

Far Right Funding in the UK

Far Right Funding in the UK

“ Last updated: 7 June 2026

Overview

More than **£170 million** was funnelled into the UK's populist-right ecosystem between 2021 and 2026, funding MPs, political parties, media organisations, and thinktanks. Reform UK alone received **£9 million in Q1 2026** - more than any other party - with the majority coming from cryptocurrency billionaires. The scale and opacity of this funding network has triggered parliamentary investigations and a government review.

Key Figures

Christopher Harborne

- British-Thai crypto billionaire, based in Thailand.
- **Largest single donor in UK political history:** £9m to Reform UK in 2025, £3m in March 2026.
- Gave Nigel Farage a **£5 million "personal gift"** in June 2024, weeks before Farage's U-turn to stand for Parliament. Now under investigation by the Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards.
- If found guilty of failing to declare, Farage could face suspension from the Commons and a potential by-election.
- Harborne previously donated to the Conservative Party and was a major donor to the Brexit Party.
- Sued the Wall Street Journal over reporting on his cryptocurrency activities.

Ben Delo

- Co-founder of **BitMEX** (crypto trading platform), UK's youngest self-made billionaire (2018).
- Major Reform UK donor. Moving back to the UK from Hong Kong to avoid the new cap on overseas political donations.
- Has suggested he could challenge the cap in court.

Nigel Farage

- Reform UK leader. Under formal parliamentary investigation over the undeclared £5m Harborne gift.
- Personally accepted **£675,000 from foreign sources** (DeSmog investigation, April 2026), including a trip to Abu Dhabi paid for by the UAE.
- Reform UK has "supercharged" the scale of donor dependence, with **75% of donations coming from just three rich men**.

Richard Tice

- Reform UK deputy leader. Defended the Harborne gift, claiming voters already knew about it and still voted Reform in the May 2026 local elections.

Tommy Robinson (Stephen Yaxley-Lennon)

- UK's most prominent far-right influencer.
- Funded by **US tech billionaire Robert Shillman** via a "Shillman Fellowship" at Rebel Media (~£85,000 in 2017), which transformed him from street agitator to slick social media operator.
- Claimed to have raised **\$300,000 (£225,000)** from two US conservative donors on a recent US trip.
- Received almost **£425,000** in crowd-sourced donations from supporters in just two months.
- US funding paid for his rebranding, including new teeth and professional video production.

Sir Paul Marshall

- Hedge fund billionaire (Marshall Wace Asset Management).
- Owns **GB News, The Spectator, and UnHerd** - a right-wing media empire reaching millions.
- Called for the BBC to be "broken up" and its fact-checking service (BBC Verify) "shut down" at a Pharos Foundation event (May 2025).
- Named by the New Statesman as one of the most powerful right-wing figures in the UK (2023).
- Donated £145.1m to charity in 12 months (2024), including £50m to LSE.

The £170m Populist-Right Complex

Research (published March 2026 by Liam Byrne, reported by the Guardian) found that over five years:

- **£170m+** was given to MPs, political parties, media organisations, and thinktanks aligned with the UK's populist right.
 - A handful of billionaires pumped the money into an interconnected ecosystem spanning political figures, news media, and policy institutes.
 - The network operates as a "media-political complex" - donors fund both the politicians and the outlets that amplify their message.
-

Reform UK Funding Snapshot

Period	Amount	Key Source
Q1 2026	£9m+	Christopher Harborne, Ben Delo (crypto billionaires)
2025	£9m	Christopher Harborne
March 2026	£3m	Christopher Harborne
Farage personal gift	£5m	Christopher Harborne (undeclared, under investigation)

Reform UK received **almost £10 million** in private donations in Q1 2026 alone, surpassing the Conservatives (£6m+) and Labour (£4m+).

Government Response

- **Rycroft Review:** Independent review into countering foreign financial influence and interference in UK politics. Found that current rules for corporate donations require only a "weak link" to UK activity.
 - **Labour's clampdown:** Capped the amount foreign-based donors can give to political parties. Harborne and Delo are circumventing this by considering UK relocation or legal challenges.
 - Loophole still allows donations (including from foreign actors) to fund campaign spending of non-registered non-party campaigners (those spending below £10,000).
-

Think Tanks & Dark Money (Tufton Street & Beyond)

Tufton Street Network

A cluster of right-wing think tanks at 55 Tufton Street, London, operating as "dark money" organisations that refuse to reveal funders:

- **Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA)** - free-market think tank, registered as a charity. Received £400,000 from the US wing of the National Philanthropic Trust.
- **Policy Exchange** - received £900,000+ from the National Philanthropic Trust (US arm). Close access to Conservative ministers.
- **Centre for Policy Studies (CPS)** - Thatcherite think tank, part of the Tufton Street cluster.
- **Adam Smith Institute** - 23% of income from US donors.
- **TaxPayers' Alliance** - part of the US-funded network.

Combined US funding: Tufton Street think tanks raised **\$9 million from American donors since 2012**, with at least **\$6 million channelled to the UK** (11% of total UK receipts). US donors include oil companies and top climate denial funders. Between them, these think tanks have secured **100+ meetings with ministers** and placed **12+ former staff as special advisers** in government.

Prosperity Institute (formerly Legatum Institute)

- Founded 2007, based in London.
- Principally funded by the **Legatum Foundation**, philanthropic arm of the **Dubai-based Legatum Group** (founded by New Zealand businessman **Christopher Chandler**).
- Donated **£60,000** to the right-wing **New Conservatives** parliamentary group (led by Danny Kruger MP).
- Fuelled by offshore funds.
- GB News shareholders include Paul Marshall and the Dubai-based Legatum Institute.

National Philanthropic Trust (US)

- A secretive US "trust" that has given **£1.5 million+** to UK Conservative think tanks over five years.
- Also bankrolled Trump's Heritage Foundation ("Trump's think tank") with over \$1 million.
- Funds climate denial groups and far-right "election disinformation" in the US.
- Openly advertises its ability to conceal the identity of wealthy donors.

Atlas Network

- Global association of libertarian, free-market, and ultra-conservative think tanks.
- Funded by billionaires including the Koch brothers.
- Influenced Milei's radical austerity platform in Argentina.
- UK partners include Tufton Street think tanks.
- Invests **\$10 million+ annually** in projects advancing "the cause of liberty" worldwide.

Prosperity Institute

- Donated **£60,000** to the right-wing **New Conservatives** parliamentary group (led by Danny Kruger MP).
 - Fuelled by offshore funds.
-

Free Speech Front Groups

Free Speech Union (FSU)

- Founded 2020 by **Toby Young**.
- Funded by **US anti-abortion groups**, Brexit politicians, and Tufton Street insiders.
- Received almost **\$100,000 in 2021** from US sources.
- Linked to the **Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF)** - a US anti-abortion legal group.
- **ADF International** spending in UK: **£1.5 million per year** on legal campaigns against abortion and LGBT rights.
- Connected to the Atlas Network via the IPA.

Alliance Defending Freedom (ADF)

- American conservative Christian legal advocacy group.
- Operates internationally as **ADF International**.
- UK spending: **£1.5 million/year** on legal campaigns.
- Campaigns against abortion rights, LGBT rights, and transgender healthcare.
- Democracy for Sale investigation found ADF funding flowing to Toby Young's Free Speech Union.

Turning Point UK

- Launched December 2018 by **Charlie Kirk** (Turning Point USA founder) and **Candace Owens**.
- TPUSA raised **\$389 million** from founding (2012) through mid-2023.

- Annual contributions soared from \$79,000 in year one to **\$80 million** a decade later.
 - First contribution: \$10,000 from fund manager **Foster Friess** after Kirk met him at the 2012 RNC.
 - TPUSA donors and allies recommitted after Kirk's death (September 2025).
-

Jeremy Hosking

- Third member of the Reform UK "big three" donors alongside Harborne and Tice.
 - Together, Harborne, Hosking, and Tice have provided **£23 million of the £30 million** donated to Reform since 2019.
 - **75% of all Reform donations** come from these three men.
-

GB News & Paul Marshall's Media Empire

- **Paul Marshall invested a further £41m** into GB News following sharp losses.
 - GB News pre-tax losses: **£42.4m** (2022/23), up from £30.8m the prior year.
 - Bought **The Spectator** for £100m (2024), also owns **UnHerd**.
 - Marshall Wace hedge fund profits plunged **64%**: from £538m to £192m.
 - Named by the New Statesman as one of the most powerful right-wing figures in the UK (2023).
 - Left the Liberal Democrats in 2015 over Brexit, subsequently donated to the Brexit campaign and Conservatives.
-

Fossil Fuel Connections

- Reform UK received **£2.3 million** in donations from fossil fuel interests, climate deniers, and polluters (Green Party analysis).
 - US climate deniers pump millions into Tory-linked think tanks (openDemocracy investigation).
 - Tufton Street think tanks host 40+ events at Conservative Party conferences.
-

US-UK Far Right Pipeline

Direct US Funding to UK Far-Right Figures

- **Robert Shillman** (US tech billionaire) funded Tommy Robinson's Shillman Fellowship at **Rebel Media** (~£85,000/year in 2017) -- the seed money that transformed Robinson from street agitator to slick media operator (see Key Figures above). Shillman also funds anti-Islam figures across Europe and has pulled \$2m pledges from TPUSA.
- **Andy Miller** (former Apple executive, Nashville, now owns an NBA team) -- gave **\$200,000** to Robinson's "Unite the Kingdom" rally in London, May 2026 (see Welsh section for detail).
- **Elon Musk** agreed to pay legal fees for jailed Tommy Robinson (Politico Europe). Musk has amplified far-right voices in the UK on X, including Robinson and Reform UK figures.
- **Nigel Farage** has become one of the most amplified political figures on X since Musk's takeover.
- **Farage's Cameo earnings: £222,000** from the US celebrity video platform since becoming an MP.

