influencers
- ☐ John Myles (PDL) fundraising network map
- ☐ Cash collection at far-right events (un-trackable but worth noting)

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## Sources

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- Byline Times (Mar 2026): "The Elections Watchdog Doesn't Know Where Reform UK's Crypto Donations Are Coming From"
- GNET (2021): "Far-Right Fundraising on Telegram"