

Anglo-German extreme right youth networks¹

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Youth cultures were one of Britain's most notable »exports« after 1945. Its styles and sounds resulted from a period of very real cultural vibrancy which emerged from the 1950s onwards. This period of cultural effervescence emanated »from below« but was also a product of synthesis and symbiosis with influences imported from »outside« too.² Such youth cultures and indeed the very idea of being »teenage« (as a »discreet stage of life«) has received an increasing amount of interest from social historians.³ One area that has, however, received virtually no attention whatsoever in the standard accounts of the lives of young people are those youth, primarily on the extreme right of politics, who were diametrically opposed to the prevailing cultural trends reshaping British society after 1945 that were most often associated with »youth« in the first place.⁴ Surprisingly, the historiography of British fascism has also paid little attention to the organisation and ideology of extreme right-wing youth after 1945 or indeed the transnational networks of which they were involved.⁵ In Germany, where scholarship on extreme right-wing youth groups like the *Wiking-Jugend* (WJ – Viking Youth) and the *Bund Heimattreuer Jugend* (BHJ – Youth League of the True Homeland) has been considerable, the transnational networking of such groups with their British counterparts has also passed largely unremarked upon. This chapter marks a preliminary effort to examine the evolution and scope of these Anglo-German transnational networks from the early 1950s until the late 1960s; prior to the emergence of the »white power« music milieu a decade later which radically transformed the style and substance of transnational youth networks.⁶

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- 2 Matthew Worley et al.: *British Youth Cultures and the World*, in *Britain and the World*, 11.1 (2018), S. 1-3.
- 3 Jon Savage: *Teenage: The Creation of Youth, 1875-1945*, London 2007.
- 4 E. g. William Osgerby: *Youth in Britain since 1945*, Oxford 1997.
- 5 Graham Macklin: *Transnational Networking of the Far Right: The Case of Britain and Germany*, in: *Western European Politics* 36.1 (2013), S. 176-198.
- 6 Ryan Schaffer: *Music, Youth and International Links of Post-War British Fascism*, Basingstoke 2017.

The chapter explores how British and German youth interacted with one another from the rudimentary beginnings of such networks within Sir Oswald Mosley's Union Movement (UM) in the early 1950s through to the broader international networks that took shape after 1960 under the aegis of the British National Party (BNP). It then focusses upon the burgeoning nature of this network as it developed through the British National Youth (BNY), youth wing of the National Socialist Movement (NSM), which remained the channel for Anglo-German transnational youth networking until the group was dissolved in 1967. It concludes by examining the decline of this distinct form of transnational youth networking through a brief overview of the activities of the Viking Youth, which in 1978 became formally affiliated to the WJ network in Germany.

Mosley and European youth

British fascists were always transnationally networked with their German counterparts. Sir Oswald Mosley, erstwhile leader of the British Union of Fascists (BUF), reputedly even drew funding for his movement from the Nazis. Mosley's sister-in-law Unity Mitford was a close friend of Adolf Hitler, and his wife Diana was similarly well regarded by the Nazi elite. Indeed, the couple had married not in Britain but in the Reich Chancellery in 1936 with Hitler and Goebbels in attendance, despite both men having misgivings about Mosley being sufficiently ›revolutionary‹. In 1940 Mosley's pro-Nazi politics led to him being interned without trial. He was not released until 1943.⁷

Mosley publicly returned to politics in 1948 as leader of the Union Movement (UM). Alongside its domestic activism the UM also orientated its activities towards providing material aid to the families of surviving Nazis which was channelled through an organisation called the ›Bond of Brotherhood‹ run by Mosley's wife. Mosley meanwhile sought to help former Nazis resurrect their political networks, entrusting a network of loyal couriers to Germany to disburse small amounts of money to nascent extreme right-wing parties that were then restarting. Mosley soon developed a close relationship with Adolf von Thadden, leader of the Deutsche Reichspartei (DRP – German Reich Party) and subsequently the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD – National Democratic Party of Germany). Perhaps more importantly, Mosley also be-

7 Stephen Dorril: *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism*, London 2006, S. 316-342.

came the central figure in a secret consortium of European fascists who provided Arthur Erhardt with the initial seed money to publish *Nation Europa* whilst Mosley's own journal, *The European*, established in 1953, provided a forum for fascists and national socialists from across the continent to debate the idea of »Europe-a-Nation«.⁸

Whilst the UM's overt fascism doomed it to failure in post-war Britain by virtue of its continued existence, and Mosley's own standing in German neo-Nazi networks, the party provided an early focal point for trans-national organising between extreme right youth in both countries after 1945. Initially, this took the form of an informal exchange programme for the children of the former Nazi elite who began visiting London in the summer of 1955 to improve their English-language skills and socialize with like-minded people their own age. This was top-down initiative flowing from Mosley's personal and political affinities with their parents. Mosley delegated the arrangements for their stay to the party's national organizer Lawrence »Alf« Flockhart (who was jailed the following year for child sex offences, committed at the party's headquarters).⁹

The families of trusted UM activists were paid (whether by Mosley or the German parents themselves is unknown) to provide these children bed and board. The Grundys, loyal east London militants who had followed Mosley since the 1930s, were one such family. They hosted Waltraut Skorzeny, daughter of the famed Nazi paratrooper Otto Skorzeny and Klaus Naumann, the son of Goebbels's successor, Werner Naumann. The Grundys were also feted with a personal visit from Gudrun Himmler, daughter of the deceased Reichsführer SS, who was accompanied by Jeffrey Hamm, Mosley's personal secretary, and Robert Row, editor of *Union*, the UM newspaper.¹⁰ Himmler also attended the 1955 »Friends of Union« Christmas dinner held at a Fleet Street restaurant, signing copies of the menu for attendees.¹¹ Whilst in London she was also entertained at the home of Sidney Proud, another UM activist, subsequently sending him a leather-bound photograph album featuring photos of her father with

8 Graham Macklin: *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism after 1945*, London 2007, S. 77-114; cf. Marie Müller-Zetzsche (in this volume).