Canada Pipeline (US money, Canadian platform, UK impact)

- **Rebel Media / Rebel News** (Canadian far-right media outlet) hosted the Shillman Fellowship that employed Tommy Robinson.
- The pipeline works as: US money (Shillman) -> Canadian platform (Rebel Media) -> UK far-right influencer (Robinson) -> UK streets.
- Pattern repeated with other UK far-right figures given platforms on Canadian/US media.

US State Department & Diplomatic Support

- Tommy Robinson visited the **US State Department**, welcomed by officials including Joe Rittenhouse (senior adviser, Consular Affairs).
- Robinson met far-right US influencer **Jack Posobiec** and filmed with Congressman **Randy Fine** (R-Florida, anti-Muslim rhetoric).
- **US State Department "free speech" fund**: Reports (February 2026) suggest the US is planning to fund MAGA-aligned think tanks, charities, and political movements in Europe, including the UK.
- A US State Department official travelled to Europe in December 2025 and spoke with figures in Nigel Farage's party.
- Trump administration has surged support for far-right activists in UK/Europe under "free speech" pretext.

MAGA/Trump Donor Pipeline to Reform UK

- Reform UK drawing up plans to **tap Trump/MAGA donors** to fund Farage's push for PM (Ekō campaign).
 - The party is actively courting US billionaires, with plans for a **£40 million war chest**.
 - Leverages Farage's personal connections with Trump's inner circle and Mar-a-Lago access.
 - US-style political fundraising tactics being imported to UK (crypto donations, crowdfunding, dark money vehicles).
-

Grassroots & Digital Funding (Crowdfunding & Crypto)

GiveSendGo & US Crowdfunding Platforms

- **GiveSendGo** -- US-based "Christian crowdfunding" site, self-styled "#1 Free Christian Crowdfunding Site."
- **ADL report:** Extremists raised at least **\$6.2 million** (2016-2022) via 10 crowdfunding platforms. GiveSendGo/Stripe facilitated **\$5.4 million** to extremist causes (86.5% of total).
- Used by UK far-right groups to raise money for **imprisoned white supremacists** in Scotland (The Ferret, 2025).
- GiveSendGo hosts campaigns for **Patriotic Alternative, Homeland Party**, and Tommy Robinson-associated fundraising.
- January 6 defendants, Proud Boys, and Unite the Right ralliers all crowdfunded through these platforms.
- ADL found that crowdfunded extremists diversify across platforms to avoid deplatforming.

Cryptocurrency Donations

- **Reform UK** became the first British political party to accept donations in cryptocurrency -- a policy that enabled **Christopher Harborne's £15m+ in Tether** (see Russia section).
- **Tommy Robinson** uses QR codes at rallies, mailing list promotions, and crypto appeals to bypass traditional banking and Electoral Commission scrutiny.
- **Homeland Party** also accepts cryptocurrency donations.
- Crypto donations are **near-impossible to trace** to source, making them ideal for foreign donors trying to circumvent the £100k cap.
- **136 Reform UK candidates** used anonymous crowdfunding platforms allowing donors to keep their address secret and donate from abroad (Byline Times, July 2024).

The New Funding Model

- Street-level far right is shifting from traditional membership fees (BNP/NF model) to **online crowdfunding + crypto + merch sales**.
 - Tommy Robinson raised **£425,000 in two months** from crowd-sourced donations.
 - The model allows anyone with a reactionary view to build a global fanbase, ask for donations, and convert money into slick media operations.
 - Bypasses Electoral Commission oversight, traditional banking restrictions, and transparency rules.
 - Creates a direct pipeline from international supporters (including US, Gulf, and diaspora donors) to UK street activism.
-

Offshore Tax Haven Donations

The £15m Offshore Pipeline (Mirror/Babelfish Investigation, May 2026)

- Analysis of Electoral Commission records found **80% of Reform UK's £18.6m in 2025 donations** -- almost **£15 million** -- came from just **18 donors connected to offshore tax havens**.
- **5 Reform donors** responsible for **£12.55 million (67%)** provided **overseas addresses** to Companies House (Babelfish investigation).
- Jurisdictions used: **Jersey, Isle of Man, British Virgin Islands, Bermuda** -- all British Overseas Territories or Crown Dependencies with minimal transparency.
- Specific donors channelled through offshore structures:
 - **JC Bamford Excavators Ltd** -- linked to the Bamford family, whose business empire has historically used **Bermudan trusts**.
 - **Lady Rothermere** -- £50,000 donation; Daily Mail group ultimately controlled through a **Jersey-based structure**.
 - Multiple UK-registered companies ultimately owned through **Jersey, Isle of Man, and BVI** -- combined £300,000.
 - **Christopher Harborne** -- £12m from Thailand (already covered in Russia section).
 - **Bassim Haidar** -- uses One Hyde Park address (see Gulf section).
- Transparency International UK stated Harborne donated £3m to Reform in 2025 on top of the record £9m, totalling £12m.
- The offshore architecture allows foreign money to enter UK politics while appearing technically compliant with donation rules.
- **80% offshore funding** makes Reform UK the most externally-dependent major party in British history.

How the Offshore Architecture Works

- UK ban on foreign donations is circumvented by donors using **UK-registered companies ultimately owned through offshore trusts**.
- **Non-dom status** allows wealthy foreign donors to live in the UK while their wealth remains offshore, avoiding UK tax and disclosure.
- The £100,000 cap on overseas donations (March 2026) is being circumvented by:
 - Donors **relocating to the UK** (Ben Delo moving from Hong Kong)
 - **Legal challenges** to the cap (Harborne)
 - Using **UK property addresses** like One Hyde Park as a "UK base" while wealth remains offshore
- **Crown Dependencies** (Jersey, Guernsey, Isle of Man) and **British Overseas Territories** (BVI, Cayman, Bermuda) are not subject to UK transparency laws, creating a legal blind spot.

Kazakhstan Connection

- **Sasan Ghandehari** (Iranian-Kazakh billionaire) -- his \$10bn family trust **HP Trust** paid for Farage's Davos 2026 trip, described as the "family office of Sasan Ghandehari" (Guardian, Jan 2026).
 - His fortune derives from his late mother **Hourieh Peramaa**, described as a **Kazakh-born Iranian investor** who made billions through property (Guardian, Feb 2026).
 - Ghandehari is also a client of **John Simpson's IAL Ltd** (see Iran section), the company that donated £200k to Reform UK.
 - Court battle over Picasso art exposed the offshore finances behind the Ghandehari trust (Guardian, Feb 2026).
 - Demonstrates the **Kazakh-Iranian-UK pipeline** of wealth into Farage's operation.
-

Priti Patel & Heritage Foundation

- Shadow Foreign Secretary **Priti Patel** has ties to the Heritage Foundation, the ultra-conservative group that authored **Project 2025** (Trump's second-term blueprint).
 - DeSmog investigation (November 2024) detailed the connections.
 - **Multiple UK Conservative MPs and peers** have given speeches at Heritage Foundation events.
 - Heritage Foundation has links to UK right-wing think tanks (Tufton Street network).
 - The Guardian revealed (July 2024) that Heritage has hosted speeches by Tory MPs and peers.
 - Project 2025's authoritarian vision has parallels with Reform UK's stated policies.
-

Homeland Party

- Far-right party launched November 2024.
 - Now accepting **cryptocurrency donations**, following Reform UK's lead.
 - HOPE not Hate investigation revealed neo-Nazi connections among founders.
 - Searchlight Magazine exposed links to far-right extremist networks.
 - Calls growing for Labour to use its Elections Bill to secure UK politics from crypto and foreign money.
 - Represents the further-right fringe that benefits from Reform UK's mainstreaming of anti-immigration rhetoric.
-

UKIP (UK Independence Party) - Collapse

- UKIP's donations have **collapsed** since peak in 2015.
 - 2025 donations: just **£50,000** (down from millions).
 - Reform UK has effectively replaced UKIP as the main right-wing populist party.
 - Arron Banks (former UKIP mega-donor) now supports Reform UK.
 - UKIP's decline mirrors the rise of Reform UK and the shift of far-right funding to Farage's operation.
-

New Conservatives (Tory Right-Wing Faction)

- Group of right-wing Conservative MPs led by **Danny Kruger**.
 - **Suella Braverman** associated with the group.
 - Received **£60,000** from the **Prosperity Institute** (offshore-funded think tank).
 - Pushing for more radical Conservative policies on immigration, culture war issues.
 - Represents the overlap between mainstream Conservative politics and the far-right ecosystem.
 - Tufton Street think tanks have significant influence on New Conservatives policy positions.
-

Tufton Street Think Tanks in Government

- At least **12 former staff** from Tufton Street think tanks have joined government as **special advisers**.
 - Think tanks secured **100+ meetings with ministers** since 2019.
 - **Boris Johnson's government** heavily influenced by Tufton Street (IEA, CPS, Policy Exchange).
 - **Liz Truss's economic plans** (2022) directly shaped by Tufton Street think tank ideology.
 - Think tank alumni placed in key policy roles across Conservative governments.
 - The revolving door between think tanks and government creates policy capture.
-

Reform UK Local Elections 2026

- **May 2026 local elections:** Reform UK won control of **10 councils** and over **600 seats**.
 - Biggest local election gains for a right-wing party since the 1980s.
 - Farage claimed mandate for general election.
 - The **£9 million Q1 2026 war chest** (Harborne, Delo donations) directly fuelled the campaign.
 - Demonstrates the tangible impact of mega-donor funding on electoral success.
 - Reform UK now controls local government in multiple areas, implementing far-right policies at council level.
-

GB News Ofcom Breaches (Full Context)

- **Fined £100,000** by Ofcom (first ever financial sanction, 2025).
 - **Found in breach 12 times**, with 19 investigations opened since launch.
 - **7 investigations still ongoing**.
 - Breaches include:
 - Due impartiality violations (politician-presenters giving partisan commentary in news slots).
 - Failure to distinguish between news and opinion.
 - Misleading content on immigration and asylum.
 - Anti-trans and anti-"woke" segments presented as news.
 - Good Law Project maintains a full dossier of breaches.
 - Ofcom's powers limited - can fine but cannot revoke broadcast license easily.
 - Critics argue Ofcom is too slow to act and GB News treats fines as "cost of doing business."
-

Key Figures (continued)

Figure	Role	Connection
Jeremy Hosking	Reform mega-donor	£23m combined with Harborne & Tice
Toby Young	FSU founder	US anti-abortion funding, Atlas Network links
Charlie Kirk	Turning Point USA/UK founder	\$389m raised, died Sept 2025
Danny Kruger MP	New Conservatives group	£60k from Prosperity Institute (offshore funds)
Jack Posobiec	US far-right influencer	Met Tommy Robinson at State Dept
Elon Musk	Tech billionaire	Funded Robinson's legal fees

Arron Banks & Leave.EU Legacy

- **Arron Banks** donated **£8.4 million** to Leave.EU during the 2016 EU referendum, making him the biggest donor in British political history at the time.
- Investigated by the **National Crime Agency (NCA)** over suspected electoral fraud, money laundering, and criminal offences during the referendum campaign.
- NCA investigation closed in 2019 without charges, but Banks and Leave.EU were fined **£20,000** for multiple breaches of electoral law.
- **Electoral Commission launched fresh investigation** in November 2024 over suspected breaches of campaign finance rules during the 2016 referendum.
- Banks has repeatedly denied any wrongdoing and called investigations "politically motivated".
- Banks was a major donor to UKIP and has close ties to Nigel Farage.

Russia Connections

Christopher Harborne - Tether & Russian Sanctions Evasion

- Reform UK's biggest donor (Christopher Harborne, £15m+) is a major shareholder in **Tether**, the world's largest cryptocurrency stablecoin.
- **NCA investigation (November 2025):** The National Crime Agency revealed Tether had been used to facilitate a money-laundering network enabling **sanctions evasion and**

organised crime directly aiding Russia's war effort in Ukraine.

- NCA seized **£25 million** and made **128 arrests** in connection with the cash-for-crypto network.
- The **US Treasury sanctioned Russian bosses** of the laundering networks and publicly warned they were using Tether -- the same month Farage accepted £28,000 from Harborne to attend Trump's inauguration.
- **The Guardian** (Nov 2025): "Cryptocurrency backed by Farage donor is used for Russian war effort".
- **Byline Times** (Dec 2025): Harborne profits from a **pro-Kremlin propaganda platform** while holding a UK Ministry of Defence stake.
- Reform UK refused to comment on the revelations. No suggestion of Harborne's personal involvement, but his fortune is intrinsically linked to Tether -- which is in high demand from sanctions-evasion networks.
- Reform UK was the **first British political party to accept donations in cryptocurrency**.

Nick Candy, One Hyde Park & Russian Oligarchs

- **Nick Candy** -- Reform UK Treasurer, chief fundraiser, and major donor.
- Candy was the development agent for **One Hyde Park**, Britain's most expensive apartment block, built by the Candy brothers.
- **Byline Times** (May 2026): Candy and three other Reform donors (actress **Holly Valance**, businessman **Bassim Haidar**, Sotheby's International Realty) have donated **£1.55 million** from One Hyde Park addresses.
- One Hyde Park houses **at least five sanctioned or Russian-connected billionaires**. Nearly 80% of original buyers purchased through offshore vehicles (BVI, Liechtenstein, Isle of Man).
- In 2022, Candy stated he had made an offer to buy **Chelsea FC from sanctioned Russian oligarch Roman Abramovich**.
- Candy transferred his One Hyde Park penthouse to Guernsey-registered companies for £160m in a move that raised tax avoidance questions.
- Candy's start-up fund lost **£100m over a decade** (Cash Insight).
- Candy has emails referenced in the **Epstein files** (Left Foot Forward, Feb 2026).

Nathan Gill - Reform UK Wales Leader Jailed

- **Nathan Gill**, former leader of Reform UK Wales (March-May 2021), was **sentenced to 10.5 years in prison** in November 2025.
- Admitted taking **£40,000 in bribes** to make pro-Russian speeches in the European Parliament.
- Paid to promote the interests of a Putin ally.
- The most significant proven case of Russian financial influence on a UK far-right politician.

- Gill was a former UKIP MEP before joining Reform UK.

James Orr - Farage's Senior Advisor & Orban-Backed Russian Oil Network

- **James Orr** (Professor), appointed October 2025 as **Nigel Farage's senior advisor**, in charge of developing policy for a future Reform UK government.
- Orr sits on the board of the **Roger Scruton Legacy Foundation (RSFL)** -- financed by a **pro-Kremlin Hungarian state-funded body** tied to **Russian oil profits** (Byline Times, Feb 2026).
- RSFL is part of a network funded by **Viktor Orban's government**, which refines Russian oil and has been described as Putin's "megaphone" in Europe.
- **Good Law Project** (2026): Investigation found the Orban-funded network uses profits from Russian oil to **platform far-right and anti-trans campaigners in UK universities**.
- **DeSmog** (Apr 2026): Orr helped launch the **Centre for a Better Britain**, a think tank seeking to raise **£25 million by 2029** from UK and US sources including tech investors and pro-Trump donors, to support Reform UK policy development. |- Orr accused the UK of a "naive and dangerous" approach to Russia's invasion of Ukraine at an event organised by an oil-funded think tank (DeSmog). |- **Michael Gove** serves alongside Orr as a director of RSFL. |- **Good Law Project** (2026): "Orban's pay cheques: Reform candidate fuelled by profits from Russian oil."

Peter Thiel & Silicon Valley Connection

- **Peter Thiel** (Palantir co-founder, \$23.9bn net worth) is directly connected to the RSFL/Orban network through James Orr.
- Orr hosted Thiel at Cambridge for a series of closed-door **"Antichrist Lectures"** (Varsity, 2026), in which Thiel speculated that Greta Thunberg may be the Antichrist.
- Thiel previously spoke at RSLF Oxford events, where he compared equality, diversity, and inclusion initiatives to the Chinese Communist Party (Varsity, 2023).
- **Jordan Peterson** received a **\$50,000 cash prize** and silver medal from the RSLF (2024).
- Thiel is described as being "part of a network backed by the billionaire" at Cambridge (The Nerve), linking US tech billionaire money directly to the Orban-backed influence operation feeding into Reform UK policy.
- Represents the convergence of **US tech oligarch money, Hungarian authoritarian funding, and UK far-right politics** through the RSFL network.

Reform-Orban Network (DeSmog Mapping)

- **DeSmog** (Apr 2026) published a detailed map of connections between Hungary's autocratic Orban government and Reform UK.

- Farage has repeatedly praised Orban as "the strongest leader in Europe" and "the EU's biggest nightmare."
- Reform UK's head of policy James Orr described Orban's regime as a "counterexample" to UK politics at a Hungarian political festival (Aug 2025).
- The network spans state-backed think tanks, media outlets, and conferences promoting "illiberal democracy."
- Farage and Orban's alliance represents a **direct pipeline from Russian oil profits into UK far-right politics**, via Hungary's refining and re-export of Russian crude.

Reform UK Candidate & Sanctioned Bosnian Serb Leadership

- **Byline Times** (Apr 2026): A Reform UK candidate runs a public affairs consultancy hired to handle UK media and communications for the **leadership of Republika Srpska** -- the pro-Putin Bosnian Serb entity.
- **Milorad Dodik**, the entity's former president, has been **sanctioned by Britain**.
- The candidate's firm was paid to represent a sanctioned pro-Russian leadership in the UK.