9 Graham Macklin: *Failed Führers: A History of Britain's Extreme Right*, Abingdon 2020, S. 113-115.

10 Trevor Grundy: *Memoir of a Fascist Childhood*, London 1999, S. 84-89.

11 *Friends of Union, A Dinner (1955)*: <https://blograrebooks.com/?store-page=14-SIGNED-MOSLEY-Gudrun-Himmler-Thomson-Row-etc-Friends-of-Union-A-Dinner-The-Falstaff-Restaurant-1955-Menu-Invite-Ticket-p637596630&offset=90> [18.2.2026]; on Werner Naumann, see Dominik Rigoll (in this volume).

the inscription »Christmas 1955 from Gudrun Himmler« as a token of her gratitude.¹² Proud had previously hosted Adolf von Ribbentrop, son of the executed Nazi Foreign Minister and Hitler's godson, and would later accommodate his brother, Barthold, too. Another guest was the son of Martin Bormann, head of the NSDAP-*Parteikanzlei*.¹³

From 1956 onwards the children of less prominent former Nazis also began advertising for accommodation in the »classified« pages of *Union* in the hope that living in London with a fascist family would help improve their English. Such overtures were sometimes made directly by senior figures within the transnational network. In February 1956, for instance, Arthur Erhardt, editor of *Nation Europa*, wrote to *Union* on behalf of a Berlin-based »colleague« who was looking to find employment in England for his daughter who desired to improve her English. »This would be greatly appreciated in the interests of European comradeship,« his letter concluded.¹⁴ There is currently no archival record to suggest that this informal youth exchange programme was a two-way street. For his part, however, Mosley did despatch his son, Max, to a boarding school in southern Bavaria, run by a friend of Winifred Wagner with whom Mosley was well acquainted, in the hope he would learn German.¹⁵

The informality of this exchange, which took place through the offices of adult UM activists, not its »youth« reflected the fact that the party had struggled since its inception to even establish a youth wing. In 1948, alongside its party newspaper, the UM had launched a news sheet, *Attack*, billed as the »Organ of Union Youth« to attract children and teenagers to the party, but it was only published intermittently and ceased publication altogether in August 1950. Thereafter party activist Keith Gibson, who had been jailed in 1952 for inciting racial hatred, briefly ran a »Youth of Union Movement« before it too petered out. In July 1957 the UM launched a new »Youth Movement« under the leadership of Trevor Grundy, a teenager member whose parents had been entrusted by Mosley to look after the Skorzeny and Naumann children two years previously.¹⁶ »Youth is at the crossroads,« intoned Grundy in *Union*, »between action or the end.«¹⁷ In *Memoir of a Fascist Childhood*, published forty years later, Grundy reflected on his dismal efforts to recruit British youth to »action«. His »Youth

12 Peter Forbes: »He Worships Hitler in London,« *The People*, 19 July 1959.

13 Ibid.

14 »Request from »Nation Europa,« *Union*, 398, 4 February 1956.

15 Max Mosley: *Formula One and Beyond: The Autobiography*, London 2015, S, p. 7.

16 »Youth Movement Launched,« *Union*, 459, 29 June 1957.

17 Trevor Grundy: »Mosley Youth,« *Union*, no. 459, 29 June 1957.

Movement« consisted of »three other boys my own age whose parents were Old Members and who had been ordered to take an interest in the new youth movement.« The fourth boy, Grundy recalled, had joined on behalf of the police who wanted to learn whether the group was »serious« or »just another lunatic fringe group which would die a natural death.«¹⁸

The UM Youth Movement was curiously divorced from the party's wider transnational networking with German and Austrian youth organisations. This had been evident from December 1955 when, alongside the German journals, *Nation Europa* and *Reichsruf* with which Mosley and the UM had a long association, *Union* began to advertise *Der Trommler* (*The Drummer*), a magazine edited by Konrad Windisch, an Austrian national socialist militant who had previously been active in the scouting movement.¹⁹ Windisch, who led the Arbeitsgemeinschaft nationaler Jugendbünde Österreichs (ANJÖ – Austrian League of Patriotic Youth), visited the UM headquarters at 302 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, together with three other Viennese national socialists, in the autumn of 1956.²⁰ The UM's publishing organisation, Sanctuary Press Ltd., subsequently became the English sales point for *Der Trommler*. Increasing co-operation between the two groups was further highlighted when *Der Trommler* published an article by *Union's* editor, Robert Row, entitled »Österreich und England – steht zusammen!«²¹

Windisch subsequently became the spokesman for the Kameradschaftsring nationaler Jugendverbände (KNJ – Comradeship Circle of Nationalist Youth Associations), a pan-European umbrella for European nationalist youth groups, which gave the ANJÖ, initially at least, a »leadership role in the radically nationalist sector of German youth«. This persisted until 1959 when the Austrian authorities suppressed *Der Trommler* and jailed Windisch for six months. Thereafter much of the ANJÖ's journalistic and organisational energies were transferred to Germany where the Bund Heimattreuer Jugend (BHJ – Youth League of the True Homeland) was emerging as one of the leading points of contact for British extreme right youth.²² Whether or not the UM or its »Youth Movement« played any part in KNJ activities is hard to discern given the current paucity of the archival record in this regard. It is notable, however, that in the spring

18 Trevor Grundy (Anm. 10), S. 102.

19 *Union*, 393, 24 December 1955.

20 »Forum,« *Union*, 430, 6 October 1956.

21 *Der Trommler*: Kampschrift der Nationalen Jugend in Österreich, 7, September-October 1956.

22 Kurt P. Tauber: *Beyond Eagle and Swastika: German Nationalism since 1945*. Vol. 1, Middletown, Connecticut 1967, S. 418.

of 1957, another Austrian national socialist, Dr. Norbert Scharnagl, wrote to the UM inviting »all English youths and girls« to attend a »European Summer Camp« in the Carinthian municipality of Arriach which was to be held that summer which at least suggests an ongoing connectivity.²³

The UM remained the official contact for *Der Trommler* until 1961 when, for reasons currently unknown, the British National Party (BNP), a small racial nationalist group that had been founded the previous year following the merger of the National Labour Party and the White Defence League, took over this position. In May 1961 the BNP held a Northern European Ring (NER) camp in Narford, Norfolk, on the property of its wealthy president Andrew Fountaine. John Bean, the BNP leader, recalled that although most of the fifty or so attendees regarded the camp as a five-day »holiday« Colin Jordan, the group's national organiser, and several of the overseas guests took it »very seriously.«²⁴ The overseas contingent (which would have been larger had not the Home Office prohibited twenty of them from entering the country) included five German activists: Ingo Mendel and Wolfgang Siel of the Bund Vaterländischer Jugend; Ernest Strauss of the KNJ; Horst Nolte of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nationaler Kreise; Gerhard Raisin, a German NER member and Winifred Schneider, a German activist aligned with the New European Order (NEO). Several members of Sweden's Nordiske Rikspartei, the Italian Avanguardia Nazionale Giovanile, the American National States Right's Party, and the Danmarks National Socialistiske Arbejder Partei were also present.²⁵ *Der Trommler* covered the event, publishing a picture of the sun wheel that towered above the camp with the caption »Ein Zeltlager der Kameraden des englischen Young Nationalist Corps.«²⁶ Shortly thereafter *Der Trommler* began advertising the BNP newspaper, *Combat*, which, it stated, contained articles »of Northern European and White World Interest,« for sale to its Austrian and German readership.²⁷ *Der Trommler* also announced that »die nationale Jugend Englands« had sent them several publications which could be purchased from »unsere englische Redaktionadresse.«²⁸

23 »European Youth Camp,« *Union*, 456, 23 March 1957.