Broader Russia Links

- Russian state media (RT, Sputnik) has consistently amplified Tommy Robinson, Nigel Farage, and Reform UK messaging.
 - Farage has called Putin a "strong leader" and previously opposed sanctions on Russia.
 - Reform UK says it supports Ukraine but has been consistently vague on military aid levels.
 - Richard Tice (Reform deputy leader) has met with Russian officials.
 - **Arron Banks** (Leave.EU) had multiple undisclosed meetings with Russian embassy officials and was offered business opportunities in Russia before the Brexit referendum. Denied wrongdoing.
 - Far-right parties across Europe echo Russian talking points on Ukraine, NATO, and "traditional values."
-

Iran Connections

John Simpson / Orico General Trading -- Reform Donor Linked to Sanctioned Iranian Conglomerate

- **John Richard Simpson** is the registered manager and shareholder of Dubai-based **Orico General Trading LLC**.
- **French court ruling** (Mar 2026) directly connected Orico to **Astan Quds Razavi (AQR)**, a sanctioned Iranian conglomerate with close ties to Iran's regime and Supreme Leader. French legal documents described Orico as a "subsidiary" of Iranian company Omran Razavi International Co, which is majority-owned by AQR.
- AQR was sanctioned by the **US Treasury in 2021** for controlling "large swaths of the Iranian economy" and links to Ayatollah Khamenei.
- Between 2012-2013, Orico entered into agreements worth **€145 million** connected to Iran's state telecommunications company and **\$186 million** to modernise Iran's fibre optic network (ICC arbitration records).
- Simpson is listed as the person with significant control of **Interior Architecture Landscape Limited (IAL Ltd)**, which donated **£200,000 to Reform UK** in 2025.
- IAL's clients include **Iranian billionaire Sasan Ghandehari**, who sponsored **Nigel Farage's pass to the World Economic Forum in Davos** (Jan 2026).
- **Financial Times** and **Left Foot Forward** (Apr 2026) reported the story. Orico denies being a subsidiary of any Iranian regime entity and says its links to AQR ended in 2016.
- **Intelligence Online** (Mar 2026): French intelligence memo directly links the Iranian regime to a Reform UK party donor for the first time.

Farage's Iranian Billionaire Connection

- **Sasan Ghandehari**, an Iranian billionaire, sponsored Farage's **Davos 2026 pass** -- Farage attended the World Economic Forum as an "adviser" to Ghandehari.
- Ghandehari is a client of IAL Ltd (Simpson's company), which donated £200k to Reform.
- Raises questions about Iranian-linked money accessing the highest levels of Reform UK leadership.

Tommy Robinson & Iranian Monarchist Alliance

- **Novara Media** (May 2026): Iranian monarchists attended Tommy Robinson's **"Unite the Kingdom" rally** (London, 16 May 2026).
- Eight coaches of Iranian supporters reportedly travelled from Manchester to the rally.
- Suggests a developing **tactical alliance between some Iranian exiles and the UK far right**, united by shared opposition to the Islamic Republic.
- The Guardian observed "British Iranians... had found common cause with Robinson."

IRGC Influence Operations in the UK (Context)

- While Iran's primary UK influence vector is **Islamist extremism rather than far-right funding**, the IRGC operates a "shadowy Shia Islamist extremist and radicalisation apparatus" across Britain (UANI evidence to Parliament).
- IRGC-linked entities include **charities, mosques, cultural centres, and student associations** promoting antisemitism and anti-Western propaganda.

- **UK charity regulator** has long-running investigations into charities with alleged Iran regime links.
 - **Parliamentary evidence** (2025): IRGC's network has worked to radicalise young people, recruit adherents, and spread "anti-west and antisemitic propaganda."
 - This is a **different influence vector** to Russian far-right funding -- Iran targets Islamist networks, not the nationalist far right -- but both represent hostile state influence in UK politics.
-

Transnational Far-Right Networks

Active Club Network (US Import)

- **Imported from the United States**, the Active Club (AC) network is a decentralised far-right movement promoting physical fitness, martial arts training, and white supremacist ideology.
- Described as "neo-Nazi fighting clubs" (BBC), using sports and gym culture to recruit young men.
- Promoted since 2020 by US far-right activist **Robert Rundo** (founder of the Rise Above Movement / RAM).
- UK branches of Active Clubs have been reported across the country, operating as "fitness groups" while maintaining connections with formal white supremacist organisations including **Patriot Front** (US).
- Experts warn the clubs are using sports to "build militia" (BBC, 2024).
- Connected to PA and Homeland Party in Wales (see Welsh section).

Generation Identity (Pan-European)

- Pan-European white nationalist movement with an active UK branch.
- UK branch described as shifting towards more extreme far-right positions (Guardian, 2019).
- The Christchurch mosque shooter donated to the Austrian branch of Generation Identity, highlighting the transnational funding flows.
- UK branch has been infiltrated and exposed multiple times by investigative journalists.

International Far-Right Congresses

- **Patriotic Alternative** sent representatives to an international congress of far-right and neo-Nazi movements held at the **Mariinsky Palace in St Petersburg, Russia** (The Insider).

- Demonstrates direct organisational links between UK neo-Nazis and the international far right.
- Tommy Robinson has spoken at events alongside far-right figures from across Europe and the US.

Hindutva (Hindu Nationalist) Alliance

- **Tommy Robinson** has actively courted Hindutva (Hindu nationalist) groups, giving a 90-minute interview to **Op-India** (run by Nupur J Sharma, ex-BJP spokesperson), viewed nearly 10,000 times.
- In **February 2016**, the **National Council of Hindu Temples (NCHT)** -- a mainstream Hindutva organisation -- invited Tommy Robinson to speak at their annual conference in a **Southall temple** (BuzzFeed, The Wire).
- **NPCC police report** (2025) warned of Hindutva supporters in the UK aligning with British far-right extremists due to "commonly shared beliefs, including anti-Muslim hatred" (India Today, 2025).
- **Novara Media** (2023): "White and Hindu Supremacists Are a Match Made in Heaven" -- documented the growing ideological alliance between white nationalist groups (Patriotic Alternative, EDL) and Hindutva organisations.
- **The Canary** (Jan 2026): "Hindu nationalism and white supremacy played a central role in the 2024 race riots" -- collaboration between the two movements fuelled real-world violence.
- Tommy Robinson has publicly praised Hindus as "peace-loving" while simultaneously calling for mass deportations of Muslims (Times of India, 2026).
- Hindutva charities in the UK operate as **multi-million-dollar tax-exempt organisations** (The Polis Project), with cross-border funding networks from India, US, and Canada.

China/Hong Kong Vector

- **The Guardian** (Apr 2025): An online campaign urged far-right groups in the UK to **physically attack Hong Kong pro-democracy activists and Chinese dissidents** living in Britain.
- Represents a different pattern from direct funding -- Beijing-aligned actors using UK far-right groups as **proxies** to target political opponents rather than funding the far right's own agenda.
- Several Hong Kong activists were identified as potential targets. British police disrupted some attacks.
- Demonstrates how foreign state actors weaponise the UK far right for their own geopolitical objectives, even without direct financial transactions.

UK Government Response

- **May 2026:** Home Secretary Shabana Mahmood blocked **11 foreign far-right activists** from entering the UK ahead of Tommy Robinson's "Unite the Kingdom" rally.
 - Those blocked included **Valentina Gomez** (Colombian-American anti-Islam activist).
 - Their Electronic Travel Authorisations (ETAs) were withdrawn.
 - Demonstrates the scale of international far-right travel to UK events.
-

Gulf State Influence

Nigel Farage's UAE/Saudi Connections

- **December 2025:** Farage visited Abu Dhabi at the expense of the UAE, attending events and meeting officials despite his anti-immigration brand.
- Farage met **senior UAE officials** to discuss the Muslim Brotherhood (Middle East Eye), with the FT reporting the Emirati leadership wanted to speak to Reform "owing to a shared opposition to the Muslim Brotherhood."
- UAE paid approximately **£1,000** for Farage's visit to Abu Dhabi and **\$9,000** for Paddock passes at the 2025 Abu Dhabi Grand Prix (Al Jazeera, May 2026).
- Accepted hospitality from Saudi officials and spoke at Saudi-funded events.
- **Intelligence Online** (Jan 2026): UAE foreign ministry discussing cooperation with **Visegrad24**, an online influence platform linked to Poland's far right -- part of a broader UAE strategy of courting Europe's far right.
- Critics accuse him of hypocrisy and foreign influence.

Bassim Haidar (Lebanon/Nigeria)

- **Bassim Haidar** -- Lebanese-Nigerian billionaire, telecom entrepreneur.
- Donated **£1m+ to Reform UK** (previously £700k+ to the Conservatives). Pledged another £1m.
- Born in Nigeria to Lebanese parents, holds Irish passport. Byline Times called him "The Globalist Billionaire Bankrolling Britain's Anti-Globalist Party."
- Bought a **£42m apartment at One Hyde Park** -- the same Knightsbridge complex housing sanctioned Russian oligarchs -- at a 30% discount from the bankrupt wife of a Hong Kong property magnate.
- Flies under the donation radar using his One Hyde Park address (same block as Nick Candy, Holly Valance, and other Reform donors).
- **Al Jazeera** (May 2026): Haidar spent **£55,000** to fly Farage and two aides to the US for a "speaking engagement and charity event."
- Also owns an **Irish property portfolio** (residential and student accommodation) valued at over £100m.
- Represents the globalised wealth behind Reform UK's anti-globalist rhetoric.

The Telegraph Sale

- The Telegraph deal shifted to **DMGT (Daily Mail owner, Lord Rothermere)** for **£500 million** (see Right-Wing Media section above).
- Earlier RedBird IMI bid (Abu Dhabi-backed) was rejected.
- Still under investigation by Lisa Nandy over media plurality concerns.

Gulf State Funding UK Politics

- Politicians from across the spectrum have accepted hospitality from Gulf states (UAE, Saudi Arabia).
 - Gulf-linked money has flowed into UK think tanks, media outlets, and political campaigns.
 - Extent of direct funding to politicians remains opaque.
-

Right-Wing Media Ecosystem (Ownership & Influence)

GB News

- Owned by **Sir Paul Marshall** (hedge fund billionaire) and Dubai-based **Legatum Group**.
- **Fined £100,000** by Ofcom (first ever financial sanction against the channel, 2025).
- **Found in breach 12 times**, with 19 investigations opened since launch in 2021. 7 investigations still ongoing.
- Pays sitting and former politicians as presenters (see below).
- **£42.4 million losses** (2022/23), Marshall injected further £41m. Total owner investment now £34m+.
- Critics call it "Reform TV" - effectively the party's broadcast arm.

The Telegraph

- Being acquired by **DMGT (Daily Mail owner, Lord Rothermere)** for **£500 million**.
- Deal under investigation by **Lisa Nandy** (Culture Secretary) over media plurality concerns.
- Would give Rothermere control of **~50% of UK national newspaper industry**.
- Previously owned by the Barclay brothers, who rejected earlier RedBird IMI (UAE-backed) bid.

Daily Mail (DMGT)

- Owned by **Lord Rothermere** (wealth estimated over £1 billion).
- DMGT acquiring The Telegraph would create a right-leaning media powerhouse with 50%+ circulation.
- Long associated with Conservative politics and right-wing causes.

Daily Express (Reach plc)

- Owned by **Reach plc** (also owns Daily Mirror, Daily Star).
- Traditionally right-wing, influence has declined.

The Spectator

- Bought by **Paul Marshall** for £100m (2024).

UnHerd

- Owned by **Paul Marshall**.

Spiked Magazine

- Edited by **Brendan O'Neill**.
 - Received **\$300,000** from the **Charles Koch Foundation** (US).
 - Koch money used to "produce public debates in the US about free speech."
 - George Monbiot exposed the Koch connection in 2018.
 - Brendan O'Neill also writes for Reason Magazine (Koch-funded).
-

Politicians Paid by GB News

GB News spent **over half a million pounds** on appearance fees for Tory and Reform politicians in one year.

Nigel Farage

- Paid **£97,928.40 per month** (£1.17m/year) by GB News for 32 hours of work.
- **Highest-paid MP** from second jobs.
- Total income since elected MP (July 2024): **£2 million** on top of £94k parliamentary salary.
- **£675,000 from foreign sources** (Cameo, UAE trips, Saudi events).
- **12 different second jobs** registered.

- Cameo earnings: **£222,000** since becoming MP.

Lee Anderson

- Former Conservative MP for Ashfield, defected to Reform UK after Islamophobic comments about Sadiq Khan.
- Paid **£100,000 per year** by GB News as presenter/contributor.

Esther McVey

- Former Conservative cabinet minister, **sitting MP**.
- GB News presenter.

Jacob Rees-Mogg

- Former Leader of the House of Commons, Conservative MP.
 - Hosts "**The Rees-Mogg Report**" on GB News.
 - Personal wealth through **Somerset Capital Management** (investment firm).
-

Laurence Fox & Reclaim Party

- **Laurence Fox** (actor turned political commentator) founded the **Reclaim Party**, a right-wing political party.
 - Frequent guest on **GB News** and other right-wing outlets (TalkTV).
 - Vocal critic of "woke culture", with controversial views on race, gender, and immigration.
 - Reclaim Party funding sources remain **opaque**, though wealthy donors have contributed.
 - Associated with Reform UK and the broader UK right-wing movement.
 - Fox has appeared alongside Reform UK figures and shared their criticisms.
-

Elections Bill 2026 & Government Response

The Rycroft Review (2026)

Independent review commissioned by Labour to examine foreign financial influence in UK politics.
Key findings:

- Current rules for corporate donations require only a "weak link" to UK activity.
- Loopholes allow foreign actors to fund political campaigns.
- Recommended tighter controls, greater transparency, stronger Electoral Commission powers.

Key Recommendations Implemented

1. **£100,000 cap** on overseas donations from British citizens living abroad (effective 25 March 2026).
2. Strengthened definition of "UK-based" donors for corporate donations.
3. Greater transparency requirements for donations to think tanks and media outlets.
4. **Stronger Electoral Commission enforcement powers** and higher fines.
5. Closed loopholes allowing foreign actors to fund non-party campaigners.

Reform UK Response

- Criticised the Elections Bill as an "attack on free speech and democracy".
- Nigel Farage said the cap is designed to silence Reform UK and its supporters.
- Party vowed to challenge the legislation in court.

Donor Workarounds

- **Christopher Harborne** (Thailand-based): suggested challenging the cap in court.
 - **Ben Delo** (Hong Kong-based): said he will relocate to the UK to continue donating.
 - Both criticised the cap as "undemocratic".
-

Charles Koch Foundation & UK Influence

- **Charles Koch Foundation** (US libertarian think tank) has funded UK right-wing media including **Spiked magazine**.
 - Known for funding **climate denial** and free-market ideology.
 - Accused of using "dark money" to influence UK public debate.
 - Part of the broader **Atlas Network** global reach.
-

Welsh Connections

Nathan Gill - Reform UK Wales Leader Jailed for Russian Bribes

- **Nathan Gill**, former leader of Reform UK Wales (March-May 2021), was **sentenced to 10.5 years in prison** in November 2025.
- Admitted taking **at least £30,000 in cash bribes** from **Oleg Voloshyn**, an alleged Russian asset.
- Made pro-Russian speeches in the European Parliament between December 2018 and July 2019.
- Payments referred to as "Christmas gifts" by Gill and his handler.
- First uncovered when stopped at Manchester airport on 13 September 2021, about to travel to Russia.
- Was a UKIP MEP before joining Reform UK.
- **The most significant proven case of Russian financial influence on a UK far-right politician**, and it happened in Wales.

Woodlander Initiative - Far-Right Settlement in Mid-Wales (FUNDING)

- **Raised over £150,000** from extremists across the UK to buy land for "white homelands" (Searchlight Magazine, April 2025).
- Led by **Simon Birkett** (AKA Woodlander), Wiltshire-based tattoo artist, veteran fascist (National Front, BNP).
- Money used to buy **two plots of land near Llanafan Fawr**, mid-Wales (LD2 3PN).
- **Patriotic Alternative** called it "a fantastic initiative that allows nationalists to pool their money to buy land."
- PA members have been using the land for 'camping' weekends.
- **Now in serious trouble**: TWI assets (land + remaining cash) may be **confiscated by the Crown** due to legal/organisational problems.
- Birkett cited **Orania** (whites-only town in South Africa) as inspiration.
- **Bylines Cymru** exposed it as "controlled by one man with ties to fascist groups."
- **HOPE not Hate** and **The Canary** both investigated.
- The scheme represents far-right **crowdfunding for ethno-nationalist land acquisition** - a new funding model for the UK far right.

Reform UK Wales - Senedd 2026

- **Dan Thomas** (born c.1981) is the current Reform UK Wales leader and **Leader of the Opposition in Wales** since 2026.
- **Won a Senedd seat** in the 2026 election - Reform UK's first ever elected MSs.
- Reform UK is **neck and neck with Plaid Cymru** in Senedd voting intention (YouGov, 2026).

- The 2026 Senedd election could be historic - Labour's century-long dominance in Wales under threat.
- Reform UK announced Senedd candidates, though questions raised about how many actually live in Wales vs being parachuted in.
- Delyth Jewell MS (Plaid Cymru Deputy Leader) called Reform "a limited company backed by millionaires."
- The **national Reform UK war chest** (Harborne, Delo, Hosking millions) flows into the Welsh campaign.
- IFS analysis: Reform UK's Welsh manifesto echoes Conservative proposals while leaving spending cuts unspecified.
- Thomas stated Reform would "represent the people, focus on everyday issues, and prioritise common sense over ideology."

David Jones - Former Welsh Secretary Joins Reform

- **David Jones**, former Conservative MP for Clwyd West (2005-2024), has **joined Reform UK**.
- Served as **Secretary of State for Wales** (2012-2014) under David Cameron.
- Was also a minister in the Department for Exiting the EU (2016-2017).
- His defection to Reform represents the established Welsh Tory right shifting to Farage's party.
- Brings establishment connections and donor networks with him.

Patriotic Alternative in Wales

Overview

- **Patriotic Alternative (PA)** is the UK's largest neo-Nazi organisation, founded in September 2019 by **Mark Collett**, former BNP Director of Publicity and Communications.
- Collett was filmed in 2002 by BBC's The Secret Agent calling Jews 'the enemy' and saying refugees should be gassed.
- PA has around **500 members** and thousands of online followers, operating regional branches across the UK including active branches in Wales.
- Named as promoting 'neo-Nazi ideology' in the UK government's definition of extremism (March 2024).

Welsh Leadership: Joe Marsh

- PA's Welsh organiser is **Joe Marsh** (also known as Joe Butler), a convicted football hooligan and veteran far-right activist.
- Jailed in 2015 for attacking a female anti-austerity protester.
- Leading figure in the **Pie & Mash Squad** hooligan firm.
- Previously involved in the BNP and multiple far-right groups.