24 John Bean, *Many Shades of Black: Inside Britain's Far Right*, No place of publication 2013, S. 146.

25 1961 BNP NER camp attendance list, Searchlight magazine archive, Northampton University.

26 *Der Trommler*, 45, 1 May 1961.

27 *Der Trommler*, 50, Jahreswende 1961/1962.

28 *Der Trommler*, 46, Sommersonnwende 1961.

In July 1961 Jordan travelled to Germany to attend the 19th Dichtertrreffen (Meeting of Poets) gathering in Lippoldsberg, Hesse, which was organized by Holle Grimm, daughter of Hans Grimm, author of the influential »Volk ohne Raum« («People without Space») (1926) who had died in 1959.²⁹ These meetings had been held since 1949 and always attracted right-wing extremist groups but the 1961 event was specifically intended to attract an international audience of young right-wing extremists outside of West Germany. Some sixty-five attendees from France, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Great Britain and South Africa took part, many of whom camped in the grounds or stayed in a newly inaugurated »European Youth Hostel.«³⁰ An estimated 3000 people attended the event but instead of promoting unity, the event was derailed by significant intergenerational conflict. As Tauber notes:

»The radicalism among the youngsters was so outspoken, and personal frictions so great, that German youth leaders, fearful that the uproar at Lippoldsberg might furnish the government with an adequate pretext to crack down on them, prevailed on Holle Grimm to plan the 1962 Poets Meeting without the nationalist youth organization. After some hesitation, she acceded to their wishes.«³¹

The failure of the Lippoldsberg meeting did nothing to diminish this otherwise burgeoning Anglo-German network, however. Indeed, the network increasingly moved from mutual publicity and the exchange of publications to more formal arrangements. In September 1961 it was announced that a »comradeship agreement« had been concluded in London between representatives of the KNJ and »national youth groups« from Britain, Sweden, and the United States of America, with the aim of providing »mutual information and assistance«. Both the Swedes and the Americans agreed to recognise the Odal Rune »as a symbol of the national youth.«³² Windisch later stated explicitly that the BNP youth group were »members« of the KNJ.³³

29 »Extract from MI6 report re: an international Fascist Meeting in Germany,« 14 September 1961 in TNA KV 2/4390/298a.

30 Marie Müller-Zetzsche/Luisa Seydel: »Dichter in Lippoldsberg,« *Jungle.world*, 5 July 2023: <https://jungle.world/artikel/2023/27/dichter-lippoldsberg> [18.2.2026].

31 Tauber (Anm. 22), S. 668-669; cf. Gideon Botsch: Die Neue Rechte in der Nuss-Schale. Ein Blick auf die Provinz im Jahre 1961, in: Gideon Botsch et al. (Hg.): Rechte Ränder. Faschismus, Gesellschaft und Staat, Berlin 2023, S. 95-130.

32 Der Trommler, 47, September 1961.

33 Der Trommler, 49, November 1961.

British National Youth

However, given the fissiparous state of Britain's extreme right during these years such contacts were difficult to maintain. In 1962 the BNP split. Its national organiser, Colin Jordan, tired of his colleagues ideological temporising, formed his own explicitly Nazi group, the National Socialist Movement (NSM) and declared that »Hitler was Right« from its public platforms. Windisch quickly made the NSM the official stockist of *Der Trommler* and listed »Lutz Bachmann« as the point of contact. This was a pseudonym for Leslie »Lutz« Vaughn, an NSM activist who lived at the group's headquarters in Princedale Road, west London.³⁴ Vaughn, who became involved in some of the NSM's more militant activities, later worked as a press officer for the Department of Economic Affairs and was arrested in 1965 in possession of a gas pistol and sixteen tear gas cartridges without a license, claiming in his defence that »most German girls carried them for protection.«³⁵

The NSM also established its own youth group, modelled on the Hitler Youth, called British National Youth (BNY), the leadership of which was entrusted to a fifteen-year-old schoolboy from the east Midlands who had joined Jordan's faction when it split from the BNP. The teenage BNY leader, Brendan J. Willmer, lived in Syston, Leicestershire. He had made his first public foray into politics in March 1961 when he began writing racist letters to his local newspaper supporting apartheid South Africa.³⁶ Willmer later told the press that he joined the BNP after cycling over to Coventry for tea with Jordan who was then its national organiser. »It was just a pleasant afternoon out,« he stated, lying repeatedly about the nature of their political relationship.³⁷ Willmer had subsequently attended the BNP's NER camp in Norfolk in May 1961. He came to further public attention later that year when, as a pupil at Thurmaston Roundhill High School, he organised a petition demanding that an impressionist painting of Christ be removed from the school's upper hall on the grounds that it was »offensive and in deplorable taste.«³⁸ The painting was indeed removed after Willmer and other pupils orchestrated a wider protest.³⁹

34 *Der Trommler*, 56, [1962].

35 »Whitehall man had pistol,« *The Guardian*, 14 October 1965.

36 »Future of White Race in Balance« [Letter], *Leicester Daily Mercury*, 23 March 1961.

37 »Brendan denies he is boy Nazi,« *Leicester Evening Mail*, 20 November 1962.

38 »Pupils petition against »deplorable« painting,« *Leicester Evening Mail*, 15 December 1961.

39 »»Modern« Picture Removed after Pupil's Protest,« *Birmingham Daily Post*, 16 December 1961.

Willmer had launched the »British National Youth Supporters Club« in April 1962, the same month that the NSM was officially launched, celebrating its inauguration with a trip to London.⁴⁰ The BNY, as it subsequently became known, styled itself as an »outdoor organisation« which staged local cycling tours, camps, campfire sessions, discussion groups, music sessions and hiking trips, all of which were designed to promote camaraderie and build a common identity. The point of contact was Willmer's parent's address in Syston, Leicestershire. Willmer boasted that the BNY had twenty-five members, including supporters. The group adopted the Odal rune as its emblem because, Willmer told the media, it was a »youth symbol throughout the world and especially Northern Europe.«⁴¹ The NSM hoped that the BNY, an integral part of its own organisation, could surreptitiously access spaces frequented by young people, clubs, sports clubs, educational establishments and military cadet units, that would be closed to most political organisations let alone a Nazi one. Those young people who proved receptive to approaches by the BNY, which Willmer pretended was a cross between the Boy Scouts and the National Association of Boys Clubs, were »carefully cultivated«⁴² with the aim of inducting them into national socialist politics.