- BBC undercover journalist met Marsh in 2023 following Llanelli protests.

BBC Investigation (2025)

- **BBC Wales Investigates** programme "Unmasked: Extreme Far Right" (January 2025) documented a year-long undercover infiltration of PA.
- Journalist posed as "Dan Jones", attending protests, summer camps, conferences, and a funeral.
- Members filmed making comments experts say could amount to inciting racial hatred.
- **South Wales Police launched investigation** into PA's activities in Wales following the documentary.
- When contacted by BBC, most members secretly filmed refused to answer questions; one accused BBC of "anti-white bias".

Anti-Immigration Protests in Wales

- **Llanelli (2023)**: PA attempted to exploit local tensions over asylum seeker accommodation. Well-known far-right extremists headed to the town to recruit.
- **St Athan (2024)**: PA threatened to travel to protest and terrorise Afghan refugees housed there. HOPE not hate reported Marsh spent weeks promoting the protest, but attendance was poor after Collett prioritised a trip to Finland.
- **Llantwit Major (2023)**: Two arrests made after hundreds gathered to oppose PA demonstration against Vale of Glamorgan council's plans to house Ukrainian refugees.

The Woodlander Initiative & Land Purchases

- **The Woodlander Initiative (TWI)** is a land-buying scheme led by **Simon Birkett** (AKA Woodlander), a Wiltshire-based tattoo artist and far-right activist.
- TWI has raised **over £150,000** from extremists, with a goal of raising £1 million to buy land in every county to create 'white homelands'.
- **Two plots of land purchased in Llanafan Fawr, mid-Wales** - used by PA members for camping trips, training exercises, and social gatherings.
- TWI claims to be "not a political organisation" but sites have become a base for far-right activity.
- **Mark Collett praised TWI** as a "fantastic initiative" in fascist magazine Heritage & Destiny.
- Birkett spoke at PA's 2024 annual conference.
- The Times reported (August 2025) that TWI had "forged close ties" with PA.
- Guardian investigation (August 2025) examined why far-right figures chose the mid-Wales village.
- Legal experts suggest money and land could be confiscated under proceeds of crime legislation if activities promote racial hatred.
- Charity Commission asked to investigate whether TWI's fundraising breaches charity law.

Funding & Structure

- PA registered as **Patriotic Alternative Ltd** (company number 12759841) at International House, 61 Mosley Street, Manchester.
- Funding sources: membership subscriptions, merchandise sales (branded clothing, flags, publications), crowdfunding campaigns, donations.
- **2024 Electoral Commission rejection:** PA's application to register as a political party rejected - constitution did not properly set out party structure, financial scheme not compliant with law.
- **Heritage & Destiny** fascist magazine regularly features PA content and promotion.
- Collett personally rings members to boost conference attendance.

Reform UK Infiltration Strategy (2025)

- **May 2025:** Collett called for supporters to "infiltrate" Reform UK following its electoral success, seeking to push the party further right on immigration.
- Multiple far-right groups (including PA) signed joint declaration encouraging members to support, infiltrate, and "covertly" run for Reform UK.
- Collett endorsed Reform in the 2024 general election.
- Strategy represents shift from street-level organising to entryist tactics.

2024 Conference

- Guest speaker: **Blair Cottrell**, Australian far-right activist convicted of burglary, arson, and inciting contempt of Muslims.
- Conference held in Midlands, October 2024.

Links to Active Club Network

- PA connected to **Active Club Network**, a decentralised far-right movement promoting physical fitness, martial arts training, and white supremacist ideology.
- Represents the street-level, militant far right operating in Wales and across the UK.

2025 Anti-Immigration Protests in Wales

- Multiple far-right groups involved in anti-immigration protests across Wales in 2025:
 - **Advance UK**
 - **Britain First**
 - **British Unity**
 - **Homeland Party**
 - **Patriotic Alternative**
 - **Reform UK** (members attending, not official party involvement)
 - **UKIP**
 - **Turning Point UK**
- Protests targeted hotels and accommodation housing asylum seekers.
- Protesters recorded using racial slurs and calling for migrants to be shot.
- Over 200 organisations signed an open letter condemning the protests.

- Welsh Refugee Council among signatories.

Craig Williams MP - Welsh Tory Donations

- **Craig Williams**, former Conservative MP for Montgomeryshire (previously Cardiff North). Lost seat in 2024 general election.
- Was parliamentary private secretary to Rishi Sunak.
- WalesOnline investigation found significant private cash pouring into Welsh constituencies.
- Part of the broader pattern of Welsh Tory MPs accepting donations from right-wing interests.

GB News & Welsh Politics

- GB News covers Welsh politics with a right-wing editorial line.
- No specific Welsh presenter identified, but the channel's anti-Senedd, anti-Welsh Government stance aligns with Reform UK Wales messaging.
- Amplifies anti-immigration narratives that play into Welsh far-right activism.

Blaenau Gwent - Your Constituency (FUNDING ANGLE)

- **Llyr Powell** elected as Reform UK Senedd Member for **Blaenau Gwent Caerffili Rhymni** in 2026.
- **Jonathan Millard**, councillor for **Ebbw Vale South** on Blaenau Gwent CBC, **joined Reform UK Wales**.
- A Reform candidate for Blaenau Gwent and Rhymney **withdrew** from general election after reposting racist content.
- **Labour failed to be re-elected** in this constituency - massive shock.
- Reform's campaign in Blaenau Gwent funded from the **national crypto-billionaire war chest** - the same Harborne/Delo/Hosking millions.
- No Welsh-specific donors identified yet - the money flows from the top down.
- Delyth Jewell (Plaid): "Reform UK are a limited company backed by millionaires, but we have been backed by the ordinary, wonderful people of Wales."

Welsh Funding Summary

The honest picture: **Welsh-specific far-right donor names are thin on the ground**. What we know:

1. **Reform UK Wales** is funded entirely from the **national war chest** - Harborne (£15m+), Delo, Hosking. The £9m Q1 2026 donation funded the Senedd campaign that won 34 seats.
2. **Woodlander Initiative** raised **£150,000+** from extremists to buy Welsh land for white enclaves - now facing Crown confiscation.
3. **Tommy Robinson** gets **\$300,000+** from US donors (Andy Miller et al.) for UK rallies.
4. **Nathan Gill** took **£30,000+ in Russian bribes** - the only proven foreign funding to a Welsh far-right politician.
5. **Senedd register of interests** is too new to analyse - worth revisiting in a few months when the 34 Reform MSs have populated their declarations.
6. **Far-right crowdfunding** (GiveSendGo, crypto, QR codes at rallies) is the growing funding model - harder to trace than traditional donations.
7. **PA/Homeland Party** funding is opaque by design - member donations, merch, crypto.

The valleys are being flooded with the same crypto-billionaire money that funds the national operation. No separate Welsh donor class has emerged yet - it's all top-down.

Dan Thomas - Reform UK Wales Leader (FUNDING/ELECTORAL ISSUES)

- Born c.1981, originally from **Blackwood** in Caerphilly county.
- **Former leader of Barnet Council** in London (Conservative, 2019-2022).
- Councillor for Finchley Church End (2006-2025).
- **Nation.Cymru exposed**: Thomas was **not on the electoral register in December 2025**, raising questions about his Welsh residency claims.
- Claims he's "back home, raising my two boys in the south Wales valleys."
- Conservatives accused Reform of "**parachuting**" him back to Wales.
- Eluned Morgan: Reform is "absolutely packed with Tories jumping ship."
- **No specific donor declarations publicly available yet** for Thomas personally.
- His Senedd campaign funded from the **national Reform war chest** (Harborne/Delo/Hosking millions).

Llyr Powell - Reform MS for Blaenau Gwent Caerffili Rhymni

- Elected to Senedd in 2026 - first ever Reform MS.
- Hailed Farage as "future Prime Minister."
- **Received 55 death threats** during campaign, door kicked in, spat at (BBC).
- Stood unsuccessfully in Caerphilly by-election October 2025.
- Claims "local businesses" backing him (Reform press release).
- **No specific donor declarations publicly available yet.**

Senedd Register of Interests (Reform MSs)

- The Seventh Senedd register is **newly populated** (election was May 2026).
- Published at senedd.wales/senedd-business/register-of-members-interests
- **TheyWorkForYou** tracks it: theyworkforyou.com/interests/category?chamber=senedd
- **ERS Cymru** notes: only donations over **£2,230** from a single source need registering with the Electoral Commission.
- New MSs receive **£12,000+ pay rises** following 2026 election.
- The 34 Reform MSs' registers are worth monitoring as they populate - this is where Welsh-specific donor names will appear.
- **Currently too new** for meaningful analysis - most entries will be hospitality/gifts rather than campaign donations at this stage.

Far-Right Crowdfunding Platforms (FUNDING PIPELINE)

- **GiveSendGo** - self-styled "#1 Free Christian Crowdfunding Site" - hosts extremist campaigns.
- **ADL found**: extremists raised at least **\$6.2 million** (2016-2022) via 10 crowdfunding platforms.
- **GiveSendGo/Stripe** facilitated **\$5.4 million** to extremist causes (86.5% of total).
- January 6 defendants, Proud Boys, Unite the Right rally all crowdfunded.
- **Proud Boy leader Ethan Nordean** raised \$18,951 for "protective gear and communications" before January 6.
- UK far-right groups increasingly using these platforms to bypass traditional banking.
- **Tommy Robinson** uses his own mailing list + QR codes + crypto promotions at rallies.