Alongside these domestic activities, which he boasted had soon gained some 300 members, a figure that was almost certainly exaggerated, Willmer sought to connect the BNY to the wider network of transnational militancy spearheaded by West German and Austrian extreme right youth. This was immediately apparent in the pages of the BNY newsheet, *The Bugler*, the first issue of which appeared in July. This augural issue contained an article authored by Windisch which served as a tacit endorsement of Willmer's efforts.⁴³ Indeed, Willmer viewed *The Bugler* as a »counterpart« to Windisch's »Austrian youth paper.«⁴⁴

As well as establishing contact with Windisch's KNJ the BNY also forged links with numerous German neo-Nazi youth groups including the Bund Heimattreuer Jugend (BJJ – Youth League of the True Homeland) and the Junge Kameradschaft (JK), the youth section of the Deutsch Reichspartei (DRP – German Reich Party).⁴⁵ Perhaps Willmer's most important link, however, was with the Wiking-Jugend (WJ – Viking Youth), an organisation founded in Wilhelmshaven by activists from

40 »District News in Brief,« *Leicester Mercury*, 6 April 1962.

41 »He will edit news sheet for youth,« *Leicester Evening Mail*, 17 May 1962.

42 *Sunday Telegraph*, 25 November 1962.

43 *The Bugler*, 1, July–August 1962.

44 »He will edit news sheet for youth,« *Leicester Evening Mail*, 17 May 1962.

45 *The Bugler*, 1, July–August 1962 and *The Bugler*, 4, March–May 1963.

several smaller youth groups following the banning of the Sozialistische Reichspartei (SRP – Socialist Reich Party) in 1952. The WJ quickly became West Germany's largest neo-Nazi youth organisation with about 400 members. The group, which focussed on socialising youth to national socialist politics through outdoor activities, provided the starting point for many future neo-Nazi leaders in West Germany. During the period in which Willmer was in contact with the WJ it was led by Raoul Narath (1954-1967) but then subsequently by his son, Wolfgang (1967-1991), and then grandson, Wolfram, who headed the organisation until it was finally banned in 1994.⁴⁶

Willmer clearly modelled the BNY on the WJ. He even obtained the Odal rune badges worn by BNY members directly from the German group.⁴⁷ This ideological and organisational synergy was reflected in the fact that shortly after the BNY was established in 1962 Willmer was interviewed by Wolfgang Kirschstein for the WJ newsletter, *Fanal*. The two men discussed Willmer's organisation and ideological stance which, Willmer declared, included fighting »gegen die überhandnehmende Rassenvermischung zwischen allen Rassen« in the United Kingdom. Willmer highlighted his group's role in Jordan's NER camps but stated that he hoped to begin organising his own international youth camps shortly. Whilst the BNY only planned to organise branches in Commonwealth countries this did not of course preclude its ongoing collaboration with their European counterparts including the WJ. Kirschstein also asked Willmer whether he considered Germany responsible for the Second World War, a notion he dismissed as »vollkommenen Unsinn« which undoubtedly endeared the BNY to *Fanal's* readers.⁴⁸

Kirschstein, who edited his own newspaper, *Die Peitsche (The Whip)*, was also increasingly integrated into this wider Anglophone network. In August 1962 Jordan held a camp in Gloucestershire under the banner »National Socialism: The World Movement for the White Man« at which the special guest was George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party (ANP) who had evaded a ban on his entering the country. Kirschstein was also at the meeting, having arrived in England on 22

46 Fabian Virchow: »Wiking-Jugend,« in: Wolfgang Benz (Hg.), *Handbuch des Antisemitismus: Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Band 5: Organisationen, Institutionen, Bewegungen, Berlin 2012, S. 649-650; and Niklas Krawinkel (in this volume).

47 »Historical Boys' Uniforms«: <https://histclo.com/youth/youth/org/nat/eng/nateng.htm> [Accessed 31 March 2025].

48 *Fanal*, 11 Jahrgang, Nr. 6. [1962].

July.⁴⁹ This meeting resulted in the foundation of the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS), a transnational organisation erected on the scaffolding of Jordan's earlier NER network. The following year, when Kirschstein founded his own »International Viking Movement« in Bamberg, he aligned it with the WUNS.⁵⁰ Kirschstein was reputedly inducted into the WUNS network by Rockwell's German disciple Bruno Lüdtker.⁵¹ He later became a leading figure in the Unabhängige Arbeiter-Partei (UAP – Independent Workers Party).⁵²

Willmer also sought to establish links with the White Youth Corps (WYC) run by Arthur Brill, a sixteen-year-old from Chicago, Illinois, and may very well have done so as part of his involvement with the WJ. The WYC, which was little more than a front for Rockwell's ANP, initially had a mere four members all four of whom were arrested in March 1962 whilst involved in a racist picket of a Chicago theatre showing a Sammy Davis Jr. movie.⁵³ Whilst Willmer undoubtedly contacted the group at the behest of Colin Jordan, Rockwell's transatlantic collaborator, the FBI file on the WYC also hints that he may have done so on behalf of the WJ. In August 1962 the WYC received a postcard from England. Although the name of the sender is redacted in the FBI file, it bore a Leicestershire postmark, the county in which Willmer lived. It stated: »Comrades, I'm the leader of the Foreign Dept. of the Wiking Jugend, and I would like to come into contact with [sic] your organization. Thus I would be pleased if you would forward me any literature printed by your organization.«⁵⁴ Willmer also forged contacts with the Canadian Youth Corps (CYC), a small group active in Toronto whose propaganda offered its members, aged fourteen to twenty one, training in a variety of self-defence and survival techniques including »use of weapons and marksmanship, and preparation of basic explosives in demolitions.«⁵⁵

Willmer's activities quickly landed him in trouble, however. Indeed, by November 1962, when he was still only sixteen, he was forced to publicly deny accusations that he was a »Nazi« though ironically the latest issue of

49 MI6 memorandum: »World Union of National Socialists (W.U.N.S.),« 5 November 1963 in KV 2/4390/378a, The National Archives, London.

50 Nationalist Youth: Wiener Library Bulletin, vol. XX, no. 1, Winter 1965-1966.

51 Frederick J. Simonelli: »Thriving in a Cultic Milieu: The World Union of National Socialists, 1962-1992« in: Jeffrey Kaplan/Helène Lööw (Hg.): »The Cultic Milieu: Oppositional Subcultures in an Age of Globalisation« Altamira Press: Walnut Creek, CA 2002, S. 222.

52 »Vorbesterter Antisemit als UAP-Presssprecher« in Kirschstein file, apabiz, Berlin.

53 »Men Go On Trial For Criminal Defamation,« Chronicle Tribune, 20 June 1962.

54 White Youth Corps, FBI file.

55 Louis Rosenberg: »Canada,« The American Jewish Yearbook, 66 (1965), S. 327.

The Bugler, which featured a paean of praise to the Hitler Youth, had concluded: »We, the new generation of Nordic Youth, will continue the fight for race and nation which began in National Socialist Germany.«⁵⁶ Whilst Willmer continued to deny his Nazi links *The Birmingham Post* conducted an interview with an anonymous »boy« – clearly Willmer – who stated that Jordan was »one of the greatest men of our time« and admitted that his job was to recruit young people to the NSM.⁵⁷ Leicestershire County Council Education Department declined to comment referring the matter to Thurmaston Roundhill High School though the headmaster, who had previously spoken to Willmer, commented that there was »nothing to worry about«.⁵⁸ The school's governors subsequently convened a meeting to discuss matters but, having found no evidence Willmer disseminated »Nazi doctrines« at school, took no action.⁵⁹ The matter was left in the hands of Willmer's headmaster who had already signalled that he regarded the BNY simply as »harmless independent boys« leaving Willmer free to continue his studies.⁶⁰

During this barrage of adverse publicity, Willmer told the press that his father had ordered him to »give it all up« though he did no such thing.⁶¹ Indeed he quickly returned to both the BNY and the NSM. The BNY had initially had two »units« (one in Leicestershire and another in Glasgow) but by 1963 this had expanded to six.⁶² One of those recruited to the group during these years was Arthur Read, a twenty-two-year-old who lived in Wallasey, Cheshire, where he worked in a shoe shop. Read had begun subscribing to *The Bugler* and was introduced by Willmer to two colleagues with whom he formed his own BNY unit. Read subsequently became »National Secretary« and was responsible for BNY activities in the north as well as the group's »Northland Press,« whilst Willmer, who retained the title »Youth Leader,« focussed upon southern England.⁶³

Prior to joining the BNY Read had been active with Mosley's UM in Merseyside. His politics were evident from his letters to the local press advocating for »a strong United European nation« as a »third force« between

56 »I'm No Nazi, Claims Syston Schoolboy, 16,« *Leicester Daily Mercury*, 20 November 1962.

57 »Enquiry Ordered on Boy Nazi Leader,« *The Birmingham Post*, 20 November 1962.

58 »Brendan denies he is boy Nazi,« *Leicester Evening Mail*, 20 November 1962.

59 »Brendan Willmer – Roundhill Governors Decide: No Action,« *Leicester Daily Mercury*, 22 November 1962.

60 »I'm tired of all the fuss, says Brendan,« *Leicester Evening Mail*, 22 November 1962.

61 »Young Nazis' Boy Leader Quits Group,« *The Daily Telegraph*, 21 November 1962.

62 *The Bugler*, 3, November 1962–February 1963.

63 »British National Youth,« *Funkenflug*, 04/2006-01/2007.

America and Russia which was the core of Mosley's »Europe-a-Nation« policy.⁶⁴ His strident anti-Communism also led Read to become secretary of his local branch of the Nuclear Defence League (NDL), an organisation founded in 1961 to counter the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) which opposed Britain's nuclear deterrent.⁶⁵ Read also became active in the Greater Britain Campaign (GBC) which also campaigned to »Keep the Bomb.«⁶⁶ The GBC was organised by Roger Gleaves, a former member of the League of Empire Loyalists (LEL), a far-right protest group led by A. K. Chesterton who had been a propagandist for Mosley's BUF during the 1930s, noted for his antisemitic asperity.⁶⁷ Given Read's »youth« orientated activism it was ironic that Gleaves had only recently been released from a three-year jail sentence for child sex offences.⁶⁸ This was the first in a string of convictions that led Gleaves (later posing as the »Bishop of Medway«) to become nationally notorious as a child rapist.⁶⁹

Colin Jordan, the NSM leader, continued to hold Willmer in high regard telling his American counterpart George Lincoln Rockwell during the summer of 1963 that the teenager was doing an »absolutely wonderful job.«⁷⁰ Continuing his praise, Jordan told Rockwell that Willmer was a »definite prodigy« and promised he was »certainly going to be one of the big names in National Socialism in the future.« Jordan also made clear his view on the BNY which, he stated unequivocally, functioned as a »preparatory body for us,« the NSM. He was keen, however, to ensure that, at least publicly, the two groups maintained a strategic distance from one another:

»For the BNY to do this kind of valuable work successfully, however, it is really essential that as far as the public appearance is concerned the NSM and the BNY are quite separate and the BNY is not explicitly National Socialist.«⁷¹

Beyond the NSM Willmer also made common cause with Roger Pearson, one of the leading figures in the Northern League, a pan-European group dedicated to reviving Nazi Nordicism, which, from 1958 onwards, also or-

64 »Moral Effect of a United Europe« [Letter], Liverpool Daily Post, 16 July 1960.

65 »Defence League« [Letter], Liverpool Daily Post, 20 June 1961.

66 »Keep the bomb!« [Letter], The Runcorn Guardian, 21 July 1962.

67 Martin Walker: *The National Front*, London 1977, S. 31.

68 »Former cadet sergeant jailed,« *The Sutton and Cheam Advertiser*, 13 August 1959.

69 »Bogus bishop jailed for sex attacks,« *The Independent*, 31 March 1998.

70 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 10 June 1963, George Lincoln Rockwell papers, University of Kansas.