Tommy Robinson Rally Funding - American Money (FUNDING)

- **"Unite the Kingdom" rally** (London, 16 May 2026) funded by US donors:
 - **\$200,000 from Andy Miller** - former Apple executive, Nashville, now owns an NBA team.
 - **\$100,000 from another American donor** (name not fully confirmed).
- Robinson told attendees Miller was the key backer.
- **HOPE not Hate**: "Big Money, Dwindling Crowds" - smaller turnout than expected despite massive US funding.
- **Bureau of Investigative Journalism**: rally was "an operation built to turn grievance into clips, donations and sales" - QR codes, merch stands, crypto promotions, AI rapper.
- **Mario Nawfal** (X): "A British nationalist movement. Bankrolled from Tennessee. This is the transatlantic alliance being built in real time."
- Counter-protest raised **£100,000 for refugees** in 24 hours.

Advance UK (FUNDING)

- Far-right party launched June 2025 by **Ben Habib**, former Deputy Leader of Reform UK.
- Sponsored Tommy Robinson's "Unite the Kingdom" rally (September 2025).
- Received support from Tommy Robinson and Elon Musk.
- **Wound down 3 June 2026** to avoid fragmenting the right-wing vote.
- Funding sources opaque - likely overlaps with Reform donor network.

Advance UK (FUNDING)

- Far-right party launched June 2025 by **Ben Habib**, former Deputy Leader of Reform UK.
- Sponsored Tommy Robinson's "Unite the Kingdom" rally (September 2025).
- Received support from Tommy Robinson and Elon Musk.
- **Wound down 3 June 2026** to avoid fragmenting the right-wing vote.
- Funding sources opaque - likely overlaps with Reform donor network.

Patriotic Alternative / Homeland Party Funding

- PA is the UK's largest neo-Nazi group (Mark Collett, founder).
- **Funding opaque** - classified as hate group, no Electoral Commission registration required.
- **Homeland Party** (PA splinter, April 2023) now accepting **cryptocurrency donations**.
- PA called the Woodlander Initiative "a fantastic initiative that allows nationalists to pool their money to buy land."
- PA members hosted at Woodlander Initiative land in Wales for 'camping' weekends.
- **Craig Buckley** (PA activist) set up a proxy political party for PA (Searchlight, March 2025).
- BBC went undercover for a year (2025 investigation) - members recorded using racial slurs.
- Funding comes from member donations, merchandise, and crowdfunding.

Blaenau Gwent - Your Constituency (FUNDING ANGLE)

- **Llyr Powell** elected as Reform UK Senedd Member for **Blaenau Gwent Caerffili Rhymni** in 2026.
- **Jonathan Millard**, councillor for **Ebbw Vale South** on Blaenau Gwent CBC, **joined Reform UK Wales**.
- A Reform candidate for Blaenau Gwent and Rhymney **withdrew** from general election after reposting racist content.
- **Labour failed to be re-elected** in this constituency - massive shock.

- Reform's campaign in Blaenau Gwent funded from the **national crypto-billionaire war chest** - the same Harborne/Delo/Hosking millions.
- No Welsh-specific donors identified yet - the money flows from the top down.
- Delyth Jewell (Plaid): "Reform UK are a limited company backed by millionaires, but we have been backed by the ordinary, wonderful people of Wales."

2026 Senedd Election Results (Full Picture)

- **Plaid Cymru won 43 seats** (35.4%) - largest party, but short of 49-seat majority.
 - **Reform UK won 34 seats** (29.3%) - second largest, first ever Senedd representation.
 - **Labour won just 9 seats** (11.1%) - Eluned Morgan lost her seat, worst result ever.
 - Conservatives: 7 seats (10.7%).
 - Greens: 2 seats (6.7%).
 - Lib Dems: 1 seat (4.5%).
 - Reform's £9m war chest and national donor network directly funded this breakthrough.
 - **Delyth Jewell** (Plaid Deputy Leader): "Reform UK are a limited company backed by millionaires, but we have been backed by the ordinary, wonderful people of Wales."
-

Shady / Lesser-Known Funders

Robert Mercer (US)

- US hedge fund billionaire, co-owner of **Breitbart News Network**.
- **Long-time friend of Nigel Farage**.
- Directed his data analytics firm **Cambridge Analytica** to provide services to the Leave.EU campaign - a **donation of services not declared** to the Electoral Commission.
- Bankrolled Trump's 2016 campaign and key Brexit operations simultaneously.
- The Mercer-Cambridge Analytica-Farage pipeline is one of the most significant undeclared foreign influence operations in modern British politics.

Arron Banks' Offshore Web

- NCA investigated whether an **Isle of Man firm** was the true source of up to **£8 million** in Leave.EU funding.
- Banks' company **Henley and Partners** (offshore citizenship/residency schemes) was at the centre of allegations.
- Banks had **multiple undisclosed meetings with Russian embassy officials** before the Brexit referendum.
- Offered business opportunities in Russia.

- Electoral Commission eventually conceded Banks did not break electoral law (2020), but the NCA investigation found serious questions unanswered.

130+ Reform Candidates - Anonymous Crowdfunding

- **136 Reform UK candidates** were raising money via a crowdfunding platform that allows donors to **keep their address secret and donate from abroad** (Byline Times, July 2024).
- Circumvents the spirit if not the letter of electoral donation rules.
- Makes it impossible to verify whether donors are eligible UK-based individuals.

Ex-Tory Donors Flooding Reform

- openDemocracy found that **a quarter of Reform's £4.8m in large donations** (since 2023) came from **former Conservative Party donors**.
- These donors previously funded the Tory right and have now shifted to Farage.
- Represents a transfer of establishment right-wing money to the populist far right.

Tufton Street Donors to Trump (\$45m)

- A joint Democracy for Sale / Byline Times investigation found that **at least 15 individuals and companies** who donated to Tufton Street think tanks also gave **\$45.5 million (£35.2m)** to Trump campaigns and Republican committees.
- Donors include: **British American Tobacco**, a **billionaire sanctioned by Ukraine**, a leading financier, and an American heiress accused of supporting racism and climate denial.
- The same dark money network shaping UK policy is directly funding US right-wing politics.

Lord Ashcroft

- **Michael Ashcroft**, non-dom peer and pollster, operates from **Belize** (tax haven).
- Runs influential polling and focus group operations that shape Conservative and Reform strategy.
- Published extensive polling on Reform UK voters and potential Tory-Reform coalitions.
- Not a direct party donor, but his polling operation effectively **provides free strategic intelligence** to the right.
- His non-dom status and offshore wealth have long been controversial.

David Frost (Lord Frost)

- Boris Johnson's Chief Brexit Negotiator, now embedded in the think tank network.
- Board trustee at **Net Zero Watch** (campaigning arm of the **Global Warming Policy Foundation** - UK's most prominent climate denial group) since January 2025.
- Senior fellow at **Policy Exchange** (2022-2023).
- Represents the **revolving door** between government, Brexit establishment, and right-wing dark money think tanks.

Christian Conservative Dark Money Pipeline

- US Christian right groups have spent **millions in Europe** on anti-abortion, anti-LGBT, and anti-gender campaigns (openDemocracy's Tracking the Backlash investigation).
- **ADF International** (UK) received over **£4 million** from its US parent since 2018.
- UK spending: **£1.4 million** in 2024 alone (tripled since 2020).
- Links to Reform UK and right-wing Conservative factions.
- The Christian nationalist agenda from the US is being exported to the UK via well-funded legal campaigns and lobbying.

Pro-Israel Lobby

- **180 of Britain's 650 MPs** accepted funding from pro-Israel lobby groups or individuals (Declassified UK investigation).
- Total value: **over £1 million** in donations plus **240+ paid trips to Israel** (costing £500k+).
- Cross-party but concentrated on the right.
- Pro-Israel donors overlap with right-wing Conservative and Reform funding networks.

Reform Friends of Israel

- Newly formed group specifically targeting Reform UK politicians.
- Funded trips to Israel for Reform UK figures, mirroring the model of Conservative Friends of Israel and Labour Friends of Israel.
- **Israel is actively ramping up lobbying of Reform UK** (The National, 2025), seeing Farage's party as a potential next government.