71 Colin Jordan to George Lincoln Rockwell, 3 August 1963, George Lincoln Rockwell papers.

ganised pilgrimages to Detmold in North Rhine Westphalia to commemorate Arminus' defeat of the Roman legions in the Teutoburg forest in 9AD this being a popular destination for German youth groups too. Pearson had recently relocated to the United States where he had founded *Western Destiny*, a racist magazine that served as a successor to the Northern League journal *Folk*. Willmer wrote Pearson to tell him that »the whole concept of a periodical dedicated to the defence and rejuvenation of Western civilization is impressive.«⁷²

As it grew, the BNY sought to burnish its credentials by adding the names of several military figures to its list of »sponsors« to give the impression it was a respectable organisation akin to the scouts. Those listed as »sponsors« of the BNY were all redoubtable right-wing figures with a history of involvement in far-right politics. The Honorary President was Major-General Richard Hilton, Britain's former military attaché to Moscow (1947-1948) who was subsequently associated with numerous extreme right parties including his own Patriotic Party. He had authored several books including »The Thirteenth Power« (1958), which referred to »the power of international moneylending on the grand scale« a rather unsubtle antisemitic allusion. Other »sponsors« included three vicars (P. E. Blagdon-Gamlen, S. E. Pulford, and G. H. Nicholson) well known for their racial views whilst a fourth (E. L. Hebden Taylor) perhaps agreed to sponsor the group without fully comprehending its politics.⁷³ Another prominent »sponsor« was Admiral Sir Barry Domvile, a former Director of Naval Intelligence whose pro-Nazi politics during the 1930s had led him to consort with Himmler and saw him interned for the majority of the Second World War on account of his dubious loyalties. By 1965 Domvile was approaching ninety. »I am in demand as a youth leader: comic, ain't it?« he commented to a friend.⁷⁴

The BNY continued to build transnational links with other European youth organisations. The BHJ publication, *Nachrichten aus der Nationalen Jugend*, noted that it had received Christmas greetings in 1964 from youth leaders across Europe, including Willmer.⁷⁵ The BHJ subsequently publicised the group in the »unsere antwort« section of its newsletter.⁷⁶ Such publicity also heralded a more concerted effort by the BNY to transnationalise its activities. In June 1965 Arthur Read, travelled to Dublin

72 »Letters,« *Western Destiny*, 11.5, October 1964.

73 »Nationalist Youth,« *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. XX, no. 1, Winter 1965-1966.

74 Admiral Sir Barry Domvile to Anthony Gittens, 19 April 1965, Britons archive.

75 *Nachrichten aus der Nationalen Jugend*, January-February 1965.

76 *Nachrichten aus der Nationalen Jugend*, July-August 1965.

for talks with John Buckley, leader of the Irish National Youth (INY), formed the previous year after Willmer had appealed for Irish contacts to help them establish a group.⁷⁷ The INY published its own newsletter, *The New Guard*, articles from which were reproduced in *Der Trommler* in 1964. *The New Guard* was also recommended in the BNJ newsletter.⁷⁸ These talks, to establish a »common front« of free »national« youth groups, were followed by others. Indeed, shortly thereafter a leading figure from the Flemish Kameradschaftsring Nationaler Jugend Europas (KNJE) travelled to meet Read in Cheshire.⁷⁹ During this period the BNY also cultivated contact with the Flemish »Europafront« which operated from Antwerp, Belgium.⁸⁰

Shortly after these discussions the BHJ newsletter informed its readership that anyone wanting to visit England that summer would be housed by their BNY counterparts and that those visiting London would also receive a »tour guide«. Interested BHJ members were advised to contact Read.⁸¹ Read later stated that BHJ activists were guests at various camps and seminars organised by the BNY.⁸² This was a reciprocal relationship. Willmer was subsequently recorded to have attended »several« youth camps in Germany, »stayed at the homes of German Nazi youths, and was host to youth leaders at his home.«⁸³

The BNY were not the only British group networked with the BHJ, however. Michael Passmore, a twenty-two-year-old clerk who lived in Thornton Heath, had visited the Federal Republic of Germany annually since 1958. His first two visits were school trips but those he undertook subsequently resulted from Passmore's burgeoning fascination with Nazism. Passmore had joined Jordan's NSM at its inception in 1962 and quickly began networking with the BHJ. In October 1963, together with Oliver Jony, and a Belgian citizen, Albert Feyns, Passmore was suspected of distributing NSM literature in Munich leading police there to take out a criminal complaint against him. Police also suspected that a Nuremberg BHJ activist, Johann Hübner, had assisted them.⁸⁴

77 The Bugler, 7, April/May 1964.

78 Denis Eisenberg: *The Reemergence of Fascism*, New York 1967, S. 27, 218.

79 Nachrichten aus der Nationalen Jugend, September-October 1965.

80 The Bugler, 7, April-May 1964.

81 Nachrichten aus der Nationalen Jugend, July-August 1965.

82 »British National Youth,« *Funkenflug*, 04/2006-01/2007.

83 »Willmer No Come Back Again ...,« *Searchlight*, 96, June 1983.

84 Lemmer (KOM)/Schütte (KK): »Vermerk,« 26 March 1965 in B 362/6606, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

In May 1964 Jordan's NSM split. Passmore left the group and helped Jordan's former lieutenant, John Tyndall, establish a new group, the Greater Britain Movement (GBM). He became managing director of Tyndall's new magazine, *Spearhead*. In July Passmore returned to Germany, visiting the BHJ group in Nuremberg. He stayed with Hübner whose address Tyndall had supplied. Whilst there Passmore also attended a BHJ camp at Altmühl valley in Bavaria. He left Hübner with a tape cassette of banned Nazi songs including the »Horst Wessel Lied« and, upon his return to England, sent him several original NSDAP badges which Hübner subsequently sold to local BHJ members to raise funds for the group.⁸⁵

Back in England Passmore continued corresponding with the BHJ, sending one member, Norbert Brüning, some sixty leaflets in December 1964, produced by the GBM, that featured a portrait of Hitler with the caption »Er Hat Recht«. On 24 March 1965 Passmore returned to Germany, visiting the Ordensburg Sonthofen and Schloss Neuschwanstein in Bavarian Swabia before travelling on to Munich where, after purchasing more Third Reich memorabilia, he met with Gudrun Himmler to whom he reported on the state of national socialism in England. Leaving her with several copies of *Spearhead*, Passmore travelled on to Nuremberg on 27 March. There Passmore met with Brüning who took him to a meeting at the apartment of a BHJ member called Fritz Danner where Johann Hübner, Herbert Welsch, and Eberhard Dittel were also present. After discussing several issues of *Spearhead* which he had brought with him and an English translation of a BHJ document entitled »Grundsätze der nationalen Jugend« that Dittel had made, Passmore gave the group 260 Hitler »Er Hat Recht« stickers which he had obtained from Tyndall before travelling to Germany. He left these stickers with the group to distribute as they saw fit. Passmore was scheduled meet other BHJ members the following day but was arrested before he could do so.⁸⁶

Passmore subsequently told a Karlsruhe court, »he had a special love for Germany because its peoples were closely related to the British« and by distributing Nazi propaganda in Nuremberg »he had wanted to show the people of Germany that national socialism was still alive in Britain.« Passmore was jailed for one year in August 1965, a sentence he served in Karlsruhe-Durlach prison. His nationality was treated as an extenuating circumstance. The judge indicated that had Passmore been German his

85 »Gründe: Die persönlichen Verhältnisse des Angeklagten« in B 362/6600, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

86 »Gründe: Die persönlichen Verhältnisse des Angeklagten« in B 362/6600, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

sentenced would have been harsher.⁸⁷ He was deported from Germany on 1 October having served roughly half his sentence, including time served on remand.

Whilst Passmore's case highlighted the potential perils of transnational activism for individuals seeking to internationalise their activism, during the same period domestic factors were also undermining the BNY's ability to function as a transnational actor. Willmer maintained a bookshop in Ealing, west London, but quickly proved unable to pay the rent. He got into debt with some of his »sponsors« leading to threats of legal action against him. Lady Elizabeth Freeman, a wealthy benefactor of far-right causes, including the LEL, reputedly paid off his debts to save Willmer from being taken to court.⁸⁸ During summer of 1965 Willmer also split from the NSM which disrupted the BNY's network. Jordan denounced him as a »renegade« to the WUNS in September 1965.⁸⁹

Thereafter Willmer and Jordan struggled for control over the remnants of BNY's domestic organisation. Jordan appealed to those members who considered themselves genuine »National Socialists« to sever their connection Willmer »and instead help the NSM to create in the near future its own youth division, entirely and thoroughly National Socialist.«⁹⁰ It would appear that Willmer was the victor in this power struggle since Jordan's »youth division« never materialised and by 1966 the NSM itself had dwindled to a very small group of activists.⁹¹

In December 1965, Willmer renamed his organisation, the National Youth League (NYL), »to make clear that we are an independent patriotic youth association, unconnected with any other group or movement.«⁹² In his public pronouncements Read was also at pains to emphasise that the NYL was an »authentic« youth organisation and »definitely not fascists.« The NYL, which Read claimed now had 400 members, was simply a group concerned by the »low moral values« prevalent in the youth of today which it hoped to counter by instilling »pride« in the nation. He denied they were a racist group but stated immigration was a »problem« and a »national referendum« should be held on the subject.⁹³ Despite Read's

87 Norman Crossland: »Englishman sentenced in Germany,« *The Guardian*, 10 August 1965.

88 »The Brendan Wilmer [sic] Story,« *Searchlight*, 30, November 1977.

89 *World Union of National Socialists: European Bulletin*, 5, 1 September 1965.

90 *NSM Member's Bulletin*, October 1965.

91 Macklin (Anm. 9), S. 293.

92 »Nationalist Youth,« *Wiener Library Bulletin*, 20.1 (1965-1966), S. 32.

93 »We are not Fascists say National Youth League,« *Liverpool Daily Post*, 29 August 1966.

claims of political neutrality the NYL announced an alliance with Cherterton's LEL in August 1966.⁹⁴ It also continued to maintain contact with figures like Windisch.⁹⁵

On the broader political front everything was beginning to change, however. Groups like the BNP, the LEL and indeed Tyndall's GBM all ceased to exist in 1967 after merging their identities into the newly formed National Front (NF) though this organisational unification excluded Jordan's NSM whose overt national socialism placed it beyond the pale. The NYL also ceased to exist and Willmer subsequently joined the NF, helping to establish its Leicestershire branch.⁹⁶ His subsequent activism is beyond the scope of his chapter suffice to say that in 1969 Willmer relocated to apartheid South Africa from whence he led a »Save Rhodesia Campaign« much to the delight of former colleagues who praised him for having »taken the fight to the front line with real NF-style activism.«⁹⁷ Michael Passmore also briefly emigrated to South Africa following his deportation from Germany, though he soon returned to England and joined the NF too.⁹⁸

Due to adverse publicity surrounding the group's national socialist politics, Read noted that the BNY, and by extension the NYL, encountered increasing difficulty recruiting young people, not least because of growing hostility from parents. Read, who remained active, renamed his section of the organisation. The Wirral Youth League (WYL) focussed its activities upon Hoylake, a seaside town in the Wirral. He began publishing his own newsletter, *Wirral Youth News*, to replace *The Bugler*, which had ceased to exist in 1967, but Read's group soon dissolved too.⁹⁹ He and the WYL »youth leader« Kevin Hughes were subsequently sentenced to six months imprisonment, suspended for three years, after being caught using groups of young boys to collect money for an »Association of Youth Clubs« which they instead kept for themselves.¹⁰⁰ Forty years later Read resurfaced as a member of Nick Griffin's British National Party.

94 Candour, 17.456, August 1966.

95 Der Trommler, 62/63 [1965].

96 Ray Hill/Andrew Bell: *The Other Face of Terror: Inside Europe's Neo-Nazi Network*, London 1988, S. 36, 256.

97 »N. F. Man Leads Pro-White Campaign in South Africa,« *Spearhead*, 110, October 1977.

98 M. H. Passmore to Dr. Pelchen, 23 November 1966 in B 362/6600, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

99 »British National Youth,« *Funkenflug*, 04/2006-01/2007.

100 »Thousands Paid for 'Charity' Magazines – Youth club cash went to two men,« *Liverpool Echo*, 6 November 1968.

Conclusion

The NF became one of Europe's largest extreme right-wing parties during the 1970s. It was keen to avoid being labelled »Nazi« which would have undermined the credibility of its anti-immigrant politicking and so publicly eschewed contact with West German or Austrian groups. Despite his own background John Tyndall, the former NSM and GBM activist who became NF chairman in 1972, evinced little interest in the politics of »youth« until pressure from young activists within the movement compelled him to establish a Young National Front (YNF) group in July 1977. Whilst the YNF proved a major factor for the development of extreme right »youth« politics, the mode of activism it promoted also resulted in significant intergenerational conflict within the NF. This was fuelled by a growing interest amongst its youthful cadres in the politics of »Strasserism« (regarded as heretical by Tyndall) and other forms of counter-cultural activity including »white power« music, which would transform the nature of British extreme right politics in the following decade, often, ironically, to its political detriment.¹⁰¹

This generational and cultural shift also had an impact on the nature and form of transnational networking. Whilst the YNF soon dominated extreme right »youth« politics in Britain it was not internationally networked to the same degree as earlier youth groups like the BNY. Networking with German extreme right youth largely became the preserve of groups outside the NF orbit like the British Movement, formed in 1968 by Colin Jordan who led the group until 1975, and the League of St. George, formed in 1974 by a group of former UM militants, whose activists interacted intermittently with their German counterparts at several youth camps during the 1970s. It was not until 1978, however, over a decade after the BNY was dissolved, that a distinct »Viking Youth« group emerged again in England. Founded by Paul Jarvis, who had been involved with the NF in west London, the Viking Youth mirrored the BNY in style and substance, its principal activities being hiking and camping as well as listening to lectures propagating »folkish« ideals. The group adopted a »scouting-style« uniform consisting of a grey shirt and black trousers, which was worn with two arm bands, one a Phoenix, the other the obligatory Odal rune, which also featured on its belt buckle.¹⁰²

101 Graham Macklin: Inter-generational conflict and the transformation of the British extreme right, *Patterns of Prejudice* in 58.2-3 (2025), S. 215-240.