ELNET

- Secretive Israel-focused advocacy group taking UK MPs on funded trips to Israel.
 - Described as having a "clear agenda" to shape the policies of the next UK government (openDemocracy).
 - Directly linked to incentivising UK MPs with all-expenses-paid Israel visits.
 - **Track Israel Lobby UK** project monitors spending: trackisraellobby.uk
-

Vote Leave / BeLeave Scandal (Brexit Era)

- **Vote Leave** was the official Leave campaign in the 2016 EU referendum, led by **Dominic Cummings**.
 - **BeLeave** was a youth-focused offshoot. Whistleblower **Shahmir Sanni** revealed that Vote Leave coordinated spending with BeLeave, potentially breaching electoral law.
 - Vote Leave was fined **£61,000** by the Electoral Commission for overspending and false declarations.
 - **Aggregate Industries** (a concrete company) was used as a conduit for coordinated spending - Vote Leave paid AIQ (data firm) via a "donation" to BeLeave.
 - **Cambridge Analytica** connections investigated but not proven in court.
 - Cummings was found in **contempt of Parliament** for refusing to attend a fake news inquiry.
 - Cummings later became Boris Johnson's senior adviser.
 - The scandal set the template for the donor opacity and electoral law bending that characterises the current far-right funding landscape.
-

Rupert Lowe & Restore Britain

- **Rupert Lowe**, former Reform UK MP for Great Yarmouth, was suspended from the party in March 2025.
 - Now sits as an independent MP.
 - Launched **Restore Britain** as a new political party (2026).
 - Former chairman of Southampton FC, businessman and farmer.
 - Funding sources for Restore Britain remain unclear.
 - Represents the fracturing of the Reform UK right into competing factions.
-

Patriotic Alternative (Neo-Nazi)

- British far-right, neo-Nazi and white nationalist group.
 - Founded September 2019 by **Mark Collett**, former BNP publicity director.
 - Gaining recruits through social media and online gaming.
 - Operates branches nationwide.
 - Funding opaque - classified as a hate group by HOPE not hate.
 - Represents the street-level far right that benefits from the mainstreaming of anti-immigration rhetoric by Reform UK.
-

Daily Mail / Telegraph Merger (2025-26)

- **DMGT (Lord Rothermere)** struck a **£500 million deal** to buy The Telegraph from the Barclay brothers (November 2025).
- **Lisa Nandy** (Culture Secretary) ordered an investigation into media plurality concerns (January 2026).
- Would give Rothermere's DMG Media control of **~50% of UK national newspaper circulation**.
- Combined entity would overtake Rupert Murdoch's News UK as dominant owner of national titles.
- DMG Media already owns: Daily Mail, Mail on Sunday, Metro, i Paper.
- **Media Reform Coalition** warned of "extreme levels of concentrated ownership" doing "significant harm to democracy."

Key Figures (continued)

Figure	Role	Connection
Jeremy Hosking	Reform mega-donor	£23m combined with Harborne & Tice
Toby Young	FSU founder	US anti-abortion funding, Atlas Network links
Charlie Kirk	Turning Point USA/UK founder	\$389m raised, died Sept 2025
Danny Kruger MP	New Conservatives group	£60k from Prosperity Institute (offshore funds)
Jack Posobiec	US far-right influencer	Met Tommy Robinson at State Dept
Elon Musk	Tech billionaire	Funded Robinson's legal fees
Arron Banks	Leave.EU donor	£8.4m to Leave.EU, NCA investigations
Laurence Fox	Reclaim Party founder	GB News appearances, opaque funding
Lee Anderson	Reform UK MP	GB News £100k/year, defected from Tories
Esther McVey	Conservative MP	GB News presenter
Jacob Rees-Mogg	Conservative MP	GB News presenter, Somerset Capital Management
Brendan O'Neill	Spiked editor	\$300k Charles Koch Foundation funding
Lord Rothermere	Daily Mail/Telegraph owner	£500m Telegraph deal, ~50% of UK press

Figure	Role	Connection
	Nathan Gill	Former Reform UK Wales leader
	Rupert Lowe	Restore Britain founder
	Mark Collett	Patriotic Alternative founder
	Dominic Cummings	Vote Leave mastermind
	Christopher Chandler	Legatum Group founder
	Nick Candy	Reform UK Treasurer
	James Orr	Farage's senior policy advisor
	Christopher Harborne	Reform UK biggest donor (£15m+)
	John Simpson	Reform UK donor (£200k)
	Sasan Ghandehari	Iranian billionaire
	Holly Valance	Reform UK donor
	Bassim Haidar	Reform UK donor

Sources

- The Guardian: Funding for populist-right 'media-political complex' exceeded £170m (23 Mar 2026)
- Al Jazeera: Follow the money - How far-right Reform UK built a global network (6 May 2026)
- Al Jazeera: Reform UK leader Farage faces parliamentary probe over \$7m gift (13 May 2026)
- The Independent: Reform UK receives millions from crypto billionaires (2026)
- DeSmog: Nigel Farage Has Personally Accepted £675,000 from Foreign Sources (18 Apr 2026)
- The Canary: Liam Byrne - Millions of pounds fund populist right-wing ecosystem (24 Mar 2026)
- Left Foot Forward: Funding for right-wing media-political ecosystem exceeded £170m (Mar 2026)
- Reuters: UK's Farage describes \$7 million gift as a 'reward' for Brexit (13 May 2026)
- The Guardian: Tommy Robinson's 'far-right Glastonbury' (16 May 2026)
- DeSmog: GB News Owner Paul Marshall Calls for BBC's Fact-Checking Service to be Shut Down (28 May 2025)
- GOV.UK: The Rycroft Review (2026)
- The Guardian: Cryptocurrency backed by Farage donor is used for Russian war effort (21 Nov 2025)
- Byline Times: Reform UK Treasurer and Donors Share London Address with Sanctioned Russian Oligarchs (7 May 2026)

- Byline Times: Nigel Farage's £9m Donor Profits From Putin Propaganda Platform While Holding MoD Stake (16 Dec 2025)
- Byline Times: Nigel Farage Advisor Tied to Russian Oil Profits Via Orban-Backed Influence Operation (13 Feb 2026)
- Byline Times: Reform UK Candidate Runs Firm Hired by Sanctioned Pro-Putin Bosnian Serb Leadership (22 Apr 2026)
- Byline Times: Exposed - How Viktor Orban Bankrolled the Network Around Reform UK (14 Apr 2026)
- DeSmog: Mapped - The Reform-Orban Network (8 Apr 2026)
- DeSmog: Eight Things You Should Know About Reform's Policy Chief James Orr (2 Apr 2026)
- Good Law Project: Putin's megaphone - Orban's far-right push into UK universities is fuelled by Russian oil (2026)
- Good Law Project: Orban's pay cheques - Reform candidate fuelled by profits from Russian oil (2026)
- Financial Times: Reform UK donor runs company linked to sanctioned Iranian conglomerate (Apr 2026)
- Left Foot Forward: Reform UK donor runs company linked to sanctioned Iranian conglomerate (Apr 2026)
- Intelligence Online: French intel memo links Iranian regime to Reform UK party donor (30 Mar 2026)
- Left Foot Forward: Man of the people Nigel Farage attended Davos as adviser to Iranian billionaire (Jan 2026)
- Novara Media: What Do People Attending a Tommy Robinson March Really Believe? (19 May 2026)
- Byline Times: Bassim Haidar - The 'Globalist' Billionaire Bankrolling Britain's Anti-Globalist Party (7 Nov 2025)
- Middle East Eye: Nigel Farage met senior UAE officials to discuss Muslim Brotherhood on funded trip (2026)
- Intelligence Online: UAE - From Farage to Bardella and Visegrad24, Europe's far-right courts Abu Dhabi (28 Jan 2026)
- The National: How Israel is ramping up its lobbying of Reform UK and the far-right (2025)
- openDemocracy: ELNET - The secretive group taking MPs on trips to Israel (2025)
- Declassified UK: Friends of Israel groups have funded 56 trips for British politicians (2025)
- The Ferret: UK far right raises money for convicted racists on US platform used by neo-Nazis (2025)
- Bloomberg: UK Bars 11 Foreign Far-Right Activists From Entering Before London Protest (15 May 2026)
- BBC: Growth of far-right 'active clubs' in UK prompts call to tackle misogyny (2024)
- The Insider: Patriotic Alternative representatives at St Petersburg neo-Nazi congress (2025)
- ADL: Crowdfunding Report - How Bigots and Extremists Collect and Use Millions in Online Donations (2022)
- Varsity: Foundation with links to Hungarian government funding programmes at Cambridge (2023/2026)
- Varsity: Right-wing billionaire Peter Thiel gives 'antichrist' lecture in Cambridge (2026)
- The Nerve: With Orban gone, has the British far right lost its magic money tree? (2026)

- Novara Media: White and Hindu Supremacists Are a Match Made in Heaven (23 Feb 2023)
 - The Wire: Hindu Supremacists and White Supremacists Have One Thing in Common for Now - Islamophobia (2025)
 - India Today: Hindu groups allying with anti-Muslim far-right, says UK report (21 Apr 2025)
 - The Canary: Hindu nationalism and white supremacy played a central role in the 2024 race riots (Jan 2026)
 - The Guardian: Revealed - online campaign urged far right to attack China's opponents in UK (28 Apr 2025)
 - The Polis Project: The Transnational Illicit Finance Funding Hindutva (2025)
 - Mirror: Nigel Farage's Reform UK handed almost £15m by offshore millionaires (23 May 2026)
 - British Brief: Reform UK received £15m from offshore-linked donors in 2025 (2026)
 - The Guardian: Nigel Farage's trip to Davos hosted and paid for by family trust of billionaire (23 Jan 2026)
 - The Guardian: Court battle over Picasso art exposes offshore finances of Farage's Davos sponsor (6 Feb 2026)
 - Transparency International UK: Political finance reform recommendations (2026)
 - Electoral Commission: Political parties accept £24.7m in donations Q1 2026 (2026)
-

Revision #1

Created 2026-08-21 11:40:22 UTC by Admin

Updated 2026-08-21 11:40:23 UTC by Admin