102 »The V. Y. Uniform,« *Young Folk*, 19, July-September 1980.

In April 1978 Jarvis announced that the Viking Youth had become the »British section of the Northland Youth Movement« and therefore part of »the growing community of North European youth movements, activated by the ideal of a common understanding that the European peoples must never again be drawn in to conflict with each other.«¹⁰³ Transnational networking was integral to developing this sense of community. Members were encouraged to attend the annual Diksmuide festival in west Flanders, the main event in the racial nationalist calendar, as a way of perpetuating »the ideal of North European friendship and co-operation.«¹⁰⁴ Jarvis was observed at the 1978 festival »conspicuously working« a stall set up by the Wiking-Jugend (WJ) whose members also attended.¹⁰⁵

Leadership of the WJ, with which the Viking Youth was now formally affiliated, had passed to Wolfgang Nahrath and its activities organizer, Heiko Oetker who was based in Hamburg. In the »spirit of Nordic co-operation« Jarvis established close ties with the other national sections of the WJ network as well as the other international components of its network which evolved to include Siegfried van Reeth's Viking-Jeugd in Flanders; John Spinnewijn and Mark van Reeth's Algemeen Vlaams Nationaal Jeugdverbond in Bruges; the Wiking-Jeunesse in Paris; and Juventud Vikinga in Madrid.¹⁰⁶ The following year a Swiss group emerged in Geneva whilst Jarvis' own group also spawned affiliates in Australia and New Zealand too.¹⁰⁷ An Odal-Jeung appeared in South Africa under the leadership of Johan Dippenaar in 1979 which subsequently merged with another group in Stellenbosch to form the Odal Clan.¹⁰⁸

To keep its members aware of what its parent body was doing, the Viking Youth sold copies of the WJ's annual calendar, »Fahrtenpläne der Wiking Jugend«, enabling its activists to choose which from its list of monthly camps, lectures and excursions, they might attend.¹⁰⁹ For its part, the WJ publicized Jarvis' Viking Youth in its brochure, »Die Tat ist mehr als der Ruhm. Fahrtenpläne 1979 der Wiking-Jugend« in its list of »Anschriften Ausland.«¹¹⁰ *Wikingers* also occasionally advertised Viking Youth

103 »Youth on the March,« *Young Folk*, 4, April 1978.

104 »Diksmuide,« *Young Folk*, 5, May 1978.

105 *Searchlight*, 35, May 1978 and *Searchlight*, 38, August 1978.

106 »Youth on the March,« *Young Folk*, 4, April 1978.

107 »Viking Youth Notes,« *Young Folk*, 14, April-June 1978.

108 »Viking Youth Notes,« *Young Folk*, 15, July-September 1979 and »Viking Youth Notes,« *Young Folk*, 16, October-December 1979.

109 »VY sales,« *Young Folk*, 14, April-June 1978 and »VY sales« *Young Folk*, 16, October-December 1979.

110 »Viking Youth,« *Patterns of Prejudice*, 12.4 (1978), S. 15-16.

publications to its readers.¹¹¹ Viking Youth members continued to attend WJ functions, notably its Whitsun camp in the Eifel forest south of Prum in West Germany in May 1980 where, together with young activists from Belgium, the Netherlands, and France, they spent the weekend playing sports, including hang gliding and motorcross, whilst also dancing, parading and singing songs.¹¹² This plot of land had been purchased by the WJ the previous year to facilitate their activities and *Young Folk* subsequently reproduced photographs of events that took place on the property and at Diksmuide. Other networking opportunities arose because of external circumstance. In 1980 a major international exhibition on »The Vikings« was held at the British Museum in London. Both *Young Folk* and *Wikinger*, WJ's quarterly magazine, advertised the event to their members as another means of promoting »Nordic« identity.¹¹³

Despite this increasing interconnectivity in 1980 Jarvis conceded that his group's progress was »steady rather than spectacular« and that he worked on the premise that Viking Youth were »laying the foundation of a strong and much-needed youth movement for the future.«¹¹⁴ These remarks indicated perhaps the extent to which the Viking Youth were being overshadowed by the more popular and much larger YNF. It also explained why transnational networking was central to the group; it integrated them into a broader international network when their own national importance was marginal. This domestic weakness was reflected in a series of internal changes within the Viking Youth. Jarvis, who had led the group since its inception, handed over its leadership to a steering committee in 1981. The organisation's contact address also changed, from Jarvis' »BCM Thule« post office box to the Hampshire home of Rosine de Bounevialle, editor of *Candour*, a long-standing antisemitic magazine established in 1953 by A. K. Chesterton, the first NF chairman.¹¹⁵ Despite these domestic changes, which coincided with the group's decline, Jarvis remained sufficiently well networked with the WJ that *Wikinger* reported on his marriage to Isabel Oetker in 1982.¹¹⁶

The Viking Youth disappeared not long afterwards, however, its mode of activism increasingly irrelevant to broader cultural and intergenerational shifts that were transforming Britain's extreme right milieu. Whilst this form of Anglo-German youth networking did not disappear altogether

111 »Buchbesprechung,« *Wikinger*, 4, 1981.

112 »Viking Youth Notes,« *Young Folk*, 19, July-September 1980.

113 »The Vikings,« *Wikinger*, 2, 1980.

114 »About VY,« *Young Folk*, 18, April-June 1980.

115 »New Developments,« *Young Folk*, 20, January-Snowmoon 1981.

116 *Wikinger*, 1, 1983.

it certainly became more peripheral as a new generation of young British militants became increasingly enthused by the visceral violence of skin-head culture and »white power« music, which was beginning to coalesce around bands like Skrewdriver. They appeared less and less interested in the camaraderie of camping and hiking propagated by groups like the Viking Youth which undoubtedly seemed staid and old fashioned in comparison. Contemporaneously, however, as Britain's extreme right continues to evolve, this style of youth activism has regained a modicum of popularity, a development that has again occurred within the wider context of Anglo-German youth networks which attests to the ongoing durability of such militant transnational youth milieus.